

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.¹

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

BY PROF. C. H. CORNILL.

IX.—The House of Herod—Judea as a Roman Province.

IT WAS a moment of intense interest at which we closed our last chapter. Everywhere there was ferment and repressed excitement; the peace established by the iron hand of Herod was but the peace of the churchyard. Even in the last days of the tyrant the flames began to shoot up. While he was still wrestling with death upon his bed of suffering at Jericho the report was spread that he was dead, and straightway open rebellion against him and his system broke forth.

Over the chief entrance to the temple Herod had had placed a golden eagle as a sign of the Roman sovereignty. Some forty young pupils of the highly respected Pharisees Judas and Matthias climbed up and with axes cut the golden eagle to pieces. The perpetrators were at once seized by the guard and, together with their two teachers, dragged to Jericho, where Herod condemned them and had them all burned alive. Soon after this, in the spring of the year 4 before the birth of Christ, he himself died.

I assume that my esteemed readers are already aware of the fact that Abbot Dionysius Exiguus, who calculated in the sixth century the Christian era according to which we still universally reckon time, erred in his establishment of the year of Christ's birth, placing it several years, probably five if not seven, too late. It is positively certain that Herod died in the year 4 before our

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era ; if, therefore, Jesus was born during his reign—and there is no reason for doubting this tradition—the conclusion is unavoidable that the date commonly assigned for the birth of Christ is wrong. The place of Jesus' birth is just as much a matter of uncertainty as the time ; and so is the year of his death,—in this latter point reports and estimates vary a matter of seven years, from 29 to 36 A. D.

It is downright providential that we know so little from the historical and biographical point of view concerning this greatest life that was ever lived on earth. Thus every possibility is to be precluded of our falling into the delusion that we know him in knowing the date of his birth and of his death and the outward circumstances of his life ; he is to stand before us simply in his work.

The life and activity of Jesus fell into the period of Jewish history which is to occupy our attention in this chapter, and his activity was possible only on the soil of Israel and among the Jewish people ; but yet a history of the people of Israel is not the place in which to speak of him. He swept across the hopelessly darkened sky of Israel like a meteor, flashing and vanishing ; he had no effect upon the history of the Jewish people, and the fact that he did not do this, that he deliberately refused to do so, became, humanly speaking, his doom. His people and his time demanded a Messiah with the sword of Gideon, one who would break the dominion of Rome and re-establish the ardently longed-for kingdom of Israel. Jesus regarded it as his mission to break the power of sin and to establish the Kingdom of God, which is not accomplished with the sword of outward power but through the inward regeneration of the spirit. In the invincible faith that this Kingdom of God would and must come, Jesus went to his death. But on his way to death he had for his people only this affecting farewell : "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children" (Luke xxiii. 28).

Herod had a numerous family—nine wives and nine sons and five daughters. He had himself caused his three oldest sons to be executed, and had frequently altered his will ; the last form of it, composed shortly before his death, divided the kingdom among three of the surviving sons. Archelaus was to receive the royal title together with Judea, Samaria, and Idumea ; Herod Antipas, Galilee and Perea ; and Philip the northern districts, the two latter with the title of tetrarch.

The confirmation of the will was of course dependent on Au-

gustus, and Herod had commissioned Archelaus and Antipas by testamentary provision to carry his seal-ring and the sealed documents to Rome immediately after his death. But before attending to this Archelaus was saluted as king by the troops and the people and celebrated his father's obsequies with a pompous, seven days' ceremony. Then he addressed the people and promised to be a good ruler, and especially to be more clement than his father. They immediately took him at his word, and demanded that he remove the unworthy high priest last appointed by his father and put a worthier one in his place, and likewise that he should punish those councillors of his father who had condemned the two Pharisees and their pupils to such a terrible death for destroying the golden eagle over the temple gate. Archelaus wanted to avoid a conflict before his journey to Rome, and sent delegates to the people to pacify them, but these delegates were received with showers of stones and sent back with scoffs and jeers.

They were in the midst of preparations for Pascha, and for this reason there was an immense concourse in Jerusalem; the dissatisfied multitude took possession of the temple in order to compel compliance with their demands. Now Archelaus sent a tribune with a cohort to the temple to establish order, but almost the entire cohort was stoned to death by the excited populace; the tribune barely saved his life with a few of his followers. Now of course the whole available military force had to be called out to storm and purge the temple. Three thousand corpses covered the floor of the sanctuary. All pilgrims from without the city received peremptory orders to return home straightway. Order being thus restored, Archelaus started upon his journey to Rome. In Cæsarea he met a Roman official, Sabinus, who proposed to take present charge of Herod's heritage. Archelaus tried to restrain him, but of course Sabinus pursued his way, and to make him secure Quintilius Varus, at that time legate in Syria, the same who attained such a melancholy renown by his defeat in our Teutoburg forest, gave him one of his three legions.

