

SECTION V

HISTORY FROM DEATH OF HEROD  
TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM  
(4 B.C.—A.D. 70)

1. Family of Herod the Great. 2. Will of Herod. 3. Funeral of Herod. 4. The Jews' opposition to Archelaus. 5. Augustus confirms Herod's will. 6. Rule of Archelaus; his banishment. 7. Herod Antipas, Herodias, and John the baptist. 8. Herod Antipas joins Pilate in condemning Christ. 9. Banishment of Herod Antipas. 10. Herod Philip, tetrarch of northern Perea; City of Caesarea-Philippi. 11. Judea under procurators: (1) Sabinus, (2) Coponius. 12. Judean procurators: (3) Ambivus, (4) Rufus, (5) Valerius Gratus, (6) Pilate. 13. Pilate's tyranny; his banishment. 14. Benefits to the Jews by Vitellius. 15. Caligula tries to place his statue in the temple. 16. Persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria. 17. Philo heads mission to Caligula to defend Jews. 18. Resistance to Caligula in Judea; His decree suspended; His death. 19. Herod Agrippa I made King of Judea. 20. Agrippa I favors the Jews. 21. Agrippa fortifies Jerusalem. 22. Agrippa kills apostle James. 23. Magnificence of Agrippa I; his horrible death. 24. Career of Herod Agrippa II. 25. Judea again under procurators: (7) Fadus. 26. Famine in Judea; Queen Helena; Paul and Barnabas visit Jerusalem. 27. Procurators (8) Alexander, and (9) Cumanus; Tumult at the Passover. 28. Cruel procuratorship of (10) Felix. 29. Able, upright (11) Festus. 30. Procurator (12) Albinus; increasing bloodshed throughout the land. 31. Last and worst procurator, (13) G. Florus. 32. Outbreak of Jewish revolt against the Romans. 33. Initial victories of the Jews. 34. Principal men of the war. 35. Romans conquer whole country; temporary suspension of the siege of Jerusalem. 35. Titus' siege of Jerusalem. 36. Burning of the temple. 37. Final capture of Jerusalem. 38. Fall of Masada. 39. Jerusalem after its fall. 40. The Bar-Cochba revolt. 41. Hadrian makes Jerusalem a pagan city.

WATCH FOR ANSWERS  
TO THESE QUESTIONS:

- 1-5. How were the following people related to Herod the Great: (1) Archelaus, (2) Herod Antipas, (3) Herod Philip II, (4) Herod Agrippa I, (5) King Agrippa II?
6. Who governed Galilee and Perea after the death of Herod the Great?
7. What position did Archelaus receive in Herod's last will?
8. Where was Herod's funeral?

NEW TESTAMENT BACKGROUNDS

9. How many died in Jerusalem when the people raised an outcry near the start of Archelaus' reign?
10. How did the Roman officials treat Jerusalem and the Jews very shortly after Herod's death?
11. What expectation among the Jews rose to a great climax about the time of Archelaus?
12. Was the will of Herod concerning his successors generally confided? By whom?
13. How was Archelaus removed from office?
14. What two Biblical events involve Herod Antipas?
15. What was objectionable about Herod Antipas' marrying Herodias?
16. What was the name of Herodias' daughter?
17. When did Herod Antipas and Pilate become friends?
18. Who brought about the banishment of Herod Antipas?
19. Who founded the city of Tiberias? Where is it?
20. What was the character of Herod Philip II?
21. Where is the city of Cæsarea Philippi? Who built it?
22. What was a Roman *procurator*?
23. What did the Samaritans do that caused them to be excluded from the Jerusalem temple?
24. Name the Roman procurator immediately preceding Pontius Pilate.
25. Pilate transferred the winter quarters of Roman troops from where to where?
26. Did Pilate get along well with the Jews?
27. Who banished Pilate? To where?
28. What Roman emperor tried to get his statue placed in the temple at Jerusalem?
29. In what city did the Jews endure a terrible persecution during the time of Caligula?
30. What famous Alexandrian Jew headed a mission to Caligula at Rome to defend the Jews?
31. Who got the decree to erect in Jerusalem a statue to Caligula suspended?

THE HERODS, THE JEWS, AND ROME

32. Whom did the Roman emperor Claudius make king of Judea and Samaria?
33. Was king Agrippa I friendly or hostile to the Jews?
34. What part (north, south, east, west) of Jerusalem did Agrippa enclose with a new wall?
35. Which apostle did Herod Agrippa kill? Which one did he imprison?
36. How did Herod Agrippa I die?
37. What area did Agrippa II rule?
38. With what woman was Agrippa II associated?
39. Which apostle was "tried" before Agrippa II?
40. What foreign queen imported relief foods to the Jews at Jerusalem?
41. What tragedy occurred in Jerusalem in the time of the procurator Cumanus?
42. What was the character of Felix the procurator? Was he friendly to the Jews?
43. What were the *Sicarii*?
44. What was the state of Jewish society in the time of Felix?
45. What connection did Felix have with the apostle Paul?
46. When was James, the brother of Christ, "delivered to be stoned"?
47. What were Jewish social conditions like in the time of Albinus the procurator?
48. Was Judea's last procurator good or bad?
49. What was the effect of Florus' attempt to get treasures from Jerusalem?
50. What act was the specific starting point of the Jewish rebellion and war against Rome? What Jewish historian tells us of this war?
51. How much of the country was captured before Jerusalem itself was finally besieged by the Romans?
52. Where was Vespasian when he received news of Nero's death?

NEW TESTAMENT BACKGROUNDS

53. What Roman finished the Jewish war when Vespasian left?
54. When did the Christians flee from Jerusalem? Where did they go?
55. Which party got control in Jerusalem, the moderates or the Zealots?
56. What was the year when Jerusalem finally fell?
57. Why were so many people in Jerusalem when its last siege began?
58. How many people does Josephus say perished in the siege?
59. What did Titus build around Jerusalem?
60. Did Titus actually intend to burn the temple?
61. How much of Jerusalem was burned? What was left standing?
62. What cliff fortress fell to the Romans after the fall of Jerusalem?
63. Was Jerusalem inhabited in the fifty years after its fall?
64. Who became leader of the Jews in the second Jewish revolt?
65. In what year was the second Jewish revolt? How long did it last?
66. Who was the Roman emperor during the second Jewish revolt?
67. What temple did Hadrian erect on the site of the Jerusalem temple?
68. What did Hadrian rename Jerusalem?
69. Who was allowed to live at Jerusalem after the second revolt?
70. When were Jews finally allowed to visit Jerusalem after the second revolt?
71. Where was the Jews' wailing-place in Jerusalem?



In order to understand fully the history of our Saviour and his Apostles, it is necessary to give a brief account of the secular history of the Jews during this period.

### 1. *Family of Herod the Great.*

The family of Herod is shown in the genealogical table. Of his ten wives, we need only notice the offspring of the first five. (i.) He married *Doris* before his accession to the throne; and her only son ANTIPATER was, as we have seen, the last victim of his father's dying rage. (ii.) ARISTOBULUS, *his eldest son by Mariamne*, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, was the parent of a large family, and from him were descended the two AGRIPPAS, the first of whom was the "KING HEROD" who slew James and imprisoned Peter (Acts 12:1); the second, the "KING AGRIPPA" before whom Paul pleaded (Acts 25-26). (iii.) After the judicial murder of Mariamne, Herod married another *Mariamne*, daughter of the high-priest, Simon; her son was HEROD PHILIP, whose marriage with his niece Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, followed by her divorce of him to marry his half-brother, Herod Antipas, led to the martyrdom of John the Baptist. He is often confounded with his half-brother PHILIP, the tetrarch of Iturea. (iv.) His next wife, *Malthace*, a Samaritan, was the mother of HEROD ANTIPAS and ARCHELAUS, of whom we have presently to speak. (v.) By *Cleopatra* he had two sons, the younger of whom was PHILIP, the tetrarch of Ituræa and the adjacent district with Trachonitis. (vi.-x.) His other wives and their children are of no consequence in the history. These complicated relations will be made clearer by the following outline of the chief personages with whom the history is concerned, for the four generations of the family:

## THE HERODS, THE JEWS, AND ROME

### A. HEROD THE GREAT.

<i>Wives</i>	<i>Sons</i>	
I. Doris ..... of Hyrcanus II. ....	1. Antipater..... 2. Aristobulus.....	} Executed by their father in his life-time.
II. Mariamne, grandd. III. Mariamne, d. of Simon .....	3. Alexander.....	
IV. Malthace, a Samaritan .....	4. HEROD PHILIP I..... m. Herodias.	Lived as a private per- son.
	5. HEROD ANTIPAS.....	Tetrarch of Galilee.
	6. ARCHELAUS.....	Ethnarch of Judæa.
IV. Cleopatra .....	7. HEROD PHILIP II..... m. Salome, d. of Philip I. and Herodias.	Tetrarch of Northern Peræa, etc.

### B. Children of Aristobulus.

1. Herod Agrippa I ..... King of Judæa.
2. Herodias, m.—
- (1) Herod Philip I.
- (2) Herod Antipas.

### C. Children of HEROD AGRIPPA I.

1. Herod Agrippa II. .... Tetrarch of N. Peræa,  
(titular king). etc.
2. Bernice ..... Named in Acts xxv. 23.
3. Drusilla, m. to Felix ..... Named in Acts xxiv. 24.

## 2. *Will of Herod the Great.*

During his last illness, Herod made a will in favor of the sons of Malthace (Archelaus and Antipas), who had been educated at Rome, and had been at first excluded from the inheritance through the accusations of Antipater. It was this unexpected arrangement which led to the retreat of Joseph to Galilee on his return with Mary and Jesus from Egypt (Matt. 2:22). The elder of them, Herod Antipas, was first named by Herod his successor; but the last change in the king's will transferred that dignity to Archelaus, leaving to Antipas the government of Galilee and Peræa (in the narrower sense), with the title of tetrarch. The northern part of the trans-Jordanic country, including Ituræa, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa, with Trachonitis, were made a tetrarchy for Philip, the son of Cleopatra. Lastly,

Herod's will left an ample provision to his sister Salome, whose intrigues had been so fatal to his family, and large legacies to Augustus and his wife Julia. Herod Philip, the son of the second Mariamne, was excluded from all benefit of his father's will, in revenge for the supposed treason of his mother; as were also the descendants of the first Mariamne.

### 3. *Funeral of Herod the Great.*

Pending the ratification of Herod's will by Augustus, Archelaus succeeded to his father's power. The Jewish princes were released from the hippodrome, and the funeral of Herod was celebrated with great splendor. Herod died at Jericho. The funeral is thus described by Dean Milman:—"The lifeless remains of Herod seemed to retain his characteristic magnificence. The body was borne aloft on a bier, which was adorned with costly precious stones. The linen was of the richest dye; the winding-sheet of purple. It still wore the diadem, and, above that, the golden crown of royalty: the sceptre was in its hand. The sons and relatives of Herod attended the bier. All the military force followed, distributed according to their nations. First, his body-guard—then his foreign mercenaries, Thracians, Germans, Gauls—then, the rest of the army, in war array. Last came five hundred of his court-officers, bearing sweet spices, with which the Jews embalmed the dead. In this Pomp the procession passed on, by slow stages, to the Herodium, a fortified palace, about twenty miles from Jericho" (and four miles southeast of Bethlehem).

