



T H E  
C R E D I B I L I T Y  
O F T H E  
G O S P E L H I S T O R Y.

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B O O K I I.

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C H A P. I.

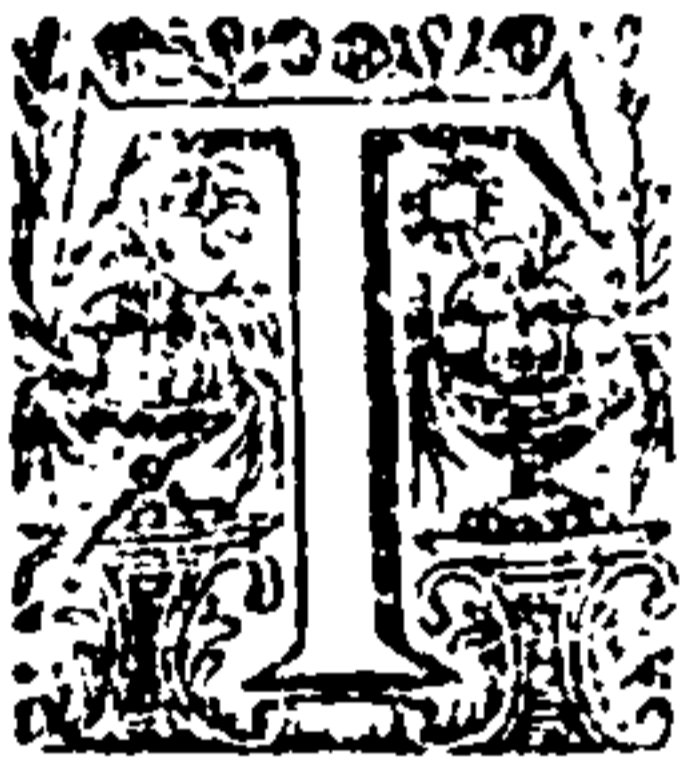
Three Objections against Luke, Ch. ii.

v. 1. 2.

I. *The first Objection, That there is no mention made by any ancient author of a decree in the reign of Augustus for taxing all the world, stated and answered.* II. *The second Objection, That there could be no taxing made in Judea, during the reign of Herod, by a decree of Augustus, stated and answered.*

P p

swered. III. *The third Objection, That Cyrenius was not Governour of Syria, till several years after the birth of Jesus, stated, together with a general answer.* IV. *Divers particular solutions of this Objection.* V. *The last solution confirmed and improved.* VI. *Divers particular difficulties attending the supposition, that this taxing was made by Cyrenius, considered.*



THE history of the New Testament is attended with many difficulties. *Jewish and Heathen* authors concur with the sacred historians in many things. But it is pretended, that there are other particulars, in which they are contradicted by authors of very good note.

Among these, the difficulties, which may be very properly considered in the first place, are those which relate to the account St. Luke has given of the *Taxing in Judea*, which brought *Joseph* and the *Virgin* to *Bethlehem* a little before the birth of *Jesus*.

Luke ii. 1—  
5.

*And it came to passe in those days, says St. Luke, that there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.*

*taxed. (And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was Governour of Syria.) And all went to be taxed, every one in his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David; ) to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with childe.*

Against this account several objections have been raised (a). They may be all reduced to these three.

I. It is objected, That there is no mention made in any ancient *Roman* or *Greek* historian, of any general taxing of people all over the world, or the whole *Roman Empire*, in the time of *Augustus*, nor of any decree of the Emperour for that purpose: Whereas, if there had been then any such thing, it is highly improbable, that it should have been omitted by them.

II. *St. Matthew* says, that Jesus was born <sup>Ch. ii. 1.</sup> *in the days of Herod the king.* *Judea* therefore was not at that time a Roman province,

(a) *Vid. Spanhem. Dubia Evangelica Part ii. Dub. iv. v. &c. Huet. Demonstr. Evangel. Prop. ix. cap. x. & Commentatores.*

and there could not be any *taxing* made there by a decree of *Augustus*.

III. *Cyrenius* was not Governour of *Syria* till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after the birth of *Jesus*. *St. Luke* therefore was mistaken, in saying, that this taxing was made in his time. This objection will be stated more fully hereafter.

§. I. By way of answer to the first objection.

I. I allow that there is not any mention made by ancient writers of any general taxing all over the world, or of all the subjects of the *Roman Empire*, in the reign of *Augustus*.

Many learned men having been of a different opinion, I am obliged to consider their proofs.

*Tillemont* (*b*) puts the question, (for he does not assert it ; ) whether *Plinie* has not referred to such a thing. But it is plain from *Plinie's* words, that he speaks of a partition of *Italie* only into several districts (*c*).

There

(*b*) *Tillemont Memires Eccles. Tom. i. Not. ii. Sur Jesus Christ.*

(*c*) Nunc ambitum ejus, urbesque enumerabimus. Qua in re praefari necessarium est, auctorem nos Divum Augustum fecutu-

There is a passage also of *Dio*, which has been referred to upon this occasion: But it has evidently no relation to the matter before us. The *Romans* had a tax called the *twentieth*. This tax was grievous to many people. *Augustus* therefore desired the senate to consider of some other. “ But the  
 “ senate not finding any proper expedient,  
 “ he intimated that he would raise money  
 “ upon lands and houses, without telling  
 “ them what, or in what manner, it should  
 “ be; and hereupon sent officers abroad,  
 “ some one way, and some another, to  
 “ make a survey of the estates both of par-  
 “ ticular persons and cities. But upon this  
 “ the senate complied immediately, and the  
 “ old tax of the twentieth was confirmed,  
 “ lest a worse thing should come in it’s room.  
 “ This was all *Augustus* aimed at, and the  
 “ survey was laid aside (*d*).” Besides, this affair happened, A. U. 766. A. D. 13. long after the taxing, which *St. Luke* speaks of.

secuturos, descriptionemque ab eo factam Italiae totius in regiones xi. *Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.*

(*d*) Καὶ παραχρῆμα μηδὲν εἰπὼν, μήθ’ ὕσον, μήθ’ ὅπως αὐτὸ δώσειν, ἐπεμψεν ἄλλης ἄλλη τὰ τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφόμενος· ἵνα ὡς καὶ μειζόνως ζημιωθησόμενοι δέισωσι, καὶ τὴν εἰκουστὴν τελεῖν αὐτὸν θέλωσι· ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· *Dio l. 56. p. 588. E.*

The passage, which *Baronius* (*e*) has quoted from *Aethicus*, he does himself allow to relate only to a geometrical description of the Empire, begun by order of *Julius Cesar*, and finished in thirty two years, and therefore over long before the *taxing* mentioned by *St. Luke*.

I am afraid to mention his argument from *Plinie*, lest it should be thought, that I intend to divert the reader, when we ought to be serious. *Plinie* says: “ And as for  
 “ *Augustus* himself, whom all mankind rank  
 “ in this classe, [*of fortunate persons*,] if the  
 “ whole course of his life be carefully con-  
 “ sidered, there will be observed in it many  
 “ instances of the fickleness and inconstance  
 “ of human affairs (*f*).” But *Baronius* supposes, that *Plinie* says, that *in every census mention is made of Augustus, and that there was so particularly in that made by Vespasian and Titus, because he first made* (*g*) *a survey*

(*e*) *Apparat. N. 97.*

(*f*) In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in HAC CENSURA nuncupat, si diligenter aestimentur cuncta, magna fortis humanae reperiantur volumina. *Lib. vii. cap. 45.*

(*g*) Idemque dum haec alibi ait: [lib. vii. cap. 45.] In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censura nuncupat, nempe eam, quam Vespasianus & Titus recens egerunt,

vey of the whole Roman Empire : Thus making *Plinie* to refer, in the passage he quotes from him, not to what went before, but to a passage which follows four chapters lower.

Some have alleged, as a proof of this general taxing, some words of *Suidas*, who in his *Lexicon* (*b*) says, “ That *Augustus* sent  
 “ out twenty men of great probity into all  
 “ parts of his Empire, by whom he made  
 “ an assessment of persons and estates, or-  
 “ dering a certain quota to be paid into the  
 “ treasury. This was the first census, they  
 “ who were before him having at pleasure  
 “ exacted tribute of those who had any  
 “ thing ; so that it was a public crime to  
 “ be rich.”

egerunt, de qua idem inferius [ibid. cap. 49.] meminit, significare videtur, in quolibet repetito in orbe Romano lustris singulis censu, mentionem Augusti fieri ; quod primus omnium universum orbem Romanum subiectum imperio censuisset. At de censibus satis. *Baron. ubi supra.*

(*b*) In Voc. Ἀπογραφὴ Ἀπογραφή ἢ ἀπαρίθμησις Ὁ δὲ Κεῖσαρ Αὐγούστου, ὁ μοναρχήσας, ἔκλεψεν, ἀνδρας τὸς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενθ, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶ ὑπηκόων ἐξέπεμψε δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν βεσίων, αὐτάρκη τινὰ προσάξας τῶ δημοσίῳ μοῖραν ἐκ τῆτων εἰσφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆ τὸς κικτημίους τὶ μὴ ἀφαιρημένων, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς εὐπόροις δημοσίων ἔγκλημα τὸν πλῆτον.

But it is difficult to take this upon *Suidas's* authority alone, since he says not in what part of *Augustus's* reign it was done, quotes no author for it, and it is not to be found in any ancient writer now extant : though possibly, he refers to the story just now told from *Dio* ; who assures us, that project, he mentions, was never executed. Besides, *Suidas* says, this was the *first census* ; which is a very great mistake. There had been before *Augustus* many assessments of Roman Citizens, and likewise of divers provinces of the *Roman Empire*.

In another place *Suidas* says ; “ *Augustus* “ had a desire to know the number of all “ the inhabitants of the *Roman Empire* (i).” And he mentions the number, which, he says, was found upon the enquiry. But *Suidas* must have been mistaken. Archbishop *Usher's* remark upon this passage is worth placing here. “ In their Consulship [*Caius* “ *Marcus Censorinus*, and *C. Asinius Gal-* “ *lus*,] there was a second muster made at “ *Rome*, in which were numbered 4233000

(i) V. Αἴγες⊕ Αἴγες⊕ Καὶσαρ ἤξαι αὐτὸ πάντα τὰς εὐχέστερας Ῥωμαίων καὶ προσώπων ἀριθμῶν. Ἐξοργισθὲν γὰρ ὡς ποσὸν ἐστὶ πλῆθος⊕ καὶ ἀρίσκειται οἱ τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀριθμῶν ἐπιμετρήσασθαι ἢ χίλιαι ἑξ, ἀ...



“ Roman Citizens, as is gathered out of the  
 “ fragments of the *Ancyran* marble. In  
 “ *Suidas*, in *Αὐγστῶ* the number is far lesse  
 “ of those that were mustered, 4101017,  
 “ which yet he very ridiculously obtrudeth  
 “ upon us, not for the muster of the City  
 “ only, but of the world (*k*).”

The late learned editor (*l*) of *Suidas* does also highly approve of this censure passed upon his author by our most learned and excellent Archbishop. It is observable, that they both use here the word *City* [*urbis censu*]. I hope however they mean not the City of *Rome* only, and the countrey round about it, but the Roman Citizens all over the *Roman Empire*, or at least all *Italie*: for otherwise, with submission, I should think them, in this particular, almost as unreasonable as *Suidas*. It is incredible, that there

(*k*) *Annals*: year of the world, 3996. p. 786. *Engl. Edit. Lond.* 1658. In the *Latin* the last words are: Qui tamen non pro Urbis tantum sed pro Orbis etiam Romani censu ridicule nobis ibi obtruditur.

(*l*) De hoc loco vide omnino Casaubonum contra Baron. Exerc. 1. Num. 93. Et Uffer.—qui recte observarunt, Suidam hic censum urbis pro censu orbis Romani lectori obtrudere: cum ridiculum sit credere, non plures fuisse totius imperii Romani incolas, quam quot Suidas hic exprimit. *Kuster in loc.*

should

should have been at *Rome* and in the country round about it, beside strangers and slaves, which were very numerous, so many Roman Citizens, as are mentioned on the *Ancyran* Marble; even though all, who were entred in a census, be set down there; which however is denied by some. I suppose then, that by the muster of the City, these learned men mean the muster or census of Roman Citizens in any part of the *Roman Empire*; as opposed to all the people in general, living in the same Empire. And in this sense only (*m*) I adopt their censure of *Suidas*: and cannot but think it very just. The number of the inhabitants of the *Roman Empire* must needs have exceeded the numbers mentioned by *Suidas*, or on the marble; though it should be supposed, that none are included in these numbers, but those who were arrived at military age. This might be sufficient to shew, that the number of the *Ancyran* Marble is not the number of all the people of the *Roman Empire*: but other reasons will appear presently.

(*m*) I think this evidently *Kuster's* sense. His *Orbis Romani* is explained afterwards by *totius imperii Romani Incolas*. Therefore his *urbis census* imports Roman Citizens living any where.

I must

I must in the next place take the liberty of considering what *Prideaux* has said upon this subject, who with *Huet* (*n*), and others, thinks, that this description or survey in *Judea*, belonged to one of the surveys made by *Augustus*; and that in particular, it was a part of his second census. “ The  
 “ first was in the year when he himself was  
 “ the sixth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time Consuls, that is, in the year  
 “ before the Christian Aera 28. The second  
 “ time in the Consulship of *C. Marcius Censorinus*, and *C. Asinius Gallus*, that is, in  
 “ the year before the Christian Aera 8. And  
 “ the last time in the Consulship of *Sextus Pompeius Nepos*, that is, in the year of  
 “ the Christian Aera 14. In the first and  
 “ last time he executed this with the assistance of a colleague. But the second time  
 “ he did it by himself alone, and this is the  
 “ description which *St. Luke* refers to. The  
 “ decree concerning it was issued out the  
 “ year I have mentioned, that is, in the 8th  
 “ year of the Christian Aera, which was  
 “ three years before that, in which Christ  
 “ was born.—That we allow three years for  
 “ the execution of this decree, can give no

(*n*) *Demon. Evang. ubi supra* §. iii.

“ just

“ just reason for exception.—The ac-  
 “ count taken by the decree of *Augustus* at  
 “ the time of our Saviour’s birth, extended  
 “ to all manner of persons, and also to their  
 “ possessions, estates, qualities, and other  
 “ circumstances. And when a description  
 “ and survey like this was ordered by *Willi-*  
 “ *am* the Conqueror, to be taken for *Eng-*  
 “ *land* only, I mean that of the *Doomsday*  
 “ Book, it was six years in making: and  
 “ the Roman province of *Syria* was much  
 “ more than twice as big as all *England* (o).”

To all this I shall only say (i.) That the surveys made by *Augustus* were of ROMAN CITIZENS only. So he says himself in the inscription on the Ancyran marble (p). And the Roman historians say the same thing (q.)

(o) *Prideaux Conn. Part. ii. pag. 650. 652. 8vo. Edit. 1718.*

(p) Et in Consulatu. Sexto. Censum. POPULI. Collega. M. Agrippa. Egi—Quo. Lustrum CIVIUM. ROMANORUM. Censita sunt. Capita. Quadragens. Centum. Millia. Et. Sexaginta. Tria.—Cum—Nuper. Lustrum. Solus. Feci. Legi. Cenforum. I. SINIO. Cos. Quo. Lustrum. Censa. sunt. CIVIUM. ROMANORUM. Quadragens. Centum. Millia. Et. Ducenta. Triginta. Tria—In consulatu. Fi.—Cum. nuperime—Lustrum. Cum. Lega. Tiberio. Sext. Pompeio. Et Sext. Apuleio. Cos. Quo. Lustrum. ROM. CAPITUM. Quadragens. Centum. Mil.—IGINTA. Et. Septem. Mil. Legi.

(q) Recepit & morum legumque regimen aequè perpetuum: quo jure, quamquam sine censurae honore, censum tamen POPULI ter egit. *Suet. in Aug. c. 27.*

But

But the census or description made in *Ju-  
dea*, according to St. *Luke's* account, was  
of all the *inhabitants* of that countrey, which  
certainly were not, all of them, Roman Ci-  
tizens.

(2.) The years which *Prideaux* menti-  
ons, were not the years, in which the de-  
crees were issued out, but in which the sur-  
veys were finished. This appears to me the  
most natural meaning of the words of the  
inscription.

Perhaps it will be objected, that the Con-  
sulships here set down do not denote the  
years, in which a census was finished, but  
in which it was resolved upon and entered  
in the *Fasti*, or public Acts; and that the  
sense of the inscription may be thus: In  
such, and such a Consulship I made a cen-  
sus, by which census, when finished, the  
number of Citizens was found to be so and  
so. It may be likewise said, that the phrase  
*Lustrum feci* does not necessarily import the  
making the *Lustrum*, which was done when  
the census was over, but that *Lustrum* is  
*here* synonymous with census. And it may  
be urged, that when *Lustrum* denotes the  
solemn sacrifice at the conclusion of the cen-  
sus, the verb *condo* is used, and not *facio*,  
which we have here. To

To this I answer, that by the account here given of the *third* census, we are obliged to suppose, that the Consulships, here named, denote the times, when each census was finished. *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, in whose Consulship the last census is placed, were Consuls, A. U. 767, A. D. 14. And *Augustus* died the 19th of *August*, that very same year. If the census had been only begun, and not finished, he could not have set down on the table, as he has done, the number of Citizens, which was found in that census. Moreover, it is plain from (*r*) *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* was nominated for colleague of *Augustus* in this census, the year before, if not sooner. It is likely the census might be *then* entered in the public Acts. But however that be, it is plain, that the date on the Ancyran Marble signifies the compleating of the census. And I think, that the passage I have just quoted from *Suetonius* may remove the scruple relating to the phrase; since he has

(*r*) A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.—Dedicavit & concordiae aedem.—Ac non multo post lege per Coss. lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. *vit. Tiber. c.* 20. 21.

used the verb *condo* ; by which we are fully assured, that the census was finished, and the solemn sacrifice performed at the conclusion of it, in the year set down on the Ancyran Marble.

Farther, *Augustus* in the Ancyran Marble places his first census in his own sixth Consulship, *Agrippa* being his colleague. And *Dio* says expressly that *Augustus* made, or *finished* (s) the census in that year. This being the case as to the *first* and *third* census of *Augustus*, we may conclude the same thing also with reference to the *second*, and that it was finished the *eighth* year before the Christian Aera : consequently, it is impossible, that St. *Luke's* description should have been a part of it.

After *Augustus's* death there were three books found among his papers : and one of these is alleged as a proof, that there had been made some general survey of the *Roman Empire*, and that about this time. *Prideaux's* words are these : “ Of the book,  
 “ which *Augustus* made out of the surveys  
 “ and descriptions, which were at this time  
 “ returned to him out of every Province  
 “ and depending Kingdome of the *Roman*

(s) Καὶ τὰς ὑπογραφὰς ἐξέτελεσεν l. 53. p. 496. c.

“ *Empire, Tacitus (t), Suetonius (u), and*  
 “ *Dio Cassius (x),* make mention, and re-  
 “ present it to be very near of the same  
 “ kind with our *Doomsday Book* above men-  
 “ tioned.”

But I do not see how *Augustus's* having had by him a *little book, (libellum, Breviarium imperii,)* written with his own hand, containing a small abridgement of the public taxes, imposts, and revenues, can be any proof, that this state of the Empire was formed upon a survey made at this time, or indeed, upon any general survey made at any other time, by virtue of any one single decree (that is *St. Luke's* phrase;) for the whole Empire. This state, which *Au-*

(t) Cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur. Quantum civium, sociorumque in armis : quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, & necessitates & largitiones, quae cuncta suâ manu perscripserat Augustus. *Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 11.*

(u) De tribus voluminibus, uno, mandata de funere suo complexus est : altero, indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis, quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur : tertio, breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum ubique sub signis esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario & fisci & vectigalium residuis. *Suet. in Aug. c. 101.*

(x) Τὸ τρίτον τὰ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων, τῶν τε ἀιχμαμάτων τῶν δημοσίων, τό, τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς χρημάτων. *Dio. lib. 56. p. 591. B.*



*gustus* had by him of the public strength and riches, might have been formed upon surveys made at different times. Nay, he might have in this *Book* the state of dependent kingdoms, in some of which a census had never been made. And it is likely it may appear in the progress of this argument, that there were several countreys, branches of the *Roman Empire*, which had never been obliged to a census.

Beside that there is not found in any ancient Roman historian any account of a general census of all the countreys and people of the *Roman Empire*; there are considerations taken from the nature of the thing, which render it very improbable, that a general census should ever have been appointed at one time. The Roman assessments were always disagreeable things in the provinces, and often caused disturbances. An universal census at the same time seems to have been impracticable. And there does not appear in any Roman historian so much as a hint, that such a thing was ever thought of by any of their Emperours.

