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# Author Portrait of Josephus, the Writer of History (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, fol. 2r) and his Lost Statue at Rome\*

by STEVEN H. WANDER

Ever since their publication at the end of the first century of the Common Era, the writings of Flavius Josephus (37/38 – c. 100) have been the subject of continuous scrutiny. For Heinz Schreckenberg, '[w]ith the exception of the Bible no other ancient text is as important for the history of Judaism and Christianity as the works of Josephus'.<sup>1</sup> Richard Matthew Pollard asserts that Flavius Josephus is 'the most influential classical historian of the early Middle Ages' and concludes that 'as far as the early Middle Ages are concerned, classical historiography really meant the works of Flavius Josephus'.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps no exaggeration to suggest that his *Antiquities* was 'the single most often copied historical work of the middle ages'.<sup>3</sup>

Illuminations decorating the manuscripts of Josephus' writings, in particular the *Jewish Antiquities* (Latin: *Antiquitates Judaicae*; Greek: Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία) and the *Jewish War* (Latin: *De bello judaico*, or *De captivitate iudaica*, or *De excidio Hierosolymitano*; Greek: ἱστορία Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους βιβλία), have been the subject of scholarly investigation; but others with a less immediate and direct connection to these texts have not received the same level of attention.<sup>4</sup> Recent publications have been able to demonstrate that imagery in two of the most important illuminated manuscripts to survive the Middle Ages, the Latin *Codex Amiatinus* of c. 700 and the Byzantine Greek Paris Psalter from the mid-tenth century, illustrate specific passages found in the author's works, suggesting that Josephus' influence on medieval art is far more widespread than currently recognized.<sup>5</sup> Cassiodorus Senator is a case in point. This high-ranking official at the court of Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths (475–526), was a resident of Constantinople c. 550 and founder subsequently of the monastery Vivarium on his family estates at Squillace in the southern Italian region of Calabria. He singles out Josephus as the source for his illustrations of the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon in the *Codex grandior*, his 'bible of larger size': 'Josephus, in the seventh chapter [that is, chapter six] of the third book of his *Antiquities*, has described it [the tabernacle] in careful narrative, and we have had it painted and [we] placed [the tabernacle picture] at the beginning of our larger Pandect [*Codex grandior*] (*Expositio psalmorum* 14.1).<sup>6</sup> The picture of the temple no longer survives, but a detailed analysis of the illumination of the tabernacle from the *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea

Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, bifolium 6v and 7r; formerly 2v/II and 7r/III), thought to follow Cassiodorus' model, confirms that wording from the *Jewish Antiquities* was the source: 'the description of Josephus seems to be exactly the textual basis for the miniature, more exact in its details than the biblical text itself'.<sup>7</sup> During the Early Middle Ages admissions of motive from a patron are rare, but Cassiodorus gives his reasons for the depiction: It was done '[w]ith the intention that what the text of Divine Scripture says of these structures might appear more clearly when set out before the eyes' (*Expositio psalmorum* 86.1).<sup>8</sup>

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50

Preceding a Latin translation of the first twelve books of the *Jewish Antiquities* and the seven books of the *Jewish War* in the manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, generally dated to the mid-ninth century, is the earliest known full-length portrait of Josephus. Except for the picture of the author, the other illustrations in the manuscript on fol. 2r (fig. 1), and on fols. 132r, 222r and 222v, are independent and unrelated to the contents of the book. All appear at divisions in the codex on parchment left vacant, suggesting they postdate the writing of the text: fol. 2r, a blank flyleaf at the beginning of the manuscript; fol. 132r with an angel filling the remainder of a column separating the end of *Antiquities* book 12 and the beginning of the *Bellum Judaicum* (labelled book 13); fol. 222r, a half-length figure fitted to the empty space following the close of the *Bellum Judaicum*; and fol. 222v with five male saints on a final flyleaf left blank. All the illustrations are done in the same drawing technique, which has been aptly described as 'Technik: Braune Federzeichnung, die Gesichter z. T. in rötlich "beschmiert" in einem primitiven, rein linearen Stil'.<sup>9</sup> The similarity of the pen-and-ink technique suggests that all the renderings in the manuscript are close in their date of execution. Since the brief inscriptions accompanying the illustrations exhibit handwriting comparable to the main text, the drawings may not have been added significantly later. What separates the image of Josephus from the other figures is its Greek caption, the unique instance of that language in the manuscript, and how the draftsman uses the same brown ink and pen lines with a similar red smear above the head to



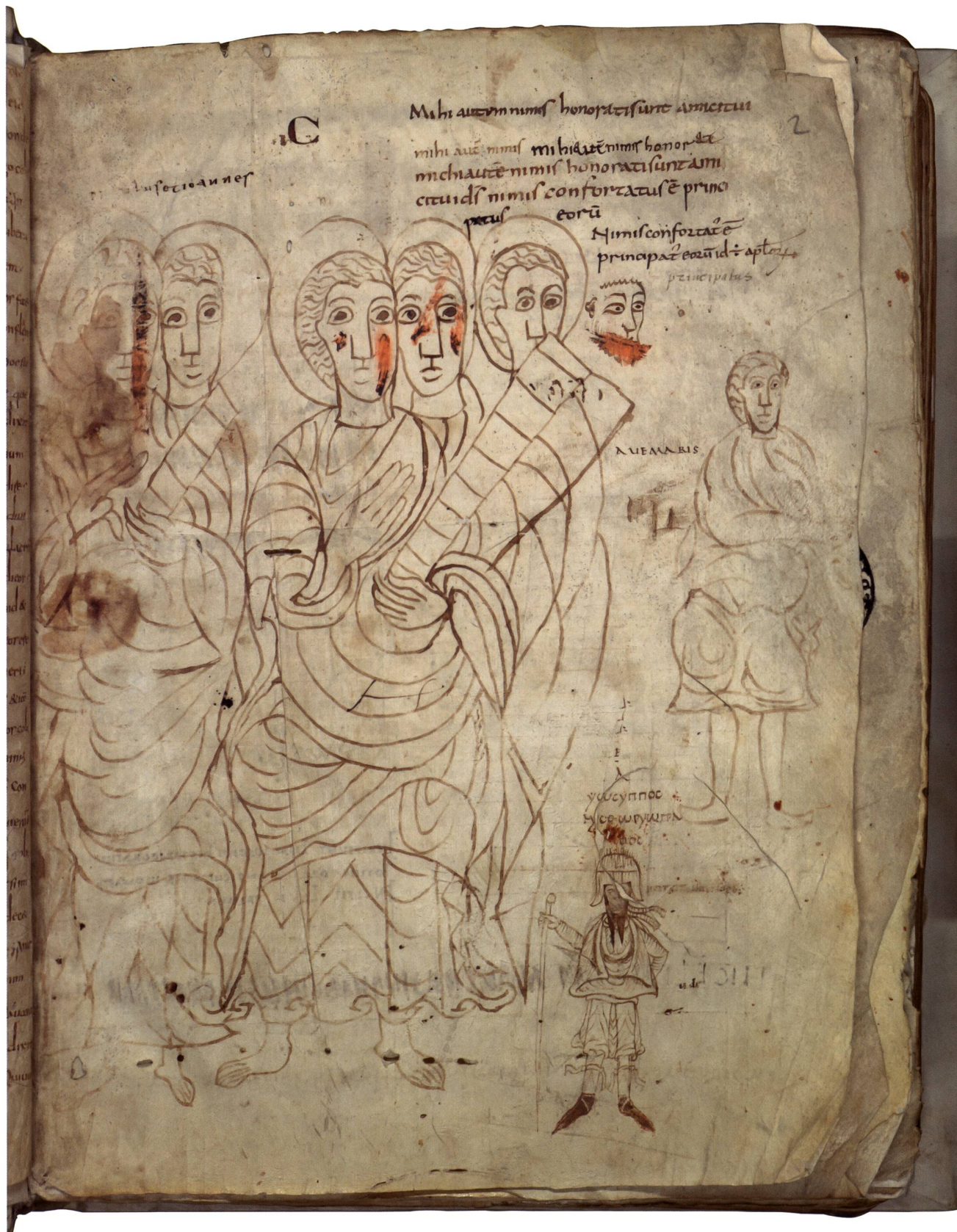


Figure 1. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, folio 2r. 37 × 30.8 cm



evoke a fully formed, three-dimensional image in marked contrast to its companions on fol. 2r and elsewhere in the manuscript which are drawn 'flat' and without volume. Liebl attributes the contrasting appearance of the Josephus portrait to a different artist while Otto Homburger concedes that the 'the separation of the various hands is not feasible'.<sup>10</sup> The Bern Josephus looks like the depiction of a sculpture, and the difference in execution may not be due to different craftsmen but instead to the use of different models.