### 4. *The Jews' opposition to Archelaus.*

At the end of the seven days' mourning, during which it was rumored that the pious duties of the day were relieved by nights of revelry, Archelaus gave a funeral feast



to the people, and then made a solemn entry in the Temple. His speech, in which he assumed a tone of great moderation, and promised relief from his fathers tyranny, was received with loud applause, not unmingled with cries for the redress of grievances. "Some called for a diminution of the public burdens; others for the release of the prisoners, with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigor. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and, having performed sacrifice, retired."

The disaffection, which was doubtless inflamed by disappointment of the hopes founded on the milder character of Herod Antipas, the expected heir, broke out into open tumult while the two brothers were preparing to start for Rome, the one to seek the emperor's confirmation of Herod's will, the other to urge his claims. At the Feast of the Passover when Jerusalem was always filled with devout Jews, whose zeal was inflamed by their numbers and by the exaltation of feeling due to the festival, a cry was raised for vengeance on behalf of those whom Herod had executed for pulling down the eagle. The multitude were only dispersed by army force with the slaughter of 3000 men and the feast was broken off. Archelaus now set out for Rome. In his train were Nicolas of Damascus, whose eloquence had so well served his father, and Salome, who was secretly prepared to urge the claims of Herod Antipas.

Meanwhile the rapacity of the Roman officials grasped at what appeared an easy prey. Even while preparing to embark at Cæsarea, Archelaus had met Sabinus the procurator of Syria on his way to claim the late king's treasures. His march, suspended at the entreaties of Archelaus and the command of Varus, the prefect of Syria, was resumed

as soon as the former had sailed; and his exactions gave the zealots the provocation or pretext for a tumult which was only put down by the interference of Varus. Sabinus, left still in command at Jerusalem, soon provoked a new insurrection at the Feast of Pentecost when the city was again filled with zealots bent on avenging their repulse at the Passover. They formed a regular encampment round the Temple, and besieged Sabinus and his legion, probably in the Antonia. The Romans made a sally against the Temple, burned the cloisters of the outer court with its defenders, broke into the sanctuary, and plundered the sacred treasures; but the Jews, furious at the sacrilege, still besieged Sabinus and his legion. The anarchy of the country was inflamed by the troops of Herod, who wandered about in bands that fought and plundered as they pleased. To these elements of confusion was added the expectation of some great deliverer,—a feeling which now reached its climax,—and at the very time when the true Saviour was concealed in Egypt, false Messiahs were assuming the diadem, and gathering troops of banditti. Meanwhile Varus advanced to the relief of Sabinus, at the head of two legions, and among the auxiliaries were some Arabian bands who devastated the country. The insurgents laid down their arms at his approach; and Sabinus, ashamed to meet him, set off for Rome. Two thousand of the ringleaders were crucified, and others sent to Rome for trial. It had become plain that, whatever might be the decision of Augustus, he himself was the only master of Judæa.

The cause at issue before him was pleaded by the eloquence of Nicolas and Herod Philip (the elder) on the part of Archelaus, and by Salome and her son Antipater on that of Antipas. During its progress a deputation of 500 Jews appeared at the emperor's tribunal, praying for the suppression of royalty and the restoration of their liberties; and the statement that they were supported by no less than

8000 of their countrymen at Rome indicates the number and influence of the Jews settled in the capital.

5. *Augustus confirms Herod's will.*

At length, Augustus confirmed the will of Herod in all essential points. Archelaus was established in the government of Judæa, with Idumæa and Samaria, forming about half the kingdom of Herod, and bringing in a revenue of 600 talents. He was to rule under the title of *Ethnarch* (meaning, Ruler of the people) with the promise of that of *King* if he proved worthy of it. Of the chief cities in his territory, he retained Jerusalem, Sebaste, Cæsarea, and Joppa; while Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo were made Roman towns under the prefect of Syria; and Salome received Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and a palace in Ascalon. Herod Antipas was confirmed in the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa with a revenue of 200 talents, and Philip in that of Auranitis and Trachonitis.

6. *Rule of Archelaus; his banishment.*

We have seen that the first news of the succession of Archelaus led the parents of our Lord to turn aside on their way back from Egypt, and to place their precious charge under the milder government of Herod Antipas. The fear of Joseph may be taken as an expression of the popular distrust of Archelaus which was amply justified by the continued tyranny and disorder of his nine years' reign. At first, he showed a desire to conciliate the Jews by displacing Joazar whom Herod had made high-priest after the affair of the eagle in favor of his brother Eleazar. But the adherents of the Law were alienated by the marriage of Archelaus to Glaphyra, his brother Alexander's widow, for whom he divorced his wife Mariamne; and at length his tyranny provoked his subjects to appeal to Au-

gustus. Archelaus was summoned suddenly to Rome, and banished to Vienna (*Vienne*) in Gaul (A.D. 7). This sentence put a final end to the Jewish monarchy; for the restoration of a nominal kingdom for a few years under Herod Agrippa I. (A.D. 41-44) can only be viewed as an episode in the Roman domination. "The sceptre had departed from Judah" (Gen. 49:10).

### 7. *Herod Antipas, Herodias, and John the baptist.*

Before pursuing the history of Judæa as a Roman province, it will be convenient to follow the course of the two other sons of Herod, who reigned in Palestine according to his will. HEROD ANTIPAS, the brother of Archelaus, was confirmed by Augustus, as we have seen, in the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa, which had been assigned to him by his father's will, and hence he is mentioned in the Gospels by the style of HEROD THE TETRARCH.<sup>1</sup> His whole importance is derived from his two appearances in the Gospel history, as first the hearer and then the murderer of John the Baptist, and as taking part with Pilate in the condemnation of our Lord. The first of these crimes was due to the fatal influence of Herodias, which at last brought him to his ruin. He had married a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa (the same from whose governor at Damascus St. Paul was afterward in danger). While still living with her, he formed a connection of the most disgraceful character in the eye of the Jewish law. The notorious HERODIAS, daughter of Aristobulus, the son of Mariamne and Herod the Great, and consequently sister of Herod Agrippa I., was married to Herod Philip, who was her step-uncle, being the son of Herod and the second Mariamne; and she now deserted Philip to marry

1. *Tetrarch* means "Ruler of a fourth" (of the land); Matt. 14:1; Luke 3:1, 19; Acts 13:1. The title "King" in Mark 6:14 must be regarded as a title of courtesy.

Herod Antipas, who stood to her in the same relation. Besides that her husband and his wife were both alive, Antipas, as the half-brother of Philip, was already connected with Herodias by an affinity so close that there was only one case contemplated in the law of Moses where it could be set aside, namely, when the married brother had died childless.<sup>2</sup> Now Herodias had already one daughter, Salome, by Philip. Well therefore may she be charged by Josephus with the intention of confounding her country's institutions, and well may John the Baptist have remonstrated against the enormity of such a connection with tetrarch, whose conscience would certainly seem to have been less hardened than hers; for he "feared" his reprover, whose preaching he had "heard gladly," and though these impressions did not avail to keep him from adding murder to adultery, he "was sorry" to commit the crime.<sup>3</sup> Aretas made war to avenge his daughter; and we have the express testimony of Josephus that the defeat of Herod with the loss of nearly all his army was viewed by the Jews as a judgment for John's murder (Josephus, *Ant.* xxviii, 5, 1-2).

#### 8. *Herod Antipas joins Pilate in condemning Christ.*

Free from his father's tyrannical temper, Herod Antipas aspired to be the patron and protector of the Jews, and he ventured on an open quarrel with the Roman procurator, possibly concerning those "Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices" (Luke 13:1). Herod courted favor with the strict Jews by his visit to Jerusalem at the Passover; and the Roman procurator thought it prudent to avail himself of such an opportunity for a reconciliation by sending Jesus before Herod, who, as tetrarch, had jurisdiction over a Galilean, and as the

2. See Lev. 18:16; 20:21; and for the exception, Deut. 25:5 ff.

3. Matt. 14:9; Mark 6:20; Josephus states that John was executed at Machærus, a fortress about five miles east of the Dead Sea.

head of the Herodian house, might gratify his hatred of "the king of the Jews." Such was the conjunction of political interests and passions by which "both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together" to fulfill the divine counsels as foretold by David (Acts 4:25-28; cf. Ps. 2:1-2).

These two chief passages of his life reveal the character of this weak, sensual, and superstitious prince, whose cunning was stamped by the Saviour with the epithet "that fox" (Luke 13:32). He would have been pleased to have kept both John and Jesus as prophets at his court, but was led by wanton weakness to sacrifice the one, and through the terror engendered by remorse, "would have killed" the other (Luke 13:31; Mark 6:16). He at last indulged his spite upon Jesus when he saw him safe as a prisoner to Pilate. What is left untold of his character and deeds is summed up in the significant phrase, which St. Luke adds to the record of his adultery with Herodias, "all the wickedness which Herod had done" (Luke 3:19).

### 9. *Banishment of Herod Antipas.*

At length the favors heaped by the emperor Caligula (who succeeded Tiberius in A.D. 37) upon his friend and comrade, Herod Agrippa, excited the jealous ambition of Herod Antipas. At the instigation of Herodias, he sailed with her to Rome, nominally to petition for the same royal title which had been conferred upon his nephew, but really to intrigue against him. But Agrippa, the bosom friend of Caligula, met the plot by a charge of treason against his uncle; and Antipas was banished to Lugdunum in Gaul<sup>4</sup> (A.D. 39). It deserves to be recorded of Herodias that she preferred sharing the exile of Antipas till death ended his

4. In Josephus *Wars*, ii. 9, 6, Antipas is said to have died in Spain, apparently, from the context, the land of his exile. A town like Lyon near the borders of both Spain and Gaul would account for the apparent discrepancy.

reverses to remain with her brother Agrippa and partaking of his elevation.<sup>5</sup>

The city of TIBERIAS which Antipas founded on the west shore of the sea of Galilee and named in honor of the emperor was the most conspicuous monument of his long reign; but, like the rest of the Herodian family, he showed his passion for building cities in several places, restoring Sepphoris, near Tabor, which had been destroyed in the wars after the death of Herod the Great,<sup>6</sup> and Betharamptha (Beth-haram) in Peræa, which he named Julias, "from the wife of the emperor."<sup>7</sup>

10. *Herod Philip, tetrarch of northern Perea; city of Caesarea-Philippi.*

HEROD PHILIP II.<sup>8</sup> was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra. Like his half-brothers Antipas and Archelaus, he was brought up at home, and on the death of his father advocated the claims of Archelaus before Augustus. He received as his own government "Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis (Gaulonitis), and some parts about Jamnia,"<sup>9</sup> with the title of tetrarch. His rule was distinguished by justice and moderation,<sup>10</sup> and he appears to have devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office without sharing in the intrigues which disgraced his family.<sup>11</sup> He built a new

5. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 7, 2.

