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The Local Rulers in Palestine.
(7 B.C.-70 A.D.)

A thesis

presented to the faculty of

Concordia Seminary,

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by

Wilbur H. Luecke

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requirements for the degree

of

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The Local Rulers in Palestine (From 7 B.C. to 70 A.D.)

I. Introduction.

The period, with which the present investigation is to deal, is from the birth of Christ, which occurred in 7 B.C., to the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened in 70 A.D. Thus we are to cover the history of the Jewish rulers during the life of Jesus Christ, and the early days of the Christian Church. The period of Jesus' life, containing many touches with civil life, are well known to the Christian Bible reader. Then the foundation of the Christian Church of Apostolic times, beginning with the Missionary Commission in Mark 16, 15, and its growth, and dispersion beyond the borders of Palestine, especially through the missionary efforts of the Apostle Paul. Jerusalem, nevertheless, is the birthplace and remains the center, in fact the only important Palestinian city, from which there emanates the Apostolic leadership and which is revered as the stage on which, so to speak, the last acts of our Lord's vicarious atonement, the real foundation of the church, were played. However the destruction of Jerusalem breaks off its especial importance and we find the Holy City very quickly losing her prominence to the younger Apostolic Sees. So we reach an evident termination and a proper place to conclude this investigation.

To be sure we can gain no better history of Jesus' life and the foundations of his church, than the account in our sacred Scriptures. However, it shall be our purpose rather to give the Jewish background at that time. When one reads the sources of this period, it becomes very evident that there is no real Jewish history, but that it is rather a biographical history of the reigns of the individual rulers.

The New Testament contains many references to the civil government and it is around these points of contact that we shall group other facts in the life, history, and character of these local rulers. Beginning with Herod, the Great, we shall trace through chronologically to the last Procurator and the revolt. Therefore we shall give especial attention to those men who have had some intimate connection with the Saviors life and the foundation of his church.

II. Herod I, the Great. (1)

"There was, in the days of Herod, the king of Judaea, ----", thus St. Luke begins his narrative. And it is with this great King that we shall begin our study.

Herod I was born about 73 B.C., the son of Antipater, an Idumean who had adopted Judaism. Of his early life we know little, save an event which occurred when Herod was but 12 years of age. An Essene sage, named Menachem, predicted that Herod would some day rule over Judaea. (2)

Antipater was a friend of the Romans, who in 63 B.C. took control of Judaea. In 44 B.C., Rome, out of friendship towards their father, made Herod and his brother Phrasaelaus tetrarchs, with restricted power. To Herod was given the rule over Galilee. He was then 29 years old. (3) While he was acting in this capacity, Herod showed himself a very competent ruler. A notable event of these years, was a sedition of fanatical robbers, which he put down in a manner very much in accord with Roman ideals. Here, for the first time, Herod showed adherence

1. General References: Josephus"Antiquities" XIV, 9-16; XV; XVI; XVII, 1-8; "Wars of the Jews" I, 10-33. Schuerer"The Jewish People at the time of Jesus Christ" Div. I; vol. 1. 400-467. Ewald"Geschichte des Volkes Israel" vol. V, 417-449. Latimer: "Judaea, Cyrus to Titus" 224-244. Mathews"Hist. of Palestine in New Testament Times" 108-129.

2. Jewish Encyclopedia, VI, 356. 3. Josephus: Antiq. XIV, 9, 2-3.

to his favorite formula-"Please Rome at any cost"-which he followed throughout his long reign in everything that he did. Yes, which he followed even if it violated the religious principles of the Jews. It was the sum-total of his statecraft. The Jews, from this time on, ever bore a smoldering hatred to Herod and his family, which needed only a little kindling to break out in flames. This caused the Herodians many an uneasy hour.

However, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 B.C., a new power, Mark Anthony, came to the East and took charge of the Roman rule here. Through his amicable personality and almost unlimited funds, Herod soon made Anthony, to whom he had made a visit, his friend and supporter. Even though the Jews sought to have him removed, Herod returned having full power as tetrarch. (1)

Herod had in his younger days married Doris, an Idumean girl. One child had been born to them; a boy named Antipater. But now with the accession of so much power, we find that Herod was not satisfied with a low-born woman, but sought one of the nobility. Hyrcanus II, the old High Priest of Asmonean stock which had been, formerly, the ruling house in Judea, was so elated over his restoration to his priestly office by Anthony, through the influence of Herod, that he offered his granddaughter, Mariamne, to Herod for a wife. Herod gladly accepted his proposal, but marriage took place first during the early part of the year 37 B.C.

A new ~~obstacle~~^{acle} now rose up in the path of Herod. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus II and uncle of Mariamne, bribed the Parthians with a promise of 1,000 Talents and 500 women, of the nobility and of Herod's family, if the Parthians would attack and

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XIV, 13.

3.

win for him the kingdom of Judaea. This was the second attempt of Antigonus to gain the territory of Herod.(1) This time it seemed that Antigonus was to realize his wish. After the defeat, Herod escaped the stratagem, which saw his brother captured and later killed, and fled to Rome by way of Arabia and Egypt.

At Rome, Herod was received almost like a benefactor. Anthony aided him in establishing the friendship of Anthony's colleague, Octavianus, and the Senate, on the motion of Anthony, made Herod king of Judaea.(40 B.C.) Of course, Herod was elated to receive the appointment as King when he was fleeing for his life and seeking help to save his brother's also. So Herod bestowed large gifts on all and celebrated his appointment with a great banquet.(2)

However, Herod was a king without a country. Having received an army and aid from his friends in Rome, Herod set out at once to recapture his lost kingdom. Three years were consumed in the campaign. In 37 B.C. we find only Jerusalem still holding out for Antigonus. The siege was a long one, and we find Herod leaving his work and dissentious generals to marry Mariamne, the Asmonean Princess.

In July of 37 B.C. Herod with the competent aid of Sosius, governor of Syria, broke the resistance of Jerusalem. It seemed for the moment that the Roman soldiery, tired and full of hatred because of the long extension of the siege, would perpetrate a terrible sack of the Holy City. And to be sure ~~the~~ it began, but before they could proceed very far Herod arranged a large donation of money to bribe them off.

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XIV, 13, 3.

(2) "ibid." Antiq. XIV, 14.

As usual, Herod's bribes were successful. (1)

At last Herod was established as King of Judaea. We now have the beginning of one of the most peaceful reigns which Palestine experienced. The old kingdom seemed restored for the first time since the days of Solomon and Rehoboam. One would expect that this would have fulfilled all the wants and ideals of the Jews, but on the contrary, there remained always that inveterate hatred, in the minds of the Jews, for all things Herodian.

However, Herod was by no means fully established, but the first twelve years were an up-hill struggle to hold his title and fully secure his position. As Prof. Schürer puts it, Herod had to face four classes of enemies during this first part of his reign. They were: a, the people, as such; b, the nobility; c, the Asmonean royal family; Queen Cleopatra of Egypt. (2)

The people, in most cases, were led completely by the words of the Pharisees. This sect was directly anti-Roman and anti-Idumean. Herod was hated as an imposter, an half Jew. However, the Pharisees were not united among themselves, and it was even hinted at that Herod had reduced much of their opposition by bribes, as many thought was the case with the more liberal associates of Hillel. But we know that Polio (Abtalion) and Sumeas (Shammai) tolerated Herod as a punishment of God on his estranged people.

The nobility, composed mostly of Sadducees, were all backers of Antigonus and of the Asmoneans. Those who were the leaders at once felt the wrath of Herod; for, as soon as,

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XIV, 16.
(2) Schürer: The Jewish People of the time of Jesus. Div. I, vol. I
page 419

he had established himself, he had 45 of the most influential citizens killed, without further source of evidence. (1) Those who remained were silent, either because they believed good would come of the marriage of Herod and Mariamne, or else were cowed to passivity by Herod's cruel manner of stamping out all opposition. Herod further showed his dislike for these Sadducees when he reorganized the Jewish Sanhedrin under Pharasaic influence. The office of High Priest also was taken out of the control of the nobility. Herod appointed men as he wished, and even brought obscure men from Egypt and Babylon to the office. (2)

The cleanest thing in Herod's character is his love for Mariamne. She was a stately and very beautiful woman and held great favor in the eyes of her brutish husband. And it seems that during the first years of their married life she showed a great deal of affection for her husband. However Mariamne was under the influence of her scheming and wicked mother, Alexandra, whom she had brought along to the court. Although Herod's attitude, towards the Asmoneans, was at first not only friendly, but even kindly; he received no requital for such a favorable disposition from Alexandra. She proved to be the thorn in his flesh and caused Herod much misfortune.

Soon after the beginning of his reign, Herod had an opportunity to find out where his relatives stood over against him. He had appointed a Babilonian Jew to the position of High Priest, as old Hyrcanus, the grandfather of Mariamne, could not serve on account of a physical deformity which he had suffered during the war with the Parthians. However this

{1} Josephus: Antiq. XV, 1, 2.

{2} "ibid.": Antiq. XV, 3, 4 and "ibid": Antiq. XV, 9, 3.

did not suit Alexandra at all. She set Mariamne to beg and to plead with Herod, to appoint her younger brother Aristobulus to the office. Alexandra herself went to Queen Cleopatra in Egypt and urged her to influence Anthony in the case. The result of the whole matter was that Herod was forced to appoint this seventeen year old boy to the High Priestly office. However on his first appearance, it was easy to observe that Aristobulus was very popular with the people. Herod feared him. While the young Priest was visiting his mother's palace at Jericho with Herod in 35 B.C., he was drowned while sporting with the other young courtiers at bathing. Although he appeared to mourn very sincerely, everyone recognized Herod as the author of the apparent accident. (1)

Alexandra was carefully watched after this affair. But she had a powerful friend in Cleopatra. The Egyptian queen was covetous of Herod's domains, and used all her influence, which was really very strong, on Anthony to increase her territory. Herod lost Phonicia, the coast of Philistia, and part of his African lands to Cleopatra in 34 B.C. He was obliged to be silent and lease these lands from her in all humility. Yes, he even had to receive her in all munificence, when she visited his country and conduct her to the borders of her land. (2) He must abide by his motto: "Please Rome at all events" and Rome was Anthony, and Cleopatra was the ^{mistress} lord of Anthony.