The pen-and-ink drawing of the diminutive male figure standing upright, entitled in Greek characters 'ΥΩΣΥΠΠΟΟ' 'ΥΘΩΠΥΩΓΡΑΦΟΟ' (sic, ἱστοριογράφος), is at the bottom of folio 2r. The inscription on three lines names Josephus 'the Writer of History' (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Homburger offers the following description of this 'author portrait', whose clothing is in some of its details difficult to decipher: 'At the bottom of the page a standing man in frontal view, with long bifurcated beard, holding in his right hand a long walking stick and dressed in a helmet-like, fur-covered (?) cap with fluttering ribbons (*fasciae, fanones*), a short, billowing skirt and a coat over the shoulders, which falls forward and turns at the edges to the outside. At the bottom around the shoes and calves there are ribbons whose ends are knotted below the knee.'<sup>12</sup> Generally in agreement, Joan E. Taylor elaborates that '[a]s far as I can distinguish, Josephus is presented as wearing: (1) head-gear of some kind, which has small lines indicating that it is conceptualized as being hairy; (2) a close-fitting, long-sleeved top; (3) a girdle which we see around the top of his thighs; 4) baggy pants or breeches tied in at the knees, with cloth in between and on the sides; (5) what seems to be a square of cloth tied at the neck with long sashes flying out over his left shoulder; (6) pointed shoes and hose with ribbon ties going around the heel, ankle, up the calves in an upside-down V shape, and tied mid-calf to billow out sideways from the legs.'<sup>13</sup>

The presentation of this image has given rise to differing interpretations. For Guy Deutsch, 'le costume de l'auteur apparaît comme une interprétation graphique de reliefs parthes, avec ses rubans qui flottent à la base de la coiffure et du pantalon en tissu souple plissé', and he concludes 'his barbaric appearance and the strangeness of his dress point to a Sassanid origin'.<sup>14</sup> He recognizes in the depiction an 'attitude à la fois menaçante et hiératique, ... esprit infernal, ... le magicien oriental Josèphe', that is to say, a magus.<sup>15</sup> Although Ulrike Liebl also sees an eastern derivation for the image, given the Greek inscription, she disputes Deutsch's characterization of the figure as 'Iranian' and his identification of the individual as an 'oriental magician'. She recognizes instead the facial features and attire of a Byzantine soldier and suggests this might be a reference to Josephus' role as a military commander during the Judean war.<sup>16</sup> According to Schreckenberg, rather, Josephus' 'appearance identifies him as a messenger or herald, a function that he had often actually had ...



Figure 2. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, folio 2r, detail. 'Josephus, the Writer of History'

Accordingly, he carries the customary herald's wand in his right hand in this picture, as the emblem of this office'.<sup>17</sup> To the contrary, Taylor views the figure as wearing the costume of a Jewish priest of the Second Temple period. She bases her interpretation on a misreading of the inscription at the bottom of the verso of the page, in which she conjures the Latin to say 'Josephus the Judean historian' (her transcription: *Ioseppi Historiographi Iudaice*), where Josephus, the Writer of History, is supposedly described as 'Judaean' or 'Jewish', a term which may refer either to his country of origin or to his religion.<sup>18</sup> It does not; the adjective 'Jewish' or 'Judaean' (actual transcription: *juda[i]cae*) with its feminine ending refers to the feminine noun 'Antiquity'. The complete sentence reads 'Beginning are the books of Joseph the history-writer of the whole work of Jewish/Judaean antiquity.' (*Incipiunt libri Iosephi historiographi totius operis antiquitatis juda[i]cae*) (fig. 3). In any event,



for Taylor, 'the key distinguishing feature of Josephus in the Medieval imagination was simply that he was a Jew'; and because Josephus was of priestly descent and described himself as the 'son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race, a native of Jerusalem and a priest' (*Jewish War*, I.3) (emphasis added),<sup>19</sup> she concludes that '[i]t would therefore be more appropriate to see Josephus in the Berne manuscript as being presented as exactly that: a Judean priest'.<sup>20</sup> Her argument is not persuasive, and she willingly admits 'that while the Berne codex does intend to represent Josephus as a priest, it does not neatly conform to what we know about priestly dress'.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the very different figure of Ezra in the *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 2r, formerly 4r/V) from approximately a century earlier appears in the exact apparel worn by the Jewish high priest as detailed in the *Jewish Antiquities*.<sup>22</sup>

### *The Bern Portrait and the Roman effigy of Flavius Josephus*

With such differing opinions regarding the identification of the Bern portrait of Josephus as either a demon, a military officer, a herald or a temple priest, it does not seem likely that the analysis alone of the individual's attire will yield definitive conclusions. There is, however, one incontrovertible piece of evidence which affords a different avenue of approach. It is the identifying inscription. Some twelve hundred years ago the scribe of the page saw the image *specifically* as a portrait of 'Josephus, the Writer of History'. The depiction belongs to a standard iconographic type, 'the author portrait',<sup>23</sup> in effect, a portrait of Josephus as himself without imposing a separate identity on his person such as 'oriental magician' (Deutsch), military commander (Liebl), messenger (Schreckenbergl) or temple priest (Taylor). Flavius Josephus was all of these things: a seer prophesizing Vespasian's rise to the imperial throne, an Israelite commander at Jotapata until its capture in 67, an ambassador to Nero seeking the release of Jewish prisoners and, by lineage, a priest of the Temple at Jerusalem in addition to his being the historian.

This Greek legend echoes a passage from Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. Just as in the caption above the picture, 'ΥΩΣΥΠΠΙΟC 'ΥΘΩΡΥΩΓΡΑΦΟC (sic, ἱστοριόγραφος), Rufinus names the author in similar fashion as 'Josephus the illustrious writer of the history of the Jews' (*Ioseppus inlustris Hebraeorum historiografus*) (*Eccl. Hist.*, I.5.3).<sup>24</sup> Even the letters used for transliterating the words between Latin and Greek are comparable, *Ioseppus historiografus* versus 'Υωσυππος 'Υσθωρυωγραφος. Despite the difference in languages, the designation of Josephus in both texts as *historiographus* is identical and the spelling of the author's praenomen very similar.