6. Josephus, *Ant.* xvii, 12, 9; xviii, 2, 1.

7. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 2, 1.

8. The numeral is used to distinguish him from his half-brother Herod Philip I (Mark vi. 17), the son of Herod the Great and Mariamne the daughter of a high-priest Simon (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, 4), the husband of Herodias, and father of Salome. He is called only Herod by Josephus, but the repetition of the name Philip is fully justified by the frequent recurrence of names in the Herodian family (e.g. Antipater). The two Philips were confounded by Jerome; and the confusion was the more easy, because the son of Mariamne was excluded from all share in his fathers possessions in consequence of his mother's treachery (Josephus, *Wars*, i, 30, 7), and lived afterwards in a private place.

9. Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 6, 3; Luke 3:1.

10. Josephus, *Ant.* xvii, 2, 4.

11. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 5, 6.

city on the site of Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, which he called Cæsarea, (Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27), and raised Bethsaida (in lower Gaulonitis) to the rank of a city under the title of Julias, and died there A.D. 34.<sup>12</sup> He married Salome, the daughter of Philip I. and Herodias, but, as he left no children, his dominions were added at his death to the Roman province of Syria.

The city of Cæsarea Philippi, chosen by Philip the tetrarch as the site of his villas and palaces, besides his father's temple to Augustus, is distinguished not only by the unrivaled beauty of its site, but also by its sacred associations. "As it is the northernmost frontier of Palestine, so it is the northernmost limit of the journeys of our Lord. . . . It must at least have been in its neighborhood that the confession of Peter was made; the rock on which the temple of Augustus stood, and from which the streams of the Jordan issue, may possibly have suggested the words which now run round the dome of St. Peter's."

11. *Judea under procurators: (1) Sabinus,  
(2) Coponius.*

Judæa, including Samaria, was reduced on the banishment of Archelaus to an ordinary Roman province under a procurator subordinate to the prefect of Syria.<sup>13</sup> He re-

12. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 5, 6.

13. A *procurator* was generally a Roman knight, appointed to act under the governor of a province as collector of the revenue, and judge in causes connected with it. Strictly speaking, *procuratores Caesaris* were required only in the imperial provinces, *i.e.*, those which, according to the constitution of Augustus, were reserved for the special administration of the emperor, without the intervention of the senate or the people, and governed by his legate. In the senatorian provinces, governed by proconsuls, the corresponding duties were discharged by *quæstors*. Yet it appears that sometimes *procuratores* were appointed in those provinces also to collect certain dues of the *fiscus* (the emperor's special revenue), as distinguished from the revenue administered by the senate. Sometimes in a small territory, especially in one contiguous to a larger province and dependent upon it, the procurator was head of the administration, and had full military and judicial authority, though he was responsible to the governor of the neighboring province.



sided, not at Jerusalem, but at Cæsarea on the coast.<sup>14</sup> SABINUS had already held the office during the absence of Archelaus, on whose deposition COPONIUS accompanied Quirinus to the country. Quirinus (the Cyrenius of the N. T.)—now for the second time prefect of Syria (A.D. 6-9)—was charged with the unpopular measure of the enrolment or assessment of the inhabitants of Judæa. Notwithstanding the riots which took place elsewhere, at Jerusalem the enrolment was allowed to proceed without resistance owing to the prudence of Joazar again high-priest for a short time. One of the first acts of the new governor had been to take formal possession of the state vestments of the high-priest, worn on the three Festivals and on the Day of Atonement. Since the building of the Baris by the Maccabees these robes had always been kept there, a custom continued since its reconstruction by Herod. But henceforward they were to be put up after use in an underground stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and in charge of the captain of the guard. Seven days before use they were brought out, to be consigned again to the chamber after the ceremony was over.<sup>15</sup>

Two incidents at once most opposite in their character, and in their significance to that age and to ourselves, occurred during the procuratorship of Coponius. First, in A.D. 8, the finding of Christ in the Temple. Annas had been made high-priest about a year before. The second occurrence must have been a most distressing one to the Jews, unless they had become inured to such things. But of this we can not so exactly fix the date. It was nothing less than the pollution of the Temple by some Samaritans, who secretly brought human bones and strewed them about the cloisters during the night of the Passover. (Cf. II Kings

14. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 3, 1.

15. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 4, 3.

23:14). Up to this time the Samaritans had been admitted to the Temple; they were henceforth excluded.

12. *Judean procurators: (3) Ambivius, (4) A. Rufus, (5) Valerius Gratus, (6) Pilate.*

In or about A.D. 10 Coponius was succeeded by M. AMBIVIUS, and he by ANNIUS RUFUS. In A.D. 14 the emperor Augustus died, and with Tiberius came in a new procurator, VALERIUS GRATUS, who held office till 26, when he was replaced by PONTIUS PILATUS. During this period the high-priests had been numerous, but it is only necessary here to say that when Pilate arrived at his government the office was held by JOSEPH CAIAPHAS, who had been appointed but a few months before. The name of Pilate indicates that he was connected, by descent or adoption, with the family of the Pontii, first conspicuous in Roman history in the person of C. Pontius Telesinus, the great Samnite general. He was the sixth Roman procurator of Judæa, and under him our Lord worked, suffered, and died, as we learn not only from the obvious Scriptural authorities, but from Tacitus.

A corner stone bearing the incised name of Pontius Pilate was found at the ruins of Cæsarea in 1961. This is the only known contemporary relic mentioning Pilate. (See *Biblical Archaeologist*, Sept. 1964, p. 70).

13. *Pilate's tyranny; his banishment to Gaul.*

The freedom from disturbance which marked the twenty years at Jerusalem prior to Pilate's taking office was probably due to the absence of the Roman troops, who were quartered at Cæsarea, out of the way of the fierce fanatics of the Temple. But Pilate transferred the winter-quarters of the army to Jerusalem,<sup>16</sup> and the very first day

16. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 3, 1.

there was a collision. The offense was given by the Roman standards—the images of the emperor and of the eagle—which by former commanders had been kept out of the city. Pilate had been obliged to send them in by night, and there were no bounds to the rage of the people on discovering what had thus been done. They poured down in crowds to Cæsarea, where the procurator was then residing, and besought him to remove the images. After five days of discussion, he gave the signal to some concealed soldiers to surround the petitioners and to put them to death unless they ceased to trouble him; but this only strengthened their determination, and they declared themselves ready rather to submit to death than forego their resistance to an idolatrous innovation. Pilate then yielded, and the standards were by his orders brought down to Cæsarea.<sup>17</sup> Afterward, as if to try how far he might go, he consecrated some gilt shields—not containing figures, but inscribed simply with the name of the deity and of the donor—and hung them in the palace at Jerusalem. This act again aroused the resistance of the Jews; and on appeal to Tiberius they were removed. Another riot was caused by his appropriation of the Corban—a sacred revenue arising from the redemption of vows.<sup>18</sup>—to the cost of an aqueduct which he constructed for bringing water to the city.<sup>19</sup> To these specimens of his administration which rest on the testimony of profane authors, we must add the slaughter of certain Galileans mentioned in Luke 13:1-3. The clear testimony thus borne to his sanguinary tyranny sets in a striking light the meanness of his attempt to conciliate the Jews and avoid the threat of a denunciation of Cæsar by the sacrifice of Jesus. Pilate's tyranny continued after that event, till, A.D. 37, the loud complaints of the Samaritans determined Vitellius, the prefect of Syria and father of

17. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 3, 1-2; *Wars*, ii, 9.

18. Compare Mark 7:11.

19. Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 9, 4.

the emperor, to send the procurator for trial to Rome. He arrived just after the death of Tiberius; and one of the praiseworthy acts which marked the beginning of Caligula's reign was his banishment to Vienna in Gaul, where a monument still bears the very doubtful title of the tomb of Pontius Pilate.

#### 14. *Benefits to the Jews by Vitellius.*

After Pilate had been recalled to Rome, Jerusalem was visited by VITELLIUS, the prefect of Syria, at the time of the Passover. This visit was connected with the war, already noticed, between Herod Antipas and the Arabian king Aretas. In consequence of the victory of the latter, Vitellius set his army in motion to attack Petra; and it was on his march that he visited Jerusalem. Besides forbearing to insult the people by the display of his standards, Vitellius conferred two great benefits on the city. He remitted the taxes levied on produce, and he allowed the Jews again to have the free custody of the high-priest's vestments. He removed Caiaphas from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jonathan, son of Annas. He then departed, apparently leaving a Roman officer<sup>20</sup> in charge of the Antonia. Vitellius was again at Jerusalem this year, probably in the autumn, with Herod that tetrarch;<sup>21</sup> while there he again changed the high-priest, substituting for Jonathan, Theophilus his brother. The news of the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula reached Jerusalem at this time; and it was the interruption thereby caused to the operation of Vitellius that emboldened Aretas to seize Damascus, a circumstance of great importance in the chronology of Paul's life (II Cor. 11:32). MARCELLUS was appointed procurator by the new emperor.

20. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 4, 3.

21. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii, 5, 3.

15. *Caligula tries to place his statue in the temple.*

In A.D. 40, Vitellius was superseded by P. PETRONIUS, who arrived in Palestine with an order to place in the Temple a statue of Caligula. This outrage was connected with events which throw an interesting light on the relations of the Jews, in their various branches to the imperial supremacy. "Up to the reign of Caligula,"<sup>22</sup> says Dean Milman, "the Jews had enjoyed without any serious interruption the universal toleration which Roman policy permitted to the religion of the subject states. If the religion had suffered a temporary proscription at Rome under Tiberius, it was a foreign superstition, supposed, from the misconduct of individuals, to be dangerous to the public morals in the metropolis. Judaism remained undisturbed in the rest of the empire; and, although the occasional insolence of the Roman governors in Judæa might display itself in acts offensive to the religious feelings of the natives, yet the wiser and more liberal, like Vitellius, studiously avoided all interference with that superstition which they respected or despised. But the insane vanity of Caligula made him attempt to enforce from the whole empire those divine honors which his predecessors consented to receive from the willing adulation of their subjects. Everywhere statues were raised and temples built in honor of the deified emperor. The Jews could not submit to the mandate without violating the first principle of their religion nor resist it without exposing their whole nation to the resentment of their masters.

22. The proper name of this emperor by which he is always called by the chief Roman historians, as well as in official documents—was Caius Cæsar. *Caligula* (*little boot*) was a nickname due to the humorous fondness of the soldiers, with whom he lived as a child in the camp of his father Germanicus. But it seems not an inappropriate accident which has affixed a mere nickname, in the page of history, to a mad prince of whom a Gaul said to his face—"I think you a great absurdity."