Sabinus treated the country after the usual fashion of Roman provincial officials; this aroused such bitterness that an unusually large number of pilgrims came to Jerusalem for the celebration of Pentecost and actually besieged Sabinus. The Jews having taken possession of the porches of the temple and thrown thence weapons and stones upon the heads of the Romans, Sabinus set fire to the porches so that the Jews perished miserably in the flames. The temple was stormed and of course plundered; Sabinus is said to

have stolen for his own treasury four hundred talents, that is, considerably over \$500,000.

Now open rebellion broke forth throughout the country. Everywhere there gathered bands which slaughtered all the Romans and all the adherents of Herod whom they could capture. Sabinus sent to Varus for help, and the latter entered the rebellious country with all the troops at his disposal. How he conducted himself can be imagined. Plundered and burned cities whose inhabitants had been slaughtered or sold into slavery marked the route of the victorious Roman army. Varus entered Jerusalem and there had two thousand of the ringleaders crucified at one time; after these valiant deeds he left the pacified country and returned to Antiochia.

Meanwhile the two brothers had presented a very discreditable scene in Rome. Each sought to exclude the other and to get possession of as great a share as possible of his father's heritage, while at the same time there appeared a delegation of the Jewish people praying for the removal of the whole Herodian family in order that they might live according to their own laws under immediate Roman overlordship. Now Augustus was obliged to come to a decision. He confirmed the last testament of Herod in its main features, merely denying Archelaus the royal title for the time being and requiring him to be satisfied with that of ethnarch.

The destinies of the three brothers developed in great divergence. The only attractive figure in the whole Herodian family, a genuine white raven, is Philip. And it is to be remembered in this connexion that the portions of the country over which he ruled were almost entirely heathen and the Jews in a great minority, a fact which made government much easier. According to Josephus he carried on a search for the sources of the Jordan which lie in his territory. He rebuilt Paneas and Bethsaida; thenceforth the former was called Cæsarea Philippi, the latter Julias. Josephus gives the following sketch of him: "He was well-disposed and kind toward his subjects, without ambition, and never left his country his whole life long. He always went about with a small retinue and had a tribunal-seat carried about after him in order to be able to pass forthwith upon any petition which might be presented by whoever met him." He died in the year 33, after a reign of thirty-seven years, leaving no children; thereupon Tiberius sequestered his country and added it to the province of Syria.

The second son, Herod Antipas, is the sovereign of Jesus, and is characterised by him as a fox; it was he that had John the Bap-

tist executed. We know of him only his architectural constructions, his founding of cities, and the serious scandal in his domestic relations which cost the Baptist his life. The most important city founded by him is Tiberias, on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee, named in honor of the Emperor Tiberius. In laying the foundations it turned out that there had been on the spot an ancient burial-place with quantities of skeletons. This made the spot unclean, and pious Jews refused to dwell there, so that Antipas was finally constrained to settle the city with the most questionable elements. It had a wholly heathen character, and at the outbreak of war the wrath of the people was directed first of all against these edifices and they were destroyed. The final complications and the close of his forty-three years' reign, which all arose from his sinful union with his brother's wife, Herodias, will receive our attention hereafter in another connexion.

Of briefest endurance was the reign of Archelaus, who exercised his authority almost exclusively in the appointment and removal of high priests, incidentally erecting some edifices. He too gave deep offence by his marriage with Glaphyra, the widow of his half-brother Alexander. Besides this a false Alexander soon made his appearance. Alexander, the eldest son of Herod and Marianne the Maccabee, would have been the regular heir to the throne. So a young man with a striking resemblance to him claimed to be Alexander, reporting that the executioner, moved by pity, had failed to carry out the command of Herod, but had substituted a corpse that looked like him. This youth was received everywhere with shouts of rejoicing by the Jews, and even had the impudence to go to Rome in order to demand his inheritance at the hands of Augustus; but Augustus, who had been personally acquainted with the real Alexander, saw through the fraud directly and sent the adventurer to the galleys.

After Archelaus had ruled for nine years in barbarity and tyranny, as Josephus puts it, his subjects made charges against him to Augustus, who immediately summoned him to Rome. The charges were so serious that Augustus deposed him without ceremony and banished him to Vienne in Gaul, where he had time, far from Jerusalem, to meditate upon the duties of a ruler. The principality of Archelaus was sequestered and put under immediate Roman government; a procurator of noble rank was to rule it subject to the legate for the province of Syria.

