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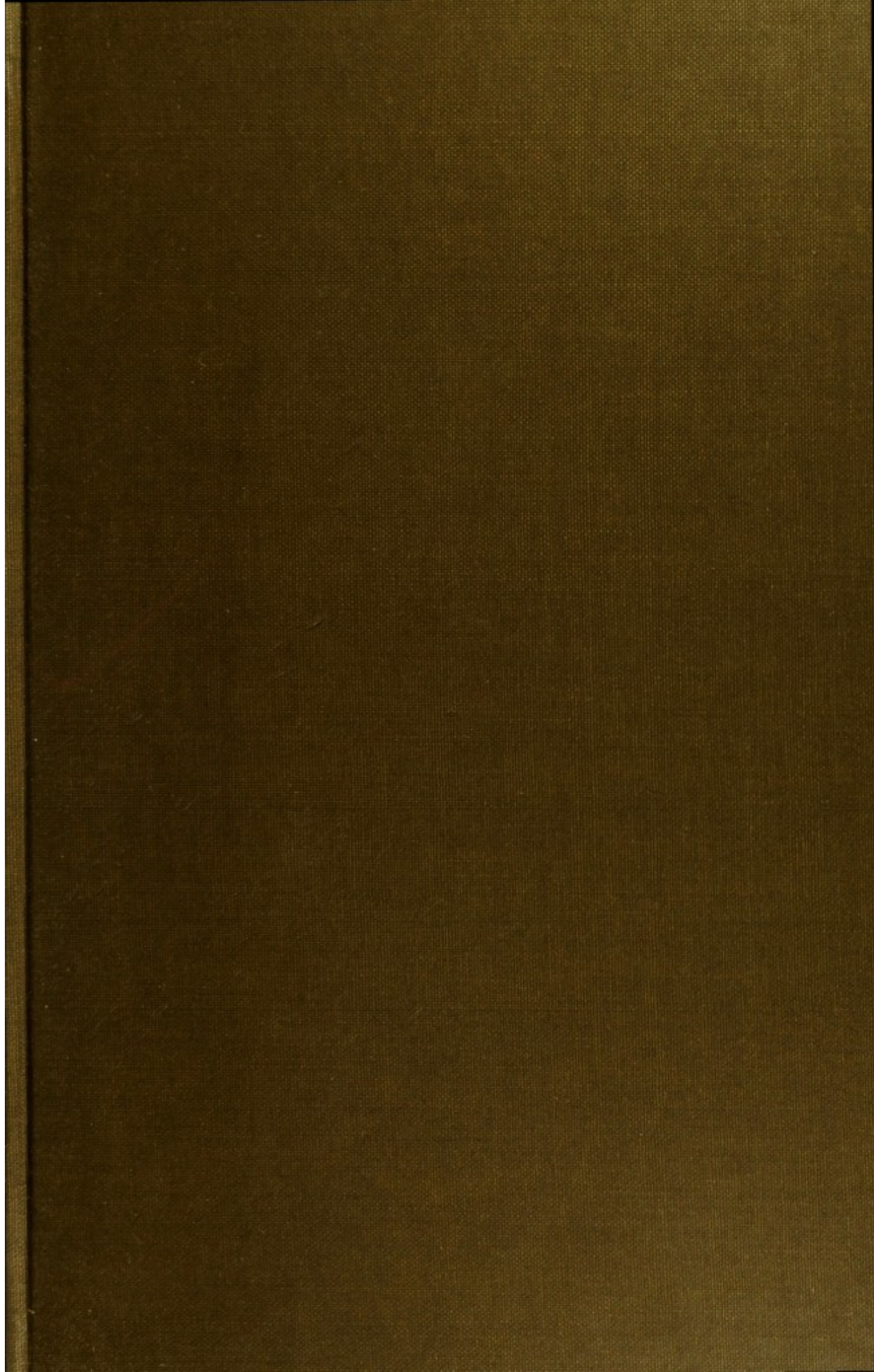
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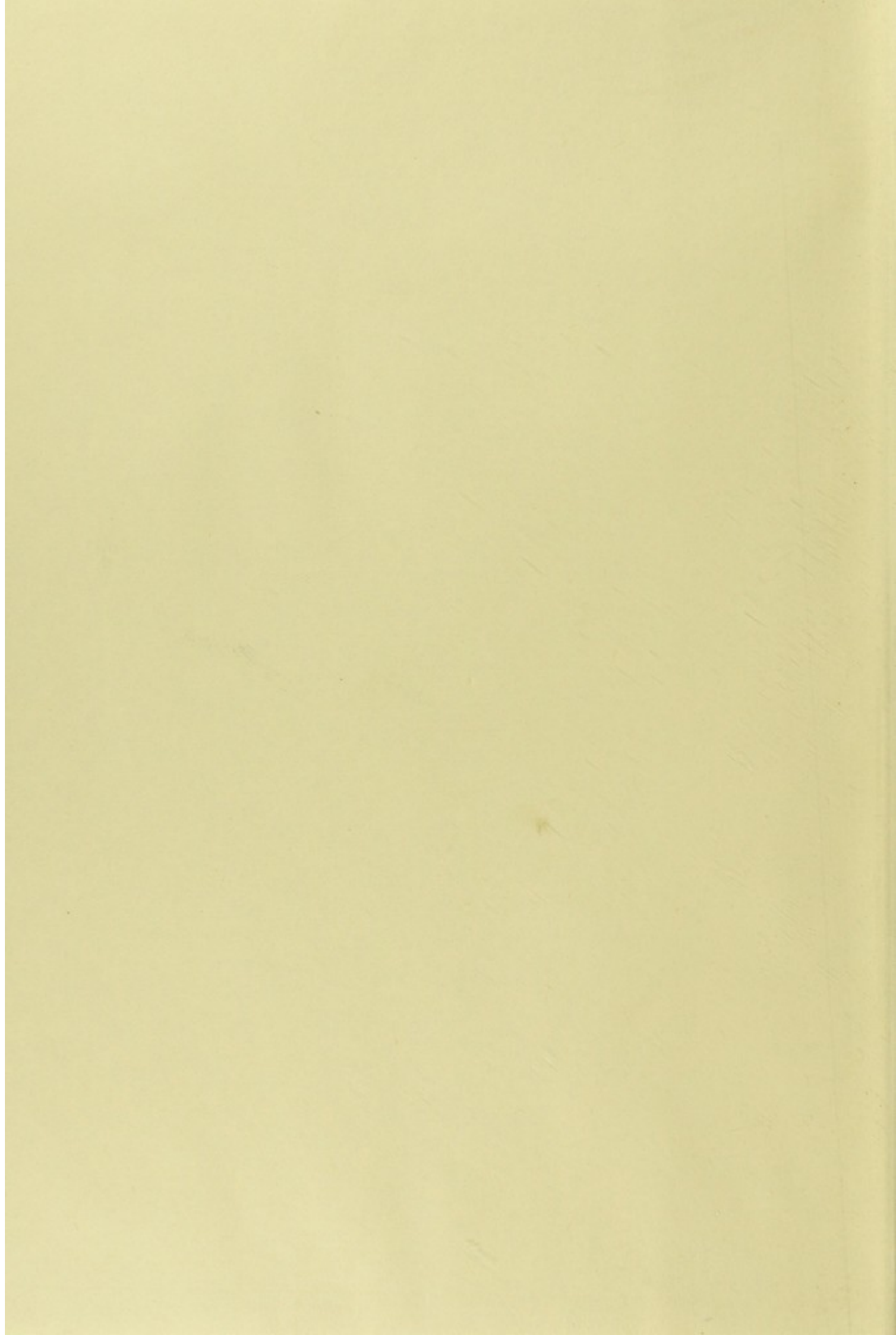




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JOSEPHUS.

NEW TRANSLATION, BY DR. TRAILL.

ILLUSTRATED.

PART I.

PRICE 10s.

~~23F~~

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*The Notes and Explanations attaching to these Plates will be given
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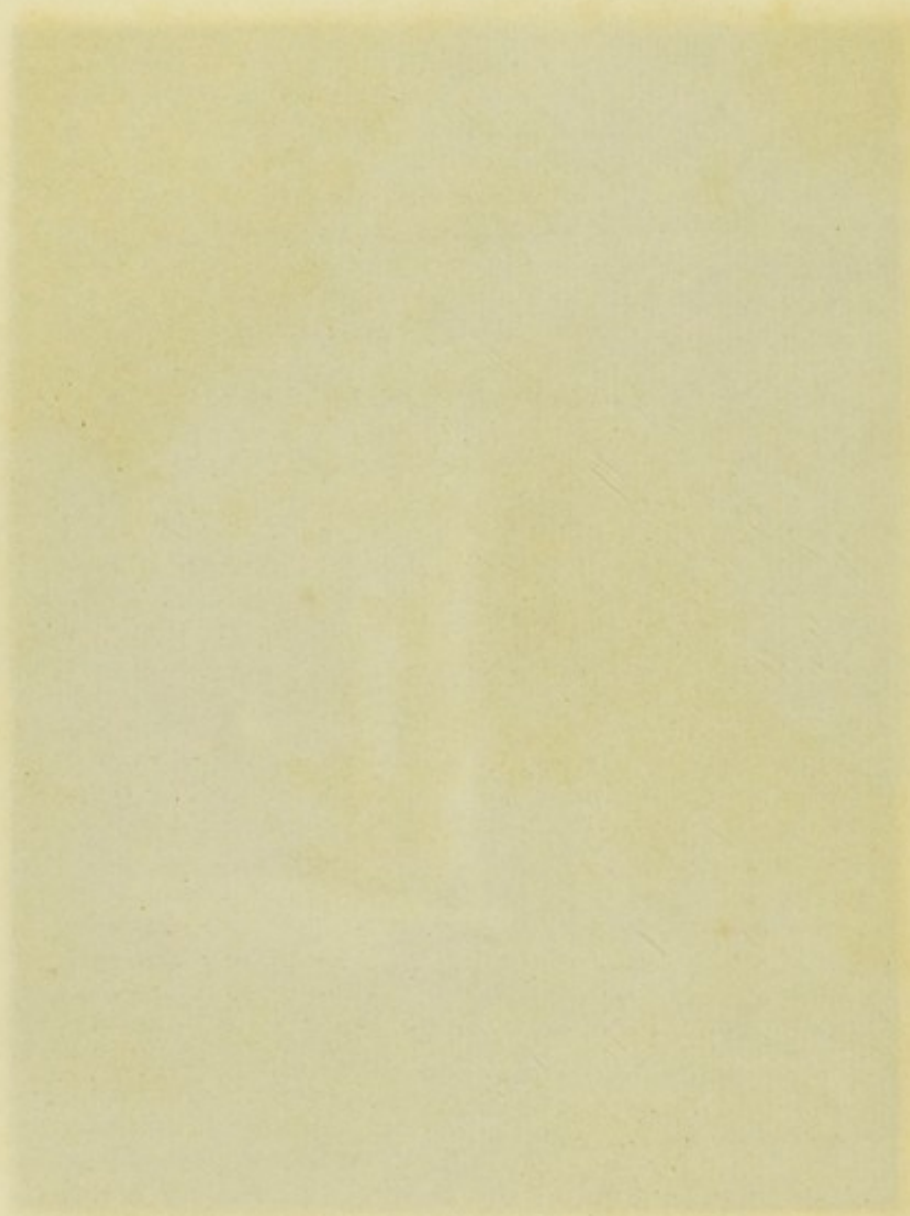


W. TIPPING.

ENTRANCE

TO THE VAULT BENEATH THE MOSK EL AKSA.

HOULETON AND STONEMAN, LONDON.



ON THE
PERSONAL CHARACTER AND CREDIBILITY
OF
JOSEPHUS.

THE historic authority and trustworthiness of Josephus, and his personal reputation, have furnished a subject, at different times, for vehement and acrimonious controversies. In fact, no ancient writer can be named who has been, at once, so hotly assailed, and so fondly defended; and it has become manifest that motives, taking their rise from a reference to the ulterior consequences, real or imaginary, of the argument, while they have sharpened the animosity of these attacks, have too much influenced the mode of defence.

But all such influences, whether affecting the one side of this controversy or the other, belong to a state of opinion on historical questions which has passed away; for, at the present moment, no well-informed writer, taking the *religious* side of the argument, would think of defending the Jewish historian, or of vouching for his affirmations, in the manner which once was deemed to be incumbent upon the champions of Belief. Nor, on the other side, would any judicious assailant of his reputation risk—or indeed give himself the bootless trouble to maintain—those vague and sweeping criminations which, in preceding times, have been advanced against him. That revulsion toward the past which is so remarkable a characteristic of the present age, that eager, industrious, and intelligent curiosity in relation to the several eras of history, ancient and modern, national and universal, which distinguishes the present period, has brought with it, if not more of solid erudition, yet certainly far more of the genuine scientific temper, a far sounder and more efficient criticism, and incomparably more of intellectual independence, and of freedom from the trammels of superstition and prejudice, than could be challenged for any period whatever in the history of literature, anterior to the present century.

To these significant facts the Translator of Josephus wishes to direct the attention of the reader, now at the moment when he enters upon the task before him. It is his wish to give Josephus anew to English

literature, in the spirit of modern—he should say of *recent*, historical science; bringing to bear upon pages which in themselves are so important, every available means of elucidation, not only with due industry, but in a temper free from solitudes, from predilections, and from party impulses. There may possibly be those who would gladly detract from the merit of the Jewish historian, and even seek to annihilate his reputation, prompted by the sinister hope that, while so employed, they should undermine the Christian Evidences. Let such persons, if such there be, pursue their work! all they will effect will be to furnish some undesigned and incidental contribution, confirmatory of that evidence. On the other side, there may be good men, who would perhaps tremble when Josephus is assailed, imagining that Christianity must be put in peril, should a breach be made in this outwork. With fears of this sort the Translator has no sympathy.

In bringing, as it will be his duty to bring, various passages to the test of modern criticism, and in dealing with the affirmations of his author by the aid of palpable proofs, such as are so amply furnished by recent researches in Palestine, he hopes to perform his part with an equanimity as entire as if the writings of Josephus did not stand related, even in the most remote manner, to the documents of our faith as Christians. For, if it be true that the testimony of Josephus is indeed available in corroboration of that faith, it can be so only when it is adduced in a spirit of fearless integrity. Or, if it be not so available, those who well know on what ground they accept the Gospel as true, will see any such imagined advantage torn away from the mass of evidence, without regret or apprehension.

Until of late, religious belief was in peril chiefly from the assaults of scepticism; but it is now in peril chiefly, and to a far greater extent, from the silent encroachments of mysticism. No one who is well informed as to the state of opinion at this moment, throughout the circle of lettered Europe, will call this affirmation in question. But mysticism, whether its guise be that of devotion, or that of philosophy, is the carrying a theory—a fond surmise, over ground that has already been occupied by actual facts, or by authentic evidence. Now, when any species of theoretic mystification is attempted to be set forward within the province of science, the proper remedy is found in an application of the well-tried apparatus of the inductive logic. But when the same sort of inroad is made upon the territory of history, when, for instance, either the myth of superstition, or the myth of atheism, is obtruded upon a region which genuine history rightfully claims as its own, the method of relief proper for the occasion is furnished by a renewed diligence in bringing forward those multifarious and palpable documents to which history loves to make its appeal. It is, therefore, precisely in this view that a serious importance attaches to any inquiries touching the credibility of the Jewish historian at the present moment. For is it not a fact that the hand of Josephus carries a torch, up and down—this way and that—within doors and without, shedding a glare of historie

light, incidentally, and as by accident, upon a field, and upon objects, upon persons, and upon events, which the mystics of atheism are by all means endeavouring to shroud in gloom, so that they may find a fit place whereon to lodge their vague theory—a theory designed and intended, not, indeed, to *refute* Christianity, which cannot be done, but to smother it!

To establish, therefore—and this may beyond doubt be done—the reality of whatever constitutes the historical material of the Christian epoch, is effectively to exclude that vague scheme which can erect itself only upon spaces that are void and dark. This however is a topic to which we must for a moment revert toward the close of the present essay.

We proceed, then, to form an estimate of the personal character of Josephus, with the further intention of founding upon that estimate another, as to the degree in which he should command our confidence when he comes forward as the historian of his country's last struggles and fall. With this view we naturally look, in the first instance, to that "Life of himself" which he has put into our hands; a production, in several respects, unmatched among the literary remains of antiquity; for no other piece of autobiography has been preserved with which, altogether, this may be compared. By its individuality and minuteness of detail it seems to associate itself rather with modern, than with ancient writings—one characteristic excepted, which the reader will not fail to notice; namely, the writer's unconscious simplicity in commending himself. On this ground, however, he by no means exceeds the limits that were customarily indulged to the egotism of public men in ancient times. That refinement of feeling, and personal modesty which Christianity at first generated, and which it has diffused, imposes restraints upon the impulses of self-love, unthought of in the ancient world; nor is Josephus to be individually blamed in this behalf; or if blamed, how amply might he excuse himself by instances cited from the Orations and Epistles of Cicero!

From this piece of autobiography, considered in connexion with many passages scattered through his works, an opinion may safely be formed of the man—an opinion accordant, we must at once say, neither with the judgment passed upon him by his detractors; nor with the overwrought eulogiums of his apologists. As to specific instances of alleged falsification, the Translator is persuaded that a temperate examination of the cases will reduce these supposed proofs of prevarication, or of culpable error, within very narrow limits. It should be remembered that, as the composition and publication of his several works occupied those many years of leisure and security which Josephus passed at Rome; and as this tranquil period of learned ease afforded him sufficient opportunity for carrying forward a careful revision of whatever he had given to the public, and which he believed himself, and not fallaciously, to be consigning to the perusal of future ages, the very existence of the discrepancies now referred to, furnishes an evidence of that sort of ingenuous confidence in the *substantial correctness* of his works, which is natural, where it may properly be felt. This is certain, that Josephus did not think it necessary to employ, either himself, or his literary assistants,

of whom he had several at command, in removing from his pages these blemishes, which he would have done, had he felt that they might lead to a detection of still more capital errors. It is an admitted principle in historical criticism, that a moderate amount of oversights and discordances tends more to confirm the general credit of an historian, than it does to disparage his authority. Such flaws, incident as they are to whatever is human, exclude the supposition that any elaborate fraud has been attempted.

Besides making an equitable allowance for such involuntary hallucinations of the memory, as all men are liable to, and especially those who have spent years amid the tumultuous events of civil war and national overthrow, it should never be forgotten by the reader of history that, when a writer is mentioning circumstances wherein himself was concerned, the particular fact, a knowledge of which would at once reconcile two apparently discordant accounts, being vividly present to his own mind, although it may not be named by him, prevents his becoming himself conscious of the seeming disagreement. This connecting fact—this explanatory circumstance, being recollected, but not specified—he might peruse the two narratives without adverting to that obvious difference which so much alarms the suspicions of his readers. Every one accustomed to literary composition will be able to recall instances that might serve to illustrate this mental fact. How often do a writer's friends or his critics, point out apparent inconsistencies which would never have appeared as such to himself, even in the most scrupulous revision of his works ! The connecting link, or the reconciling fact, which has always been present in his own view, has not been offered to the eye of the reader. As to discordant statements on points of detail, such as the number of troops present in a battle ; or the number of the slain, or of prisoners ; and many similar matters, nothing surely can be more captious or inconclusive than the endeavour to bring them forward as proofs of a writer's want of veracity. Ancient history—and modern history too, abounds with such instances, and some of them altogether inexplicable : many are no doubt attributable to the corruption of manuscripts—a circumstance so frequent in numerals : many to the ambiguity of memoranda made in extreme haste ; and many, as we have already said, to the simple omission of some explanatory statement.

More serious instances of discordancy, when such occur in the works of our author, will be duly noticed in the proper places. But, if we are speaking of these cases in the mass, the Translator holds himself free to disregard them altogether, if they were supposed materially to affect the estimate that should be formed of the veracity and accuracy of the Jewish historian. Such an estimate may, with more certainty, and in a manner more accordant with philosophical views of human nature, be formed on the ground of that broad impression of himself, and of his dispositions, and temperament, and of his adopted principles of action, which Josephus has left for our inspection in his writings. This portraiture of the author—this autobiography which, by means of a general induction, we gather from

his entire works, as well as from his "Life," it seems proper to prefix to that singular composition; especially as it may serve to supersede what otherwise might be requisite to be advanced, when some special question turns upon the opinion that is entertained of our author's personal character.

—The personal character of Josephus may be regarded as an historical enigma; and it is one of somewhat difficult solution. No writer of credit has ventured to call in question his eminent ability, either as a public person, or as a writer; and if, in estimating his merit as a learned and literary man, we duly consider the disadvantages attaching to his Jewish education, and the tumultuous circumstances of his early life, we shall scarcely be able to refuse him a first place among the highly cultured minds of his own times. His personal story, moreover, even if interpreted on the severest principles, exhibits him as a leader of consummate address, and of inexhaustible resources, of much promptitude in action, and prudence in council; and who, even if he failed in his conception of the nobler qualities of human nature, understood it perfectly as it is more ordinarily exhibited on the theatre of real life; and well did he know how to avail himself of those fitful impulses which sway the multitude. To the passions, to the national prejudices, and to the sordid motives of the crowd, he appealed, on critical and sudden occasions, with confidence, and with uniform success. Amid the tempests of civil confusion and rebellion, he steered his personal course safely; and when at last he was thrown utterly helpless, as it seemed, upon the rocks, even then his singular address and presence of mind carried him forward, from a position the most desperate, into the very bosom of imperial favour, where, notwithstanding the inexorable hatred of his compatriots, and the jealousy of courtiers, he continued to repose, to his life's end. To have enjoyed and retained the favour of *one* Despot, and to fall only with his patron, is a task that has been achieved by few among the frequenters of courts; but our Josephus won for himself, and survived, the smiles of three! The tranquillity and affluence thus earned by his personal ability, his suppleness, and his excellent tact, he employed in labours which have secured for him a fame as lasting, if not as bright, as that of the greatest names, and which at present is less likely than ever to fall into oblivion.

Thus far there can scarcely be room for a question. In the Jewish historian we are presented with one who, had it been his lot to start from a position of less disadvantage, and to travel forward always upon the high course of Roman ascendancy, instead of being compelled to make a desperate leap, and to ascend the stream against the current, would probably have stood foremost among the haughty rulers of the world. But in attempting to pass on beyond this point, where all opinions, nearly, are agreed, difficulties, apparently insuperable, attend us. Character, whether intellectual or moral, is to be estimated, not in the abstract, but by the aid of some comparison, explicit or implied, with individuals of that class to which the

one in question obviously belongs. But, we must ask, to what class does Josephus belong, and with whom might we attempt to compare him? Like his nation among the nations, so he, in the midst of the great convention of illustrious men, of his own, or of other times, stands apart. Nay, and this is the very edge of our perplexity, he stands severed even from his own people! Is he a Grecian? but yet he is no Greek: he is of the Roman state; but yet he is no Roman: he is a philosopher; but he belongs to no school; and even though he be a Jew, he is not of the Jews; for by them he is repudiated with the liveliest resentment; while by himself they are treated with a calm pity, almost as if he were giving the history of a race extinct!

Philosophic candour always demands that, in forming our opinion of distinguished individuals, and especially of those who have acted a part in any *crisis* of human affairs, we should grant them a large measure of indulgence in behalf of those faults or errors which attached to their very qualification for the particular function assigned to them in the great machinery of the social system. There may have been points of harshness in the temper, or incongruities of principle, the effects of which run through the whole of the course they were destined to pursue. Let it then be granted that our Josephus is far from being such as we should wish to find him, either as a Chief of the Jewish people, as a public man and patriot; or as a Priest and a Teacher of the Mosaic and Rabbinical institutes. Nevertheless his very deficiencies, in these same respects, were what made it *possible* for him to act a part which no Jewish chief, formed on the model of the Maccabeus, could ever have sustained, and which no genuine Pharisee and Rabbi could have fulfilled;—a part too, which was in the same degree unapproachable by any gentile-born statesman, philosopher, or writer.

The very first act of Josephus' individual course furnishes a striking indication of the rule which was to prevail throughout it, and which was to make him at once the creature and the instrument of a new era. This act must be regarded as thoroughly *unnational*; even if it were not at that time unprecedented; it was european, rather than oriental: it was Hellenic, not Jewish. At the very earliest age at which Jewish usages allowed any spontaneous part to be adopted, he, as he tells us, looked around him upon the sects and factions of his times; and he seems to have done so with a philosophic supercilious independence; for, instead of surrendering himself to the control of family connexions, or of parental influence, he sets himself to explore the several modes of national opinion, and after making a full trial of each, to select his party. Choose he must among the actual factions around him; for no one could then take a part in the movements of public life, while occupying the insulated ground of philosophic indifference; and yet, in deciding to call himself a Pharisee, he manifestly reserved to himself the liberty of being such only to the extent that might be necessary to secure his objects in making the profession. A Pharisee,

indeed, was Josephus! but his Pharisaism, we may conjecture, was not much deeper than the thickness of his phylactery!

