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**The Life of Flavius Josephus.**

**by Flavius Josephus**

**Translated by**

**William Whiston**

**Title: The Life of Flavius Josephus**

**Author: Flavius Josephus**

**Translator: William Whiston**

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**Prepared by David Reed haradda@aol.com or davidr@inconnect.com**

**÷**1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but

hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among

several people is of a different origin, so with us to be of the

sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the splendor of a family.

Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general,

but from the first of the twenty-four (1) courses; and as among

us there is not only a considerable difference between one family

of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that

first course also; nay, further, by my mother I am of the royal

blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was

derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the

dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly

set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was

named Simon, with the addition of Psellus: he lived at the same

time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the

high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine

sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Ephlias: he married the

daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the

first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the

brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son

called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the

government of Hyrcanus: his son's name was Joseph, born in the

ninth year of the reign of Alexandra: his son Matthias was born

in the tenth year of the reign of Archclaus; as was I born to

Matthias in the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar. I have

three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, was born in the fourth year of

the reign of Vespasian, as was Justus born in the seventh, and

Agrippa in the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealog of my

family as I have found it described (2) in the public records,

and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me [as of a lower

original].

2. Now, my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of is

nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his

righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the

greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother,

whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both

father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the

improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great

memory and understanding. Moreover, when I was a child, and about

fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had

to learning; on which account the high priests and principal men

of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know

my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law.

And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trim

of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: -

The first is that of the Pharisees, the second that Sadducees,

and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you;

for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I

were once acquainted with them all; so I contented myself with

hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through

them all. Nor did I content myself with these trials only; but

when I was informed that one, whose name was Banus, lived in the

desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had

no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed

himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in

order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things,

and continued with him three years. (3) So when I had

accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now

nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the

rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect

of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened

that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I

shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of

Judea there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very

excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling

occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their

cause before Caesar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance

for, and that especially because I was informed that they were

not unmindful of piety towards God, even under their afflictions,

but supported themselves with figs and nuts. (4) Accordingly I

came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by

sea; for as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic Sea, we that

were in it, being about six hundred in number, (5) swam for our

lives all the night; when, upon the first appearance of the day,

and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty

in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken

up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped, and was come

to Dieearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became

acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by

Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known

to Poppea, Caesar's wife, and took care, as soon as possible, to

entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty.

And when, besides this favor, I had obtained many presents from

Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that

there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt

from the Romans. I therefore endeavored to put a stop to these

tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; and

laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going

to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans not

only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them

not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the

dangers of the most terrible mischiefs upon their country, upon

their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with

vehement exhortation, because I foresaw that the end of such a

war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade

them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest, by inculcating these things so often,

I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of

our enemies' party, and should run into the danger of being

seized by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of

Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court

of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after

Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to

death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the

Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the

people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do,

and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the

danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the

same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the

present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gessius

[Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great

forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great

many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace which

Gessius [with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole

nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated

with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the

Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered; which was

this: - Those that dwelt in the neighboring cities of Syria

seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and

children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of

complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any

innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any

marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But

what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most

impious and most highly criminal of all; (6) for when the Jews

their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews

that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen,

which it is unlawful for us to do; (7) and when, by their

assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them,

and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the

assurances they had given these their fellow citizens and

confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten

thousands [13,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those

Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a

more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish

war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my

readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary,

but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter

into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the

principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and

innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while

they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their

enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being

informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans,

but that some part of it was still quiet; they sent me and two

others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters,

Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay

down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, - That it were

better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men

that the nation had [than to be kept there]; for that it had been

resolved, That those our best men should always have their arms

ready against futurity; but still so, that they should wait to

see what the Romans would do.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into

Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony

about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to

plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the

Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a

league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I

delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded

the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to

send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dora,

which is a city of Phoenicia, as often as they pleased; though I

still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and

that on the occasion following: -

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed

of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the

head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of

Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of

Compsus; (for as to Compsus's brother Crispus, who had once been

governor of the city under the great king [Agrippa] (8) he was

beyond Jordan in his own possessions;) all these persons before

named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in

their allegiance to the Romans and to the king. But Pistus, who

was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that

resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and

virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the

most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for

Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction,

although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was

he really desirous of innovation, as supposing that he should

gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came

into the midst of them, and endeavored to inform the multitude

that "the city Tiberius had ever been a city of Galilee, and that

in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had

obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the

city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that

they had not lost this preeminence even under Agrippa the father,

but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he

told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a

present by Nero to Agrippa, junior; and that, upon Sepphoris's

submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital

city of Galilee, and that the royal library and the archives were

now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a

great many more, against king Agrippa, in order to provoke the

people to a revolt, he added that "this was the time for them to

take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates

(whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist

them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris;

because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans), and to

gather a great number of forces, in order to punish them." And as

he said this, he exhorted the multitude, [to go to war;] for his

abilities lay in making harangues to the people, and in being too

hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised

what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and

his fallacies, for he was not unskilful in the learning of the

Greeks; and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook

to write a history of these affairs, as aiming, by this way of

haranguing, to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how

ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his

brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I

shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration.

So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the

citizens of Tiberias to take arms, nay, and had forced a great

many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the

villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire; which

villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias, and of the

region of Scythopolis.

**÷**10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for

Gischala, its affairs were thus: - When John, the son of Levi,

saw some of the citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the

Romans, he labored to restrain them, and entreated them that they

would keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his

purpose, although he did his endeavors to the utmost; for the

neighboring people of Gadara, Gabara, and Sogana, wth the

Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and

took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had

entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was

so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the

people forementioned; and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better

than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for

the reason following: - Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their

governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when

the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled

away, had fallen into another danger, and that was, of being

killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but

certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in

Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So

Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having

disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be

discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him

belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the

citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him,

and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that

his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it

not so happened, he had certainly perished. For a fever having

seized upon him immediately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and

gave them to one of his freed-men to carry them to Varus, who at

this time was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his

sister had intrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berytus

with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received

these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved,

he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear

useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He

therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the

multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said that he

spake falsely when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem,

fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And

when this freed-man of Philip did not return again, Philip was

doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a

second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return,

inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before,

and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also,

when he came, of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was

puffed up by the Syrians that were at Caesarea, and had great

expectations; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the

Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he

should himself take the government, as derived from their kings;

for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as

being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about

Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept

the letters to himself. He contrived, also, that the king should

not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest

any one should escape, and inform the king what had been done. He

moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians

of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in

Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the

Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana; for that was the name they

went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of

Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to

Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, That Varus

hath heard that "you intend to march against the king; but, not

believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay

down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign that he

did well not to give credit to those that raised the report

concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their

principal men to make a defense for them as to the accusation

laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their

countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of

innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men

also; who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them

accordingly. So these seventy went down to Caesarea, together

with the twelve ambassadors; where Varus met them with the king's

forces, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] (9)

ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana.