The caption apparently does not originate with Eusebius' Greek since the *Ecclesiastical History* writes 'Flavius

Josephus, the most famous of the *historians* among the Hebrews' (emphasis added), using ἱστορικῶν (Latin: *historicus*) instead of ἱστοριόγραφος and adding the author's adopted family name, *Flavius*, missing from the Bern inscription ('Εβραίοις ἐπισημότατος ἱστορικῶν Φλαύιος Ἰώσηπος). Likewise, Rufinus' Latin translation, *Ioseppus inlustris Hebraeorum historiografus*, veers away from Eusebius' text in the same direction, adopting *historiographus* and omitting *Flavius*. Rufinus' Latin and the Bern legend both seem to rely on a different source. It is possible that the scribe of the legend translated Rufinus' Latin back into Greek, but it seems as likely to suppose that the image and *titulus* were found together and copied in tandem.<sup>25</sup>

Elsewhere, following Eusebius, Rufinus reports that 'such was the fame of Josephus that he was given a statue in Rome and his books were preserved in the city library' (*Eccl. Hist.*, III.9.2).<sup>26</sup> This monument along with any associated inscription has disappeared without trace. Steve Mason even questions whether it ever existed,<sup>27</sup> but there seems no good reason to discredit the bilingual accounts of Eusebius and Rufinus. Saint Jerome, who repeats the story in his *De viris illustribus*, obviously accepts its veracity: 'Josephus, son of Matthew, a priest of Jerusalem, made prisoner by Vespasian, was released by Vespasian's son, Titus. Coming to Rome, he offered to the emperors, father and son, his seven books *On the Captivity of the Jews*, which were deposited in the public library, and by the fame of his genius he merited a statue in Rome'.<sup>28</sup>

Neither Jerome nor Rufinus were strangers to Rome. Both had been there as students; and in the very years surrounding 401, when translating Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Rufinus was travelling between his hometown of Aquileia and the capital.<sup>29</sup> He could easily have seen the effigy mentioned or at least noted its absence given Eusebius' paean to Josephus. Eusebius extols the writer's importance for his history: 'It is, to be sure, worthwhile noting after this who this Josephus was, and where he came from and of what stock, since he has furnished us so much material and information about the events of history ... and he is worthy of belief beyond anyone else' (*Eccl. Hist.* III.9.1).<sup>30</sup> Rufinus' presence in Rome makes him a potential 'eye-witness'; and although an argument *ex silencio*, he might well have commented on the disappearance of Josephus' statue in his translation if the effigy did not exist.

Admittedly, associating the two passages from Rufinus' Latin text together (*Eccl. Hist.*, I.5.3 and III.9.2), separated as they are in different sections of the work, is something of a leap, but public statuary was popular in the empire, and brief legends identifying individuals were a particularly Roman practice. No *titulus*, of course, is more famous than the one nailed to the cross of Christ, naming Jesus of Nazareth in the three ancient biblical languages, Hebrew, Latin and Greek, 'King of the Jews' (John 19:19–20). More relevant, a seated statue of Josephus' possible patron, Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus, renowned



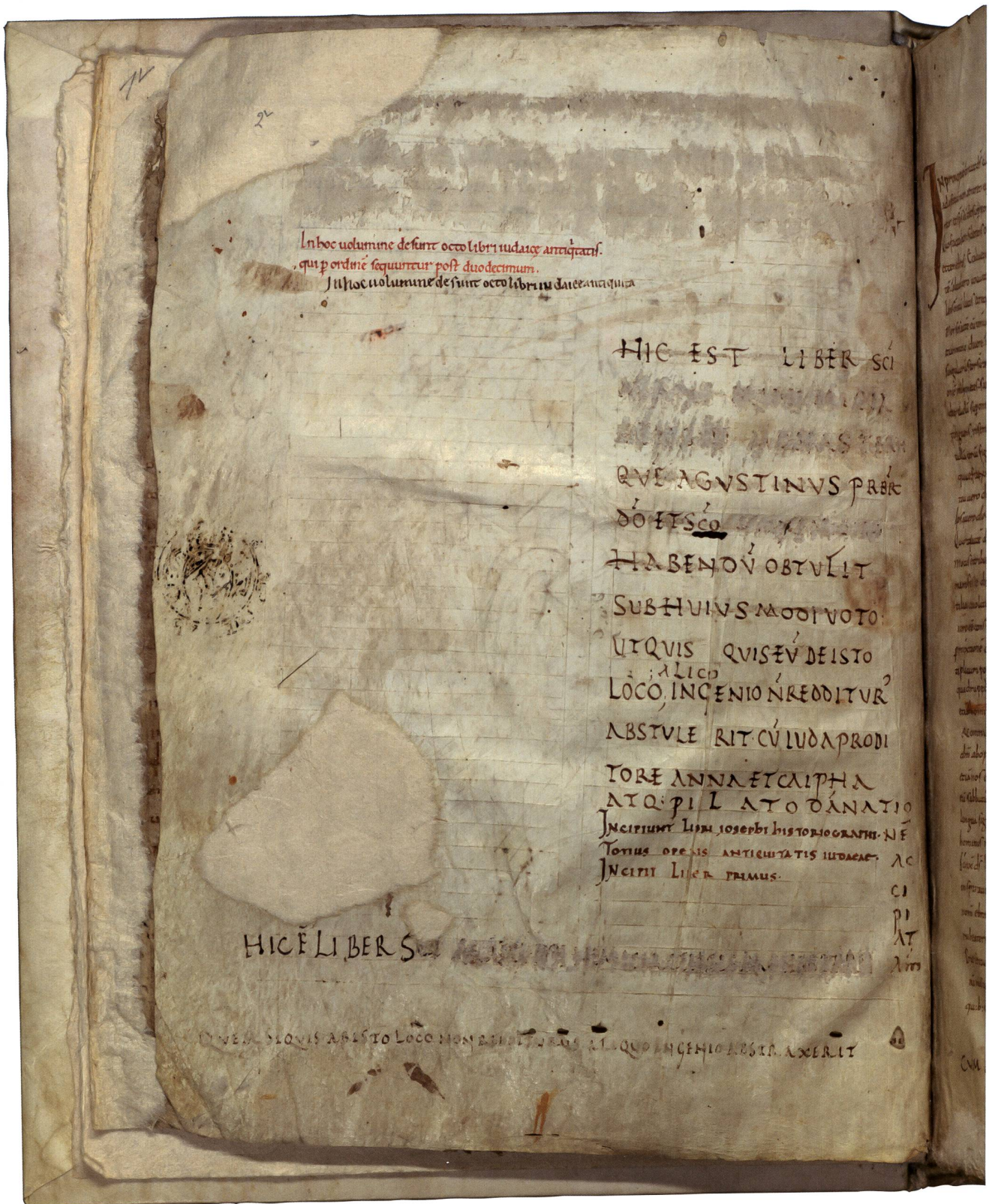


Figure 3. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, folio 2v. 37 × 30.8 cm

Inscription below column: *Incipiunt libri Iosephi historiographi totius operis antiquitatis iudaicæ* (Beginning are the books of Joseph the history-writer of the whole work of Jewish/Judæan antiquity)





Figure 4. Seated Statue of M(arcus) Mettius Epaphroditus Grammaticus Graecus, M(arcus) Mettius Germanus l(ibertus) fec(it). Palazzo Altieri, via del Gesù 49, Rome. Approximately half life-size: height with plinth 92.5 cm, height of seated statue 82 cm



for his library of some thirty thousand volumes, survives in the Palazzo Altieri, via del Gesù 49, Rome, where the inscription on the effigy reads 'M. Mettius Epaphroditus grammaticus graecus', adding the dedication that 'Marcus Mettius Germanus, a freedman, made it' ('M[arcus] Mettius Germanus l[i]bertus fec[it]') (fig. 4).<sup>31</sup> Much like the caption over the Bern 'author portrait', the identification at the base of the sculpture limits itself to the subject's name and profession, 'Greek grammarian'. In parallel fashion, accepting Rufinus' designation and the Bern inscription, the lost statue recorded for the first time in the *Ecclesiastical History* might reasonably have been titled similarly, either in Latin or Greek or both, 'Josephus, the Writer of History'.<sup>32</sup> Such a designation would not be unusual for a Roman effigy and supports the identification of the image in the Bern manuscript with monumental sculpture.