Judaism is, in its nature, dogmatic, and absolute; and although, after the splitting of the nation into sects and parties, every Jew was, in a certain sense, called upon to make his choice among the rival factions; yet, so long as he adhered to the *spirit* of the national institute, he did so, not as a philosopher; but as a proselyte:—he did so, not because such or such a scheme might be, on the whole, preferable to its rivals; but rather on the categorical assumption that *this one scheme* was Truth itself, embodied and entire! Josephus, as a Pharisee, borrowed from this, the more fanatical party, the great advantage of professing a higher intensity of purpose, as well as that of enjoying far more credit and influence among the people, than any other could boast. Nor could the negative properties of the Sadducean creed have contented a mind so excursive as his; and it was to supply himself with what his intellect, rather than his heart demanded, that he drew to himself—not indeed those vital elements of piety which animate the pages of David and the Prophets; but those jejune speculations concerning a future life with which the followers of Plato, in that age, were wont to amuse their leisure.

The unconfessed object of our author's writings seems to have been to break down, if possible, the wall of partition that had hitherto secluded the Hebrew race from the communion, and cut them off from the sympathies of mankind. Josephus had witnessed the perdition of his people as a nation, if not as a race; and, from a motive, surely not a discreditable motive, he sought to obtain for the defunct body—what else than defunct did it then appear? at least an honourable burial in the cemetery of the nations. Crushed and breathless as was the Jewish body politic, he would not see it cast forth, as if unworthy of a place in the commonwealth of the human race, and on the page of history. With this view, and even if it were mistaken, it was nevertheless praiseworthy, we find him labouring in every page to transmute the intractable Judaism into a something which Greeks and Romans—philosophers and statesmen, might in some degree comprehend, and perhaps admire. Too faintly conscious, as he appears to have been, of that which constituted the true and unalienable glory of the Hebrew family, he sedulously strives, even by the aid of feeble compromises, to win for it a praise to which it had few claims, that of being a nation of heroes and of sages!

For the achievement of such a task, could it indeed have been achieved, Josephus was qualified by the secularity of his own dispositions, by the amalgamation of his habits of thought with those of both Greeks and Romans, by the shallowness of his belief, as a Jew, and by his consequent freedom from the trammels of any one doctrine properly dogmatic, or peremptory. It is true that, on frequent occasions, he expresses his reliance upon the divine aid, as well as his belief in a special providence; nor ought we to doubt, altogether, the sincerity of such professions;

and yet, on this ground, he takes a position not far in advance, theologically, of that occupied by several pagan writers of the same period. If, in respect of religious belief, a comparison were instituted between Josephus and his learned and estimable contemporary, Plutarch, it is not certain that it would turn greatly to the advantage of the one whose means of "coming to the knowledge of the truth," had immensely surpassed those enjoyed by the other. The Bœotian moralist—if indeed he can fairly be classed among polytheists, merely because his lot was cast among the temples, the statues, the altars, and the worship, of gods and goddesses—yet leaned, both in sentiment and principle, as far toward the side of Great Truths as his position allowed him to do; and it were an injustice to confound such a man, either with the atheistic Lucretius, or with the sensuous Epicurus, or with the sarcastic Lucian, to whom all truth was a fable; or with the cold sophists of the Porch. Plutarch, as he stood related to the system under which he lived, and to the modes of thinking by which he had ever been surrounded, was a *religious man*. But our Josephus, when thus considered—relatively to the tone and principles of the community in the bosom of which he had been nurtured, cannot be so designated, except in the lowest sense. The absolute religious difference between the two men might perhaps scarcely have been appreciable: or it might have seemed that the two were moving on the same level of theosophic belief and feeling; but in fact, the one had reached that same level by climbing an arduous path from beneath; the other, by an easy descent from a loftier region. Plutarch had freed himself from false dogmas, by the meditation of abstract truth: Josephus had almost relinquished his hold of dogmatic truth, adopting in its stead, a system of vague abstractions:—the two minds, if meeting at the same centre, were proceeding in opposite directions.

Besides, while Plutarch appears before us in the natural guise of a philosopher, conversant indeed with the world, but not deeply implicated in its errors, Josephus stands forward as a man of the world, well enough acquainted with philosophy, and with the conventional phrases of lofty principle, to bring his personal conduct within the jurisdiction of a higher tribunal than that of secular morality. The one had no motive whatever for seeming to be less religious than in reality he was; the other would by no means wish to stand condemned by his Gentile reader, as if infected with the seriousness and fanaticism of his nation. Far more careful not to offend, than anxious to convert his polite polytheistic readers, he avows just so much religious truth as might be smoothly conveyed in the then customary language of learned discourse.

A broad intention, not unworthy, and a principle, if not lofty, yet not base, may, nevertheless, be assigned to the Jewish writer. He was a Jew so far as not to deny the verities that had been consigned to the custody of his nation; and yet, we must think it, he was profoundly affected by none of them. He was not an apostate from Judaism; for he made himself spontaneously its apologist; and, unless we allow him the praise of sincerity, it

will be impossible to discover any motive which should have impelled him to spend the latter years of his life in the irksome toil of exhibiting Judaism to Gentilism, in fair colours ; for this, in fact, is the one reason, and the end of his voluminous writings ! In looking toward the overthrown greatness of his country—and he did so mournfully, he would fain have shed upon its desolations a last beam of glory. His error—an error, but not a crime, was, that he laboured to concentrate upon those ruins the light of this world—the fitful beams of secular renown ; instead of admitting the steady radiance of that fiery pillar which Heaven itself had made so long to rest over the only spot on earth where God was wont to speak with man.

It would, however, be an injustice to our author not here to make a reference to those instances, and they are more than a very few, in which he expresses ingenuously, if not warmly, his religious opinions—careful always to grant to his reader ample room for entertaining looser notions. Of such instances it may be enough to cite one example : “ Those,” writes our author, “ who peruse the prophecies of Daniel, and consider the events, while they wonder at the honour he received from God, discover from those occurrences the error of the Epicureans, who discard a Providence from human life, and deem not that God regulates its concerns, or that all things are governed by a blessed and immortal Being for the general preservation ; asserting that, bereft of guide and guardian, the world is borne along spontaneously : which, were it in this manner without a leader, would—as we see ships, destitute of pilots, foundering beneath the winds ; or chariots, having no conductors, overturned—be dashed to pieces through this blind fortuitous motion, and utterly destroyed. Accordingly, as regards the events foretold by Daniel, those seem to me widely to err from the truth who declare that God exercises no providential superintendence over human affairs : for, were it the case that the world is led on by some spontaneous impulse, we should not see every thing taking place according to that prophet’s prediction. For me, indeed, as I have found and read touching these particulars, so have I written ; but should any one be disposed to think otherwise concerning them, he may hold, unquestioned, the opposite opinion.”—ANTIQUITIES, x. xi.

Our Josephus must also, we think, be allowed the praise of having discerned, more or less distinctly, the great principle of religious toleration, to which indeed he himself adhered, when urged to adopt a contrary line of conduct by the fanatical rancour of his countrymen. “ Every one,” says he, “ should be permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.” Now, in professing among his countrymen, and in *recording* in his works, an opinion such as this, Josephus cannot be suspected of aiming to win the praise of his philosophic *Gentile* readers, by a show of liberality which *they* were likely to admire ; for in fact ancient philosophy knew of no such liberality ; nor was at all conscious of intolerance, as an evil. Philosophers, externally conforming to the rites of their country, without scruple or repugnance, encountered no rebuke from others, while themselves

following the wildest speculations in theology or morals. Nor did they imagine that, to the mass of mankind, liberty of worship and belief, or the permission to worship God otherwise than the state prescribed, could ever seem a privilege to be desired; much less contended for, at the risk of life itself.

But the Jews, under the tyranny of their ferocious oppressors, the Syrian princes, had learned, beneath the severest discipline, to think of liberty of worship as a right, or as a good, more important than life itself. They, indeed—and Christians became their pupils and their successors in this respect, were the only people on earth in whose view religious truth was seriously important; the Jews were the only people who had “a conscience toward God;” inasmuch as they alone knew the one living and true God, the Father of spirits, and Ruler of the moral system. To the nations around, religion was either a local belief and a usage; or a vague speculation:—it was either superstition, or it was intellectualism. Religion belonged to men; not to man. But with the Jew, individually, it was a personal concernment; and sacred truth was a sacred trust, which he could neither compromise, nor betray. It is this very feeling which gives depth and animation to virtue: destitute of it, not only a man can never suffer as a martyr; but neither is he prepared to respect the religious convictions of others; or even to comprehend the strange phenomenon of death or torture endured purely for the truth’s sake. More than a few of the Roman magistrates, in the times of persecution, were men of humane temper, and they anxiously sought for evasions which might relieve them from the sad necessity of executing the imperial edicts. Yet it does not appear that any one of them discerned, even dimly, that first principle of virtue which brings *truth* into contact with the *conscience*; or understood the folly and enormity of the endeavour to vanquish the souls of men by torments.

Josephus, although not himself the man to suffer for religion, had learned, and certainly he had not learned it in the perusal of Grecian literature, to recognise the constancy of faith as highly virtuous and reasonable; and therefore he felt it to be right to use his endeavours to screen others from the too severe trial of their principles. Inasmuch as he was far less fervent (as well as less fanatical) than the generality of his countrymen, he the more calmly considered, and put in practice, the axiom, That the duty of adhering to religious truth, implies, correlatively, the duty of allowing other men to do so, unharmed. He had gathered this just inference from the story of the Maccabæan struggle; it had become with him a principle of action; and he deserves praise, both as having attained this truth seventeen hundred years earlier than the period of its general recognition; and as having clearly professed, and boldly maintained it.

So far as the Personal Narrative now before us furnishes the means of judging equitably the public conduct of Josephus, it will lead us to conclude that, if he cannot be allowed to take rank among great men, or self-renouncing patriots, he is yet entitled to the praise of having employed himself

with energy, as well as with ability, in the endeavour to govern a popular movement which he could not stem ; and, if so much had been possible, to bring his infatuated countrymen into a position whence they might have effected some compromise with the overwhelming power of Rome, and so have evaded an unconditional and hopeless subjugation. An impulse of public spirit, and be it, of ambition, had prompted him early to attempt the release of some of his countrymen, then prisoners at Rome. Successful in this first essay of diplomacy, he returned to Jerusalem, entitled to the gratitude and confidence of the people and their rulers ; and therefore already occupying an advantageous position in relation to public interests. But at this very moment a deep agitation, that had been long pent-up, was reaching the surface, which everywhere heaved, and threatened national ruin. With either the moral impulses, or the religious sentiment of this agitation, Josephus seems to have had little sympathy. He coolly regarded the threatened insurrection on grounds of political and military calculation. Such was the habit of his mind ; and his works demonstrate that, in a degree extremely rare among his countrymen, perhaps among any of the conquered nations, he was competent to estimate the comparative omnipotence of Rome—to measure, with the grasp of a statesman, the forces of the empire—to discern the reasons, causes, and consistency of its power ; and to forecast the consequence of resistance, if attempted by a people so inconsiderable as the Jews. The whole tenor of his narrative, and the history of the war, demonstrates that, from the first moment, he clearly anticipated the event of the frantic effort of his nation to shake off the yoke of Rome. He well knew that, whatever momentary successes might attend the early outburst of popular feeling ; or even although entire legions might share the fate of Cestius and his army, the noise of such a disaster, ringing through the world, would only serve as a trumpet-call, bringing upon the devoted province a delayed, but a tenfold desolation.

Entertaining these views, and it is certain that he did so, several courses were before him : not indeed that of mastering the fiery spirits of the agitators—call them patriots, or call them fanatics, who promoted the revolt ; for, whatever might be his talents, he wanted the qualification for a task so difficult as this ; he wanted depth of soul, he wanted a genuine sympathy with the national sentiment. But he might, especially with the advantage of the favour he had already won in the palace of Nero, have seized so fine an occasion for recommending himself at Rome, by offering his valuable services in the work of circumventing and betraying his deluded countrymen. This part, and let us not forget it, Josephus did not take ; and his not having taken it, under all the circumstances, fairly entitles him to the reputation of an honest man ; even if not to that of a devoted patriot ; and it should be held as furnishing a sufficient reply to the grievous charges brought against him by some modern writers. Josephus, although not a man of exalted virtue, was not a traitor.

Had he indeed been less restrained than he was by cool prudence, he

might have tried the experiment of a revolt, at this moment, when so dark a cloud rested upon the affairs of the empire—a cloud which chilled the soul of its master—ἐκπληξίς ἐμπίπτει καὶ δῖος. For who could divine what might be the consequences, or the extent of such a rising in the heart of the then impatient East? But the difficult path actually chosen by Josephus took its course between left-hand and right-hand ways. He would not betray his country, even though it were to save it: nor could he dare its rescue at the utmost risk. He hoped, however, that, by acquiring power, and by bringing some portion of the forces of the country under his personal and independent control, and by establishing, in Galilee, at a distance from Jerusalem, a power competent to check or overawe that violence of which the Holy City was the focus, he might, at least, win delay; and perhaps even acquire the means of compromising rebellion.

This we believe to be the true explication of the public course pursued by Josephus. The very nature of the case forbad the success of his endeavours; and being unsuccessful, he was irresistibly driven forward, far beyond the point to which he would freely have advanced. He headed revolt against Rome only when pushed onwards by the force he had hoped to manage; and at last, falling helpless into the terrible grasp of the masters of the world, he would have been crushed, had not his singular address and presence of mind opened a way of escape. Having in the end rescued his personal welfare and fortunes, he appears still to have used such influence as remained to him—and it must have been then very little, in the attempt to convince his countrymen of the madness of their resistance, and to dispel the illusions which hid from their eyes the approaching calamities they so soon actually endured.

The tone and tenor of the writings of Josephus, from the first page to the last, are in harmony with such an explication of his personal and public character and conduct. Although these writings be not Jewish, in an absolute sense; yet neither are they those of a renegade, or an apostate. Everywhere they bespeak the temper and views of a man, not pure in principle, but not sordid: not indeed powerfully conscious of serious truth; and yet sincerely holding his belief, so far as positive belief could root itself in a mind like his. Not the Maccabæus, or the martyr; and yet willing and ready to take in hand whatever might safely be attempted, with the hope of serving and saving his country, and of recommending its institutions to the good opinion of mankind; or at least desiring to screen his people from the contempt and hatred which met them, as a scourge, in every city of the empire.

This praiseworthy endeavour may very fairly be assigned as the main intention of the "Antiquities," and of the learned and able Books "against Apion." Throughout the Roman world, the Jew had not merely become the object of distrust and aversion; but he was altogether *misunderstood*. The just titles of this people to the respect of mankind were not admitted or apprehended, even by the best informed persons; and instead

of the unquestionable historic documents, by means of which this race could trace its history, far up beyond that belt of fables which separated other nations from the early times of their corporate existence, instead of the high truths embodied in this genuine history, the most absurd suppositions, as to their origin, had been blindly accepted, and were carelessly repeated, even by the most candid and learned of the gentile writers; while the grossest slanders, as to their worship and customs, were on the lips of the vulgar. Distinguished as they were from the mass of men in almost every possible respect, so in this, that the very name—Jew, had come to stand as the symbol of the most inequitable judgment which the consent of mankind has ever, or at that time had ever, sanctioned.

Josephus, at once by his extensive acquaintance with the world, and by his ample knowledge of Grecian history and literature, had become qualified to feel, and to feel in its utmost force, the extreme injustice of that sentence of contempt and hatred under which his nation writhed. If they—the mass of them, inly burned with a sullen resentment of so much injury—an injury which they exaggerated, in one sense, and underrated in another; he, far better informed, measured the length and breadth of the wrong; and he perceived moreover the means of repelling it by positive evidence. Like an accomplished advocate, therefore, he gathered up his documents, disposed them in the best order, and addressed himself to the worthy task of pleading the cause of the injured Jew, at the bar of the world.

The writings of Josephus, taken as a whole, are not intelligible, nor is the general purport of them rationally explicable, on any supposition materially differing, we think, from the one we here advance. But if this supposition be, in the main, correct, then the eager endeavour which has been made, and so often renewed, to throw discredit upon them, as if the author had been the enemy of his people, and their slanderer, can by no means be allowed: it must be reprobated as unjust; and yet it is not more unjust than absurd.

By the events of the war, Josephus had been, for a time, disjointed from his stock; but if, in resentment, he had entertained the feelings, and had harboured the vindictive designs of an enemy—of a public accuser, of a traitor, his writings must have borne altogether another character; and, whatever ability they might have displayed, they would have been such as to ensure a well merited oblivion for themselves, and him, within a century. Traitorous calumnies embrace—it is well that they do so—far too much of the elements of putrefaction to allow of their long continuance. Genius may indeed perpetuate absurd fables; but even genius cannot immortalize malignant falsehoods.

Had Josephus written with the purpose of avenging himself upon his nation, would he, we boldly ask, have troubled himself to compose the "Antiquities," or the Books "against Apion;" or "the Jewish War" itself? The supposition is palpably absurd; nor can it be entertained except under the influence of the most determined prejudices. As well affirm

that the intention of Livy was to hold up the Roman Commonwealth to the contempt of posterity ! It is altogether another question whether our author adopted the best, and indeed the only effectual line of defence for his nation. In the choice of the course he pursued, it must be granted, that he yielded to motives that were more secular than religious ; that is to say, to such motives as were obvious to a cultured and politic man of the world. Nevertheless, and right or wrong in his mode of doing so, he did stand forward as the advocate of Judaism and of the Jew ; and he undertook this championship, moreover, under circumstances strongly tempting him to act another part ; or at least to forget his country, and his people, and to merge himself in gentilism. The actual presence of these motives—which he repelled ; irrefragably demonstrates the existence in his bosom of a positive, if not of an exalted regard to truth, and of a genuine, although not of a purely virtuous patriotism. We therefore dismiss, as wholly incompatible with the broad facts of the case, those imputations which would arraign Josephus, and impugn his testimony as if he had been the traitor, the apostate, the calumniator ; and a liar “ by necessity of his position.”* Such imputations, glaringly inconsistent as they are with the tenor of his other writings, receive no solid support from the terms or style of the History of the Jewish War.

The *exterior* circumstances of that desperate struggle with the military omnipotence of the empire, as these are reported by other contemporary writers, and attested by existing monuments, oblige us to suppose the existence, at that time, among the Jewish people, of an infatuation which must have reached the borders of insanity. Josephus affirms this necessary fact ; nor does his narrative imply more than this. In all his allusions to the conduct of the Jews, during the insurrection, he adheres to the very same allegation of a frenzy, impelling them onward in a course of conduct which could issue only in their utter ruin. To some indeed of the first movers of revolt he attributes the worst motives of personal ambition ; nor is such an imputation in itself improbable. Every history of insurrectionary or civil war exhibits facts of this complexion, and shows the mischievous operation of such motives in aggravating the deep and well-founded resentments of an oppressed people. That there were men of this stamp among the Jews, at such a season, is to be assumed as certain.

As to the appalling enormities and horrors related by Josephus in his narrative of the siege, it is futile to object that he could not have become informed of them ; for unquestionably, and so it appears from the History, and the Life, he subsequently held intercourse with many of the captive survivors ; and must have heard the same details from different lips. Or, if we were to consider merely the intrinsic probability of these dark incidents, they do not at all surpass what must be imagined as the inevitable consequences of the circumstances of the besieged multitude.

* De l'Autorité Historique de Flavius-Josèphe. Par Philarète Chasles. A recent pamphlet, indicating some ability, with an extreme degree of ill feeling, prompted, one would think, by some unconfessed motive.

What were the facts? A vast assemblage of persons, who had flocked wildly from remote quarters, and were impelled by opposite motives and interests—some in quest of sordid advantages, or eager for spoil—more than a few long trained to subsist by rapine and violence; and the mass, amounting to many thousands, having their imaginations heated by an instant expectation of some interposition of divine power, for the deliverance of the city and temple of God. Moreover, the city, at the time when it was invested by the Romans, contained within its narrow limits the chiefs and armed partizans of several political factions, burning with the most rancorous hatred, one of the other! This dense mass of angry elements was pent-up, week after week, while famine maddened even the most passive natures. No story of horrors can be regarded as improbable, in such a case; and those which Josephus actually adduces, frightful as they are, fall within the well-known limits of what human nature may do and suffer, when fiercely incited by passion, and when tortured by desperate privations. He has erred, we grant, in some of the particulars he mentions, and he may, it is probable, have been misled by some of his informants; but his history of the siege of Jerusalem, as it is one of the most intensely-affecting narratives of national woe which has come down from remote ages, so is it recommended to our convictions as true, by its verisimilitude, by its internal coherence, and by its sad consistency with the darker ingredients of human nature.

But it has been affirmed, and recently with renewed eagerness, that Josephus, incited by corrupt motives, has composed a history intended only, and at the cost of his countrymen, to flatter his patrons, the Roman emperors, and people. That he speaks favourably of the princes by whom he had been protected—especially of Vespasian and Titus, is certain; nor was it a crime to do so; and yet in these commendations he does not go beyond other writers of the same period. He mentions the imperial persons respectfully and gratefully; but with no lengthened or elaborate eulogiums. Bring together every passage in which our author names his imperial friends, and then compare this mass with the Panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny the younger! Had the alleged intention to flatter his masters really occupied a prominent place in the mind of the Jewish historian, it is certain that it must have made itself apparent in some more conspicuous manner, and in instances more frequent.

As to any deliberate intention of winning favour with the Roman people by systematic falsehoods, gratifying to their vanity, an egregious misapprehension of the facts is involved in any such allegation; and it is strange that men of learning should ever have advanced it. For in the first place, as to the *fact* of such flattery, we ask that the instances may be cited. Josephus speaks—and he speaks with admirable discrimination, of the Roman military tactics, of the vast resources of the empire, and of those principles of polity which everywhere secured the successes of the Roman arms. But in handling these subjects his manner does not differ in any remarkable degree,

from that which was customary with the writers with whom he may properly be compared. Collate Josephus with Polybius, with Dion Cassius, with Ammianus Marcellinus, with Plutarch, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with Procopius (not to include the *Roman* historians, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius) and we affirm, that it will not be found possible to sustain such an imputation by any distinct or conclusive evidence. The style of Josephus is not to be distinguished, in this respect, from that of others who narrate the progress and triumphs of the Roman greatness, during the same period.

But this charge involves still greater misapprehensions of historic truth. The empire, at this epoch, had long ceased to be a compact republic, governed from within the city walls, and warmed by the throbs of one heart, and susceptible of instantaneous emotions, and capable of individual acts. Beneath the sway of the emperors it had become a vast aggregate of parts, utterly incongruous, and not very closely cemented. Although still irresistible at any given point toward which its concentrated forces should be directed, the empire was but feebly pervaded—if pervaded at all, by any one sentiment, or by any sense of a community of interests. The provinces looked with dread toward Rome; or rather toward the flitting camp of the Master of the Roman legions for the time present: but did they fondly regard Rome as their metropolis, or Italy as their mother country? It was far otherwise. No feeling similar to that which had formerly connected the Greek colonies with Greece, existed as a bond of union between Rome and the conquered countries.

And as to Rome itself, in the age of which we are speaking, it was then neither the head, nor the heart of the empire; but rather the great focus of all antipathies, the forced combination of wills and interests essentially opposed. Or, if we might advance a step further on authority so unimpeachable as that of Tacitus, we should be justified in designating Rome as the common sink of the empire—a receptacle of whatever was most offensive in all the world: the imperial city was the place—quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Where was then this Rome, or this Roman people, that was to be flattered? Not in Rome itself;—the concourse of the world's anomalies and discords. Not in the provinces, throughout which a sullen hatred of her rule was cherished.

A writer might reside at Rome; but what did this imply, if he understood and employed the Greek language—the language of the *conquered* civilized world? This was not the language of any who might be imagined still to harbour some emotions of the ancient patriotism; or of those whose bosoms might yet heave, and whose cheeks might burn, at the sound of the hero-names—Coriolanus, Scipio, Cato, Brutus! Nineteen out of twenty, or probably a much larger proportion of the contemporary readers of “the Jewish War” were conscious of no pleasurable emotions whatever, connected with the triumphs of Rome; but the contrary, and the multitude of all classes would, no doubt, have relished the instances of its disgraces, much rather than have prided themselves in its glories!

Those must totally misapprehend the facts and circumstances of the time, who imagine that a voluminous and elaborate national history, composed in the Greek language, would have been a proper or probable medium through which to offer adulation to the Roman people. Such a work, when it distilled slowly from the pens of the copyists in the author's employ, would make its way into the libraries of the opulent, in the principal cities of the eastern empire chiefly. In those dim repositories it would be read, and consulted, by the learned; and these persons, with extremely few exceptions, were men utterly destitute of any feelings of which the Roman greatness was the key-note.