What is just now said of the difficulty of making a general survey at one and the same time, affects chiefly *Prideaux's* sentiment,

Q q

who

who seems to think that the taxing St. *Luke* speaks of was a proper Roman census. They who suppose, that it was only a numbering of the people, are not particularly concerned with it.

2. I am of opinion, that St. *Luke* speaks only of a *taxing* in *Judea* : and that the first verse of his second chapter ought to be rendered after this manner : *And it came to pass in those days, that there went forth a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the land should be taxed.* So *Lenfant* has translated it (y). *Bynaeus* likewise is of the same sentiment, and has supported it, in my judgement, very well (z).

I have shewn in another (a) place, that the word we have here does sometimes denote a particular countrey only, and that St. *Luke* has used it for the land of *Judea*.

(y) En ce temps là, il fût publié un Edit de la part de César Auguste, pour faire un dénombrement de tout le pais. *Nouveau. Test. voyez les notes.*

(z) *Antonius Bynaeus de natali J. Christi. l. i. c. 3. §. v. vi.*

(a) See B. 1. p. 542. n. h. Some time after this whole chapter was in a manner quite finished, I met with *Kerubenit Annotata* in *N. T.* He has upon this text alleged some other examples of this use of *αιχμενιη*. I rely upon those I have produced in the place referred to, and shall not trouble the reader with more.

And

And he must be so understood in this place. The decree relates to the land of *Judea* only, because (b) the account that follows is of that countrey only. And must not every one perceive some deficiency; if *οικουμένη* be here rendered the whole world or the *Roman Empire*? Let us see what St. *Luke* says, omitting at present the parenthesis. *And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one in his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee out of the city of Nazareth.* If the account of the decree had been worded by St. *Luke* so generally, as to comprehend the whole world; would he not have taken

(b) What is above was writ several months before I had seen *Keuchenius*. But my sentiments are so much confirmed by what he has said upon the same subject, that I am persuaded the reader will allow me to take the advantage of subjoining here from him what follows: *Praeterca, an veri speciem habet, Augustum uno eodemque tempore descriptionem per totum orbem Romanum instituisse voluisse? accedit quod omnes v. 3. ad civitatem patriam profecti leguntur, ut describerentur, nimirum illud πάντες respicit ad πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, cujus descriptio injuncta fuisse vers. 1. legitur, & istius mandati autoritate omnes impulsii, & ad propriam civitatem profecti esse memorantur.*

some notice of the land of *Judea*, before he came to relate particularly what was done in it ?

If it be enquired : If the land of *Judea* only be meant, what does the term *all* signify ? I answer, it was very necessary to be added. At the time when St. *Luke* wrote, and indeed from the death of *Herod*, which happened soon after the nativity of Jesus, the land of *Judea*, or of *Israel*, had suffered a dismembring. *Archelaus* had to his share *Judea* properly so called, together with *Samaria* and *Idumea*. And the province of *Judea*, which was afterwards governed by Roman Procurators, was pretty much of the same extent. But *Galilee*, *Iturea*, and other parts of the land of *Israel*, had been given to other descendents of *Herod* the Great.

St. *Luke's* words therefore are extremely proper and expressive, that ALL THE LAND should be taxed ; to shew, that this decree of *Augustus* comprehended *Galilee*, the country, in which *Joseph* lived. That this was the intention in adding this term of universality, is evident from St. *Luke's* specifying immediately afterwards the name of the city, from which *Joseph* came to *Bethle-  
lehem* ;

*lehem*; which city was not in the countrey that originally belonged to the tribe of *Judab*, nor situated in the bounds of the province of *Judea* at the time, in which *St. Luke* is supposed to write, but was of the kingdom of *Judea* in the reign of *Herod*.

It seems needlesse to observe, that it was very common to add the term *all* or *whole* to *Judea* or *Land*, when persons intended the land of the *Israelites*. There are divers instances in the Old and New Testament. And *Josephus*, speaking of *Agrippa* the Elder, who had been possessed of all the territories subject to his grandfather *Herod* the Great, says: “ He had now reigned “ three years over the WHOLE land of *Ju-* “ *dea* (c).”

Though I am very well satisfied from the context, that *St. Luke* comprehends nothing in *Augustus*'s decree, beside the land of *Judea*; yet it is no small confirmation of this interpretation, that the most early Christian writers seem to have understood *St. Luke* in the same manner. For when they speak of this circumstance of our Saviour's nativity, they never say any thing of a general cen-

(c) Τρίτον δὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο. *Joseph. παρ.* 871. σ. 34.

fus all over the world, or the *Roman Empire*.

*Justin Martyr* in his first Apologie informs the Emperour and the Senate, of the time and place of Christ's nativity. "Beth-  
" lehem, says he, in which Jesus Christ was  
" born, is a village in the countrey of the  
" Jews, at the distance of five and thirty  
" stadia from Jerusalem. You may assure  
" yourselves of this from the census made  
" in the time of Cyrenius your first pro-  
" curator in Judea (d)." He mentions this census also in several other places, and always in the same manner (e). I do not recollect above one passage of *Irenaeus*, in which there is any notice taken of this census (f), and that is not very material.

(d) Κάμη δέ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίᾳ, ἀπέχουσα σαδίας τετράκοιτα πέντε Ἱερουσαλῶν, ἐν ἣ ἔγεννηθῆ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ μαθῆν δέξασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηναίᾳ τῷ ἐμφήρῳ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρῶτον γενομένῳ ἐπιβύσιον. *Just. Mart. Ap. 1. p. 75. E.*

(e) Πρὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκείνων τετράκοιτα γεγεννηθῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίᾳ *ibid. p. 83. B.* Ἀπογραφῆς ἕσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ Κυρηναίᾳ κ. τ. λ. *Dial. ii. p. 303. D.*

(f) Sed proxima aetatis dicebant, [*Judaei Job. viii. 56. 57.*] sine verè scientes ex conscriptione census, sine conjicientes secundum aetatem, quam videbant habere eum super quadraginta. *Iren. lib. ii. cap. xxii. §. 6.*

St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* says : “ Our Lord was born in the eight and twentieth year, when they first ordered a census to be made in the time of *Augustus* (g).”

*Origen* confounds this census with that afterwards made in *Judea* by (b) *Cyrenius*. But says nothing of it's being universal. And indeed the passage amounts almost to a positive proof, that he thought the census related to *Judea* only.

*Tertullian* has often made mention of the time of the rise of Christianity in his *Apolo-*gie addressed to the Roman Magistrates (i), in his books inscribed to the *Gentils* (k) : of this and the census, in his treatises, writ against the *Jews* (l), and against *Here-*

(g) Εγενήθη δὲ ὁ Κόρηθ ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοσῷ ἔτει, ὅτε πρῶτοι ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι. *Clem. Strom.* i. i. p. 339. D.

(b) Καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου [Θευδᾶν] ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἡμέραις, ὅτ' ἔοικε γεγενῆσθαι ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἰούδας τις Γαλιλαῖθ πολλὰς ἐαυτῷ συναπέσχησεν ἀπὸ τῆ λαῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. *Orig. cont. Cels.* lib. i. p. 44.

(i) *Apol. cap.* 5, 7, 21.

(k) *Ad Nat. lib. i. cap.* 7.

(l) Fuit enim de patria Bethlehem, & de domo David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria, ex qua nascitur Christus. *Adv. Judaeos. cap.* 9.

*tics (m)* : but yet there is no notice taken of any census, beside that in *Judea*.

If any think that we are to expect no mention of a general census from the Christian writers, because the census in *Judea* was all that was to their purpose : I say, that a general census of all the people and countreys of the *Roman Empire* was very much to their purpose ; the more to illustrate the epoch of our Saviour's nativity. A general census must have been better known, than one that was particular. Would *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian* have omitted this circumstance, if *St. Luke* had mentioned it ? or if they themselves were aware of it ? And yet in their time certainly an universal census, made in the reign of *Augustus*, could not have been forgotten.

Nay, though the universality of the census had been a circumstance of no importance at all in their argument ; yet it is al-

(m) Aufer hinc, inquit, molestos semper Caesaris census. *De carne Christi. cap. 2.* Sed & census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. *Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 19.* Tam distincta fuit a primordio Judaea gens per tribus & populos, & familias, & domos, ut nemo facile ignorari de genere potuisset, vel de recentibus Augustinianis censibus, adhuc tunc fortasse pendentibus. *ibid. cap. 36.*

most



most impossible, but it must have dropped from them in some one of those many occasions, in which they have mentioned our Saviour's nativity, and the census which accompanied it.

I shall proceed but one step farther to observe, that *Eusebius* has made no mention of any more than the census performed in *Judea*, neither in his *History* (*n*), nor in his *Chronicle* (*o*).

I cannot say, that this interpretation is supported by any ancient version. But *Bynaeus* (*p*) observes, that in an ancient gloss there is this explanation of it: *That all the world should be taxed] or surveyed: not the orb of all the earth, but the orb of Judea and Syria.*

(*n*) *Vid. Hist. Ecc. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

(*o*) Ἐν τῷ λγ' Ἡρώδου Κυρήνιου ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βελτῆς ἀπετάλμεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἑσίων καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων' *p.* 76. *vid.* Ἔ' *p.* 200.

(*p*) Hoc a nemine interpretum, quod quidem ego sciam, animadversum esse nisi in specimine Glossae Ordinariae, quod Robertus Stephanus edidit, legimus. *Octavius* xlii. imperii sui anno, publico decreto edixit, ut universus orbis *Judaeorum* & *Syriae* describeretur; & paulo post, ut censeretur totus orbis] sive describeretur: non quidem orbis terrarum, sed orbis *Judaeorum* & *Syriae.* *Bynaeus. De natali Jesu Christi.* *p.* 306.

If

If then the census or description ordered by the decree of *Augustus* at the time of our Saviour's nativity was of the land of *Judea* only, the silence of ancient historians is no objection at all against St. *Luke's* account. There must have been many surveys of provinces of the *Roman Empire* in the reign of *Augustus*, of which there is no notice taken by any of the *Roman* or *Greek* authors now in our hands.

The only writer, in whom we could expect any mention of it, is *Josephus*. Whether he has spoke of it or not, will be considered hereafter. But supposing at present, that there is no notice at all taken of it by him, this is no objection against St. *Luke*. It is not to be expected we should find in one single historian all the affairs that were transacted in his countrey. We have undoubted evidence of this enrollment in the early testimonies of the Christian writers. I have already exhibited more than enough of them. *Justin Martyr* speaks of it in his *Apologie* to the Emperour and the Senate before the middle of the second centurie. *Tertullian* mentions it in several of his pieces. There is scarce any one occasional fact or circumstance re-

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lating

lating to the history of Jesus, which was more frequently and more publicly mentioned by the Christian writers. And yet it was never contested, that I know of, in all antiquity, not even by the adversaries of the Christian Religion. *Julian* speaks of it as a thing universally known. I subjoyn his words. “ The Jesus, *says he*, whom “ you extol, was one of *Cesar’s* subjects. “ If you make a doubt of it, I will prove “ it by and by : Though it may be as well “ done now. For you say yourselves, that “ he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time of *Cyrenius* (q).”

I presume, I have answered this objection : but it is upon the supposition, that *St. Luke* speaks of a census or enrollment in *Judea* only. I have not taken up this interpretation to avoid a difficulty, but because I really think it to be *St. Luke’s* meaning. However, if *St. Luke* be supposed to speak of a general census of the *Roman Empire* ; I own, that the silence of antiquity would be a very great objection. Nor

(q) Ὁ παρ’ ὑμῶν κηρυττόμενος Ἰησοῦς εἰς ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπηκόων· εἰ δὲ ἀπισεῖτε, μικρὸν ὑσερον ἀποδείξω· μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη λεγέσθω· φατέ μὲν τοι αὐτὸν ἀπογράψασθαι μετὰ τῷ πατρὸς καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐπὶ Κυρηναίῳ· *Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 213. ed. Spanh.*

is the difficulty much lessened by supposing, this enrollment was of persons only, and not of lands or goods. The numbring the people was far from being the principal design of a census of Roman Citizens. But yet, oftentimes, when an historian mentions a census, he gives very little account of any thing relating to it, beside the number of Citizens that was found. If ever the number of all the people of the *Roman Empire* had been taken in the reign of *Augustus*, it would have been a very great curiosity; and historians would have been very fond of gratifying their readers with it. Though we have but few writers of those times, yet it is with me unquestionable, that in some of those we have there would have been a particular account of so remarkable an event, or at least many references to it: whereas there are none at all.

§. II. *St. Matthew* says, that Jesus was born in the days of *Herod*. *Judea* therefore was not at that time a Roman Province: and there could be no taxing made there by virtue of a decree of *Augustus*.

This objection has been answered already. For it is evident from what has been

alleged from the Christian writers, in the reply to the former objection, that there was some census, description, or survey made in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's nativity, by a decree of *Augustus*. However, that no scruples may remain in the minds of any from a false notion of the state of *Judea* under *Herod*, I shall particularly consider the matter of this second objection.

But I would first observe in general; that though we have the word *taxing* in our version, *that all the world should be taxed; this Taxing was first made*; yet the words used by *St. Luke* do not import a tax, or laying a tax or duty upon a people. In the margin of our Bibles we have the word *enrolled*. And in most other translations (*r*) a word of like signification is used.

I must also premise, that some have thought that this enrolment was to be only of names and persons; and that all *Augustus* aimed at by this decree was to know the number of people inhabiting the *Roman Empire*, with their employments and

(*r*) Ut describeretur universus orbis. Haec descriptio prima facta est: *Vers. vulg.* pour faire un denombrement — ce denombrement se fit. *Mons vers. M. Le Clerc. Lefant, &c.*

conditions of life. *Whitby* paraphrases these words thus : *That all the world should be taxed* : that is, “ should have their names “ and conditions of life set down in court “ rolls, according to their families.”

Others have thought, that this decree obliged to a registry not only of the names of persons and their conditions of life, but also of their goods and possessions ; and that in short, it was a Roman census, which was now made, in order to the peoples paying taxes for the future, according to the value of their estates. I own, I am inclined to this later opinion ; and that *St. Luke* speaks only of a census in *Judea*, as I have already declared.

Having premised these things, that we may find out, what kind of *enrolment*, or registering was now ordered by *Augustus* ; whether a decree of *Augustus* could be obligatory at this time upon the people of *Judea* ; and whether it is likely there was a Roman census made there at this time ; I shall consider these following particulars.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census.

2. I shall consider the force of *St. Luke's* words.

3. I

3. I shall describe in general the state of *Judea* under *Herod*.

4. I shall enquire, what grounds there are to believe, that a Roman census was made in *Judea* at this time.

1. I shall explain the nature of a Roman census. A census (as I take it,) consisted of these two parts: *first*, the account which the people gave in of themselves and their estates; and *secondly*, the value set upon their estates by the Censors, who took the account from them. The people did undoubtedly represent in some measure the value of the things they entered; but the Censors seem to have had the power of determining and settling the value.

There was indeed another thing, which belonged to the office of the Censors at *Rome*; the censure, or correction of manners: but, as I suppose, that belonged only to a census of Roman Citizens, and that it was no part of a census of all the inhabitants of a province, or of a countrey subject to a dependent Prince, I take no notice of it here.

The Roman census was an institution of *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of *Rome*. *Dionysius* of *Hallicarnassius* gives us this account of it; that “ He ordered all the  
“ Citi-

“ Citizens of *Rome* to register their estates,  
 “ according to their value in money, taking  
 “ an oath, in a form he prescribed, to de-  
 “ liver a faithful account according to the  
 “ best of their knowledge, specifying withal  
 “ the name of their parents, their own  
 “ age, and the names of their wives and  
 “ children, adding also what quarter of  
 “ the City, or what town in the countrey,  
 “ they lived in (s).”

And after much the same manner do we find a Roman census described in the (t) Fragments of the twelve tables, and in the Roman (u) Orators, (x) Historians, and (y) Law-

(s) Ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους ἀπογράφεσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς εὐσίας πρὸς ἀργύριον, ὁμόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον, ἢ μὴ τ' ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀπὸ παντός τε βελτίστε τελιμᾶσθαι, πατέρων τε ὧν εἰσι γράφοντας, καὶ ἡλικίαν ἣν ἔχουσι δηλῶντας, γυναῖκας τε καὶ παῖδας ὀνομάζοντας, καὶ ἐν τίνι καίτοι κἄν ἕκαστοι τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ ἢ πάγῳ τῆς χώρας προσιθέντας. *Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. L. iv. c. 15. p. 212. init. Hudf. Edit.*

(t) *Censores populi civitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento. Cic. de Leg. lib. iii. cap. 3.*

(u) Jam (ut censoriae tabulae loquuntur) fabrūm & prociūm, audeo dicere, non fabrorum & procorum. *Cic. Orator. n. 156.*

(x) Ab hoc (Servio Tullio) populus Romanus relatus in censum.—Summâque regis solertiâ ita est ordinata respublica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur, ac si maxima civitas minimae domus diligentîâ contineretur. *Florus lib. i. cap. 6. vid. Liv. lib. i. cap. 42. & seq.*

(y) *Vid. Digesta Tit. de censibus.*

yers.



yers. From all whom it appears, the people were required to give in an account of their names, their quality, employments, wives, children, servants and estates.

Beside what the people did, there seems to have been something done by the Censors more than the bare taking the account the people gave in : that is, they were to determine the value of each particular of their estates, and the amount (x) of the whole ; and from this seems to have been taken the name or title of this office, both in the (a) *Latin*, and in the (b) *Greek* language. For not only was the compasse of ground, which any one possessed to be considered, but the nature of it, and the profits it might yield : Nor the number only of slaves or servants, which any one had ; but also the work (c) they were employed in, according to which their service was to

(x) In censu habendo potestas omnis aestimationis habendae, summaeque faciundae, censori permittitur. *Cic. in Verr. lib. ii. n. 131.*

(a) Censio aestimatio, unde Censores. *Festus de verb. Sign. Censores ab re appellati sunt. Liv. lib. iv. cap. 8. fin.*

(b) Τικησις.

(c) In servis deferendis observandum est, ut & nationes eorum, & officia, & artificia specialiter deferantur. *l. iv. §. 5. ff. de censibus.*

be valued. And therefore every one reckoned himself worth so (*d*) much as the Censors valued his estate at.

This power, which the Censors had of rating or valuing the estates of all persons, gave them an opportunity of committing injustice, in favouring some and oppressing others. For though there were (*e*) rules, by which they ought to regulate their estimation of every particular; and the supreme Censors (*f*) were wont to issue out precepts to their under officers, enjoining justice and equity in their posts; yet if the supreme Censors were men of ill principles, very great enormities often went unpunished (*g*).

(*d*) Censores dicti, quod rem suam quisque tanti aestimare solitus sit, quantum illi censuerint. *Festus. V. Censores.*

(*e*) Formâ censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referantur,——arvum quod in decem annos proximos satum erit, quot jugerum sit,——illam aequitatem debet admittere censor, ut officio ejus congruat, relevari eum, qui in publicis tabulis delato modo frui certis ex causis non possit. *l. 4. pr. eod.*

(*f*) Edicis enim, te in decumanum, si plura sustulerit, quam debitum sit, in octuplum judicium daturum esse. *Cic. in Verr. l. iii. n. 26.*

(*g*) Sic census habitus est, te Praetore, ut eo censu nullius civitatis respublica posset administrari. Nam locupletissimi cujusque census extenuârant, tenuissimi auxerant. *ibid. lib. ii. n. 138.*

That

That the reader may have a compleat idea of the design of these enrolments among the *Romans*, at least so far as is necessary to our purpose; I shall add here the account, which *Dionysius* has given of the census made by *Laertius* the Dictator, A. U. 258. before Christ, 496. Being chosen Dictator, “ He immediately ordered, that  
 “ all, according to the excellent institution  
 “ of *Servius Tullius*, should in their several  
 “ tribes give in an account of their estates,  
 “ setting down the names of their wives  
 “ and children, and their own age, and  
 “ that of their children. All having in a  
 “ short time offered themselves to be assessed,  
 “ (for the penalty of neglect was no less,  
 “ than forfeiture of estate and citizenship;)  
 “ there were found to be one hundred fifty  
 “ thousand and seven hundred *Romans* at  
 “ man’s estate. After this, he separated  
 “ those who were of military age from the  
 “ elder; and disposing those into cen-  
 “ turies, he formed four bodies of horse  
 “ and (b) foot.” From this passage it ap-  
 pears,

Ἡ δὲ κατάταξις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Σεργίου Τυλλίου τοῦ δημοκρατάτου βα-  
 ρυβαρῶν ἀναβλήτων ἡλικίας, πρῶτον ἐπίταξε Ῥωμαίους ἅπασ-  
 τας τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἑκάστη τῶν πόλεων ἐνοχλήν, προστάξας αὐ-  
 τῶν ἕνα ἕνα  
 Κ Γ :

pears, that the knowledge of the military strength of the state was intended in this institution, as well as the regulating the public revenue. It was necessary to observe this here, that the reader may the better judge of some arguments that follow.