Thus the people had attained what they had themselves requested ten years earlier, but they were soon to realise with terror

what a yoke they had thereby brought upon their own necks. The moment when Judea came under immediate Roman government, in the year 6, is the beginning of the end. While Herod and his sons from mere shrewdness and for self-preservation had shown all possible consideration for the religious convictions of the Jews, they were now exposed without rights or defence to the whims of Roman subaltern officials who regarded their office first of all as a gold mine, had absolutely no appreciation of the character and position of the Jews, but on the contrary regarded them with dislike and contempt and took a fiendish delight in making the unfortunate race feel their power and in offending and mocking them in every conceivable manner.

When we read of the actions and tyrannical usurpations of these "stewards," who almost without exception were pests, it seems often incomprehensible that the Jews endured such conditions for sixty years. The procurator had his official residence in the city of Cæsarea, which had been splendidly built up and beautified by Herod. Only on the occasion of the great religious festivals were they accustomed to come to Jerusalem in order to keep an eye on the multitudes gathered there; then they occupied the palace of Herod, which served as prætorium. They had control of all military and financial matters and were referees in affairs of justice: capital sentences, especially, pronounced by the sanhedrin, required their confirmation. As a token of the heathen overlordship which was felt by the Jews to be especially hard and oppressive, the Romans had taken under their charge the high priest's robe; it was kept in the prætorium which was occupied by a cohort that served as permanent garrison of Jerusalem, and was brought out for use in the temple only four times a year, at the three high feasts and on the day of atonement, but had to be returned every time immediately after it had been used.

The very first experience of the Roman rule showed what was to be expected on both sides. Augustus caused a census of the new province to be taken by the Syrian legate P. Sulpicius Quirinus, thereon to base a readjustment of the taxes. At this, open rebellion broke forth on every side. The high priest Joazar, indeed, by shrewd and conciliatory management, succeeded in avoiding the worst consequences and in bringing the people to reason; but the irreconcilables now formed a regular faction, the enthusiasts or Zealots, whose only aim was to oppose the Roman dominion by every possible means and never to permit a compromise between Israel and Rome; the leaders of the party are reported to

have been the Galilean Judas (very probably a son of Hezekiah, the judicial execution of whom had once brought Herod into conflict with the sanhedrin at Jerusalem) and a Pharisee named Shadduck. Thus from the start civil war was latent and revolution was declared as a standing condition.

Under such trying circumstances it would of course have required persons of extraordinary tact to avoid adding new stores to the already great mass of tinder. But these procurators were no better, rather worse if possible, than they generally were at that period. Of the first four we know scarcely more than their names. From the time of Coponius, the first of them, Josephus tells us how some Samaritans slipped into the temple during the Pascha period and strewed all about the temple human bones which they had carried hidden under their cloaks; thus the temple was made unclean for seven days, and Pascha could not be celebrated at all. The fourth of them, Valerius Gratus, appointed and removed not less than five high priests during his eleven years of office. We have more details concerning only the fifth of the series, Pontius Pilate, who tormented the Jews from 26 to 36 A. D., and earned a melancholy immortality through the destiny which, supported by his uneasy conscience, condemned him to pronounce upon Jesus the sentence of death and have it executed.

Up to this time the religious views of the Jews had been treated with the utmost possible consideration, and at least all wanton conflicts had been avoided; in particular the military standards with the image of the emperor, which were especially offensive to the Jews, had been kept away from Jerusalem. This seemed to Pilate a lamentable weakness, and one night he caused some of these images to be brought to Jerusalem. When the Jews saw the abomination the next morning there set out for Cæsarea a deputation en masse, thousands of men, women, and children, who beset the procurator for five days and nights with their cries and lamentations. Pilate declared that the honor of the emperor would not permit the revocation of the order; finally he invited them to gather in the stadium at the end of six days, when he would give them his decision. He caused the whole stadium to be surrounded by soldiers who awaited only his nod to fall upon the defenceless host. After they were all assembled in the stadium he announced that the standards would and must remain in Jerusalem; and when a loud outcry and lamentation answered him he ordered the soldiers to advance. Then the Jews of their own accord bared their necks and breasts, begging Pilate to kill them all in order that

they might not be constrained to witness such a sacrilege. This persistence and desperation moved Pilate to recede from his position: he dismissed the Jews and the standards were in fact quietly removed from Jerusalem.