After the death of her son Aristobulus, Alexandra was furious and trumped up a charge against Herod, which she sent to Anthony by the hands of Cleopatra. Herod was called to account before Anthony. They met at the city Laodicee and

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 3, 1-3.
 (2) "ibid.": Antiq. XV, 4, 1-4.

Herod's bribes and personality won a pronouncement of innocence.

While he was gone on this mission, Herod placed Joseph, the husband of his sister Salome, in charge of affairs at the court. Herod was so madly in love with his beautiful wife, that he could not bear the thought of another man winning her. Fearing for his life, when he went to Laodicee, he had ordered Joseph to put Mariamne to death, in the case that he did not return. We now begin to meet the deeds of Salome, the sister of Herod. She was the only one of Herod's immediate family, except his younger sons, to outlive Herod. She was one of the cleverest minds at the court, and we must wonder at her ability to remain unharmed in all the family trouble and the many intrigues of Herod's household. She was tired of Joseph and cleverly informed her brother that all had not been right between Joseph and Mariamne, during his absence. Her words seemed to be proved, since Mariamne knew of the secret instructions which he had given Joseph. Herod was very angry, and almost immediately and without a trial ordered Joseph executed. (1) Nothing could have pleased Salome better, for not only was she rid of an undesirable husband, but also because she hated Mariamne, who despised her low and mediocre birth.

However, Herod was not to find peace yet. In 32 B.C. Anthony and Octavianus met at Actium as enemies. Herod wanted to assist his patron in the battle with his army, but Cleopatra prevailed on Anthony to send him to subdue the Arabians, who had revolted to the extent of refusing to pay her tribute. It appears that Cleopatra had no thought of Anthony meeting defeat, and figured that Arabia and Herod would so weaken each

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XV 3, 6-9.

9.

other that she might get possession of both countries.(1)

When Herod returned after his successful expedition against the Arabians, he found not only his enemy, Cleopatra, but also his patron, Anthony, had been vanquished and had lost their power at the battle of Actium(31 B.C.)(2) What was he to do? Herod realized that the best under the circumstances was to go to Augustus(Octavianus) and to renew his vow of allegiance to the Romans, and obtain Caesar's approval of his reign. Before he went, however, he took the precaution to have old Hyrocanus murdered, lest he make pretensions for the throne. The administration of the kingdom was placed in the hands of Sohemus, who received the same orders, with regard to Mariamne, as had Joseph.

Herod's mission with Augustus Caesar, whom he met at Rhodes, was eminently successful. Augustus realized the expediency of having such a zealous friend of the Romans in dangerous eastern border region, and after having received the usual Herodian bribes, Augustus renewed Herod's title and added that territory which Anthony had taken away and had given to Cleopatra.(3)

The King returned all elated over his success. But his joy was short lived. Salome out of hatred for Mariamne accused Sohemus of being unfaithful to Herod's trust, and Sohemus was killed at once without a trial. A eunuch of Mariamne's retinue was questioned and tortured and admitted that the Queen bore great hatred against her husband. This testimony was born out by the frigidity with which Mariamne received her husband on his arrival. Salome turned her

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 5, 1. ----- (2) "ibid": Antiq. XV, 6, 1.
(3) "ibid.": Antiq. XV, 6, 5-7; and "ibid": Wars. I, 20.

brother's love for his wife, to an exquisite dispare and to a rage of baffeled love.(1) After a mock trial before 40 coward nobles, Mariamne was executed in 29 B.C.(2)

No sooner had Mariamne been executed then Herod began to suffer the torments of remorse and bitterly did he repent of having put her to death, whom he loved so passionately. He became the prey of the darkest depression and would emerge from it only occasionally to give vent to fits of ungovernable rage and frenzy. During one of these, he had some of the 40 judges, who had officiated at Mariamne's trial, put to death for crimes of which she had been falsely accused. The King's health soon gave way under this mental torture, and he fell ill at Samaria. Alexandra, when Herod's recovery seemed doubtful, instigated a plot against him, and when the King recovered, she also met with death at his hands. So to finish the savage butchery of the Asmonean family, Herod had the two sons of Baba, whom Costabar, the husband of Salome, had hidden, killed together with their protector, of whom Salome was already tired.(3) Thus outside of his sons, by Mariamne, Herod had wiped out all the living members of the old Asmonean royal family.

The year 25 B.C. has been casually chosen as marking the dēvision between the first and second part of Herod's reign. The second period was marked as one as prosperity. Herod was at the hight of his power. The kingdom was secure. Cleopatra, the Asmoneans, and the hateful nobles were all removed. A pitiless police, numerous spies, and a large body of foreign soldiery, kept down conspiracy, repressed all murmurings, and preserved order in the city.(4)

(1) Bevan: Jerusalem, under the High Priests. pg.145
(2) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 7, 1-6. ---- (3) "ibid.": Antiq. 7, 8-10.
(4) Latimer; Judea, Cyrus to Titus. pg.235.

But more than that, this period shows the highest point of Herod's character. He was very peaceful, lenient, and even gracious. Nevertheless we must not think that he remained idle. No he was very zealous in wiping out those bands of fanatic-patriotic bandits, who raided not only the caravans, which passed through his territory, and the Greek Decapolis cities, but often even entered the Jewish cities and caused disturbances. Thus he made the country safe for travelers and for the citizens, and his stringent government kept the country safe. Besides a few minor uprisings, this period was very quiet.

This period is also noteworthy for a different reason. It gives us a new trait in Herod's character. He becomes the great builder. His architectural work was widespread, and covered the fields of cities, fortresses, towers, and sacred temples. Herod loved beautiful buildings, and it was just this which brought to the surface the Hellenist in his character. In the year 27 B.C., Herod rebuilt Samaria, which he now called Sebaste, the greek for Augustus, in honor of his patron Emperor. (1) Then came the ampitheater and theater at Jerusalem, and with them the Hellenistic system of games and plays. This was very galling to the Jews. But they had to bear it. Some of the fanatics ploted against Herod's life, but the plot was uncovered and failed. All the conspirators were put to death. However, this was enough to put fear into the King's heart, and from now on he was always surrounded with a foreign body-guard, of Galls, Thracians, and Teutons, when he appeared in public. (2)

However, Herod fostered no particular ill will to the people, as a whole, for this plot, because we see him depriving

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 9, 5.
 (2) "ibid." : Antiq. XV, 8, 1-4.

himself of luxurious table ware in order to help his people during the pestilence and famine in the years 25 to 23 B.C.(1) Twice he cut the taxes, which he received from the people, and which were very burdensome. (20 and 14 B.C.)(2)

About the year 25 B.C. Herod built himself a new palace at Jerusalem. It seems by this time that Herod had gotten over the remorse of Mariamne's death and was the old passionate lover again. The daughter of the High Priest, Boethus, who also bore the name Mariamne, became Herod's third wife.

Herod began a new monument to Augustus in the year 22 B.C.-the city Caesarea. When it was finished in 10 B.C., it became one of the foremost cities of Judea, and 16 years later it became the residence of the Roman Procurators. (3) Herod also built the cities of Gaba, in Galilee, and Heshbon, in Perea. For the protection of the country, Herod built such castles as Herodium, just south of Bethlehem, and Herodium, in Arabia, and Herod rebuilt the old Asmonean strongholds; Alexandrium, Machaerus, Masada, Hyrcania, the citadel of Jericho, which he called Cypros, after his mother, and Anthedon, which he called Agrippaeum. The harbor of Strato, after he had rebuilt it, was worthy of being named a rival to the Athenian Piraeus. Herod's public buildings and houses were found in about every city that he visited, from Asia Minor to Egypt, and Greece to Italy. (4)

However Herod's greatest architectural venture was the building of the new Temple at Jerusalem. (5) The old Temple of Zerubable was pretty well dilapidated and Herod realized that he might not only beautify his capital, but also

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 9, 1-2. ---- (2) "ibid.": Antiq. XV, 10, 4; XVI, 2, 5.

(3) "ibid.": Antiq. XV, 9, 6.

(4) Mathews: "Hist. of New Testament times." pg. 123.

(5) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 9.

win the good will of his people, through building a new Temple. But Herod also realized that he had an extremely irascible people to deal with; so he gave orders that Priests should conduct the building operations. Four hundred priests were especially trained for the work, and in the year 20-19 (Nisan to Nisan-Jewish Calendar.) B.C. the work was begun. However, it was not until all the materials for the new building were stored without the city, that the task of razing the old building begun. The Temple was not fully completed until 63 A.D., but the main building operations were completed in 18 months time. (1) Without doubt this edifice when completed was one of the most beautiful buildings in the Roman world, and did much to establish the fame of the Jews in the Empire. The Temple also had a conciliatory effect on the Jews for a short time. Latimer says; "For once, Herod enjoyed a moment of popularity in Judea, which must have been quite a novelty to him!" (2)

But Herod had come to end of his peace. From 13 B.C. until his death in 4 B.C. we have the period of decline. Trouble came from a new and unexpected source. Domestic disorders, hinging around the choice of a successor, kept the palace in a constant turmoil of plots, schemes, and intrigues, which kept Herod fearing for his safety every minute of his life, and which changed him back again to the conscienceless brute of the early part of his reign. (3)

Already in 14 B.C. we encounter the beginning of Herod's quarrel with Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of the Asmonean Mariamne. They had been educated in Rome, and in 18 B.C. had returned to Judea. Everybody loved them, not only

(1) John II, 20. --- Josephus: Antiq. XV, 11, 2. 5. 6.