2. We shall now consider the force and import of the words St. *Luke* makes use of in his account of the matter before us.

Now it must be allowed, that the verb made use of by St. *Luke* in the first verse, *that all should be taxed*, or enrolled (*i*), is used by *Greek* authors, for the making any kind of entry or enrolment. Thus *Servius Tullius* observing many Roman Citizens to be in debt, ordered all of them, who had not where-withal to satisfy their creditors, to enter (*k*) their names, and the sum they

γυναικῶν κὲ παίδων οὐμᾶτα, κὲ ἡλικίας ἐαυτῶν τι κὲ τέκνων· ὀλίγω δὲ χρένω πάντων τιμησαμένων, διὰ τὸ μέγ. θ. τῆς τιμῆς· τὴν τε γὰρ εἶσαν ἀπολέσαι τὸς ἀπειθήσαντας εἶδει, κὲ τὴν πολίτειαν ἐπιλακασίους πλείους ἐυρέθησαν οἱ ἐν ἡβῃ Ῥωμαίων ποτεκαίδεκα μυριάδων· μετὰ τῆτο διακρίνας τὸς ἔχοντας τὴν εὐπείθετον ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων· κ. λ. *lib.* 5. c. 7. p. 324.

(*i*) Ἀπογράφεισθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμενὴν (αὐτὴ ἢ ἀπεγράφει κ. τ. λ.)

(*k*) Ἀπογράφεισθαι κειμένους τὸς ἀποχρέους, ὅσοι τὴν πείθετον ἀδυνατοίαν ἦσαν φυλάττειν τοῖς ὀφείλουσι, κὲ πείσειν ἕκαστον. *Dionys. Hal.* L. iv. c. 10. p. 207.

owed in public rolls; that it might be known, what the whole amounted to, and provision might be made for payment.

This word is likewise used concerning the enrolments, which were made, when the Roman Citizens gave in their names and enlisted themselves in the service of a General (l).

So that perhaps there may be some reason to question, whether St. *Luke* intended not a bare entry or enrolment, made by the people of *Judea*, of their names and condition of life, as many learned men have supposed.

But yet on the other hand, it is certain, that the whole of a census is oftentimes expressed, by the *Greek* authors, by the words which St. *Luke* has used. Thus *Dio Cassius* speaking of *Augustus's* first census, says, “in the same year he finished (m) the enrolments.” Hereby meaning, the whole

(l) Συγγέρον ἀπογραφόμενοι τε πρὸς τὰς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τοὶ Ἰσραηλιτικὸν ὀμιήσεις ὄργαν. *Dion. Hal. Lib. x. cap. 16. init.*

(m) Ἐν δ' ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι τάτε ἄλλα ὡσπερ εἰθις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξέτελεσε. *Dio. L. 53. p. 496. c. ad A. U. C. 726.*—*vid. etiam p. 512. B. καὶ αὐτῶν (sc. Gallorum) καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησαν, &c.*

of a census, including also the censure of manners, which belonged to a census of Roman Citizens. And in another place, when he particularly describes the office of a Censor, he says: “As Censors, they [*the Emperours*] enquire (n) into our lives and manners, and make enrolments.” He intends therefore in this place the whole of a census, except the correction of manners, by the noun, which St. *Luke* makes use of in the second verse: only it is in the plural number.

Farther St. *Luke*'s narration contains in it so many circumstances of a Roman census, that I cannot but think, there was at this time a proper census. The substance of the decree was, that all the land should be enrolled. Again, *All went to be taxed*, or enrolled. And he intimates very plainly, that *Mary* also was enrolled with *Joseph*. All these are particulars extremely agreeable to the nature of a Roman census.

Though therefore the words in St. *Luke*, and especially the verb in the first verse, are used for the making of any kind of entry, yet the whole relation obliges us to under-

(n) Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τιμησίσεως, τῆς τε βίης καὶ τῆς τρόπου ἡμῶν ἐξέταξις, καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ποιῆσαι: *id.* L. 53. p. 508. B. C.

stand it concerning this particular kind of enrolment.

And St. *Luke's* words appear to be extremely proper. The edicts for a census seem to have generally run in this form, expressing the duty of the people. There is in *Cicero* the title of such an edict, published by *Verres* Praetor of *Sicilie*, when a census was to be made in that province. It is called an EDICT concerning the ENROLMENT (o).

In a census of the Citizens of *Rome*, the number of the people was always taken and observed, but there was a census made of goods and lands, as well as of persons. This appears from passages already quoted from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and others. And *Livie* says expressly, that the very design of the institution was, that people might contribute to the expenses of the state not by the head, but in proportion to their estates (p).

And

(o) EDICTUM DE PROFESSIONE. *Cic. in Verr. lib. iii. n. 26.*

(p) Ut quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis, ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis FORTUNAEQUE aliquid interlucet, posteris fama ferrent: Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro in perio: ex quo belli

And for aught that appears, the same views were pursued in the assessments made in the provinces. *Tacitus* indeed says that the *Batavi* paid no tribute to the *Romans*, and furnished the state with arms and (q) men only upon occasion. And some may be disposed to infer from hence that there might be enrolments made, in such a province, of the names of the people, and their conditions of life; in order to know, what number of troops it might furnish the state with.

This is very possible, and I think not unlikely: though I have not yet seen any particular instance of it referred to by learned men upon this occasion. Some however do suppose, that the survey of *Judea* at this time was made by *Augustus* with this very view (r). But I believe *Judea* was the last

pacisque munia NON VIRITIM SED PRO HABITU PECUNIARUM, FIERENT. *Liv. lib. i. cap. 42.*

(q) Nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum attriti, viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant. *Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12.* Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit, exempti oneribus & collationibus, & tantum in usum praeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur. *Id. de Morib. Germ. cap. 29.*

(r) Breviario igitur quod meditabatur *Augustus*, quantum militam *Judaea* suppeditare posset, includi debuit. *Baynaze. Ann. Polit. Ecc. ante D. 5. n. 11.*

place,



place, in which the *Romans* would look for soldiers. The *Jews* had formerly served the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* in their wars; they had likewise been in the Roman armies. But now they had scruples about serving *Heathens* in this way. And all of them, who were in the service of the *Romans*, had been discharged in form (s). Their own Kings kept foreign troops in *Judea*. After the conquest of *Egypt*, *Augustus* made *Herod* a present of four hundred *Gauls*, that had been the Life Guard of *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* (t). And in the description of *Herod's* funeral solemnity, *Josephus* reckons up three distinct corps of foreign soldiers; *Thracians*, *Germans*, and *Gauls* (u). Indeed the *Jews* were at this time so self-willed and tumultuous, that, as it seems, no Prince was very forward to put weapons into their hands.

I recollect but one instance, that looks like a design of any of the Roman Emperours to take *Jews* into their service. This was in the reign of *Tiberius*, who, as *Suetonius* says, sent the *Jewish* youth (who

(s) *Joseph. Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 10. §. 12.*

(t) *Id. de B. J. lib. i. p. 1006, 15.*

(u) *Ibid. cap. ult. sub. fin.*

were

were at *Rome*) under a sort of military oath into the more unhealthful provinces (x). But this seems to me to have been more like sending them to the mines, than taking them into military service. We are certain, the *Jews* did afterward pay tribute to the *Romans*. And perhaps I may hereafter make it appear, they were now, and had been before this, tributary to the *Romans*. It is therefore much more likely, that surveys should be made in *Judea*, with a view to tribute, than to military service.

Nor do I perceive, what learned men gain by this. They think it dishonorable to *Herod* to have the goods of his subjects enrolled and rated by a Roman officer for the paying of tribute. But where lies the difference between this, and the numbring and entering his people, in order to demand for soldiers as many men as his countrey could afford? If indeed this enrolment of his people had been made by *Herod*, by his own authority, and at his own discretion, in order to furnish the Emperour with a

(x) *Judaeorum* juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris coeli distribuit. *vit. Tiber. c. 36. vid. & Tacit. Ann. ii. c. 85.*

certain quota of men upon occasion, *Herod's* honour had been saved. But this is not *St. Luke's* account. *There went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the land should be taxed.* And by virtue of this decree of *Augustus* all *Herod's* subjects, men and women, in every part of his dominions, were enrolled, with great exactness, and, as it seems, with great expedition. And the order of enrolment must have been very pressing. I do not suppose indeed, that the Virgin was obliged at all by the decree to go to *Bethlehem* : But I think, that *Joseph* would not have gone thither, when she was so near the time of her delivery, if the enrolment would have admitted of a delay, or could have been done at another time.

And that this enrolment was performed by some Roman officer, as well as ordered by an Imperial decree, may be very fairly concluded from the parenthesis, *ver. 2.* since the main intention of it is to distinguish it from another, which was certainly made by a Roman officer.

Mr. *Whiston* indeed says, *It is very probable that the enrolment of the Jews was made*

made by Herod, at the request of (y) Augustus. It would have been to Mr. Whiston's purpose to give a few specimens of this stile of Augustus, or of the Republic toward some of their dependent nominal Kings. But it would not have signified much in this case, because St. Luke does not say, *there went out a request from Cesar Augustus*, but a *decree*. And therefore we should have been still obliged to call it a *decree*: And I believe, we may do so very safely. We shall find by and by, from the history of Herod, that it is very unlikely that Augustus should have sent Herod any requests about this time.

Again : Mr. Whiston supposes that Herod the King of the Jews was requested or required to get him [Augustus] a like exact account of the Jewish nation, as he had already attained of the rest of the Roman Empire. But if this had been all that Augustus did, namely, requiring or requesting this of Herod, then Herod must have issued a command or order to all his people to enrolle themselves. But how came St. Luke to mention Augustus's requirement or request

(y) *Short view of the Harm. of the four Evan.* p. 149.

to *Herod*, and call it a decree too, and yet say nothing of *Herod's* order? I think, *St. Luke* does plainly represent the people of *Judea* in motion for enrolling themselves in their several cities in obedience to *Augustus's* decree; and he says nothing of *Herod*.

Some have thought that this enrolment was the effect of *Augustus's* curiosity. And some expressions of *Claudius* (z) in his speech to the Senate about giving the freedom of the City to the *Gauls* have been alleged by learned men as a proof, that assessments were sometimes made in the provinces purely out of curiosity. For he says, that he had found a census to be a very difficult work, even when nothing more was intended by it, than to know, what his estate (or *riches*) was. But even from these words it appears, that an account was taken of the estates of the people, as well as their names and conditions of life. And the Censors must have made an estimation: Otherwise,

(z) Et quidem cum ad census novo tum opere & inadsueto Gallis, ad bellum avocatus esset. Quod opus, quam arduum nobis sit, nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra quam ut publice notae sint facultates nostrae exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus. *Vid. Lips. excurs. ad Tacit. Ann. xi. A.*

the value could never have been known with any certainty. Besides I think, that all the Emperour intends here, is, that he could easily conceive with what difficulty a census was at first introduced into a province, when even now a fresh census was seldom made without some disturbance. And as a proof of this, he instances in the rebellion, which the first census of *Gaul* produced in that countrey (*a*). And though he calls this renewing a census, only an enquiry, that his estate or revenue might be publicly known: yet certainly the tribute to be paid according to the census is not to be excluded. Princes do not, nor is it reasonable they should, reckon their people only, all their riches. The revenue arising from the tribute or taxes which they pay is certainly a part of the Prince's riches. The Emperour's meaning therefore is, that the making of a census now is not the imposing any new hardship: the great use of them is to preserve exactness and order in the state of the revenues; and yet they give

(*a*) *Livie* speaks likewise of this disturbance. *Tumultus, qui ob censum exortus erat, compositus. Epitome libri 137. Liviani.*

people uneasiness : How much more must they have done so formerly ?

Moreover, the taxing afterwards made in *Judea* was certainly a census of goods as well as persons. And yet when *St. Luke* makes mention of it in *Gamaliel's* (b) speech, he uses the same word he does here.

All the first Christians thought, this was a census of goods. It is apparent that *Justin Martyr* thought so, in that he tells the Emperour and the Senate, it was made by their first Procurator in *Judea*. *Tertullian* makes no scruple to call it very plainly a census. And *Eusebius* in his chronicle says expressly, that enrolments were then made of goods as well as of persons. All these considerations, if I mistake not, render it highly probable, that according to *St. Luke*, there was now a proper census made in *Judea* throughout the territories of *Herod*.

But though it be supposed, that here was now a census made, yet a census is not a tax. Assessments were certainly made, that tribute might be paid according to them : and where a census was made, a tribute might be required. But yet it might be

(b) Μετὰ τούτων ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ἡ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἀπογραφῆς *Act. c.* 37.

forbore or remitted. And whether any tribute was raised upon this census or not, I leave at present undetermined.

Supposing the affair St. *Luke* gives us an account of to have been a Roman census, it is possible two or three enquiries may be here made. (1.) What occasion was there for *Joseph* to enrolle himself, since he was a poor man; as may be concluded from the lesser offering, which the Virgin made at the temple for her purification?

I answer, that it was the custom in a Roman census, for persons of all employments and characters to enter themselves; as appears from the descriptions given of it, in the authors which I have before quoted. And though *Joseph* was not a rich man, it does not follow he had nothing. However, whatever his condition was, the edict obliged him to give in an account of himself to the officers; unless there was a particular exception made, and only such persons were required to appear who were possessed of estates to such a value. *Augustus* seems once to have made such a census of the Roman Citizens (c). But that this was not  
the

(c) Ἄυλος δὲ ἀπογεγραφᾶς, τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων, καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων εἶσαν κεκλήμενων, ἐποίησατο. Τὸς γὰρ ἀστέρας



the usual method, is evident, because this particular circumstance of that census is mentioned as somewhat extraordinary.

(2.) Since *Joseph* lived in *Galilee*, how came he to go up from thence to be registered at *Bethlehem*?

To this I answer, that possibly he might be obliged to it by virtue of some clause in the edict. *Ulpian* says (*d*), that persons ought to enroll themselves in the place where their estate lies. Though *Joseph* was not rich, yet he might have some small inheritance in or near *Bethlehem*, and might be obliged to go thither upon that account. But this I do not insist upon here.

St. *Luke* gives us this reason of his going to *Bethlehem*: because he was of the house and lineage of *David*. v. 4. It is probable, that this journey was owing to the custom of the *Jews*, who, whenever they were numbered, entred themselves according to their tribes and families. If against

σοθνεύεργος, τὴς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκείας ἐκ ἰνάγκασιν ἀπογράφασθαι, δείσας μὴ νεωτέρωσι τι ταραχθῆναι. *Dio. l. 55. p. 557. B.*

(*d*) Is verò qui agrum in aliâ civitate habet, in eâ civitate profiteri debet, in quâ ager est. Agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare, in cujus territorio possidetur.

4. §. 2. ff. de censibus.

S f

this

this it be objected, That the *Jews* had lost the registers of their families before this time : I answer, that this does not appear. They were reckoned by them to be of great importance. And it is not unlikely, that many, if not most of them, had the registers of their families, till the final ruine of their state and constitution, and perhaps for some time after it. *Anna* is said to be the Luke ii. 36. daughter of Phanael, of the TRIBE OF AS-  
Acts iv. 36.SER. *Barnabas* was a LEVITE. *Paul* af-  
Rom. xi. 1. firms, that he was of the TRIBE OF BEN-  
Phil. iii. 5.JAMIN. And these two were born in foreign countreys, the one in *Cyprus*, the other at *Tarsus*.

*Josephus*, the *Jewish* Historian, having mentioned the time of his birth, and the names of several of his ancestors, says, “ Thus have I given an account of my family, as I found it in the public records (e).” It is true, *Josephus* was of the race of the priests, and their registers might be kept with greater care and exactness than others : But it is evident from what he says of the marriages of the priests,

(e) Τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ γένει ἡμῶν διαδοχὴν ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις Δίλλοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὖρον, ἕτως παραλίθισμαι. *Joseph. in vit. init.*

that the registers of other families were in being likewise. “ Every priest, *says he,* “ among us is obliged to marry a woman of “ his own nation, and not so much to re- “ gard money or any other advantages, but “ to make an exact enquiry into her descent, “ and to accept of no account but what is “ well attested. This is done not in *Judea* “ only, but in all places ; where-ever there “ is any part of our nation, this law re- “ lating to the marriages of the priests is “ most carefully observed ; I mean, in *E-* “ *gypt* and *Babylon*, and every other part “ of the world, in which any of our priests “ live (*f*).”

(3.) What necessity was there, for the *Virgin Mary* to go to *Bethlehem* ? Surely every master of a family was not obliged by a Roman census, to appear before the officer, with his wife, children and servants, if he had any.

(*f*) Δει γὰρ μέλει οὐκ ἴσως τῆς ἱεροσύνης ἐξ ὁμοιότητος γυναικὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς χρήματα μηδὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποθέλειν τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γένος ἐξελεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λαμβάνουσα τὴν διαδοχὴν, καὶ πολλὰ παρασχόμενον μάρτυρας καὶ ταῦτα πράττωμεν ἢ μόνον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀλλ’ ὅπως πόλις σύστημα τῆ γένους ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, καὶ κεί τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποσώζειται τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περὶ τῆς γάμου κ. τ. λ. *Cont. Apion. l. i. §. 7.*

I answer, that I know not of any obligation she was under by virtue of *Augustus's* edict to go to *Bethlehem* at this time : But yet *Joseph* and *Mary* might choose it. And they might have very good reasons for it that we are unacquainted with. *St. Luke* Luke ii. 41, 42. says, *Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the Passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast. And yet by the lawe of Moses, the males only were obliged to appear before God at the great feasts. And many learned men are of opinion, that our Saviour did not go up to Jerusalem till this passover, (which St. Luke here speaks of,) when he was twelve years of age : though his parents, Mary, as it seems, as well as Joseph, had gone up to Jerusalem every year : that is, from their last settlement in Galilee, after their return from Egypt.*

3. I shall now give a general description of the state and condition of *Judea* under *Herod*, that we may be able to judge, whether a Roman census could be made in it by virtue of a decree of *Augustus*.

The *Roman Empire* extended at this time to all the most considerable countreys of the  
known

known world, whether situated in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Africa*. Beside those countreys which were properly called provinces, and were governed by officers sent from *Rome*, with the title of Presidents, Praetors, or Proconsuls; there were other countreys governed by Kings, Tetrarchs or Dynasts, dependent upon the Roman state.

In the state and condition of these dependent Princes, there was a considerable difference. Some few received their crown from the Emperour, and acknowledged a dependence, but paid no tribute (g); among the rest, who were in a more proper subjection, some were called Friends of the Emperour, or the Roman State. This was undoubtedly a very great honour, especially when conferred in form (h). These Friends of the *Romans* furnished them with a part of their troops, or with sums of money up-

(g) Ἡς [Ἀρμενίας] Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ ἄρχῃσι μὲν ἐς φόρον κομιδὴν. αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τῆς βασιλείας. *Appian. in Praef. init.*

(h) Cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis, repetitus ex vetusto mos, missusque è senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua munera patrum daret, regemque & socium, atque amicum appellaret. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 26. vid. & aliud exemplum apud Dionys. Hal. lib. v. cap. 35. p. 291.*

on particular occasions ; or made presents to the Emperour and his ministers, when needful : that is, they paid tribute in the gentlest way. Others were more properly tributary, and were obliged to the payment of certain sums of money : but it is generally supposed, that they raised it themselves among their people by their own officers. But I suspect that many of those princes, called Friends, were properly tributary, and that the Emperour had an officer in the territories of most of them who took care of his revenue. Beside these, there were (if I mistake not ; ) some countreys under the government of dependent Kings, in which a tribute was raised in the way of a Roman census.

That *Herod* was a dependent prince, I think was never denied. He obtained the kingdom of *Judea* at first by virtue of a decree of the Roman (*i*) Senate ; and was assisted in taking possession of it by Roman troops commanded by their own (*k*) officers. *Augustus* gave him leave to nominate, for his successor, which of his sons he pleased. But yet in his last will there was a clause,

(*i*) *Joseph. de Bell. l. 2. cap. 14. §. 9.*

(*k*) *Ibid. cap. 18.*

by which the final determination of all was submitted to the will and pleasure of the Emperour. And after his death his sons were obliged to go to *Rome* (1), to obtain the grant and confirmation of *Augustus*, before they dared to take possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

That *Herod* was tributary to *Augustus*, immediately before his death, seems evident from the sentence pronounced by the Emperour, after he had considered *Herod's* will. "To *Archelaus* were given, says *Josephus*, " *Idumea*, and *Judea*, and the countrey of " the *Samaritans*. These were eased of a " fourth part of their tribute, *Cesar* decree- " ing them this relief, because they had not " joyned with the other people in their late " disturbances (m)." I think it most reasonable to understand this of a tribute paid, or to be paid, not to *Herod* or *Archelaus*, but to the Emperour. If the *Samaritans* were tributary to *Cesar*, the *Jews* were so likewise. It is plain, these were not more fa-

(1) *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 2.*

(m) Τα δὲ Ἀρχελαῶ συνηλθὲν Ἰδουμαῖά τε καὶ Ἰουδαία, τὸ τε Σαμαρειτικόν τεταρτε μέρος ἔσται τῶν φόρων παρελεύσει, Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς κέρειν ἐπέσειαμίεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ συναπισθῆσαι τῆ λουτῆ  
*Joseph. Ant. l. 17. c. xiii. §. 4. vid. E de Bell. l. ii. c. 2.*

vored, than the former. And they were both equally subject to *Herod* and *Arche-laus*.