But Pilate hoped to gain his end indirectly. He caused to be hung up on the walls of the *prætorium* in Jerusalem votive tablets with only the name of the emperor and of himself as the one offering them. Again they beset Pilate to recall the offensive order, but this time he was inexorable. Thereupon the Jews appealed directly to Tiberius, who, seeing that Pilate cared less to honor him than to offend the Jews, commanded the tablets to be removed and hung up in the temple of Augustus which Herod had built at Paneas. Encouraged by this success, the Jews opposed Pilate even where religious scruples were not so distinctly involved. Pilate recognised the need of a water system for Jerusalem, and for this public labor demanded a contribution from the treasury of the temple. When he came to Jerusalem to inspect the construction he was again surrounded by a screaming and groaning mob; but Pilate had known or foreseen what was to come, and had given orders to his soldiers to mingle with the multitude dressed in civilians' garb and with clubs under their cloaks. At a sign from him they burst forth and with their clubs slew a great number of people. The construction was completed without further disturbance.

In an official document addressed to the Emperor Caligula, Pilate is described as inflexible and unsparingly harsh in character, and his administration as an unbroken series of outrages and crimes of every sort: venality, violence, plunder, abuse, insults, continual executions without sentence, and infinite and unbearable cruelties.

Thus we can understand well when we are told that Barabbas, a notorious murderer familiar to us in connection with the passion of Jesus, was captured in an uprising, and that Pilate mingled the blood of Galileans with their sacrifices, that is to say, evidently had to suppress an insurrection of Galileans that had broken out in the temple. But finally the unhappy people were to be released from their tormentor. The Samaritans believed that the ancient and sacred vessels of the tabernacle were buried on Mount Gerizim and that they would appear again at the approach of the Messianic period. A zealot or a fraud invited the people to gather at Mount Gerizim with a promise to show them there the sacred vessels. Pilate had heard of the affair, and had the whole multitude

of innocent people incontinently hacked to pieces. For this the Samaritans brought charges against him before the Syrian legate, Vitellius, who suspended him from his office immediately and sent him to Rome to answer to the charges. Of the two successors of Pilate we know only the names.

At Pascha in the year 36 A. D. the legate Vitellius came himself to Jerusalem and took the hearts of the Jewish people by storm by giving back the high priest's robe and having it taken back to the temple for free use on all occasions. This same Vitellius shows how easy it was with even a modicum of good will to avoid conflicts. Herod Antipas, in order to marry his sister-in-law, Herodias, had put away his first wife, a daughter of the Arab sheik Aretas, and as a result got into a war with his former father-in-law, which was turning out very unfortunately for himself. Accordingly he applied to Rome for aid and Tiberius commanded Vitellius to punish the Arab sheik. Vitellius, who had no liking at all for Antipas, was not eager to do this, but of course was obliged to obey the imperial command. He set out upon his expedition from Antiochia. At the border of the Holy Land he was met by a Jewish deputation with the urgent petition not to conduct his army with the imperial images through Jewish territory. Vitellius, being a humane and considerate man, actually had his troops go around the Jewish country and went alone to Jerusalem, where he was received with tremendous enthusiasm. Here he received the news of the death of Tiberius and returned in haste to Antiochia without having taken the field against Aretas.

With the death of Tiberius begins a troublous time for Judea ; for now ascends the throne of the Cæsars that horrible combination of fool and tyrant which continues to be known in history under the nickname of Caligula. Caligula was completely in earnest in demanding divine worship of his person, and the servile heathen populace made haste to show its fidelity by the erection of altars and images of the Emperor. Such an altar was erected in Jamnia, but was immediately torn down by the Jews. When the Emperor heard of this he commanded that his image be set up in the holy of holies of the temple at Jerusalem, and the legate in Syria, Petronius, was directed to march forthwith to Jerusalem with all the troops at his disposal in order to carry out the imperial command. Petronius was a man of sense ; the genuine despair of the Jews made such an impression upon him that he made every effort to postpone the affair. But as nothing came of these efforts and the Emperor insisted on his order Petronius risked the anger of the

Emperor, withdrew his troops from the country and reported to Caligula that the execution of his order was impossible, wherefore he must beg him to rescind it. Who knows what would have happened if the Jews had not had in King Agrippa, of whom we shall soon speak more at length, a powerful advocate with the Emperor. Caligula decreed that all should remain as of old in the temple at Jerusalem, but that no one should be prevented from erecting altars and images to the Emperor in the rest of the country. As punishment for his insubordination Petronius received orders to take his own life. But before this order arrived the good legate had received the news of the assassination of the tyrant, and thus the danger for Petronius and the Jewish people was past.