16. *Persecutions of Jews in Alexandria.*

The storm began to lower around them: its first violence broke upon the Jews in Alexandria, where, however, the collision with the ruling authorities first originated in the animosities of the Greek and Jewish factions which divided the city. This great and populous capital, besides strangers from all quarters, was inhabited by three distinct races, the native Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. The native Egyptians were generally avoided as of an inferior class; but the Jews boasted of edicts from the founder of the city, and from other monarchs of Egypt, which entitled them to equal rank and estimation with descendants of the ancient Macedonian settlers. They were numerous: Philo calculates that in Egypt they amounted to a million of souls.<sup>23</sup> They were opulent and among the most active traders of that great commercial metropolis. It is probable that they were turbulent, and not the peaceful and unoffending people described by their advocate Philo—at all events they were odious to the Greek population.”

The prefect Valerius Flaccus whose firm and impartial government had hitherto kept the peace between the contending factions, finding his position endangered upon the accession of Caligula, sought to ingratiate himself with the Alexandrian Greeks by giving them license to insult the Jews. The arrival of Herod Agrippa, on his way to assume the principality conferred on him by Caligula, furnished a butt for the Greeks' insolence; and having vented their wanton humor in a mockery of his royal state they proceeded on his departure to more serious outrages. They set up statues of the emperor in the Jewish places of worship; and the Jews, compelled by an edict of Flaccus to keep themselves within the two quarters of the city which were peopled exclusively by them, though many resided

23. This included the Jews in Alexandria, and scattered settlers up to the borders of Ethiopia.

## THE HERODS, THE JEWS, AND ROME

in the other three, lost heavily by the compulsory removal, and began to suffer from pestilence and famine in the crowded quarters in which they were almost besieged. "Those who ventured out into the market were robbed, insulted, maltreated, pursued with sticks and stones. Bloodshed soon ensued; many were slain with the sword, others trampled to death; some, even while alive, were dragged by their heels through the streets. When dead, their bodies were still dragged along till they were torn to pieces, or so disfigured that they could not be distinguished if at length recovered by their friends. Those who strayed out of the city to breathe the purer air of the country, or the strangers who incautiously entered the walls to visit and relieve their friends, were treated in the same way, and beaten with clubs till they were dead. The quays were watched, and, on the landing of a Jewish vessel, the merchandise was plundered, the owners and their vessel burned. Their houses were likewise set on fire, and whole families, men, women, and children, burned alive. Yet even this was a merciful death, compared with the sufferings of others. Sometimes, from want of wood, their persecutors could collect only a few wet sticks, and over these, stifled with smoke, and half-consumed, the miserable victims slowly expired. Sometimes they would mock their sufferings by affected sorrow; but if any of their own relatives or friends betrayed the least emotion, they were seized, scourged, tortured, or even crucified."

When these outrages had reached their height, Flaccus summoned before his tribunal, not the perpetrators, but the victims; and thirty-eight of the chiefs of the Alexandrian Sanhedrin were publicly scourged in the theatre, many dying under the blows. The survivors were cast into prison; and many other Jews were seized and crucified. "It was the morning spectacle of the theatre, to see the Jews scourged, tortured both with the rack and with pul-

leys, and then led away to execution; and after this horrible tragedy immediately followed farces and dances, and other theatrical amusements." All this time Flaccus was keeping back a loyal address, which the Alexandrian Jews had drawn up by the advice of Agrippa, who, discovering the fraud, sent a copy to the emperor. A centurion was sent to arrest Flaccus. He was banished, and after enduring much suffering and contempt in exile was at length put to a cruel death.

### 17. *Philo heads mission to Caligula to defend Jews.*

The preceding narrative, so strikingly illustrative of the condition of one branch of the Hebrew race, is furnished by Philo, the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, who brought the philosophic principles of Neo-Platonism to the defense of the ancient faith. If he may be reasonably suspected of exaggerating the sufferings and especially the submissive temper of his countrymen, there seems no reason for doubting his graphic account of the mission which he headed to Caligula, to whom the Greeks also sent a deputation headed by Apion, a name celebrated by Josephus's refutation of his book against the Jews. They arrived just at the time when Caligula, incensed at the destruction of an altar which one of the Roman *publicani* had erected to the emperor at Jamnia, had issued the edict for the erection of his own colossal statue in the Holy of Holies, and the dedication of the Temple to himself in the character of Jupiter; and this blow at the chief sanctuary of their religion seemed fatal to their own cause. Nevertheless Caligula received them with a favor, of which it soon appeared that contempt was the chief element. The celebrated interview narrated by Philo exhibits probably the prevalent feeling of the Romans toward the Jews, though distorted into peculiar grotesqueness by the emperor's insane levity. It is thus related by the eloquent historian of



the Jews:—"After a long and wearisome attendance, the deputies were summoned to a final audience. To judge so grave a cause, as Philo complains with great solemnity, the emperor did not appear in a public court, encircled by the wisest of his senators; the embassy was received in the apartments of two contiguous villas in the neighborhood of Rome, called after Lamia and Mæcenas. The bailiffs of these villas were commanded at the same time to have all the rooms thrown open for the emperor's inspection. The Jews entered, made a profound obeisance, and saluted Caligula as Augustus and Emperor—but the sarcastic smile on the face of Caligula gave them little hopes of success. 'You are then'—he said, showing his teeth as he spoke—'those enemies of the gods, who alone refuse to acknowledge my divinity, but worship a deity whose name you dare not pronounce'—and here, to the horror of the Jews, he uttered the awful name. The Greek deputies from Alexandria who were present thought themselves certain of their triumph, and began to show their exultation by insulting gestures; and Isidore, one of the accusers of Flaccus, came forward to aggravate the disobedience of the Jews. He accused them of being the only nation who had refused to sacrifice to the emperor. The Jews with one voice disclaimed the calumny, and asserted that they had three times offered sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor—and indeed had been the first to do so on his accession. 'Be it so,' rejoined the emperor—'ye have sacrificed *for* me, but not *to* me.' The Jews stood aghast and trembling. Of a sudden Caius began to run all over the house, up stairs and down stairs; inspecting the men's and women's apartment; finding fault and giving orders, while the poor Jews followed him from room to room, amid the mockery of the attendants. After he had given his orders, the emperor suddenly turned round to them: 'Why is it that you do not eat pork?' The whole court

burst into peals of laughter. The Jews temperately replied, that different nations had different usages: some persons would not eat lamb. 'They are right,' said the emperor, 'it is an insipid meat.' After further trial of their patience, he demanded, with his usual abruptness, on what they grounded their right of citizenship. They began a long and grave legal argument; but they had not proceeded far, when Caligula began to run up and down the great hall, and to order that some blinds of a kind of transparent stone like glass which admitted the light and excluded the heat and air should be put up against the windows. As he left that room, he asked the Jews, with a more courteous air, if they had anything to say to him; they began again their harangue, in the middle of which he started away into another chamber, to see some old paintings. The ambassadors of the Jews at length were glad to retreat, and felt happy to escape with their lives. Caligula gave them their dismissal in these words:—'Well, after all, they do not seem so bad; but rather a poor foolish people, who can not believe that I am a god.'"

18. *Resistance to Caligula in Judea; his decree suspended; his death.*

Whatever the Alexandrian Jews may have gained from the contemptuous forbearance and mad humor of Caligula, there was no relenting of his purpose to desecrate the temple at Jerusalem; and he directed two legions to be withdrawn from the Euphrates, if necessary, to put down resistance. Petronius reluctantly ordered the statue to be made by Sidonian workmen, while he communicated his master's intentions to the Jews. The news had no sooner spread, than the people, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, flocked in thousands, though unarmed, to the winter-quarters of the governor at Ptolemais, to let him know that

they dreaded the wrath of God more than that of the emperor. The like scene was repeated, when Petronius removed his head-quarters to Tiberias, to gain more certain information of the state of the country. When he replied to their supplications by asking them, "Are ye resolved, then, to wage war against your emperor?" they all fell on their faces to the earth, exclaiming, "We have no thought of war, but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our Law." For forty days they remained as suppliants before the prefect, neglecting the season for sowing, till he became alarmed lest a famine should drive the people to robbery. Petronius announced to an assembly convened at Tiberias his resolution to postpone the work till he had further orders from Rome. The influence of Agrippa with Caligula obtained the suspension of the decree; and the tyrant was preparing to vent his mortification upon Petronius, when the dagger of Cassius Chærea delivered the empire from the daily dread of some new excess of madness (A.D. 41).

### 19. *Herod Agrippa I made king of Judea.*

When the body of Caligula was left by his assassins in the dark corridor between the palace and the amphitheatre, the only man who protected it from insult was the Jewish prince, whose name has been more than once mentioned. This was HEROD AGRIPPA I.,<sup>24</sup> the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great. He was sent to Rome on his father's execution and was brought up with Drusus the son of Tiberius. On the death of Drusus, he found himself excluded from the emperor's presence, and was besides overwhelmed with debt. Returning to Palestine, he obtained through his sister Herodias the protection of Herod Antipas who made him governor of Tiberias. But a quarrel soon took place, and after strange vicissitudes

24. The "king Herod" of Acts xii and the Agrippa I. of Josephus.

and adventures, Agrippa obtained a loan from the Alabarch of Alexandria which enabled him to return to Italy. He attached himself to the young Caius (Caligula), and having been overheard to express a hope for his friend's speedy succession, he was thrown into prison by Tiberius, where he remained till the accession of Caligula, A.D. 37. The new emperor gave him the governments formerly held by the tetrarchs Philip and Lysanias,<sup>25</sup> and bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty and other marks of favor, and he arrived in Palestine in the following year, after visiting Alexandria. The jealousy of Herod Antipas and his wife Herodias was excited by these distinctions, and they sailed to Rome in the hope of supplanting Agrippa in the emperor's favor. As we have seen, Agrippa was aware of their design, and anticipated it by a counter-charge against Antipas of treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Antipas failed to answer the accusation, and was banished to Gaul (A.D. 39), and his dominions were added to those already held by Agrippa.

During the brief wild reign of Caligula, Agrippa continued his faithful friend, and used his influence, as we have seen, on behalf of the Jews. Having paid the last honors to his patron's remains, he smoothed the path of his successor to the throne by his activity and discretion in carrying messages between the Senate and the prætorian camp. CLAUDIUS rewarded him with the kingdom of Judæa and Samaria, in addition to his tetrarchy, and thus the dominions of Herod the Great were reunited under his grandson (A.D. 41). We must doubtless ascribe to the emperor's philosophic spirit, as well as to his favor for Agrippa, his edict for the toleration of the Jewish religion, the reality of which was proved by the punishment inflicted

25. Lysanias was a native prince, tetrarch of Abilene, the district round Abila, on the east slope of the Anti-Lebanon mountains.

by Petronius on the inhabitants of Dora for insulting a Jewish synagogue.

### 20. *Agrippa I favors the Jews.*

Agrippa arrived in Palestine to take possession of his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice, and dedicated the golden chain which the late emperor had presented him after his release from captivity. It was hung over the Treasury. Simon was made high-priest; and the house-tax was remitted. Unlike the other princes of his family, Agrippa was a strict observer of the Law, and he sought with success the favor of the Jews. He resided very much at Jerusalem, and added materially to its prosperity and convenience. His desire to please the Jews is indicated in Acts 12:3.