That *Herod* had been always tributary to the *Roman Empire*, may be inferred from what *Agrippa* the younger says to the *Jews* in his speech to dissuade them from the war. “At this time, *says he*, the desire of liberty is unseasonable. It had been much better to have maintained it with vigour formerly.—Then all ought to have been done that was possible, to have kept out the *Romans*, when *Pompey* first entered into this land. But our ancestors, and their kings, superior to you in wealth, in strength and conduct, yielded to a small part of the *Roman* power. And you now the hereditary subjects of the *Romans* attempt to resist their whole Empire (n).” And *Josephus* in his speech to the *Jews* be-

(n) Ἄλλὰ μὲν τότε ἔτι ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄωρον, δεῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγυνίζεσθαι πρότερον· — τότε γὰρ ἔτι ἐχρὴ πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μὴ εἶξασθαι Ῥωμαῖοις ποιεῖν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέβαινε τῆς χώρας ὁ Πομπηΐδης· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἄμεινον ὑμῶν πολλὰ διακείμενοι, πρὸς μοῖραν ἕλιγον τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἐκ ἀντιστοχῆς· ὑμεῖς δὲ, οἱ τὸ μὲν ὑπακῆν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρεληφότες — πρὸς ἅλα ἀνδισασθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν· *Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii cap. 16. p. 1085. 1086*

sieged



sieged in *Jerusalem*, to persuade them to surrender to *Titus*, plainly dates the beginning of the *Jewish servitude* to the *Romans* from *Pompey's* conquest of *Judea* (o). It may be concluded from hence, that from that time the *Jews* were tributary to the *Romans*. Subjection and servitude must needs imply the paying of tribute.

*Appian* mentions *Herod* King of the *Idumeans* and *Samaritans* among the other Kings, who, according to *Mark Antony's* direction, were to bring in a certain prescribed tribute (p). *Antony* and *Herod* were always very good friends, and it cannot be supposed that *Herod* was better used by *Augustus*, than he had been by *Antony*.

In the story of the difference between *Herod* and *Syllaeus* the *Arabian*, which difference seems to have arose about three years before *Herod's* death, and to have continued a year or two at least, if not as long as *Herod* lived, there is a passage that de-

(o) Πόθεν δ' ἤρξάμεθα δουλείας, ἀρ' ἔχι ἐκ γάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβουλῶ, καὶ Ἰρκανῶ μανία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπηίου ἐπήγαγε τῇ πόλει, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἐκ ἀξίας ἐλευθερίας· *id. ibid. l. v. cap. ix. p. 242. fin.*

(p) Ἰση δέ ποί καὶ βασιλείας ἕς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τε ταμίαις· — Ἰουδαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων, Ἡρώδην· *Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. p. 1135.*

serves to be observed in this place. “ *Syllaeus* moreover bribed *Fabatus*, *Cesar’s* Procurator, and employed him against *Herod*. But *Herod* by a larger sum of money drew off *Fabatus* from *Syllaeus*, and by him required the performance of those things which *Cesar* had ordered [*to be done by Syllaeus*]. However *Syllaeus* went on in his old way, performed none of those things; and moreover accused *Fabatus* to *Caesar*, saying, that he was a Procurator more in *Herod’s* interests than the Emperour’s (q).” By *Procurator* can be meant no other than an officer that took care of the Emperour’s revenue. And the nature of the charge seems to imply, that *Fabatus* had a trust under the Emperour in *Herod’s* dominions. This indeed may be questioned, because that afterwards, *Syllaeus* having killed *Fabatus*, *Aretas* the King of *Arabia* prosecuted *Syllaeus* at *Rome* for the murder of *Fabatus*, as well as for other

(q) Πείσας δὲ [Συλλαίου] πολλοῖς χρήμασι Φαβιάτου τὸν Κάισαρος διοικητὴν, ἐχρήσατο βουλῶν καὶ καθ’ Ἡρώδου πλείονα δὲ δὲς Ἡρώδου, ἀφίστησι τε ἀπὸ Συλλαίου Φαβιάτου, καὶ οὐδ’ αὐτῶν τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέτραπεν· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἀποδὲς, ἔτι καὶ κατηγορεῖ Φαβιάτου πρὸς Καίσαρα, διοικητὴν εἶναι λέγων, ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου τῶν δὲ Ἡρώδου συμφερόντων· *Joseph. de Bell. l. 1. c. 29. p. 1030.*  
 v. 21.—

crimes committed by him (*r*). And from hence it may be inferred by some, that *Fabatus* was rather an officer in *Arabia*. Let it be so. However, here is a proof, that the Emperour had a Procurator to take care of his tribute or revenue in the countrey of a dependent Prince: for such was the King of *Arabia*. And it is not impossible, that *Fabatus* might be concerned in both those Kingdoms, of *Judea* and *Arabia*.

Upon the whole then, *Herod* was always a dependent tributary Prince. Whether he was at last obliged to submit to a census, will be the subject of enquiry under the next head.

All that I would shew farther here is, that a census was not inconsistent with the rights allowed to these dependent Princes, according to the Roman constitution. This is generally denied, therefore some proof must be given of it. But it cannot be expected, that I should produce many examples of a census in dependent kingdoms: partly, because the Roman historians never take any notice of these things, unless they are attended with some accidents that render them remarkable: and partly, because the *Romans* had several ways of raising tribute; and a

*Herod. Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 3.*

census,

census, which was the most disagreeable way of all, was not used in all those countreys that were properly provinces.

After the battle of *Philippi*, in which *Brutus* and *Cassius* were defeated, *Mark Antony* went over into *Asia*, and coming to *Ephesus*, summoned the States of the nations thereabout to give him a meeting. In a speech he made to these States, among other things, he tells them: “Your King *Attalus* bequeathed his kingdome to us by testament. Our government has been milder than his was. For we remitted the taxes you had been wont to pay to him, till men of turbulent spirits arose amongst us, and laid us under a necessity of demanding tribute of you. And even then we did not impose it upon you in the way of a census, that we might collect it with less hazard and trouble to our selves; and we required only the annual payment of a sum of money out of the produce of your countrey (s).” In the conclusion they agreed to pay a whole nine years tribute in two years time. The battle of *Phi-*

(s) Ἐπιὶ δὲ εἰδέσθαι, ἢ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπιθήκαμεν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστω κερσῶν ἐπετάξομεν. *Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. p. 1074.*

*Asiatica* was fought (t) A. U. 712. *Attalus* died (u) A. U. 621. So that *Asia (Provincia)* had been a province 90 years, and yet they had not had any census among them. It is not likely therefore, that we should meet with many instances of a census made in dependent kingdoms.

*Tacitus* however has given us one instance. About this time, says he, the *Cilicians* subject to *Archelaus the Cappadocian (x)*, being required to enroll themselves in our way, and to pay tribute accordingly, withdrew themselves into the fastnesses of mount *Taurus*: and by the advantage of the situation, maintained themselves against the weak forces of the King; till *Marcus Trebellius* came into his assistance from *Vitellius* President of *Syria* with four thousand Roman soldiers, and a body of Auxiliaries (y).”

By

(t) Vid. *Petavii Rationarium Temporum Part i. lib. iv. cap.*

20.

(u) Vid. *ibid. cap. 14.*

(x) Or, that had been subject to *Archelaus the Cappadocian.*

(y) Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebantur, in juga Tauri Montis abscessit: locorumque ingenio sese contra regis imbelles copias tutabantur; donec M. Trebellius

By *Cilicia* I here understand, not *Cilicia the Plain*, [*Cilicia Campestris*,] which had been a Roman province long before this; but *Cilicia the Rugged*, [*Aspera*,] which had been annexed by *Augustus* to the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* (z). It is true, that upon the death of old *Archelaus* A. U. 770. A. D. 17. (a), the kingdom of *Cappadocia* was reduced to the state of a (b) province; and this disturbance, which *Tacitus* here speaks of, is placed by him in A. U. 789. A. D. 36 (c). But *Tacitus* has nowhere said, that this *Cilicia* was made a province. If it had, he must have known it; and could not have spoke of it, as he does here. He says, that the people maintained themselves in their fastnesses against the *King's weak forces*, till a General arrived from *Vitellius* with a reinforcement of Ro-

Trebellius Legatus a Vitellio praefide Syriae cum quatuor milibus legionariorum, & delectis auxiliis missus, duos collegas quos barbari infederant, operibus circumdedit: & crumpere aufos, ferro; ceteros, siti ad deditonem coegit. *Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 41.*

(z) *Vid. Strabonem lib. xiv. p. 987. D.*

(a) C. Coelio L. Pomponio Coss.

(b) Regnum in provinciam redactum est. *Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42.*

(c) Q. Plautio & Sext. Papinio Coss.

man soldiers. If it had been a province, he would have said, that the people had been too hard for the troops, which the Prefect had with him. And this account is in the main confirmed by several other historians, who say, that this *Cilicia* was governed by Kings till the time of *Vespasian* (*d*).

Nor is it very hard to trace the fortune of this people from the beginning of the reign of *Caligula* to *Vespasian*. For *Dio* says, that *Caligula* gave the *Maritime Cilicia*, (which was another name of this countrey,) to *Antiochus*, as an accession to his kingdom of *Comagene* (*e*). Before *Caligula* died, he took it away from him. By *Claudius* it was again restored to the same *Antiochus* (*f*). And from an account, which *Tacitus* has given of another tumult of this people, A. U.

(*d*) Item Thraciam, Ciliciam, & Comagenem ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciae formam redegit. *Sueton. in Vespas. cap. 8.* Item Thraciam, Ciliciam Tracheam, & Comagenam, quae sub regibus amicis fuerant, in provinciarum formam redegit [Vespasianus]. *Eutrop. lib. vii. cap. 19.*

(*e*) Ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν Κομμαγενήν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν, καὶ προσέτεκε καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας ὄντα. *Dio l. 59. p. 645. D.*

(*f*) Καὶ μετὰ τῆτο τῷ τε Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν Κομμαγενήν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γαίῳ, καὶ περ αὐτὸς οἱ ὄντα αὐτὴν, ἀφῆρτε) *id. lib. 60. p. 670. A.*

805. A. D. 52. [*Fausto Sulla & Salvio Othone Coss.*] they appear to have been then subject to *Antiochus (g)*. And it is likely they continued under him, till it was made a province by *Vespasian*; because *Comagene* also was at that time reduced to a province, as appears from *Suetonius* and *Eutropius* already quoted; and from *Josephus*, who says, that this *Antiochus* was dispossessed of all his dominions in the fourth year of *Vespasian (h)*.

The only difficulty is, who they were subject to, when this census was ordered to be made among them in the later end of *Tiberius's* reign. For by the manner, in which the first words of this passage of *Tacitus* are quoted by Cardinal *Noris (i)*, and by *Pagi (k)* from him, they must have understood by *Archelao subiecta*, the people *that had*

(g) Nec multo post agrestium Cilicium nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum, saepe & alias commotae, tunc Trofobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere.—Dein rex eorum Antiochus, blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, cum barbarorum copias dislocasset, Trofobore paucisque primoribus interfectis, ceteros clementia composuit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 55.*

(h) *Vid. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 7.*

(i) *Noris Cenotaph. Pis. Diff. ii. pag. 308.*

(k) *Appar. ad Annal. num. 127.*



been subject to *Archelaus*, that is, to *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*. However, *Lipsius* and *Muretus* (1) understand *Tacitus* to say, that they were then subject to *Archelaus*, a son of the former *Archelaus*, who died at *Rome*, A. U. 770.

I am under no obligation to determine this matter, because it is the same thing to my purpose, whether they were now subject to the King of *Comagene*, or some other dependent prince, or whether they were subject to a son of the old *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*; the *imbelles regis copiae*, the King's weak forces, proving they were under a King. But it seems to me most natural to interpret *Tacitus*, as *Lipsius* does. The *imbelles regis copiae* imply, that a King had been mentioned before; and therefore *Archelao subjecta* cannot be very fairly understood to mean no more than a description of these *Cilicians*, to distinguish them from others of that name.

*Tiberius* had been indeed very angry with old *Archelaus*. But neverthelesse he might be willing, when he had made his kingdom of *Cappadocia* a province, to give one of his sons this small appendage of it. This

(1) *In loc.*

*Cilicia* was far from being any strong temptation. The countrey was mountainous, and the people were apt to turn to robbery or piracy, and for these reasons they had been given before by *Augustus* to the above-mentioned *Archelaus* (m). *Cappadocia* had been a very rich booty to *Tiberius*. Upon it's being made a province, by the ready money and effects of *Archelaus*, and the revenues of the countrey, such sums came into the public treasury of the *Romans*, that their tax called the hundreth fell immediately to a two hundreth (n). We may therefore suppose, that by *Archelaus* here is meant a son of the former King of *Cappadocia*, though he be an obscure person. And the weakness of the King's forces is an argument, that he was no considerable prince, and that these people were his only subjects.

Though here be but one example, it is sufficient for my design. I believe it was disgraceful to a prince, to have a census made in his dominions. However, *Tacitus* does not insinuate, that there was any

(m) *Vid. Strabo. l. xiv. p. 987. D.*

(n) *Regnum ejus in provinciam redactum est; fructibusque ejus levare posse centesimae vectigal, professus Caesar, centesimam in posteram statuit. Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 42*

injustice in it, or that it was absolutely inconsistent with the rights indulged to dependent princes : and the King, to whom this people were subject, supported this census, as far as he was able.

4. I am now to enquire, whether we have any reasons to believe, that there was a census made in *Judea* at this time.

We can hope for no light in this matter from any author but *Josephus*, except the notice which the Christian writers have taken of it. If we will rely upon them, I think the point is decided already : but at present we will lay aside their testimonies, and confine our enquiries to *Josephus*.

That *Herod* was always tributary, has been proved. I apprehend, that toward the later end of his reign there was some alteration made in his circumstances for the worse. In order to judge of the evidence there is for it, we must trace the history of *Herod's* affairs about this time.

*Obodas* was now King of *Arabia*, and *Syllaeus* his chief officer under him, who indeed administered all affairs of that countrey with almost kingly authority. *Herod* had lent *Obodas* a considerable sum of money : When the time of payment came, *Herod* demand-

ed the money, but in vain. Moreover a band of robbers had infested *Herod's* dominions and carried off several of his subjects, and were afterwards sheltered by *Obodas* and *Syllaeus* in *Arabia*. These differences between the two courts of *Judea* and *Arabia* were brought before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, the Emperour's chief officers in *Syria*, the neighbouring province. Here it was stipulated, that *Herod* should surrender to *Obodas* all the *Arabians* he had in his custody, and that *Obodas* should release all *Jewish* prisoners, and pay the money he owed in thirty days time (o). But when that time was expired, none of these conditions were performed on the part of the *Arabians*. And *Syllaeus*, full of resentment against *Herod*, sails for *Rome*. The terms agreed upon not having been performed by *Obodas*, *Herod*, with the consent of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, marches into *Arabia*, and routs the forces that opposed him. Advice of this is immediately sent to *Syllaeus* then in *Italia*. He procures an audience of *Augustus*; tells him, That *Herod* had made an incursion into *Arabia*, laid waste the countrey, and killed five and twenty hundred *Arabians*

(o) *Joseph. Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 9. p. 734.*

with their General. *Augustus* having heard this, enquires of *Herod's* friends at *Rome*, and of persons who arrived from *Syria*, whether this was matter of fact. Being assured it was, without ever asking the occasion, "He writes a letter to *Herod* in very angry terms (p). The substance of this letter was ; That whereas he had hitherto treated him as a FRIEND, he should for the future treat him as a SUBJECT.

*Herod* then sent ambassadours to *Rome* : But they were forced to return, without so much as obtaining an audience. A second ambassy likewise went to *Rome* without any effect (q).

In the mean time *Obodas* dies, and *Aretas* takes upon him the crown of *Arabia* : and then sends away ambassadours to *Rome*, with large presents ; withal accusing *Syllaeus*, his predecessor's chief minister, of many great crimes. But *Syllaeus* was still in great favour at *Rome*, and *Augustus* was offended, that *Aretas* had taken upon him the

(p) Ὅργη τε μείζων ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη, ταυτε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς, καὶ τὸτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλος, νῦν ὑπηκόω χρήσεται. *id.* *ibid* p. 735.

(q) p. 736. *init.*

government of *Arabia* without first obtaining his leave. And sent back the ambassadors, without receiving the presents, or admitting them to an audience. “ The affairs of these two kingdoms of *Judea* and *Arabia* were then in a very bad posture. In one there was a King not confirmed in his government. And *Herod* having lost the Emperour’s favour, was forced to submit to many disgraces and affronts. Seeing no end of these evils, he resolved to send once more an ambassie to *Rome* and to try whether he could gain friends there, and by them recover the Emperour’s good will. The person sent upon this occasion was *Nicolas* of *Damascus* (r).

This *Nicolas*, who was ever firm to *Herod*’s interest, was a man of great abilities and of admirable address. When he came to *Rome*, *Syllaeus*’s power was declining. New informations against him had been brought from *Arabia*, and *Nicolas* artfully

(r) Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀραβίων. αὐτὸ καὶ μάλλον ἐπισημαίνεται. — τὸν μὲν βασιλέα, ὃ μὲν ἔπαυ τῆς ἀρχῆς βεβαία. ἐξ ἧρας αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧς ἡμετέρας ταχίστην ἐργασίαν ἐκείνῳ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν παρρησίας φέρων ἀνακαζέτω. σερβανθίου δὲ καὶ ἀποστολῆς ταχίστην ἐργασίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλει. καὶ ἀποκαταμετρήσει τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ τὴν φίλων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιτοχίαν ποιησάμενος. κ. τ. λ. σ. 730.

joining in with the *Arabians*, procures an audience of *Augustus*; and having first supported the charges brought by them against *Syllaeus*, he proceeded to the defense of *Herod*. “ Here the Emperour stopped him short, and bid him answer, whether *Herod* had not marched his forces into *Arabia*, and slain five and twenty hundred men? ” To which *Nicolas* replied: That the things the Emperour had heard concerning *Herod* were in part true and in part false, and that the occasion of all had been concealed from him. He informed the Emperour of the differences between *Obodas* and *Herod*: That certain stipulations had been entered into in the presence of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*: That *Syllaeus* had sworn by the Emperour’s Fortune, that the terms agreed upon should be punctually executed, but that nothing had been done: That *Herod* had not moved his forces, till he had first obtained the consent of the Emperour’s chief officers in *Syria*, and that the numbers of the slain had been very much magnified. *Augustus*, perceiving that his displeasure against *Herod* had been built upon misrepresentations, was appeased; and at length pronounced a sentence, that *Syllaeus* should re-

turn home, give *Herod* satisfaction, and then be punished for his crimes (s).

Some time after this we have an account of some disturbances in *Herod's* family. - A very strict friendship had commenced between *Antipater Herod's* eldest son, *Pheroras Herod's* brother, and *Pheroras's* wife, who was particularly disagreeable to *Herod*. *Salome, Herod's* sister, who knew almost every thing, suspected that these three were carrying on designs against her brother. She came and told him what she knew; and *Herod* had had some intelligence before, and was full of suspicions, but what he had heard was not fully confirmed. There follows immediately upon this, a passage of so extraordinary a nature, that it must be transcribed without any abridgement. " There " was moreover, *says (t) Josephus*, a cer-  
tain

(s) *Id. ibid. cap. 10. pag. 740. 741.*

(t) Καὶ ἔτι γὰρ μῦθος τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀθέστων ἐπ' ἀκρίβει-  
μύγα φησὶ τῷ πατριάρχῳ, ὡς χρῆται τὸ δαίτι προσποιημέν-  
ῆτι καὶ ἡ γυναικίῳ τῆς Φαρισαίου καλέσθαι, βασιλεῦσι δυναμει-  
μαίῳτα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀρμενῶν, καὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ εἰς τὸ πολίμῳ  
τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γενῆ τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ βασιλευσάνθ' ἡ-  
ῖον. ἢ μὴ εὐνοῦσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέωσι πράγμασι, οἱ  
οὐ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμύθησαν, ὅντις ἐπὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦ-  
ς Ἰουδαίας χρῆμασι, ἢ Φαρισαίου γυνῆ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἡ-  
φῆ.