(2) Latimer: Judea. pg. 237 ----- (3) "ibid": Judea. pg. 234.

for their beauty and elegant bearing, but also because they were the last of the Asmonean house. Naturally these "blue-blooded" Princes despised their low-born half-brothers and were very much displeased when Herod brought his first wife, Doris, and her son, Antipater, from semi-banishment; and the young men became indiscreet, even if not disloyal in their speech. The situation was complicated by the jealousy and enmity of the household and the children. The complete absence of natural affection which characterized that court brought things to such a pass, that it was impossible for anyone to feel sure of his safety. Everyone tried to exterminate whomsoever he considered a rival. And in the midst of his tormentors, blind and savage as a baited bull, the old King wounds wildly knowing neither friend nor foe. He knows neither whom to trust, and makes forelorn attempts to win the love of his sons, but fails utterly. (1)

During his life, Herod married 10 times and had 15 children. He was a man without a conscience, and a typical Oriental despot. His wives were; Doris, the Idumean; Mariamne, the Asmonean Princess; Mariamne, the daughter of the High Priest; Malthace, a Samaritan; Cleopatra, of Jerusalem; Pallas; Phoedra; Elipsis; and two nieces, whose names are unknown. (2)

Naturally we can expect that there would be a good deal of strife in such a household. Unhappily a party soon formed about the young Princes. Herod was informed of this by Salome, and the young men were calumniated, and possibly they were not beyond reproach. Herod was informed that they had thoughts of avenging their mother's death, and it is very

(1) Latimer: Judea, pg. 240.
 (2) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 2, 3.

15.

probable that such ideas entered their minds. It was said that when they saw their father's wives wearing ornaments and clothes which had belonged to Mariamne, they grew angry and threatened they should some day wear sackcloth instead of these robes.(1)

In the year 12 B.C. Herod lost his poise and took these troublesome young men to Augustus for trial. The trial at Aquilia ended in a reconciliation between father and sons.(2)

But now Antipater, the son of the Idumean woman, begins to calumniate the Princes, hoping thereby to obtain favor with Herod and eventually the crown. As time goes on the family relations become more and more bitter. In 10 B.C. another outbreak of wrath of Herod was allayed by Archelaus, King of Cappadocia and the father-in-law of Alexander.(3)

A short period of peace ensued during which Herod made an hasty trip to Rome, and an unsuccessful expedition against the Arabians. These latter sent Syllius to Rome, where this man misrepresented the case and Herod fell into displeasure with Augustus. However Augustus later found out the truth through Nicolas of Damascus, that trusted counselor and constant friend of Herod, the man who alone remained faithful. Augustus apologized and sought to make amends.

In 7 B.C., Herod, having extorted damaging statements from servants of Alexander and Aristobulus, and having been filled up with hatred towards them by Salome, Antipater, and his brother Peroras, accuses them before a court, composed of weak courtiers at Berytus and has them condemned to death and strangled at Sebaste in the same year.(4)

{1} Latimer; Judea. pg 238.

{2} Josephus: Antiq. XVI, 4, 2-5. ---- (3) "ibid": Antiq. XVI, 8

{4} "ibid": Antiq. XVI, 11.

It was in this year that the Emperor Augustus held a census, for purposes of taxation, in all the Empire. This was one of the censuses which, as we know from the archeological finds in Egypt, occurred every 14 years. The next one, which Josephus also mentions, (1) occurred in 7 A.D. It is proved that Cyrenius was a special representative of the Emperor at both occasions. He was the governor, (2), of Syria. During this census falls the birth of our Lord. It was at this time that the slaughter of the Innocents took place. (3) This act of brutality is so much in accordance with the character of the former measures of Herod that it is foolish to deny the word of the Bible. We can very readily understand, why Josephus, an enemy of Christianity, omits mention of it, when we remember that he also omits the story of the life of Christ, giving but a mentioning, which is almost entirely interpolated by the later Christian copiers of his works; as most of the critics claim.

Herod's will was now made. Antipater was named as successor and Herod Philip, son of the second Mariamne, as his successor. The latter precaution was taken because Antipater was a man of almost 40 years. Upon this announcement, Antipater went to Rome to obtain favor with Caesar and to be out of the way of Herod, whom he gave Pheroras and his associates orders to poison—thus hastening Antipater's succession. However, Salome does not desert her brother in time of need and reveals the plot to him. Pheroras died before he could be questioned, but upon, torturing the slaves and women, Salome's

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 1, 1.
 (2) Luke 2, 2; and Ramsey: The Bearing of Recent Discovery. pg-238-300
 (3) Luke 2, 6-7; Matth. 2, 16.

17.

words are verified. Antipater is pleasantly invited to return. When he does come he is tried before Varus, the governor of Syria, and is imprisoned, with a death sentence. (5 B.C.) (1) In the mean while Herod sent to Rome to have his sentence confirmed. However, while he was waiting for the answer, Herod was stricken with a terrible disease. (2) He is confined to his bed and all the remedies of the time are tried in the attempt to cure him. But his mind is also confused. He changes his wills continually, and acts like a madman.

In the early days of 4 B.C., the report, that his disease was incurable and his life a matter of time only, was passed out. Two Rabbis Judas and Margoloth stirred up the people to tear down an eagle, which Herod had placed on the temple gate, contrary to their religious scruples. And amid a great uproar the "God-pleasing work was accomplished. But Herod was not dead yet. The Rabbis were captured, tried and condemned at Herod's bedside, and were burned at the stake, amid the cries and wails of the people. (3)

Herod's days were numbered. Finally a letter from Rome gave him free action against Antipater. One night, the prisoner, hearing the rumor that his father had died, tried to brie**h** his way out of prison. He failed and when Herod heard of the attempt, Antipater was immediatly ordered killed, and was executed almost at once. (4)

Seven days later, Herod reached the end of his reign of terror and the disease which was certainly terrible enough, being eaten by worms in his bowels and entrails, sent Herod, the Great, to his Maker and Judge, mourned by none.

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 5. ---- (2) "ibid": Antiq. XVII, 7, 1-5.
(3) "ibid." : Antiq. XVII, 7, 2 to 4. ---- (3) "ibid!": Antiq. XVII, 7.

So ended a reign of almost unparalleled recklessness, cruelty, and bloodshed in which the murder of the Innocents of Bethlehem formed but so trifling an episode among the many deeds of blood, as not to be deserving of record on the pages of the Jewish Historian, Josephus.

Because of his great importance, Herod deserves to have a short resume of his character, appearance, and habits. In fact this is necessary to full appreciate this great king's reign.

Herod was a handsome man, of commanding presence. He excelled in physical exercises and endured all manner of physical hardships, which all helped to give him the appearance of a Greek god. (1) To this was coupled a spirit of congeniality and greatness of spirit and philanthropy. It is not hard to understand why he was liked immediately by Anthony, Augustus, Cleopatra, and all strangers with whom he met. Because of his high-strung temperment, Herod was very easily touched through his affections. He was easily played on by intrigues, which caused him to be goaded into crimes which a man of a colder heart would have avoided.

He is characteristic of rulers of similar crises in history, especially of the Orientals. He is one of those shapers of kingdoms in unsettled times - men, strong of arm, unscrupulous, merciless to all rivals, but shrewd in vision, who when established in power brings his subjects such good as goes with public order strongly enforced, and who find pride in great works which tend to increase the prosperity of their realms. (2)

(1) Schürer: The Jewish People. pg. 417.

(2) Bevan: Jerusalem under the High Priests. pg. 147.

There were three great attributes which underlie all of Herod's acts. They are ambition, passion, and fear.

Herod's unbounded ambition was what, during the early days of his reign, caused the brute to replace the man. Yes, ambition vaulting to its end, jealousy poisoning life at its very heart, eastern insensibility to suffering, led him to commit deeds of the darkest horror, the beast trampling down the man. Such was the struggle to establish his kingship. Nothing, not even family or marriage could retard his ambitious power.

His passion was the kind typical of a real oriental potentate, indulging in polygamy. He was married 10 times and had 15 children. His love for Mariamne seems really the only white part of his polygamous and lustful existence; but even that becomes spotted when we see how this passion turns to the burning hate of baffled love, which brings the beast to destroy what he loves most, and then repent in the manner of a despairing madman. Edersheim says, "His repentance was the most fearful peroxym of remorse, passion, and longing for his murdered wife, which seized him, and brought him to the brink of his grave." (1) However, Mariamne's death did not quell this passion in the King. Before long he married the daughter of the High Priest, who was known as the most beautiful woman in all Palestine. And after this Herod plunges headlong into polygamy and immorality.

But nothing impels cruelty like fear. Herod feared the Asmoneans, and especially Alexander and Aristobulus. He had them removed with the cruelest butchery. He lived in

(1) Edersheim: Life and Times. vol. I, pg. 126.

constant fear of his life, in his households and among his subjects; and as a result we see the fearful cruelty to which he stooped. Herod feared the Babe of Bethlehem. The momentary glimpse which we get of Herod, which we get in the New Testament through his conversation with the Magi and his subsequent action in murdering the innocent children of Bethlehem, are very much in keeping with his character, with the jealous, unscrupulous, and irritable temper of the last 'days of the King; as we read them in the pages of Josephus.

In the life of Herod there appears a strange inward struggle. It was the struggle of antagonistic desires; to be both the Hellenist and the Jew. When Herod left Judea, he became an Hellenist of the first water. He enriched the Pagan temples, made permanent prizes for the Olympic and Corinthian Games, being made perpetual president of the latter. He sent 500 Jews to assist in a scientific exploring expedition into Arabia. (1) He studied philosophy, rhetoric, and history with Nicolas of Damascus. (2) Even at home his building activities betray his Hellenistic tendencies. Yes, not such a Jewish place as the Jerusalem Temple escaped, but we read that it had the popular Corinthian pillar. (3) Herod associated continually with the Hellenists about him, and drew many to his court. Even the High Priest Simon, the former Alexandrian Jew, who won his appointment from Herod was an Hellenist and Epicurean. (4) But Herod wished to be a great king among the kings of the world, and that meant, in those days, to be a great Hellenist.