### 21. *Agrippa fortifies Jerusalem.*

The city had for some time been extending itself toward the north, and a large suburb had come into existence on the high ground north of the Temple, and outside the "second wall" which enclosed the northern part of the great central valley of the city. Hitherto the outer portion of this suburb—which was called Bezetha, or "New town," and had grown up very rapidly—was unprotected by any formal wall, and practically lay open to attack.<sup>26</sup> This defenseless condition attracted the attention of Agrippa, who, like the first Herod, was a great builder, and he commenced enclosing it in so substantial and magnificent a manner as to excite the suspicions of the prefect of Syria, Vibius Marsus, at whose instance the work was stopped by Claudius.<sup>27</sup> Subsequently the Jews seem to have purchased

26. The statements of Josephus are not quite reconcilable. In one passage he says distinctly that Bezetha lay quite naked (*Wars* v. 4, 2), in another that it had some kind of wall (*Ant.* xix. 7, 2).

27. Josephus, *Wars* ii, 11, 6; v. 4, 2.

permission to complete the work. This new wall, the outermost of the three which enclosed the city on the north, started from the old wall at the Tower Hippicus, near the N.W. corner of the city. It ran northward, bending by a large circuit to the east, and at last returning southward along the western brink of the valley of Kedron, till it joined the southern wall of the Temple. Thus it enclosed not only the new suburb, but also the district immediately north and north-east of the Temple on the brow of the Kedron valley, which up to the present date had lain open to the country.

### 22. *Agrippa kills apostle James.*

The year 44 began with the murder of St. James by Agrippa (Acts 12:1), a deed expressly ascribed to his desire to please the Jews, followed at the Passover by the imprisonment and escape of St. Peter. The exercise of the power of life and death shows that, though Agrippa's power was entirely dependent on the emperor's pleasure, it could scarcely be called nominal; but Josephus expressly calls it an illegal assumption of a power that belonged only to the Roman procurator. It was, in fact, the systematic policy of Claudius to govern those parts of the East, which had not yet been fully incorporated into the Empire, through their own petty princes.

### 23. *Magnificence of Agrippa I; his horrible death.*

Nature had secured for Agrippa the inheritance of at least one part of the greatness of Solomon. Now, as then, the maritime cities of Phœnicia depended for their grain upon the produce of the fertile plain districts of Palestine:—"Their country was nourished by the king's country" (Acts 12:20). The vast influence which he thus exerted is proved by the humility with which the

Tyrians and Sidonians deprecated his resentment; and the pomp amid which he received their envoys at Cæsarea, indicating a desire to assume all the greatness of his grandfather, only made the likeness of their deaths the more conspicuous.

In the fourth year of his reign over the whole of Judæa (A.D. 44) Agrippa celebrated some games at Cæsarea in honor of the emperor. When he appeared in the theatre on the second day in a royal robe made entirely of silver stuff, which shone in the morning light, his flatterers saluted him as a god; and suddenly he was seized with terrible pains, and being carried from the theatre to the palace, died after five days' agony a loathsome death, like those of the great persecutors, Antiochus Epiphanes, and his own grandfather. "After being racked for five days with intestine pains," "he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." (A.D. 44.)<sup>28</sup> The miraculous and judicial character of his death is distinctly affirmed by the sacred historian:—"Immediately the *angel of the Lord* smote him, because he gave not GOD the glory." The Greeks of Sebaste and Cæsarea, with his own soldiers, showed brutal exultation at his death, and the censure which the riot brought down from Claudius upon the Roman soldiers embittered their feelings toward the Jews to such a degree, that Josephus regards this as one of the chief causes of the Jewish war.

#### 24. Career of Herod Agrippa II.

HEROD AGRIPPA II.,<sup>29</sup> the son of Herod Agrippa I., was at Rome when his father died. He was only seventeen years old, and Claudius made his youth a reason for not giving him his father's kingdom, as he had intended.<sup>30</sup> The

28. Josephus, *Ant.* xix, 8, 2; Acts 12:23.

29. Called "Agrippa" by Josephus, and "King Agrippa" in Acts 25, 26, as a title of honor.

30. Josephus, *Ant.* xix, 9, 1-2.

emperor afterward gave him the kingdom of Chalcis (A.D. 50), which was vacant by the death of his uncle Herod (A.D. 48), and this was soon exchanged for the tetrarchies of Ituræa and Abilene, to which Nero added certain cities of the Decapolis about the Lake of Galilee (A.D. 52). But beyond the limits of his own dominions, Agrippa was permitted to exercise throughout Judæa that influence which even Paul recognized as welcome to a Jew, who saw in him the last scion of the Asmonæan house. In particular, he succeeded to those (as we should now say) ecclesiastical functions which the tolerant policy of Rome had permitted his uncle Herod to exercise—the government of the Temple and the nomination of the high-priest. He was, as we learn from the same authority, “expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews;” and so well able to understand the Jewish Scriptures, that the Apostle’s reasonings from them called forth his memorable confession, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.” (Acts 26:3, 26-28). He gratified his hereditary taste for magnificence by adorning Jerusalem and Berytus with costly buildings; but in such a manner as mortally to offend the Jews;<sup>31</sup> and his relations to his sister Berenice (or Bernice), the widow of his uncle Herod, were of a very doubtful character. But his one leading principle was to preserve fidelity to Rome. His sister, Drusilla, was married to Felix, the procurator of Judæa under Claudius and Nero; and the narrative of St. Paul’s trial shows Agrippa’s intimacy with Festus, the successor of Felix (Acts 26:24-27). In the last great rebellion of Judæa, he took part with Rome. With the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), an end was put to this last Jewish principality. Retaining, however, his empty title as king, Agrippa survived the fate of his country in the enjoyment of splendid luxury, retired to

31. Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 7, 8.



Rome with Berenice, and died there in the third year of Trajan (A.D. 100).

25. *Judea again under procurators: (1) Fadus.*

Shortly after the death of Herod Agrippa I., CUSPIUS FADUS arrived from Rome as procurator, under Longinus as prefect of Syria. An attempt was made by the Romans to regain possession of the pontifical robes; but on reference to the emperor the attempt was abandoned.

26. *Famine in Judea; Queen Helena; Paul and Barnabas visit Jerusalem.*

In A.D. 45 commenced a severe famine, which lasted two years. To the people of Jerusalem it was alleviated by the presence of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to the Jewish faith, who visited the city in 46 and imported corn and dried fruit, which she distributed to the poor.<sup>82</sup> During her stay Helena constructed at a distance of three stadia from the city a tomb marked by three pyramids, to which her remains, with those of her son were afterward brought. It was situated to the north and formed one of the points in the course of the new wall.

The tomb of Helena which includes burial niches for many members of her family is often wrongly called "The Tombs of the Kings." It lies just north of Jerusalem.

This famine furnishes one of the chief data of the chronology of the Acts in the journey of Paul and Barnabas bringing the contributions for the poor Christians at Jerusalem which had been collected at Antioch in consequence of the prediction of the famine by Agabus (Acts 11:28-30).

82. Josephus, *Ant.* xx, 2, 5; xx, 5, 2.

27. *Procurators (8) Alexander, and (9) Cumanus; tumult at the Passover.*

Fadus was succeeded by TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, an apostate Egyptian Jew (A.D. 46), and he by VENTIDIUS CUMANUS (A.D. 48 or 50). A frightful tumult happened at the Passover of this year, caused, as on former occasions, by the presence of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia, and in the courts and cloisters of the Temple, during the festival. Ten, or, according to another account, twenty thousand are said to have met their deaths, not by the sword, but trodden to death in the crush through the narrow lanes which led from the Temple down into the city.<sup>33</sup> After other outrages, Cumanus was recalled to Rome where Agrippa's influence procured his banishment (A.D. 53), and FELIX was appointed in his room,<sup>34</sup> partly at the urging of Jonathan, the then high-priest. The hatred of Claudius to "foreign superstition" had meanwhile been vented in an edict banishing the Jews from Rome (A.D. 52).

28. *Cruel procuratorship of (10) Felix.*

Felix ruled the province in a mean, cruel, and profligate manner. With the compendious description of Tacitus the fuller details of Josephus agree, though his narrative is tinged with his hostility to the Jewish patriots and zealots, whom, under the name of robbers, he describes Felix as extirpating and crucifying by hundreds. His period of office was full of troubles and seditions. We read of his putting down false Messiahs, the followers of an Egyptian magician, riots between the Jews and Syrians in Cæsarea, and between the priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem. A set of ferocious fanatics, whom Josephus calls *Sicarii* (Assassins), had lately begun to make their appear-

33. Josephus, *Ant.* xx, 2, 5; *Wars*, xx, 12, 1.

34. Josephus, *Ant.* xx, 7, 1.

ance in the city, whose creed it was to rob and murder all whom they judged hostile to Jewish interests. Felix, weary of the remonstrances of Jonathan (the priest) on his vicious life, employed some of these wretches to assassinate him. The high-priest was killed in the Temple, while sacrificing. The murder was never inquired into, and emboldened by this, the Sicarii repeated their horrid act; thus adding, in the eyes of the Jews, the awful crime of sacrilege to that of murder.<sup>85</sup> The city, too, was filled with impostors pretending to inspiration, (cf. Mark 13:6), but inspired only with hatred to all government and order. Nor was the disorder confined to the lower classes: the chief people of the city, the very high-priests themselves, robbed the threshing-floors of the tithes common to all the priests, and led parties of rioters to open tumult and fighting in the streets.<sup>86</sup> In fact, not only Jerusalem, but the whole country far and wide, was in the most frightful confusion and insecurity, and, though want of vigor was not among the faults of Felix, his severe measures and cruel retributions seemed only to accelerate the already rapid course of the Jews to ruin. His detention of St. Paul in prison, in the hope of extorting money, adds to the traits of tyranny the baseness of the freedman. Tacitus says, in one word, "By every form of cruelty and lust, he wielded the power of a king in the spirit of a slave." Such were the crimes that weighed on the conscience of the Apostle's judge—dreading the vengeance of his earthly master, while he had learned something of higher principles from his Jewish wife, Drusilla. No wonder that, as Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and *judgment to come*, Felix trembled" (Acts 24:25). His crowning outrage was a massacre of the Jews at Cæsarea, on the occasion of one of their frequent conflicts with the Greeks. For this he was accused before

<sup>85</sup> Josephus, *Wars*, ii, 13, 3.

<sup>86</sup> J., *Ant.* xx, 8, 8.

Nero, after his recall (A.D. 60); but the party of his brother Pallas had still influence enough to save him from punishment; while the Greeks of Cæsarea obtained an imperial decree depriving the Jewish citizens of their rights. These affairs of Cæsarea hastened the coming contest: the Greeks became more and more insulting; the Jews more and more turbulent.