“ tain sect of *Jews*, who valued themselves  
 “ highly for their exact knowledge of the  
 “ lawe; and talking much of their interest  
 “ with God, were greatly in favour with  
 “ the women. They are called *Pharisees*,  
 “ men who had it in their power to con-  
 “ troll Kings; extremely subtle, and ready  
 “ to attempt any thing against those whom  
 “ they did not like. When therefore the  
 “ whole *Jewish* nation took an oath to be  
 “ faithful to *Cesar*, and the interests of the  
 “ King, these men to the number of above  
 “ six thousand refused to swear. The King  
 “ having laid a fine upon them, *Pheroras’s*  
 “ wife paid the money for them. They,  
 “ in requital for this her kindnesse (for they

φέρει· οἱ δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῆς, πρόβηνωσιν δὲ ἐπιπιπίσει-  
 νος ἐπιφοιτήσῃ τῷ Θεῷ, πρὸς λέγον ὡς Ἡρώδῃ μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρ-  
 χῆς ὑπὸ Θεῷ ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γίνετῃ τῷ ἀπ’ αὐτῆ, τῆς τε  
 βασιλείας εἰς τε ἐκείνην περιηξέσης καὶ Φερώραν, παιδῶν τε οἱ εἶεν  
 αὐτῆς. Καὶ ταυτε, ἐ γὰρ ἐλάμβανεν τὴν Σαλώμην, ἐξαγγελτὰ  
 βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διαφθεροῖεν τινας· καὶ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τῆς αἰτιωτάτης ἀναίρει, καὶ Βαγῶαν τὸν  
 κτείνον, Καρὸν τε τιὰ τῶν τότε πρὸς χροῖα ἀρετῆ τῆ εὐπρεπῆς, καὶ  
 παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτῆ· κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὅ, τι τῷ εἰκέει συνεισθήκει  
 εἰς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγον· Ἡρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγῶας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς πατήρ  
 τε καὶ ἐκτείνοντες ὀνομασθησόμενοι, τῷ ἐπικαίασαθησόμενε προξήσει  
 βασιλεὺς, καὶ αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκείνῃ πάντα εἶναι, παρέξοντο αὐτῷ  
 γαμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ, καὶ καταπαύσεως τέλει γινώσκον· *Antiq.* 17. cap. 2.  
 § 6.

“ were

“ were supposed, by their great intimacy,  
“ with God, to have attained to the gift of  
“ foreknowledge; ) foretold, that God hav-  
“ ing decreed to put an end to the govern-  
“ ment of *Herod* and his race, the king-  
“ dome would be transferred to her and  
“ *Pheroras* and their children. *Salome*, who  
“ was ignorant of none of these things,  
“ came and told the King of them, and as-  
“ sured him likewise, that many of the court  
“ were corrupted by them. Then the King  
“ put to death the most guilty of the *Phari-*  
“ *sees*, and *Bagoas* the eunuch, and one  
“ *Carus*, the most beautiful young man a-  
“ bout the court, and the great instrument  
“ in the King’s unlawful pleasures. He  
“ likewise slew every one in his own fami-  
“ ly, who adhered to those things which  
“ were said by the *Pharisees*. But *Bago-*  
“ *as* had been elevated by them, in that he  
“ should be called father and benefactor,  
“ the King, who was to be appointed ac-  
“ cording to their prediction, (for all things  
“ would be in his power;) being to give  
“ him a capacity of marriage, and of hav-  
“ ing children of his own.”

In the margin (*u*) I justify my version of this passage, as to one particular, in which it is singular. But beside that, possibly

(*u*) This passage of *Josephus* has been already quoted very often by learned men, who have treated of this *census*, or of the true time of our Saviour's nativity. But all, whom I have seen, have followed *Gelenius's* version of these last words, which is thus: *Nam Bagoas in eam spem sublatus erat, quasi parens & benefactor appellandus regis, quem destinarent vaticinia; prospere enim cessura novo regi omnia, constabiliendo successionem prolis legitimae.* I suppose they did not look upon the original. If they had, they would have easily perceived his mistake. Nor does the argument, that this affair has a relation to our census, stand thus in it's full force, as will appear by and by. *Hudson* has very much corrected *Gelenius's* version, and translates the concluding words thus: *Fuit autem per eos elatus Bagoas, quod discerent eum patrem beneficumque appellatum iri ejus, qui ex eorum praedictione creandus rex esset; habiturum enim eum regem omnium rerum potestatem, & Bagoae vires conciliaturum cum muliere congregandi, propriosque liberos gignendi.* But, methinks, the sense of this is not very extraordinary. *Bagoas* is to receive a great benefit from the King, and bestows none upon him, that I see; and yet he *is to be called his Father and Benefactor.* I think, that *Josephus* says, that the *Pharisees* gave out, that *Bagoas* was to become, or *to be called, a Father*: and hereby, that is, by his having children, would also be a benefactor to his countrey. I have made no alteration in the original words of *Josephus.* I have only inserted a comma after *ἰσομασθησόμενος*, and changed the colon after *βασιλέως* to a comma. This interpretation is not my own. I had it from my learned and ingenious friend, Mr. *Ward*, to whom I am very much indebted for this, and divers other critical observations, which I highly value.

some may have a scruple about this sentence: *He likewise slew every one of his own family, who adhered to those things which were said by the Pharisees.* The original word is in the singular number, *which were said by the Pharisee, or which the Pharisee said.* If any should be apt to think from hence, that this has reference to some thing said by some particular *Pharisee*, I must desire them to consider the context. It is evident from what goes before and follows that period, that the *Pharisees* in general were concerned in this affair, though some only were punished; the *most guilty*, as *Josephus* calls them. The same phrase is in another place used by *Josephus*, where the *Pharisees* in general are intended. Thus he says: “The *Sadducees*, when in office, usually go into the measures (x) of the *Pharisees*:” In the original it is, *of the Pharisee.*

I take this oath, which *Josephus* here speaks of, to be the same thing with *St. Luke's taxing*, for these reasons.

(1.) As far as I can perceive, this oath must have been taken much about the same time with the taxing or census mentioned by

(x) Ὅτι οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς παρεδίδοται, — πρὸς χωρῆσι δ' ὅσῳ ὁ Φαρισαῖος δέσσει. *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 4.

St. *Luke*, according to all those who place the nativity of Jesus some time between twelve, or fifteen months and two years before the death of *Herod*.

(2.) There is a great variety of circumstances attending this oath in *Josephus*, that accord with the history the Evangelists have given us of the birth of Jesus. I imagine I am very much prevented by the reader, but I shall specify some of them.

St. *Luke* says: *There went out a decree from CESAR AUGUSTUS, that all the land should be taxed.* The substance of the oath in *Josephus* was, *to be faithful to CESAR, as well as to Herod.* An oath is a formal acknowledgement of subjection, as well as an engagement to fidelity. No greater acknowledgement of subjection could be made, than an enrolment in a Roman census. St. *Luke* says, the decree was, that *all the land should be taxed, and that all went to be taxed.* *Josephus* agrees with him surprisingly, when he says, that *All the Jewish nation took the oath, except six thousand Pharisees.*

St. *Luke's Taxing, and Josephus's Oath,* are followed with parallel events. When the wise men came, saying: *Where is he*  
*that*

that is born King of the Jews? Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. Josephus's account is a perfect comment upon St. Matthew. St. Matthew says: *When he* [Herod] *had gathered the CHIEF PRIESTS AND SCRIBES of the people together, he demanded of them, where CHRIST should be born. And they said unto him, in Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the PROPHET; and thou Bethlehem—art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a GOVERNOUR THAT SHALL RULE MY PEOPLE ISRAEL.* So that all the disturbance at Jerusalem, which St. Matthew speaks of, was on account of the birth of a King of the Jews. It is the same thing in Josephus. And the chief priests and scribes in St. Matthew were undoubtedly of the Pharisees, which are the persons so much spoken of by Josephus. The King in Josephus has a character of the Christ or Messias: for all things would be in his power. Whether the jest upon Bagoas, and through him upon the Pharisees, be of Josephus's own invention; or whether it was an old piece of wit in use among profane people, to banter those who expected great things from the Messias; or whether it be matter of

of

of fact, that some of the *Pharisees* did at that time give any such assurances to some person of influence in *Judea*, the better to carry on selfish designs, I do not determine. But it is an evidence, that the King, who was then the subject of discourse, was supposed to be an extraordinary person.

In *Josephus* the *Pharisees* give out a prediction, that *God had decreed to put an end to Herod's government, &c.* This I take to be the same thing with *the chief priests and scribes (y)*: Thus it is written by the prophet, in *St. Matthew*: that is, what *Josephus* calls a prediction or prophecy of the *Pharisees*, is no more than an interpretation or application of an ancient prophecy. Thus *Josephus* took upon himself the aire and character of a prophet, when he applied the ancient *Jewish* prophecies of the *Messias* to *Vespasian*. He

(y) Unde putas factum, ut eo ipso tempore, proximè post destructionem Judaicam Pharisei vaticinia ista tractarent, & pro lubitu suo interpretarentur? Numquid res ipsa testimonium perhibet Matthaei narrationi? Nonne audis magos oriente quaerentes, ubi natus sit Rex Judaeorum? Nonne Herodem sciscitantem a Phariseis, ubi Christus nasceretur? His enim occasionibus, his Herodis mandatis, Pharisei ad Prophetarum libros remissi, vaticinia de quibus quaerebatur prolata, ad placitum uxoris Pherorae, secretis colloquiis deorsum. Kepler. de Anno Natal. Christ. cap. 12.

was taken prisoner by *Vespasian*, then General in *Judea* under *Nero*. *Josephus*, hearing that *Vespasian* had a design to send him to the Emperour, desired he might speak with the General in private. Being brought before *Vespasian*, and all the company being dismissed, except *Titus* and two friends, *Josephus* begins: “ You think, *Vespasian*, that  
 “ you have in *Josephus* a meer prisoner. But  
 “ I am come to you as a messenger of great  
 “ things. Had I not been sent to you by  
 “ God, I knew what the lawe of the *Jews*  
 “ is, and how it becomes a General to die.  
 “ Do you send me to *Nero*? What! are  
 “ they who are to succeed *Nero* before  
 “ you to continue? You, *Vespasian*, will be  
 “ *Cesar*: You, and this your son will be  
 “ Emperour. Bind me therefore still fast-  
 “ er, and reserve me for your self. For  
 “ you shall be lord not of me only, but  
 “ of the earth and the sea and all mankind.  
 “ And for punishment I deserve a closer  
 “ confinement, if I now speak falshood to  
 “ you in the name of God (z).”

However, beside the answer given by the *Scribes* to *Herod*'s enquiry, we are to

(z) Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν δέομαι φρεσῶν μείζονος, εἰ κατισχύει  
 διάζω καὶ Θεῷ. *Joseph. de Bell. l. iii. c. vii. §. 9.*



remember the speech made by old *Simeon*, an eminent *Pharisee*, at the presentation of *Jesus* at the temple; and that *Anna* a PROPHETESSE gave thanks unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in *Israel*. And there might be many other such like things said there by others; to all which *Josephus*, a Priest, and well informed of what was said and done at the temple, may be justly supposed to have reference.

*St. Matthew* says, that when *Herod* saw that he was MOCKED of the wise men, he was EXCEEDING WROTH, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the coasts thereof. *Josephus* has given us the tokens of an uncommon rage in *Herod*. And though *St. Matthew* has related, upon this occasion, no other instance of *Herod's* cruelty, beside the orders for destroying the children in and near *Bethlehem*; yet nothing is more likely, than that *Herod*, the most jealous of mortals, should, upon the retreat of the wise men, be filled with suspicions, that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom he had lately consulted about the birth-place of the King of the *Jews*, had been necessary to the disappointment he

had met with from the said wise men : and that being heated by the insinuations of his sister *Salome*, (provided *Josephus* has not brought her in here for the sake of a jest; and by the barbarous counsels of his son *Antipater*, now in *Judea*, and in high favour he should then make also that cruel ravage in his court and at *Jerusalem*, of which our *Jewish* historian has given us a summary account.

(3.) As I think, that *Josephus* was a very firm *Yew*; so his indecent way of speaking of this affair is a strong proof, it relates to transactions at *Jerusalem* after the birth of *Jesus*. Is it not strange, that *Josephus* should banter the *Pharisees* for pretending to the gift of foreknowledge, when he himself, a *Pharisee*, has been most notoriously guilty of it? I intend not only his speech to *Vespasian*, just now transcribed. There are other, rather more flagrant instances, as that in the history of the (a) *Jewish* war writ long before his *Antiquities*, in which is the passage we are upon. His ridicule of the *Pharisees* appears to me very unseemly in an account of such a scene of cruelty.

(a) *V. d. J. B. B. lib. ii. cap. 7. §. 3. vid. etiam quod sequitur Josephi ad Vespasianum alloquium. ibid. §. 9.*

and when they were under very heavy sufferings. And for what? For refusing the path of fidelity? No. They had escaped with a *fine* for *not swearing to Cesar*, if there had not followed some offenses more particularly against *Herod*, as is pretended. And what are these? Why predictions and expectations, that the kingdom was by the decree and appointment of God to be transferred to some person not of *Herod's* race: another instance of agreement with the time that succeeded the birth of Jesus, which, according to the Evangelists, was a time of great expectation of a King predicted and prophesied of. But here is not one riotous or seditious action mentioned, or hinted; the utmost is seditious words. And yet *Josephus* justifies, triumphs in these terrible executions. In a word, he, who uses to condemn *Herod* as a man of an inhumane disposition, here treats the *Pharisees* of this time with *Herodian* cruelty.

All this is absolutely unaccountable to me, but upon the supposition, that this affair relates to the birth of Jesus. Nor do I think, that I wrong *Josephus* in the least. It is to me more than probable, that every  *Jew*, who did not believe Jesus to be the Christ,

(as *Josephus* did not, ) had a great deal of ill-will against him and all his followers. That any Jew of those times should have been long in a state of indifference upon this point, was impossible.

If it be said, that the predictions mentioned by *Josephus* relate not to Jesus, but to *Pheroras's* wife, and her children : I do not deny, but that she might pay a regard to what the *Pharisees* said at this time, as well as others did : but that she, or *Pheroras*, or any one issuing from them was the person then discoursed of, and the chief subject of the *Pharisees* predictions, I do not believe, because it is inconsistent with the rest of *Josephus's* story. If *Pheroras's* wife had been the person chiefly concerned in this affair, as *Josephus* pretends here ; would she have escaped with her life in so wide a scene of cruelty, in which even the former favorites of *Herod* were involved ? If the dispositions of people ran now all toward *Pheroras* and his wife, would *Antipater* have been still great with them ? Would *Antipater*, so desirous of the crown, have gone away to *Rome*, as he did soon after this execution, and leave things in this posture ? Would he, when he went away, leave

cur.

curely in the hands of *Pheroras* and his wife the work of poysoning his father, and securing the succession for himself? Would not *Antipater*, who had lately with exquisite artifice and cruelty accomplished the death of his two brothers, sons of *Herod* by *Mariamme*, have been able to effect the ruine of *Pheroras's* wife?

It is true, after this execution was over, she was called to account by *Herod*.

That it may not be insinuated, that I conceal any difficulty, I will here give the reader *Josephus's* words, which follow next after the long passage we are concerned with. “ *Herod* having punished the *Pharisees*, who had been convicted of concerning themselves in this affair, calls a council of his friends, and there accuses *Pheroras's* wife : ascribing to her the affront that had been offered to the virgins (B), and therein to him : adding, that she did all she could to create a difference between him and his brother ; that the fine imposed upon the *Pharisees*

[B. *The Virgin.*] The meaning is : *Pheroras's* wife had been his servant. *Herod* had offered *Pheroras* one of his daughters, and after that, another. But *Pheroras* refused them both out of his affection for this woman.

“ had been evaded by her means, and that  
 “ in the present affair nothing had been  
 “ done without her :——and that if *Phe-*  
 “ *roras* had any regard for him, he would  
 “ of his own accord put away his wife.  
 “ You will then, says he to *Pheroras*, be  
 “ my brother indeed, and we shall live (b)  
 “ together in friendship.”

If the meaning of the last words of the charge against this woman be not, that in the present affair nothing had been done without her, as I have rendered them, but that now a days nothing was done without her, as Dr. Hudson translates them (c); then her conduct in the late affair is not so much as

(b) Ἡρώδης δὲ, κολάσας τὰς Φαρισαίων τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπι-  
 λεγμένοις συνέδριον τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων, καὶ κἀκηγορεῖ τὴν  
 Φερώρα γυναῖκα, τῆς τε ἔβρι τῶν παρθένων τῆς ταλμῆ τῆς γυναι-  
 κὸς ἀναβύθεις, καὶ ἔλασμα ταύτην ἀτιμίαν αὐτῷ ποιεῖται, καὶ  
 ἀγνωσθεῖν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν καὶ πόλεμον ἐκ φρο-  
 νήσεως καὶ λόγου καὶ ἐν ἔργων ὅσα δύναίτο, τῶν τε διαλεισῶν τῆς ζήτη-  
 τῆς ὑπὸ αὐτῷ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλει διαφρευχθήναι τοῖς ἐκείνου, καὶ  
 τε οὐ πετραγμῶν ἄλλῃ ὅ, τι ἔμειν αὐτῆς ἀλλ' ὡν Φερώρα κα-  
 λῆς ἔχῃ, ἢ ὀφείλει εἰς γυναικῶν εἰσηγήσεως τῶν ἑμῶν, αὐτοκλι-  
 σῶν ἀποτίμπεσθαι γυναῖκα ταύτην, ὡς πολέμου τῆς πρὸς με-  
 κτόναι ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν ἀποτίμπεσθαι τῆς ἑμῶν, ἀπο-  
 σπῆσαι τῶν τῆν γυναικῶν μισθὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ἐμὸς ἀδελφῶν τῶν  
 σφῆσαι ἐκ ἀπαραλαβῆναι. *Antiq.* 17. c. 3. §. 1.

(c) Sicutque impendiis evitata esset solutio mulctae ab ipso  
 impostae, nihilque jam sine illa ageretur.

made any particular crime, but is only comprehended in a general charge of an over-busy intriguing temper.

But let it be granted, that *Josephus* says, her conduct in this affair was an express charge in *Herod's* accusation; yet the punishment proposed confutes the supposition, that she was the main agent in this concern. *Herod* assures *Pheroras*, they two should be very good friends, if this woman were but put away. Would this disgrace have satisfied *Herod*, if, beside many other provocations, she had now been the principal in a crime, for which many accessaries, and those in all other respects very acceptable persons, had been punished with death? I hope we may be allowed, not to credit *Josephus* in a circumstance so inconsistent with the rest of his account. And I think, it is not hard to guess, why *Josephus* gave some false turns in this story.

I have one thing more to desire of the reader, that is, that he will be pleased to consider, whether *Josephus* does not contradict himself in the main passage, in which he is so merry. He tells us at first, that the *Pharisees* in requital for the kindness shewed to them, foretold, that God

had decreed to transfer the kingdom to *Pheroras's* wife, and *Pheroras*, and their children : But at the end, it is *the King*, who was to be appointed according to their prediction. How comes *Pheroras's* wife, and *Pheroras*, and their children to be all a King? Or how came *the King* to be all them? If the reader can reconcile these things together, it will be very well. But if he cannot, perhaps he will allow, that here are some things said of *Pheroras's* wife and the *Pharisees* without foundation. I ever take it, that inconsistencies are a certain sign, that an historian has not confined himself barely to matter of fact, but has indulged his fancy, or his passions, and gone into fiction.

For these reasons then I think, that the oath in *Josephus*, taken by all the *Jews* nation, is the same thing with the taxing or enrolment mentioned by *St. Luke*. And I think, that this oath refers to a census made in *Judea*, for the following reason. In a census the people gave in an account of themselves and their estates upon oath. It seems to me very probable that a census was made, or at least ordered by *Augustus* during the time that *Herod* lay under his displeasure. Under the former particular I

show.



shewed, that *Herod* had been, before this, a tributary prince. His great subjection appears likewise in the difference between him and *Obodas*. He was obliged to refer the matter in dispute to the Emperour's officers in *Syria*. After *Obodas* had broke the stipulations, *Herod* did not dare to move his forces without the consent of the fore-mentioned officers. And *Augustus*, supposing that he had done so, was very angry, and threatens, that whereas he had *hitherto used him as a friend, he should for the future treat him as a subject*. These words are undoubtedly proper and expressive words. If *Herod*, when a *friend* of *Augustus*, was in such subjection; what can a *subject* mean, but the reducing him to the lowest state of dependent princes? which seems to be that of obliging them to submit to a census, and then raising tribute in their dominions according to it.

*Josephus* says, that after the receipt of this letter from *Augustus*, *Herod* sent in vain two ambassies to *Rome*, that the state of *Judea* grew worse and worse, that *Herod* was obliged to submit to many disgraces. The Emperour's displeasure against *Herod* was manifest therefore, not at *Rome* only, but in all the countreys about *Judea*. (1.)