And now Judea was destined once more to become an independent realm and a Jewish king once more to unite under his sceptre the whole territory of Herod. Agrippa was the son of Aristobulus, the second son of Herod and Marianne, and consequently a scion of the Maccabees. In his youth he lived at Rome, like all young princes at that time. He followed the instincts of youth and incurred grudges and debts until the soil of Rome became too warm for him. He arrived in his native country absolutely without means of subsistence. His sister Herodias appealed on his behalf to her husband, Antipas, who gave him the position of market prefect at Tiberias. But Antipas on an occasion when he was under the influence of liquor having reproached his brother-in-law at the public table with living wholly at his expense, Agrippa had sufficient sense of honor to resign the position of market prefect. He went to Antiochia, to the legate Flaccus, whom he had known at Rome, but was soon obliged to leave this place also when Flaccus learned that Agrippa was making capital out of his friendship and receiving payment for his interference in government affairs. After an adventurous journey, on which he barely escaped from his creditors, he finally landed in Rome, paid his respects to the old emperor at Capri and formed a close friendship with the heir to the throne, Gaius Cæsar, the later Caligula. An incautious expression of Agrippa's having come to the ears of Tiberius, he had him imprisoned; but only six months after this Agrippa's boon companion, Caligula, ascended the throne, released his friend from prison, presented him with a chain of gold as heavy as the iron chain which he had worn, and in addition gave him the tetrarchate of his deceased uncle Philip with the title of king.

For a time the newly appointed king remained in Rome, and

did not start upon the journey into his kingdom for a year and a half. Then he went by way of Alexandria. There lived in Alexandria at that time a Jewish man whom not even the briefest history of the people of Israel can pass over in silence, the philosopher Philo. The importance and the influence of this man are almost incalculable. He was the first who succeeded in completely and harmoniously uniting Shem and Japhet. He is a Jew by conviction and at the same time a perfect Greek, who made it the task of his life to combine into a higher unity revelation and philosophy, to establish religion upon a philosophical basis and to transfigure philosophy with the spirit of religion. Only in this does the Jew appear: that the religious element is decidedly predominant and that his ultimate aim is not philosophical but religious.

The unique significance of this man lies in the fact that, while his people refused to follow him and under the pressure of circumstances soon entered upon a course exactly the opposite of his own, the Christian Church walked in his footsteps. It adopted Philo's especial conception and treatment of the Old Testament and his philosophical method: the whole theology and dogmatics of the early church, especially of the church of Alexandria and the Orient, which laid the foundation of dogmatics, is inconceivable without Philo. We owe to him also the account of the terrible events that took place in Alexandria at that time. Although Agrippa avoided any offensive action on the occasion of his visit, nevertheless the king of the Jews was most rudely insulted by the populace of Alexandria, and from this resulted one of the most shocking persecutions of the Jews that is reported in history.

Fresh from the impression of such occurrences Agrippa entered his kingdom. Now he outranked his neighbor, the uncle and brother-in-law upon whose bounty he had shortly before been dependent. The pride of Herodias could not endure this; she did not rest until her husband had gone to Rome in order to beg the royal title for himself. But Agrippa had already prepared his friend Caligula to give him a fitting reception; Antipas was simply deposed and exiled to Lyons, and Agrippa received his kingdom in addition to his own. Herodias remained faithful to her husband even in the misfortune into which she had plunged him, and accompanied him on his exile into Gaul; here they both died.

Agrippa happened to be in Rome just at the time when his friend and patron, Caligula, was murdered; and to him chiefly the weak and contemptible Claudius owed his elevation to the throne of the Cæsars. Now Claudius showed his gratitude: he conferred

upon Agrippa in addition the whilom Roman province of Judea, so that in the year 41 A. D. there was once more a Jewish kingdom under a native ruler. As a king of united Judea Agrippa made earnest efforts to atone for his former graceless life. The three years of dominion which were vouchsafed him are the last bright spot in the history of the people of Israel.

As is often the case with flippant and dissolute people, Agrippa seems to have been personally very good-natured, attractive and amiable; along with this he observed most strictly and conscientiously all the laws and commandments, and endeavored in all respects to be a faithful and pious Jew. Once more under his rule the Pharisees had things their own way, and the people were attached to him with affectionate ardor, while his heathen subjects felt for him an equally great hatred and contempt. Withal, he used his great personal influence with Claudius everywhere for the advantage of the Jews, just as his grandfather Herod had done. In order to please the Jews he persecuted the rising Christian Church and had the apostle James beheaded.

He also looked after the outward welfare of his people and his kingdom, and was on the point of building new fortifications about Jerusalem when the Syrian legate, Marsus, reported the matter to Rome, whereupon the Roman Government forbade the continuation of the work. A council of princes which he called to meet at Tiberias, at which five Roman vassal-princes were present, was dispersed by Marsus, who went in person to Tiberias and simply sent the members home.

But this last happy period for the Jewish people was not to last long. After a reign of but three years Agrippa died at Cæsarea a sudden death, the remarkable circumstances of which are related in substantial agreement by Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles. The heathen inhabitants of Cæsarea gave unrestrained expression to their joy at the death of the Jewish king and insulted most obscenely the statues of his daughters. What was likely to be the result when this hatred could flame out unchecked, or even if possible be stirred up?