Herod tried also to be a real Jew. He professed the

(1) Latimer: Judea. pg 233.

(2) Bevan: Jerusalem. pg. 150.

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XV, 11, 5.

(4) Latimer: Judea, pg. 224.

Jewish Religion, but he not only lacked real sympathy for this faith, but seemed to lack all essence of religion. Law and conscience were dead in him. To be sure he disseminated his Hellenistic tendencies with many things done solely to the pleasure of the Jews. He omitted pictures from the coins. He made his prospective son-in-law submit to circumcision. (1) He was zealous to protect the Jews of the Diaspora before the tribunal of the Emperor. Herod gave them quiet and peace which they had not had for many a year and were not destined to have. But most of all he built the Temple, giving them full charge, so as not to offend them. The Jews were at first inclined to overlook his crimes when they saw the magnificent Temple, but in the glory of Herod's reign they saw only evil, and the burdens it laid on the people.

The nation felt offended in its inmost sanctity by the reckless Hellenism, and, as Latimer puts it, "their mistrust and aversion to Herod proved as tenacious and unyielding as their national faith!" (2) Nor did the Jews change their opinion of Herod when he was in the pale of death. For beyond doubt, what irritated the dying monarch most of all, was that his subjects desired his death. And to evidence this trait, Herod's death was celebrated as a festival.

III. The Sons of Herod.

Upon the death of Herod I., Archelaus, his son by the Samaritan woman, Malthace, was named his successor by the last will of the monarch. Archelaus gave his father a wonderful burial at Herodium, near Bethlehem, and performed the Jewish rites of mourning. (3)

(1) Bevan: Jerusalem. pg. 151.

(2) Latimer: Judea. pg. 240.

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 8, 2-4.

Soon after the funeral, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip went to Rome to have Caesar approve the will. After some delay and argument, Augustus finally made the following distribution of Herod's kingdom. Archelaus was to be ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea; Antipas was to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; and Philip was to be tetrarch of Gaulanitis, Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, Baniyas, and Iturea. (1)

Archelaus(2).

Archelaus was born about 21 B.C., the son of Herod and Malthace, a Samaritan. He was educated in Rome. Caesar well knew that Archelaus was not nearly as able and successful as his father, so we find him indecisive as to endorsing Herod's will. However, when Augustus made Archelaus ethnarch, he added the promise of the royal title, if Archelaus really was worthy of it. Which promise Augustus was never called upon to redeem.

Archelaus immediately came into disrepute with his people, when he divorced his first wife, Mariamne, and marrying Glaphyra, the widow of his half-brother Aristobulus (died 7 B.C.). But the obstacle was soon removed as Glaphyra died but a short time after the wedding. (3) The offence to the Jewish religious sentiments came from the fact that Glaphyra had had children with her former husband, which in accord with Jewish law made her unfit to marry again.

Like his father, Archelaus was a great builder. He built the cities of Archelais (4) and Jericho, which had been partly destroyed. Among the most noteworthy acts is the Aqueduct, which he built to water his palm groves near Jericho.

(1) Josephus: Antiquities. XVII, 13, 4-5.

(2) GENERAL REFERENCES: Matthew 2, 23. ---- Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 13; XVIII, 1-4, 8; ---- Wars. II, 7-10. ---- Ewald: Geschichte des Volkes Israel. V, 449-57; VII, 235-57. ---- Mathews; Hist. of N.T. times. pg. 130-35.

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 13, 1.

(4) "ibid." : Antiq. XVII, 13, 2.

There was no cessation of grievances, and Archelaus was disliked by all the people. The Jews tolerated his rule for nine years, and then with permission of the governor of Syria, sent a legation to the Emperor. This legation was made up of Judean and Samaritan nobles. Their charges and complaint must have quite serious, because the Emperor, almost immediately upon hearing them, summoned Archelaus to Rome. After a hearing before the Emperor, Archelaus was banished to Vienne in Gaul, in the year 6 A.D. His territory was turned over to Roman Procurators under the direct control of the Emperor. (1)

Archelaus had followed in his father's footsteps in a different way also, namely in the brutality and utter disregard of his subjects' religious feeling. The New Testament gives us this very characterization in a few words. When Joseph was about to return from Egypt, whither he had fled with the Savior and Mary, before the wrath of Herod, the Great, we read of him: "But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither." (2) Like his father, Archelaus was conscienceless, and no one loved him, on the contrary everybody hated and mistrusted him. That is why Joseph and Mary never deemed advisable to take Jesus along to the great festivals at Jerusalem, but waited until He was 12 years old (6 A.D.), until Archelaus was gone and the Roman Procurators were in power. Of all of Herod's sons, Archelaus was the worst.

The ethnarch had utter disregard for the nobility of the Jews, as we see in the fact that he deposed three High Priests. (3) However, he, like his brother Antipas did not hesitate to use his family name on the coins. He was

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 13, 2.

(2) Matthew. II, 22.

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 13, 1.

just as weak and poor as the Emperor had foreseen, when Augustus had refused to give him the royal title. The Emperor was never forced to make him king, in accordance with his promise.

Herod Antipas. (1)

Herod Antipas was born about 20 B.C., the son of Herod, the Great, and Malthace, and brother of Archelaus. Like Archelaus, he was educated at Rome. Inscriptions, which were found in various parts of the Roman world, indicate to us that Antipas traveled extensively, but just when, we do not know. In 4 B.C., Antipas was made tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, which office he held until he was banished in 39 A.D.

Antipas at once showed himself the true son of his father Herod, in his building projects. He sought not only to beautify his territory, but also sought to strengthen it by these ventures. He built the city Sephoris and rebuilt Betharamphtha, which he now called Julias. (2) Further he erected for himself a new capital on the west bank of the Sea of Gennezareth, which he named Tiberias. The latter undertaking was, from the Jewish viewpoint, rather unfortunate, because he had built this new city on the site of an old cemetery, which was a sacrilege in the eyes of the Jews. (2) But the fact that he went through with his plans, in spite of the opposition of the Jews, shows how little he cared to observe the Jewish religious and national conventions. This city was most splendid in its public buildings, palaces, and theater.

It seems that Herod Antipas at an early date in

(1) GENERAL REFERENCES: Matth. XIV, 1-11; Mark VI, 14-28; Luke III, 19; Luke IX, 7-9; XIII, 31-32; XXIII, 7-12. -- Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 2, 1-3; Antiq. XVIII, 4, 5; 5, 1-3; 7, 1-2. War. II, 9, 1 and 6. -- Schürer; The Jewish People. Div. I, vol III, pg. 17-38. Ewald: Gesch. des Volkes Israel. VI, 74-80; VII, 241, 242. Mathews: Hist. of N.T. times. 148-158.
(2) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 2, 1, Wars. II, 9, 1.

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his reign, for political reasons, married the daughter of King Aretas VI, of Arabia. But this marriage without love did not last long. While on a visit to Rome, Antipas met and fell in love with Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod Philip, the son of Herod I and Mariamne of Jerusalem. Herod Philip was living as an idle gentleman in Rome and must be distinguished from Philip, the tetrarch of the northeastern part of Palestine. (1)

Here there arises a problem which some of the critics claim is a proof against the veracity of the Bible. (2) It will be noticed when reading the sources carefully, that Josephus calls this man Herod (3), and the New Testament always calls him Philip. (4) However, the fact that Josephus uses a different name is not extraordinary, if we remember the difference in the two works. The New Testament was written for the people, who well knew who was meant. Nor does the New Testament speak of the tetrarch Philip much, so as to warrant a special mark to distinguish them. Only once is the tetrarch mentioned. But Josephus treating the history of Palestine, must necessarily give more of an account of both men and must distinguish between them. Another proof lies in the fact that 'Herod' had become a family name. Even Schürer must admit that Archelaus and Antipas used this name—Herod—on the coins which they had minted, and that Dio Cassius calls Archelaus Herod. (5) The argument that it would be strange for Herod, the Great, to have more than one son with the same name—Philip—may be urged against both names. Upon studying the genealogy of Herod, the Great, carefully, it will be observed that he had three sons named Herod, namely

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- (1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 5, 4.
(2) Schürer: Jewish People, Div. I, II, 22. Mathews: Hist. of N.T. times 156.
(3) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 5, 4.
(4) Matth. XIV, 3; Mark. VI, 17; Luke III, 19.
(5) Dio Cassius LV, 27 quoted in Schürer; Jewish People, Div. I, II, 39. Jewish Encyclopedia II, 78—illustrates coins from Madden.
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Herod Philip, son of Mariamne, daughter of the High Priest, Herod Antipas, son of Malthace, and Herod III, brother of the tetrarch and son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem. Further it will be perceived that there are two sons named Antipater and Antipas, which is essentially the same name. Why then is it impossible that there were two sons named Philip? Therefore I believe that the opinion of Schürer and Mathews, and those who agree with them, to be wrong; and say that the Bible has not erred in this point.