(1.) But it may be objected, that *Josephus* has no where said, that there was any enrolment of the *Jews*, much less that there was a proper census made in *Judea*.

To this I answer, that it is apparent, there was an enrolment and numbring of the people. How else should all the people have taken an oath, except *six thousand Pharisees*? Did they not enter the people that took the oath? If they did not, how should it have been known, who swore and who did not?

Nor can it be inferred there was no enrolment or census, because *Josephus* has not expressly said there was. *Josephus's* account of this matter is very slight and defective. If it had not been for some things, which followed after the oath, and had some connexion with it, it seems that he would have taken no notice of it at all. An oath had been taken by all the *Jewish* nation to *Cesar* and *Herod*, and great exactness had been observed in relation to it. The numbers and characters of those which had refused were known. This was an affair of importance, and deserved a much more particular account than he has given us. And we are allowed to suppose some

things, not expressed, which must necessarily have been concomitants of it.

I do not pretend to assign positively the reasons of his slight mention of this affair. But I apprehend, I can give some probable account of it. *Herod's* subjects were all enrolled in a census, but there was no tribute demanded upon it. *Herod* had great dexterity, or very good fortune in surmounting the difficulties he met with in the several parts of his life. He was himself a man of a great genius, and some of his servants were men of great abilities. *Nicolas* of *Damascus* in particular was eminent for learning and address. And *Herod* knew very well how to bestow a present or a bribe.

I am moreover the rather inclined to think, that no tax was raised upon this census; because it appears that after these troubles, of which *Josephus* has given us an account, *Augustus* was in a great measure reconciled to *Herod*. Perceiving that his resentment against *Herod* had been very much founded upon aspersions, he might be disposed to forbear exacting the tribute upon the census, and to let things go on in the old way. Then *Herod* had taken care, that  
the

the decree should be obeyed and executed in his dominions without disturbance : all had sworn or enrolled themselves, except *six thousand Pharisees*, and they were fined.

Moreover, *Herod* was now an old man, and had many sons. It was therefore very likely, there would be some partition made of his dominions at his death. And *Augustus* might be very willing there should be so. Three or four little princes are better governed than one that is powerful. Tribute could not be paid according to this census any longer than the several parts of the kingdome continued united in one person. When it came to be divided or parcelled out, a new census would be necessary.

If then no tribute was paid upon this census, an historian could the more easily pass it by without a particular description, especially since it had been finished without any popular tumults.

It may be inferred from the manner in which St. *Luke* mentions this survey, that it was not very much taken notice of. If it had been universally known, there had been hardly any occasion, upon the mention of a decree of *Augustus* in the reign of *Herod* to enroll all the land, to subjoin a parenthesis,

renthesis, the chief intent of which seems to be to distinguish this from another that happened not till after the removal of *Herod's* successor.

If this census was not universally known when *Josephus* writ, he might be well pleased to touch upon it slightly. The *Jewish* writers were very forward to enumerate the honours done to their people by the Roman Senate, or the chief men of the Commonwealth, or the Emperours afterwards; the better to gain some regard among other nations, by whom they were generally despised and hated. But as for any disgraces they received from the *Romans*, the case was very different.

Thus *Josephus* has mentioned many favours conferred on the *Jews* by *Julius Cesar*, *Augustus*, *Livia*, *Marcus Agrippa*, *Claudius*, and other *Romans*: but yet he says nothing of the journey, which *Caius*, *Augustus's* eldest adopted son, made through *Judea*, in the beginning of the reign of *Archelaus*. This we have from (*d*) *Suetonius* only, an author very little concern-

(*d*) Sed & Caium Nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens  
 ad Hierosolimam non supplicasset, collaudavit [Augustus]  
*Suet. in Aug. c. 93.*

ed in *Jewish* affairs. The reason seems to be, that *Caius* offered no sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, nor made any present to the temple, which was deemed a piece of contempt shewn to their religion.

Possibly, *Josephus* found but a slender account of this transaction in the History of *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, from which he took his materials for this reign. Though *Nicolas* was no *Jew*, yet he was a great friend and flatterer of *Herod*: and it could not but be an ungrateful task to him, after he had in the former part of his work drawn his master as a great genius, a founder of cities, and friend of *Augustus*, to describe at last so disagreeable a scene as that of one of the Emperour's officers enrolling all the subjects of his dominions.

*Nicolas* (e) had great intimacies with *Herod*. *Josephus* has affirmed more than once, that he was a great flatterer (f) of him. And in one place says particularly, “ that living in his kingdom and together  
“ with him he composed his history with a  
“ view to please the King and advance his

(e) Καὶ Νικολᾶς ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς φίλος τε ἂν τῷ βασιλεῦσι, καὶ τὰ πάντα συνέταξεν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, κ. λ. *Antiq.* 17. c. 5. §. 3.

(f) *Ibid.* l. αὐτ. c. 1. §. 3.

“ interest,

“ interest, touching upon those things only  
 “ which made for (g) his honour.” This  
 enrolment, even though it was not a proper  
 assessment, but only an entry of the names  
 of all the people, their age and condition,  
 accompanied with an oath of strict fidelity  
 to the Emperour, must have been the great-  
 est mortification of *Herod's* whole life : and  
 from the character of *Nicolas*, just set  
 down, it may be concluded almost with cer-  
 tainty, that he did not give a particular ac-  
 count of this affair. Nor had *Josephus* any  
 inducements to supply his defects in this  
 place.

(2.) But it will be said, that the silence  
 of *Josephus* is not the only difficulty : there  
 is in him well nigh positive proof, that  
 there had been no census or enrolment made  
 in *Judea* before the removal of *Archelaus*.  
 For upon the occasion of this, he says :  
 “ Moreover *Cyrenius* came into *Judea*, it  
 “ being annexed to the province of *Syria*,  
 “ to make an assessment of their goods,  
 “ and seize *Archelaus's* estate. The *Jews*

(g) Ζῆλον γὰρ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν, κεχαρισμένως  
 ἔκτισεν καὶ ἐπηροσίων ἀπέγραψεν, μισοῦ ἀπίστους τῶν πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παλαιῶν. *Mat.* 16. c. 7. §. 1.

“ were

“ were at first very much moved at the (b)  
 “ mention of the enrolments, but by de-  
 “ gress they were brought to acquiesce at  
 “ the persuasion of *Joazar* the High Priest.”  
 He observes also, “ that at this time *Judas*  
 “ the *Gaulanite* excited them to a rebellion,  
 “ telling them that a census would intro-  
 “ duce downright (i) slavery.” It will be  
 said : It may be hence inferred, that there  
 had been no enrolments made before : if  
 there had, they could not have been so  
 frightful now.

I answer, that there must have been an  
 enrolment made, when the oath mentioned  
 by *Josephus* was taken : And that oath was  
 likewise an express and solemn acknow-  
 ledgement of subjection to the *Romans*.

Besides, though this *oath* had been quite  
 omitted by *Josephus*, it would not have fol-  
 lowed, that there had been no enrolment  
 made before this time in *Judea*. People are  
 not always of the same temper. *Judas* of  
*Galilee* now broached or revived the princi-  
 ple, that they ought to obey none but God :  
 and for some reasons it was received with

(b) Οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐν δαίμῳ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκροασιῶν *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 1.

(i) *Ibid.*



great applause, spread and gained ground. But the *Jews* must have been more submissive, when they all took the oath to *Cesar*, except six thousand. And after *Herod* was dead, there was a very numerous ambassy sent to *Rome* in the name of the whole *Jewish* nation, entreating, that instead of being governed by any of *Herod's* descen-  
 dents, “ they (*k*) might be annexed to the  
 “ province of *Syria*, and be subject to Prae-  
 “ tors sent from thence, promising likewise  
 “ a most quiet and peaceable behaviour un-  
 “ der such a government.”

In another place *Josephus* represents *Ju-  
 das's* arguments in these terms: “ And at  
 “ this time a certain man, called *Judas* the  
 “ *Galilean*, excited the people to rebelli-  
 “ on, telling them, they had a mean spi-  
 “ rit, if they could endure to pay tribute  
 “ to the *Romans*, and acknowledge mortal  
 “ men for their lords;—after God had  
 “ been their King (*l*).” It might be as

(k) Ἦν δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως, βασιλείας μὲν καὶ  
 τῶν δὲ ἀρχῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, προσθήκην δὲ Συρίας γεγονότας  
 ὑποτάσσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πεμπομένοις ἑραλητοῖς κ. τ. λ. *Jos.*  
*Ant.* 17. p. 784. v. 35.

(l) Κακίζων, εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομένῃσι, καὶ μετὰ  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶσασσι θεοὺς δεσπότας. *De Bell. lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1.*

well inferred from what *Judas* says here, that the *Jews* had never before paid tribute to the *Romans*, or been subject to mortal lords, as from what he says in the other place, that they had never before been enrolled. I presume it need not be proved, that they had been subject, before this, to mortal lords. I think too, that I have shewn, they had been tributary to the *Romans* in the reign of *Herod*. They had likewise paid tribute to the *Romans* before *Herod's* reign : For *Josephus* says, that *Cassius* “ imposed a heavy tribute upon the people [in Syria]. And in particular bore very hard upon *Judea*, exacting of them several hundred talents of silver (m).” This sum was laid in several portions upon the several parts of *Judea* ; and *Herod*, then Governour of *Galilee* under *Hyrchanus*, brought in his quota the first, and thereby very much obliged *Cassius*. *Judas's* speech therefore is no proof, that there had been no enrolment or census made in *Judea* before the removal of *Archelaus*.

(m) Καὶ φόρος αὐταῖς μεγάλης ἐπέβη· μαλιστα δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. ἑκάστη, ἑπτακοσία ταλαῖα ἀργυρίῳ εἰσπραττομένη. *Ant. lib. 14. cap. xi. §. 2.*

(3.) I can think of but one difficulty more. Perhaps some will say, my argument is defective, and that in order to make it out, that this *oath*, taken by the *Jews*, in *Josephus*, was a census, I ought to produce some passages of an ancient writer, in which a census is called an *oath*, or the act of the people enrolling themselves in a census is expressed by *taking an oath*. I own then, that I have not any such example by me. However, I would offer here two or three considerations.

[1.] In a Roman census the people gave in their account of themselves and their estates upon oath. And that oath, as represented by *Dionysius*, has a very near resemblance with the words of *Josephus*. *Dionysius* says, the people were commanded to *take an oath to give in a true account, according to the best of their knowledge*: and *Josephus* says, that the whole *Jewish* nation engaged by an (*n*) oath to be *faithful to Cesar and the interests of the King*.

[2.] We

(6) There is another thing, which may deserve notice. *Dionysius* says, That the penalty at *Rome* for not enrolling in a census was loss of estate and citizenship. Perhaps the punishment on the *Pharisees*, who refused to swear, was ordered in conformity to the Roman customs upon like

[2.] We have in the ancient writers very few accounts of assessments made in provinces. The Roman historians scarce ever take any notice of them, but when they were attended with some disturbances which made them remarkable. As we have but very few writers of those times, especially such as lived in the provinces; it is not to be wondered that we meet with some singular phrases in those we have, and which we cannot parallel in any other authors now in our hands. If we had before us the works of a good number of provincial writers, it is not unlikely, but we might see some of them represent their nation enrolling themselves in a census, especially in the first census made in their countrey, by the taking an *oath* of allegiance and fidelity to the Emperour. I shall give an instance from *Josephus*, which has likewise some affinity with our subject. In the *Jewish War* he calls *Fabatus* *Cesar's* procurator (o): In

occasions. For *Herod* had been wont before to inflict punishments of another kind for refusing to swear fidelity to him. Vid. *Antiq.* 15. c. 10. §. 4.

(o) Πείσας δὲ πολλῶν χεῖμασι Φάβατον τὸν Καίσαρος κλητὸν. *De Bell.* l. 1. cap. 29. p. 1030. v. 22. vid. Ἐ

*Antiquities* (p) he calls him *Cesar's* servant. He also calls one *Stephen*, who was in *Judea* in the time of *Cumanus*, *Cesar's* servant.

“ And (q) at this time, *says he*, some who  
 “ aimed at innovations set upon *Stephen* a  
 “ servant of *Cesar*, in the high-way about  
 “ a hundred stadia from the city, and rob-  
 “ bed him of all he had.” I have shewn

above, that *Fabatus* was *Augustus's* procurator in the kingdom of *Arabia*, if not also in *Judea*. And that *Stephen* also was procurator in *Judea*, may be concluded from the treasure he had with him, and from his being particularly the object of the spite of the seditious *Jews*, who were uneasy under the Roman government. So that, with *Josephus*, the *Emperour's* servants and the procurator of the *Emperour's* revenue were synonymous terms. If *Josephus* appears at present singular in this stile, yet I doubt not, but it was at that time very common.

(p) — Ἀνηρηκέναι δὲ καὶ Φάβαλον Καίσαρος δῆλον *Antiq.* 17. cap. 3. p. 755. v. 6.

(q) Τῶν γὰρ ἐφεσώτων ἐπὶ νεώτερισμῶ τινές, κατὰ τὴν δημο-  
 σιαν, ὅσιν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἀπέθεν τῆς πόλεως, Στέφανον Καί-  
 σαρος δῆλον ὁδοιπορεῖν ἡλα λητεύσαντες, ἀπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν κλήσιν  
 ἀνετάξασιν *Antiq.* 20. cap. 4. §. 4. vid. *Œ de Bell.* p.  
 1072. v. 32.

[3.] I apprehend, that though the *Jews* entered themselves and their estates in the way of a Roman census, yet there was no tribute raised upon it: which might be the reason of *Josephus's* representing this affair simply by taking an oath, rather than by the name of a census.

I have now laid before the reader the evidence I have for this supposition, that there was a census made in *Judea* a little before the death of *Herod*. The particulars mentioned by *St. Luke*, and the expressions he uses, are very suitable to a census. And the posture of *Herod's* affairs about this time incline me to think there was an enrolment, after the manner of a Roman census, made in his dominions by order of *Augustus*.

But whether I am in the right or not, *St. Luke* certainly says, that there was an enrolment: And *Josephus* says, that the whole *Jewish* nation had taken an oath to be faithful to *Cesar* and *Herod*. Some entry therefore must have been made. And if *St. Luke* be understood to speak only of an enrolment of names and persons, his account is confirmed by *Josephus* as fully as one could wish.

And

And though it should be thought, that I have not fully proved, that there was at this time a proper assessment made in *Judea*; yet I have, I think, shewn undeniably, that about this time that countrey was brought into a very strict subjection to *Augustus*: And herein also St. *Luke* and *Josephus* agree entirely.

I am sensible that they, who have hitherto supposed, that Jesus was not born till a few weeks before the death of *Herod*, will very unwillingly allow, that the oath in *Josephus* has any relation to St. *Luke's* enrolment. But then, beside the task of evading all the many concurring circumstances in St. *Luke* and *Josephus*, they will labor under one very great difficulty. For this oath appears to have been taken by the *Jews* so very near the end of *Herod's* reign, that it will be utterly inconceivable, that the *Romans* should have ordered another general enrolment, and harass the people again before *Herod's* death. Nor will they be able to remove this difficulty by saying, that the swearing began about the time it is placed in by *Josephus*, but was not finished till a few weeks before *Herod* died: For it was all over at the time *Josephus* speaks of it. All had

taken the oath, but six thousand *Pharisees*; they had refused, and were fined.

§. III. The third objection is this : *Cyrenius* was not Governour of *Syria* till nine or ten, perhaps twelve years after our Saviour was born : therefore *St. Luke* has made a mistake in saying, that this taxing happened in the time of *Cyrenius*.

This objection must now be stated more at length. In our translation the words are : *And this taxing was first made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* What is the sense of our translation, I do not know; and it must be owned likewise, that the words of the original (1) seem to have in them an uncommon ambiguity. Many think, the most genuine natural sense of the original words is : *This first taxing [or enrolment] was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* Upon this sense of them the objection is founded. And it is urged, this cannot be agreeable to the truth. For the Evangelists have assured us, that Jesus was born in the later end of *Herod's* reign.

(1) Ἡ πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Κυρηνίου τῆς Συρίας



But *Josephus* says, that (s) *Quintilius Varus* was then President of *Syria*, and he must have been so at least a year before *Herod* died. And *Saturninus* was his predecessor. Moreover *Josephus* says, that *Cyrenius* was sent Governour into *Syria*, when *Archelaus* was removed from his government of *Judea*, who yet reigned there between nine and ten years after *Herod*. *Josephus* relates this matter, in his *Antiquities*, thus :

“ But in the tenth year (t) of *Arche-*  
 “ *laus’s* government, the chief of the *Jews*  
 “ and *Samaritans* not being able to bear his  
 “ cruelty and tyranny accused him to *Cesar*.  
 “ The Emperour sent an officer into *Judea*  
 “ to bring him to *Rome*. When he came  
 “ thither, *Cesar*, having heard what he  
 “ had to say in answer to his accusers, ba-  
 “ nished him, appointing *Vienna* a city in  
 “ *Gaul* for the place of his abode (u). And  
 “ the countrey of *Archelaus* being annexed  
 “ to the province of *Syria*, *Cyrenius* a Con-  
 “ sular person was sent by *Cesar* to make  
 “ an assessment in *Syria*, and to seize *Arche-*  
 “ *laus’s* estate (x).” Af

(s) *Ant. L. 17. cap. v. §. 2.*

(t) Δεκάτω δὲ ἔτει ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου

(u) *Ant. L. 17. c. 15. §. 2.*

(x) Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑπολειπῆς προσνηθηθείσης τῇ Σύριαν.  
 πῆμ.

Afterwards he says : “ In the mean time  
 “ *Cyrenius* a Roman Senator, who had serv-  
 “ ed all other offices, and through them  
 “ arrived at the Consulship, and was di-  
 “ stinguished likewise by divers other ho-  
 “ nours and dignities, came into *Syria* with  
 “ a few troops, being sent thither by *Cesar*  
 “ to administer justice to that people, and  
 “ to make an assessment of their goods.  
 “ And *Coponius* a person of the *Equestrian*  
 “ rank was sent with him to govern in *Ju-*  
 “ *dea* with supreme authority. *Cyrenius*  
 “ also came into *Judea*, now annexed to  
 “ *Syria*, both to assess their estates, and  
 “ to seize *Archelaus’s* effects and trea-  
 “ sure (y).”

It is objected therefore, that St. *Luke* has committed a very gross mistake, in saying,

πέμπεται Κυρήνῃσιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπαλικὸς, ἀπολιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ, καὶ ἀποδώσει οἶκον· *ibid.* §. 5.

(y) Κυρήνῃσιν δὲ, τῶν εἰς τὴν βελτὴν συναγομένων ἀνῆρ, τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιπέλικως, καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδῶν ὑπαίτι γινέσθαι, τάς τε ἄλλα ἀξιωματὶ μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίᾳ παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τῷ ἔθνει ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητὸς τῷ ἔθνει γινεσόμενος· Κοπώνιος τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται, ταγματὴς τῶν ἰππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ παρῆν καὶ Κυρήνῃσιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας γινόμενης, ἀπολιμησομενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσίας, καὶ ἀποδώσει τὰ Ἀρχιλαῦος κτήματα· *Antiq.* 18. c. 1. §. 1.

that

that *this taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria* : since it appears from *Josephus*, that *Cyrenius* was not President of that province, till after the banishment of *Archelaus*, *Herod's* son and successor.

To this I answer, that though the sense of the words, as they now stand in *St. Luke's Gospel*, should be supposed inconsistent with this account taken from *Josephus* ; yet it would be unreasonable to conclude, that *St. Luke* had really made any mistake. *St. Luke* appears in the rest of his history, and from many particulars of this account before us, to be so fully master of the state of *Judea*, and of the nature of this affair he is here speaking of, that it is impossible he should commit any such mistake.

In the beginning of his third chapter he has most exactly specified the state of all *Judea*, or the land of *Israel*, as it was in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, by setting down the several Tetrarchs and Governours of it, and the true extent of their territories.

*St. Luke* understood the nature of enrolments, as made by the *Romans*. The enrolment

rolment now made, was by virtue of a decree of *Augustus*. And he says, that *Joseph* went to be taxed with *Mary* his espoused wife. This was the custom of the *Romans*, as has been shewed from undoubted testimonies, to enrolle *women* as well as men; whereas the *Jews* used to number or enrolle *males* only.

Moreover, *St. Luke* appears to be well acquainted with the census, which *Josephus* gives us an account of. *Gamaliel* says: *After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished, and as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.* I think it may be fairly supposed, that *St. Luke* understood what he has related from *Gamaliel*. And then, here are particulars enough to satisfy us, he wanted no information concerning the census, which *Josephus* speaks of.

That *Gamaliel* here speaks of the census made in *Judea* after the banishment of *Archelaus*, is evident; because it was at that time, that *Judas* of *Galilee* raised a disturbance. *Gamaliel* calls them *the days of the taxing*, which implies, that this was a very noted and remarkable period: as it is certain, it was.