Agrippa left three daughters, and a son of seventeen years bearing his own name. The Roman Government considered it dangerous to entrust the Jewish people to the hands of so young a ruler. And the hesitation was certainly well founded. Josephus reports the remarkable fact that about this time two Jewish brothers from Nehardea in Mesopotamia, by name Asinæus and Anilæus, had placed themselves at the head of a great troop of Jews there

and were keeping all Mesopotamia in excitement and terror. Accordingly the youthful Agrippa remained for the time being as a private citizen in Rome, where indeed he used every opportunity to be of use to his countrymen; the whole kingdom of his father was sequestered as a Roman province and again placed under the administration of a procurator subordinate to the legate in Syria. The supervision over the temple and the right to appoint and remove high priests were conferred upon a younger brother of the deceased Agrippa, Herod by name, who through the intervention of his brother had received the little kingdom of Chalcis at the foot of Lebanon.

With the return of Judea to a Roman administration begins the prelude of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish people — perhaps the most shocking tragedy known to the history of the world. The seven procurators who had the administration of the unhappy land from 44 to 66 A. D. seemed to act as if in concert in order to drive the people to despair and revolt. The very first, Caspius Fadus, began his official career with an act of petty spite by demanding back the high priest's robe. The Jews appealed first to the Syrian legate, Cassius Longinus, and, this being without result, directly to the emperor; here young Agrippa, by his personal connexions, managed to secure a decision that all should remain as of old. Josephus characterises the activity of Fadus in the words: "With the greatest discretion and energy he purged all Judea of highwaymen." We already know what to think of that. One detail has been transmitted to us. A certain Theudas, who is also mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, had summoned the people to the Jordan where at his command the miracle of Joshua should be repeated. Fadus sent thither a company of cavalry, who simply cut the people down and brought the head of Theudas to Jerusalem.

Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus, was himself a Jew and a nephew of the philosopher Philo. But Alexander was a renegade who had no feeling for his people; he even served Titus later at the siege of Jerusalem as chief counsellor. Under him Judea was visited by a severe famine. Furthermore he crucified two sons of Judas, the founder of the faction of the Zealots, by name James and Simon.

But these were innocent trifles compared with what took place under the third procurator, Ventidius Cumanus, from 48 to 52. On the great holidays the procurator was always present in Jerusalem, and a guard was stationed in the temple. On the day of Pascha a

soldier of the temple guard indulged in an unmentionable obscene insult of the ceremonial procession. The people hastened to Cumanus in order to demand the punishment of the offender. When Cumanus failed to satisfy their demands, he himself was assailed with abusive epithets and stones were thrown at the guards. Then Cumanus gave the word to attack, and there resulted such a butchery and such a fearful disorder that ten thousand, according to another report twenty thousand, persons perished.

It is no wonder that such occurrences kindled anew the hatred against the Romans. Thus an imperial official, Stephanus, was attacked shortly after this upon the open highway not far from Jerusalem and robbed of all he had. As the perpetrators could not be found out, Cumanus for punishment had all the adjacent villages plundered by his soldiers. On this occasion a roll of the Thora fell into the hands of the soldiery, and one of them could not refrain from tearing the sacred book to pieces before the eyes of the horror-stricken Jews and throwing the fragments with rude jests into the fire. Again the people resorted to one of those popular demonstrations en masse and went to Cumanus in Cæsarea. The excitement was so tremendous that Cumanus found it advisable to give in. He had the perpetrator of the outrage led forth and decapitated before the eyes of the Jews, whereupon they dispersed and returned home.

A third instance was still worse. Some Samaritans had murdered a Galilean on his way to the celebration in Jerusalem; the Jews complained, but Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, paid no attention to the complaint. Now the Jews took redress into their own hands: great troops armed themselves and attacked the Samaritans, and, as Josephus himself relates, cut down all without regard for age or sex, and laid the villages in ashes. Now Cumanus sent his tribune, Celer, against the insurgents, and the Roman soldiers of course made easy work of the undisciplined hordes. It need not be added that they took merciless advantage of their victory. Now the Jews complained to the Syrian legate, Ummidius Quadratus. He investigated the affair and crucified all whom Cumanus had taken alive besides arresting and decapitating eighteen others who were deeply compromised; but Cumanus himself he suspended from office, and sent him, together with the tribune, Celer, to Rome, there to give account of themselves before the emperor.

Again the influence of Agrippa was felt: Cumanus was exiled and the tribune, Celer, taken back to Jerusalem, where he was

dragged through the streets and executed ; even the guilty Samaritans were executed. The ex-high priest Jonathan, the successor of the Caiphas of the New Testament, who headed the Jewish delegation which had accused Cumanus and the Samaritans in Rome, asked of Claudius as an especial favor that Felix, the brother of the all-powerful freedman of the emperor, be made Roman procurator. The emperor willingly granted this request, and thus a man of the most fateful destiny enters upon the soil of Palestine. His administration is the turning-point ; from that time on the revolution became established.