But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to

inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms,

with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at

Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good

things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When

Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel

of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and

desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition

against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported

that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal,

and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon

them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was

not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he

prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with

Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Caesarea, being

many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one

day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be

Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip

kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country

adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to

the Rom\_12:1-21. Now, as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this

state of things by the information of such as told me of them, I

wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required

their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I

should continue there, and that, if my fellow legates were

willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But

those my fellow legates, having gotten great riches from those

tithes which as priests were their dues, and were given to them,

determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired

them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public

affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them,

from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called

Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberius; and thence I sent

messengers to the senate of Tiberius, and desired that the

principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were

come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them that I was

sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together

with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish

that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which

had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have

forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired that they

would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while

Capellus and the principal men belonging to the city would not

give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and

were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias,

one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a

seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and

took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on

fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby,

because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also

plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without

our approbation; for after we had discoursed with Capellus and

the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and

went into the Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the

Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as

were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly

provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I

could of the royal furniture, to recover all that could be

recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of

candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and

of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to

preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for

ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus the son

of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this

charge, That they should part with it to nobody else but to

myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gichala, to

John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he

was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he

desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which

belonged to Caesar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and

he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the

walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavored

at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so

to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans or for

myself, now I was intrusted with the public affairs there by the

people of Jerusalem. But, when he was not able to prevail with

me, he betook himself to my fellow legates; for they had no

sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take

bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, That all that

corn which was within his province should be delivered to him;

while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my

tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of

his; for he said that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi,

and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had

sent to him to desire him, that, since they had no oil that was

pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of

such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of oil

that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws.

Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but

out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew that two

sextaries were sold with them of Caesarea for one drachma, but

that at Gischala fourscore sextaxies were sold for four

sextaries. So he gave order that all the oil which was there

should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing;

which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear

of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have

been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be

done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow legates, and sent them

back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the

cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among

the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms

from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as

pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little

willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they

plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to

take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were

invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them,

I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition

against the Romans, nor against those their neighbors that lay

round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace.

So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all

seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the

notion of friendship. Accordingly, I made them my friends and

companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and with

their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I

endeavored not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my

hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time

of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of

the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any

unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great

authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and

as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not

standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes,

which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them.

Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians

which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had

conquered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem;

although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four

times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John,

who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with

death] either him or any of the people forenamed, as the progress

of this discourse will show. And on this account, I suppose, it

was that God, (10) who is never unacquainted with those that do

as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these

my enemies, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those

many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness

for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by

force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they

did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were

solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied

me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come

down, and make use of the hot-baths of Tiberias for the recovery

of the health of his body. Accordingly, I did not hinder him, as

having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to

those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs

of Tiberius by name, that they should provide a lodging for John,

and for such as should come with him, and should procure him what

necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time

my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named Cans.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded

the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to

him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as

ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and

delighting in seditions; but they were chiefly Justus and his

father Pistus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and

their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented

them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made

governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of

the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to

make haste thither; for that, if I made any delay, the city would

come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this

letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and

traveled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the

people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came

near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude

came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but

in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to

call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing.

So he, in great haste, went to his lodging. But when I was in the

open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about

me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I

attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of

Tiberias: and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated

them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change

in their behavior would be to their reproach, and that they would

then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors

hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them

neither.

18. But before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own

domestics bidding me come down, for that it was not a proper time

to take care of retaining the good-will of the people of

Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies

there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men

that were about him out of those thousand that he had with him,

and had given them orders when he sent them, to kill me, having

learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So

those that were sent came as they were ordered, and they had

executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the

elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose name was

James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod

of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a

ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and

came to Tarichese.

19. Now, as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the

perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly

provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me

to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge

their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report

of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly

endeavored to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and

desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to

them, that they might act in concert with their commander, what

should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly, the

Galileans came to me in great numbers, from all parts, with their

weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by

force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and

then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and

children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had

escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not

comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil

war among them; for I thought that this contention ought not to

proceed further than words; nay, I told them that it was not for

their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while

the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one

another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this, I put a stop

to the anger of the Galileans.

**÷**20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had

proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were about

him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to

apologize for himself concerning What had been done, as if it had

been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no

suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and

certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be

thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together

again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how

sadly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him

and promised me that they would utterly both him and Gischala.

Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their

readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their

good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain

themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I

intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without

bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the

Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city having determined to

continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my

coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to

divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in.

Accordingly, they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers who

were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a

great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had

with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us.

Accordingly, he complied with what they desired, upon the

promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when

we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming

beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him

leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave,

which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous

intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made

haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at

last; for as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with

him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had

undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the

market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous

purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also

some of those of Tiberias; and, when I had given orders that all

the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of

the gates to give admittance to none but Jesus, when he came,

with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in

case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order

to repel them]. Accordingly, those that had received such a

charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few

others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms

immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a

dead man, he seeing armed men standing all round about him, was

terrified, and complied; and as for those of his followers that

were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they

ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him,

that" I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had

against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that,

however, I would forgive him what he had done already, if he

would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus,

upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave

him leave to get those whom he had formerly had with him together

again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if

they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I

would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the

jurisdiction of the king [Agrippa] came to me out of the region

of Trachonius, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying

with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to

be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit

them to have any force put upon them, (11) but said to them,

"Every one ought to worship God according to his own

inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these

men, who had fled to us for protection, ought not to be so

treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had

pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to

us whatsoever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of

living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of

the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equieulus Modius; but the

forces that were sent were not allow to encompass the citadel

quite round, but lay before it in the open places, and besieged

it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the

government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a

village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from

him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him

by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and

brought the inhabitants of the city Gibea along with him as

auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village

where I abode. Upon this I pitched my camp over against him,

which had a great number of forces in it: but Ebutius tried to

draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending upon his

horsemen; but we would not come down; for when I was satisfied of

the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the

plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with

the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a

courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his

horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the

city Gibea, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I

followed him directy with two thousand armed men; and when I was

at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but

twenty furlongs from Gibea, where Ebutius abode, I placed my

armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that

they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy

might not disturb us until we should have carried off the corn, a

great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the

queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighboring

villages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great

number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn

into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but

when he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at

our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched

towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about

Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of

a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to

his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any

further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for

the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you,

abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to

my mind, and that I was much in favor with those that were under

me, as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not

pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So

he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that

if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me,. he

should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to

persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris, (and for

those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind

with the others,) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to

revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and

told them that he would command them better than I did. As for

the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because

they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not

comply with his proposal; and for those of Tiberias, they did not

indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they

agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go

over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do, one

who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular

friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly

own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the

Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good-will they bore

to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to

lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest

danger, on the occasion following.