### 29. *Able, upright* (11) *Festus*.

In the end of A.D. 60 or the beginning of A.D. 61, PORCIUS FESTUS succeeded Felix as procurator. Festus was an able and upright officer,<sup>37</sup> and at the same time conciliatory toward the Jews, as he proved in his judgment on St. Paul, whose trial took place, not at Jerusalem, but at Cæsarea. (Acts 25, 26). In the brief period of his administration, he kept down the robbers with a strong hand, and gave the province a short breathing time. On one occasion both Festus and Agrippa came into collision with the Jews at Jerusalem. Agrippa had added an apartment to the old Asmonæan palace on the eastern brow of the Upper City, which commanded a full view into the interior of the courts of the Temple. This view the Jews intercepted by building a wall on the west side of the inner quadrangle.<sup>38</sup> But the wall not only intercepted Agrippa's view, it also interfered with that from the outer cloisters, in which the Roman guard was stationed during the festivals. Both Agrippa and Festus interfered and required it to be pulled down; but the Jews pleaded that, once built, it was a part of the Temple, and entreated to be allowed to appeal to Nero. Nero allowed their plea, but retained as hostages the high-priest and treasurer, who had headed the deputa-

37. J., *Wars*, ii, 14, 1.

38. No one in Jerusalem might build so high that his house could overlook the Temple. It was the subject of a distinct prohibition by the Rabbis. Probably this furnished one reason for so hostile a step to so friendly a person as Agrippa.

tion. Agrippa appointed Joseph, called Cabi, to the vacant priesthood, in which he was shortly after succeeded by ANNAS or ANANUS, the fifth son of the Annas before whom our Lord was taken.

30. *Procurator (12) Albinus; increasing bloodshed throughout the land.*

In 62 (probably) Festus died, and was succeeded after a time by ALBINUS. In the interval a persecution was commenced against the Christians at the instance of Ananus, the new high-priest, a rigid Sadducee, and St. James (the brother of Christ) and others were arranged before the Sanhedrin.<sup>39</sup> They were "delivered to be stoned," but St. James at any rate appears not to have been killed till a few years later. The act gave great offense to all and cost Ananus his office after he had held it but three months. Jesus (Joshua), the son of Daemneus, succeeded him. Albinus began his rule by endeavoring to keep down the Sicarii and other disturbers of the peace; and indeed he preserved throughout a show of justice and vigor,<sup>40</sup> though in secret greedy and rapacious. But before his recall he pursued his end more openly, and priests, people, and governors alike seem to have been bent on rapine and bloodshed: rival high-priests headed bodies of rioters, and stoned each other, and in the words of Josephus, "all things grew from worse to worse."<sup>41</sup> The evils were aggravated by two occurrences—first, the release by Albinus, before his departure, of all the smaller criminals in the prisons; and secondly, the sudden discharge of an immense body of workmen, on the completion of the repairs of the Temple. An endeavor was made to remedy the latter by inducing Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloister; but he refused to

39. J. Ant. xx, 9, 1.

40. J., Ant. xx, 11, 1.

41. J., Ant. xx, 9, 4.

undertake a work of such magnitude, though he consented to pave the city with marble. The repairs of a part of the sanctuary that had fallen down, and the renewal of the foundations of some portions, were deferred for the present, but the materials were collected and stored in one of the courts.<sup>42</sup>

### 31. *Last and worst procurator, (13) G. Florus.*

Bad as Albinus had been, GESSIUS FLORUS, who succeeded him in A.D. 65, was worse. In fact, even Tacitus admits that the endurance of the oppressed Jews could last no longer. So great was his rapacity, that whole cities and districts were desolated, and the robbers were openly allowed to purchase immunity in plundering. At the Passover, probably in 66, when Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, visited Jerusalem, the whole assembled people<sup>43</sup> besought him for redress; but without effect. Florus's next attempt was to obtain some of the treasure from the Temple. He demanded seventeen talents in the name of the emperor. The demand produced a frantic disturbance, in the midst of which he approached the city with both cavalry and foot-soldiers. That night Florus took up his quarters in the royal palace—that of Herod at the N.W. corner of the city. On the following morning he took his seat on the Bema, and the high-priest and other principal people being brought before him, he demanded that the leaders of the late riot should be given up. On their refusal, he ordered his soldiers to plunder the Upper City. This order was but too faithfully carried out; every house was entered and pillaged, and the Jews driven out. In their attempt to get through the narrow streets, which lay in the valley between the Upper City and the Temple, many were caught and slain, others were brought before

42. *J. Wars*, v, 1, 5.

43. Josephus says three million in number!

Florus, scourged, and then crucified. No grade or class was exempt. Jews who bore the Roman equestrian order were among the victims treated with most indignity. Queen Bernice herself—residing at that time in the Asmonæan palace in the very midst of the slaughter—was so affected by the scene, as to intercede in person and bare-foot before Florus, but without avail; and in returning she was herself nearly killed, and only escaped by taking refuge in her palace and calling her guards about her. The further details of this dreadful tumult must be passed over. Florus was foiled in his attempt to press through the old city up into the Antonia—whence he would have had nearer access to the treasures—and finding that the Jews had broken down the north and west cloisters where they joined the fortress, so as to cut off the communication, he relinquished the attempt and withdrew to Cæsarea.<sup>44</sup>

### 32. *Outbreak of Jewish revolt against the Romans.*

Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, now found it necessary for him to visit the city in person. He sent one of his lieutenants to announce him, but before he himself arrived events had become past remedy. Agrippa had shortly before returned from Alexandria, and had done much to calm the people. At his suggestion they rebuilt the part of the cloister which had been demolished, and collected the tribute in arrear, but the mere suggestion from him, that they should obey Florus until he was replaced, produced such a storm that he was obliged to leave the city. The seditious party in the Temple, led by young Eleazar, son of Ananias, rejected the sacrifices of the Roman emperor, which had been regularly made since the time of Julius Cæsar. *This, as a direct renunciation of allegiance, was the true beginning of the war with Rome.*<sup>45</sup>

44. J., *Wars*, ii, 15, 6.

45. J., *Wars*, ii, 17, 2.

Such acts were not done without resistance from the older and wiser people. But remonstrance was unavailing, the innovators would listen to no representations. The peace party, therefore, dispatched some of their number to Florus and to Agrippa, and the latter sent 3000 horse-soldiers to assist in keeping order.

### 33. *Initial victories of the Jews.*

Hostilities at once began. The peace party, headed by the high-priest, and fortified by Agrippa's soldiers, threw themselves into the Upper City. The insurgents held the Temple and the Lower City. In the Antonia was a small Roman garrison. Fierce contests lasted for seven days, each side endeavoring to take possession of the part held by the other. At last the insurgents, who behaved with the greatest ferocity, and were reinforced by a number of Sicarii, were triumphant. They gained the Upper City, driving all before them—the high-priest and other leaders into vaults and sewers, the soldiers into Herod's palace. The Asmonæan palace, the high-priest's house, and the repository of the archives—in Josephus's language, "the nerves of the city"—were set on fire. Antonia was next attacked, and in two days they had effected an entrance, sabred the garrison, and burned the fortress. The balistæ and catapults found there were preserved for future use. The soldiers in Herod's palace were next besieged; but so strong were the walls, and so stout the resistance, that it was three weeks before an entrance could be effected. The soldiers were at last forced from the palace into the three great towers on the adjoining wall with great loss; and ultimately were all murdered in the most treacherous manner. The high-priest and his brother were discovered hidden in the aqueduct of the palace: they were instantly put to death. Thus the insurgents were now completely masters of both city and Temple. But they were not to



remain so long. After the defeat of Cestius Gallus at Beth-horon, dissensions began to arise, and it soon became known that there was still a large moderate party; and Cestius took advantage of this to advance from Scopus on the city. He made his way through Bezetha, the new suburb north of the Temple,<sup>46</sup> and through the wood-market, burning every thing as he went,<sup>47</sup> and at last encamped opposite the palace at the foot of the second wall. The Jews retired to the Upper City and to the Temple. For five days Cestius assaulted the wall without success; on the sixth he resolved to make one more attempt, this time in a different spot—the north wall of the Temple, east of, and behind, the Antonia. The Jews, however, fought with such fury from the top of the cloisters, that he could effect nothing, and when night came he drew off to his camp at Scopus. Thither the insurgents followed him, and in three days gave him one of the most complete defeats that a Roman army had ever undergone. His catapults and balistæ were taken from him, and reserved by the Jews for the final siege. This occurred on the 8th of Marchesvan (beginning of November), A.D. 66.

### 34. *Principal men of the war.*

The war with Rome was now inevitable, and Nero, who received the news in Greece, committed its conduct to his ablest general, T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS (afterward the emperor), who sent his son TITUS before him. It was evident that the siege of Jerusalem was only a question of time. Ananus, the high-priest, a moderate and prudent man, took the lead; the walls were repaired, arms and war-like instruments and machines of all kinds fabricated, and other preparations made. In this attitude of expectation—

46. It is remarkable that nothing is said of any resistance to his passage through the great wall of Agrippa which encircled Bezetha.

47. J., *Wars*, v, 7, 2.

with occasional diversions, such as the expedition to Ascalon, and the skirmishes with Simon Bar-Gioras—the city remained, while Vespasian was reducing the north of the country, and till the fall of Giscala (Oct. or Nov. 67), when JOHN, the son of Levi, escaped thence to Jerusalem, to become one of the most prominent persons in the future conflict. Nor must we omit to mention here John's great rival, Joseph, the son of Matthias, who is best known by his adopted Roman name of FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, the historian of the Jews and of this war. A priest of the most illustrious descent, distinguished alike for his ascetic piety and his Hebrew and Greek learning, he was appointed by the moderate party to defend Galilee and keep down the zealots. His energy in the latter task made him a mortal enemy of John of Giscala, while his brilliant though vain defense of Jotapata, before which Vespasian himself was wounded, earned him the respect of the Roman chief, who attached him to his person during the war, used his services as a mediator, though to no purpose, and at last rewarded him with a grant of land in Judæa, a pension, and the Roman franchise. For the details of the war Josephus is our only authority, most unfortunately; for, besides the natural bias toward pleasing his imperial patrons, his sense of the hopelessness of the Jewish cause overcame all patriotic sympathy with resistance to intolerable oppression, and personal animosity leads him to paint the zealots in the blackest colors.

#### 34. *Romans conquer whole country; temporary suspension of the siege of Jerusalem.*

From the arrival of John, two years and a half elapsed till Titus appeared before the walls of Jerusalem, which now stood alone like a rock out of the flood of conquest that had overwhelmed all the country. While Vespasian reduced Galilee—the Samaritans, who, making common

cause with the Jews in their extremity, had gathered their whole force on Mount Gerizim, and, being compelled by thirst to surrender to Petilius Cerealis, were treacherously massacred—Trajan, the father of the emperor, took Jamnia, the frontier fortress of Judæa, and Joppa, its only port (A.D. 67). In the second campaign the Romans swept Peræa, and multitudes of the flying inhabitants were slaughtered and drowned at the fords of Jericho. Vespasian had reunited his forces at that city, and was preparing to advance upon Jerusalem, when the news of Nero's death suspended his operations, upon what seemed to him a higher issue than the fate of the Holy City (A.D. 68). At Alexandria, whither he had retired with Titus to await the event of the civil war in Italy, he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers on the 1st of July, A.D. 69, and his generals at Rome secured his accession by the overthrow and death of Vitellius on the 21st of December. Vespasian did not sail from Alexandria till the following May, leaving Titus to finish the Jewish war, which had been suspended for nearly two years.