When certain writers have brought against Josephus the charge of having compiled his history for the purpose of flattering the Roman people, the idea in their minds—how complete an illusion! must have been that of a Livy addressing a compact republic in their vernacular tongue; or of a Thucydides, or Herodotus, thinking of the States assembled at the Olympic games, and eagerly listening to him as he read! With this mistaken idea they must have blended that of a modern popular writer, whose pages, gratifying to the national vanity, pervade, in three days or a month, the entire surface over which the language he uses is spoken, and come immediately in contact with the mass of the people. But the position of our Josephus, as the historian of his country's overthrow, was as unlike that of the Fathers of history, as it was that of a modern political pamphleteer!

Nothing could be more idle than our present labours, if there were not abundant reason for regarding the evidence of Josephus, on the whole, as valid, and, in most of its details, as unquestionable. Thus regarded, these writings, as they are altogether unique among the remains of antiquity, and seem by themselves to bridge over the gulph, separating profane from sacred literature, so are they justly referred to by Christians, as among the most important of those remains. And here the author's qualifications for the task of recording the judicial and predicted overthrow of the Jewish polity it may be well to notice. Let it be remembered then that none but a Jew could, with an authentic understanding of the facts, have narrated the circumstances of that overthrow, and of the desolation of the country. A Tacitus could not have told this story in its genuine terms:—the supercilious Roman ignorance of the notions and usages of this despised people, would have allowed him to see only the mere outline of the war. The triumph of the Roman arms, he would indeed well have understood; but not at all the secret of the resistance which so long held the forces of the empire at bay. And how few *Jews* of that age, or of any other age, were there, accomplished, as was Josephus, for composing a history which should live and attain a high place in the circle of Grecian literature! The writer needed for such a task, must indeed be a Jew, and a man of accomplishments, and intelligence; but had he also shone, personally, with the brighter recommendations of true greatness, and of a high moral tone, then the very fact that he had been conversant with Christianity, and had

conversed, as no doubt he did, with its first preachers, and yet had resisted its claims, would have tended to perplex our best convictions. And yet, on the other hand, had Josephus actually become a convert to the Gospel, then his history, although assuredly not in itself deteriorated by such a change, would have forfeited what now constitutes its especial value, as conveying the evidence of an indifferent and an independent witness. As it is, and if we have conceived aright of his personal dispositions, and of the quality of his moral principles, his indifference toward Christianity, which he neither assails nor calumniates, like a "chief priest and a pharisee;" nor yet embraces, is precisely what we should expect. He had seen too much of life, and was too much loosened from national sentiments, to allow him to act the zealot; moreover, he was far too much the cautious man of the world to profess himself a disciple of Christ, or to take his lot with the "little flock" who were just then becoming the objects of deep jealousy to the Roman authorities. Again: as Josephus was neither a convert, nor a persecutor, of the new religion; so, as to Judaism, if he was but faintly affected towards its interior principles, he stood still further removed from the position of an apostate. Had he been such, his history could never have reached us.

If we entertain an opinion of the personal character and dispositions of Josephus such as this, and if the estimate we form of the historic value of his writings be in harmony with that opinion, we shall see reason for attaching no very high importance to the question—once so hotly agitated, concerning the genuineness of the noted passage in which the ministry and miracles of Christ are explicitly mentioned. Volumes have been given to the world by those who have engaged in the critical scrutiny of these few sentences! In its proper place, we shall advert, in a very summary manner, to that obsolete controversy; at present, we glance at it only, for a moment, and in so far as it stands connected with the opinion we entertain of Josephus himself.

Assuming this opinion to be in the main correct, let us first suppose the Passage usually designated as "the Testimony" (ANTIQUITIES, XVIII. iii. 3) to be genuine; as it might perhaps be thought, were we to regard it simply as it stands, on the page where it occurs. Thus nakedly considered, it adds absolutely nothing to the confidence of our belief as Christians. Do we, in any sense, need this dozen lines, to assure us of the facts which it so meagrely affirms? If the *Christian* documents did not exist, or were not, as they are, irrefragably certain, the several *heathen* testimonies to the same effect, and which are liable to no suspicion, historical or critical, comprise, in substance, all that is contained in this boasted "Testimony." But in truth, those who would be disposed to look to this passage with any degree of solicitude, must themselves very feebly have apprehended the historical certainty of the direct *Christian* evidence, bearing upon the facts of our Lord's life and ministry.

The passage, could we think it genuine, might be granted as what a man like

Josephus would say, in briefly adverting to the origin, and to the Author of Christianity; for he did not, as we have seen, partake with his countrymen in that deep-seated national sentiment, which would have induced him to become the persecutor of the Christians. On the contrary, his *eclectic* habits of thinking, would lead him to listen, with a cold, curious acquiescence, to such reports as might reach him of the teaching and miracles of Jesus. Far less serious in disposition than was Nicodemus, he might possibly have joined in the profession—"Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God," without thinking himself thereby obliged to connect himself with the new sect; or in any way called upon to act otherwise than he was wont to do. Nothing seems abstractedly improbable, or out of harmony, in this supposition, if our opinion of Josephus himself be correct. Whatever was peremptory, or *dogmatically true*, in his own religion, had lost its hold of his mind; nor would he readily have yielded himself to any new authority which should ask to lay a hand of power upon his conscience and conduct, and which might, if once admitted, demand costly sacrifices. Nevertheless, he might not scruple to go the length of such a recognition of the Divine Teacher as is contained in this passage: it could draw upon him no fresh animosity from the Jews; nor was it obtrusive enough to alarm his gentile readers; scarcely would it fix their attention for a moment, by its transient and ambiguous affirmations.

But let us now assume, what is altogether the more probable, if not the inevitable supposition; namely, that this passage is an interpolation; and that, therefore, Josephus, although he undoubtedly mentions John the Baptist, abstains from inserting, in his history of Jewish affairs, any notice of events so remarkable as were those from which Christianity took its rise, and of which he could not be altogether ignorant. Not only was he informed on these subjects; he was far too well informed of what the Christians had already, and recently, suffered, "from their own countrymen," and from the gentile authorities, not to be on his guard against the imprudence of giving any testimony in their favour which might implicate himself in their misfortunes.

The terrible fate of the Christians slaughtered by Nero, who, many of them, no doubt, were Jewish converts, and which had happened near to the time of his early visit to Rome, would be sufficiently fresh in his recollection. At the date of his later sojourn there, and while employed in composing his works, the new doctrine had made its way into the house of Caesar, and had excited the vivid jealousy and alarms of the very class of persons with whom he associated. He himself, not improbably, had been interrogated on a subject so imperfectly understood at court; and perhaps even the dangerous question had, once and again, been put to him—"Art not thou also one of them?" Under no such suspicions, if we do him no injustice in our estimate of his moral temperament, would Josephus choose to rest. If, therefore our conclusion should be, that he has, in the course of a narrative which is political and military in its complexion, evaded all direct reference to

Christ and his ministers, or to their noiseless successes in proclaiming the Gospel, we cannot consider this circumstance as at all inexplicable, or as burdened with difficulty. On the contrary, it is, of the two suppositions, the one which appears the most probable.

On the whole then, were we left to form an opinion of the credibility of Josephus, on the sole ground of the estimate we make of his personal character, and of the apparent intention of his writings, we should first, and without hesitation, reject, as manifestly false and absurd, those severe allegations which assume him to have been the enemy of his people—a traitor to his country—secretly rejoicing in her fall, and labouring, by his writings, to enhance those prejudices of which the Jews were then every where, as since, the object and victims. Every such inculcation is contradicted by the tenor and purport of his works, as well as in a more specific manner, by many passages breathing a feeling the very contrary to that so inconsiderately imputed to him.

And again, and on the grounds above stated, we must hold him clear of the charge of a sinister purpose to flatter the arrogance of Rome, or to minister to the pride of Roman personages. The evidence to this effect, if such there be, is too scanty and defective to sustain the allegation; and especially when the actual circumstances of the times are considered.

But, then, on the other hand, if it were attempted to make good, on behalf of our author, a claim to implicit reliance upon his simple testimony—such a reliance as is placed upon the unsustained evidence of writers whose integrity has never been called in question, and whose personal honour is free from tarnish, we must plainly declare our disinclination to yield this sort of deference to Josephus. Taking himself as our guide and authority, we are compelled to deny him the respect which attaches to high principles of conduct, to lofty moral courage, to the temper and the determination which may prompt self-sacrifice, and a generous devotion to the welfare of a party, a class, a people. The virtue of Josephus was of a more vulgar stamp; his integrity was the integrity of calculation, of discretion, and of intelligence.

If, therefore, no resource were left us but that of estimating the evidence of this writer on the ground of the opinion we form of his personal merits, or veracity, we should admit it to be in the main correct; those instances excepted in which the presence of sinister motives may fairly be suspected. But in truth we are not thus left to grope our way, as in the dark, while following the guidance of the Jewish historian. It is far otherwise; for, as to the "Antiquities," we have in our hands, for the most part, the very sources whence he drew the materials of this portion of his writings, and the modern reader is competent, almost at every turn, to collate his narrations with what is far more authentic. Nearly the same is true of the earlier portions of the Jewish War; in fact, it is almost solely in relation to the events immediately connected with the siege and overthrow of the Holy City that we are thrown upon the veracity of the historian. Nor even within

these narrowed limits are we in a helpless position. For, not only as to the historical summary which occupies the first and second books of the War, but as to the outline of subsequent events, up to the final overthrow of the Jewish polity, all the leading facts are distinctly vouched for by contemporary writers, or by those of the succeeding time, whose testimony is regarded as unquestionable; especially by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius. Nor, again, within the narrowest limit—that is to say, the ground whereon Josephus is the only extant narrator of events—are we compelled to rest upon his bare affirmations; for, even within this restricted circle, means are available by aid of which the conclusive test of palpable facts may be applied to many points of this testimony, and so its general value ascertained. Little did this astute Jew, while compiling his narrative in learned leisure at Rome, forecast that course of events which, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, enables us to bring the accuracy of his statements into question on a multitude of incidental points, cursorily adverted to by him, while thinking mainly of the principal acts of the war! Yet so it is, that, on occasions which are perpetually occurring, we are now competent to ask, anew—‘Was Josephus actually familiar, as he declares himself to be, with the facts, and with the places he speaks of?’ ‘Were his habits, in a fair degree, those of an intelligent and accurate observer?’ Or, ‘Did he ordinarily take due care to report correctly what he was acquainted with?’

Now it is certain that the answers which must be returned to these questions do, on the whole, and in a large majority of instances, furnish a result decisively favourable to his reputation, both as a competent, and as a trustworthy writer. A diligent use of the copious means placed at our disposal by those researches in Palestine, which English, French, American, and German travellers have effected, yields proof, various in its kind, and often very definite, entirely excluding, as well the scepticism that had been admitted by some of the learned of the seventeenth century, as the less erudite cavils of recent writers. Beyond possibility of doubt, as may now be shown, Josephus was accurately and familiarly conversant with the things, and with the places, as well as with the transactions, of which he speaks; quite certain it is that he was observant in his habits, and in the main correct in his statements. The details of this confirmatory proof, gathered as it must be from many and various sources, will be presented, on every fit occasion, throughout the course of the present work, and the conclusion which this induction justifies we do not scruple to anticipate, in this place, while taking up the position—That, although entitled to no very exalted place on the ground of personal virtue, Josephus ought to be regarded as the truth-speaking historian of his country's fall.

If this claim be admitted, then must the writings of the Jewish historian be ranked among the most valuable of the literary remains of antiquity; and this, even apart from the importance that may attach to them, in so far as they furnish incidentally many corroborations of the evangelic records. Assuredly, no translator or editor of Josephus, who himself professes a

serious and cordial belief in Christianity, would wish to seem indifferent toward, or unconscious of the weight and worth of, these attestations. Nevertheless, there is reason to think that the beneficial product—the actual result, confirmatory of the faith of an intelligent reader, is likely always to be in inverse proportion to the earnestness, to the anxiety, to the zealous intentness, of whoever makes it his business to adduce and insist upon them. By those who well know on what ground their faith as Christians rests, such a degree of equanimity as is desirable will be easily preserved.

The Translator would however be sorry to find that his freedom from all argumentative solitudes, should be misunderstood.—The tenor of the work, in the annotative department of it, will, he thinks, dispel any such misunderstandings, should they arise. For his own part, he feels persuaded that whatever decisions may be come to concerning this or that instance in which Josephus has heretofore been supposed to sustain the affirmations of the inspired writers, and to yield important contributions to the mass of the Christian evidences, or even if such single attestations were reduced in number, yet that the broad result—the general consequence of bringing, as we are about to do, this wide range of facts afresh before the Christian community, will be of a kind decisively confirmatory of BELIEF, and peculiarly seasonable, too, as related to the tendencies of opinion at the present moment.—

—What seems just now to be needed is not so much any new presentation of the Christian argument, as the bringing back upon the mind of the educated classes a firm, healthy, rational regard to the certainty of history, a deference to evidence, as opposed to the baseless theories, the myths, the mystifications, by means of which, of late, the public mind has been abused, and the edge of the most conclusive reasoning turned aside. There is needed an every-day familiarity with the scenes and the spots, with the persons, with the usages, and the costumes, with the minor incidents, as well as the leading events, of the Christian epoch. The times of the Gospel history are indolently thought of by many, as if the clouds and mists of the remotest ages had settled down, just upon that spot of time; or as if the rolling flood of years had there taken a sweep through an impenetrable gloom; and hence they have allowed themselves to listen to the wild conjectures of erudite pantheists.

The Translator of Josephus, therefore, without trenching upon the ground of the Christian advocate, without charging himself with responsibilities that do not attach to his present task, without, in any instance, stepping aside to catch some advantage in behalf of religious truth, will believe himself to be promoting it essentially, while leading the reader into a position of near familiarity with the men and things of the age when the Gospel was given to the world. In tracing a thousand coincidences between the literary and the palpable monuments of that time—in holding before the eye the graphic materials of history—in presenting effigies, and sculptures, and inscriptions—in exhibiting those masses of masonry which

eighteen centuries have spared—in delineating the structures upon which the Roman, the Greek (of the ecclesiastical period), the Saracen, the Crusader, the Turk, have left their successive marks—in doing this, and in holding forth, in all its verisimilitude, the image of the times in question, we supersede the painful labour of refuting anti-christian theories, and of controverting myths, by merely bringing the mind among brightly-illuminated objects—by leading it to a spot where day-light excludes dreams.

Although Josephus, in the closing paragraphs of his Life, alludes to events attaching to a much later period of it, the narrative is not professedly continued beyond the time when the subjugation of Judæa had been consummated: it therefore extends through a course of about thirty-four years, commencing with A. D. 37, which was the first year of Caligula, and the date of the birth of Josephus. The account he gives of his early years suggests various points of curious inquiry, which will hereafter be considered, along with those that bear upon his later history—both personal and literary. In the present instance, all that is intended is, to give a mere outline of Jewish affairs at the moment when our Author first took part in public life. This happened, he informs us, soon after he had completed his twenty-sixth year, at which period he visited Rome—A. D. 63, on behalf of certain Jewish priests, who had been sent thither prisoners by Felix, the procurator of Judæa. The precise date of his return to his native country does not appear, but it was evidently at a most critical moment, nor did he hesitate to mingle in the agitations of the times.

If we assume the date of the appointment of Gessius Florus, by Nero, as governor of Judæa, the atrocities of whose administration hurried forward the course of events by reducing the Jewish people to desperation—if we take this moment, A. D. 64, as the *termination* of an historical period, its *commencement* should be fixed about fifty-eight years earlier;—that is to say, at the time when Judas the Gaulonite, and his followers, the Zealots, first gave form and expression to the national pseudo-religious resentment against the Roman domination, regarded as a heathen violation of the principles of the Theocracy. Throughout this course of years—which the reader will remember was contemporaneous with the evangelic and apostolic history, this deep feeling—sometimes allayed, or diverted for a moment, by the wisdom and forbearance, either of Roman governors, or of the native princes, Herod's successors, had gone on, spreading and becoming more intense, and often provoked to fury, by the intolerable oppressions and cruelties of the Roman authorities, until its natural consequence—open rebellion, ensued, bringing with it the overthrow of the Jewish state, and the long dispersion of the race.

For our knowledge of the events of this nearly sixty years—one of the most signal periods in the history of nations, we are mainly indebted to

Josephus, sustained, indeed, and illustrated by various contemporary testimonies; and it is this course of events that is brought under review in the "Jewish War." It would be out of place here to anticipate what will, with so much more advantage, offer itself in the subsequent history. Our present purpose is to furnish some brief notices concerning the personages, and the persons, whose names find a place in the "Life of Josephus." These—not including some names of no historic importance, are about forty, and the reader's convenience, in bearing in mind their relative positions, will be consulted by arranging them under three designations. The first includes **ROMAN POTENTATES**—the successive emperors—the presidents of Syria—the procurators or governors of Judæa—the commanders of legions, together with their subalterns. The second class embraces the **NATIVE PRINCES**—the descendants and successors of Herod—the kings of Judæa—the tetrarchs of the regions bordering upon Judæa, with their deputies, and persons in their employ. The third class comprehends **JEWISH PERSONS** in authority—regular, or irregular, from the actual High Priest, at any moment, down to the chiefs of bands of robbers; as well as all who owned subjection to these magnates—great and small. Throughout the period above specified, Judæa, subject to varying political conditions, had been a Roman province, attached to Syria; and its procurator, or governor, was subordinate to the president or proconsul of Syria. These were appointed immediately by the emperors, Syria being one of the *imperial provinces*—distinguished from the *senatorial*, and which, from various causes, were the objects of especial solicitude, and within which the chief military forces of the empire were concentrated.

I. The Roman imperial personages named by Josephus in the Life, are—Nero, the empress Poppæa, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Domitia.

The **PRESIDENT OF SYRIA** during the period which embraces the public life of Josephus, was C. **CESTIUS GALLUS CAMERINUS**, whose overthrow by the Jews emboldened them to attempt open resistance to the Roman government.

The **GOVERNORS OF JUDÆA**, during these years—not including **FELIX**, whose government was ten years earlier, were **ALBINUS**, **GESSIUS FLORUS**, and **MARCUS ANTONIUS JULIANUS**, of whom Gessius Florus alone is mentioned in the Life; and even he, as it would seem, erroneously, in some places, or by fault of the copyists, where the president of Syria—Cestius Gallus, must be intended.

The Roman commanders, or the subordinate persons, acting under either the president, or the procurator, are—Neopolitanus, a commander of horse—Placidus, the commander of a cohort, under Cestius Gallus—Cerealius, a commander, and Æbutius, a decurion.

II. The **NATIVE PRINCES**, and the Tetrarchs of the neighbouring districts, with their adherents and dependents, mentioned in the Life, are.—

HEROD ANTIPAS, the son of Herod the Great, and who was tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, at a time anterior to the period we now refer to. He is

merely alluded to casually, Sect. IX. 2; his history will come before us hereafter.

HEROD AGRIPPA I., son of Aristobulus and Berenice, the grandson therefore of Herod the Great. He is only incidentally mentioned in the *Life*, Sect. IX. 3, where he is called "King Agrippa, the Father." By the Emperor Caligula he had been appointed tetrarch of Abilene, Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis—the countries to the eastward of Lebanon, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. When Herod Antipas (the preceding) was banished, this Agrippa received his tetrarchies—Galilee and Peræa. He was afterwards, by Claudius Cæsar, constituted king of Judæa, with Samaria and Idumæa; his dominions exceeding, therefore, those of his grandfather; and his administration, for the most part, being such as to secure for him the favour of his Jewish subjects. The manner of his death, at Cæsarea, A. D. 44, is narrated in Acts xii.

But the principal personage of the "*Life*," and belonging to this class, is HEROD AGRIPPA II., son of the foregoing, and the last of the princes of the family of Herod, as well as the last of the ruling representatives of the Asamonæan, or Jewish sovereigns. His name frequently occurs in the following pages, where he is styled "Agrippa," or the "King," or "King Agrippa;" and he is often mentioned in conjunction with his sister—Berenice (Bernice) his connexion with whom gave much occasion for scandal among his Jewish subjects. Not to anticipate what will be presented in its proper place, we merely mention that, after the conclusion of the Jewish war, this Agrippa repaired, with his sister, to Rome, where he died, in the 70th year of his age, and the third of the reign of Trajan. It is the corroborative testimony of this prince that Josephus cites, Sect. LXV. 10, 11, as contained in two brief letters to himself. The Jewish race has owned no sovereign since the sceptre fell from the hand of this "King Agrippa." He did not possess that degree of favour in Judæa which his father had enjoyed: but his influence was exerted to the utmost, though fruitlessly, in repressing the fanatical turbulence of the people, and, throughout the war, he acted in concert with the Roman commanders. The seat of his government, and his more usual residence, was Hippos, and the district contiguous to the lake of Tiberias—on its eastern side; and by grant of Nero, he was rightful sovereign of a narrow region on its western shores, including the then populous towns of Tiberias and Tarichæa. In the *Life*, several of those in the service—military or civil, of this prince, are mentioned incidentally: these are—

Philip, son of Jacimus, a prefect of King Agrippa. Varus, administrator, for a time, in the room of the preceding. Equiculus Modius, a commander of the king's forces. Sylla, a commander. Ptolemy, a Jew, and procurator of the kingdom. Crispus, a Jew, and officer of the household.

III. THE JEWISH PERSONAGES, and persons, whose names occur in the *Life*, demand some arranging into classes, to enable the reader to carry them

in his memory, without confusion : he will be aware that, throughout this period of less than sixty years—above referred to, the political conditions under which the affairs of the Jews were administered by their Roman masters, *varied from time to time* ; and this, not merely in relation to the degree of indulgence shown to the national usages and religious feelings of this singular people by the *local Roman authorities* ; but in relation also to the extent of power allowed to the successive princes of the family of Herod, this extent of power varying according to the favour enjoyed at Rome by the reigning prince ; or, on the contrary, the displeasure he might happen to draw upon himself. Nevertheless, throughout the course of these changes, and whether consequent upon the personal temper of princes or of Procurators, or upon imperial edicts, the Jewish chiefs, including those who had borne the office of high priest, and the members of the Sanhedrim, were never deprived of that prescriptive influence—secular as well as ecclesiastical, which they had so amply enjoyed and exercised during the bright, but brief era of the Asamonæan independence. This influence, indefinite though it might be, embraced a large proportion of the functions of a home government, as well legislative as administrative ; and even while the high priest himself was the creature of the Herodian princes, removable at pleasure, and often indebted for his office to the most corrupt practices, yet the oligarchy, or ecclesiastical aristocracy, which had its seat at Jerusalem, and which ruled in Galilee by its deputies, controlled, in a sovereign manner, all those matters which, in fact, Roman presidents or governors considered to be indifferent, and concerning which, as not directly affecting the palpable interests of the empire, it might always be said, that they “ cared for none of these things.” In not a few instances the Jewish Rulers owed the very extensive powers they wielded to the supercilious indolence of their Gentile masters ; or to their contemptuous ignorance of national usages ; and often, even to their profligacy and rapacity.

This Great Council of the nation, sitting always at Jerusalem, was represented by an analogous body, in each city or town of Judæa, and also in those of Galilee, in which the Jewish population was predominant ; and it is thus that we hear, in the narrative of Josephus, of so many persons in authority, whose rivalries, animosities, and selfish interests, are ever and again throwing affairs into confusion, and giving endless trouble to the Governor, whom the Jerusalem authorities had appointed.

There appear moreover upon the stage several chiefs who must be separately specified, although in fact the individuals named might claim to come indifferently, or alternately, under either the one or the other designation. The first of these classes is that of the ZEALOTS, or those—for the most part sincere and fanatical agitators, who, adopting and vehemently professing the notions of Judas the Gaulonite, kept alive among their countrymen, and fomented by every means, the properly Jewish abhorrence of Gentile domination, and of all those institutions, those fiscal regulations, and those heathenish compliances, which marked the presence and supremacy of a

foreign and *idolatrous* government. For those who honestly took this part, great allowance is to be made ; and toward their extravagances much indulgence shown. Great principles and positive truths—misunderstood or misapplied, prompted their conduct ; and whatever violences, or even crimes they are chargeable with, an extenuating plea may be found for them in those intolerable oppressions of the Roman government under which they, and the nation, groaned.

For the second of these classes little indulgence can be claimed : they were the marauders and freebooters who, many of them foreigners, rushed sword in hand, upon the distracted Judæa and Galilee, sustaining themselves and their followers, either by direct violences and open depredations, or by tribute exacted from districts, as the price paid for an exemption from their incursions. At the moment of the breaking out of the war, the country was almost in the possession of these banditti ; or it was actually so, wherever the Roman legions left a field clear for them.