26. There were some bold young men of the village of Dabaritta,

who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was

to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance,

and with some horsemen that followed as a guard to them, and this

out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the

jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on a sudden, and

obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the

carriages. They also came to me to Tarichese, with four mules'

loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the

silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred

pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils

for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited (12) by

our laws even to spoil our enemies; so I said to those that

brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept, in order to

rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them when they came to be

sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not

receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected

to have done; so they went among the villages in the neighborhood

of Tiberias, and told the people that I was going to betray their

country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to

them, when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine

should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of

Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again

to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken

as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent

for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of

Levi, persons that were among the chief friends of the king, and

commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and

to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be

put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my

command to any other person.

27. Now, when all Galilee was filled with this rumor, that their

country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when

all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to

punishment, the inhabitants of Tarichee did also themselves

suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my

guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come

presently to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel

against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with

them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great

company assembled already, who all joined in one clamor, to bring

the man who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due

punishment; and it was Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who

principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man,

and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of

consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator

beyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his

hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said," O my

fellow citizens! if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on your

own account, have regard, however, to these laws of your country,

which your commander-in-chief is going to betray; hate him

therefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath

acted thus insolently, to his deserved punishment."

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded

him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made

haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me

immediately, while I was wholly insensible of all till this

disturbance happened; and by reason of the pains I had been

taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with

the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me,

and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, awaked

me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him

kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my

enemies came in, and forced me [to kill myself], or killed me

themselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care

of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude.

Accordingly, I put on a black garment, and hung my sword at my

neck, and went by such a different way to the hippodrome, wherein

I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared

among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and

bedewed the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an

object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was

made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions before

the armed men should return from my house; so I granted them that

I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be; but still I

entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had

kept that money which arose from the plunder, and, that they

might then kill me if they pleased: and upon the multitude's

ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they

saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bade them

hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I

should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would

be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then

be allowed to kill me.

29. When, therefore, silence was made by the whole multitude, I

spake thus to them: "O my countrymen! I refuse not to die, if

justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth

of this matter before I die; for as I know that this city of

yours [Tarichee] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with

abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are

come hither to be partakers of your fortune, whatever it be, I

had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which

you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in

building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of

Taricheae and the strangers cried out, that" they gave me thanks,

and desired me to be of good courage," although the Galileans and

the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me,

insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some

threatened to kill me, and some bade me not to regard them; but

when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias,

and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I

promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped

the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my

own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men

also.

**÷**30. However, these robbers and other authors of this tumult, who

were afraid, on their own account, lest I should punish them for

what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the

house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their

insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and

I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some

boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an

upper room, and desired that they would send in some of their men

to receive the money [from the spoils] for I told them they would

then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent

in one of the boldest of them all, I had him whipped severely,

and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung

about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that

sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly

affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that

they should themselves be served in like manner, if they staid

there; for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men

than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I,

by the use of this stratagem, escaped this their second

treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude

against me, and said that those great men that belonged to the

king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change

their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for

safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said that they

were wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the

multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretenses as were

agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by

them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude

again, that those who fled to them for refuge ought not to be

persecuted: I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft,

(13) and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten

thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by

wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while;

but they returned again afterwards, as irritated by some ill

people against the great men; nay, they once made an assault upon

the house in which they dwelt at Tarichess, in order to kill

them; which, when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid

a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city

their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others

with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the

doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the

lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and

sailed to the confines of Hippos: I also paid them the value of

their horses; nor in such a flight could I have their horses

brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them

earnestly that they would courageously bear I this distress which

befell them. I was also myself I greatly displeased that I was

compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an

enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they

should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in

the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped

at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offenses. And this

was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they

wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient

to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to

come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I

came to them, they desired me to build their walls, as I had

promised them to do; for they had heard that the walls of

Tarichess were already built. I agreed to their proposal

accordingly; and when I had made preparation for the entire

building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on

the third day, when I was gone to Tarichess, which was thirty

furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman

horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city,

which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the

king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in

commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon

one came running to me, and told me what their dispositions were,

and that they had resolved to revolt from me: upon hearing which

news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent away my

armed men from Tarichess, to their own homes, because the next

day was our sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tarichess

disturbed [on that day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed,

whenever I sojourned at that city, I never took any particular

care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent

instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now

about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and

was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I

did not think proper, because the present day was almost over;

and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on

the next day, because our laws forbade us so to do, even though

our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the

people of Tarichess, and the strangers with them, to guard the

city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose,

and I perceived that I should be obliged to delay my assistance a

great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came

from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out

of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these

forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends

of Tarichee, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch

those very carefully who went out at those gates: I also called

to me the heads of families, and bade every one of them to seize

upon a ship (14) to go on board it, and to take a master with

them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went

on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed

men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there

were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake

full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city,

and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full

of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down

their weapons, and met me with their wives and children, and made

acclamations to me with great commendations; for they imagined

that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been

against me]; so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I

was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to

cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias

might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went

nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for

their folly, ,and that they were so fickle as, without any just

occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me.

However, assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the

time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the

multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this

proposal, and sent me the men forementioned, I put them on board

a ship, and sent them away to Tarichese; and ordered them to be

kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the

senate of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city

forementioned, with many of the principal men among the populace,

and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the

multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought

themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this

sedition: his name was Clitus, a young man, bold and rash in his

undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to

put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to

punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him,

and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to

do this, was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among 'so great

a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the

soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to

Clitus himself and said to him," Since thou deservest to lose

both thine hands for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own

executioner, lest, if thou refusest so to be, thou undergo a

worse punishment." And when he earnestly begged of me to spare

him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it.

So, in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly

took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an

end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheae,

perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they

admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without

shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those

multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom

were Justus and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me;

and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power

of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so

[publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I

did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy

at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to

have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I

also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his

brother's hands before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an

accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had

forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a

sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure

of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal

how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justuses sister's

husband [with death]. When I had said this to them during supper

time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were

in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this, it happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus,

went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion:

When Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his

government by king Agrippa, and that Equieulus Modius, a man that

was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he

wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and

desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen.

Now, when Modius had received these letters, he was exceedingly

glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then

about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about

Philip was false, (for it had been given out, that the Jews had

begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their

commander in that war,) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip

to him; and when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and

showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was

the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted

from the Romans. He also bid him to take some horsemen with him,

and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out

thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to

Batanea again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible

care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any

innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he

made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who

excited a great many young men to join with him. He also

insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala,

and persuaded them to revolt from the king; and take up arms, and

gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their

liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that

would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They

also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a

brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of

Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force,

and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I reject

either of their requests. The region of Gaulanitis did also

revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built

a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally

of ver great strength. Moreover, I, in like manner, walled

several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of

themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I

also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Tarichee,

Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the cave of Arbela,

Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecho, and Sigo, and Japha, and

Mount Tabor. (15) I also laid up a great quantity of corn in

these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security

afterward.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew

now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with

patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to

make away with me; and built the walls of Gischala, which was the

place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and

Jonathan, the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to

Jerusalem, to Simon, the son of Gamaliel, (16) in order to

persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from

me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages

for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the

city of Jerusalem, and of a very noble family of the sect of the

Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate

knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great

wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his

prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old

friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a

difference with me. When therefore he had received such an

exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the

son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to

cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me

while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he

said that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I

were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his

friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I

should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should

come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This

was the counsel of Simon; but Artanus the high priest

demonstrated to them that this was not an easy thing to be done,

because many of the high priests and of the rulers of the people

bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that

it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had

nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the

messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among

many; for that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of

Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother, [Simon,]

and charged him that they should send presents to Ananus and his

friends; for, as he said, they might probably by that means

persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at

length thus compass what he aimed at; for Artanus, and those with

him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of

Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with

what they were doing. Accordingly, they resolved to send men of

distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their

learning also. Two of these were of the populace, Jonathan (17)

and Ananias, by sect Pharisees; while the third, Jozar, was of

the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the

last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had

it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the

multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them, what was the

reason of their love to me? and if they said that it was because

I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four

were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was

because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that

neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their

country; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me

because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were

priests also.