### *The Style of the Rendering*

To be sure, the drawing of Josephus in the Bern manuscript – in contrast to its companions on the page – displays a 'sculptural' character. Unlike other figures on folio 2r and elsewhere in the codex, the image of Josephus possesses volume. The torso is modelled three-dimensionally, and the folds of the drapery have depth, showing highlights and especially deep shadows as if real fabric seen in an atmosphere of light and shade. In particular, the stance exhibits the remnants of *contrapposto*, where the free-standing figure supports its own weight. These are all characteristic of sculpture and belong to the tradition of antique statuary. Homburger recognized the components of this style when stating that 'in the delicate figure an understanding for the rendering of form in Carolingian art is expressed'.<sup>33</sup> However, it may not be the influence of contemporary art that is visible here but its precursor and source, the art of antiquity. The manner of drawing as well as the abbreviated titulus accompanying the image, 'ΥΩΝΥΠΠΙΟC 'ΥCΘΩΠΥΩΓΡΑΦΟC', might have originated with Roman statuary. It is this combination of a title, typical of effigies and a particularly sculptural rendering of the figure, which suggests the derivation from a carved monument. Artistic evidence assists in assessing the ancestry of this image.

Josephus enjoyed the patronage of the Flavian Emperors. By his own testimony, '[o]n our arrival in Rome I [Josephus] met with great consideration from Vespasian. He gave me a lodging in the house which he had occupied before he became Emperor; he honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship; and he assigned me a pension. He continued to honour me up to the time of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness towards me ... Vespasian also presented me with a considerable tract of land in Judaea ... The treatment which I received from the Emperors continued unaltered.

On Vespasian's decease Titus, who succeeded to the empire, showed the same esteem for me as did his father, ... Domitian succeeded Titus and added to my honours ... He also exempted my property in Judaea from taxation – a mark of the highest honour to the privileged individual. Moreover, Domitia, Caesar's wife, never ceased conferring favours upon me.'<sup>34</sup> Clearly the Judaeen war, as evidenced by the one surviving Arch of Titus, dedicated to the deified Emperor Titus Vespasianus, son of the deified Vespasianus (*divo Tito divi Vespasiani ffilio] Vespasiano Augusto*), and erected under Domitian, and another in the Circus Maximus, now destroyed, along with the *Judaea Capta* coinage issued by all three Flavian emperors in commemoration of the Roman victory, was of prime importance for the imperium.<sup>35</sup> Jerome writes that it was specifically the author's *De bello judaico* in the city library; and among those additional honours and favours, which Josephus leaves unspecified, might well have been a statue erected at public expense – like the existing Arch under the auspices of the Roman Senate and People (*Senatus populusque Romanus*) – or perhaps at the behest of his patron Epaphroditus.

Unlike his time in Judaea during the Jewish War, Josephus is less forthcoming about his lengthy stay in Rome, and his closeness to members of the imperial family as well as to other well-positioned Roman citizens has been questioned.<sup>36</sup> When and by whom such an effigy might have been commissioned is unknown. Tessa Rajak suggests that '[i]n later days, a statue to him was to be seen at Rome but, in all probability, it was erected not by Romans or Greeks or Jews, but by Christians'.<sup>37</sup> The style and identifying inscription of the author portrait in Bern, Burgerbibliothek Ms. 50, both suggest sculpture, and Josephus the historian was certainly as 'deserving' of an effigy as the Greek grammarian Epaphroditus.

### *Franks (Auzon) Casket*

Another rare survival of an early medieval artwork related to Josephus is the Franks (Auzon) Casket whose rear panel illustrates the climax of the Jewish war, the capture of Jerusalem. Now in the British Museum, the small whale-bone carving is thought to be of Northumbrian origin from either the late seventh- or early eighth-century (fig. 5).<sup>38</sup> Unlike other scenes on the box, which present difficulties of interpretation, the text and imagery here on this plaque are readily understandable. In the upper left-hand corner the Anglo-Saxon and Latin inscription, written both in runes and Roman letters, explains what appears below: 'Here Titus and a Jew fight' (*Her feġtaþ Titus end Giuþeasu*). Underneath in the bottom left corner is the single word 'judgement' (Anglo-Saxon: *dom*). Nearby an enthroned figure engages with another individual under guard, perhaps the Emperor Vespasian meeting with Josephus while a prisoner in captivity. On the





Figure 5. London, British Museum, Franks (Auzon) Casket, rear, showing the story of the siege of Jerusalem by the Roman general Titus: (centre) the Temple; (upper register) (left) soldiers led by Titus and (right) the flight of the Jews; (lower register) (left) 'judgement' and (right) 'hostage'. Dimensions: length 22.9 cm, width 19 cm, and height 10.9 cm

upper and side registers along the right-hand side of the panel, according to the Latin legend, 'Here its inhabitants flee from Jerusalem' (*Hic fugiant Hierusalim afitatores* [*habitatores*]); and in the corresponding lower right-hand corner is the designation 'hostage' (Anglo-Saxon: *gisl*).<sup>39</sup>

The costuming of the refugees at the top right of the panel, in particular, bears a remarkable similarity to the clothing of the Bern author portrait of Josephus (fig. 6). Two of them grouped nearest the upper right-hand corner have comparable headgear and wear the same type of bell-shaped mantles with fabric hoods fastened at the neck. Likewise, both are dressed in long-sleeved tunics which stop at the knee and don pointed shoes. Even the forked beard of the manuscript figure has a kinship to the pointed chins of some refugees. Particularly significant, the same two carved figures hold in their hands the identical long staff, exactly like the Bern Josephus. The Latin inscription identifies the entire group as 'inhabitants fleeing Jerusalem', and in the designation below they are called 'hostages' (Anglo-Saxon: *gisl*). The walking sticks, the attribute of 'travellers', confirm that they are fugitives and refugees.

Comparison with another relief figure on the rear panel of the Franks (Auzon) Casket may also help to explain a

further aspect of the attire of the Bern Josephus. Taylor describes 'what seems to be a square of cloth tied at the neck with long sashes flying out over his left shoulder'.<sup>40</sup> This so-called 'drapery' falls into a horseshoe shape of concentric arcs over the chest of Josephus. Two figures from this same detail of the upper register of the whale-bone plaque carry away their belongings in sacks, and the one further to the left has a satchel strung about his neck. The outline of this individual's carryall mirrors both in its size and proportions the geometric configuration of lines superimposed upon the upper torso of the Bern Josephus (fig. 6). In particular, the heavily shaded 'fold' at the bottom of the horseshoe-like yoke seems to repeat the three-dimensional shape and curvature of the container carried by this fleeing figure. The ribbons which flutter in the wind on the manuscript page may be a poorly understood reminiscence of the cords appearing on the whale-bone relief. The conclusion seems inescapable that there are significant parallels between the depiction of the Bern Josephus and carved figures from the scene of the *Sack of Jerusalem* on the rear panel of the Franks (Auzon) Casket. It is unlikely that the matching costuming, which literally stretches from head to toe, is pure coincidence. The similarities between the dress of these figures from the two





Figure 6. Comparison: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, folio 2r, detail, 'Josephus, the Writer of History' and London, British Museum, Franks (Auzon) Casket, rear, showing (upper right) the flight of the Jews.

artworks suggest a common derivation. Homberger saw a connection between the rendering of the drawings in the Bern manuscript and carved reliefs of the Carolingian Metz School.<sup>41</sup> The heavily inked lines of the manuscript drawing have an incised quality, and the image itself shares the three-dimensionality of the figures on the whalebone panel. In so many ways the pen-and-ink rendering of the Bern Josephus seems comparable to the relief carving on the Franks (Auzon) Casket.