Not to include names of Jews only incidentally occurring, nor those belonging to an earlier era, the persons mentioned in the Life, as concerned in the transactions of that period, are—under the first head, Simon, son of Gamaliel, a distinguished member of the Sanhedrim, and a personal adversary of Josephus ; Ananus, Joshua, Jonathan, Ananias, Joazar, Judas, either chief priests, or secular persons, but who, as noted Pharisees, exercised a commanding influence at Jerusalem. Under the second head—that is to say, the leading men in the provincial cities or towns, and principally in those of Galilee—are to be mentioned, Julius Capellus, Pistus, and his son Justus, a noted person, and the immediate rival and implacable enemy of Josephus, of whom so much as is known will hereafter be adduced ; John of Gischala, another of our author's personal enemies ; Silas, governor of Tiberias, by appointment of Josephus ; Joshua, in authority there, but opposed to Josephus ; Dassion and Jannæus, leading persons in the same place ; Joshua and Jeremiah, employed by Josephus ; Joseph, styled Son of the Midwife, a turbulent person of Gamala. Of the third class—the chiefs of the Zealots, and the captains of the banditti, we need only name—Manahem, who will occupy a prominent place in the ensuing history ; and Joshua—commanding at one time eight hundred, and at another six hundred men.

A circumstance essential to a clear understanding of our author's narrative, is that intermixture of hostile races within the narrow limits of Palestine, which so much enhanced the disorders, and aggravated the miseries of the time. While the Jewish race were crowding the chief cities and towns of the surrounding, and even of remote countries, they were far from being in the exclusive possession of the petty inheritance of their fathers. If the population of Judæa and of Galilee was chiefly Jewish, that of the interposed Samaria was chiefly Gentile—a mongrel people—a confluence from the East and the West, agreeing in nothing but a rancorous and murderous hatred of the Jews. Besides this intervening and heterogeneous mass, the coast,

northward and southward, was densely occupied by heathen races—aboriginal or immigrant. Had these several classes of the teeming population observed their respective boundaries, the Roman authorities might perhaps have preserved peace among them ; but instead of this, the Jews and “the Greeks” were, in some towns, so nearly balanced as to numbers, or as to wealth and political influence, that incessant struggles for the ascendancy, or for an exclusive enjoyment of privileges, gave occasion to frightful municipal slaughters, of which thousands, with women and children, were the victims.

It must be admitted that the circumstances above briefly stated—political, social, and religious, are such as, at a first glance, seem to shed much perplexity upon the history before us. The reader will, however, soon become so far familiar with them, as to remove this apparent difficulty ; or if we might attempt to assist him still further in doing so, and might venture also to compare things so small with things great, we should refer him to what bears an accidental analogy, in several of its features, to the instance we have to do with.—If British India were thus used in illustration of Jewish affairs, as reported by Josephus, we should then name the distant British monarch, as the parallel of the distant Roman emperor. The Court of Directors would not, however, take precisely the place of the Senate, in this case ; inasmuch as Syria, being an *imperial* province, bore little or no relation to the Roman Senate. But the Governor-General will occupy a position much resembling that of the President or Proconsul of Syria, whose authority was absolute and paramount throughout the province ; while the Governor of one of the presidencies is as the Procurator of Judæa. The native princes—the allies and tributaries of the British Government, stand in the place of the Herods, the Agrippas, the Philips—the kings, or the tetrarchs, who ruled by the permission, and during the pleasure of the sovereign foreign power. Some of these might even be compared to the more considerable of the Zemindars, whose original authority has been augmented, consolidated, and rendered almost kingly, by means of British interposition. Even in the peopling of India we may catch analogies, illustrative of that of ancient Palestine ; and if the fanatical, intolerant, restless, idol-hating Mahometans take the place of the Jews, in our parallel, the polytheistic Hindoos must represent (though not indeed correctly) the Gentiles of Samaria, Ptolemais, and the Coast. If the reader gathers, from so loose a comparison, any aid in mastering the perplexities of Jewish history, all that was intended has been accomplished.

THE LIFE
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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THE
LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

1. My family is not ignoble, but is descended from those who bore the priesthood from its first institution. But as, in different countries, the basis of nobility varies, so, with us, a participation in the priesthood is the evidence of an illustrious line. Not only however am I of sacerdotal extraction, but I trace my descent from the first of the twenty-four courses; and to this circumstance peculiar honour is attached. Of the most distinguished house in that course I am a scion. By the maternal side, moreover, I am of royal blood; for the posterity of Asamonæus, from whom my mother sprang, united in their own persons, during a long series of years, the high priesthood of our nation, and the regal authority.—I will recount the succession.

2. My ancestor, in the fifth ascending generation, was Simon, surnamed Psellus. He was a contemporary of that son of Simon who inherited the high priesthood from his father, and, first of the order, bore the name of Hyrcanus. To Simon Psellus were born nine sons, one of whom, Matthias—styled the son of Ephlias—espoused the daughter of the high-priest Jonathan, the first of the line of Asamonæus invested with the high priesthood, and brother to Simon, who also enjoyed that dignity. Matthias, in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus, had a son, Matthias, surnamed Kyrtus; to whom, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, was born a son—Joseph; and in the tenth year of Archelaus, Joseph had a son—Matthias, to whom I was born in the year that Caius Cæsar ascended the throne. I have three sons:—Hyrcanus, the eldest, born in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian Cæsar; Justus in the seventh; and Agrippa in the ninth. Having thus presented my readers with

the genealogy of our family, as I have found it inscribed in the public records, I set at nought those who endeavour to degrade us.

II. Illustrious, however, as was my father Matthias by the nobility of his birth, he was still more honoured for his virtues; being pre-eminently distinguished in Jerusalem, the most considerable of our cities. Educated with a brother, by name Matthias—for he was my brother both by father and mother—I made great proficiency in my studies, giving indication of a superior memory and understanding. Accordingly, while I was yet in boyhood, about my fourteenth year, my love of literature was the theme of general admiration; insomuch that the chief priests and leading men of the city were in the constant habit of assembling, in order to obtain from me more accurate information on points connected with our legal institutions.

2. When I was about sixteen years of age, I felt a wish to make myself acquainted, by personal experience, with the several sects existing amongst us, and which, as I have had frequent occasion to mention, are three in number—the first, that of the Pharisees; the second, that of the Sadducees; and the third, that of the Essenes—for it seemed to me that, after such an investigation, I should be qualified to select the best. Submitting, therefore, to various austerities, and undergoing many laborious exercises, I passed through the three sects. Not satisfied, however, with the knowledge I had thus acquired, on hearing of one named Banus, who spent his life in the desert, wearing such clothing as might be had from trees, eating the food which the earth spontaneously supplied, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and by night, for purposes of purity—I took him as my exemplar; and having continued with him three years, and attained my object, I returned to the city. Being now nineteen years of age, I began to regulate my life agreeably to the rules of the Pharisees—a sect, bearing considerable resemblance to that known among the Greeks by the appellation of the Stoic.

III. I had not long completed my twenty-sixth year, when a circumstance happened, as I shall here relate, which induced me to make a voyage to Italy. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judæa, there were some priests of my acquaintance, honourable and good men, whom, on a frivolous and casual pretext, he had sent in irons to Rome, to render account of their conduct to Cæsar. For these I was anxious to discover some means of deliverance; and the more so, as I had understood that, even in their affliction, they were not inattentive to religious observances, using only figs and nuts for their sustenance.





L. GILBERT.

POPPÆA.

From a Coin in the British Museum.

HOULSTON AND STONEMAN, LONDON.



2. I reached Rome after an extremely perilous voyage; for our ship having foundered mid-way in the Adriatic, we, to the number of about six hundred, had recourse to swimming, and had already remained the entire night in the water, when, at day break, a vessel from Cyrene providentially hove in sight, and received on board myself and others, eighty in all—more fortunate than our companions. Thus rescued from destruction, I landed at Dicæarchia, called by the Italians, Puteoli, and there formed a friendship with Aliturus, a comedian, a particular favourite of Nero, and a Jew by birth. Being by him introduced to Poppæa, Cæsar's consort, I availed myself of the earliest opportunity to solicit her good offices in procuring the liberation of the priests; and having, in addition to this act of kindness, received from Poppæa costly presents, I returned to Judæa.

IV. On my arrival, I perceived the seeds of revolution already showing themselves; and found many greatly elated at the revolt from the Romans. I accordingly used my endeavours to repress this insurrectionary spirit, and to induce a better feeling. I represented to them, that it was the Romans against whom they were about to array themselves; and that they were inferior to them not only in military skill, but in good fortune; and I warned them not thus rashly, and with such utter recklessness, to expose their country, their families, and themselves, to the most extreme perils. But, although, foreseeing that the issue of the contest would be most disastrous to us, I ceased not earnestly to dissuade them from their purpose, my efforts were unavailing—so completely were they overborne by the madness of desperation!

V. I was, in consequence, not without apprehensions, lest, by continually urging these considerations upon them, I might incur their hatred and suspicion, as one attached to the cause of their opponents, and thus run the risk of being seized by them, and put to death: and as they had already possessed themselves of the Antonia—a fort so called, I retired into the inner court of the temple. From this retreat I again ventured forth after the destruction of Manahem, and the leaders of the brigand band, and took up my residence with the chief priests, and with those of note among the Pharisees. Great was our terror on seeing the very populace in arms; and as we were in doubt what measures to adopt, and were at the same time unable to restrain the insurgents, while the imminence of our danger was manifest, we feigned acquiescence in their views, suggesting, that they should remain quiet for the present, and allow the enemy to withdraw; as we hoped that Gessius would ere long

appear at the head of a powerful army, and put an end to these commotions.

VI. In due time he arrived; but having given battle, he was defeated with great loss; and this discomfiture of Gessius became a source of calamity to our entire nation:—as those who were eager for war were thereby inordinately elated; and we presumed, that, as on this occasion, so on others, we should vanquish the Romans. Accessory to this, moreover, was a second cause, as follows, to which hostilities may be attributed.—The inhabitants of the neighbouring cities of Syria, having seized the Jews residing amongst them, put them to death, with their wives and children, though without the slightest ground of complaint against them; for they had cherished neither disaffection to the Roman government, nor animosity, nor treacherous intentions, toward themselves.

2. The Scythopolitans, however, perpetrated enormities, of all the most impious and atrocious; for, having been attacked by a band of Jews from another quarter, they compelled those of that nation who were among them to bear arms against their countrymen, which to us is forbidden; and after having, in concert with them, engaged and defeated their assailants, scarcely had they conquered, when, forgetful of the faith due to fellow-citizens and confederates, they put them, without exception, and to the number of many thousands, to the sword. Similar also were the cruelties inflicted on the Jews of Damascus. But of these occurrences a more accurate account may be found in my narrative of the Jewish war; and I merely introduce them here, from a wish to prove to my readers, that, in entering into a contest with the Romans, the Jews were rather impelled by necessity, than led by inclination.

VII. After the defeat of Gessius, to which we have just referred, the leading men in Jerusalem, perceiving that the brigands, and those who were anxious for innovation, were well supplied with arms, became apprehensive that, as they were themselves unprovided with the means of defence, they should fall a prey to their enemies, as indeed eventually occurred. Being informed, moreover, that the whole of Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, a portion of it being still tranquil, they deputed me, and two others, Joazar and Judas, like myself, of the sacerdotal order, and men of excellent character, to persuade the malecontents to lay down their arms, and to impress upon them that it were better to reserve these for the ablest of the nation; who, it had been determined, should have their weapons in constant readiness for future contingencies: but that mean time, they should wait for intelligence as to the designs of the Romans.

VIII. With these instructions I repaired to Galilee, and found the Sepphorites in no little anxiety respecting their territory; the Galilæans having resolved to ravage it, as well in revenge for their pacific sentiments towards the Romans, as for their having entered into relations of amity with Cestius Gallus, president of Syria. I allayed the fears of all, however, by interceding for them with the adverse party, and by the permission which I gave them to communicate, as often as they should wish, with their friends, who were held as hostages by Gessius, in Dora, a city of Phœnicia. The inhabitants of Tiberias, as I found, had already proceeded to arms: the circumstances were as follows.—

IX. In this city were three factions.—The first was composed of men of respectability, at the head of whom was Julius Capellus. He and his associates, accordingly, Herod the son of Miarus, Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus, delivered it as their united opinion, that the city should, for the present, maintain its allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. Among these I have omitted to mention Crispus, brother of Compsus, formerly prefect under Agrippa the great king, as he was then at his estates beyond the Jordan. From these views Pistus dissented, being gained over by his son Justus; though his own natural disposition was in some degree noble.

2. The second faction, composed of persons of the lowest description, was bent on war. Justus the son of Pistus, who was the leader of the third faction, although he pretended to entertain doubts on the subject of hostilities, was at heart desirous of innovation; hoping in the revolution to attain power. He accordingly presented himself before the people, and laboured to induce the belief that Tiberias had always pertained to Galilee; that, in the days of its founder, Herod the tetrarch, it had been looked upon as the metropolis; and that even Sepphoris had, at his desire, been rendered subordinate to it.

3. “Under king Agrippa, the father,” said he, “this distinction had never been forfeited, the city maintaining its preëminence until Felix was appointed procurator of Judæa. But now it has been our misfortune to be made a present of by Nero to the younger Agrippa. Sepphoris bowed its neck to the Romans, and became in consequence, from that hour, the capital of Galilee, depriving us of the royal treasury, and the archives.”

4. Having given utterance to this, and much more to the disparagement of king Agrippa, in order to excite the people to revolt, he added, that “the season for an appeal to the sword had at length arrived—

the Galilæans would be their confederates; nay, they might rule them with their own consent, on account of the hatred with which they regarded the Sepphorites for maintaining their fidelity to the Romans. They had now, therefore, with a large force at their disposal, an opportunity for revenge."

5. By these representations he gave an impulse to the multitude; for he possessed an eloquence calculated to wind the people at his will, and to neutralize the opposition of those whose views were more consonant with the public good;—so subtle and delusive were his arguments. Not unskilled in Grecian literature, and confiding in his acquaintance with it, he undertook to write a history of the events we are now recording; studying, throughout, to disguise the truth. But of the extreme depravity of this individual, and of the fact that to him, in conjunction with his brother, our ruin may almost entirely be attributed, I shall adduce proof, in the progress of this narrative.

6. Justus having thus prevailed on the citizens to take up arms, though many of them indeed had been compelled by him against their inclination to do so, marched out at their head, and burned those villages belonging to Gadara and Hippos, which lay on the confines of Tiberias, and of the Scythopolitan territory.

X. Such was the state of affairs in Tiberias. I shall now relate how matters stood in Gischala. John the son of Levi, observing that several of the citizens were greatly elated in consequence of their revolt from the Romans, used his endeavours to restrain them, exhorting them to persevere in their allegiance. But his utmost exertions proved ineffectual; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, having, in conjunction with the Tyrians, collected in large force, stormed and took Gischala, and, reducing it to ashes, razed it to the foundations, and returned home. Exasperated at this outrage, John armed all who were with him, and attacked these states. Gischala he rebuilt on an improved model, and fortified it for its future security.

XI. Gamala, however, maintained its fidelity to the Romans. The reason I shall explain. Philip the son of Jacimus, prefect of king Agrippa, after an unexpected escape from the royal residence in Jerusalem, when under siege, was, while in the act of fleeing, overtaken by danger from another quarter. Having been assailed by Manahem, and his brigands, he would beyond doubt have fallen a sacrifice, had not some Babylonians to whom he was related, and who were then in Jerusalem, prevented the execution of their purpose. Here Philip remained during four days, and

on the following fled, after disguising himself with false hair. Reaching a village in his jurisdiction, situated in the vicinity of the fortress of Gamala, he sent orders to some of those under his command to repair to him. His plans, however, Providence frustrated for his welfare; for had it not so happened, he would inevitably have perished. Being suddenly seized with a fever, he wrote to the children of his former master—Agrippa and Bernice, and delivered the letter to one of his freed-men, to convey to Varus, at that time administrator of the realm, which the king and his sister had confided to his care; they having gone to Berytus to pay a visit of compliment to Gessius. On receipt of Philip's communication, acquainting him with his safety, Varus became exceedingly uneasy, under the impression that his royal master and mistress would consider him a useless appendage, once that Philip had arrived. He accordingly produced the bearer before the people, and accused him of forging the letter; adding, that he had uttered a falsehood in stating that Philip was in Jerusalem, fighting against the Romans in the Jewish ranks; and he put him to death. His freed-man not returning, Philip, in doubt as to the cause, despatched a second courier with letters, to ascertain what had happened to the former; and to acquaint him with the reason of the delay. Him also, on his arrival, Varus insidiously accused, and ordered to execution. For that officer had been led to form high expectations by the Syrians of Cæsarea; they having alleged that, on account of the delinquencies of the Jews, the Romans would inflict capital punishment upon Agrippa, and that he, as the descendant of kings, would succeed to the throne. For Varus was confessedly of royal extraction, deriving his descent from Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy in the vicinity of Lebanon. Such were the causes of his lofty aspirations; and such his motives for withholding the letters.

2. His next object was to prevent these documents from falling into the hands of Agrippa. For this purpose he stationed guards at the various passes, lest any one should escape, and convey to him tidings of these occurrences. With a view, moreover, to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Cæsarea, he put many of the Jews to death. He entertained the design, also, of uniting with the people of Trachonitis, who were domiciled in Batanæa, and of carrying his arms against the Babylonian Jews; for by that appellation were known those who dwelt in Ecbatana. He accordingly summoned twelve of the most respectable of the Cæsarean Jews, and directed

them to proceed to Ecbatana, and address their countrymen in that city to the effect, that a report had reached Varus that they intended to march against the king; but not giving credit to the rumour, he had commissioned the present embassy to prevail on them to lay down their arms: their compliance would be an evidence that he had done well in not lending an ear to such statements. He, moreover, ordered them to depute seventy of the chiefs of their body to defend them on the subject of the allegation.

3. To this demand of Varus the Twelve, finding, on their arrival at Ecbatana, that their fellow-countrymen harboured no intention of revolt, invited them to accede; and they, entertaining no suspicion of the plot laid for their destruction, accordingly despatched the deputation. But when they were on their way to Cæsarea, in company with the twelve ambassadors, they were met by a body of the king's troops, under the command of Varus, who, ordering the whole party to be put to the sword, proceeded on an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. There was however one of the seventy who effected his escape, and informed his countrymen of what had happened; on which, snatching up their arms, they retired, with their wives and children, to the fortress of Gamala, leaving their villages amply stored with valuables, and stocked besides with many thousand head of cattle. Philip himself also, when made acquainted with these events, repaired to Gamala, and on his arrival the people, with loud importunities, called on him to assume the government, and march against Varus, and the Syrians of Cæsarea:—a report being in circulation that they had assassinated the king.

4. Philip, however, applied himself to restrain their impetuosity, by reminding them of the benefits conferred on them by Agrippa—of the formidable power of the Romans, and of the danger of entering into a contest with such an enemy; and he at length succeeded. The king, meanwhile, having been informed of Varus's intention to massacre in one day the Jews of Cæsarea, with their wives and children, to the number of many thousands, sent Equiculus Modius to supersede him in his command, as we have elsewhere related. Philip, however, retained possession of the fortress of Gamala, and of the country adjoining it, which were thus preserved in allegiance to the Romans.

XII. When I had reached Galilee, and was made acquainted with these facts by the messengers, I addressed a letter to the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem on the subject, and requested their instructions as to my future proceedings. They directed me to continue in my present

position; and, if my fellow-legates did not object, to retain them, and provide for the defence of Galilee. My colleagues, who had amassed a large sum of money from the tithes which they had received as due to their priesthood, had determined on returning to their own country; but at my solicitation, that they would delay until we could introduce some order into public affairs, they were induced to remain. I accordingly removed with them from Sepphoris to a village called Bethmaus, distant four furlongs from Tiberias, and sent a message from thence to the council of that city, and to the principal inhabitants, requesting them to come to me.

2. On their arrival, Justus being of the number, I informed them that myself and my associates were commissioned by the general council of Jerusalem to prevail on them to destroy the palace which Herod the tetrarch had erected, and which contained various figures of animals; our laws forbidding us to form any thing of that nature: and I begged their permission to demolish it without delay. For a considerable time Capellus, and the chief men of the party, resisted our proposal; but at length, swayed by us, they complied. Anticipating our labour, however, and with the aid of some Galilæans, Joshua, the son of Sapphias, whom we charged as the original promoter of the insurrection of the sailors and poorer classes, set the whole building on fire, in the hope that, as he had observed some of the ceilings overlaid with gold, he might enrich himself with the spoils. They carried off, notwithstanding, a variety of articles, acting herein contrary to our views; as we had, after the interview with Capellus and the leading men of Tiberias, taken our departure from Bethmaus for Upper Galilee. Joshua and his faction then put to the sword the entire Greek population, with all who, prior to the breaking out of hostilities, had been inimical to them.

XIII. On hearing of these occurrences, I became extremely incensed; and going down to Tiberias, I used my endeavours to recover from the plunderers as much as possible of the furniture of the palace, comprising, candelabra of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and a large quantity of unstamped silver. Resolved to preserve for the king what I had thus secured, I sent for the ten leading councillors, with Capellus, son of Antyllus, and committed the property to their custody, with injunctions to deliver it to no one but myself.

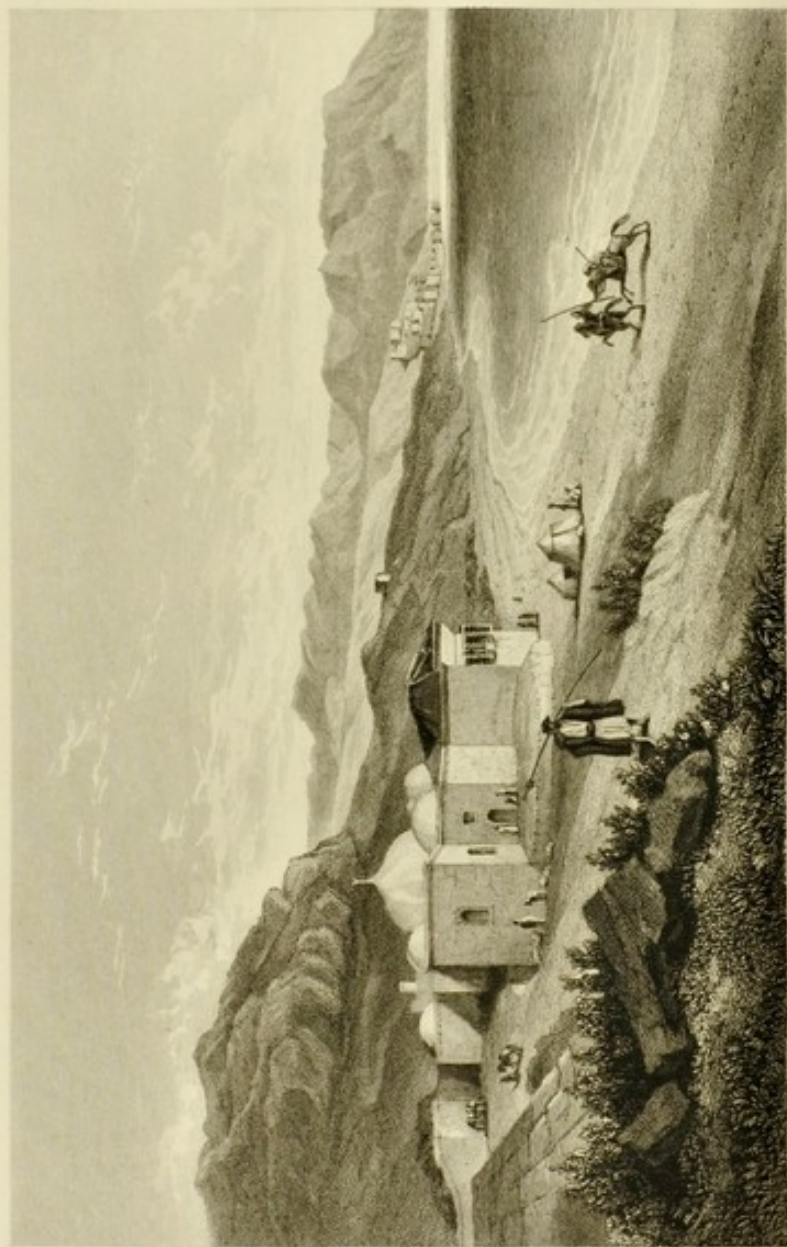
2. From Tiberias, my fellow-legates and I proceeded to Gischala, with a view to ascertain John's intentions; and I soon discovered that revolution was his purpose, and the supreme power the object of his ambition:—for he requested authority from me to export the corn

belonging to Cæsar, which was stored in the villages of Upper Galilee, under pretence of laying out the proceeds in repairing the fortifications of his native city. Divining as well his leading object, as the scheme at present on foot, I replied, that to such a demand I could not accede; it being my intention, as I had been entrusted with the direction of affairs in that quarter by the general council of Jerusalem, to reserve the corn, either for the Romans, or for my own use. Unable to win me over to his side, he turned to my fellow-legates, who were improvident of the future, and extremely accessible to a bribe.