**÷**instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmae] out of the

public money: but when they heard that there was a certain

Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus,

who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for

him, and gave him three months pay, and gave him orders to follow

Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also

gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem,

to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the

ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready

for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them,

having along with them John's brother and a hundred armed men.

The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this:

That if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me

alive to the city of Jerusalem; but that, in case I opposed them,

they should kill me, and fear nothing; for that it was their

command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all

ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of

Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberins, to send auxiliaries to John 41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus the

son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and

companion of mine, told him of it,) I was very much troubled, as

discovering thereby that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful

to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain: my

father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him,

for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my

friends of these things, and that in three days' time I should

leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this, they were all

very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to

leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be,

if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not

grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the

Galileans, out of their dread of the consequence of my departure,

that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent

messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to

leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got

together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and

children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out

of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own

account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they

should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain,

wherein I lived, the name of which was Asochis.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for

when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at

the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a

certain person stood by me, (18) and said, "O Josephus! leave off

to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves

thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most

happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but

many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but

remember that thou art to fight with the Romans." When I had seen

this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the

plain. Now, when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom

were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down

upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not

to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit

their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply,

with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I

would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon

the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country

enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I

was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to

undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a

multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I

had given order that five thousand off them should come to me

armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest

away to their own homes; and when those five thousand were come,

I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that

were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to

thevillage of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolimias, and

there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight

with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one

troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus to burn

those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose

casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my

camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village.

And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would

fight, but proceeded no further than skirmishes at a distance;

for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a

battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from

the neighborhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow legates

came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and

Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch

me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me

openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan and those

that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem, to

Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of

Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many

snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject

to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee

about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We

therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a

few men with thee; for this village will not contain a great

number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting

one of these two things; either that I should come without armed

men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I

came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public

enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at

other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the

king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I

was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans.

This man, upon my servant's telling me that a certain horseman of

the Jewish nation was come, was called in at my command, but did

not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter, and said,

"This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem;

do thou write an answer to it quickly; for I am obliged to return

to them very soon. Now my guests could not but wonder at the

boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup

with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my

hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about

other matters. But a few hours afterwards, I got up, and when I

had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my

intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine

ready. I also opened the letter so, that nobody could perceive

it; and understanding thereby presently the purportú of the

writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet

read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmae

should be given the soldier for the charges of his journey; and

when he took the money, and said that he thanked me for it, I

perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught

chiefly by that means; and I said to him," If thou wilt but drink

with us, thou shalt have a drachma for every glass thou

drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great

deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk,

that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with,

but discovered them without my putting questions to him, viz.

That a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I

was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I

wrote back this answer: "Josephus to Jonathan, and those that are

with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are

come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially

because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into

your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I

have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only

to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without

your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do

it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to

go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you

therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me.

Fare you well."

45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried

by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of

the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those

ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders

to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to

me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was

to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I

sent and those who were with Jonathan. So those men went [to

Jonathan]. But when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this

their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents

whereof were as follows: "Jonathan, and those with him, to

Josephus, send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the

village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that

we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of

Gischala]." When they had written this letter, they saluted the

Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest

village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls,

and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude

of men, with their wives and children, met them, and exclaimed

loudly against them; and desired them to be gone, and not to envy

them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamors

Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they

durst not show their anger openly; so they made them no answer,

but went to other villages. But still the same clamors met them

from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to

have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his

partners went away from them without success, and came to

Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that

city, who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them

indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me and when they were

gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place

made a clamor against them, as those of Japha had done; whereupon

they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the

armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamor

with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them

with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their

letter that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from

Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also; but left in my camp

one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to

be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs.

Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I

should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty

cities and villages in Galilee; I will come to any of them which

you please, excepting Gaburn and Gischala; the one of which is

John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship

with him."

46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter, they

wrote me no more answers, but called a council of their friends

together; and taking John into their consultation, they took

counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's

opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and

villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly

one or two persons in every one of them that were at variance

with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as

an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs

to the city of Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge

of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might

themselves I also confirm that determination. He said also, that

when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected

to me, would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this

counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them.

I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third

hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged

to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me

what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost.

Accordingly, I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard,

whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to

guard the passages that led from Gahara to Galilee, and to seize

upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were

caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one

of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of

Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country

to the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as

traveled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon

the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders,

and bid them take their arms and bring three days' provision with

them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were

about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were

most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over

them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a

soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them.

Now, on the fifth day following, when I was at Gabaroth, I found

the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men,

who were come out of Galilee to assist me: many others of the

multitude, also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as

soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they

all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and savior

of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and

thanked them [for their affection to me], I also advised them to

fight with nobody, (19) nor to spoil the country; but to pitch

their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance

they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to

compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to

pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with

letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the

roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my

orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches

and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men, without saying a

word of these matters to any body.

48. Now, as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my

coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and

retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle,

and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of

armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which

they kept open, and they expected that I should come out of the

road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to

the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me

come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this

means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were

deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they

had laid for me. Now, as soon as I was got off my journey, I took

up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so

Jonathan and his party, thinking that I was really asleep and at

rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the

people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved

otherwise; for, upon their appearance, there was a cry made by

the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as

their governor; and they made a clamor against Jonathan and his

partners for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and

as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired

them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be

persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I

heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them;

I went, therefore, myself down presently to hear what Jonathan

and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was

immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and

a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks was

owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in

fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be

assaulted by the Galileans on nay account; so they contrived how

they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, for I

desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words

to them. I ordered, therefore, the multitude to restrain entirely

their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men

upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should

unexpected fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take

their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if

any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the

first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their

[former] letter, and after what manner they had written to me,

and declared they were sent by the common consent to the people

of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how

they had desired me to come to them; and as I spake thus, I

publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not

at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting

them. I then said, "O Jonathan! and you that are sent with him as

his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behavior,

compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two or

three witnesses, (20) good men and true, it is plain you had been

forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to

discharge the accusations: that therefore you may be informed

that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three

witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he

ought to do; so I gave you all these for witnesses. Inquire of

them (21) how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself

with all decency, and after a virtuous manner, among them. And I

further conjure you, O Galileans! to hide no part of the truth,

but to speak before these men as before judges, whether I have in

any thing acted otherwise than well."