The marriage of Antipas to Herodias was disastrous for the tetrarch in many ways. It was the direct cause of a war with Aretas VI of Arabia, who wanted to avenge his daughter's divorce. Aretas VI soundly defeated Antipas, so that Antipas appealed to the Emperor for help which, though the Emperor granted the aid of the governor of Syria, was never given, as the Emperor's death revoked the order. (1)

About this time John, the Baptist, and a little little later, also Jesus began to traverse Galilee, preaching the way to salvation. John, who was especially a preacher of repentance, attacked Antipas bitterly for his incestuous marriage with Herodias, and Antipas, evidently at the urge of Herodias, had John imprisoned in the stronghold Macharus. (2)

On the occasion of the anniversary of Herod Antipas' birth, about the year 25 A.D., he held a great banquet. At this affair, Salome, the daughter of Herodias and Herod Philip, danced for the guests. Antipas was so pleased with the performance that he promised to fulfill any wish, which she should put. Under the instigation of her mother, Herodias, Salome asked for the head of John, the Baptist.

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 5, 1.

(2) "ibid." : Antiq. XVIII, 5, 2.

Although Antipas was reluctant, because he both feared John and because he knew the gross injustice of the request, he complied with her wish, and John was beheaded. It is to be expected that Josephus would give a different reason than the one that the New Testament gives. He says that John was beheaded because of political reasons. But we must remember that Josephus is an anti-Christian writer and that he suppresses all things touching on Christianity. (1)

Antipas heard of Jesus' work and teaching only after John's death, and that, when he did hear of it, his conscience began to hurt him because he thought it was John resurrected, as the Gospels tell us. (2) However Antipas wanted to take Jesus by craft, and wanted to see and converse with him. Nor did he ever lose this wish, as we see from the Passion story.

There is some controversy as to whether we can conclude from Luke XIII, 31-32 that Herod Antipas and the Pharisees were acting in compact and both trying to get the Savior out of the land; or if it was a pure machination of the Pharisees. The passage is too indefinite to allow an absolute answer to the question; so I shall let it open. However, regardless of whether Herod was instrumental or not in the warning, Jesus' answer was certainly a very fitting description of Antipas: "Go ye, tell that fox." Nothing is more fitting than this to characterize the man, a cunning and yet cowardly fox. Nor do we lack examples of these traits.

Oh, how cowardly was it not of this brute, Antipas, trying to make sport of the defenceless Savior on that first

(1) Matth. XIV, 6, 11; Mark VI, 22-28; Luke IX, 9sq. ---
Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 5, 2.

(2) Matth. XIV, 1sq.; Mark VI, 14-16; Luke IX, 7-9.

Good Friday in Jerusalem.

Herod Antipas tried by his cunning contrivances to ingratiate himself with Caesar, but, at the same time, he certainly made some very serious enemies. In 37 A.D. He appeared as a patron for the treaty between Vitilius, governor of Syria, and King Artabanus III of the Parthians, and hastening back from the Euphrates, where the meeting took place, he anticipated Vitilius' report to the Emperor. (1) And again when he sought to ingratiate himself by raising his voice against Pontius Pilate, for putting up a votive shield in Jerusalem, he not only incurred the friendship of Caesar and the Jews, but also the hatred of the Procurator. (2)

In his treatment of the Jews, Antipas was far more lenient than his father, and was rewarded with a good deal more regard than his father received. He was at least an outward observer of their religious customs, for he attended the festivals and even omitted pictures from his coins.

It is, however, characteristic of the Herodian house that misfortune should reach them from their own domestic relatives. So it was also with Herod Antipas. Herodias roused his ambition time and again, urging him to seek the royal title. This caused him to appeal to Rome repeatedly, and at last when Herodias' jealousy turned against Herod Agrippa I, King of Chalcis, the latter returned her ambition by accusations rendered to Emperor Caius Caligula against her husband. Antipas was called to account, and when he failed to give a satisfactory answer to the charges, he was banished to Lyon in Gaul in the year 39 A.D. (3)

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 4, 5.

(2) Schürer: The Jewish People. (D. I, II, 20) interprets the words of Philo: Legatione ad Caium. 30.

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 7, 1-2.

Philip. (1).

The third part of Palestine, namely Trachonites, Gaulanitis, Auranitis, Batanea, and Iturea, were placed under Philip, the son of Herod, the Great, and Cleopatra of Jerusalem.

The exact date of his birth is unknown, but like the rest of Herod's sons, he was educated in Rome. Upon his father's death in 4 B.C., Philip began to reign as tetrarch over this heterogeneous group of people mentioned above. The fact that the tetrarchy was but sparsely settled with Jews, made the Roman method of rule a good deal easier. But, nevertheless, it must be said in his favor that Philip was by far the best of the sons of Herod. Like his father he was careful to maintain friendship with Rome.

Philip, as a true Herodian, was also a great builder. His greatest architectural accomplishments are the cities, Caesarea Philippi and Julias, which had been called Bethsaida. (2) These building feats and the fact that he put pictures on his coins, lend themselves to stamp Philip a real Hellenist. (3)

About the age of 45, Philip married Salome, the daughter of Herodias and Herod Philip, of Rome. They left no heirs, so when Philip died his territory was incorporated into the province of Syria and ruled by the governor, until 37 A.D. when Caius Caligula gave it to Agrippa I. (4)

IV. The Roman Procurators of Judea. (5)

After the banishment of Archelaus, ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea in 6 A.D., his territory was placed under the administration of Roman Procurators, of the equestrian order,

(1) GENERAL REFERENCES: Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 2, 1; 4, 6; 6, 10. Wars II, 9, 1-6. Ewald Gesch. des Volkes Israel. VI, 70-74, 347. Schürer: ^{48.} The Jewish People. Div. I, II, 10-16. Mathews. Hist. of N.T. times. 145-48.
 (2) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 2, 1. -- (3) Mathews: Hist. of N.T. times. 147.
 (4) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 4, 6. ---- (5) GENERAL REFERENCES: Tucker: Life in the Roman World. pg. 82-95. Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 1, 1; 2, 2; 3; 4; 6, 10. Schürer: Jewish People, Div. I, II, 43-104.

sent out from Rome. Palestine was an imperial province, and was distinguished from the other kind of province-senatorial- by the necessity of maintaining an army there. This fact placed it under the jurisdiction of the Emperor, who was commander-in-chief of the army. Therefore we find the procurators not only sent out directly from Rome, but also under the control of Rome.

Judea was not a part of the province of Syria.(1) We may well conclude the independence of Judea from Syria from the direct manner in which the Emperor employed in dealing with this province. These Procurators were under the jurisdiction of Syria only to this extent that it was the right and duty of the governor of Syria to interfere in cases of necessity and upon special command from the Emperor. The only two instances in which the Syrian governor took the power into his own hands were in the deposition of Pontius Pilate by Vitellius, and of Cumanus by Ummidius Quadratus (2), but Tacitus says that they both had special commands from the Emperor.(3)

The official residence of the Procurators was Caesarea. However, for the festivals and other special occasions, when trouble might arise, they came to Jerusalem. When at Jerusalem, they used Herod's palace(4), and took absolute power.

The duties of the Procurators involved a threefold capacity. 1. They were to collect taxes and customs. 2. They were to administer justice. 3. They had to police the territory.

In order to aid in the regular taxation, enrollments were made at regular intervals. In our period they occurred in

(1) Mathews: Hist. of N. T. times. 139. -- Schürer: Jewish People. I, II, 47sq.
(2) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 4, 2; XX, 6, 2. Wars II, 12, 6.
(3) Tacitus: Annals XII, 54; VI, 32, also Annals II, 42, and Josephus; Wars. II, 8, 1. ----- (4) Mark XV, 16.

7 B.C., 6 A.D., 20 A.D., 34 A.D., 48 A.D., and 62 A.D. (1) Such taxes as were levied for Rome went into the 'fiscus' or Imperial treasury. (2) It is this duty which really gives to these rulers the name Procurators. The New Testament tells us of these taxes which were paid to Caesar. (3) However it was not so much from taxes as from the customs, that the contortion of honesty entered into the Jewish territories. It appears that the Procurators could levy customs for their own behoof in their territories. Only Roman Citizens were exempt from this sort of levy. (4) The Bible gives us many good examples of these custom officers. (5) But besides that there were also some market tolls instituted by Herod, the Great, and abolished in 36 A.D. by Vitellius. (6)

The administration of Justice was the second duty of the Procurators. It was customary to permit the local Sanhedrin to pass judgement in most cases. But whenever the Procurator was present, he became the judge and not the Sanhedrin. (7) So it was at the trial of Jesus. The Procurator was the supreme judge and final appeal for the territory. Of course, the appeal to the Emperor was over his head. The Procurator had no power of pardon. The instance related in the New Testament seems to have been a special dispensation of the Emperor to the rulers of Judea. (8)

The third duty of the Procurators was to police the country, and keep order. For this purpose there was maintained in Palestine a good group of troops. These troops were composed almost exclusively of Roman citizens. These troops were mostly

(1) Ramsey: Bearing of Recent Disc. pg. 255-274. (2) Tucker: Roman World: pg. (3) Matth. XXII, 17. Mark XII, 14. Luke XX, 23.
 (4) Josephus: Antiq. XIV, 10, 22. (5) Matth. IX, 9; Mark II, 14; Luke V, 27.
 (6) Josephus: Antiq. XVII, 8, 4; XVIII, 4, 3. (7) "ibid" XX, 1, 1; 5, 2.
 (8) John XVIII, 39.

auxiliary cohorts, and not the legions of Syria. The best soldiers of Palestine were the so-called Sebastians. (1) Under the rule of the Herodians and the first Procurators these troops never brought their standards into Jerusalem because these standards bore images of the Emperor, and to bring an image like this into the Holy City was considered a breach of the second commandment, by the Jews. For the same reason the Jews did not accept money in the Temple which bore any picture on it, but we find money changers who exchanged the undesirable money for acceptable. (2)

In all there were seven Procurators in Judea from 6 to 41 A.D. Of the most of these men very little is known. In the case of the first four men, even Josephus lacks of all history. They are Coponius (6-9 A.D.), Marcus Ambivius (9-12 A.D.), Annus Rufus (12-15 A.D.), and Valerius Gratus (15-26 A.D.). The long period of office of Valerius Gratus was due to the general principle of the Emperor Tiberius, to have as few changes in the provincial government as possible. These Procurators were all somewhat stricter with the people than the Herodians had been, but it cannot be said that there was more cruelty in their terms of office. It was very hard for these Romans to understand the Jews and their customs, but as a rule their rule was lenient.