3. Corrupted by his largesses, they accordingly issued an order, that all the grain in his province should be delivered to him; while I, a single individual, outvoted by the other two, remained silent. John played off, also, a second piece of craft.—He stated that the Jews inhabiting Cæsarea Philippi, and shut up by order of the king's lieutenant, there exercising sovereign power, had forwarded a request to him to the effect, that, as they had no oil pure enough for their use, he would exert himself to obtain for them a sufficient supply of that article, lest they should be compelled to use the produce of Greece, in violation of their legal institutions. This he said, not from motives of piety, but from the most sordid and bare-faced avarice; for he was well aware that two sextaries were sold for one drachma at Cæsarea, while at Gischala four drachmas would purchase fourscore sextaries. He, therefore, gave directions that all the oil in the place should be removed, alleging my authority in his support. My assent, however, was involuntary, having been extorted under the influence of fear; as I was apprehensive that, should I refuse, the populace would stone me. Thus John, acting under my permission, realized a vast sum of money by this sinister procedure.

XIV. Having at Gischala parted with my fellow-legates on their return to Jerusalem, I made it my business to provide weapons, and to put the towns in a posture of defence. I, moreover, invited to a conference the most determined of the brigands, perceiving that it would be impossible to deprive them of their arms, and persuaded the people to retain them as stipendiaries; remarking, that it was better voluntarily to give them a little, than to overlook their depredations. I then bound them by oath, not again to enter that district unless required to do so, or when their pay should be in arrear; and I dismissed them with a charge to attack neither the Romans, nor their neighbours: it being my chief care to preserve Galilee in tranquillity. Wishing to retain beside me, under the

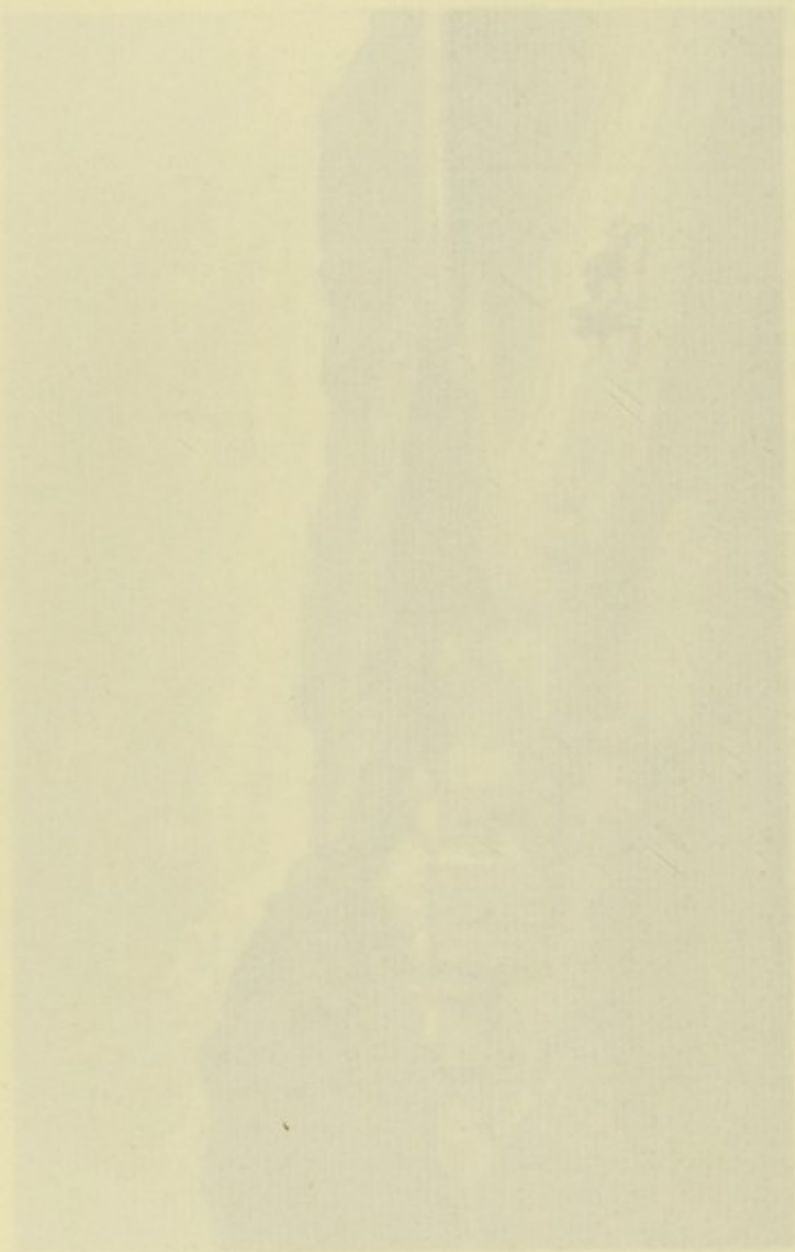




W. TIPPING.

THE HOT BATHS OF TIBERIAS.

HOLLISTON AND STONEMAN, LONDON.



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semblance of friendship, the authorities of the province, seventy in number, as hostages for the allegiance of the people, I made them the friends and companions of my journeys; I associated them with myself in the administration of justice; and never pronounced judgment until I had first obtained their concurrence: making it my endeavour, not to err in my decisions through precipitancy, and therein to keep my hands pure from every sort of bribery.

XV. I was now about thirty years of age—a period of life at which, whatever restraint we may put upon our unlawful inclinations, it is difficult to escape the shafts of envy; more especially if we are invested with extensive authority. I was careful to shield women from insult; and the presents that were offered to me, as unnecessary to my convenience, I treated with contempt; nor did I even accept, when brought to me, those tithes to which, as a priest, I had a claim. At the same time, after defeating the Syrians who inhabited the surrounding cities, I possessed myself of a portion of the spoils, which I acknowledge to have sent to my kindred in Jerusalem. And though I took Sepphoris twice, by storm, Tiberias four times, and Gadara once; and though I got John, who had frequently plotted my destruction, into my power, I punished neither him, nor any of the above-mentioned states, as the progress of this narrative will attest. On this account I presume it was, that God, ever observant of the rectitude of human conduct, delivered me from the hands of my enemies, and subsequently preserved me, as I shall relate in the sequel, amidst the numerous perils to which I was exposed.

XVI. So great was the attachment of the Galilæans to my person, and such their fidelity, that when their cities had been taken by assault, and their wives and children carried into slavery, deep as were their groans over their own calamities, deeper still was their solicitude for my safety. Observing this, John was filled with envy, and wrote to me requesting my permission to come down, and use the hot baths of Tiberias for the benefit of his health. Entertaining no suspicion of any sinister design, I not only threw no obstacles in the way, but further sent special instructions to those to whom I had confided the administration of Tiberias, to prepare apartments for him and his attendants; and to provide them with an abundance of every necessary. I resided at this period in a village of Galilee, called Cana.

XVII. John, on his arrival in Tiberias, addressed himself to the inhabitants, with the view of inducing them to withdraw their allegiance from me, and attach themselves to him; and there were not a

few, who, ever fond of innovation, disposed by natural temperament to change, and delighting in sedition, lent a willing ear to his exhortations. The most eager to revolt from me, and to connect themselves with John, were Justus and his father Pistus. By timely measures, however, I disconcerted their plans; for a messenger had reached me from Silas, whom, as I have already mentioned, I had appointed governor of Tiberias, informing me of the dispositions of the people, and advising me to hasten thither, as any delay might occasion the loss of the town.

2. On receipt of this intelligence, I set out for Tiberias, accompanied by two hundred men, and marched throughout the entire night; having sent forward a courier to announce my approach. Arriving early in the morning within a short distance of the place, I was met by the inhabitants. John, who was with them, saluted me with evident marks of perturbation; and fearing lest, should his conduct be exposed, his life might be endangered, he retired with quick steps to his lodging. Going forward to the stadium, I there dismissed my life-guards, with the exception of one, whom, with ten soldiers, I retained. Taking my stand on an elevated tribunal, I now attempted to address the crowd, and exhorted them not thus hastily to revolt. Such a change, I remarked, would attach a stigma to their character; and suspicions might then justly be entertained by their future governors, that, as they had been unfaithful to others, so would they be to them.

XVIII. I had not yet concluded my address, when I heard one of my attendants bidding me come down, as it was no time for me to trouble myself about the allegiance of the Tiberians:—I should rather be consulting my own safety, and how I might escape from my enemies. John, on learning that I was left alone with my domestics, had selected the most trusty of the thousand soldiers under his command, and had given them orders to repair to the stadium, and despatch me. They came as directed, and would have effected their purpose, had I not instantly sprung down from the tribunal, and, with James, my life-guard, aided by one Herod of Tiberias, who carried me through the crowd, and acted as my guide, made good my retreat to the lake, where I seized a boat, and leaping into it—rescued beyond all expectation from my enemies—pursued my course to Tarichæa.

XIX. The inhabitants of this city, on being informed of the perfidy of the Tiberians, became highly exasperated, and snatching up their arms, desired to be led against them; expressing their wish to avenge their general. They also circulated throughout Galilee a report of

these occurrences; exerting themselves to the utmost to excite indignation against the Tiberians; and they further called upon their brethren to join them with as large a force as possible, in order that, under the advice of their commander, they might act as should seem best. The Galilæans, accordingly, ready armed, assembled in crowds from all quarters; entreating me to attack Tiberias—to carry it by assault—lay it even with the ground, and reduce its inhabitants—men, women, and children, to slavery. To the same purport, likewise, were the sentiments of those of my friends who had escaped from Tiberias.

2. To these demands, however, I refused to accede, shuddering at the thought of commencing a civil war; for I felt that, farther than words, this quarrel ought not to proceed. I assured them, moreover, that I should be doing them an injury, were I to comply with their request, as the Romans were keeping aloof until our ranks should be thinned by mutual dissensions. With these observations I allayed the anger of the Galilæans.

XX. John, after the failure of his machinations, entertaining apprehensions for his safety, removed, accompanied by his men at arms, from Tiberias to Gischala. From thence he wrote to me, defending himself on the subject of these transactions, as not having taken place with his approbation, and begging me, at the same moment, to harbour no suspicions to his disadvantage; adding oaths, and certain dreadful imprecations, by which he hoped to obtain credit for his assertions.

XXI. The Galilæans, meanwhile, in conjunction with many who had again assembled in arms, from all quarters, aware of the wickedness and perjury of the man, importuned me to lead them against him, avowing their determination utterly to destroy both him and Gischala. For their readiness to serve me I expressed my gratitude, and promised to outdo them in kindness; but entreated them, at the same time, to restrain their feelings, and pardon the resolution I had formed, to put an end to these disturbances without bloodshed. Having brought them over to my views, I took my departure for Sepphoris.

XXII. The inhabitants of this city, having decided on maintaining their allegiance to the Romans, were alarmed at my arrival, and endeavoured, by diverting my attention elsewhere, to relieve themselves from anxiety. For this purpose they communicated with Joshua, the brigand chief, who harboured on the confines of Ptolemaïs, promising him a large reward, if, with the force under his command, which numbered eight hundred men, he would light up a war against

us. Influenced by these promises, he laid his plans for falling on us while unprepared, and entertaining no suspicion of his design. He accordingly sent me a message, requesting that I would permit him to come and salute me. Quite unconscious of his meditated treachery, I acceded to his desire; on which, accompanied by his band of marauders, he hastened toward Sepphoris. Little success, however, attended his villany; for, when he had already arrived within a short distance of the town, one of his company deserted, and running forward, apprised me of his intentions.

2. On receipt of this information, I repaired to the market-place, pretending ignorance of the plot. I then ordered out a large body of Galilæans, under arms, with a few Tiberians; and having directed all the avenues to be carefully guarded, I charged the sentries at the gates to suffer none to enter but Joshua, and those nearest him, excluding the remainder; and, in case they should attempt a violent entrance, to repel them by force.

3. In obedience to these instructions, Joshua was admitted with a few others. I then commanded him instantly to throw down his arms, on peril of death; upon which, beholding himself surrounded with soldiers, he was seized with terror, and complied. Those of his band who had been shut out from the city, hearing of his capture, took to flight. Calling Joshua aside, I told him that I was no stranger to his perfidious intentions respecting me, nor was I ignorant by whom he had been commissioned. I was, however, still willing to pardon him, if he would express contrition, and promise to be faithful to me. To this he assented; and I gave him leave to depart, with liberty to re-assemble his scattered troop. The Sepphorites I threatened with punishment, should they not desist from their senseless proceedings.

XXIII. About this time came to me two chiefs from the region of Trachonitis, subjects of the king, bringing their horses, accoutrements, and money. These individuals, the Jews were inclined forcibly to circumcise, if they wished to reside amongst them. I would not, however, suffer any violence to be used towards them; observing, that every one should worship God according to his own inclination, and not by constraint; and that we should not give men, who had fled to us for protection, cause of regret. Having thus prevailed with the multitude, I provided our visitors with an ample supply of every thing suited to their customary mode of life.

XXIV. King Agrippa now despatched a force, under the command of *Æquiculus Modius*, to demolish the fortress of Gamala; but as the detachment was not in sufficient strength to allow of its invest-

ing the place, the troops sat down before it on open ground, and commenced a siege. *Æbutius*, the decurion, to whom had been confided the government of the Great Plain, learning that I was at *Simonias*, a village situated on the confines of Galilee, and distant from him sixty furlongs, accompanied by the hundred horse, whom he had with him, about two hundred foot, and a body of auxiliaries from the town of *Gaba*, marching by night, appeared before the village where I was posted. I drew up, with a considerable force, in order of battle; and though *Æbutius*, relying principally upon his cavalry, endeavoured to entice us into the plain, I remained immovable, determined to come to action in my present position; well aware of the advantage his horse would possess over my troops, which consisted entirely of infantry, should we descend to the level ground.

2. For some time *Æbutius*, with his party, maintained a gallant attack; but perceiving that his cavalry were unserviceable in such a situation, he retired to the town of *Gaba*, without accomplishing his object, and with the loss of three of his men. I pursued him closely with a detachment two thousand strong; and on reaching the town of *Besara*, which lies on the borders of *Ptolemaïs*, twenty furlongs from *Gaba*, where *Æbutius* had halted, I stationed my force outside the village, with injunctions carefully to guard the passes, so as to prevent molestation from the enemy, until we should remove the corn, of which there was a large quantity in the place. It belonged to *Queen Bernice*, and had been collected from the neighbouring hamlets, and stored in *Besara*. I accordingly loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought with me, and sent the grain into Galilee. Having effected this, I offered *Æbutius* battle; but as he declined it, from alarm at our eagerness for action, and intrepid front, I marched against *Neopolitanus*, who, I was informed, had been laying waste the territory of *Tiberias*. This *Neopolitanus* was commander of a troop of horse, and to him *Scythopolis* had been committed for protection from the enemy. Having, therefore, prevented him from doing further injury to *Tiberias*, I turned my attention to the affairs of Galilee.

XXV. When *John*, the son of *Levi*, who, as we have said, resided in *Gischala*, was informed that every thing proceeded with me according to my wishes, that I was beloved by those under my command, and regarded with dismay by the enemy, he felt chagrined; and, in the belief that my success would lead to his ruin, became a prey to immoderate envy. Hoping that, could he inspire hatred toward me in those under my orders, he should check my good fortune,

he laboured, thinking that Gabara would follow the example of defection, to seduce the inhabitants of Tiberias and Sepphoris—these were the three largest towns in Galilee—from my interests, and attach them to his own; assuring them, that, in his conduct as their general, he would be found my superior.

2. To these proposals, Sepphoris, which preferred subjection to the Romans, and would therefore attend to neither of us, declined to accede. Tiberias, though it did not take part in the revolt, yet consented to favour his pretensions; while Gabara, through the persuasions of Simon, the leading person there, and John's friend and associate, joined his party. The people of Gabara, it is true, greatly dreading the Galilæans, of whose kindly feelings towards me they had had frequent proof, did not openly avow their defection; but they secretly watched for any opportunity that might offer for my destruction. I was in consequence brought into extreme danger, under the following circumstances.—

XXVI. Some young men of daring character, natives of Dabaritta, having observed the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, attended by a numerous retinue, and an escort of cavalry, pursuing her journey over the Great Plain, from a district under the royal jurisdiction to one in occupation of the Romans, fell suddenly on the party, and after obliging the lady to take to flight, carried off the whole of her baggage. They then repaired to Tarichæa, where I was residing at the time, bringing with them four mules laden with raiment and other valuables; besides a large quantity of silver, and five hundred pieces of gold. It being my wish to preserve these articles for Ptolemy, as he was of Jewish blood—and we are prohibited by our laws from robbing even an enemy—I informed the parties, that it was necessary that these effects should be reserved for sale, and the proceeds applied in repairing the walls of Jerusalem.

2. Incensed that they had thus been disappointed in receiving a share of the plunder, the young men went to the villages around Tiberias, stating that I was about to betray their country to the Romans. It was a mere pretence on my part, they said, to allege that what had been obtained by rapine should be kept for repairing the fortifications of Jerusalem; as I had determined on restoring these spoils to the owner. And on this head they were not astray as to my intention. For as soon as they had withdrawn, I sent for the two leading men, Dassion, and Jannæus, the son of Levi, who were among the most attached of the king's partizans, and directed them to take the produce of the plunder, and

return it to him ; threatening them with the penalty of death, should they communicate to any one these my orders.

XXVII. The whole of Galilee being filled with the rumour that I was about to betray the country to the Romans, and the people, in their excitement, universally demanding my punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichæa, in the belief that the young men had spoken the truth, persuaded my body-guards and soldiers to withdraw from me while I was asleep, and repair with haste to the Hippodrome, there, in common concert, to devise measures against the general. Thither they accordingly proceeded, and found a vast concourse already assembled, and uniting in a cry for vengeance on the wretch who had betrayed them. The principal fomentor of the uproar was the son of Sapphias, Joshua, at that time chief magistrate of Tiberias :—a profligate character, naturally disposed to disturb affairs of importance, and unmatched as a promoter of sedition and change. With the laws of Moses in his hands, he presented himself to the people, and thus addressed them :—

2. “ If you cannot bring yourselves to hate Josephus on account of your own wrongs, citizens, yet, looking with reverence on your country's laws, which your commander-in-chief is about to betray, and, detesting him for their sakes, punish the man who has dared to do such things.”

XXVIII. This harangue having been greeted by the multitude with shouts of applause, he hurried, with some soldiers, to the house in which I resided, with a determination to despatch me. Foreseeing no danger, I had, from fatigue, retired to rest previous to the riot. Simon, who had been entrusted with the defence of my person, and who alone had remained with me, observing the crowd rushing towards the house, awoke me, and announcing the danger impending over me, entreated me to die honourably, as a general, by his sword, before my enemies should enter, and either place me in durance, or put me to death.—Such was his counsel ; but commending my cause to God, I prepared with all haste to go forth to the people. Having therefore exchanged my dress for one of black, and suspended my sword from my neck, I proceeded to the Hippodrome by a different road, on which I expected to encounter none of my enemies ; and, presenting myself suddenly before the assembly, threw myself on the ground, bedewing it with my tears, and excited general commiseration. Perceiving the change in the feelings of the people, I endeavoured to sow disunion among them, before the armed party should return from my house. I therefore acknowledged that I was guilty to the full extent of their suspicions ; but prayed leave

to inform them, first, for what purpose I had reserved the money accruing from the plunder, and then to die, should they so command. Just as the multitude granted me liberty to speak, the soldiers arrived, and, observing me, ran forward with the intention of despatching me. They desisted, however, on being ordered so to do by the crowd; in the expectation, that, as soon as I should admit having reserved the money for the king, they should be permitted to kill me as a self-avowed traitor.

XXIX. General silence prevailing, I thus addressed them :—

“ My countrymen, to die, I refuse not, if justice so require. I wish, however, before my death, to give you a true statement of the facts. Aware that this your city is famed for hospitality, and is crowded with numbers who have abandoned their native soil, and have come to share your fortunes, I had formed the design of fortifying it with this money, which, though about to be expended on your own walls, has notwithstanding excited your anger.” I had scarcely uttered these words, when a murmur arose among the Tarichæans, and their guests, who, expressing their gratitude, exhorted me not to be discouraged. The Galilæans and Tiberians, however, still cherishing resentment, the whole assemblage began to quarrel among themselves, the one party threatening to take my life, the other desiring me to treat these menaces with contempt. But on my promising to fortify Tiberias, and the other cities which stood in need of defence, confiding in my assurances, they retired, each to his home. Having thus, beyond all hope, escaped from this perilous situation, I returned to my residence, escorted by my friends and twenty men under arms.

XXX. The brigands, however, and the ringleaders of the tumult, apprehensive for themselves, lest I should visit them with punishment for their conduct, proceeded to my dwelling a second time, accompanied by six hundred armed men, with the intention of setting it on fire. Informed of their approach, and thinking that it would be unbecoming in me to fly, I determined to have recourse to a piece of hardihood.

2. I gave directions accordingly to secure the doors, and, going to the upper story, desired them to depute some of their body to receive the money; adding, that there would be then no further cause for resentment towards me. The most courageous man among them having been sent in, I had him severely scourged; and, ordering one of his hands to be cut off, and suspended from his neck, I turned him out in that state to his comrades. Thrown into extreme terror and consternation by this procedure, the rioters, imagining that I had a

guard within, more numerous than themselves, and dreading similar treatment should they remain, decamped with precipitation. Such was the stratagem by which I was preserved from this second conspiracy.

XXXI. On another occasion, some individuals laboured to excite the populace against me, declaring that the chiefs, who had come to us from the royal territories, should not be suffered to live, unless they would conform to the usages of those with whom they had found an asylum; affirming, at the same time, that they were sorcerers, and had invited the Romans into the country. In these views the people, deluded by plausible assertions, which were designed to conciliate their favour, readily acquiesced. On being informed of this, I again urged upon the populace that they ought not to persecute those who had taken refuge with them. The absurdity of the charge of witchcraft I exposed by remarking, that the Romans would not maintain so many thousands of soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by enchantments. By this argument I pacified them for the present; but, after they had retired, they once more, under the influence of evil advisers, became irritated against the chiefs; and at length made an attack in arms upon their house in Tarichæa, with the intention of putting them to death.

2. When informed of this, fearing lest, should such an atrocity be perpetrated, strangers would be deterred from seeking an asylum in the town, I repaired, with some others, to the residence of the chiefs, and having secured the door, opened a trench, leading from the house to the lake. I then ordered up a boat, and, embarking with them, passed over to the frontiers of Hippos; where, having paid them the value of their horses, which, in so precipitate a flight, it was impossible that I could bring in from the pastures, I took my leave, earnestly exhorting them to bear up with fortitude under their present difficulties. It was with deep regret that I saw myself compelled to expose, once more, on a hostile soil, men who had fled to me for protection; yet I thought it better that they should perish, if such should be their lot, by the hands of the Romans, than within my jurisdiction. Eventually, however, they escaped; having received a pardon for their misdemeanors from Agrippa. And thus terminated their adventures.

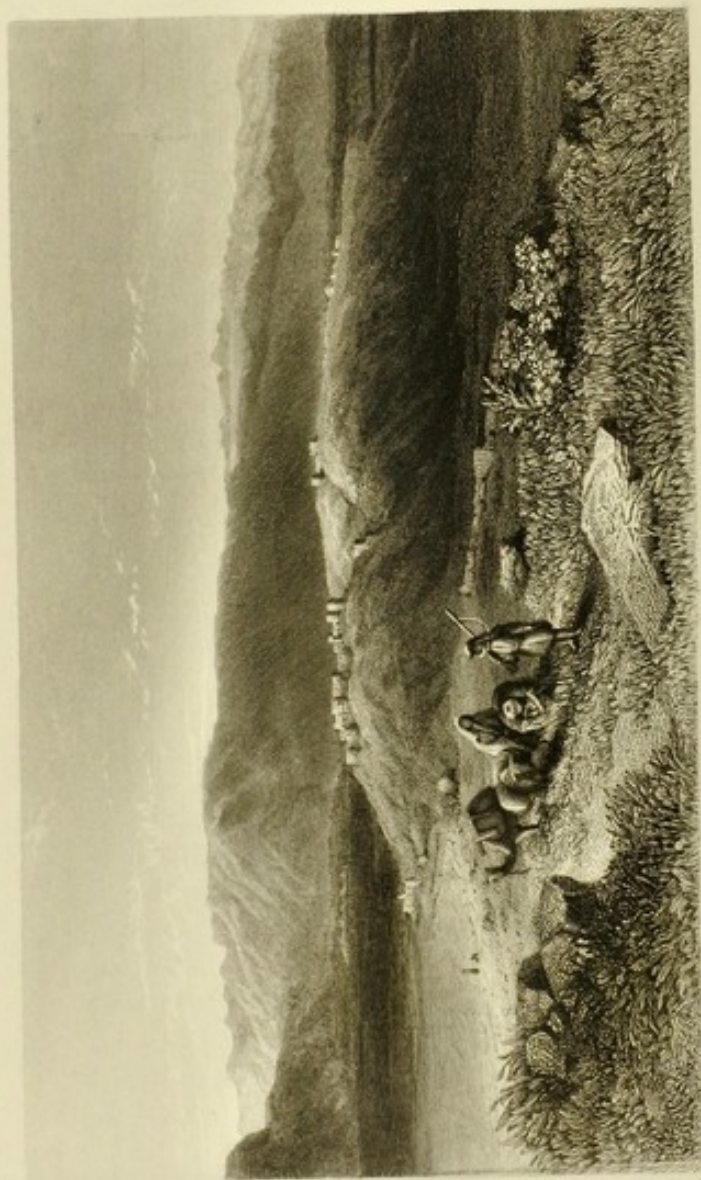
XXXII. The inhabitants of Tiberias had, in the mean time, written to the king, requesting him to send them a force for the defence of their territory, as they were desirous of attaching themselves to him. Such was the purport of the communication;

but, on my arrival amongst them, they petitioned me to build a wall round their city, agreeably to my promise, as they had heard that Tarichæa had already been fortified. To this proposal I acceded; and, having made all the necessary preparations, I directed the workmen to proceed with vigour. Three days after, however, as I was on my way to Tarichæa, which lay at a distance of thirty furlongs from Tiberias, it happened that some Roman horse were observed on their march, not far from the town; which led to the belief that the reinforcements from the king were approaching. Instantly a loud shout burst forth; the king's name being greeted with warm applause, while I was covered with invectives.