The Franks (Auzon) Casket, whose earlier provenance is unknown, was discovered sometime during the mid-nineteenth century in Auzon (Brioude, Haute-Loire), but its origins are believed to be Northumbrian. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50 was written at the Monastery of Saint-Mesmin de Micy near Orléans, some two hundred miles away, at least a century and a half later.<sup>42</sup> Contact between Northumbria and Francia was frequent, and the Anglo-Saxon whalebone relief could have left England soon after its manufacture. These two works, among the earliest images to survive in the West which relate to Josephus and his writings, have much in common. The older whalebone carving may have influenced the later Bern author portrait or, alternatively, the two might share a common ancestor. Without captions too few of the vignettes on the casket can be identified with certainty, but clearly episodes like 'Titus fighting a Jew', 'inhabitants fleeing Jerusalem', and the central construction which recalls in its specific details older depictions of the Jerusalem Temple seemingly hark back to earlier renditions of Josephus' texts. Not enough comparative material remains to clarify the situation fully. Neither are there enough surviving artworks relating to Josephus from this period to document an avenue of transmission between the Franks (Auzon) Casket and the Bern Josephus. With only the benefit of limited evidence, no definitive conclusions are possible; nevertheless, similarities between the two – especially in costuming – are not likely to be a chance occurrence. Features of their shared iconography would seem to point to a common source, specifically a pre-existing sculpture.



Figure 7. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, folio 2r, inscription to the right of 'Josephus, the Writer of History'

A second inscription just to the right of the Bern portrait of Josephus is now barely decipherable by autopsy (fig. 7). It is possible to offer a conjectural reading of the legible letters. It likely begins *pereg* (?) or *pergit* (?) (from *pergo*, to rush or hasten) and ends *sophus* (?) with some half-dozen letters in the middle unrecognizable. It is difficult to make sense of the inscription, and in any event there is no trusting the accuracy of a scribe who misspells on the folio *ιστοριόγραφος* and who writes *Ave Maris* (*sic*) in place, obviously, of *Ave Maria*!<sup>43</sup>

On the basis of a suspected relationship with the Franks Casket, it is possible that this inscription may have included a version of the Latin *fugiant* ('those in flight') or of the Anglo-Saxon variant of the same idea, the word *gisl* ('hostages'). The caption in the Bern Josephus may have begun with some declension of the noun *peregrinus* ('foreigner', 'stranger' or 'provincial') or a form of the verbs *peregrinor* ('to sojourn' or 'to travel') or *pergo* ('to rush' or 'to hasten'). The initial letters of the Bern inscription, *pereg*, match with the beginning of the word *peregrinus*; and the ending of the legend in *sophus* immediately suggests the Latin rendition of the author's name, *Josephus*.

### Conclusion

The Bern Josephus and the rear panel of the Franks Casket are among the earliest surviving artworks directly associated with Josephus, and it is remarkable that figures there share such a striking similarity of dress. The fact that both may have had comparable inscriptions, *fugiant* in Latin or *gisl* in Anglo-Saxon on the whalebone relief, and their conjectured Latin equivalent on the manuscript page, *peregrinus*, only serve to strengthen the possibility of a connection. The one may have influenced the other or the two may share a common derivation. There is no surviving documentation to establish with certainty what that source may have been, but given the 'sculptural nature' of both renderings and the use of the title for the Bern author portrait as 'Josephus, the Writer of History', which is typical of monumental sculpture, it does not seem out of the question that they both hark back to the lost statue which



Eusebius, Rufinus and Jerome assert was erected at Rome in the author's honour.

The agreement in detail between these two artworks, the Bern Josephus and the rear panel of the Franks (Auzon) Casket, allows for the retrieval in outline of a monument lost to history: the statue of Josephus once erected in Rome. For such an effigy, one imagines, life-size, standing upright and mounted on a pedestal, it would be hard to invent a more suitable title than the Greek inscription 'ΥΩCΥΠΠΟC 'ΥCΘΩPYΩΓΡΑΦΟC, 'Josephus the Writer of History'.

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#### NOTES

- \* I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance with information and photographs of Dr. Florian Mittenhuber, Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Bürgerbibliothek Bern, Archiv und Handschriftenbibliothek.
- <sup>1</sup> Heinz Schreckenberg, 'Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art', in *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity*, ed. Heinz Schreckenberg and Kurt Schubert, *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* (Assen, 1992), pp. 7–138, at p. 7.
- <sup>2</sup> Richard Matthew Pollard, 'Flavius Josephus: The Most Influential Classical Historian of the Early Middle Ages', in *Writing the Early Medieval West*, ed. Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 15–32, at pp. 15–16.
- <sup>3</sup> James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley, 1979), p. 246.
- <sup>4</sup> On illustrations of Josephus' works, see in particular, Kurt Weitzmann, 'Zur Frage des Einflusses jüdischer Bilderquellen auf die Illustration des Alten Testaments', in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband I*, ed. Alfred Stüiber and Alfred Hermann (1964), pp. 401–15. Reprinted as 'The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration', in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), pp. 76–95; Walter Cahn, 'An Illustrated Josephus from the Meuse Region in Merton College, Oxford', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* vol. 29 (1966), pp. 295–310; Carl-Otto Nordström, 'Some Jewish Legends in Byzantine Art', *Byzantion* vols. 25–27 (1955–57), pp. 487–508; *idem*, 'Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art', *Cahiers archéologiques* vol. 15 (1965), pp. 179–205; *idem*, 'Herod the Great in two Beatus Miniatures', *Studies in the History of Religions (Ex orbe religionum: Studia Geo Widengren)* vols. 21–22 (Leiden, 1972), pp. 245–53; *idem*, 'Text and Myth in some Beatus miniatures', *Cahiers archéologiques* vol. 23 (1974), pp. 7–37 and vol. 26 (1977), pp. 117–36; Guy N. Deutsch, 'Un Portrait de Josèphe dans un manuscrit occidental du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue de l'art* vol. 53 (1981), pp. 53–5; *idem*, *Iconographie de l'illustration de Flavius Josèphe au temps de Jean Fouquet* (Leiden, 1986); *idem*, 'The Illustration of Josephus' Manuscripts', in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit, 1987), pp. 398–410; Joseph Gutmann, 'Josephus' Jewish Antiquities in Twelfth-Century Art: Renovatio or Creatio?', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* vol. 48 (1985), pp. 434–41; reprinted in *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Northampton, 1989), IX; Schreckenberg, 'Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art'; and Ulrike Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997).
- <sup>5</sup> Steven H. Wander, 'The Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, cod. gr. 139) and the *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Flavius Josephus', *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Inquiry* vol. 30:2 (June, 2014), pp. 90–103; and *idem*, 'Illuminations of the Tabernacle of Moses and of Ezra in the *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1): Bede, Cassiodorus and the *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Flavius Josephus', *Anglo-Saxon England* vol. 46 (2017), pp. 1–29.
- <sup>6</sup> Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms*, trans. P. G. Walsh, 3 vols. (New York, 1990–91) I, p. 157; and Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen, 2 vols., CCSL 97–8 (Turnhout, 1958) I, p. 133, lines 43–5: 'De quo [tabernaculo] etiam et Iosephus in libro Antiquitatum tertio, titulo septimo, diligenti narratione disseruit, quod nos fecimus pingi et in Pandectis maioris [*Codex grandior*] capite collocari.'
- <sup>7</sup> E. Revel-Neher, 'Du Codex Amiatinus et ses rapports avec les plans du Tabernacle dans l'art juif et dans l'art byzantin', *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982), pp. 6–17, at p. 9, n. 15: 'La description de



Josèphe semble être exactement la base textuelle de la miniature, plus précise dans ses détails que le texte biblique lui-même.