*Gamaliel* here calls this *Judas* by his proper name. *Josephus* does in one place call him *Judas Gaulanites* (z), but he often stiles him *Judas the Galilean*, or of *Galilee* (a). *Gamaliel* says, that he *drew away much people after him*. *Josephus* says the same thing of him in almost the same words (b).

*Gamaliel* does exactly specify the time in which this man *rose up*, namely in *the time of the taxing*, or of the enrolment: for *Josephus* says, “ he persuaded not a few not to enrolle themselves, when *Cyrenius* the Censor was sent into *Judea* (c).”

*Gamaliel* says, *he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were scattered*. *Josephus* has no where related particularly the end of this *Judas*. But that his enterprise was defeated at that time, we may be certain: otherwise the Roman government could not have subsisted in that country with any quiet, which yet it did for

(z) *Ant. l.* 18. c. 1. p. 792. v. 3.

(a) Ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας, p. 974. 3. τὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαῖας, Ἰούδας Ἰουμαῖος p. 1060. 8.

(b) Ἐλεάζαρος ἀπόγονος Ἰούδα τῆς πείσανος Ἰουδαίων ἐκ ὀλίγου μὴ ποιῆσαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς, ὅτε Κυρήνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη de B. J. l. vii. p. 1313. v. 41.

(c) *Ibid.* Ὡ p. 792. init.

near sixty years after the banishment of *Archelaus*. Nor is there after this any mention made, in *Josephus's* history, of any action or attempt of *Judas*.

Perhaps it will be here objected, that *Gamaliel's* words imply, that this design of *Judas* was quite confounded, and his principles sunk at once: And yet it seems likely from the uneasiness, which the *Jews* express under the Roman tribute in some places of the Evangelists, that his principles were in being long afterwards: And from *Josephus* it appears, that his notions were very prevalent, and were one cause of their war at last with the *Romans*.

But if any so understand *Gamaliel*, they appear to me very much to mistake the design of his argument. Doubtless, it was not without special reason that *Gamaliel* alleged these two instances. And he speaks of each in a very different manner. Of *Theudas* he says: *He was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought*: διελύθησαν ἡ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἄδεν· they were ruined and came to nothing. Of *Judas* he says: *He also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed*. διασκορπίσθησαν. Having mentioned these two

instances, which the council were well acquainted with, and thereby laid a foundation for the advice he proposed to give, he goes on : *And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone : for if this counsel or this work be of men, [as Theudas's was ;] it will come to (d) nought [as his did]. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.*

It is not to be supposed, that *Gamaliel* should expressly say : *Judas's design was of God.* However the chief men of the *Jewish* nation might approve his principles, they were wiser than openly to espouse them : they left that to the common people.

The force of *Gamaliel's* argument is this : *Theudas* and his measures came to nothing. After him *Judas* rose up : He himself perished, and his people were dispersed ; but yet his principles prevail. You likewise may now punish these men, and put an end to their lives ; but if their principles be of God, they will prevail notwithstanding ; and all the issue will be, that you will contract guilt, fight against God, but in vain.

(d) Καταλυθήσεται

And to this seems to be owing the great successe of *Gamaliel's* reasoning, and the service he did the Apostles at this time. He insinuates some hopes, that their design might be of the same nature with *Judas's*. This may be inferred from his way of expressing himself: *lest haply ye be found to fight against God.* This was *Judas's* peculiar principle, that they were to own no mortal lords, but God only (*e*). And it is not unlikely, that *Gamaliel* intended hereby to insinuate, not only that there was danger of their opposing a design which came from God, and of opposing it with no other effect, but that of contracting guilt to themselves, but also of opposing the very kingdome and government of God, which they wished to be under.

It deserves likewise to be observed, that *Gamaliel* mentions *Theudas* with contempt and indignation. *Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody:* but nothing like this follows the mention of *Judas*.

*Gamaliel* concludes upon the whole, that they should *let these men alone.* We have no occasion to meddle in this matter. It is

(*e*) *Jos. p. 1060. v. 10.*



not unlikely but the *Romans*, our present Governours, will be jealous of these men. But it seems to me an affair we have no reason to concern our selves in.

St. *Luke* therefore must be supposed to be well acquainted with the census, made after the banishment of *Archelaus*.

I must be permitted to observe farther, that St. *Luke* does here call *Cyrenius* by his true name. It has indeed been a dispute among learned men, whether his Roman name was *Quirinus* or *Quirinius*. *Onuphrius* in his *Fasti* printed it *Quirinus*: *Grotius* (f) and *Lipsius* (g) thought *Onuphrius* was mistaken, and that it ought to be corrected *Quirinius*. *Perizonius* (h) seems to have proved, that *Quirinus* is the true way of writing it in *Latin*: since it was not the family name, or the *nomen*, but *cognomen*, the third name of this gentleman. For his name was *Caius Sulpicius Quirinus*; and in the *Syriac* version of St. *Luke* he is written *Curinus*, and in the *Latin* vulgate *Cyrinus*. But however that be, he allows it to be common for the *Greeks* to make some al-

(f) *l. lxxv. 2.*

(g) *l. lxxv. ad locit. om. l. iii. c. 48.*

(h) *D. Pet. de dug. reb. Gr. Delic. §. 30.*

teration in the termination of Roman names, when they turn them into their own language. It is certain, his name in all the *Greek* authors has the termination of *ius* or *us*. *Strabo* (i) and *Dio* (k) call him *Kυρηνιος*, *Cyrinius*. But in *Josephus* (l) his name is always written, as in *St. Luke*, *Cyrenius*.

Moreover, it is certain, *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*; and he has here a very proper title, by which he must have been well known in *Judea*, and in all that part of the world.

Lastly, if we consider, that the words now before us are a parenthesis, and that *St. Luke* calls the enrolment or census, he was speaking of, the *first*, we cannot well doubt, but that the original intention of them was, in some manner or other, to distinguish this enrolment, which was now made in the reign of *Herod*, from that which was afterwards made, when *Archelaus* was banished.

He that will seriously consider all these particulars, will have no suspicions, that *St. Luke* has made any mistake.

(i) *Lib. xii. p. 854.*

(k) *Vid. Di. lib. lxx. ad A. U. 742.*

(l) *l. 791. v. 5. 12. p. 794. v. 21. 37. & alibi.*

If then the sense, which is now ordinarily given these words, is not consistent with truth; it is highly reasonable to conclude, that either we do not take the true meaning of them, or else that some small alteration or other has happened in the text of *St. Luke.*

§. IV. But though what has been here offered, and which has also been in the main alleged before by those who have considered this place, be sufficient to take away the force of this objection; yet I presume, it will be expected, I should give some account of the particular solutions that have been offered by learned men. This I shall do, and then endeavour to support or improve that which appears to me the fairest.

1. One solution proposed by (*m*) *Calvin*, and much approved by *Salmeron* and *Baronius*, is, that *Josephus* was mistaken in the account, which he has given of *Cyrenius*. The two last mentioned writers especially are of opinion, that we need pay little regard to *Josephus*; whose history, they say, abounds with mistakes and falsehoods (*n*). And *Baroni-*

*m) In loc.*

P. citat ut Josephi verò fidem & historiam deferamus,

Y y 2

tanquam

*ronius* (*o*) has taken some pains to make out a new series of the succession of the Governours of *Syria* about this time. For he thinks, that *Cyrenius* was twice, if not thrice, president of *Syria*. But this project can be but little approved by learned men at present. No one that reads *Josephus* without prejudice, and that considers he had before him the history of *Herod's* reign, writ by *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, who was a learned man, *Herod's* favorite, and employed by him in affairs of government, can make any doubt, but that *Quintilius Varus* was Governour of *Syria*, when *Herod* died; that *C. Senti*us *Saturninus* was his predecessor, and was in the province at least two or three years; and that *M. Titius* was president before him. With all these Governours of *Syria*, *Herod* had some concerns. What *Josephus* has said of them may likewise be confirmed in a great measure from other authors (*p*). So that there is no room for *Cyrenius* at this time. No

tanquam incertam, & fluctuantem & veritati in multis dissentientem. *Salmeron in Evang. T. iii. Tractat. 32.*

(*o*) Sicque contra *Josephus* deliria certo appareret, sub *Augusto* imperatore, vivente *Herode* seniore, reperiri duplicem immo triplicem *Quirinii* in *Syria* praefecturam. *Baron. Ann. A. D. 3. Vid. etiam App. ad An. num. 80. 86.*

(*p*) *Vid. Noris. Concl. Pis. Diff. ii. cap. 16. §. 9. 10.*

Nor can there well be any question made, but that *Josephus* has given us, in the main, a true account of the enrolment or census made by *Cyrenius* after *Archelaus's* banishment. It appears from the manner, in which *Gamaliel* speaks of the *taxing*, when *Judas* of *Galilee* rose up, that it was a remarkable event. And the account *Josephus* gives of it may assure us, this was an affair all men were then well acquainted with. The disturbance raised by *Judas* was suppressed, but yet the principle subsisted. It was the occasion of much uneasiness under the Roman government, and many were at times punished on account of it (q).

2. Another solution proposed by (r) *Calvin*, and which *Valesius* (s) judgeth to be the most commodious of any, is, that the decree of *Augustus* was issued in the later end of *Herod's* reign; but that for some reason or other the census could not be made, or at least not finished, till the time that *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, ten or twelve years afterwards.

(q) *Jos. Ant. i. xviii. cap. 1. §. 6.*

(r) *U. supra.*

(s) *Notas ad Euseb. Hist. Ec. lib. i. cap. 5.*

But this is to make St. *Luke* speak very improperly and confusedly, in what he says of *Cyrenius*. And it is directly contrary to what follows. Having related, that there went out a decree from *Cesar Augustus*, that all the world should be taxed, he subjoins: and all went to be taxed every one in his own city. And there was so great a resort at this time at *Bethlehem* upon this account, that *Joseph* and *Mary* were obliged to take up with very indifferent accommodations: there was no room for them in the inn.

3. Some think, that instead of *Cyrenius*, we ought to read *Saturninus*; because, according to *Josephus*, he was Prefect of *Syria*, within a year or two before *Herod* died; and *Tertullian* says, this census was made by him. This is one of the solutions proposed by (*t*) *Valesius*, though he rather approves that last mentioned. But against this, it has been observed by many learned men, that *Cyrenius* is in all our copies of St. *Luke*, and appears to have been there before *Tertullian's* time; since *Justin Martyr* says expressly, that this census was made by *Cyrenius*.

4. Other

4. Other learned (*u*) men have thought it a very easy and probable conjecture, that originally the name of St. *Luke* was *Quintilius*. *Quintilius Varus* succeeded *Saturninus*, and was in the province of *Syria*, when *Herod* died. The census afterwards made by *Cyrenius*, was certainly best known, and some ignorant transcriber might therefore imagine *Quintilius* a mistake, and pretend to correct the original by inserting *Cyrenius* in his room. Besides, the alteration of *Quintilius* to *Cyrenius*, is a change of only a few (*x*) letters, and therefore might the more easily happen.

But this solution is liable to the same objection with the former; that *Cyrenius* is in all the copies of the *Greek* original, and in all the ancient versions. And besides, has this disadvantage, that this census St. *Luke* speaks of is not ascribed to *Quintilius Varus* by any ancient Christian writer whatever, whereas *Saturninus* has been mentioned by *Tertullian*.

(*u*) *Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. ix. c. x. Parker's Dem. of the truth of the Christ. Religion, p. 219. 4to. 1681.*

(*x*) *Κυρήτιον, Κυρήνιον*

5. The next (y) I shall mention is that offered by (z) Mr. *Whiston*, which is this; “that a description or enrolment of the Jews was made just before our Saviour’s birth, but the tax it self was not raised till the banishment of *Archelaus*, when *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria* :” And Dr. *Prideaux* seems to approve of this way of solving this difficulty. For he says: “If the second verse of the second chapter of *St. Luke* be so rendered as to imply, that the levying the tax, according to the description mentioned in the former verse, was first executed, while *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, this will remove all difficulties. And the text can well bear this interpretation (a).”

In order to support this interpretation, Mr. *Whiston* says (b): “The word used for the description at our Saviour’s birth, is the verb ἀπεγράφουαι; and that used for the taxation under *Cyrenius*, is the noun ἀπεγραφή. He adds, that by custom a noun

(y) I have passed by the conjecture of those, who have supposed this whole parenthesis to be an interpolation, as not deserving to be mentioned.

(z) *A short view of the Harm. of the Evang. Prop. xi.*

(a) *Connex. Par. ii. l. ix. Anno ante ch. 5.*

(b) *Ubi supra.*



“ of the same original with a verb does vary  
 “ in signification from it. ΓΕΟΜΕΤΡΕΙΝ is to  
 “ measure the earth: ΓΕΟΜΕΤΡΙΑ is Geometry,  
 “ or the science that consists of the know-  
 “ ledge of numbers and figures.—Nay, in  
 “ *English*, in the words directly apposite to  
 “ this matter, the verb to *tax* is often-  
 “ times to lay an imputation, while the  
 “ noun a *tax* is the levy of money only.”

But (1.) Mr. *W*——’s argument from the use of nouns and verbs is not valid here. He says; “ by custom a noun of the same original with a verb does vary in signification from it.” This may be, and there may be many instances of it. But it had been much more material to give an example or two of the use of the noun ἀπογραφή for a *tax*, namely, in the sense in which he here understands it. This he has not done, and I presume no such example can be alleged from any *Greek* author.

I know of but two, or at the most three senses, in which this noun is used, which can have any relation to this matter.

[1.] It is used for the act of the people in presenting themselves to be enrolled. As when soldiers offered themselves to be inlist-  
 ed

ed (c) or enrolled under a General. And in a census it may be used for the act of the people, who come and offer themselves to be enrolled and assessed. So the word seems to be used by *Josephus*, when he says in the place above quoted, that *Judas* persuaded not a few (d) of the *Jews* not to make enrolments or entries; that is, not to offer themselves to be entered and assessed.

[2.] The word is used for a census. So it is used by *Dio* in many places: ἀπογραφὰς ποιεῖσθαι is the same as *censum agere*; that is, to make enrolments, is the same as to make a census (e).

[3.] This noun is used for the public Rolls or Court Books, in which the entries were made. This sense of the word is very common. Thus *Caligula* being at play at dice, and having lost all his money, he asked for the *Gallic* court rolls (f), and ordered several of the most wealthy of that peo-

(c) See above, p. 593. n. 1.

(d) Ἦλεος ἔαρος Ἰὺδα ἀπὸ γινῶ τῶ πείσαντος Ἰεδαίων ἐκ ὀλιγῶς μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς. *de B. J. l. vii. p. 1343. 40*

(e) Πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς. p. 509 C. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούντων ἐποιήσατο. 557. B. *vid. etiam iam citat. pag. 496. C 508. B C.*

(f) Κυβερῶν. δὲ ποτὲ καὶ μεθῶν ὅτι ἐκ εἶη οἱ ἀργύριον, ἤτησέν τι τὰς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφὰς κ. τ. λ. *Dio L. 59. p. 657. B.*

ple to be put to death, and seized their cash. And the Citizens of *Rome*, whose debts were more than they could discharge, having entred the sums they owed in Books opened for that purpose, *Servius Tullius* took the Books or Rolls, τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔλαβε, brought them into the *Forum*, and paid the creditors (g).

Thus I have reckoned up all the senses I know of this noun, relating to this matter. However it never signifies a *tax*. Taxes were paid according to the census, where any had been made : but they were no part of it. They might be remitted, or demanded. And the tribute is never expressed by the noun ἀπογραφὴ, but is ever distinguished from what that signifies.

(2.) This interpretation of these words is contrary to matter of fact. There was no tax levied after the banishment of *Archelaus*, according to the enrolment made at the birth of our Saviour. But as soon as *Archelaus* was banished, “ *Cyrenius* came “ into *Judea* to make an assessment of their “ goods.” *Josephus* is as express in this

(g) *Dion. Hal. l. iv. c. 10. p. 207. 23.*

ὅτι τὸν τε φόρον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν ἀφῆκε, τέλη τε τιμὰς ἐπέθηκε. *Dio L. 49. pag. 491. B.*

matter as can be (i). “Then it was that  
 “*Judas of Galilee* and his followers ex-  
 “claimed, that an assessment would bring  
 “in among them downright slavery (k.)”

This interpretation therefore is so far from being of any service to us, that it would introduce a new, and I think, insuperable difficulty, by putting upon these words a sense directly contrary to what *Josephus* has said.

*Josephus* is so express, that there seems no need of reasoning upon the matter, to confute this supposition. But I can never conceive, how a tax could be levyed in *Judea*, after the removal of *Archelaus*, upon the census or enrolment made at our Saviour's birth, without the utmost confusion, or the utmost injustice. When the enrolment, which *St. Luke* speaks of, was made; *Galilee*, *Trachonitis*, and other countreys were subject to *Herod*, beside *Judea*: many who lived in *Galilee* enrolled themselves in *Judea*, particularly *Joseph*, as *St. Luke* assures us. But when *Archelaus* was banished, one half of *Herod's* dominions was in the possession of *Herod the Tetrarch* and

(i) Παρὴν δὲ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσίας. *Ant. l. xviii. c. 1.*

(k) Ἦν τε ἀποτίμησιν εὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀδικροῦς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρει λέγοντες. *Id. Ibid.*

*Philip*, and had been so ever since the death of *Herod* called the Great. And only *Judea*, *Samaria* and *Idumea*, which had been subject to *Archelaus*, were thrown into the form of a Roman province. The *Jews* having enrolled themselves according to their families at the time of our Saviour's nativity, and many having come into *Judea*, properly so called, from *Galilee*, and other parts of *Herod's* territories, a new enrolment was absolutely necessary in *Judea* at the time of *Archelaus's* removal, if they were to pay tribute there in the way of a census. *Judea* otherwise must have been very much overburdened. If there was an assessment of goods made at the later end of *Herod's* reign, undoubtedly *Joseph's* stock at *Nazareth* was entered and rated at *Bethlehem*. And as the *Jews* in that part of the world were chiefly of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*; the inhabitants of *Galilee*, and *Trachonitis*, &c. must have very generally enrolled themselves in towns that belonged to the province of *Judea*. But it would have been very unreasonable in the *Romans*, to demand tribute of the people of *Judea*, properly so called, for estates  
and

and goods, which were in the territories of the Tetrarchs *Herod* and *Philip*.

And we are assured, that the *Romans* did use to act equitably, and with great exactness in these matters. Many of the Roman Citizens had been for a long time oppressed with the weight of their debts. A way having been found out A. U. 402. to give them ease, *Livie* says, that the next year a census was ordered, because the property of many things had been altered (1).

6. The solution I shall consider in the next place, is that, which was first offered by *Herwaert* (m). I give it here in the words of (n) *Whitby*, by whom it is espoused. *And this taxing was first made* (before that made) *when Cyrenius was Governour of Syria*: or rather, *This taxing was made before Cyrenius was governour of Syria*. The

(1) Quia solutio aeris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos; censum agi placuit. *lib. vii. cap. 22. n. 6. vid. & c. 21.*

(m) Ut hoc loco genitivus ἡγεμονέυοντος vocabulo πρώτῃ additus, vim comparationis efficiat, & perinde sit, ac si diceretur descriptionem illam esse priorem priusque factam, quàm Quirinius Syriae praeficeretur, praefecturamque ipsius gereret. *Herwaert nova & vera Chronologia, Monachii 1612. p. 189.*

(n) *In loc.*

learned *Kepler* (o) approved of this interpretation, as perfectly agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* language. Notwithstanding which (p) *Casaubon* rejected it, and was supposed by most to have confuted *Herwaert's* arguments for it. *Perizonius* in his dissertation upon this subject of the Taxing has afresh supported this interpretation. Mr. *Le Clerc* in his additions to Dr. *Hammond's* annotations expresses his approbation of it : and has since declared, (q) that he thinks it has been set in so clear a light as to be incontestable. And it is now embraced by many other learned men, both Protestants and Catholics.

I am very desirous, this solution should appear here to as much advantage, as an argument so full of *Greek* criticisms can do in a design of this nature in our own language. *Perizonius* allows, that a great many of

(o) Cum igitur omnium Græcè doctorum judicio constet sic optimè versum esse hunc locum Lucae, multoque emendatius quam habet antiqua versio, spero omnes acquieturos hac solutione objectionis prius propositae. *De Natal. J. Chr. p. 116. 117.*

(p) *Exerc. in Baron. i. n. 32.*

(q) Ce denombrement se fit avant que *Quirinius* fut gouverneur de la Syrie. Des savans hommes ont mis cette explication de ce passage de St. Luc dans un si grand jour qu'elle paroît désormais incontestable. *Nouv. Testam.*

*Herwaert's* instances are not to the (r) purpose. I reckon therefore, that it will be sufficient to represent this argument, as it is drawn up by *Whitby* and *Perizonius*: especially if I take in by the by an instance or two, insisted on by others, though neglected by them.