2. Informed of this, by one who ran to tell me that a revolt was intended, I felt exceedingly alarmed, as I had dismissed my soldiers from Tarichæa to their homes; for, the next day being the sabbath, I was reluctant to have the city disturbed by a crowd of military. Often, however, as I had resided in that place, I had never taken any precautions for my personal safety, so many proofs had I received of the fidelity of the inhabitants towards me. As I had now about me not more than seven soldiers, and a few friends, I was doubtful what course to pursue. I did not think it proper to re-assemble my forces, as the day was already declining; and, even had they been at hand, I could not have ordered them to arms on the morrow, such a proceeding being prohibited by our laws, urgent though the necessity might seem. Should I, on the other hand, grant the people of Tarichæa, and the strangers who were among them, liberty to plunder the town, I was aware that they were of insufficient strength; and I foresaw that a considerable interval must elapse before I could be on the spot, as I thought to anticipate the arrival of the royal army, and cut it off from the city. I determined, therefore, to employ a stratagem against them.—Having stationed, with all despatch, the most confidential of my friends at the gates of Tarichæa, with injunctions to keep in safe custody those who wished to pass outwards, I summoned the heads of families, and directed them severally to launch their ships, taking each a pilot on board, and to follow me to Tiberias. I then embarked with my friends, and the seven soldiers already mentioned, and steered for that place.

XXXIII. The Tiberians, when they learned that no succours were coming to them from the king, and saw the lake covered with vessels, were alarmed for the city, and, struck with terror under the impression that the ships were filled with assailants, changed their plans. Accordingly, throwing down their arms, they came forth to meet me, with

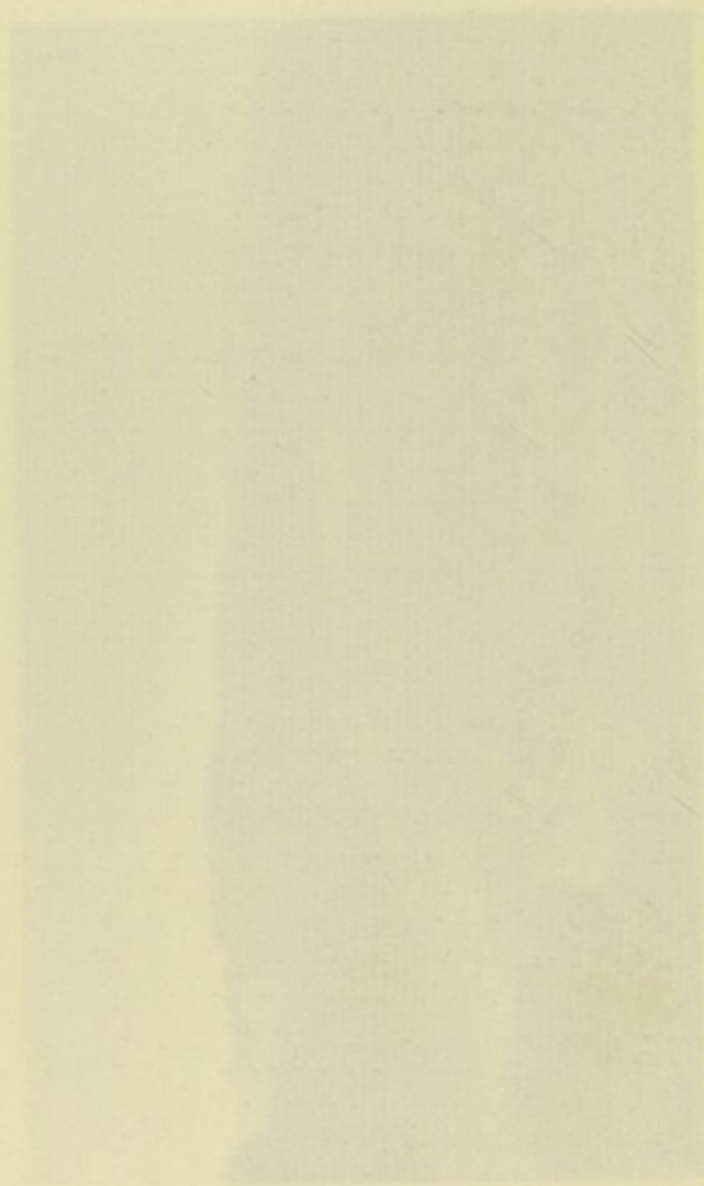




W. TIPPIN.

TARICHÆA.

HOULSTON AND STONEMAN, LONDON.



wives and children, and extolling me to the skies, entreated me to spare the city; not dreaming that I had received intimation of their designs. On approaching the land, I directed the pilots to cast anchor at some distance from the shore, in order to conceal from the Tiberians the total absence of an attacking force on board my fleet. I then advanced in one of our vessels, and reproved the people severely for their weakness and fickleness in revolting from me without any just cause. I promised, notwithstanding, to treat them with forbearance for the time to come, on condition that they would send me ten of the leaders of the populace. Readily assenting to this proposal, they delivered them up, and I put them on board ship, to be conveyed to Tarichæa, and there detained in custody.

XXXIV. Having by this stratagem gradually got the whole of the council into my power, I transferred them to Tarichæa, and with them a considerable number of the popular party, leading men, and not inferior to the others. The eyes of the multitude being now opened to the extent of misery to which they had reduced themselves, they called on me to bring to punishment the author of the sedition—by name Clitus, a daring and headstrong youth. Feeling that I could not, without impiety, put one of my countrymen to death, while it was at the same time necessary to make an example of him, I commanded Levi, a soldier of my body guard, to advance, and cut off one of his hands. The man being afraid, however, to venture alone into the midst of such a crowd, whilst I was equally unwilling that they should notice his timidity, I thus addressed Clitus: "Since you even deserve to lose both your hands for your base ingratitude to me, become your own executioner, lest, in case of your refusal, I visit you with a severer punishment;" for, the fellow being extremely urgent with me to spare him one of his hands, I had, after much hesitation, consented; on which, lest he should lose both, he cheerfully drew his sword, and severed his left hand from his body: and this terminated the sedition.

XXXV. The Tiberians, discovering, on my arrival at Tarichæa, the stratagem I had employed against them, were struck with admiration at the manner in which, without any sacrifice of life, I had put an end to their folly. I now sent for a few of those in custody, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, and made them sup with me. During the repast I remarked to them, that I was myself likewise not ignorant that the power of the Romans was paramount, but that I had been silent upon the subject, on account of the brigands. I therefore recommended them to follow my

example, and, waiting for a fitting season, not to be impatient under my command; as they could scarcely expect another to conduct himself towards them with equal moderation. I also reminded Justus that the Galilæans, previous to my arriving from Jerusalem, had, on a charge of forging letters prior to the war, cut off his brother's hands; and that, after the departure of Philip, the people of Gamala, rising in insurrection against the Babylonians, had slain Chares, a kinsman of Philip, and deliberately punished his brother Joshua, the husband of Justus's sister. Such was the tenor of my conversation during the entertainment; and, early on the ensuing morning, I ordered Justus, and his fellow prisoners, to be discharged.

XXXVI. Some time previous to the events we have been relating, Philip, the son of Jacimus, retired from the fortress of Gamala, under the following circumstances.—Having learned that Varus had withdrawn from the service of King Agrippa, and that his friend and comrade of former days, Modius Æquiculus, had come as his successor, Philip wrote to the latter, acquainting him with the vicissitudes of his fortune, and requesting him to forward to the king and queen the letters he transmitted. Modius, overjoyed at the receipt of a communication which assured him of Philip's safety, despatched the letters; Agrippa and the queen being then at Berytus. The king, on ascertaining that the rumour concerning Philip was void of foundation—a report having gone abroad that he had assumed the command of the Jews in their contest with the Romans, sent a party of horse to conduct him to court. On his arrival, he received him with the warmest affection, and, presenting him to the Roman generals, observed, that this was that Philip who was said to have revolted from their standard. He then directed him to repair immediately with a body of cavalry to the fortress of Gamala, in order to bring from thence his entire household, and to reinstate the Babylonians in Batanæa; enjoining him, likewise, to use all possible precaution to repress insurrection among those under his rule. These instructions Philip hastened to execute.

XXXVII. About this time, Joseph, the midwife's son, induced a number of desperate youths to unite with him; and addressing, in a seditious tone, the leading men in Gamala, endeavoured to prevail on them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, holding out the hope of their obtaining freedom by his aid. Some they compelled to do so;—those who were dissatisfied with their designs, they put to the sword. It was on this occasion that they slew Chares, together with Joshua, one of his kinsmen, and brother of Justus of Tiberias, of which mention has been just made. They then wrote

to me for a body of troops to garrison the town, and for workmen to repair the walls: neither of which requests I refused.

2. The region of Gaulanitis, also, as far as the village of Solyma, rose in rebellion against the king. I constructed walls around Seleucia and Soganni, places naturally of very great strength; and in like manner protected several villages of Upper Galilee, though in an extremely rocky situation, such as Jamnia, Meroth, and Achabare. In lower Galilee, likewise, I fortified the cities of Tarichæa, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Caphareccho, Sigo, Japha, and Mount Tabor. I further provided them with ample magazines of corn, and arms, for their future security.

XXXVIII. The hatred, meanwhile, with which I was regarded by John, the son of Levi, who beheld my prosperity with pain, daily augmented. Accordingly, after completing the fortifications of his native place, Gischala—determined to put me entirely out of the way, he despatched his brother Simon, and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, with about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, for the purpose of engaging Simon, the son of Gamaliel, to use his influence with the general council to deprive me of the government of Galilee, and elect him instead. This Simon was a native of Jerusalem, descended from a very honourable family, and of the sect of the Pharisees, who are reputed to excel others in accurate acquaintance with the legal institutions of their country. A man he was, endowed with extraordinary intelligence and judgment; and well able to correct disorder in public affairs from the resources of his own mind. He had been, of old, the friend and intimate of John; and was, at this time, at variance with me.

2. Yielding to this influence, Simon addressed himself to the chief priests, Ananus, and Joshua, the son of Gamala, and others of their party, advising them to nip the evil in the bud, and not overlook my advance to the summit of glory. He added, that it would be for their advantage were I removed from Galilee; and urged them, moreover, to make no delay, lest, obtaining information of what was going forward, I should march with a formidable army to Jerusalem. Such were Simon's suggestions. Ananus, the chief priest, on the other hand, objected that these measures were not of easy accomplishment; as many of the chief priests and heads of the people testified that I had discharged the duties of a general with credit; adding, that, to accuse a man against whom no charge could be substantiated, was the act of a depraved mind.

XXXIX. Simon, on hearing these observations of Ananus, cautioned the deputation to maintain silence, and not divulge the purport of their errand; stating that he had taken precautions for my speedy removal from Galilee. He accordingly sent for John's brother, and directed him to distribute presents amongst the party of Ananus, remarking that he would thus quickly induce them to alter their views; and Simon eventually gained his object; for Ananus and his associates, corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me from Galilee;—their purpose, meanwhile, being carefully concealed from every one in the town. In pursuance of their plan they determined to send men, differing indeed in birth, but equal in education; of whom two, Jonathan and Ananias, were secular persons, attached to the sect of the Pharisees; the third, Joazar, was of sacerdotal lineage, he also a Pharisee; the youngest of the deputation being Simon, one of the chief priests.

2. These were instructed, in their interviews with the Galilæans, to inquire from them the grounds of their predilection in my favour. Should it be alleged, that it arose from my being born in Jerusalem, they were to reply, that they four were all likewise natives of that place: if from my being conversant with their laws, answer was to be made, that neither were they unacquainted with the institutions of their country: but were it farther stated, that they loved me from respect for the priesthood, they were to rejoin, that two of themselves also were priests.

XL. On delivering these instructions to Jonathan and his colleagues, they handed them forty thousand pieces of silver, out of the public treasury; and having learned that there was a Galilæan, named Joshua, residing in Jerusalem, who had about him an armed band of six hundred men, they sent for him, and, giving him three months' pay, directed him to follow the deputies, and obey their orders. Three hundred citizens, moreover, were supplied severally with money for their support, and desired likewise to pursue the route of the embassy. These acquiescing, and being now in readiness for the journey, Jonathan and his party set out with them, attended also by John's brother, and a hundred of the soldiery. The instructions they received were, in case I should voluntarily lay down my arms, to send me prisoner to Jerusalem; but in the event of any opposition, to despatch me without fear of consequences—for such were their commands. They had also written to John to be prepared for the hostile movement against me; while orders were transmitted to Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias, to furnish him with their respective complements of troops.

XLI. With these proceedings I was made acquainted by a letter from my father, who obtained his intelligence from Joshua, the son of Gamala, a friend and companion of mine, who was present at that meeting. Deeply distressed, indeed, I could not but feel on discovering that my fellow-citizens had allowed envy so far to overcome their sense of gratitude, as to issue orders for my destruction: while my grief was enhanced by my father's imploring me to come to him, and expressing an ardent desire to see his son before his death. Of these occurrences I did not fail to inform my friends; adding, that, in the course of three days, I should leave that district, on my return home.

2. At this intimation all were overwhelmed with sorrow, and besought me, with tears, not to abandon them; as ruin would be inevitable, should they be deprived of my counsel and conduct. Anxious for my own safety, however, I declined acceding to their entreaties; but the Galilæans, fearing lest, on my withdrawal, they should be exposed to the outrages of the brigands, despatched messengers through the province to acquaint the people with my intended departure. A numerous assemblage, accordingly, collected from all quarters, with their wives and children, not so much, as I conceive, from affection for me, as through apprehension for themselves; under the persuasion that so long as I continued in the country, no injury could befall them. The place of meeting was the great plain, which bears the name of Asochis, and in which I then resided.

XLII. On that night I was visited with a very remarkable dream. I had retired to rest, grieved and disturbed at the tidings which had reached me, when, as I thought, one stood beside me, and addressed me in these words:—"Cease, O man, to afflict thy soul: banish every fear. That which now grieves thee will greatly promote thy advancement, and crown thy felicity." Not thy present difficulties only, but many others also, thou shalt successfully encounter. Despond not then. Remember that thou hast to contend with the Romans."

2. On awaking from this dream, I started up, much cheered, in order to go down to the plain. The moment I appeared, the assembled Galilæans, and among them were women and children, fell prostrate, and with tears implored me not to abandon them to their enemies, nor, by my departure, consign their country to the brutal insolence of their foes. Finding me deaf to their entreaties, they compelled me with adjurations to continue with them; bitterly

upbraiding the people of Jerusalem for not allowing their country to remain in peace.

XLIII. While I listened to these expressions of grief, and witnessed the dejection of the crowd, my heart was rent with compassion, and I felt that it became me, in behalf of so vast a multitude, to await even imminent danger. I accordingly consented to remain; and having directed five thousand of them to attend me with arms and a supply of provisions, I dismissed the others to their homes. The five thousand having assembled, accompanied by them, the three thousand infantry already with me, and eighty horse, I directed my march upon Chabolo, a village situate on the confines of Ptolemais; where I kept my forces together, feigning an intention of attacking Placidus, who had been detached by Cestius Gallus, with two cohorts of foot, and a troop of cavalry, to burn those villages of Galilee which lay contiguous to Ptolemais. Under the walls of that city, Placidus had entrenched himself, and, at about the distance of sixty furlongs from Chabolo, I formed my encampment. The two armies were now frequently drawn out in order of battle; but nothing more than skirmishes occurred, as Placidus, becoming alarmed in proportion as he saw me desirous of engaging, declined the combat. He still maintained his position, however, before Ptolemais.

XLIV. At this juncture Jonathan arrived in company with his fellow-legates: they as we have stated, having been sent from Jerusalem by the faction of Simon and Ananus, the high-priest. Afraid to offer me open violence, Jonathan had recourse to treachery in order to entrap me; and accordingly addressed to me the following letter:—"Jonathan and his colleagues, now on an embassy from Jerusalem, salute Josephus. The leading men in Jerusalem, having heard that John of Gischala has made various attempts upon your life, have commissioned us to rebuke him, and to admonish him to respect your authority for the future. Wishing, however, to consult with you on matters of public concernment, we request that you will repair to us with all despatch, and with but few attendants, as this village cannot admit a large military force."

2. This letter they wrote, expecting one of two things; either, that I should go unarmed, and thus be in their power, or that, coming with a numerous retinue, I should be adjudged a public enemy. The bearer of this epistle was a trooper, an insolent young fellow withal, who had formerly been in the king's service. It was already the second hour of the night, and I was seated at table with a party

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of friends, and the nobles of Galilee. My servant having informed me that a Jewish horseman had arrived, I gave orders that he should be introduced; when, without even a salutation, he held out the letter, saying—"This, the deputies from Jerusalem have sent to you;" and adding, "Do you, therefore, write an immediate answer, as I am in haste to return to them."

3. My guests were surprised at the soldier's audacity. I invited him, however, to sit down, and join us at supper. On his declining to do so, still keeping the letter in my hand, as I had received it, I began to converse with those about me on other subjects; but not long after, I rose from table, and having dismissed my company to their repose, with the exception of four of my particular friends whom I directed to remain, I ordered my attendant to serve up wine. I then unfolded the letter, unobserved by any present, and having glanced my eye over its contents, and ascertained its purport, I closed it up again. Holding it in my hand, as if I had not yet perused it, I directed twenty drachmas to be given to the soldier for the expenses of his journey. When he had received the sum, and thanking me, I perceived his cupidity, and that, by this lure, I should be most likely to ensnare him; "but if," said I, "you are willing to drink with us, you shall have a drachma for every cup." He readily assented, and in order to augment his receipts, quaffed his wine so freely as to become intoxicated, and no longer able to retain the secret. He accordingly disclosed to us, unasked, the plot formed against me; and that I was doomed to death by his masters.

4. On learning these facts, I wrote in reply as follows:—"Josephus salutes Jonathan and his colleagues. It affords me pleasure to hear that you have reached Galilee in good health; more especially, as I can now resign the government of this province into your hands, and return home; which I have long wished to do. To wait on you not merely at Xaloth, but at a greater distance, would be my duty, even had you not required it. I must request your indulgence, however, for the present, as I am watching, at Chabolo, the motions of Placidus, who is menacing Galilee with an incursion. On receipt of this, therefore, do you proceed to join me. Farewell."

XLV. Having written this letter, and handed it to the soldier, I directed thirty Galilæans of the highest repute to accompany him, with injunctions to salute the deputies; but to say nothing more. To each of these, I further attached a trusty soldier, to keep an eye upon them, lest any intercourse should take place between them and the opposite party. The company then set out on their journey.

2. Jonathan and his associates having failed in their first attempt,

addressed a second letter to me, couched in these terms:—"Jonathan and his colleagues salute Josephus. We require you, in three days, to repair to us, without military escort, to the village of Gabaroth, that we may take cognizance of your charges against John."

3. Having written to this effect, and saluted the Galilæans, whom I had commissioned to wait on them, they repaired to Japha, which is the largest village of Galilee, very strongly fortified, and containing a dense population. There the multitude, accompanied by their wives and children, met them, and with loud outcries ordered them to depart, and not to envy them the services of their worthy general. Though highly irritated at this language, Jonathan and his colleagues dared not manifest their displeasure. Accordingly, without deigning reply, they removed to other villages. But, on all sides, the same clamours encountered them; the people loudly declaring that no persuasions should shake their determination to retain Josephus as their general. Thus foiled in their purpose, the deputies withdrew to Sepphoris, the largest city in Galilee. Here the inhabitants, who were favourably disposed towards the Romans, came out to meet them; but me they neither commended, nor censured. From Sepphoris they went down to Asochis, where they were received with uproar, similar to that with which they had been assailed at Japha. Unable longer to repress their choler, they ordered their escort to beat the rioters with cudgels. On their arrival at Gabara, they were joined by John at the head of three thousand men at arms.

4. As I had already been made aware, by the letter, of their intention to attack me, I broke up from Chabolo with a force, three thousand strong, leaving in the camp the most trusty of my friends; and as I was anxious to be near them, I removed to Jotapata, forty furlongs distant. From thence I wrote to them as follows; "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and villages in Galilee, to any of which you may appoint I am ready to repair, Gabara and Gischala excepted; the one John's native place, the other united to him in confederacy and friendship."

XLVI. To this letter they returned no answer; but on receipt of it, they summoned a council of their adherents, at which John was present, to consult as to the measures to be pursued against me. John was of opinion that they should send circulars throughout Galilee, inasmuch as, in every city and village, one or two individuals at least would be found opposed to me; and that these should be called out as against an enemy. He further advised that

a copy of this resolution should be transmitted to Jerusalem, in order that the people, made aware of my having been declared an enemy by the Galilæans, might be induced to pass a similar decree; for, if this were once done, even those of the Galilæans who were well inclined towards me, would become alarmed, he said, and abandon me. These suggestions of John were very favourably received by the other members of the council.

2. About the third hour of the night, intelligence of these proceedings was brought to me by Sacchæus, a man of their party, who deserted, and informed me of their design. I was now sensible that not a moment was to be lost. Regarding James, one of my faithful soldiers, as a suitable person, I directed him to take two hundred men, and secure the avenues leading from Gabara into Galilee; and, arresting all travelling that way, to send them to me;—especially those caught with letters about them. I, moreover, detached Jeremiah, one of my friends, with six hundred soldiers to the frontier of Galilee, to watch the roads leading thence to Jerusalem, ordering him, likewise, to seize any who should be found journeying with despatches: the bearers he was to detain upon the spot in irons;—the documents he was to forward to me.

XLVII. Having issued these instructions, I sent the Galilæans directions to attend me the next morning at the village of Gabaroth, with their arms, and three days' provisions. Having divided the troops which I had with me into four sections, I formed the most trusty into a body guard, and gave the command of them to officers, whom I charged to take precautions that no strange soldier should hold communication with them.

2. About the fifth hour on the day following I arrived at Gabaroth, and found the entire plain, in front of the village, covered with armed men, who, agreeably to my orders, had come from Galilee to my aid; a large concourse accompanying them from the adjoining villages. When I stood up, and was beginning to speak, they greeted me with loud acclamations, hailing me with one voice as the benefactor and saviour of their country. Having expressed my gratitude, I advised them neither to assault any one, nor harass the country with rapine; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be satisfied with their own provisions, as it was my wish to compose these disturbances without the effusion of blood.

3. It happened, on that very day, that those sent by Jonathan with despatches, fell into the hands of the party whom I had stationed to guard the roads; and they were detained, accordingly, on the spot, as I had directed. Finding the letters filled with

invectives and falsehoods, I determined, without communicating these facts to any one, to advance against the deputies.

XLVIII. Jonathan and his associates, hearing of my approach, retired with John, and all their immediate friends, to the house of Joshua, which was a spacious turreted building, differing in no respect from a citadel. Within this they had concealed a band of soldiers, and leaving one only of the gates open, they waited in expectation that, at the conclusion of my journey, I should come and salute them. Orders were likewise given to admit me only, excluding my attendants, in the hope that I should thus be easily secured. These expectations, however, proved fallacious; for having previously guessed their design, I withdrew, at the termination of my march, to a lodging directly opposite to them, and pretended to fall asleep. Jonathan and his party, not doubting but that I had retired to rest, and was actually asleep, hastened down to the plain, to prejudice the people against my conduct as their general.

2. Matters, however, turned out contrary to their anticipations; for scarcely had they made their appearance, when the Galilæans saluted them with clamours, loud in proportion to their affection for me, their leader; upbraiding the party of Jonathan with their unprovoked intrusion, and the disorder which they had introduced into the affairs of the province. They recommended them withal to depart the country, avowing their fixed determination never to receive any governor in my room. Informed of these occurrences, without losing a moment in showing myself among them, I repaired instantly to the plain, to hear what might be said by Jonathan and his party. My appearance was greeted with a general burst of applause; all extolling my conduct, and acknowledging the obligations they owed to my administration.