There was a serious outbreak during the term of Coponius about 7 A.D., when the great Roman, and international census was made. The Jews although they disliked the idea of the enrollment, nevertheless, submitted. However a certain Judas of Galilee (also given as Gamala of Gaulonitis, but Josephus (3) seems to have become confused with the name of the city. The

(1) Josephus: War: II, 4, 2.

(2) Matth. XXI, 12; Mark XI, 15; John II, 14-15. (3) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 1.

are too many references giving the correct name.) tried to raise a revolt with Saddouk, a Pharasee. The revolt was quickly put down, but it caused a great deal of a stir in the land. This attempt is also recorded in the New Testament. (1)

Of the other Procurators hardly anything is known, except for the fact that during his eleven years of rule Valerius Gratus changed the holder of the High Priestly office four times.

The successor to Valerius Gratus was Pontius Pilate. (2) Perhaps no man of this entire period of history is as well known and as little worthy of this immortality, as Pontius Pilate. Throughout Christendom Pilate is immortalized through our Oecumenical, Apostle's Creed. But why the judgment of unworthiness? A similar judgement was made shortly after Pilate's time. Philo gives us the words of Agrippa I which he sent to Emperor Caligula. (3) Agrippa says of Pilate, that he was "an unbending and a recklessly hard character". Yes, Pilate had absolutely no feeling for another man's right, religion, and opinion. Philo very aptly describes his administration as filled with "all sort of corruptability, violence, robberies, ill-treatment of the people, grievances, continuous executions without even the form of a trial, endless and intolerable cruelties" (3) To see the truth of these statements one need only to review his life.

Pilate's birth as his death, is very obscure. We know little or nothing of his parentage and youth. Since he left no heirs, we have in him one of those characters, who flash out of prominence as quickly as they flashed into the foreground. He was of the equestrian order, and won the appointment,

(1) Acts V, 37; -- Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 1, 1.6; XX, 5, 2; Wars II, 8, 1; XI, 17, 8. ----- (2) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 3, 1-3; 4, 1-3. Schürer; The Jewish People. Div. I, II, 82-87. Latimer; Judea. 265-273.

(3) Schürer: Philo; De Legatione ad Caium. pg. 38.

as Procurator, not because of any special merit of his, but because he had the support of Sejanus, who at this time was the real power behind the throne, and Tiberius Caesar.

Storms were continually breaking out in Judea. The New Testament, Josephus, and the Talmud tell us of many. One of the first acts showed Pilate's utter disregard for the religious feelings of his subjects. Till now none of the Procurators had entered Jerusalem with the standards, which bore the effigy of the Emperor, because of the objections of the Jews. Pilate considered this this an unworthy weakness, and so he devised and carried out a plan whereby he led in his soldiers by night and also brought in the standards. When the people saw the standards before the palace on the next morning, a great wailing began. For five days the people entreated Pilate to remove the offensive standards. On the sixth day Pilate met the people in the theater and threatened them with death if they would not go home, but they laid bare their necks and asked for death. The soldiers, who had in the meanwhile surrounded the crowd, killed a few, but this was too much for even this heathen and he relented, ordering the standards to be removed to Caesarea. (1) Latimer suggests that Pilate had been bribed by some of the more wealthy Jews; but I do not see why, if this was the case, Pilate should wait until the sixth day and why he should go to such preparations, if he was bribed. (2)

Another storm broke out when Pilate wanted to build an aqueduct to Jerusalem. This in itself was a very lofty work, but Pilate with his customary disregard for his subjects' religious scruples, tried to use, for this project, the Temple money, which was as the Jews said: Corban. (3) A riot followed

(1) Josephus: Antiq., XVIII, 3, 1. -- (2) Latimer: Judea. 267.

(3) Mark VII, 11.

and many were murdered in cold blood by the soldiers, who had mixed among the crowd in civilian clothes. Ewald suggests that it was at this riot that Barrabas was captured. (1) It may be possible, but we can not say this for certain.

In all these revolts, the Galileans were prominent, because Galilee was the stronghold of that class of religious fanatics, called Zealots. It seems as though Herod Antipas was unable to curb these wild Zealots, and Pilate took matters in his own hands. (2) Thus began an enmity which lasted until Jesus became the reconciler on the occasion of his trial. (3) However, for the time Pilate quelled the Zealots.

We now come to that event in which Pilate immortalized himself with Christianity. It is the trial and condemnation of Jesus Christ. However, we shall not go into the details of the trial, but rather see what light it sheds on the character of Pontius Pilate.

Above all, this trial stamped Pilate as a spineless coward. See how wavers back and forth, daring neither to look upon the righteous countenance of the Savior, nor to face the murderous fury of the Jews. From the very first question, we know that he realized that the whole affair was unjust. Then there follow five attempts to free Jesus. Does not Pilate make five declarations of Jesus' innocence? But the Jews at last hit upon Pilate's weak spot, when they answer; "If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend; whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Caesar." (4) One can easily imagine what cold chills of fear ran down through Pilate's body.

(1) Luke XXIII, 18-19; Mark XV, 7.
(2) Luke XIII, 1. ----- (3) Luke XXIII, 12,
(4) John XIX, 13.

While Pilate was conversing with Jesus, during the trial, he gave evidence of the total perverseness of his heart. "What is truth", he asks. Edersheim says that it was not mere cynicism, but an utter dispare of all that is higher—a moral suicide. (1)

When we have read the account of the trial, we cannot help but be overwhelmed by the injustice of it all, and the gross perversion of the Roman principles of justice. We can expect also that it had the same effect on Emperor Tiberius, when he read the official report from Pilate. Eusebius tells us of his reaction. (2) And, although Eusebius is often inexact in his account, as some of the critics say, we feel sure that an account was sent to Tiberius. It was the customary procedure to report all transactions, as we have an example in Josephus. (3) And further we have the words of both Justine Martyr and Tertullian to substantiate Eusebius. Both speak in their Apologies for Christianity as if the document was in the Roman archives at that time. (4) It is supposed by most critics that this document perished in the persecution of Maximianus about 311 A.D. (Tishendorf, the great discoverer of the Sinaitic manuscript, also found a document bearing the title "Acta Pilati". This document was in connection with the apocryphal gospel of "Nicodemus". But this document is the result of an attempt to reproduce and restore the lost report, probably from faulty memory. At least the result is almost a reproduction of the Gospel according to John. The document is undoubtedly spurious.)

However, Pilate's reign continued to be a series of uprisings. In 36 A.D. a group of Samaritans gathered at

(1) Edersheim: Life and Times. pg. 570.

(2) Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History. II, 2. -- (3) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII 4, 5. ----- (4) Anti-Nicean Fathers: Justin Martyr: Apology I, Sec. 35; Sec. 48. Tertullian: Apology. Ch. V; Ch. XXI.

Mt. Gerazim for the purpose of finding some golden vessels which they claimed Moses had buried there. However the fact is that Moses never crossed the Jordan. Pilate feared a new revolt and had them dispersed with frightful bloodshed. (1) The Samaritans appealed to Vitilius, governor of Syria, an enemy of Pilate. He was just waiting for the opportunity to depose Pilate, since his patron Sejanus had died. Vitilius wasted no time, but deposed Pilate at once and sent him off to Rome. (2) It seems from Josephus that Vitilius had a special order from Rome, because he does not stop here, but goes himself to the city, introduces some innovations, and appoints Marcellus as Procurator. The Emperor Tiberius died while Pilate was enroute and it seems that Claudias left Pilate languish in prison for some time before he was tried and banished to Gaul, where it seems he met his end.

Pilate was married to Claudia Procula, who has become famous for her dream, which she had at the time of Jesus trial. (3) She was believed to have been a proselyte Jewess. The Greek Orthodox Catholic Church has made Procula a saint. Some of the critics claim that Procula could not have been in the province with her husband, for there was a law against Procurators taking their wives along to their provinces. However it will be observed that this law was not followed, nor enforced. When Pilate was banished Procula went along with him.

After Pilate only two more men had the procuratorship. Marcellus (36-37 A.D.) and Marullus (37-41 A.D.) Very little is known of their reign. Josephus omits all details. However

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 4, 1. --- (2) "ibid": Antiq. XVIII, 4, 2.
 (3) Matth. XXVII, 9.

we know that about 39 or 40 A.D. Pretonius, governor of Syria, was sent with a special command to set up the Emperor's statue in the Temple at Jerusalem. Herod Agrippa I influenced Caius Caligula to change his plans and thus a serious revolt was averted. Thus passed the Roman rule for which the Jews had asked, and monarchy was reestablished. The Jews found that this rule by Procurators was far from what they really wanted and now they welcomed the return of the King. (1)

V. Herod Agrippa I. (Marcus Julius Agrippa I.) (2)

The life of Herod Agrippa, with the abundant and extreme vicissitudes, illustrates, in a remarkable manner, the complete dependence of the royal family of Judea, even for the means of sustenance, upon the favor of Rome and the Emperor. Agrippa was a real courtier, standing high in the Emperor's sight, highly cultivated and therefore admired in society; but on the other hand, he was also a reckless spendthrift, and, although he was loyal to his national religion, was wholly wanting of real religious faith and feeling. Like his grandfather, he was Jew in Jerusalem, and Hellenist at Berytus—outside of Jerusalem.