**÷**50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the

people joined together, and called me their benefactor and

savior, and attested to my former behavior, and exhorted me to

continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths,

that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that

no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the

Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan

and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard

the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of

reproaches, and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant

than a governor against them, with many other things besides

therein contained, which were no better indeed than impudent

falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these

letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up

voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know

any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid,

and leave off writing hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly

provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and

were going to attack them, and kill them; and this they had

certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the

Galileans, and said, that" I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues

what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country,

and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I

had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do

nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very

much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to

punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to

persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of

sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude

was too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went

immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues

abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be

restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to

follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off

Gabara; and by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not

to appear to begin a civil war ,amongst them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to

make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to

anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be

afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that a hundred men, who

were already in years, and were principal men among them, should

get themselves ready to go to the city of Jerusalem, and should

.make a complaint before the people of such as raised seditions

in the country. And I said to them, that" in case they be moved

with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me,

and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan

and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested

these instructions to them, and while they were getting

themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this

errand the third day after they had been assembled: I also sent

five hundred armed men with them [as a guard]. I then wrote to my

friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass

through the country: for Samaria was already under the Romans,

and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to

Jerusalem] to pass through that country; for in that road you

may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also

went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of

Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily

known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus

done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues, having failed of

accomplishing what they would have done against me, sent John

back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city of Tiberias,

expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on

a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them,

promising that, if they came, the multitude would receive them,

and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways

with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left

curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to

make haste thither. Accordingly, I complied with his advice

immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my

life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues

had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as

had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my

coming, they were in fear for themselves, and came to me; and

when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in

having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and

they congratulated me upon the honors that were paid me: for they

said that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my

teachers and fellow citizens; and they said further, that it was

but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather

than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but

that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power;

and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and those

such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not

think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge some

where else, because the next day was the sabbath, and that it was

not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day].

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Tarichese; yet did I

withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went,

and whether any thing was said about me: I also set many persons

all the way that led from Tarichese to Tiberias, that they might

communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from

those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore,

they all came into the Proseucha; (22) it was a large edifice,

and capable of receiving a great number of people; thither

Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a

revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better

governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no

scruple to speak out, and said openly," O fellow citizens! it is

better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those

such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their

wisdom;" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his

saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had

said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also.

But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had

certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour, which was

now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our laws

require us to go to dinner on sabbath days; so Jonathan and his

colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off

without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I

determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning.

Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I

came from Tarichee, and found the multitude already assembled in

the Proseucha; but on what account they were gotten together,

those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his

colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder;

after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that

Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders

of Galilee, thirty furlongs distant from the city. Upon which

report, Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly exhorted me not to

neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the

enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the

city, under the pretense of the want of extraordinary assistance,

while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I

comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias

should have occasion to suppose that I was not careful of their

security. I therefore went out; but, when I was at the place, I

found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so I returned as fast

as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the

body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his

colleagues bringing vehement accusations against me, as one who

had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one

that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they

produced four letters, as written to them from some people that

lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come

to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both

horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on

the third day; they desired them also to make haste, and not to

overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they

thought they spake truth, and made a clamor against me, and said

I ought not to sit still, but to go away to the assistance of

their countrymen. Hereupon I said (for I understood the meaning

of Jonathan and his colleagues) that I was ready to comply with

what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which

they spake of, yet did I advise them, at the same time, that

since these letters declared that the Romans would make their

assault in four several places, they should part their forces

into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals

of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only

to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist

their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them; for, said I,

it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This

advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled

them to go forth to the war. But their designs were put into very

much disorder, because they had not done what they had designed

to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their

undertakings.

56. Now there was one whose name was Ananias (a wicked man he

was, and very mischievous); he proposed that a general religious

fast (23) should be appointed the next day for all the people,

and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same

place, without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that

while they obtained his assistance, they thought all these

weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they

might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now, I was hereupon forced

to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended

to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and

his colleagues wrote to John to come to them in the morning, and

desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could,

for that they should then be able easily to get me into their

hands, and to do all they desired to do. When John had received

this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the

next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed

the most courageous and most faithful, to hide daggers under

their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend

ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I

also myself took my breastplate, and girded on my sword, so that

it might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and came into

the Proseucha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should

exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and

suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged

in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our

prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the

vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was

burnt down [and] of that uncoined silver; and in whose possession

they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time till

John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men

of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask

them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had

them, he asked me, What is become of those twenty pieces of gold

which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of

uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those

ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were

sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said

that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public

money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this,

for they perceived the wickednes of the men, I understood that a

tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to provoke the

people to a greater rage against the men, I said, "But if I have

not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock,

leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of

gold myself."

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their

peace; but the people were still more irritated against them,

upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus

saw this change in file people, he ordered them to depart, but

desired the senate to stay; for that they could not examine

things of such a nature in a tumult: and as the people were

crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came one and

told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men

were at hand: whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able

to contain themselves no longer, (and perhaps the providence of

God hereby procuring my deliverance, for had not this been so, I

had certainly been destroyed by John,) said, "O you people of

Tiberias! leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold;

for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them; but he hath

deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the

multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain

the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently

laid hands upon me, and endeavored to kill me: but as soon as

those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their

swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any

violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to

throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence

of my enemies.

59. But as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting

John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of

him, and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the

lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over

to Tarichese. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger.

Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and

told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been

very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and

the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans

were very. angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make

war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly

to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However,

I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired

them to tarry a while, till we should be informed what orders

those ambassadors, that were sent by them to the city of

Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them that it was best

for them to act according to their determination; whereupon they

were prevailed on. At which time, also, John, when the snares he

had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

**÷**60. Now, in a few days, those ambassadors whom he had sent, came

back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked

at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends;

that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee,

and had done their endeavors that I might be turned out of the

government. The ambassadors said further, that the people were

ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby

the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the

people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined

Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had

gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I

procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the

ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem

at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how

much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed

me in the government of their country, as also what related to

the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to

return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him

that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they

intended to act [on this occasion.]

61. Now, when they had received that letter, and were thereby

greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of

Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed

to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be

done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly

disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it

was not fit to desert their city, now it was committed to their

trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them;

for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now

John was not only of their opinion, but advised them, that two of

them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem],

that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do; and

that they would easily persuade the people, because of their

dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When,

therefore, it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice

to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias,

should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon

and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberins. They also

took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their

city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take

their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John,

to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them.

Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan, therefore, and those that

were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon

as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost

parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they, about midnight, fell

among the guards I had set, who both commanded them to lay aside

their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had

charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had

the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said

nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about

it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them

to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they

might go home. But, supposing that Jonathan, and those that were

with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made

reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but

contrived another stratagem against them, for I did not think it

agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the

citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias,

I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men, and divided

them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie

still as an ambush, in the villages. I also led a thousand into

another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the

others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and gave

orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down

immediately, while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of

every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me,

came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly.

Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a

decent bier for me, and, standing about it, they mourned over me

in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a

pleasant humor upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar

with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a

little way out of the city, and many of their friends to guard

them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league

with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them.

Accordingly, Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and

out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar,

suspecting snares were laid for him, staid behind. So when Simon

was come out, and his friends with him, for his guard, I met him,

and saluted him with great civility, and professed that I was

obliged to him for his coming up to me; but a little while

afterward I walked along with him as though I would say something

to him by myself; and when I had drawn him a good way from his

friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends

that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding

my armed men to come down, I with them made an assault upon

Tiberias. Now, as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the

soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in a fair way to conquer me,

(for my armed men were already fled away,) I saw the posture of

my affairs; and encouraging those that were with me, I pursued

those of Tiberias, even when they were already conquerors, into

the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by

the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house

they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of

Tiberinas thought that their city was taken by force, and so

threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives,

and children, that I would spare their city. So I was

over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers

from the vehemency with which they pursued them; while I myself,

upon the coming on of the evening, returned back with my

soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup

with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and

I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem,

and withal would give him provisions for his journey thither.

64. But on the next day, I brought ten thousand armed men with

me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of

the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me

who were the authors of the revolt; and when they told me who the

men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to

Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave

them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and

Joazar, and five hundred armed men who should guard them; and so

I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me

again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had

done; and they said they would amend what they had done amiss

with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and

they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the

plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly, I

enjoined those that had got them, to bring them all before us;

and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of

the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more

splendid than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it; and when he

replied that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him

punished with stripes; and I threatened all the rest to inflict a

severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us

whatsoever they had plundered; and when a great many spoils were

brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they

claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind

to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history

concerning these affairs, as also to others who profess to write

history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid,

either out of ill-will or good-will to some persons, to relate

falsehoods. These men do like those who compose forged deeds and

conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like

punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When,

therefore, Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about

the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious

man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not

speak truth even about his own country; whence it is that, being

belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defense; and so

I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder

that I have not told the world these things a great while ago.

For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth,

yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the

wickedness of certain men; not out of any favor to them, but out

of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O

Justus! thou most sagacious of writers, (that I may address

myself to him as if he were here present,) for so thou boastest

of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of

that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the

Romans and against the king [Agrippa, junior] For before ever I

was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem,

both thou and all the people of Tiberias had not only taken up

arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou

hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant

of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but

so it is written in the Commentaries of Vespasian, the emperor;

as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamoring to

Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the

author [of that war], mightest be brought to punishment. And thou

hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had

not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to

death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the

punishment from death into a long imprisonment. Thy political

administration of affairs afterward doth also clearly discover

both thy other behavior in life, and that thou wast the occasion

of thy country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I

shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things

to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to

demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bare

no good-will, neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure,

the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus! were Sepphoris, and thy

country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of

Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to

have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so

pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their

masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and

prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the

war; and, that they might be out of danger from me, they, by a

wile, got leave of me to fortify their city with walls: they

also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman

legions, sent them by Cestlus Gallus, who was then president of

Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very

powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time

that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and

that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of

falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither,

as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against

the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus: situated upon the

lake of Gennesareth, and distance from Hippos thirty furlongs,

from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the

king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no

Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to

the Romans,] if it had so pleased them to do, for the city and

its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayest, I was then

the author [of their revolts]. And pray, O Justus! who was that

author afterwards? For thou knowest that I was in the power of

the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same

time Jotapata was taker by force, as well as many other

fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It

was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed

from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to

demonstrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of

choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war

against them; but you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as

your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay

aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain

been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the

king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was

not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own

inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you

under my power, and yet put none of you to death? Nay, you once

fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and

eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good-will to

the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own

wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in

Jotapata. Nay, indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of

the people of Tiberias during the siege of Jerusalem, some of

whom were slain, and the rest caught and carried captives? But

thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since

thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him;

but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayest, indeed, that it

is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that

king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned

to die by Vespian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did

twice afterward put thee in bonds, and as often obliged thee to

run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to

be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire

of Bernice? And when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he made

thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and

drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire

accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot

I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to

say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war]

than have all the others that have written about them, whilst

thou didst not know what was done in Galilee; for thou wast then

at Berytus with the king; nor didst thou know how much the Romans

suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought

upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that

siege myself; for all those that might afford such information

were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say,

thou hast written of what was done against the people of

Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither wast thou

concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of

Caesar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast

contradicted those commentaries of Caesar in thy history. But if

thou art so hardy as to affirm, that thou hast written that

history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy

history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in

that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men

very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive?

for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then

mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now

when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou

canst not be contradicted, thou venturest to publish it. But then

I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered

my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost

under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had

observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their

attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation.

Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other

persons, some of whom were concerned in the war, as was king

Agrippa and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so

desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from

these books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and

ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he

wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I

had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here

subjoined, and thou mayst thereby know their contents: - "King

Agrippa to Josephus, however, when thou comest to me, I will

inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So

when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of

flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as

thou wilt say, (for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil

disposition of mind,) but he wrote this by way of attestation to

what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much

shall be said concerning Justus (24) which I am obliged to add by

way of digression.

66. Now, when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had

assembled my friends as a sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do

as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the

Galileans, that I should arm them all, and march against John,

and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had

happened. Yet was not I pleased with their determination; as

purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this

I exhorted them to use the utmost care to learn the names of all

that were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was

apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I

offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had

a mind to repent; and I allowed twenty days' time to such as

would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also

threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn

their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men

heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John;

and to the number of four thousand threw down their arms, and

came to me. So that no others staid with John but his own

citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the

metropolis of Tyre; and when John saw that he had been outwitted

by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and

was in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew

insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the

strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other

affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president

of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them,

and take their city under his protection, or send them a

garrison. Accordingly, Gallus promised them to come, but did not

send word when he would come: and when I had learned so much, I

took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the

people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans

took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for

showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that

city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy

them all utterly, with those that sojourned there also. So they

ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them

without inhabitants; for the men, out of fear, ran together to

the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and

omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their

countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it,

and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was

not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but

since they neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what

I commanded them to do, (for the hatred they bore to the people

there was too hard for my exhortations to them,) I bade those my

friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to give

on reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of

the city with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a

report being spread abroad, I might restrain the violence of the

Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. And at length this

stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they

were in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering and

ran away; and this more especially, because they saw me, their

general, do the same also; for, that I might cause this report to

be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as they. Thus were

the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this

contrivance of mine.