- <sup>8</sup> W. Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta and the Cassiodorian Commentary on the Psalms', *Revue bénédictine* 90 (1980), pp. 290–300, at pp. 295 and 292: 'quatenus, quod scripturae divinae de ipsis textus eloquitur, oculis redditum clarius panderetur'.
- <sup>9</sup> Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, p. 175.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54: 'von anderer Hand gezeichnet Josephus'; and Otto Homburger, 'Codex 50 Flavius Josephus, Schriften zur jüdischen Geschichte: Frankreich (Micy), ix. Jahrh. (gegen Mitte)', *Die Illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern: Die vor-karolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften* (Bern, 1962), p. 92: 'Trennung der verschiedenen Hände nicht durchführbar.'
- <sup>11</sup> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, <http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=129163> with bibliography (Online Archive Catalogue); Homburger, 'Codex 50 Flavius Josephus', pp. 91–93; Flavius Josephus, *The Latin Josephus I: Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I–V*, ed. Franz Blatt (Acta Jutlandica, XXX. 1) (Copenhagen, 1958), p. 47: 'Antiquitates I–XII (without prooemium). Bellum Iudaicum I–VII'; and Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, pp. 173–5. For the picture of Josephus, see also Deutsch, 'Un Portrait de Josèphe'; *idem*, *Iconographie de l'illustration de Flavius Josèphe*, p. 32, n. 7; *idem*, 'The Illustration of Josephus' Manuscripts', p. 400; Schreckenberg, 'Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art', pp. 87–9; and most recently Joan E. Taylor, 'Imagining Judean Priestly Dress: The Berne Josephus and *Judaea Capta* Coinage', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes, Alicia J. Batten (Farnham, 2014), pp. 195–212.
- <sup>12</sup> Homburger, 'Codex 50 Flavius Josephus', p. 93: 'Ebenda [folio 2r] unten: Stehender Mann in Vorderansicht, mit langem zweigeteiltem Bart. Er hält in der Rechten einen langen Wanderstab und ist bekleidet mit einer helmartigen, fellüberzogenen (?) Mütze mit flatternden Bändern (*fasciae, fanones*), einem kurzen, gebauschten Rock und einem Schultermantel, der nach vorn überfällt und an den Enden nach aussen umgeschlagen ist. Um die niederen Schuhe und die Beine ist ein Band geschlungen, dessen Enden – nach damals üblicher Weise – unter dem Knie geknotet sind (es ist nicht ersichtlich, warum der Zeichner jeweils zwei Knoten mit Bändern angibt).' Cf. Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, p. 54: 'In der rechten unteren Ecke steht in wesentlich kleinerem Maßstab und von anderer Hand gezeichnet Josephus in Frontalansicht. Er hat einen zweigeteilten Spitzbart, hält in seiner Rechten einen Stab und trägt eine orientalisch anmutende Kriegertracht, bestehend aus einem knielangen Gewand mit langen, eng anliegenden Ärmeln, einem im Nacken geschlossenen Kurzmantel und einem Helm mit seitlich abwehenden Bändern. Die spitz zulaufenden Schuhe und die Waden des Josephus sind mit Bändern umwunden, die unterhalb der Knie mit je zwei seitlichen, in flatternde Enden auslaufende Knoten gebunden sind.'
- <sup>13</sup> Taylor, 'Imagining Judean Priestly Dress', p. 196.
- <sup>14</sup> Deutsch, 'Portrait de Josèphe', p. 54; and *idem*, 'Illustration of Josephus' Manuscripts', p. 400. To the contrary, see Gutmann, 'Jewish Antiquities', p. 440, n. 23: 'The Josephus figure in question is not wearing pants. "The chevron drapery between his legs is identical to the drapery of the larger figures on the page. There is nothing I see as Persian (Parthian, Sasanian) origin except the diadem ties from his head ... The ties on the calves are wrong. Parthians and Sasanians used the ties on the instep, where they tie on the low shoes".'
- <sup>15</sup> Deutsch, 'Portrait de Josèphe', p. 54.
- <sup>16</sup> Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften*, p. 54: 'Physiognomie und Kleidung des qualitativ äußerst dürftig ausgeführten Josephus dürften dabei zwar auf seine östliche Herkunft deuten, erlauben jedoch keine zwingende ikonographische Ableitung aus einer illustrierten griechischen Josephus-Handschrift letztendlich syro-iranischen Ursprungs, wie sie G. N. Deutsch vorschlägt; vielmehr dürften Aussehen und Kleidung östlicher Militärtracht nachempfunden worden sein, um auf die Funktion des Josephus als militärischer Oberbefehlshaber hinzuweisen.'
- <sup>17</sup> Schreckenberg, 'Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art', p. 88.
- <sup>18</sup> Taylor, 'Imagining Judean Priestly Dress', p. 197.
- <sup>19</sup> *Josephus Flavius: the Complete Works*, ed. and trans. H. S. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren and L. H. Feldman, 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1926–65), vol. II (Books I–III), pp. 2–3.
- <sup>20</sup> Taylor, 'Imagining Judean Priestly Dress', pp. 197–8.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- <sup>22</sup> Wander, 'Illuminations of the Tabernacle of Moses and of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', pp. 24–7.
- <sup>23</sup> For the early history of the author portrait, see Joyce M. Kubiski, *Uomini Illustri: the Revival of the Author Portrait in Renaissance Florence* (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1993), esp. pp. 10–66; Paul Zanker, *Die Maske des Sokrates: Das Bild des Intellektuellen in der antiken Kunst* (Munich, 1995); and Massimo Bernabò, 'Ritratti di autori: dall'Antichità ai classicisti, a Bisanzio', *Immaginare l'autore: Il ritratto del letterato nella cultura umanistica*, ed. Giovanna Lazzi and Paolo Viti (Florence, 2000), pp. 17–33.
- <sup>24</sup> Eusebius, *Werke: Die Kirchengeschichte, die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, ed. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–9), at I.5.3, vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 44–5: ταύτης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Κυρίνιον ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐπισημώτατος ἱστορικῶν Φλαύιος Ἰώσηπος μνημονεύει. And 'hunc autem Cyrini temporibus habitum censum etiam Ioseppus inlustris Hebraeorum historiografus memorat, adnectens huic narrationi etiam Galilaeorum haeresim iisdem exortam esse temporibus, de qua apud nos Lucas in Actibus apostolorum meminit his verbis' (emphasis added); and Rufinus of Aquileia, *History of the Church*, trans. Philip R. Amidon, Fathers of the Church, vol. 133 (Washington, D.C., 2016), p. 39: 'This census taken in the time of Cyrinus is also mentioned by Josephus, the famous historian of the Hebrews, joining to this narrative that of the sect of the Galileans, which arose at this same time and about which our author Luke speaks as follows in the Acts of the Apostles.' For the use of the term 'historiographus' in Latin, see the entry in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL, 6.3.2843.35 – 6.3.2843.70) online, which includes its use in Latin translations of Josephus, never however in association with the name of the author himself.
- <sup>25</sup> It is possible that the caption Ὑωσυππος Ὑσθωρωγραφος might have been cobbled together from Greek passages in Josephus' original writings where the term appears, but that implies access to the Greek texts of Josephus and a knowledge of the language which was likely beyond the Latin scribe. For passages from Josephus with ἱστοριογράφος, see Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, ed., *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (Leiden, 1973–83), vol. II, p. 393. See *Josephus Flavius: the Complete Works*, vol. IV (Books I–IV), pp. 64–5: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Μαύρων χώρα τοῦτο ἔχων τὸ ὄνομα, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μεμνημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς παρακειμένης αὐτῷ χώρας Φούτης λεγομένης (*The Jewish Antiquities*, 1:133); *ibid.*, vol. VIII (Books XV–XVII), pp. 280–3: τούτου καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοριογράφος μέμνηται τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, οὐ μὴν ὅτι καὶ κατήλθεν, οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιστάμενος. διατελεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰλλα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρόμενος τῇ γραφῇ (*The Jewish Antiquities*, 16:183); and *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 162–3: ἐπεὶ δὲ συχνοὺς ὁρῶ ταῖς ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ὑπὸ τινων εἰρημέναις προσέχοντας βλασφημίαις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν



ὕπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένοις ἀπιστοῦντας τεκμήριόν τε ποιουμένους τοῦ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸ μηδεμίᾳς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανέσι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων μνήμης ἤξιωσθαι (*Contra Apion*, 1:2).