Herod Agrippa I was born about 10 B.C., the son of Aristobulus and Berenece, and the grandson of Herod, the Great, and Mariamne, the Asmonean Princess. So we see that he was of the royal line of Judea. Upon the death of Herod, the Great, in 4 B.C., Berenece took her son to Rome, where he became the companion of Drusus, son of Emperor Tiberius. (3) He received the best possible education here. After his mother's death, Agrippa became most luxurious and was often very low in

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 8, 2-9.
(2) GENERAL REFERENCES: Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 6; XIX, 5-9. Wars II, 9, 11. Schürer: The Jewish People. Div. I, II, 150-165. Ewald: Gesch. des Volkes Israel. VII, 236-47; 257-70. Latimer: Judea. 275-93. Mathews; Hist. of N. T. times. pg. 181-87. --- (3) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 6, 1.

money as a result. In 23 A.D. his patron died, and the Emperor would have nothing to do with him, saying that Agrippa aroused in him sad memories of Drusus. So Agrippa launched forth as a soldier of fortune, borrowing money at every port. But he soon was in bad straits as a result of this, and was prevented from suicide only by his wife Cypros. He then received an appointment from his brother-in-law and uncle, Herod Antipas, as Market Overseer of the city Tiberias. (1) However, they soon quarreled and Agrippa left again. While he was visiting Flaccus, governor of Syria, Agrippa became involved in a bribe against Flaccus, and was forced to flee to Rome. The Emperor Tiberias received him in a kindly fashion and made him a tutor. Evidently Tiberius had vanquished his mourning by this time.

One day Agrippa in an unguarded moment, while he was conversing with his friends, expressed the wish that Tiberius were dead and Caius Caligula in his place. Some time later, he sorely regretted this remark, for, when he was accusing his chariotier of theft, this man, Eutyches by name, disclosed the criminal conversation, and as a result Agrippa spent six months in prison. Caligula, immediately after his accession, freed his friend and gave him the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanius with the title, King. (2)

This good fortune of her brother aroused Herodias so that she urged Antipas to seek a similar title. Instead he was banished and Agrippa received his territory. (3) In the meanwhile Agrippa had continued to increase his influence on Caligula, and he reached the height of his power, when he persuaded the Emperor to change his decree about the statue which was to be set up in the Temple. (4) Agrippa acted in

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XVIII, 6, 2; -- (2) "ibid": Antiq. XVIII, 6, 5-10.
 (3) "ibid" Antiq. XVIII, 7. --- (4) See above pg. 38.

a very sane manner upon the death of the Emperor Caligula in 41 A.D. and was really responsible in Claudius' gaining the election. As a reward for his assistance, Claudius nominated Agrippa king over the territories of his grandfather.

The short reign of Herod Agrippa I (41-44 A.D.) seemed to the Jews, a brief revival of a happy past. It was the last Jewish kingdom. Yes, it seemed all the more like the days of Herod, the Great, because Agrippa ^{aped} mocked his grandfather in everything he did. It was a new revival age for Pharasaism. Even the King pretended to adopt pharasaic piety. However, it is rather strange that after 15 years of debauchery, Agrippa should become a pharasaic puritan. But the King was not very sincere, but tried to combine in his person both the Jew and the Hellenist just as Herod, the Great, had tried. So that as soon as he left Jerusalem, he became the liberal, latitudinarian patron of Greek culture, but when at Jerusalem, he observed the feasts of the Jews, omitted pictures on his coins minted in Jerusalem, stopped a marriage match of his daughter with Epiphanes, King of Commagene, until the latter was circumcised. He also took a definite stand against Christianity as we realize from Acts, where we are told of his putting to death James, the elder, son of Zebedee, and that he would have killed Peter also had not God intervened and miraculously delivered Peter from the keep. (1)

It must be said for Herod Agrippa that during his reign, the country was in comparative peace. He was a great favorite and possessed a natural amiability which won for him many friends.

(1) Acts XII, 1-19.

Although Herod Agrippa was dependent upon the support of the Emperor, we can not help but think that he was ambitious. We will remember that he had done much to assist Claudius on the throne, and it seems as though he realized his position. Two incidents in his political life seem to substantiate this contention, that he was attempting to gain independence from Rome. Though both projects failed, they can never be explained in any other way. Agrippa, soon after his accession began to build the north wall of Jerusalem. Had he completed his plans, it is believed that Jerusalem would have been impregnable. But the Emperor was informed and had Marcus, governor of Syria, stop the operations. (1) The other incident was the council, which he called, of no less than five vassal kings: Antiochus, of Commagene, Sampsigeramus, of Emesa, Cotys, of lesser Armenia, Polemon, of Pontus, and Herod, of Chalcis. But again Marcus interfered and sent the kings to their respective homes. (2) No good reason can be found for this council, unless the one mentioned above, namely that Agrippa had hopes of establishing an Eastern Empire. However, if such plans were in Agrippa's mind, it was a very good thing that they never materialized, for Agrippa could never have succeeded, and would have, perhaps, hurt not only himself but also his people.

To Agrippa was allotted only three years of rule. In the year 44 A.D., he suddenly died. Of his death we not only have an account in Josephus, but also had the Acts of the Apostles to draw from. (3)

One day, while attending a public celebration of games at Caesarea, Agrippa rose up and delivered an oration.

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XIX, 7, 2. --- (2) "ibid": Antiq. XIX, 8, 1.

(3) Acts XII, 19-23. Josephus: Antiq. XIX, 8, 2.

He wore on this occasion 'a garment made wholly of silver; which shone out brightly in the sun's rays. When he spoke the audience was so overawed, that his flatterers called him a god. The Angel of the Lord smote him and he died of the same shameful and mysterious disease as his grandfather Herod, the Great. He was buried in his country, amid great mourning of the people, but to the great joy of the Greeks and Roman soldiers, who, as Josephus relates, participated in such indigent rejoicing as merited the Emperor's wrath. (1) Herod Agrippa left five children, two sons and three daughters.

VI. Herod Agrippa II. (Marcus Julius Agrippa II.) (2)

Emperor Claudius could not at first decide whether or not he should appoint Agrippa II, who was at Rome then, to succeed his father upon the Jewish throne. He was finally persuaded by his counselors not to give the royal dignity to him, because he was young and unskilled in statecraft. Instead the country was placed under the rule of Roman Procurators. (3)

Herod Agrippa II was born about 38 A.D. Like the other Herodians, he was educated in Rome, which affected him very much in the same manner as it had his father. He was but 17 years old, when his father died. Although he did not at the time receive the royal honors, in 50 A.D. he was, upon the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalsis, made ruler of the kingdom of Chalsis. To this was added the tetrarchies of Lysanius and Philip, and later on he received grants in Perea and Galilee. Agrippa II also received the right of choosing the High Priests for Jerusalem. (4)

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XIX, 9, 1.

(2) GENERAL REFERENCES: Josephus: Antiq. XIX, 9, 2; XX, 7; Wars: II, 11, 6; II, 12, 7-8; II, 13, 1-2; II, 16. Ewald: Gesch. des Volkes Israel, VII, 273, 421, 433; VIII, 18. Schürer: The Jewish People. Div. I, II, 191-206

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XIX, 9, 2. (4) "ibid": Antiq. XX, 5, 2. War II, 12, 1.

Agrippa II was in good favor and high esteem among the Roman Procurators of Palestine of this period, as we see from the fact that he was asked to join Festus in the trial of St. Paul.(1) In these chapters of the Book of Acts, Agrippa II appears to be very dignified and considerate, and certainly would merit our praise, if we had only this to judge by.

However, Agrippa II also stood high in the minds and estimation of the people and almost succeeded in quelling the revolt of his people under Procurator Gessius Florus in 66 A.D.(2) However he failed, and in the war of revolt, we find Agrippa II and his sister Berenice living in the camp of the Roman general Titus.

Of his life after 70 A.D., we know little. According to Justus of Tiberius he died A.D. 100.(3) He left no heirs. Thus ends the family of Herod lasting but a brief space of time, hardly more than a century.

VII. The Roman Procurators of Palestine.

Once again the government of Palestine was entrusted to Roman Procurators. Because, on the death of his father, Agrippa II was too young and weak to administer such a difficult and important province, the Emperor sent out Cuspius Fadus as Procurator.

The seven Procurators of Palestine (44-66) held practically the same office as the Procurators of Judea had held. (7-41.) Their relation to Rome and their duties were the same. The only difference was in the size of the territory entrusted to them. However, it seems as though they had a much harder task, as the people were constantly

(1) Acts 25-26. --- (2) Josephus: Wars, II, 15, 1; 17, 6. III, 4, 2.
 (3) Schürer: The Jewish People. Div. I, I, 68-69.

at a riot pitch. And to make things worse, as Schürer says, "this list of Procurators seem, by secret arrangement, so to conduct themselves, as most certainly to arouse the people to revolt. Even the best of them trampled under foot the Jew's prejudices and peculiarities." (1)

The first man Claudius sent to Palestine was Cuspius Fadus (44-45 A.D.) There is some argument as to the exact date of his accession and as to the end of his reign. However, the above date is the only one that will harmonize with Orsius' dates of the great famine. (2)

Under Fadus there was a war between the Pereans and the city Philadelphia. Fadus showed his ability and sense of justice in punishing the guilty Pereans. (3) However he outraged the religious scruples of the Jews when he demanded the inaugural robe of the High Priest, which Vitilius, the governor of Syria, had restored to the Jewish People about the year 36 A.D. The possession of the robe had not only become a custom to the Jews, but it also signified the complete possession of power over them. That is why they were so severely offended at the action of Fadus. An embassy of Jews went to Rome and after appealing to the Emperor, the robe was returned to them. (4)

During this reign arose Theudas, a prophet who led a crowd to the Jordan, claiming that the waters would part for him as they had for Joshua. (5) Fadus sent some of his cavalry who dispersed them, killing or imprisoning all the leaders.

(1) Schürer: The Jewish People. Div. I, II, 166.

(2) Ramsay: St. Paul, the traveler and Roman citizen. pg. 68. quotes Orsius VII, 6.