XLIX. Jonathan and his colleagues, on hearing these expressions, became alarmed for their lives, fearing lest the Galilæans, from affection for me, might offer them violence. They accordingly meditated a retreat; but being unable to effect their purpose, as I had required them to remain, they stood dejected, and paralyzed at the order. Having enjoined the multitude to abstain from all acclamations, and stationed the most trusty of my soldiers at the avenues, to protect us against any unexpected attack from John, and having further advised the Galilæans to be prepared with their arms, lest they should be thrown into confusion by some sudden rush of their enemies, I began by reminding Jonathan and his party of the letter, in which they stated that they had been commissioned by the

general council of Jerusalem to put an end to the contentions between John and me; and that they had entreated me to come to them. While relating these facts I held up the letter in view of all, in order that, convicted by their own hand-writing, no pretext for denial might be left them. I then proceeded as follows:—

2. “But Jonathan, and you, his fellow deputies—If, on being brought to trial in the matter of John, and called upon to render an account of my life, I had produced two or three witnesses, men of respectability and virtue, it is evident that you would have been constrained, after examining into their character, to acquit me of the charges preferred against me. That no doubt, however, may remain upon your minds as to the propriety of my deportment in Galilee, I consider three witnesses too small a number to attest the rectitude of my life. I therefore tender to you—all those present, in evidence! Inquire from them what has been my demeanour, and whether I have here administered affairs with all decorum and with all integrity. And I now adjure you, Galilæans, to conceal no part of the truth; but to declare before these men, as before judges in the cause, whether I have in any respect comported myself otherwise than well.”

L. While I was still speaking in this strain, the people with one voice proclaimed me their benefactor and deliverer, bearing testimony to my past conduct, and exhorting me to pursue the same path in future. They, moreover, all solemnly affirmed that their wives had been preserved from insult, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. I then read to the Galilæans two of the letters despatched by Jonathan and his colleagues, which had been intercepted, and forwarded to me by the guards I had placed upon the roads, filled with invectives, and falsely representing me as a tyrant, rather than a general. In addition to these, had been introduced a variety of other topics, no species of shameless fabrication being omitted.

2. These letters, I stated to the populace, had been voluntarily delivered to me by the bearers; for I did not wish my adversaries to know respecting the guards, lest, apprehensive of the consequences, they should desist from writing.

LI. The Galilæans, on hearing these statements, became so exceedingly exasperated against Jonathan and his associates, that they meditated a deadly attack upon them; and would have effected their purpose, had I not repressed their resentment, observing to Jonathan and his colleagues, that I would pardon them for what was past, provided they would express contrition; and, on their return home, faithfully

acquaint those, who had sent them, with the character of my administration. With this rebuke I allowed them to depart; though well assured that they would pay no regard to their promises. The people, however, still burning with anger against them, entreated my permission to punish those who had dared to do such things. But I did my utmost to prevail on them to spare their lives; sensible that sedition of any kind cannot but be prejudicial to a state. The rage of the multitude, notwithstanding, remaining unabated, they rushed in a body towards the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues had taken up their residence. Perceiving that it would be impossible to restrain their impetuosity, I sprang upon my horse, and ordered them to follow me to the village of Sogana, twenty furlongs distant from Gabara. This artifice succeeded: and I thus avoided the imputation of commencing a civil war.

LII. On approaching Sogana, I stopped the crowd, and admonished them not to allow themselves to be so easily hurried into anger, and the infliction of injuries never to be remedied. I then directed that a hundred of their leading men, already advanced in years, should prepare for a journey to Jerusalem, there to lay a complaint before the people against those who were disturbing the country. I instructed them, should their statements make a favourable impression, to advise that orders might be forwarded to me from the general council, for my continuance in Galilee; and that Jonathan and his colleagues should be commanded to withdraw.

2. Having delivered these instructions to them, and their preparations being quickly completed, upon the third day after the meeting, I dismissed them on their mission, attended by five hundred men at arms. I wrote, moreover, to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they passed in safety through that district—Samaria being then in the occupation of the Romans; and it was necessary for those who would travel with celerity, to take that route, as by it Jerusalem may be reached in three days from Galilee. I accompanied the deputies in person as far as the frontiers of Galilee, having stationed guards on the roads to prevent, if possible, any knowledge of their journey from transpiring. Having concluded these arrangements, I took up my abode at Japha.

LIII. Jonathan and his associates having failed in their designs against me, directed John to return to Gischala; they themselves going forward to Tiberias, in expectation of receiving the submission of that city, as Joshua, at that time chief magistrate of the town, had written to them, pledging himself to prevail upon the inhabitants to admit them, on their arrival, and to join their party.

Buoyed up with these hopes, they had accordingly set out. Of these particulars I was certified by a letter from Silas, whom, as I have stated, I had left superintendent of Tiberias; and who urged me to make no delay. In compliance with his request I instantly repaired thither; but incurred extreme danger in consequence, as I shall here relate.

2. Jonathan and his colleagues having, while at Tiberias, induced many who were already inimical to desert me, began, on hearing of my arrival, to entertain apprehensions for their safety. They therefore waited upon me, and saluting me, remarked that I was happy in having so well administered affairs in Galilee; and congratulated me upon the honours conferred on me, observing that my glory reflected credit on themselves, as I was their fellow-citizen, and had been a pupil in their schools. They added, that it was but just that they should esteem my friendship more highly than that of John; and that they would at once have returned home, had they not remained in order to deliver him into my hands. This statement they confirmed by such oaths as are regarded amongst us with the deepest awe; and I therefore did not think myself justified in disbelieving them. They requested me, notwithstanding, to take up my quarters elsewhere, as the next day would be the Sabbath, when, as they remarked, it would be improper that the city should be disturbed by a crowd, through their means.

LIV. Entertaining no suspicions, I departed for Tarichæa, leaving some in the town, however, carefully to observe whether any thing were said respecting us. I moreover disposed a number of persons along the whole line of road from Tarichæa to Tiberias, who were to signify to me, through one another, whatever they should hear from those left in the town. The next day a general assembly took place in the *Proseucha*—a spacious edifice, capable of containing a large body of people. Thither Jonathan repaired, and, though he did not venture to speak openly of revolt, he remarked that their city required a more able governor. Joshua, the chief magistrate, however, without dissimulation, said openly—"It would be better, citizens, to be governed by four men, rather than by one; and those distinguished by birth, as well as celebrated for wisdom"—alluding to Jonathan and his colleagues.

2. As he spoke, Justus came forward, and having expressed his approval of these observations, several of the people were induced to concur with him. The great mass, notwithstanding, were far from assenting to the proposal; and a riot would inevitably have ensued, had not the arrival of the sixth hour, at which it is customary

for us to dine on the Sabbath, dissolved the assembly. Jonathan and his associates, having accordingly adjourned the meeting to the following day, retired without accomplishing their object.

3. Intelligence of these proceedings having been immediately conveyed to me, I determined to set out early for Tiberias, which I reached next day, about the first hour, and found the people already collected in the Proseucha, though they knew not for what purpose they had been convened. My unexpected appearance not a little disconcerted Jonathan and his party; but it occurred to them on the instant to circulate a report that a body of Roman cavalry had been seen upon the frontier, at the distance of thirty furlongs from the city, at a place called Homonœa. On these tidings being announced, Jonathan and his associates, insidiously admonished me not to remain an inactive spectator of the spoliation of their territory. Their object in this was to remove me from the spot, under pretext of an urgent call for aid; hoping to excite hostility against me in the town.

LV. Though well aware of their motives, I thought it better to comply, lest I should seem to the Tiberians inattentive to their safety. I repaired accordingly to the place; but, discovering no vestiges of an enemy, I retraced my steps with all celerity, and found the whole council assembled, as well as the mass of the people, and Jonathan and his party inveighing vehemently against me, as one who, giving himself little concern to alleviate the pressure of the war, passed his life in luxury. In the midst of this harangue they produced four letters, as if addressed to them by those on the frontiers of Galilee, imploring them to come to their assistance, as a Roman force, both cavalry and infantry, would arrive in the course of three days, and ravage the country. They besought them, in conclusion, not to disregard their danger, but to hasten to their relief.

2. On these letters being read, the people of Tiberias, crediting the statement, with loud clamour condemned my supineness, declaring that I ought to proceed to the succour of their countrymen. Sensible of the design of Jonathan and his party, I replied, that I was ready to obey their instructions, and promised to march without delay to the seat of war; but at the same time I offered my advice, that, as the letters stated that the Romans would direct their attacks on four points, they should form their troops into five divisions, and assign the command of them respectively to Jonathan and his colleagues; since it became brave men, not merely to counsel, but lead to the rescue, on urgent occasions; as I should be unable, I said, to conduct more than a single detachment. Pleased in the highest degree with this

suggestion, the people compelled them, also, to take the field. Their plans being frustrated by this counter-stratagem, Jonathan and his associates, foiled in their purpose, were not a little disconcerted.

LVI. There was, however, among their party, one named Ananias, a man depraved alike in principle and practice, and by him it was proposed to the multitude that a general fast to God should be appointed for the ensuing day; and he ordered them to assemble at the same hour, and in the same place, without arms, that they might testify to God their conviction, that, unless He afforded them his succour, no weapons could avail them. This he said, not from motives of piety, but that he might surprise me and my friends, unarmed. I was nevertheless constrained to accede, lest I should be suspected of harbouring contempt for a pious suggestion.

2. As soon, therefore, as we had retired to our respective homes, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, directing him to repair to them in the morning, with as large a force as he could muster; a favourable opportunity now presenting itself for securing my person, and accomplishing all that he desired. Upon receipt of the letter, John prepared to comply with its injunctions. On the day following, I commanded two of my life-guards, of the most approved courage, and of unshaken fidelity, to attend me, with daggers concealed under their garments, as a protection in case of any attack from our opponents; and taking a breast-plate, myself, and girding on my sword, so that it was quite invisible, I repaired to the Proseucha.

LVII. Joshua, the chief magistrate, had issued orders for the exclusion of the whole of my attendants; and as he had posted himself at the door, myself and my immediate friends were alone admitted. We were already entering on the stated observances, and had commenced the prayers, when Joshua rose and inquired from me with whom the valuables and unstamped silver, which had been rescued from the flames at the conflagration of the royal palace, had been deposited. This he said merely with the view of passing away the time until the arrival of John.

2. I answered, that they were all in care of Capellus, and of the ten leading men of Tiberias, to whom I referred him for the truth of my statement. These acknowledging that the articles were in their custody; "but," said he, "the twenty pieces of gold, which you obtained from the sale of a certain quantity of bullion, what has become of them?" These, I informed him, I had given as travelling expenses to the deputies who had been sent to Jerusalem; on which Jonathan and his party observed, that

I had acted improperly in paying the deputies out of the public treasury. The populace, who were now sensible of the wickedness of the men, became irritated at these remarks; and, as I foresaw that a riot would ensue, and wished still further to excite the crowd against them, I said, that even if I had committed an error in paying their deputies out of the general stock, they might dismiss resentment, as I should myself replace the twenty pieces of gold.

LVIII. This reply reduced Jonathan and his party to silence. The people, however, were still more exasperated against them, by this open manifestation of causeless malevolence. Joshua, perceiving this change in their feelings, commanded the crowd to withdraw; but required the council to remain, as it was impossible to examine into such matters in the midst of tumult. While the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, a messenger arrived, and whispered to Joshua and his party, that John was close at hand with his troops. Jonathan and his colleagues, no longer restraining themselves—the providential care of God being, perhaps, exerted for my preservation; for had it not so occurred, I should beyond doubt have been murdered by John—exclaimed, “A truce, Tiberians, to these inquiries, about twenty pieces of gold. It is not on account of them that Josephus deserves to die; but for aspiring at despotic power, and for the ascendancy he has obtained over the people of Galilee by his wily harangues.”

2. As they uttered these words, they seized, and attempted to destroy me; on which my friends, drawing their swords, threatened to cut them down, if they offered me any violence: the people, at the same time, snatching up stones, and rushing forward to cast them at Jonathan. Thus was I rescued from this assault of my enemies.

LIX. I had not proceeded more than a few paces from the spot, when I was on the point of meeting John, advancing with his soldiers. Alarmed, I turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, where I seized a boat, and embarking, passed over to Tarichæa, having, beyond expectation, escaped this danger. Thither I summoned, without delay, the leading Galilæans, and laid before them the manner in which, contrary to every pledge I had received from Jonathan, his colleagues, and the Tiberians, I had so nearly become their victim. Enraged at this, the Galilæans called on me no longer to defer levying war against them, but to permit them to march against John, and utterly exterminate him, with Jonathan and his associates. I succeeded, however, in restraining

them, though so highly exasperated; directing them to suspend their resentment until we should learn what instructions the deputies, whom they had sent to Jerusalem, should bring from thence; as it would be well to adopt the proper measures with their concurrence. By these suggestions I prevailed with them. John, thus foiled in his machinations, soon after retraced his steps to Gischala.

LX. Not many days afterwards our deputies returned, and informed us that the people were exceedingly incensed against Ananus and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, and their associates, for having, without warrant of the general council, despatched emissaries to Galilee in order to banish me from thence, adding that the populace had made an attempt to burn their houses. They moreover brought documents, by which the leading men of Jerusalem, at the earnest entreaty of the people, confirmed me in the administration of Galilee; Jonathan and his colleagues being, by the same, ordered home immediately.

2. On receipt of these letters, I repaired to the village of Arbela; where, having convened a meeting of the Galilæans, I directed the deputies to inform them with what indignation and abhorrence the people of Jerusalem viewed the conduct of Jonathan and his colleagues;—of their having ratified my appointment to the government of their country; and of the despatches addressed to my opponents relative to their departure. These I transmitted to the latter without delay, giving orders to the messenger to ascertain, as far as possible, how they intended to act.

LXI. Thrown into the utmost consternation by the contents of these documents, they summoned John and the councillors of Tiberias, together with the leading men of Gabara, to meet and deliberate on the measures it might be most advisable to adopt. The Tiberians were of opinion, that they should by all means retain possession of the government; observing that it would be unbecoming to desert their city, which was so entirely devoted to them; particularly as an attack from me was to be apprehended;—for this falsehood they asserted, as if founded on a threat of mine.

2. John not only concurred in these views, but further advised, that two of their body should proceed to Jerusalem, to accuse me before the people of malpractices in the execution of my office in Galilee; adding, that their exalted station, and the general fickleness of the multitude, would greatly facilitate the attainment of their object. This suggestion being adopted, as best suited to the circumstances, it was resolved that two of their number, Jonathan

and Ananias, should set out for Jerusalem, the other two remaining at Tiberias. They accordingly departed, attended by an escort of a hundred men.

LXII. The Tiberians now took measures for strengthening their fortifications, and issued orders to the inhabitants to arm themselves. They also required from John, who was then at Gischala, a large force, to assist them against me, should occasion demand. Meanwhile, Jonathan and his company, having left Tiberias, had reached Dabaritta, a village situate in the skirts of Galilee, and lying in the Great Plain; when, about midnight, they fell in with my guards. They were commanded to throw down their weapons, and were detained on the spot in irons, agreeably to my instructions. This intelligence was communicated to me in writing by Levi, to whom I had confided that post. Having allowed two days to elapse without giving any reason to suspect that I was acquainted with the occurrence, I sent to the Tiberians, advising them to lay down their arms, and dismiss the deputies to their homes.

2. Not doubting that Jonathan and his party had already arrived in Jerusalem, they returned me a contumelious answer. By no means disconcerted, I devised a stratagem to counteract their designs; for I deemed it an impiety to engage in hostilities against my fellow-citizens. Anxious to draw them apart from the townspeople, I selected ten thousand of the flower of my army, and, forming them into three divisions, directed them to repair covertly to the villages, and there remain in ambush. In addition to this, I stationed a thousand men in another village, which, like the rest, was situated among the mountains, and four furlongs distant from Tiberias, with orders, on seeing my signal, to come down with all despatch. I then took up a position in front of the village, where I was exposed to view. Observing this, the Tiberians were continually running out, and loading me with abuse. Nay, to such an extreme of folly did they proceed, that they prepared a suitable bier, duly laid out, and disposing themselves around it, bewailed me, amidst jests and laughter. And, indeed, I was myself much amused at witnessing this piece of absurdity.

LXIII. Desirous of getting Simon and Joazar into my power, by stratagem, I sent them a message, requesting them to advance to some little distance from the city, attended by a numerous body of friends, and others, for their protection, and stating that I had come down with the design of entering into a compact with them, and dividing the government of Galilee. Simon, accordingly, through imprudence, and lured by the hope of gain, came without delay:—

Joazar, suspecting some artifice, held back. Simon I met as he was ascending with the friends who formed his guard, and, saluting him amicably, thanked him for coming. But not long after, as I was walking beside him, and, under pretence of speaking to him in private, had drawn him to a considerable distance from his escort, I seized him round the waist, and delivered him to the friends I had with me, to be conducted to the village. I then ordered my forces to join me, and led them to the assault of Tiberias.

2. The contest was hotly maintained on both sides, and the Tiberians were on the point of defeating me, as our soldiers had fled; when, perceiving the danger, I cheered on those who remained with me, and drove the Tiberians, already on the point of victory, into the town. I had in the mean time directed another division to proceed by the lake, with instructions to set fire to the first house of which they might possess themselves. This being done, the Tiberians, thinking that the place had been carried by storm, threw down their arms in terror, and, with wives and children, implored me to spare their city. Moved by their entreaties, I restrained the impetuosity of the soldiers; and, as evening was advancing, drew off my troops from the assault, and retired to take some refreshment. Having invited Simon to join me at the table, I consoled him under his misfortune, and promised him a safe escort to Jerusalem, with a supply of every necessary for the journey.

LXIV. Next day, at the head of ten thousand men, I repaired to Tiberias; and having commanded the attendance of the principal citizens in the stadium, I insisted on their telling who were the authors of the revolt. The individuals being pointed out, I ordered them in fetters to Jotapata. Jonathan, Ananias, and their party, I liberated; and, having provided them for the journey, sent them forward, with Simon and Joazar, and an escort of five hundred soldiers, to Jerusalem.

2. I was now waited on a second time by the Tiberians, who implored my forgiveness for what had occurred, promising to atone for past misconduct by future fidelity. They prayed me, at the same time, to preserve what still remained of the plunder for the rightful owners; and I accordingly directed those in whose possession it was, to bring forth the whole. As they were dilatory, however, in obeying my orders, and seeing a soldier beside me wearing a garment more sumptuous than ordinary, I inquired whence he obtained it; and on his replying—"from the pillage of the town," I punished him with the lash, and threatened his comrades with still heavier chastisement, unless they forthwith produced their spoils.

A great variety of articles being thus collected, I restored to each citizen what he identified as his own.

LXV. Having reached this point in my narrative, I would address a few words to Justus, who has himself drawn up an account of these transactions; and, with him, to others, who, though professing to write history, pay little regard to veracity; and, either from enmity or partiality, are not ashamed of falsehood. Such men resemble in their proceedings the forgers of deeds of contract; and, not having a like punishment to fear, hold truth in contempt. Accordingly, Justus, having undertaken to compile a narrative of our achievements, and of the events of the war, to make a show of diligence, not only belied me, but did not even speak truth of his country. Wherefore, being under the necessity of justifying myself, maligned as I have been, I shall refer to matters on which I have hitherto preserved silence.

2. Nor should it excite surprise, that I have not, at an earlier date, brought forward these particulars. For though it be incumbent on the writer of history to adhere to truth, yet is he not called upon to animadvert with severity on every one's misconduct: his forbearance arising from no partiality for the offender, but from his own moderation.

3. How then, Justus:—that I may address him as present—How, most able of historians—for such is the title you arrogate—could the insurrection in which your native city engaged against the Romans, and against the king, originate with me and the Galilæans; when, prior to my receiving the appointment of Governor of Galilee from the general council of Jerusalem, you, and the whole population of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had even attacked the towns of the Syrian Decapolis? You had burned their villages, and one of your domestics had fallen in the encounter. Nor am I solitary in this assertion; for the Commentaries of the emperor Vespasian also attest the fact, and prove also how urgently the inhabitants of the Decapolis implored Vespasian, when at Ptolemaïs, to punish you as the author of their misfortunes. And to punishment you would have been brought by his command, had not king Agrippa, who had received authority to order you to execution, commuted your sentence from death to a prolonged imprisonment, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice. Your political conduct in the sequel, moreover, clearly exhibits your general character, and shows that to you was attributable the revolt of your native city from the Romans. The proofs of these facts I shall adduce presently.

4. But I would address a few words to the other inhabitants of Tiberias, through you, in order to furnish evidence to those into whose hands this history may fall, that you were friendly neither to

the Romans, nor to the king. Of the towns of Galilee, the most important are—Tiberias, the place of your nativity, Justus, and Sepphoris. The latter, however, lying in the very centre of Galilee, possessing many villages around, and capable of making a bold stand against the Romans, had it been so inclined, nevertheless resolved to continue faithful to its masters; and I was therefore excluded from its walls, and the inhabitants were strictly prohibited from aiding the Jews in the contest. That they might moreover secure themselves against us, they induced me, by false pretences, to fortify the town. They likewise voluntarily admitted a garrison, sent to them by Cestius Gallus, then in command of the Roman legions in Syria; thus treating me with contempt, potent as I was at that period, and to all an object of apprehension. Further, when Jerusalem, our capital, was besieged, and our common temple in danger of falling into the power of the enemy, they sent no assistance; not wishing to afford ground for suspicion that they had taken up arms against the Romans.

5. But as to your native city, Justus, situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the royal jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty, and without one Jewish town in its vicinity, it might easily, had it been so disposed, have maintained its allegiance to the Romans, the city being fortified, and its inhabitants amply provided with arms. But, admitting that I was, as you contend, the author of the revolt which then occurred;—who urged it forward, in the sequel, Justus? For you are well aware that I was taken prisoner by the Romans, prior to the siege of Jerusalem; that Jotapata, with many other fortresses, had been carried by assault; and that vast numbers of the Galilæans had fallen in the struggle.

6. That, then, was the proper season, when you were certainly under no apprehension from me, to throw down your arms, and evince, to the king and to the Romans, that, not from choice, but necessity, you had engaged in the war against them. You waited, however, until Vespasian, with his whole army, had arrived under your walls, and then, through fear, were your weapons laid down. Your city, on that occasion, would undoubtedly have been taken by storm, had not Vespasian, at the king's anxious intercession, excused your folly. The fault therefore lay not with me, but in your own passion for war. Do you not remember how often I had you and your party in my power, while not one of you suffered death? Yet in a private quarrel among yourselves, which occurred when I was besieged in

Jotapata by the Romans, and which originated, not in any friendly feeling either for the king or for the Romans, but in your own wickedness, you slew a hundred and eighty-five of the citizens. Moreover, were there not two thousand Tiberians reckoned up at the siege of Jerusalem, some of whom were killed, and others taken prisoners?

7. You will allege, however, that you were not inclined to war, as was evident from your seeking refuge with the king at a certain period:—a course which, I assert, you adopted through the dread of me. But, according to your account, it is I who am the villain! Wherefore was it then that King Agrippa, who, when you were condemned to die by Vespasian, had granted you a pardon, and loaded you with favours, subsequently threw you twice into irons, and as often commanded you to fly the country? And farther, when he had once ordered you to execution, were you not spared at the earnest solicitation of his sister, Bernice? And when, after such complicated villany, you had been appointed his private secretary, did he not detect you in unfaithfulness to your trust, and drive you from his sight? But I shall not scrutinize too minutely these transactions.

8. I cannot but wonder, however, at your effrontery, in daring to affirm that, of all who have written on this subject, you have given the most faithful narrative, although totally unacquainted with what occurred in Galilee—for you were then at Berytus with the king—and equally ignorant how much the Romans suffered themselves, or inflicted on us, at the siege of Jotapata; nor could you ascertain how I conducted myself on the occasion, inasmuch as all, who might have afforded you the information, perished in that struggle. You will perhaps assert, however, that you have related with accuracy the events which took place at Jerusalem. And how is that possible, when you were neither engaged in the war, nor yet had perused the Commentaries of Cæsar, as is abundantly testified by the contradictions you have given them?

9. But if you are confident that you have composed a better narrative than all beside, why did you not publish your history while Vespasian and Titus, who commanded in that war, as well as King Agrippa and his entire family, men intimately conversant with Grecian literature, were still alive? You had prepared it twenty years before; and you might then have received, from those acquainted with the facts, due testimony to your accuracy. But now, when these personages have been removed from amongst us, and you think you cannot be convicted, you venture to lay it before the world. I, however,

entertained no such apprehensions respecting my narrative ; but presented my books to the emperors themselves, when the events were almost under the eyes of men ; for I felt conscious that I had throughout adhered to truth. To this I expected their attestation, and was not disappointed. To many others, also, I immediately delivered my history ; some of whom had taken an active part in the war : among them—King Agrippa, and several of his relatives. So desirous, indeed, was the Emperor Titus that the knowledge of these occurrences should be derived solely from my volumes, that he affixed his own signature to them, and gave directions for their publication. King Agrippa, moreover, addressed sixty-two letters to me, recording his testimony to the authenticity of my narrative. Two of these I shall now subjoin, that from them you may learn, if so disposed, the tenor of his communications.