- 26 Eusebius, *Werke*: III.9.2, vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 222–3: μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ἰουδαίων οὐ παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὥς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναθέσει ἀνδριάντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τιμηθῆναι πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ σπουδασθέντας αὐτῷ λόγους βιβλιοθήκης ἀξιώθῃναι. And 'Constat igitur hunc virum per idem tempus non solum apud ludaeos proprios cives, verum etiam apud Romanos habitum esse nobilissimum, ita ut litterarum merito in urbe Roma etiam statua donaretur et libri eius bibliothecae traderentur'; and Rufinus of Aquileia, *History*, p. 112: 'We know therefore that this man was considered most distinguished not only among the Jews, his own countrymen, but also among the Romans, so that his writings merited even a statue in Rome, and his books were included in its library'.
- 27 Steve Mason, 'Josephus as a Roman Historian', in *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. Honora H. Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers (Oxford, 2016), pp. 89–107, at p. 90: 'Eusebius claims that he was "the most famous Judean" in Rome, and honored by a statue (*Hist. eccl.* 3.9.2), though this may be doubted on its merits—coming two centuries after Josephus's death, from an author who needs to rely on Josephus's testimony.'
- 28 Saint Jerome, *On Illustrious Men*, trans. Thomas P. Halton, *Fathers of the Church*, vol. 100 (Washington, D.C., 1999), p. 28; and Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, chapter 13.1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895), ed. Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, pp. 15–16: 'Iosephus, Matthiae filius, ex Hierosolymis sacerdos a Vespasiano captus, cum Tito, filio eius relictus est. Hic Romam ueniens septem libros iudaicae captiuitatis Imperatoribus patri filioque obtulit, qui et bibliothecae publicae traditi sunt et ob ingenii gloriam statuam quoque Romae meruit.'
- 29 F. X. Murphy, 'Regista Rufiniana', in *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411): His Life and Works* (Washington, DC, 1945), pp. 232–35: '397 (summer) Rufinus arrives in Rome'; '397 (fall) Rufinus at Pinetum'; '398 (spring) Rufinus returns to Rome'; '399 (spring) Rufinus leaves Rome for Aquileia'; '402–403 [conjectural dates] Rufinus translates the *Church History of Eusebius*'; '407 Rufinus leaves Aquileia for Rome'. See also J. E. L. Oulton, 'Rufinus's Translation of the Church History of Eusebius', *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1929), pp. 150–174; C. P. Hammond, 'The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of His Move South from Aquileia', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 28 (1977), pp. 372–429; and G. Fedalto, 'Rufino di Concordia. Elementi di una biografia', *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 39 (1992), pp. 19–44.
- 30 Rufinus of Aquileia, *History*, p. 112.
- 31 For the individual named 'Epaphroditus' as the author's patron, see *Josephus Flavius: the Complete Works*, vol. IV (Books I–IV), pp. 4–7: 'there were certain persons curious about the history who urged me to pursue it, and above all Epaphroditus, ... who is ever an enthusiastic supporter of persons with ability to produce some useful or beautiful work' (*The Jewish Antiquities*, 1.8–9); *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 158–59: 'Having now, most excellent Epaphroditus, rendered you a complete account of our antiquities, I shall here for the present conclude my narrative' (*The Life*, 430); and *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 410–11: 'To you, Epaphroditus, who are a devoted lover of truth, and for your sake to any who, like you, may wish to know the facts about our race, I beg to dedicate this and the preceding book' (*Contra Apionem*, 2.296). For proposed identifications of Josephus' patron Epaphroditus, see Hannah M. Cotton and Werner Eck, 'Josephus' Roman Audience: Josephus and the Roman Elites', *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason and James Rives (Oxford, 2005), pp. 37–52, esp. pp. 50–52. For illustrations and dimensions of this statue and the accompanying inscription (*CIL* 06.

09454 = *ILS* 7769) with bibliography, see [http://www.edr-edr.it/edr\\_programmi/res\\_complex\\_comune.php?do=book&id\\_nr=edr161399](http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=edr161399); and G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London, 1965), vol. 3, p. 285 and fig. 2033.

- 32 The poet Claudian received a statue around 400 accompanied by a lengthy inscription in both Greek and Latin. See *Claudian*, ed. and trans. Maurice Platnauer, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1922), vol. 1, p. xii; and *CIL* 06, 01710 (= Des-sau 2949): '[Cl.] Claudiani v[iri] c[larissimo] | [Cla]udio Claudi-ano v[iro] c[larissimo] tri[bu]no et notario, inter ceteras | [de] centes artes prae[g]loriosissimo | [po]etarum, licet ad memoriam sem[piternam] carmina ab eodem | scripta sufficiant, adtamen | testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui | [f]idem, dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius | [fe]licissimi et doctissimi | imperatores senatu petente | statuum in foro divi Traiani | erigi collocariq[ue] iusserunt.' Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίῳ νόον | καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὀμήρου | Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη καὶ | βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν (To Claudius Claudianus v.c., son of Claudius Claudianus v.c., tribune and notary [*i.e.* Permanent Secretary], master of the ennobling arts but above all a poet and most famous of poets, though his own poems are enough to ensure his immortality, yet, in thankful memory of his discretion and loyalty, their serene and learned majesties, the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius have, at the instance of the senate, bidden this statue to be raised and set up in the Forum of the Emperor Trajan of blessed memory. Rome and her kings – to one who has combined | A Homer's music with a Vergil's mind.)
- 33 Homburger, 'Codex 50 Flavius Josephus', p. 93: 'In der zierlichen Figur spricht sich Verständnis für die Formgebung der karolingischen Kunst aus.'
- 34 Flavius Josephus, *The Life*, 423–29, pp. 154–159.
- 35 For the two arches of Titus, see Fergus Millar, 'Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome', in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason and James Rives (Oxford, 2005), pp. 101–128.
- 36 For a perceptively nuanced treatment of the relationship between the Flavian emperors and Josephus and his situation in Rome as an imperial client, see William den Hollander, *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian* (Leiden, 2014).
- 37 Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and his Society*, (London, 1983, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2002), p. 229.
- 38 For the Franks (Auzon) Casket and its extensive bibliography, see most recently Katherine Cross, 'The Mediterranean Scenes on the Franks Casket: Narrative and Exegesis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 78 (2015), pp. 1–40.
- 39 The transcription and translation of the casket inscriptions follow Cross, 'Mediterranean Scenes', pp. 2–4. For the orthography of 'inhabitants', see Alfred Becker, *Franks Casket: zu den Bildern und Inschriften des Runenkästchens von Auzon* (Regensburg, 1973), p. 65: 'Aus habitatores wurde hier durch Ausfall des anlautenden h und Wandel von b > f afitatores.'
- 40 Taylor, 'Imagining Judean Priestly Dress', p. 196.
- 41 Homburger, 'Codex 50 Flavius Josephus', p. 93, n. 1: 'In allen drei Bildern [folios 2r, 132r, and 222v] ist der schwache Reflex einer Vorlage wahrzunehmen, die viel unmittelbarer auf die jüngere Metzger Schule karolingischer Elfenbeinplastik ... gewirkt hat.'
- 42 For Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50, fol.181v with the inscription recording possession of the manuscript, see Éric Chevalley, 'La production et la diffusion de l'écrit', in *Aux sources du Moyen Âge: Entre Alpes et Jura de 350 à l'an 1000*, ed. Lucie Steiner and Justin Favrod (Lausanne, 2019), p. 231.
- 43 Homburger, 'Codex 50 Flavius Josephus', p. 93.