68. Nay, indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the

Galileans also upon the following occasion: - The chief men of

the senate wrote to the king, and desired that he would come to

them, and take possession of their city. The king promised to

come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one

of his bed-chamber, whose name was Crispus, and who was by birth

a Jew, to carry it to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this

man carried such a letter, they caught him, and brought him to

me; but as soon as the whole multitude heard of it, they were

enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great many of

them together from all quarters the next day, and came to the

city Asochis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamors, and

called the city of Tiberias a traitor to them, and a friend to

the king; and desired leave of me to go down and utterly destroy

it; for they bore the like ill-will to the people of Tiberias, as

they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated

by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the

Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiborias had

written to the king, and invited him to come to them; for his

letters to them, in answer thereto, would fully prove the truth

of that. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said

to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have

offended; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However,

such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of

Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but

many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they

pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall

thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you

shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as

you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this, I

pacifie the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went

their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's

letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended

that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to out of

the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to

make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the

king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a

second time, it escaped the danger by my skillful management, and

the care that I had for its preservation.

**÷**70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus,

without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occasion of which

I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the

Jews and Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the

king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to

persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, as being

himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining

the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country

[Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for, because

the Galileans bore ill-will to those of Tiberias, and this on

account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from

them before the war; thence it was that they would not endure

that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been

intrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of

Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus,

that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his

mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest

at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the

king, as supposing that he would dwell better and more safely

with him.

71. Now, when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a

manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus,

and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession

of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all

their enemies' incursions upon them; and at the last they did

prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of

horse and foot, which came in the night time, and which they

admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was

harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about

me, and came to Garisme, where I cast up a bank, a good way off

the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I

came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my

forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my

soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the

greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness

with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve

of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people

of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And

when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the

horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for

a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me

about, my soldiers were afraid, and fell back. There fell in that

battle one of those that had been intrusted to guard my body; his

name was Justus, who at this time had the same post with the

king. At the same time also there came forces, both horsemen and

footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the

captain of his guard: this Sylla pitched his camp at five

furlongs' distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads,

both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress

Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting

provisions out of Galilee.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two

thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was

Jeremiah, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the

river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till

I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on

the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not

far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to

come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn

their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy

away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which

was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did

really run away, was ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that

lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into

great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own

forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to

flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain

fate had not been my hinderance; for the horse on which I rode,

and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me

on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a

village named Cepharnome, or Capernaum. When my soldiers heard of

this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so

they did not go on with their pursuit any further, but returned

in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the

physicians, and while I was under their hands, I continued

feverish that day; and as the physicians directed, I was that

night removed to Taricheee.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what happened to me,

they took courage again; and understanding that the watch was

negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of

horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they

provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into

the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which

they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run

away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off

with the victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men

were sailed from Taricheae to Juli, they were afraid, and

retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king

Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of

the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said

that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal

palace and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it

was done by his command. When Vespasian heard of this report, he

rebuked the Tyrians for abusing a man who was both a king and a

friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to

Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip

was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he

found him very near death, on account of the troubles that then

happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But

when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis

of Syria made a clamor against Justus of Tiberias, because he had

set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the

king, to he put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction;

yet did the king only put him into bonds, and concealed what he

had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people

of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent

him, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as

I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to

which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and

how he fought his first battle with me near the village

Taricheae, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I

was taken alive, and bound, and how I was afterward loosed, with

all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege

of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books

concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, he fit

for me to add now an account of those actions of my life which I

have not related in that book of the Jewish war.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the

Romans, I was kept with much Care, by means of the great respect

that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command, I married a

virgin, who was from among the captives of that country (25) yet

did she not live with me long, but was divorced, upon my being

freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I

married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together

with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in

danger of being put to death; while both the Jews were very

desirous to get me under their power, in order to haw me

punished. And the Romans also, whenever they were beaten,

supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made

continual clamors to the emperors, and desired that they would

bring me to punishment, as a traitor to them: but Titus Caesar

was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and

returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement solicitations

against me. Moreover, when the city Jerusalem was taken by force,

Titus Caesar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would

of the ruins of my country; and did that he gave me leave so to

do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothing else to

be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under

my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family

might have their liberty: I had also the holy books (26) by

Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the

life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not

denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of

Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and

children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own

friends and acquaintances to be set free, being in number about

one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their

paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former

fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealins, and

a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called Thecoa, in order

to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I

saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my

former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and

went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he

immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the

greatest care taken of them, in order to their recovery; yet two

of them died under the physician's hands, while the third

recovered.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and

conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me no

profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterward to

pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he

was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with

him, and paid me great respect: and when we were come to Rome, I

had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an

apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to

the empire. He also honored me with the privilege of a Roman

citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect

me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness

to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into

danger; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had

raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of

that country to join with him, was the occasion of their ruin.

But when he was bound by the governor of that country, and sent

to the emperor, he told him that I had sent him both weapons and

money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from

Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence

he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my

good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by

God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from

Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea;

about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her

behavior, though not till she had been the mother of three

children, two of whom are dead, and one whom I named Hyrcanus, is

alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a

Jewess by birth: a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as

were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character

was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did

demonstrate. By her I had two sons; the elder's name was Justus,

and the next Simonides, who was also named Agrippa. And these

were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the

kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when

Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government,

kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and

when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not

believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his

respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers,

and gave command that a servant of mine, who was a eunuch, and my

accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in

Judea tax free, which is a mark of the greatest honor to him who

hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Caesar, continued to do me

kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole

life; and let others judge of my character by them as they

please. But to thee, O Epaphroditus, (28) thou most excellent of

men! do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities; and so,

for the present, I here conclude the whole.

**÷**Autobiography Footnotes

(1) We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the

second book Against Apion, sect. 8, (for the Greek is there

lost,) which says, there were then only four tribes or courses of

the priests, instead of twenty-four. Nor is this testimony to be

disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had

affirmed here; because even the account there given better agrees

to twenty-four than to four courses, while he says that each of

those courses contained above 5000 men, which, multiplied by only

four, will make not more than 20,000 priests; whereas the number

120,000, as multiplied by 24, seems much the most probable, they

being about one-tenth of the whole people, even after the

captivity. See Ezr\_2:36-39; Neh\_7:39-42; Neh\_1:1-11 Esdras 5:24, 25,

with Ezra 2;64; Neh\_7:66; Neh\_1:1-11 Esdras 5:41. Nor will this

common reading or notion of but four courses of priests, agree

with Josephus's own further assertion elsewhere, Antiq. B. VII.

ch. 14. sect. 7, that David's partition of the priests into

twenty-four courses had continued to that day.

(2) An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their

genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Against Ap. B. 1

sect. 7.

(3) When Josephus here says, that from sixteen to nineteen, or

for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the

Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essens, and yet says presently,

in all our copies, that he stayed besides with one particular

ascetic, called Banus, with him, and this still before he was

nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of the three

other sects. I suppose, therefore, that for, with him, the old

reading might be, with them; which is a very small emendation,

and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's

conjecture, hinted at by Mr. Hall in his preface to the Doctor's

edition of Josephus, at all improbable, that this Banus, by this

his description, might well be a follower of John the Baptist,

and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions, as

afterwards prepared him to have a favorable opinion of Jesus

Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.