10. “ King Agrippa salutes his very dear friend Josephus.—I have perused your book with the utmost pleasure. You seem to me to have composed with much greater care and accuracy than any who have written upon the subject. Send me the remainder of the work. Farewell, my very dear friend.”

11. “ King Agrippa salutes his very dear friend Josephus.—From what you have written, you do not appear to require any instruction, necessary to our acquaintance with the whole train of events from the commencement. When we meet, however, I shall inform you as to many of those particulars of which you profess to be ignorant.”

12. It was thus that, on the completion of my history, Agrippa—not in flattery, which ill accorded with his disposition : nor yet, as you will allege, in irony, for he was a total stranger to so unworthy a feeling ; but, as all have done into whose hands that history has fallen—bore testimony to its truth.

13. But of Justus, who compelled me to institute this comparison, let what has been said suffice.

LXVI. When I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, I formed a council of my friends, to deliberate on the best manner of proceeding against John. It was the unanimous opinion of the Galilæans that I should arm them to a man, and march against him, to inflict punishment upon him, as the author of all these disturbances. This proposal, however, did not accord with my own views ; as I preferred composing these troubles without bloodshed. I, therefore, admonished them to use every diligence to ascertain the names of those attached to John's faction. This done, and when I had learned who were in his interest, I issued a proclamation tendering security and friendship to such of John's adherents as should adopt a better line of conduct ; and

to those who wished to deliberate on what might be conducive to their welfare, I allowed an interval of twenty days; but threatened, unless they laid down their arms, to reduce their houses to ashes, and confiscate their property. When they heard this, the utmost consternation diffused itself amongst them—they deserted John—threw down their weapons—and joined me, to the number of four thousand. His own citizens, and about fifteen hundred foreigners from the metropolis of the Tyrians, now constituted John's sole support. Finding himself thus out-manœuvred by me, he became alarmed, and thenceforward confined himself to his own territory.

LXVII. About this time the Sepphorites, confiding in the strength of their walls, and in my attention being diverted toward other objects, resumed courage, and took up arms. They accordingly sent to Cestius Gallus, then president of Syria, requesting him either to come without delay, and receive their city under his protection, or to provide them with a garrison. Gallus replied, that they might expect him; but did not specify the time. On being informed of this, I marched with what troops I had with me against Sepphoris, attacked, and carried it by assault. The Galilæans, availing themselves of so favourable an opportunity for wreaking their vengeance on a city which they regarded with abhorrence, rushed on, with the intention of consigning all within its walls, natives and strangers, to utter destruction. Accordingly, hurrying into the town, they set fire to the houses, which they found deserted; the people, in alarm, having fled in a body to the citadel. They made prey of every thing; leaving no means of devastation unemployed against their countrymen.

2. On witnessing these scenes I was exceedingly affected, and ordered them to desist; reminding them that it was impious thus to treat those allied to us by blood. As they listened, however, neither to my entreaties nor to my commands—for exhortations presented but a feeble barrier to their hatred—I directed those of my friends who were about me, on whose fidelity I most relied, to circulate a report that the Romans had attacked the city in another quarter, with a formidable force. This I did, in order, by such a rumour, to restrain the impetuosity of the Galilæans, and rescue Sepphoris: and the artifice eventually succeeded; for on these tidings reaching them, trembling for themselves, they abandoned their plunder and fled: particularly when they saw me, their general, setting them the example. For, that I might attach the greater credit to the report, I pretended to participate in their alarm. Thus were the Sepphorites,





SEPPHORIS.

HOULETTON AND STOREMAN, LONDON.



beyond their hope, preserved by this device of mine from destruction.

LXVIII. Tiberias, likewise, had a narrow escape of being pillaged by the Galilæans. The occasion was as follows. The leading councillors had communicated with the king, inviting him to come and receive the submission of their city. The king promised to do so, and wrote a letter in reply, which he handed to an officer of his bedchamber, by name Crispus, but of Jewish parentage, to convey to Tiberias. The Galilæans, having recognised the bearer of this letter, seized, and brought him to me. On hearing of the circumstance, the whole populace became greatly excited, and flew to arms. On the day following multitudes flocked together from all quarters, to the town of Asochis, where I resided at the time, loudly exclaiming against the Tiberians, whom they accused as traitors to the common cause, and as friendly to the king; and demanded permission to attack their city, and raze it to its foundations. For, against the Tiberians they were not less embittered than against the Sepphorites.

LXIX. Perplexed by this clamour, I was in doubt by what means I should rescue Tiberias from the rage of the Galilæans. For, that the Tiberians had written to the king, inviting him over, was attested by his letter in answer to theirs: this fact I was therefore unable to controvert. Having remained for a considerable time in silent reflection, I addressed them as follows:—"That the Tiberians have acted unjustly, I also am well aware; nor shall I forbid you to pillage the town. Nevertheless such measures should be conducted with discretion; for not alone have the Tiberians been betrayers of our liberties; but many likewise of the most eminent of the Galilæans. Wait therefore till I shall have discovered the guilty; and they shall then all be delivered into your hands, together with those whom you may yourselves be able to produce." With these words I pacified the multitude, and, their anger having subsided, they dispersed. Having ordered the king's messenger to be put in irons, I pretended, a few days after, that I was obliged by some matters of importance to myself, to leave the kingdom; and sending privately for Crispus, I directed him to make the soldier who guarded him drunk, and flee to the king. Thus was Tiberias, when a second time on the verge of utter destruction, delivered, by my address and forethought, from a danger so imminent.

LXX. At this juncture Justus, the son of Pistus, withdrew, without my knowledge, to the king. The reasons which induced him to take this step, I shall relate. On the breaking out of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians came to the deter-

mination of maintaining their fidelity to the latter, and of adhering to the king. Justus, notwithstanding, endeavoured to prevail on them to rise in arms; himself anxious for innovation, and led by the hope of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as that of his own country. In these expectations, however, he was disappointed; for the Galilæans, at enmity with the Tiberians, and enraged on account of the miseries which Justus had inflicted on them prior to war, would not endure him as their leader. And I was myself, moreover, when entrusted by the general council of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, frequently so incensed, that, unable to tolerate his villany, I was on the point of ordering him to execution. Accordingly, under the influence of his fears, and lest my indignation should at length take its course, he sought refuge with the king, in the hope of enjoying, with him, greater comfort and security.

LXXI. The Sepphorites, having so unexpectedly escaped this first danger, despatched a messenger to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come immediately and take possession of their city; or to send them a body of troops sufficient to repress the incursions of the enemy. They at length prevailed on him to detach a second force of considerable strength, both cavalry and infantry, to their relief; which, on its arrival, was admitted under favour of night. The country around being harassed by the Roman army, I proceeded with what soldiers I had at hand to Garisime, where, having formed an intrenchment, at the distance of twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, I advanced by night against it, and assailing the walls, threw in a large force by means of scaling ladders, and thus became master of the greater part of the town. Our ignorance of the place, however, compelled us in a short time to retire. In this action we killed twelve of the Roman foot, two of their horse, and a few Sepphorites, with the loss to ourselves of only one man. But having afterwards encountered the cavalry in the plain, we were defeated, notwithstanding a long and gallant resistance; for my troops, on being surrounded by the Romans, became alarmed and fled. There fell in this engagement one of my body guard, by name Justus, who had formerly held a similar situation under the king.

2. At this period Sylla, commander of the body guards, arrived with a reinforcement of horse and foot from the king. Having pitched his camp at the distance of five furlongs from Julias, he stationed parties on the roads, as well that leading to Cana, as that which conducted to the fortress of Gamala, in order to prevent the inhabitants receiving supplies from Galilee.

LXXII. When intelligence of this was brought to me, I detached two thousand men, under the command of Jeremiah, who having thrown up an intrenchment at the interval of a furlong from Julias, near the river Jordan, merely skirmished with the enemy, until I joined them with a reinforcement, three thousand strong. Next day, having placed a body of troops in ambush, in a ravine not far from their intrenchment, I offered battle to the royal army; directing my soldiers to retire until they had enticed the enemy to advance. This feint succeeded. Sylla, supposing that our party were really in retreat, proceeded rapidly in pursuit, when those in the ambuscade, taking him in his rear, threw his entire force into the utmost disorder. Wheeling about suddenly, I made a general charge upon the royal army, and put it to flight; and complete success would, on that day, have crowned this manœuvre, had not an untoward accident interfered. The horse which I rode during the action, fell into a quagmire, and brought me with him to the ground. My wrist joint being dislocated, I was carried to a village called Cepharnome. My soldiers hearing of this, and apprehensive that I had sustained some more serious injury, desisted from further pursuit, and returned in the deepest anxiety on my account. I sent for the physicians, and the proper remedies were applied; but as I had an access of fever, I remained there that day, and, by direction of my medical attendants, was removed at night to Tarichæa.

LXXIII. Sylla and his comrades, on hearing of my accident, resumed courage; and, aware that the watch was carelessly set in our camp, they stationed, under cover of night, a body of cavalry in ambuscade beyond the Jordan, and at daybreak offered us battle. Not declining the challenge, my troops descended into the plain, when their horsemen appeared from the ambush, and throwing them into confusion, put them to flight. Six of our men fell on this occasion. The enemy, however, did not follow up their advantage; for, having learned that a reinforcement, destined for Julias, had sailed from Tarichæa, they became alarmed and retired.

LXXIV. Soon after these transactions, Vespasian, accompanied by King Agrippa, arrived in Tyre. Here the king was received with invectives, and denounced as alike hostile to the Tyrians, and to the Romans; for it was alleged that Philip, his camp-prefect, had betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces in Jerusalem, by his command. Vespasian, hearing this, reprimanded the Tyrians for thus insulting a man, at once a sovereign prince, and a friend to the Romans: he, nevertheless, advised the king to send Philip to Rome to justify his conduct before Nero. Thither Philip accordingly

proceeded; but being unable to obtain an audience, as Nero was overwhelmed with difficulties by the disturbances which arose at that period, and by the civil war, he returned to the king.

2. Vespasian, on his arrival at Ptolemaïs, was waited upon by the leading men of the Syrian Decapolis, who preferred urgent complaints against Justus of Tiberias, for having burned their villages. Vespasian in consequence delivered him to the king, to be punished by the royal tributaries. The king, however, merely committed him to prison, concealing this from Vespasian, as I have already related. The Sepphorites having met, and saluted Vespasian, received a garrison, under the command of Placidus. With this force they took the field; their motions being closely watched by me, until Vespasian's arrival in Galilee. Of that arrival, and of the events therewith connected, as of the particulars of his first engagement with me in the neighbourhood of the village of Tarichæa; of the movement of his army from thence to Jotapata, and of my conduct during the siege of that place; under what circumstances I was taken prisoner, and thrown into irons, with my subsequent liberation; of my deportment throughout the whole campaign, and at the siege of Jerusalem, I have given an accurate detail in my books on the Jewish war. It may, however, I conceive, be necessary now to subjoin such particulars of my life as were not introduced into that narrative.

LXXV. After the siege of Jotapata, being then in the power of the Romans, I was guarded with the strictest care, many honours being in the mean time conferred on me by Vespasian; at whose command I married a virgin, one of those who had been captured at Cæsarea, and a native of that place. We did not, however, live long together; as, on my regaining my liberty, and accompanying Vespasian to Alexandria, she separated from me. In that city I contracted a second marriage. Being sent thence with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, I was frequently in danger of my life, as well from the Jews, who laboured to get me into their power, to gratify their revenge; as from the Romans, who attributed every disaster that befel them to some act of perfidy on my part, and ceased not to demand of the emperor, with loud importunities, that I should be punished as a traitor to them.

2. Titus Cæsar, however, not ignorant of the chances of war, repressed, by his silence, these angry ebullitions of the soldiery. Moreover, when Jerusalem was on the point of being carried by assault, he frequently endeavoured to prevail on me to possess myself of whatever I wished from the wreck of my country, stating that

I had his permission. But when that the city of my Fathers had fallen, having nothing more precious which I could take and preserve as a solace of my calamities, than the free persons of my countrymen, I made request to Titus on their behalf; and through his gracious indulgence, I received also the sacred books. Not long after, I petitioned him in favour of my brother likewise, and fifty of my friends; and my suit was not denied. And having, by his leave, visited the temple, where a vast crowd of captives, women and children, were confined, I liberated as many of my friends and acquaintances as I discovered, to the number of about a hundred and ninety; and these I discharged without ransom, paying that compliment to their former fortune.

3. Having been sent by Titus Cæsar, with Cerealius and a thousand horse, to a village called Thecoa, to ascertain whether the situation was suitable for a palisaded encampment, when returning thence, I saw a number of captives suffering crucifixion: and recognising three of them as my acquaintances, I was pierced to the heart; and, waiting on Titus, mentioned the circumstance to him with tears. He gave immediate orders that they should be taken down, and every exertion used for their restoration. Two of them, however, expired in the hands of the physicians: the third survived.

LXXVI. Titus, when he had composed the troubles in Judæa, conjecturing that the lands which I possessed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem would be unproductive to me, as a Roman garrison was to be stationed there, presented me with another tract of land in a plain. Moreover, when about to embark for Italy, he admitted me as the companion of his voyage, treating me with every mark of respect. On our arrival in Rome, I met with much attention from Vespasian, who provided me with apartments in the house which he occupied previous to his elevation to the throne—honoured me still further with the privileges of a Roman citizen—and assigned me a pension. Indeed, he ceased not to honour me until his removal from this life—his kindness towards me suffering no decline.

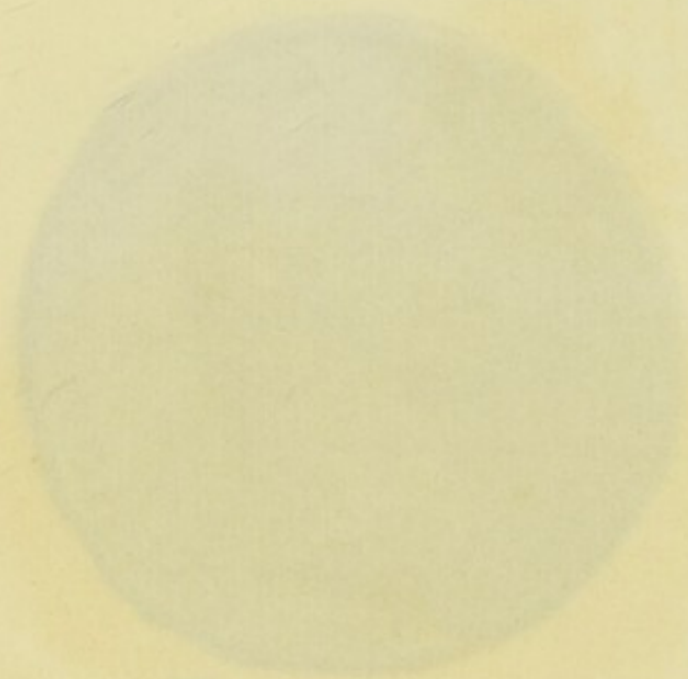
2. This, as it awakened envy, exposed me to danger; for a certain Jew, named Jonathan, who had excited an insurrection in Cyrene, involving in destruction two thousand of the inhabitants, whom he prevailed on to join him, being thrown into irons by the governor of the district, and sent to the emperor, accused me of having supplied him with arms and money. Vespasian, however, detecting the fabrication, condemned him to death, and he perished by the stroke of the executioner.

Subsequently, also, numerous accusations were framed against me by those who envied my good fortune; but, by the providence of God, I was delivered out of all. I further received, from Vespasian, a considerable grant of land in Judæa.

3. At this period, feeling dissatisfied with the behaviour of my wife, I divorced her. She had borne me three children: of these, two died; the third, whom I named Hyrcanus, survives. I afterwards married a lady who had resided in Crete, but of Jewish extraction. She was of a very distinguished family—the most illustrious, indeed, in that country. In disposition she was superior to many of her sex, as her life, in the sequel, testified. By her I had two sons: the name of the elder was Justus; that of the younger Simonides, who was also called Agrippa. Thus far of my domestic history.

4. Imperial favour continued unaltered towards me. For, after the decease of Vespasian, I experienced from Titus, who succeeded to the empire, the same attention which had been shown me by his father; and, though frequent imputations were thrown out against me, he disbelieved them. Domitian, who next ascended the throne, increased the honours which his predecessors had conferred on me. Those Jews who brought charges against me, he punished; and, for a similar offence, he inflicted on one of my servants, a eunuch—the tutor of my son, a severe chastisement. He further exempted my estate in Judæa from taxation—a mark of the highest respect to the individual who receives it. Cæsar's consort, Domitia, moreover, ceased not to load me with favours.

5. Such are the principal events of my life; and from them let others, according to their own views, form an estimate of my character. But as I have for your use, Epaphroditus, most excellent of men, drawn up the entire treatise on the Antiquities, I shall here, for the present, close my narrative.





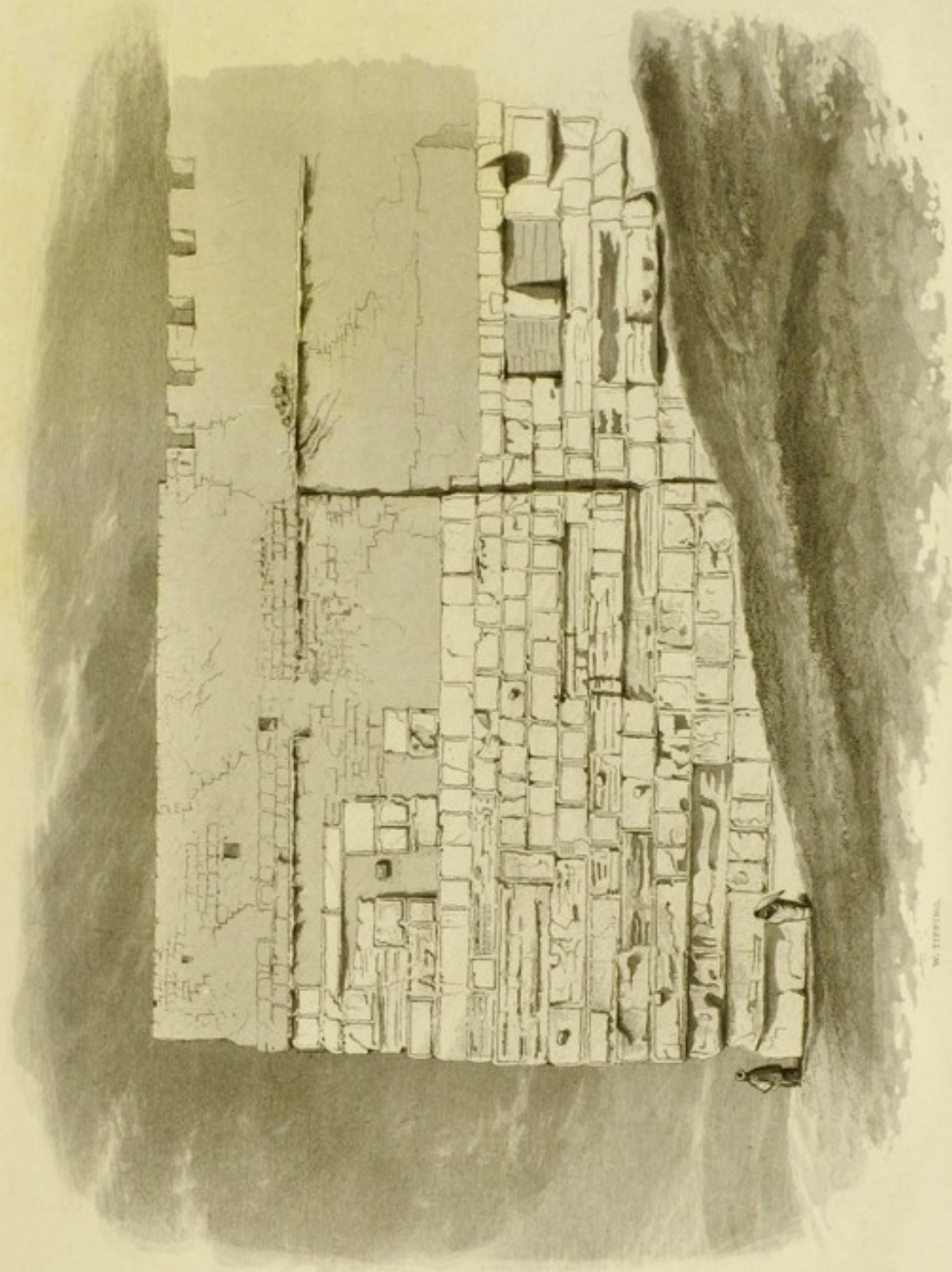
J. GILBERT.

DOMITIAN.

From a Coin in the British Museum.

MOULSTON AND STONEMAN, LONDON.





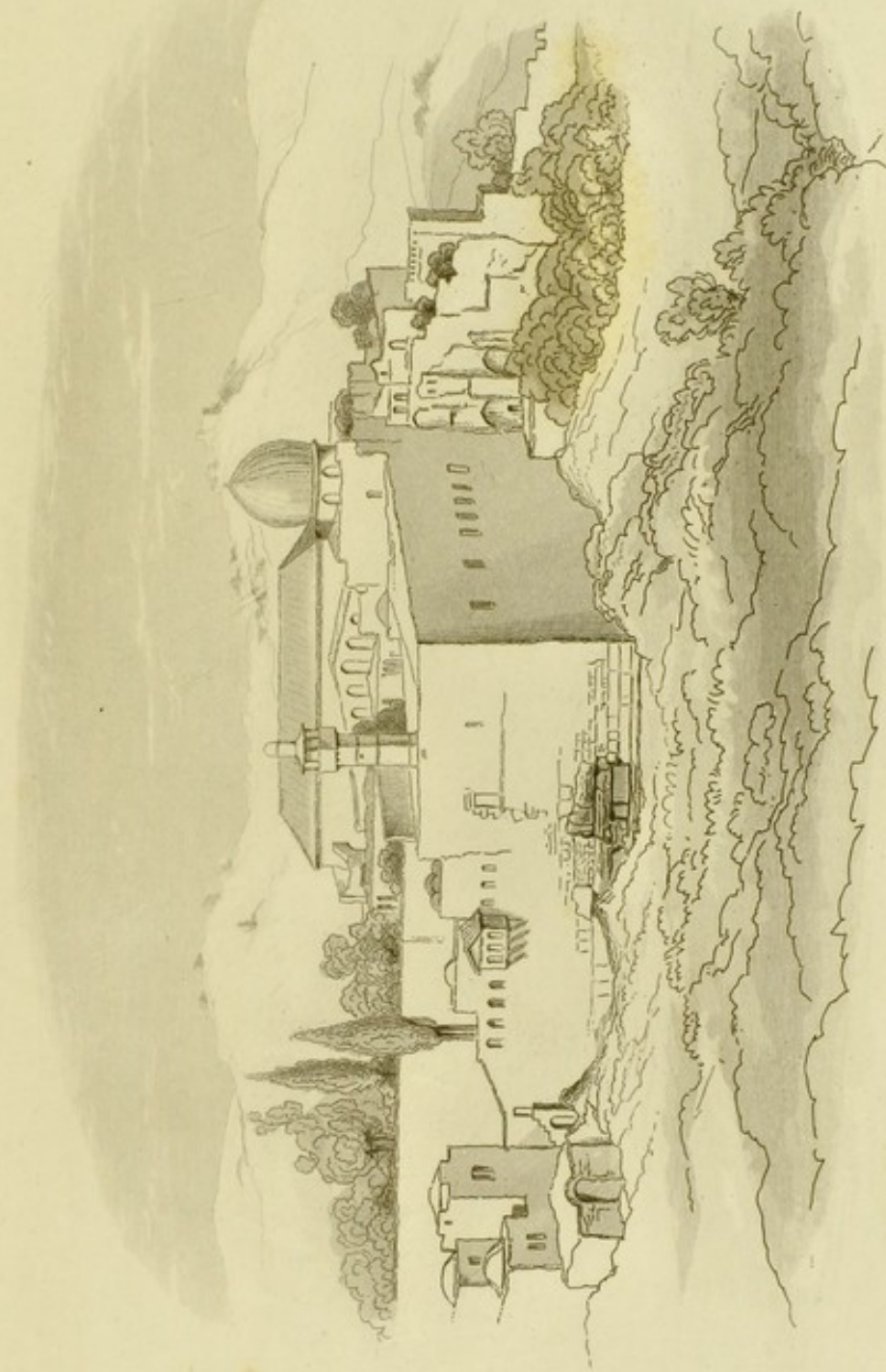
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W. TIERNEY

EL AKSA AND THE WALL FROM THE BROW OF ZION

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1. Om Keis and ancient Theatre: Lake of Tiberias.
2. Vault beneath the Mosque, El Aksa.
3. Haram Wall; near St. Stephen's Gate.
4. Exterior of the Vaults, south.
5. Plan and Elevation of the Vaults.
6. Explanatory Outline.
7. Medallion of Pompey.
8. Ruins of Caesarea.

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