The great historian Tacitus characterises Felix as a man who exercised the authority of a king with the temper of a slave through every sort of cruelty and license, and who, as brother of the all-powerful Pallas, thought himself able to practise all his outrages with impunity. We can still recognise clearly the various stages through which events developed. First Felix attacked the Zealots. He succeeded by treacherous violation of his word in capturing alive their leader, Eleazar, whom he sent to Rome in chains : "The "number of highwaymen who were crucified, and of those who "were executed in other ways on suspicion of making common "cause with highwaymen, cannot be calculated," says Josephus, with blood-curdling brevity.

The answer to this Roman policy of extreme brutal violence was not long lacking. Now was formed the party of the so-called Sicarii, whose maxim was to put Romans and Roman sympathisers out of the way by assassination. With short daggers, called "sica," under their cloaks, they mingled with the multitude, crowded upon their victims and stabbed them unseen. One of their first victims was the high priest Jonathan, whom they murdered at the direction of the procurator. Jonathan, who had secured the position for Felix, was an inconvenient monitor, and kept urging him to endeavor to give a more just administration. Thereupon Felix paid to the Sicarii through a go-between a large sum of money to have them put his troublesome friend out of the way. The wretches actually went to Jerusalem in the disguise of pilgrims and stabbed the high priest in the temple. Of course the infamous deed instigated by the procurator himself remained undiscovered and unpunished. The evil increased to such an extent that soon no one felt his life to be safe, and people suspected an assassin in every one they chanced to meet.

There were religious as well as political fanatics, false prophets and Messiahes, who stirred up the people and promised miracles

and signs. When Felix proceeded against these also with barbarous severity, and when even the more conservative Jews helped him in suppressing the particularly dangerous uprising led by the Egyptian who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, the fanatics went through the country in troops with the watchword that those who chose voluntarily to be slaves must be forced into freedom. Everywhere they murdered those friendly to Rome, pillaged their houses and their villages and then gave them to the flames. Besides all this there was a regular civil war between the Jewish and non-Jewish population in Cæsarea, the residence of the procurator himself. The Jews claimed that Cæsarea, having been built by a Jewish king, was a Jewish city, which the heathen of course would not admit. The Jews were in the majority, but the heathen had the Roman soldiery on their side. Once when the Jews were getting the best of it in such an encounter, Felix ordered the soldiers to use their swords and plunder the houses of the richest Jews, and when the disturbances did not cease sent the leaders of both parties to Rome to advocate their cause before Nero. By bribing Nero's secretary the heathen secured a decision adverse to the Jews and recognising themselves as masters of the city. During these scenes of violence the apostle Paul lay in prison in Cæsarea.

However, Felix did not live to hear the decision. After a rule of eight years he was recalled, probably in the year 60 A. D., and barely managed to escape being sentenced at Rome. A searching side-light is thrown upon Jewish conditions at that time by the report of Josephus, that the high priest Ishmael, through his servants, appropriated to himself alone the tithes due to all the other priests and Levites, so that even priests died of starvation.

At last they seemed to understand at Rome that they had obligations toward Judea; Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus, a really upright man with good intentions and a sense of justice. Festus too had to deal with highwaymen and Sicarii and false prophets, but even now the worst might have been avoided had not Festus died after two short years. The high priest Ananos used the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of his successor to have James, the brother of Jesus, stoned to death. This next procurator, Albinus,—I now quote from Josephus,—“conducted affairs in an entirely different spirit from his predecessor; there was no wickedness that he did not practise. Not only did he embezzle public moneys and rob a multitude of private citizens of their property and burden the whole people with imposts, but he released captive highwaymen for ransoms from their

relatives; those that could not pay remained in prison. Every villain gathered a band of his own, and Albinus towered among them like a robber-chief, using his adherents to plunder honest citizens. The victims remained silent; others, still exempt, flattered the wretch in order to secure immunity. Nevertheless Albinus appeared honorable in comparison with his successor, Gessius Florus. For while the former had practised his villainies in secret, and with a certain degree of caution, Gessius Florus made an open boast of his crimes against the people; he practised every sort of robbery and abuse precisely as though he had been sent to punish condemned criminals. His cruelty was pitiless, his infamies shameless; never before did any one so veil truth with deceit, or discover more cunning ways of accomplishing his knaveries. To enrich himself at the expense of individuals was not enough for him; he robbed whole cities and ruined whole communities; things could not have been worse had he made public proclamation throughout the land that every one might plunder where and what he would provided only that he himself received his share of the booty. Whole districts were depopulated by his greed, multitudes left their homes and fled into foreign provinces." A single syllable added would destroy the impression made by these words of Josephus.