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1–3, 6a, 7. Burgerbibliothek Bern.

Figure 4. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Neg.  
D-Dai-Rom 55.102 (Photograph R. Sansaini)

Figures 5, 6b. British Museum, London. © Trustees of the  
British Museum.



## SUMMARY

In a Latin translation of the first twelve books of Flavius Josephus' Jewish Antiquities and the seven books of his Jewish War (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50), generally dated to the mid-ninth century, on folio 2r there is a pen-and-ink drawing of an upright figure titled in Greek as 'ΥΩΚΥΠΠΙΟC 'ΥCΘΩΡΥΩΓΡΑΦΟC. Despite being identified as 'Josephus, the Writer of History', recent scholarship has viewed this image variously as a 'demon', a 'soldier', a 'herald' or a 'temple priest'. The inscription echoes a citation from Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, which records a statue of the Jewish historian being erected in Rome. This effigy has disappeared without trace, but the full-length figure and its Greek caption in the Bern codex, an 'author portrait', may be a reflection of that lost sculpture. The rear panel of the Franks (Auzon) Casket, which illustrates the fall of Jerusalem during the Judaean war, an event chronicled in Josephus' Jewish War, has fleeing figures whose costuming matches that of the Bern image. Like the wording in Latin (*fugiant*) and in Anglo-Saxon (*gisl*) on the right-hand side of the whalebone relief, identifying the 'inhabitants of Jerusalem' as fugitives or refugees, a second inscription to the right of the Bern image may be read as *peregrinus* ('traveller' or 'provincial'), expressing the same idea. Unlikely to be coincidence, the shared features of these two artworks, among the earliest associated with Josephus, may derive from the same source, the statue, which once stood in his honour at Rome.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In einer lateinischen Übersetzung der ersten zwölf Bücher von Flavius Josephus' Jüdischen Altertümern und der sieben Bücher seines Jüdischen Krieges (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50), die allgemein in die Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts datiert wird, befindet sich auf Folio 2r eine Federzeichnung einer aufrecht stehenden Figur, die auf Griechisch mit 'ΥΩΚΥΠΠΙΟC 'ΥCΘΩΡΥΩΓΡΑΦΟC betitelt ist. Obwohl sie als «Josephus, der Geschichtsschreiber» identifiziert wurde, hat die jüngere Forschung dieses Bild auf verschiedene Weise als «Dämon», «Soldat», «Herold» oder «Tempelpriester» angesehen. Die Inschrift spiegelt ein Zitat aus Rufinus' lateinischer Übersetzung von Eusebius' Kirchengeschichte wider, die berichtet, dass eine Statue des jüdischen Historikers in Rom aufgestellt wurde. Dieses Bildnis ist spurlos verschwunden, aber die Figur und ihre griechische Beischrift im Berner Codex, ein «Autorenporträt», könnten eine Wiedergabe dieser verlorenen Skulptur sein. Die Rückwand des Runenkästchens von Auzon, die den Fall Jerusalems während des Jüdischen Krieges zeigt, ein Ereignis, das in Josephus' Jüdischem Krieg beschrieben wird, zeigt fliehende Figuren, deren Bekleidung mit der des Berner Bildes übereinstimmt. Wie die lateinische (*fugiant*) und angelsächsische (*gisl*) Inschrift auf der rechten Seite des Walknochenreliefs, die die «Bewohner Jerusalems» als Flüchtlinge bezeichnet, kann eine zweite Inschrift rechts neben dem Berner Bild als *peregrinus* («Reisender» oder «Fremder») gelesen werden, was denselben Gedanken ausdrückt. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass es sich bei den gemeinsamen Merkmalen dieser beiden Kunstwerke, die zu den frühesten mit Josephus in Verbindung gebrachten gehören, um einen Zufall handelt. Vielmehr scheinen sie auf dieselbe Quelle zurückzugehen, nämlich die Statue, die ihm zu Ehren einst in Rom stand.

## RÉSUMÉ

Une traduction en latin des douze premiers livres des *Antiquités judaïques* de Flavius Josèphe et des sept livres de sa *Guerre des Juifs* (Berne, Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie, Cod. 50), qui est généralement datée du milieu du IXe siècle, inclut sur folio 2r un dessin à la plume représentant une figure debout accompagnée de l'inscription en grec 'ΥΩΚΥΠΠΙΟC 'ΥCΘΩΡΥΩΓΡΑΦΟC. Bien qu'elle ait été identifiée comme étant «Josèphe, l'historiographe», la recherche récente a vu dans cette image, tour à tour, un «démon», un «soldat», un «hérald» ou encore un «prêtre d'un temple». L'inscription évoque une citation tirée de la traduction en latin par Rufin de l'histoire de l'Église d'Eusèbe, qui rapporte qu'une statue de l'historien juif avait été érigée à Rome. Cette statue a disparu sans laisser de traces, mais la figure avec son inscription en grec dans le codex de Berne, un «portrait d'auteur», pourrait être une reproduction de cette sculpture perdue. Le panneau arrière du coffret runique d'Auzon, qui représente la chute de Jérusalem durant la guerre judéo-romaine, événement décrit dans la Guerre des Juifs de Flavius Josèphe, montre des personnages en fuite dont l'habillement correspond à celui de l'image provenant de Berne. Tout comme l'inscription en latin (*fugiant*) et anglo-saxon (*gisl*) sur le côté droit du relief en os de baleine, qui désigne les «habitants de Jérusalem» comme étant des fugitifs, une deuxième inscription à droite de l'image de Berne peut être interprétée comme *peregrinus* («voyageur» ou «étranger»), ce qui exprime la même idée. Il est improbable que les caractéristiques communes de ces deux œuvres d'art, qui figurent parmi les premières associées à Flavius Josèphe, constituent une coïncidence. Elles semblent plutôt émaner de la même source, à savoir la statue érigée à Rome en son honneur.

## RIASSUNTO

Nel foglio 2r di una traduzione latina, la cui data è in genere collocata alla metà del IX secolo, dei primi dodici libri delle *Antichità giudaiche* e dei sette libri della *Guerra giudaica* (Berna, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 50) dello storiografo Flavio Giuseppe, figura un disegno a penna e inchiostro di una persona in piedi, con la dicitura in greco 'ΥΩΚΥΠΠΙΟC 'ΥCΘΩΡΥΩΓΡΑΦΟC. Sebbene questa persona sia stata identificata come «Giuseppe lo storico», recenti studi hanno interpretato questa immagine attribuendole diverse funzioni: «demone», «soldato», «araldo» o «sacerdote del tempio». L'iscrizione riflette una citazione dalla traduzione latina di Rufino d'Aquileia della *Storia Ecclesiastica* di Eusebio di Cesarea, secondo cui una statua dello storico ebreo fu eretta a Roma. Questa scultura è scomparsa senza lasciare traccia, ma la figura e la sua epigrafe greca nel Codice di Berna, un «ritratto d'autore», potrebbero essere una riproduzione di quest'opera perduta. Il pannello posteriore del Cofanetto Auzon, che raffigura la caduta di Gerusalemme durante la guerra di Giudea, un evento descritto nella *Guerra Giudaica* di Giuseppe, mostra figure in fuga, il cui abbigliamento corrisponde a quello dell'immagine bernese. In analogia all'iscrizione latina (*fugiant*) e anglosassone (*gisl*) sul lato destro del rilievo in osso di balena, che si riferisce agli «abitanti di Gerusalemme» come fuggitivi, una seconda iscrizione a destra dell'immagine bernese può essere letta come «*peregrinus*» («viaggiatore» o «straniero»), che esprime lo stesso concetto. È improbabile che le caratteristiche comuni di queste due opere d'arte, tra le prime a essere associate a Giuseppe, siano casuali. Sembrano invece risalire alla stessa fonte, ovvero alla statua eretta all'epoca a Roma in suo onore.