It should be added here, that the Christians in Jerusalem were saved by their Lord's warning from the blindness of their fellow-countrymen (Luke 21:20-24). Taking advantage of the space before the siege was formed by Titus, they departed in a body to Pella, a village of the Decapolis beyond Jordan, which became the seat of the "Church of Jerusalem" till Hadrian permitted their return.

The entire time of the suspension of the war was occupied in contests between the moderate party, whose desire was to take such a course as might yet preserve the nationality of the Jews and the existence of the city, and the Zealots or fanatics, the assertors of national independence, who scouted the idea of compromise, and resolved to regain their freedom or perish. The Zealots, being ut-

terly unscrupulous and resorting to massacre on the least resistance, soon triumphed, and at last reigned paramount, with no resistance but such as sprang from their own internal factions. For the repulsive details of this frightful period of contention and outrage the reader must be referred to other works.<sup>48</sup> It will be sufficient to say that at the beginning of A.D. 70, when Titus made his appearance, the Zealots themselves were divided into two parties: that of John of Giscala and Eleazar, who held the Temple and its courts and the Antonia—8400 men; that of Simon Bar-Gioras, whose head-quarters were in the tower of Phasaelus, and who held the Upper City, from the present Cœnaculum (place of the Last Supper) to the Latin Convent, the Lower City in the valley, and the district where the old Acra had formerly stood, north of the Temple—10,000 men, and 5000 Idumæans, in all a force of between 23,000 and 24,000 soldiers, trained in the civil encounters of the last two years to great skill and thorough recklessness.<sup>49</sup> The numbers of the other inhabitants, swelled as they were by the strangers and pilgrims who flocked from the country to the Passover, it is extremely difficult to determine. Tacitus, doubtless from some Roman source, gives the whole at 600,000. Josephus states that 1,100,000 perished during the siege,<sup>50</sup> and that more than 40,000 were allowed to depart into the country, in addition to an "immense number" sold to the army, and who of course form a proportion of the 97,000 "carried captive during the whole war." We may therefore take Josephus's computation of the numbers at about 1,200,000. Even the smaller of these numbers seems very greatly in excess, and it may well have been nearer 60,000 or 70,000.

48. Of course the materials for all modern accounts are in Josephus only, excepting the few touches—strong, but not always accurate—in the 5th book of Tacitus' *Histories*.

49. These are the numbers given by Josephus; but it is probable that they are exaggerated.

50. *Wars*, vi, 9, 3.

This state of the doomed city,—overcrowded with Jews, whose native passions and fervor, exasperated by the late war and exalted by the season of the Passover, doomed to be their last, were stimulated by the Zealots and inflamed by factions,—might well prepare those who knew the people for horrid deeds and more horrid sufferings. Pent up like sheep for the slaughter, they equally resembled wolves devouring one another. But the scene had a far more awful aspect, viewed in the light of ancient prophecy, as well as Christ's recent denunciations of woe. As they who rejected him did but "fill up the measure of their fathers," so the warnings uttered to those fathers by Moses, by Solomon, and by the prophets, were but made more pointed and more instant in our Lord's discourse at his last departure from the Temple (Matt. 24).

### 35. *Titus' siege of Jerusalem.*

Titus's force consisted of four legions, and some auxiliaries—at the outside 30,000 men. These were disposed on their first arrival in three camps—the 12th and 15th legions on the ridge of Scopus, about a mile north of the city; the 5th a little in the rear; and the 10th on the top of the Mount of Olives, to guard the road to the Jordan valley, and to shell the place (if the expression may be allowed) from that commanding position. The army was well furnished with artillery and machines of the latest and most approved invention. The first operation was to clear the ground between Scopus and the north wall of the city—fell the timber, destroy the fences of the gardens which fringed the wall, and level the rocky protuberances. This occupied four days. After it was done, the three legions were marched forward from Scopus, and encamped off the north-west corner of the walls, stretching from the Tower Psephinus to opposite Hippicus. The first step was to get possession of the outer wall. The point of attack

chosen was in Simon's portion of the city, at a low and comparatively weak place near the monument of John Hyrcanus, close to the junction of the three walls, and where the Upper City came to a level with the surrounding ground. Round this spot the three legions erected banks, from which they opened batteries, pushing up the rams and other engines of attack to the foot of the wall. One of the rams, more powerful than the rest, went among the Jews by the nickname of *Nikon*, the conqueror. Three large towers, 75 feet high, were also erected, overtopping the wall. Meantime from their camp on the Mount of Olives the 10th legion opened fire on the Temple and the east side of the city. They had the heaviest balistæ, and did great damage. Simon and his men did not suffer these works to go on without molestation. The catapults, both those taken from Cestius, and those found in Antonia, were set up on the wall, and constant desperate sallies were made. At last the Jews began to tire of their fruitless assaults. They saw that the wall must fall, and, as they had done during Nebuchadnezzar's siege, they left their posts at night, and went home. A breach was made by the redoubtable Nikon on the 7th Artemisius (about April 15); and here the Romans entered, driving the Jews before them to the second wall. A great length of the wall was then broken down; such parts of Bezetha as had escaped destruction by Cestius were leveled, and a new camp was formed on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians, and still known as the "Assyrian camp."

This was a great step in advance. Titus now lay with the second wall of the city close to him on his right, while before him at no considerable distance rose Antonia and the Temple, with no obstacle in the interval to his attack. Still, however, he preferred, before advancing, to get possession of the second wall, and the neighborhood of John's monument was again chosen. Simon was no less

reckless in assault, and no less fertile in stratagem, than before; but notwithstanding all his efforts, in five days a breach was again effected. The district into which the Romans had now penetrated was the great Valley which lay between the two main hills of the city, occupied then, as it is still, by an intricate mass of narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets of the city—no doubt very like the present bazaars. Titus's breach was where the wool, cloth, and brass bazaars came up to the wall. This district was held by the Jews with the greatest tenacity. Knowing as they did every turn of the lanes and alleys, they had an immense advantage over the Romans, and it was only after four days' incessant fighting, much loss, and one thorough repulse, that the Romans were able to make good their position. However, at last, Simon was obliged to retreat, and then Titus demolished the wall. This was the second step in the siege.

Meantime some shots had been interchanged in the direction of the Antonia, but no serious attack was made. Before beginning there in earnest, Titus resolved to give his troops a few days' rest, and the Jews a short opportunity for reflection. He therefore called in the 10th legion from the Mount of Olives, and held an inspection of the whole army on the ground north of the Temple—full in view of both the Temple and the Upper City, every wall and house in which were crowded with spectators. But the opportunity was thrown away upon the Jews, and after four days orders were given to recommence the attack. Hitherto the assault had been almost entirely on the city: it was now to be simultaneous on city and Temple. Accordingly two pairs of large batteries were constructed, the one pair in front of Antonia; the other at the old point of attack—the monument of John Hyrcanus. The first pair was erected by the 5th and 12th legions, and was near the pool Struthius—probably the present *Pool of Israel*, by the St.

Stephen's gate; the second by the 10th and 15th, at the pool called the Almond pool—possibly that now known as the pool of Hezekiah—and near the high-priest's monument. These banks seem to have been constructed of timber and fascines, to which the Romans must have been driven by the scarcity of earth. They absorbed the incessant labor of seventeen days, and were completed on the 29th Artemisius (about May 7). John in the mean time had not been idle; he had employed the seventeen days' respite in driving tunnels, through the solid limestone of the hill, from within the fortress to below the banks. The tunnels were formed with timber roofs and supports. When the banks were quite complete, and the engines placed upon them, the timber of the galleries was fired, the superincumbent ground gave way, and the labor of the Romans was totally destroyed. At the other point Simon had maintained a resistance with all his former intrepidity, and more than his former success. He had now greatly increased the number of his machines, and his people were much more expert in handling them than before, so that he was able to impede materially the progress of the works. And when they were completed, and the battering rams had begun to make a sensible impression on the wall, he made a furious assault on them, and succeeded in firing the rams, seriously damaging the other engines, and destroying the banks.

It now became plain to Titus that some other measures for the reduction of the place must be adopted. It would appear that hitherto the southern and western parts of the city had not been invested, and on that side a certain amount of communication was kept up with the country, which, unless stopped, might prolong the siege indefinitely. The number who thus escaped is stated by Josephus at more than 500 a day. A council of war was therefore held, and it was resolved to encompass the whole place



with a wall,<sup>51</sup> and then recommence the assault. The wall began at the Roman camp—a spot probably outside the modern north wall, between the Damascus gate and the N.E. corner; from thence it went to the lower part of Bezetha—about St. Stephen's gate; then across Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence south, by a rock called the "Pigeon's rock,"—possibly the modern "Tombs of the Prophets"—to the Mount of Offense. It then turned to the west; again dipped into the Kedron, ascended the Mount of Evil Counsel, and so kept on the upper side of the ravine to a village called Beth-Erebenthi, whence it ran outside of Herod's monument to its starting-point at the camp. Its entire length was 39 furlongs—very near 5 miles; and it contained 13 stations or guard-houses. The whole strength of the army was employed on the work, and it was completed in the short space of three days. The siege was then vigorously pressed. The north attack was relinquished, and the whole force concentrated on the Antonia. Four new banks of greater size than before were constructed, and as all the timber in the neighborhood had been already cut down, the materials had to be procured from a distance of eleven miles. Twenty-one days were occupied in completing the banks. At length on the 1st Panemus or Tamuz (about June 7), the fire from the banks commenced, under cover of which the rams were set to work, and that night a part of the wall fell at a spot where the foundations had been weakened by the mines employed against the former attacks. Still this was but an outwork, and between it and the fortress itself a new wall was discovered, which John had taken the precaution to build. At length, after two desperate attempts, his wall and that of the inner fortress were scaled by a bold surprise, and on the 5th Panemus (June 11) the Antonia was in the hands of the Romans. Another week was occupied in the breaking down the outer

51. Luke 19:43.

walls of the fortress for the passage of the machines, and a further delay took place in erecting new banks on the fresh level for the bombardment and battery of the Temple. During the whole of this time—the miseries of which are commemorated in the traditional name of *yomin deeka*, “days of wretchedness,” applied by the Jews to the period between the 17th Tamuz and the 9th Ab—the most desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, some in the passages from the Antonia to the cloisters, some in the cloisters themselves, the Romans endeavoring to force their way in, the Jews preventing them. But the Romans gradually gained ground. First the western, and then the whole of the northern external cloister was burned (27th and 28th Panemus), and then the wall enclosing the court of Israel and the holy house itself. In the interval, on the 17th Panemus, the daily sacrifice had failed, owing to the want of officiating priests; a circumstance which had greatly distressed the people, and was taken advantage of by Titus to make further though fruitless invitation to surrender.