(4) We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at

least those that were priests, were sometimes ascetics also, and,

like Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan\_1:8-16, ate no

flesh, but figs and nuts, etc. only. This was like the, or

austere diet of the Christian ascetics in Passion-week.

Constitut. V. 18.

(5) It has been thought the number of Paul and his companions on

ship-board, Act\_27:38, which are 276 in our copies, are too

many; whereas we find here, that Josephus and his companions, a

very few years after the other, were about 600.

(6) See Jewish War, B. II. ch. 18. sect. 3.

(7) The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against

their brethren from that law of Moses, Lev\_19:16, "Thou

shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbor;" and that,

ver. 17, "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the

children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as

thyself;" as well as from many other places in the Pentateuch and

Prophets. See Antiq. B. VIII. ch. 8. sect. 3.

(8) That this Herod Agrippa, the father, was of old called a

Great King, as here, appears by his coins still remaining; to

which Havercamp refers us.

(9) The famous Jewish numbers of twelve and seventy are here

remarkable.

(10) Our Josephus shows, both here and every where, that he was a

most religious person, and one that had a deep sense of God and

his providence upon his mind, and ascribed all his numerous and

wonderful escapes and preservations, in times of danger, to God's

blessing him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his

acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity, to the Jews his

brethren.

(11) Josephus's opinion is here well worth noting: - That every

one is to be permitted to worship God according to his own

conscience, and is not to be compelled in matters of religion: as

one may here observe, on the contrary, that the rest of the Jews

were still for obliging all those who married Jewesses to be

circumcised, and become Jews, and were ready to destroy all that

would not submit to do so. See sect. 31, and Luk\_11:54.

(12) How Josephus could say here that the Jewish laws forbade

them to "spoil even their enemies, while yet, a little before his

time, our Savior had mentioned it as then a current maxim with

them, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy,"

Mat\_5:43, is worth our inquiry. I take it that Josephus,

having been now for many years an Ebionite Christian, had learned

this interpretation of the law of Moses from Christ, whom he

owned for the true Melah, as it follows in the succeeding verses,

which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's Gospel, yet

might he have read much the same exposition in their own Ebionite

or Nazarene Gospel itself; of which improvements made by

Josephus, after he was become a Christian, we have already had

several examples in this his life, sect. 3, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23,

and shall have many more therein before its conclusion, as well

as we have them elsewhere in all his later writings.

(13) Here we may observe the vulgar Jewish notion of witchcraft,

but that our Josephus was too wise to give any countenance to it.

(14) In this section, as well as in the 18 and 33. those small

vessels that sailed on the sea of Galilee, are called by

Josephus, i.e. plainly ships; so that we need not wander at our

evangelists, who still call them ships; nor ought we to render

them boats, as some do, Their number was in all 230, as we learn

from our author elsewhere. Jewish War. B. II. ch. 21. sect. 8.

(15) Part of these fortifications on Mount Tabor may be those

still remaining, and which were seen lately by Mr. Maundrel. See

his Travels, p. 112.

(16) This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the

rabbins in the Mishna, in Juchasin, and in Porta Mosis, as is

observed in the Latin notes. He might be also that Gamaliel II.,

whose grandfather was Gamaliel I., who is mentioned in Act\_5:34,

and at whose feet St. Paul was brought up, Act\_22:3. See Prid.

at the year 449.

(17) This Jonathan is also taken notice of in the Latin notes, as

the same that is mentioned by the rabbins in Porta Mosis.

(18) This I take to be the first of Josephus's remarkable or

divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that

afterwards came to pass; of which see more in the note on Antiq.

B. III. ch. 8. sect. 9. The other is in the War, B. III. ch. 8.

sect. 3, 9.

(19) Josephus's directions to his soldiers here are much the same

that John the Baptist gave, Luk\_3:14, "Do violence to no man,

neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages."

Whence Dr. Hudson confirms this conjecture, that Josephus, in

some things, was, even now, a follower of John the Baptist, which

is no way improbable. See the note on sect. 2.

(20) We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of

Josephus, to inquire into the characters of witnesses before they

were admitted; and that their number ought to be three, or two at

the least, also exactly as in the law of Moses, and in the

Apostolical Constitutions, B. II. ch. 37. See Horeb Covenant

Revived, page 97, 98.

(21) This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans by Josephus,

and the testimony they gave him of integrity in his conduct as

their governor, is very like that appeal and testimony in the

case of the prophet Samuel, 1Sa\_12:1-5, and perhaps was done

by Josephus in imitation of him.

(22) It is worth noting here, that there was now a great

Proseucha, or place of prayer, in the city of Tiberias itself,

though such Proseucha used to be out of cities, as the synagogues

were within them. Of them, see Le Moyne on Polycarp's Epistle,

page 76. It is also worth our remark, that the Jews, in the days

of Josephus, used to dine at the sixth hour, or noon; and that in

obedience to their notions of the law of Moses also.

(23) One may observe here, that this lay Pharisee, Ananias, is we

have seen he was, sect. 39, took upon him to appoint a fast at

Tiberias, and was obeyed; though indeed it was not out of

religion, but knavish policy.

(24) The character of this history of Justus of Tiberias, the

rival of our Josephus, which is now lost, with its only remaining

fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read

that history. It is in the 33rd code of his Bibliotheea, and runs

thus: "I have read (says Photius) the chronology of Justus of

Tiberias, whose title is this, [The Chronology of] the Kings of

Judah which succeeded one another. This [Justus] came out of the

city of Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moses,

and ends it not till the death of Agrippa, the seventh [ruler] of

the family of Herod, and the last king of the Jews; who took the

government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and still

more augmented by Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan,

where also his history ends. He is very concise in his language,

and slightly passes over those affairs that were most necessary

to be insisted on; and being under the Jewish prejudices, as

indeed he was himself also a Jew by birth, he makes not the least

mention of the appearance of Christ, or what things happened to

him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a

certain Jew, whose name was Pistus. He was a man, as he is

described by Josephus, of a most profligate character; a slave

both to money and to pleasures. In public affairs he was opposite

to Josephus; and it is related, that he laid many plots against

him; but that Josephus, though he had his enemy frequently under

his power, did only reproach him in words, and so let him go

without further punishment. He says also, that the history which

this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to

those parts where he describes the Roman war with the Jews, and

the taking of Jerusalem."

(25) Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses that he did that

at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us was not

lawful for a priest to do by the law of Moses, Antiq. B. III. ch.

12. sect. 2. I mean, the taking a captive woman to wife. See also

Against Apion, B. I. sect. 7. But he seems to have been quickly

sensible that his compliance with the commands of an emperor

would not excuse him, for he soon put her away, as Reland justly

observes here.

(27) Of this most remarkable clause, and its most important

consequences, see Essay on the Old Testament, page 193--195.

(28) Of this Epaphroditus, see the note on the Preface to the

Antiquities.