(3) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 1, 1.

(4) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 1, 1.

(5) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 1, 1-2.

The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander(1), an apostate Jew of Alexandria. He was the son of a city magistrate of the city Alexandria, and nephew of the famous Philo of Alexandria. During his reign there was a sore famine in Judea, because of which Paul gathered money in the Gentile lands for the Jerusalem Church. Orsius as we said above dates this famine as beginning in 45 A.D.(2) From this date we judge the dates of the reign of Tiberius Alexander(45-48 A.D.)

It was Tiberius Alexander who crucified James and Simon, the sons of Judas of Galilee, who had led a revolt against Quirenius at the census of 7 A.D., claiming that the same schemes as their father had had.(3)

Although the first two Procurators had a good deal of trouble, they were far better off than their successor, Ventidius Cumanus(48-52 A.D.)(4) Cumanus still had under him those soldiers who had been punished by the Emperor for showing disrespect on the occasion of Herod Agrippa's death. It now happened that while some of these were on guard in the Temple during the Passover season, they committed gross indecency before the eyes of the worshiping Jews. A tumult resulted and almost 20,000 people were killed. Another sacrilege and riot occurred when a soldier showed disrespect for a Torah roll, while Cumanus was punishing some northern cities for banditry. The mob was so wild that Cumanus had to acced to their demands and put the offender to death.(5)

Until now King Herod of Chalsis had been administrator of the office of High Priest, but when he died in 50 A.D.

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 5, 2. ---- (2) Orsius VII, 6.
 (3) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 5, 2, ---- (4) "ibid": Antiq. XX, 5, 3.
 (5) "ibid": Antiq. XX, 5, 4.

Herod Agrippa II received his kingdom and to this was added the right to appoint the High Priest. (See section above. pg. 42.)

A dispute arose between the Galileans and Samaritans, in which the latter were plainly at fault. However Cumanus received a bribe from the offenders and consequently severely punished the Galileans. The Jews of Galilee carried the matter to the governor of Syria, accusing the Samaritans and Cumanus. Quadratus, the governor of Syria in turn referred the matter to the Emperor Claudius, and Cumanus was recalled and banished. (1)

The next Procurator was Felix, a freedman of Claudius' own household, and brother of Pallas the favorite of the Emperor. This man's accession is very unusual, because he is the only freedman to hold this office. (2) All the others were members of the equestrian class. However we are told by Tacitus that Felix "ruled with cruelty and lust exercising his power with the disposition of a slave!" (3)

Felix was married three times, each time to members of royal family. One of his wives was the granddaughter of Mark Anthony and Cleopatra of Egypt, another was Drucilla the daughter of Herod Agrippa I. He persuaded the latter to divorce her husband and abandon her religion so as to marry him. (4)

During the reign of Felix there were repeated cases of revolution. The Zealots continued to cause trouble. They were gathering crowds of dissenters for the purpose of leading them to the desert, where they hoped to start new communities. Felix captured many of these and crucified some,

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 6, 1-3.
(2) Suetonius: Claudius 28- (secondary source.)
(3) Tacitus: History V, 9. -- (" ")
(4) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 7, 2. Acts XXIV, 24.

and sent others to Rome as slaves; but he was unable to cope with the extent of the movement. Under Felix the Sicarii movement was especially evident. These outthroats, very much like our present time gangsters, carried on a systematic assassination of their enemies, and of other people for whose death they were well paid. (1) Under Felix rebellion became permanent. (2) This was the beginning of the great revolt of 66 A.D., and from now on the country was in constant turmoil. Nor was the rebellion and strife restricted to the lower classes of the people, but there was even a feud among the priests and the High Priest, in which the former suffered a great deal.

But we are especially interested in Felix for another reason, namely that during the last two years of his office the great apostle Paul lay prisoner under his hand. We are given a rather striking description of Felix' character by the author of the Book of Acts. However Luke brings out one trait in Felix which I think was the underlying motive of the whole dealing with Paul and of his long stay in the prison. Luke says that "he (Felix) also hoped that money should be given him of Paul, that he might loose him." How well does this not fit into the character, to seek to violate justice for the consideration of a bribe. Does it not show the disposition of a slave? (3)

While Paul lay captive at Caesarea, there was open warfare in the town outside between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants, as to their respective rights as citizens. (4)

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 5, 4. Wars: II, 13, 3.

(2) "ibid": Antiq. XX, 8, 5. --- (3) Acts. 24, 26.

(4) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 8, 7.

When it seemed that the Jews were victorious, Felix stepped in and reduced them to order with his auxiliaries. But when the trouble continued, Felix sent representatives of both sides to Rome. Before a decision was reached, Felix was recalled. (1)

The Emperor Nero now sent out Portius Festus (60-62) a man of good intentions, but altogether unable to undo the mischief of his predecessor. (2)

The affair at Caesarea was settled by an Imperial Rescript in the favor of the Syrians, who as Josephus relates bribed the Emperor's secretary. (3) The embittered feelings excited by this remained until 66 A.D. when they once again burst forth with renewed vigor.

Festus is very interesting for his just treatment of the Apostle Paul. Festus ordered Paul brought forth for trial and asked Agrippa II and his sister Berenice to witness the trial as honor guests, for no doubt they were all inquisitive about the famous missionary of the new, and fast spreading Christianity. After the trial and the speech of Paul, Festus is frank enough to admit his innocence and remarks that he would have freed Paul, if the latter had not appealed to Rome. (4)

The trouble with the Sicarii continued under Festus as it had been under Felix. However, Festus took means of the utmost severity against the ringleaders of this continuous revolution, but gained no lasting success. (5)

After he had reigned for two years, Festus died, while administering his office. An interregnum followed, until the arrival of a new Procurator, during which anarchy of

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 8, 9. ---- (2) "ibid: Antiq. XX, 8, 9.
 (3) "ibid": Antiq. XX, 8, 9. ---- (4) Acts. XXV; XXVI; XXVII, 1-2.
 (5) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 8, 10; Wars II, 14, 1.

the worst type prevailed, during which disorder Annas, the High Priest, ruled with terror. It was at this time and by this man, just mentioned, that James the Younger was condemned and stoned to death.

The two men who succeeded Festus, contributed as much as lay in their power to intensify the bitterness of the impending conflict and hurry the final, bloody conclusion.

Albinus(62-64) seems to have sought to perform every wickedness possible. His guiding principle was to gain money in every possible manner, and to ignore all scruples. which might arise, about the integrity employed in gaining this money. He received bribes by the wholesale and from both sides. Josephus says: "No one remained in prison as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing." (1)

The Sicarii ran wild and did as they pleased, unhindered by the government. During this period there is a gradual increase in the strength of the anti-Roman party, and as Josephus says "the boldness of those desirous of a change, became more and more obtrusive"(2) Utter anarchy prevailed in Jerusalem, a war of all against all.

Albinus reigned only the short period of two years. When he left, in order to please the inhabitants and to gain substantial bribes for himself and to make the work of his successor as difficult as possible, he opened all the prisons and filled the country with malefactors.(3)

The last Procurator, Gessius Florus(64-66), was at the same time the worst. He obtained the office because his

(1) Josephus: Antiq. XX, 9, 2. Wars II, 14, 1.
(2) "ibid": Wars: II, 14, 1.
(3) "ibid": Antiq, XX, 9, 5.

wife, Cleopatra, was a close friend of the Empress Poppea. Josephus can hardly find words enough to describe his baseness and considers him much worse than any of the rest. While the others had performed their wicked acts under the guise of respectability, Florus openly paraded his bribes and wickedness. So long as the robbers shared their spoils with him, they were not hampered at their work. (1) Yes, Florus openly robbed and plundered whole cities. Even the Holy City did not escape his outrages, and the entreaties of Agrippa II and Berenece failed to reconcile the outraged Jews to this man. In 66 A.D. open revolt was declared against the Roman Empire, and the latter began preparations to make war on the Jews.

Thus ends the great Apostolic period of the History of Palestine. The explosives had been heaped up for a long time and needed only a certain amount of friction to ignite them. Now begins the revolt which leads to the destruction of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the Jewish nation. How true was not the prophesy of our Savior; Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us." (2) Yes these days are at hand. The day of the fulfillment of those words of the Jews, with which they asked the punishment of God upon themselves for the murder of the most righteous Savior, Jesus Christ; namely in the words of the Evangelist Matthew, "His blood be upon us and upon our children." (3) The visitation

(1) Josephus: Antiquity. XX, 11, 1. Wars. II, 14, 2.

(2) Luke XXIII, 28-31. ----- (3) Matth. XXVII, 25.

*Doris-Antipater(4 B.C.)		Herod V.(of Chalsis)	Berenece
		Agrippa I *Cypros	Agrippa II
		Aristobulus	Drucilla*Felix
*Mariamne--	[Alexander *Glaphyra	Herodias*	Herod Ph.
(Asmonean)	Aristobulus* Berenece	*Antipas.	Drusus
	Salampsio		Mariamne.
	Cypros		
*Mariamne - Herod Philip	*Herodias-Salome	*Aristobulus	[Philip(tetrarch)
(Rome)			
	[*Mariamne		
*Malthace-	Archelaus*Glaphyra		
	Antipas--	*Daughter of AretasVI.	
	Olympia *Herodias.		
*Cleopatra-	[Philip(tetrarch)*Salome.		
	Herod III.		
erodI.	*Pallas---Phrasel		
	*Phoedra---Roxana		
	*Elipsis---Salome		
	*Unknown niece		
	*Unknown niece.		
alome-	*Joseph.		
	*Costobar--Berenece*Aristobulus.		
	*Alexas.		
rasaelaus.---	Phrasaelaus-----Cypros*AgrippaI		
oseph.			
eroras(Died 5.B.C.)			

Legend:
 * means "married!"
 -means "child of."

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