### 36. *Burning of the Temple.*

At length, on the 10th day of Lous or Ab (July 15),—the 9th, according to the Jewish tradition—by the wanton act of a soldier, contrary to the intention of Titus and in spite of every exertion he could make to stop it, the sanctuary itself was fired. It was, by one of those rare coincidences that sometimes occur, the very same month and day of the month that the first temple had been burned by Nebuchadnezzar. John, and such of his party as escaped the flames and the carnage, made their way by the bridge on the south to the Upper City. The whole of the cloisters that had hitherto escaped, including the magnificent triple colonnade of Herod on the south of the Temple, the treasury chambers, and the rooms round the outer

courts, were now all burned and demolished. Only the edifice of the sanctuary itself still remained. On its solid masonry the fire had had comparatively little effect, and there were still hidden in its recesses a few faithful priests who had contrived to rescue the most valuable of the utensils, vessels, and spices of the sanctuary.

### 37. *Final capture of Jerusalem.*

The Temple was at last gained; but it seemed as if half the work remained to be done. The Upper City, higher than Moriah, and on all sides precipitous except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken. Titus tried a parley first through Josephus, and then in person, he standing on the east end of the bridge between the Temple and the Upper City, and John and Simon on the west end. His terms, however, were rejected, and no alternative was left him but to force on the siege. The whole of the low part of the town—the crowded lanes, of which we have so often heard—was burned, in the teeth of a frantic resistance from the Zealots, together with the council-house, the repository of the records (doubtless occupied by Simon since its former destruction), and the palace of Helena, which were situated in this quarter—the suburb of Ophel under the south wall of the Temple, and the houses as far as Siloam on the lower slopes of the Temple mount.

It took 18 days to erect the necessary works for the siege; the four legions were once more stationed at the west or northwest corner, where Herod's palace abutted on the wall, and where the three magnificent and impregnable towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne rose conspicuous. This was the main attack. Opposite the Temple, the precipitous nature of the slopes of the Upper City rendered it unlikely that any serious attempt would be made by the Jews, and this part accordingly, between

the bridge and the Xystus, was left to the auxiliaries. The attack was commenced on the 7th of Gorpiaëus (about Sept. 11), and by the next day a breach was made in the wall, and the Romans at last entered the city. During the attack John and Simon appear to have stationed themselves in the towers just alluded to; and had they remained there, they would probably have been able to make terms, as the towers were considered impregnable. But on the first signs of the breach, they took flight, and, traversing the city, descended into the valley of Hinnom below Siloam, and endeavored to force the wall of circumvallation and so make their escape. On being repulsed there, they took refuge apart in some of the subterraneous caverns or sewers of the city. John shortly after surrendered himself; but Simon held out for several weeks, and did not make his appearance until after Titus had quitted the city. They were both reserved for the triumph at Rome.

The city being taken, such parts as had escaped the former conflagrations were burned, and the whole of both city and Temple was ordered to be demolished, excepting the west wall of the Upper City, and Herod's three great towers at the north-west corner, which were left standing as memorials of the massive nature of the fortifications.

Of the Jews, the aged and infirm were killed; the children under seventeen were sold as slaves; the rest were sent, some to the Egyptian mines, some to the provincial amphitheatres, and some to grace the triumph of the Conqueror. Titus then departed, leaving the 10th legion, under the command of Terentius Rufus, to carry out the work of demolition. Of this Josephus assures us, that "the whole was so thoroughly leveled and dug up, that no one visiting it would believe that it had ever inhabited."

38. *Fall of Masada.*

Early in the revolt of the Jews (about A.D. 67), a group of fanatic Jewish rebels (Zealots) seized the rocky cliff fortress of Masada on the west side of the Dead Sea, (Josephus, *Wars*, II, 17, 2). Herod the Great had used this imposing precipice-faced fort as a retreat. The Zealots used Masada as a base for attacks against the Romans. Masada remained in Jewish hands after all other Palestinian sites had fallen to Rome. Then the Roman general Flavius Silva came and besieged Masada. Outlines of Silva's camp and fortifications can still be seen around Masada. The last defenders of Masada chose suicide rather than surrender and slavery. Josephus has a vivid account of the fall of Masada (*Wars*, VII, 8-9). It fell in A.D. 73. The fortress top was excavated in 1955-56 by the Israeli archaeologist Yigael Yadin.

39. *Jerusalem after its fall.*

The great interest belonging to Jerusalem as the central scene of Sacred History, and especially in connection with our Lord's prediction of the destruction of the Temple, seems to demand a few words by way of supplement. For more than fifty years after its destruction by Titus, Jerusalem disappears from history. During the revolts of the Jews in Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, which disturbed the latter years of Trajan, the recovery of their city was never attempted. Of its annals during this period we know nothing. Three towers and part of the western wall alone remained of its strong fortifications to protect the cohorts who occupied the conquered city; and the soldiers' huts were long the only buildings on its site.

40. *The Bar-Cochba revolt (second Jewish revolt).*

But in the reign of Hadrian it again emerged from its obscurity and became the centre of an insurrection

which the best blood of Rome was shed to subdue. In despair of keeping the Jews in subjection by other means, the Emperor had formed a design to restore Jerusalem and thus prevent it from ever becoming a rallying point for this turbulent race. In furtherance of his plan he had sent thither a colony of veterans, in numbers sufficient for the defense of a position so strong by nature against the then known modes of attack. To this measure Dion Cassius attributes a renewal of the insurrection, while Eusebius asserts that it was not carried into execution till the outbreak was quelled. Be this as it may, the embers of revolt, long smouldering, burst into a flame soon after Hadrian's departure from the East in A.D. 132. The contemptuous indifference of the Romans, or the secrecy of their own plans, enabled the Jews to organize a widespread conspiracy. Bar-Cochba, their leader, the third, according to the Rabbinical writers, of a dynasty of the same name, princes of the captivity, was crowned king of Bether by the Jews who thronged to him, and by the populace was regarded as the Messiah. His armor-bearer, Rabbi Akiba, claimed descent from Sisera and hated the Romans with the fierce rancor of his adopted nation. All the Jews in Palestine flocked to his standard. At an early period in the revolt they became masters of Jerusalem and attempted to rebuild the Temple. Hadrian, alarmed at the rapid spread of the insurrection, and the ineffectual efforts of his troops to repress it, summoned from Britain Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time, to take the command of the army of Judæa. Two years were spent in a fierce guerrilla warfare, before Jerusalem was taken, after a desperate defense in which Bar-Cochba perished. The courage of the defenders was shaken by the falling in of the vaults on Mount Zion, and the Romans became masters of the position. But the war did not end with the capture of the city. The Jews in great force had occupied the

fortress of Bether, and there maintained a struggle with all the tenacity of despair against the repeated onsets of the Romans. At length, worn out by famine and disease, they yielded on the 9th of the month Ab, A.D. 135, and the grandson of Bar-Cochba was among the slain. The slaughter was frightful. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, while the number of victims to the attendant calamities of war was countless. On the side of the Romans the loss was enormous, and so dearly bought was their victory, that Hadrian, in his letter to the Senate, announcing the conclusion of the war, did not adopt the usual congratulatory phrase. Bar-Cochba has left traces of his occupation of Jerusalem in coins which were struck during the first two years of the war. Four silver coins, three of them undoubtedly belonging to Trajan, have been discovered, restamped with Samaritan characters. But the rebel leader, amply supplied with the precious metals by the contributions of his followers, afterward coined his own money. The mint was probably at Jerusalem during the first two years of the war; the coins struck during that period bearing the inscription, "To the freedom of Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the holy."

In 1960 Israeli archaeologists found in a cave in a cliff face at Nahal Hever, about 3 1/2 miles south of En-Gedi (this is a rugged, precipitous desert), many actual remains of the Bar-Cochba revolt: coins; arrow; cloth; baskets; skulls and bones of some of Bar-Cochba's men; many writings on papyrus and wood, some from Bar-Cochba himself requesting food and other assistance; Roman cult objects apparently stolen from the Roman camp; etc.

From these discoveries it appears that Bar-Cochba depended heavily on foodstuffs produced at the oasis of En-Gedi, or shipped into En-Gedi from the other side of the Dead Sea. His troops controlled the areas around Tekoa and Bethlehem when the documents were written, and

he was somewhere about Jerusalem. When the revolt was crushed, the last survivors from the En-Gedi area went to the remote caves with the valuables that were found over 1800 years later. (See *Biblical Archaeologist*, May 1961, p. 34 ff. and Sept. 1961, p. 86 ff.)

#### 41. *Hadrian's makes Jerusalem a pagan city.*

Hadrian's first policy, after the suppression of the revolt, was to obliterate the existence of Jerusalem as a city. The ruins which Titus had left were razed to the ground, and the plough passed over the foundations of the Temple. A colony of Roman citizens occupied the new city which rose from the ashes of Jerusalem, and their number was afterward augmented by the Emperor's veteran legionaries. A temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was erected on the site of the sacred edifice of the Jews. A temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterward identified with the Sepulchre, appears on coins, with four columns and the inscription C. A. C., *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, but it is more doubtful whether it was erected at this time.

It was not, however, till the following year, A.D. 136, that Hadrian, on celebrating his Vicennalia, bestowed upon the new city the name *AELIA CAPITOLINA*, combining his own family title with the name of Jupiter of the Capital, the guardian deity of the colony. Christians and pagans alone were allowed to reside in the city. Jews were forbidden to enter it on pain of death and this prohibition remained in force in the time of Tertullian. About the middle of the 4th century the Jews were allowed to visit the neighborhood, and afterward, once a year, to enter the city itself, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Jerome has drawn a vivid picture of the wretched crowds of Jews who in his day assembled at the wailing-place outside the west wall of the Temple court to bemoan the loss of their ancestral greatness. On the ninth of the month Ab might



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be seen the aged and decrepit of both sexes with tattered garments and dishevelled hair who met to weep over the downfall of Jerusalem, and purchased permission of the soldiery to prolong their lamentations. So completely were all traces of the ancient city obliterated that its very name was in process of time forgotten. It was not till after Constantine built the *Martyrion* on the site of the crucifixion that its ancient appellation was revived.

### SECTION VI

## SPECIAL STUDIES

- A. The SAMARITANS.
- B. JEWS OF THE DISPERSION
- C. The PROSELYTES
- D. JEWISH RELIGIOUS WRITINGS
- E. THE SYNAGOGUES.
- F. SECTS OF THE JEWS
  - 1. Origin and names of the Jewish sects
  - 2. The Pharisees
  - 3. The Sadducees
  - 4. The Essenes
  - 5. The Scribes
- G. The SANHEDRIN

### WATCH FOR ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS:

1. Were the Samaritans originally Jewish in origin, or did they come from other nations?
2. Did the Jews cooperate with Samaritans after the Babylonian captivity?
3. What man built a temple on Mt. Gerezim? Date?
4. Why did Jews who were travelling not pass through Samaria?