When the legate in Syria, Cestius Gallus, was in Jerusalem on the occasion of the Easter celebration he was surrounded by three million Jews who besought him with tears and lamentations to take pity on their unspeakable misery. Florus stood beside the legate and listened to the complaints with a scornful smile. Gallus promised to persuade Florus to be milder, and the two left Jerusalem, the latter with the firm intention of forcing the Jews into rebellion as the only means of concealing his own crimes and infamies.

Soon there were new troubles in Cæsarea. The most prominent Jews endeavored to approach Florus on his own footing, offering him eight talents, about \$7,500, if he would check the arrogant encroachments of the heathen. Florus took the money and left Cæsarea, of course without doing anything. The following Sabbath the heathen went so far as to publicly ridicule and disturb the Jewish worship. From this arose such a fearful riot that even the Roman troops in Cæsarea were unable to restore order. When a delegation of Jews went to Florus and referred plainly to the eight talents, Florus simply imprisoned them.

Then came the drop which filled the brimming cup to overflowing. On the pretence that the emperor needed the money Flo-

rus demanded from the treasury of the temple seventeen talents (that is, about \$15,000). At this their rage burst forth like flames; with dreadful outcries and uttering imprecations upon Florus, the multitude gathered in the temple, and some waggish fellows passed a plate to take up a collection for poor, distressed Florus. To avenge this insult he marched upon Jerusalem with his troops. A respectful deputation went forth to meet him; but Florus challenged them through fifty horsemen sent in advance to mock him to his face, and the horsemen charged upon them and scattered them in flight. The next morning Florus established his tribunal and demanded the surrender of those that had mocked him. But when they calmly represented to him the impossibility of this, since those persons were not known and not to be discovered, Florus commanded his troops to pillage Jerusalem and cut down every one they met. Florus even scourged and crucified Jews who possessed the rank of Roman knighthood, and on this one day three thousand six hundred persons perished. Berenice, the sister of King Agrippa, happening to be in Jerusalem at the time, went barefoot to Florus and implored mercy for her people; but she was treated roughly and driven away with insult and abuse. This occurred on the 16th of May of the year 66 A. D.

But even now the more prudent succeeded in calming the rebellious people. This was very unwelcome to Florus, and he declared that he could not regard their desire for peace as sincere unless they would formally meet and salute two cohorts which were approaching from Cæsarea. At the urgent entreaty of the priests the people consented even to this. But Florus had commanded the cohorts not to return the greeting of the Jews, and to attack them the moment a word of resentment was heard. The result was actually as he anticipated: the soldiers were saluted with respect but did not return the greeting of the Jews; the latter were at first surprised, and when then some began to murmur the soldiers drew their swords and began the slaughter. At the same time Florus started out from Jerusalem with his remaining troops and thus attacked the people from both sides. But the latter held their ground and the small force of troops were insufficient to prevail against the population of Jerusalem. During the night all the bridges and approaches to the temple were destroyed. When Florus, who had intended to plunder the temple, found this plan frustrated he departed from Jerusalem, leaving in charge a Roman cohort and making the priests and leaders of the people responsible for keeping the peace.

Both Florus and the Jews reported this occurrence to the legate, Cestius Gallus; but as these reports were naturally contradictory, Cestius sent the tribune Neapolitanus to Jerusalem to ascertain the facts. Neapolitanus was received with much ceremony, and the Jews poured forth their woes in eloquent words, saying that they were opposed only to Florus and not to the Romans. To show him how peaceably disposed the people were Neapolitanus was invited to walk about the entire city with but a single guide and see whether the slightest harm would befall him. In fact Neapolitanus made the experiment and was soon so sure of the situation that he summoned the people together, praised their loyal and faithful conduct and admonished them urgently once more to keep the peace, and all might turn out well. With this he returned to Antiochia to make his report to the legate.

Now the people requested Agrippa, who had accompanied Neapolitanus to Jerusalem, to denounce Florus to Nero. Agrippa demanded that they first restore the broken connexions between the fortress and the temple and pay the forty talents of taxes still in arrears (about \$38,000). Both demands were complied with: they began at once to build up what had been destroyed and the large sum was soon raised by voluntary contributions. But when Agrippa further demanded that pending the emperor's decision they should recognise Florus as procurator and honor and obey him, he was greeted with a shower of stones and speedily left Jerusalem. In accordance with a formal decision the daily sacrifice in the temple for the emperor and the empire was now discontinued, and thus war was declared—henceforth there was no return for either side.