*Whitby* says: “ I would rather read *πρῶτης* than *πρώτη*. But neither do we need this criticism, since the words *πρῶτος* and *πρότερος* are by the Seventy oft used according to this sense; of the word *πρότερον*, this is beyond doubt, God saying twice *ἀποσελῶ σφηκίας προτερας σε*, *I will send hornets before thee*. Exod. xxiii. 28. Jos. xxiv. 12.—That *πρῶτος* also is used in the sense of priority, we learn from these instances; *πρωτότοκος ἐγὼ ἢ σύ*, *I am before thee, I am elder than thou*; *ἵνα τι ἔκ ἐλογίσθη ἔλεγχος μου πρῶτος*; Chal. *ἵνα τίς ἀποκριθῆναι*, *Why then was not the word first spoken to me? Cur mihi non annunciatum est priori?* 2 Sam. xix. 43. Isa. lxxv. 16. *The former troubles are forgotten*. Gr. *ἐπιλήσονται τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῶν τὴν πρώτην*

(r) Interpretationem hanc primus protulit Joh. Georg. Herwartus, multisque argumentis, vel potius exemplis probare laboravit, sed in quibus non pauca attulit valde ἀπρεσβήσια. *Periz. de August. Descript. §. 21.*



“ and *ver.* 17. ἔ μὴ μνησθῶσι τῶν προτέρων,  
 “ they shall not remember the former. So  
 “ *John* i. 15. 30. ὅτι πρῶτός μὲ ἦν, for he  
 “ was before me. And *chap.* 15. 18. κινῶ  
 “ that they hated, ἐμὲ πρῶτον, me before you.  
 “ 1 *Cor.* xiv. 30. ὁ πρῶτος, Let the former  
 “ hold his peace; and 1 *Job.* iv. 19. We  
 “ love him, ὅτι πρῶτος, because he loved us  
 “ before. And in *Aristophanes*, ἀλλ’ ἔκ ἀν  
 “ πρῶτος is interpreted, ἀλλ’ ἔκ ἀν πρότερον.  
 “ *Neph.* p. 122. And so *Theophylact* inter-  
 “ pretes the word here. Τετάρτοι προτέρα ἡγε-  
 “ μονεύοντες, ἡγαν πρότερον ἢ ἡγεμόνευε τῆς Συ-  
 “ ρίας Κυρήνης.”

*Perizonius* understands these words in much the same sense (*s*) with *Whitby*; only he differs from him and *Herwaert*, in that they suppose *πρώτη* to be the same as *πρώτα*; whereas he says, these numeral adjectives have the force of adverbs (*t*).

He

(s) Verus itaque meâ sententiâ verborum sensus est: Haec descriptio prius, vel, ante, facta est, quam praesideret Syriae Romanis. *Dissertatio de Augustae orbis terrarum Descriptione*, §.

(t) Voluit autem Herwartus *πρώτη* poni ἀντὶ τῆς προτέρα, etque hujus locutionis vi, genitivum, qui sequitur, a τῷ πρώτῳ, tanquam a comparativo, regi. Durum hoc plerisque videntur. Ego rem aliter expediendam omnino censeam. Πρώτη

He alleges divers of the same examples, which *Whitby* does; particularly *John* i. 15. and xv. 18. Of the later, ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ἐμῶν μεμίσηκε, he says, it must by all means be understood (u) of priority of time: *It hated me before it hated you.*

He supposes also (x) that we have a parallel instance in a word of an opposite meaning, 2 *Macc.* vii. 41. ἐσχάτη τῶν υἱῶν ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε: *Last of all after the sons the mother died.* In the same manner is πρῶτον the adverb used in *Aristophanes in avibus*, v. 484. *de Gallo*; ἤρχε τε πρῶτον Δαρείῳ καὶ Μεγαβύζῳ, i. e. *imperabatque Persis priusquam Darius & Megabyzus; vel ante Darium et Megabyzum.*

*Perizonius* says, that the genitives that follow πρῶτον are governed by an ellip-

simpliciter, ut adjectivum numerale jungitur verbo, quemadmodum solent adjectiva habitum vel modum rei gestae significantia, tanquam si sint adverbia.—Sic plane πρῶτον, verbis adjunctum, saepe significat solam ordinis & numeri rationem, sine discrimine, pluresne sint, an unus, qui sequantur; atque adeo tunc non tam superlativi, quam positivi naturam induit, eandemque subit constructionem, quam δεύτερον & seqq. *Ibid.* §. xxii.

(u) Vertendum omnino cum significato temporis, me primum ante vos. *ibid.* §. xxiii.

(x) *Ibid.*

sis (*y*), and that *πρῶτός μὲ*, is the same as *πρῶτῶ πρό μὲ*, *πρῶτῶ ὑμῶν* the same as *πρῶτῶ πρό ὑμῶν*. Thus in *Luke xi. 38. He wondered, ὅτι ἔπρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρό ἀρίστου, that he had not washed before dinner.* From this and another such instance he concludes,

(*y*) Nempe genitivi hi non reguntur ab adjectivis, sed a praepositionibus, quæ per ellipsin sunt omissæ. §. xxiv. *Πρό* enim esse particulam, quæ in ista locutione desideratur, & a qua regitur genitivus, certissimum ex eo, quod ubi ellipsis nulla, & sententia plene ac integre exponitur, illa potissimum occurrit expressa. Apud Anton. Liber. fab. 29. *Καὶ πρό Ἡρακλίου ἰορτῇ θύσει Γαλινθιάδι πρώτη*. Galinthias ibi optimè dicitur merita fuisse de Hercule, & idcirco Thebanos in *festis Herculis sacrificare Galinthiade prius*, seu primæ, ante *Herculem*.—Sed & ipse Lucas Evang. xi. 38. expressit similiter τὸ πρό post πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ Φαρισαῖος, inquit, ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν, ὅτι ἔπρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρό ἀρίστου. *quod non primum se laverit, antequam cibum sumeret.* Vides utrobique post *πρῶτη* & *πρῶτον* ante genitivum expressam hanc praepositionem; quod certo est indicio, ab ea etiam regi, quando nulla comparet, omissa per *ἔλλειψιν*, sed tamen intelligenda: atque adeo explicandum etiam *πρῶτον Δαρείου*, quasi dictum esset *πρῶτον πρό Δαρείου* ἢ ἀναγραφῇ *πρῶτη Κυρηναίε* quasi *πρῶτη πρό Κυρηναίε*. §. xxv.—mihique idem est, ac si dixisset Lucas, non quidem *πρῶτος ἰεροσολύμου*, verum *πρῶτη πρό ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ*.—Sed nihil similia, quod ad constructionis & linguae rationem, Lucæ verbis secundum nostram eorum interpretationem, quam locus 1 xx. Interpretum *Jerem. xxix. 2. ἔτοι οἱ λόγοι, ἔς ἀπίστους Ἰερουσαλὴμ, ἃς βαβυλωνία ὑπερον ἐξελήλυθον Ἰαχουὴ ἐξ Ἰερουσαλὴμ.* Haec sunt verba, quæ misit, vel scripsit Jeremias Babylonem, postquam exiit Jechonias ex Hierosolymis §. xxviii.

that the genitive is governed by  $\pi\rho\acute{o}$  understood, when it is wanting.

This is the substance of the argument in favour of this meaning of this passage of *St. Luke*.

It has been thought by some to be an objection against this solution, that then *St. Luke* has omitted to name the person, by whom this enrolment was made. But methinks this is a defect, which may be dispensed with, if that be the only difficulty. For my own part, I dare not absolutely reject it: but yet I am not fully satisfied, that this is the sense of the words. I think myself obliged to review the arguments here offered by these learned men, and hope it may be done without offense.

*Whitby's* instances of the use of  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  from the *Seventy* are not to the point, because the word in *St. Luke* is  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\tau$ . There is no doubt, but  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\textcircled{\omega}$ , the comparative, is very often followed by a genitive case, and denotes such or such a thing to be *before* another. We want some plain examples of this use of  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\textcircled{\omega}$ . Nor is  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\textcircled{\omega}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \eta\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$  to the point, because the  $\acute{\iota}$  is wanting in *St. Luke*, and the construction is different. The example from *Isa.* lxxv. 16.

only proves that *πρῶτον* signifies the *former*: and though *πρώτη* in *St. Luke* should be so rendered, the difficulty will remain in it's full force. For then the sense will be: *This former taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* Nor can the *πρῶτον* in *1 Cor. xiv. 30.* or *1 John iv. 19.* do us any service, for want of a regimen equivalent to what we have in our text. Nor do I see what use can be made of the phrase borrowed from *Aristophanes.* The passage from *2 Sam. xix. 43.* as it is quoted by *Keuchenius* (z), seems to me more strongly to support this interpretation, than as it is quoted by *Whitby.* Though, I suppose, he had his reasons for quoting it in that way. Nor has *Perizonius* quoted this text, though he had *Keuchenius* before him. It is observable, that *ἴδρα* is wanting in

(z) Silentio tandem praeterire nequeo quod *2 Sam. cap. 19. 43.* legitur, *Et vir Israhelis respondit viro Judae, & dixit, ubi sunt decem partes in rege, ubi LXX. de suo addere videntur, κ' πρώτον ἐγὼ ἢ σὺ, & etiam in Davide ego prae te: curatur me vilipendisti, & non fuit verbum meum primum seu prius inter duos enim sermo est) mibi ad reducendum regem meum; quod LXX. vertunt. κ' ἔκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτος μοι τῆ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐμοί; ubi πρῶτος τῆ ἴδρα manifeste ponitur pro πρώτος. *Petri Keuchen. annot. in loc.**

(a) *Grabe's* edition of the *Septuagint*, as there is nothing answerable to it in the *Hebrew*. His instances from *St. John's Gospel* will be distinctly considered presently.

The first quotation in *Perizonius* [§. 23.] which I shall consider is *John* xx. 3, 4. *Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other disciple did out-run Peter, ἔηλθε πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον and came first to the sepulchre.* Which *Perizonius* would render thus: and came first, or before *Peter*; and says, that the meaning cannot be *came first of all*, πρῶτος πάντων, because *Mary Magdalene* had been there before. No, for certain, it is not, *came first of all*, because two only are here spoken of; and *omnium primus* is not properly said of two. But I wonder *Perizonius* did not perceive the proper ellipsis in this place, and which is very obvious, namely, τῶν δύο, and came the *first of the two*. *Perizonius* does not deny, that πρῶτος is used, where two only are spoken of; nay, he contends

(a) Καὶ ἐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μου τῷ ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐμοί.

for it. But because it is often denied (*b*), and because his proofs appear to me not very clear, or at least not so fully to suit my interpretation of this text, I shall give two undoubted examples. Thus (*c*) *Dionysius* says, that *Servius Tullius's* wife was daughter of *Tarquin the first*; though there were but two *Tarquins* Kings of *Rome*. *Plutarch* thus describes a restless uneasy mind. "If he is a native of a province, of *Galatia* for instance, or *Bithynia*; he thinks he is not well used, if he has not some eminent post among his Citizens. If he has that, he laments that he has not a right of wearing the *Patrician* habit: If he has that, he grieves that he is not a Roman Praetor: If he is Praetor, that he is not Consul; and if Consul, that he was not declared first, but (*d*) only the later (of the two)."

(*b*) Πρῶτος καὶ πρότερος διαφέρει· πρῶτος γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλῶν, πρότερος δὲ, ἐπὶ δύο· *Ammon. de Sim. & Diff. ar. H. Steph. Thes. Gr. in Appendice.*

(*c*) Ταρκυνία θυγάτηρ ἔσα τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλείῳ· *Dionys. Hal. Antiq. l. 234. v. 13. confer. p. 250. v. 42. ὅτι Ταρκυνία τῆ θυγατρὶ βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων ἀδελφῆ παῖς ἦν· Ἔρ. 253. 10. τῆ θυγατρὶ βασιλείῳ Ταρκυνία θυγάτηρ.*

(*d*) Πάντ' οὖν καὶ στρατηγῶν, ὅτι μὴ ὑπατεύει καὶ ὑπατεύων, ὅτι καὶ πρῶτος, ἀλλ' ἕτερος ἀντιγορεύθῃ· *Plutarch. de Anim. Tranq. l. 477. c.*

This text then will not help *Perizonius*. All that can be proved from it is, that *πρῶτον* is used very properly, where two only are spoken of. If *πρῶτη* in St. *Luke* be allowed to signify the *first* or *former* of two taxings, all that will result from hence is, that St. *Luke* thought there was another taxing beside this; and that this now made by *Cyrenius* was the former of the two. No instance of this sort will prove, that the meaning of this passage is, This taxing was *before*, or *prior* to, that made, when *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*.

The examples from *John* i. 15, 30. xv. 18. are some of the most proper examples in the whole number: and if they are rightly understood, they are very much to the purpose. But, with submission to these learned men, I think they are taken by them in a wrong sense. They are both much of the same kind; but I choose to consider first of all that alleged from *John* xv. 18. εἰ κόσμος ἐμῆς μισεῖ, γινώσκειτε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμεῖς μισήθητε. *If the world hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you.* *Herwaert* (c) is much pleased with this example.

(c) Ille verò S. Joannis xv. 18 locus ad hoc institutum nihil habet. — *In mundo vobis odium, scilicet quia me primum odierunt.*



If *πρῶτον* be supposed to be an adverb, then this is not a parallel instance. But indeed, as I take it, it is neither an adverb, nor an adjective, but a noun substantive; or at least, an adjective used substantively: and the later part of the verse ought to be rendered: *Know that it has hated me YOUR CHIEF.* The connexion of the words may satisfy us, that this was our Saviour's meaning. His argument is, that men had hated him, who was superior to them; nay, they had hated even his father; the disciples therefore ought not to be surpris'd, if they hate them also. *v. 20. Remember the words that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord, if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you, v. 24. But now they have both seen and hated me, and my father.* The force of the argument is not, that the world had hated him before it hated them: But he bids them consider, that it had hated him who was *their master*, and whom they allowed to be so. This is the argument made use of in other places, with the same view. *The disciple* Matt. x. 24. *is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.*—*If they have called the*  
*master*

*master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?*

If it be said, that there was no occasion to subjoin *your chief* after *me*; and that the disciples could consider Jesus no otherwise than as their master: I answer, that it is apparent from the texts already alleged here by me, that this was not our Saviour's stile; and that he did not trust so much to his disciples understandings. When he had occasion to draw any inferences from his superiority, he always expresseth it. *Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well: for so I am. If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet.*

Πρῶτῳ is used several times in the *New Testament*, in the plural number, for superiority of honour and dignity: καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Γαλιλαίας, is not ill rendered in our version, *chief estates of Galilee.* γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων ἕκ ὀλίγαι, *of the chief women not a few*: or, as perhaps the words might be rendered, *not a few of the wives of the chief men.*

It is likewise used in the singular number in the same sense. καὶ ὅς ἐάν θέλη ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτῳ, ἕστω ὑμῶν δούλος. *And whosoever will*

will be chief among you, let him be your servant. There is another unexceptionable instance of this use of the word: Ἐν δὲ τοῖς — ὑπῆρχε χωρία τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου. *In the same quarters were possessions of the CHIEF<sup>r</sup> MAN of the Island.* Grotius, in his annotations upon this place, has exhibited a Greek inscription, found in this very Island of Melita, a part of which inscription is thus: Λ. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. *L. C. Kius, Roman Knight, chief of the Melitenes.*

The word is often so used in the *Septuagint* version: πρώτῳ τῶν τριάκοντα, chief of the thirty. *1 Chron. xi. 11. Καὶ Ἀτὰρ πρώτῳ τῶν ἀδέντων, Nehem. xii. 45.* and in many other places. And in *Josephus*: Ἰῆσθ<sup>ο</sup> ὁ Πιστ<sup>ο</sup> παῖς, ὁ τῆς τρίτης μερίδ<sup>ο</sup> πρώτ<sup>ο</sup>; *Justus* the son of *Pistus*, chief or leader of the third faction in *(f) Tiberias*. I throw an example or two more from other *(g)* authors into the margin.

*(f) Joseph. in vit. p. 907. v. 12.*

*(g) Τὸν τε δὲ παῖδα ἰούθ<sup>ο</sup> πρώτ<sup>ο</sup> παρ' ἰμοί<sup>ο</sup> κ. λ. Herodot. l. i. c. 115. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρ<sup>ο</sup> ἀσός, κ<sup>ὶ</sup> ὁ πρώτ<sup>ο</sup> αὐτῶν, κ. λ. ibid. c. 173. Καὶ Ἐσαμινῶνδας ἑσιωταρχῶν, ἐν Λεύκτραις ἐνίκησε Λακιδαιῶνας. κ<sup>ὶ</sup> τῶν Ῥωμαίων [Θηβαίων legit Perizonius] κ<sup>ὶ</sup> τῶν Ἑλλήνων. αὐτῶν ἰγίνιστο. *Aelian. Var. H. vii. 14.**

Nor do I see, why *πρώτῳ* should not be allowed to be used substantively in divers of the places I have produced. *Princeps* in *Latin* is properly an adjective, and is often so used: at other times it is a substantive. *Αὐτοκράτωρ* is sometimes an (*b*) adjective. It is also used substantively. No one will deny it. *Ἰππατῳ* is a word very near parallel with *πρώτῳ*; is often an adjective, at other times is used substantively, and denotes a Consul.

I come now to the other instance, *John* i. 15. *ἔτι ἢ ὃν εἶπον, ἔ'πίσω με ἐρχόμενον ἔμπροσθέν με γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός με ἦν.* This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me. The same words occur again v. 30. with little variation. But the last clause ought not, in my opinion, to be rendered, *for he was before me*, but, *for he is my Prince, or Lord.*

What I have already said in favour of this meaning of *πρώτῳ* in the former instance may, I presume, make way for admitting it here.

I apprehend *John* to say: *He that follows me, or comes behind me, was always*

(*b*) Λαβὴν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα δεξιῶ: *Dionys. Hal. l. 7 i 408. v. 1.*

before me, or *in my view*, for he is my Prince. Ἐμπροσθεν and ὀπίσω (unless I am much mistaken) are never used in the *New Testament* for priority or posteriority of time, nor for superiority or inferiority in respect of dignity, (unless they are so used here in the case of *John the Baptist*,) but always have a regard to place. For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ. 2 Cor. v. 10. Ἐμπροσθεν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ κυρίου. I said unto Peter before them all. Gal. ii. 14. Ἐμπροσθεν πάντων Forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before. Phil. iii. 13. τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθάνομεν, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐτεκτεινόμεν. ἐνώπιον and ἔμπροσθεν are frequently used the one for the other. See *Matth. x. 33. Luke xii. 9.* It is true, *John* came before Christ, that is, before his face. He went before him as an officer before a great man. But that is expressed here in ὀπίσω μὲν ἐρχόμενος.

But I will not contend about this. Perhaps ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν is not ill rendered in our translation, *is preferred before me*, though it appears to me an unusual sense of the word.

However,

However, *πρῶτός μου* must nevertheless be understood, as I render it. And I learn from *Beza (i)*, that others have been of the same opinion before me.

Thus then *John* says, toward the conclusion of his ministry: *Ye your selves bear witness, that I [from the beginning] said, I am not the Christ, but that I came before him.* John iii. 20. Referring to what he had declared at first: *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, MAKE STRAIT THE WAY OF THE LORD.* Ch. i. 13. That is, I came not on my own account, but barely as a harbinger that makes way for his Lord. This is the peculiar character of *John*, under which he was prophesied of. *Isa.* xl. 3. *Mal.* iii. 1. iv. 5. And under which he always speaks of himself. And what in the 15th and 30th verses of this 1st chapter of *John*, is *ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν*, *He is my Prince*, is in the 27th verse represented by an expression that denotes the vast superiority of Christ above him (*k*): *He it is,*

(i) Quamobrem etiam nonnulli *πρῶτός μου* interpretantur *Princeps meus*: quod mihi penitus insolens videtur. *Bez.* in l.c.

(k) Αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γένηται ἔργα ἐκείνου ἀξίως. ἵνα λύσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἰμάριον τῶ ὑποδήματός.

who coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose : that is, I am so far inferior to him, and am in so low a post under him, that I am not worthy to perform the meanest office about his person : or, in other words, I am a mere harbinger, and he is my Lord. *Athenagoras* (*A*) has used this word in this very sense of a Prince or chief.

I hope it will be no objection against this interpretation, that then the words would not have been *πρῶτός μὲς ἦν*, but *ἔστιν* : for these are all one and the same. I need go no farther for proof than these two verses : *ἔτι ἦν ὃν εἶπον* in the 15th, in the 30th is *ἔτις ἔστι περὶ ἧ ἐγὼ εἶπον*. So that *ἦν* and *ἔστι* signify the very same thing, and are used one for the other.

I am indeed aware, that some Grammarians will except against my notion of *πρῶτος* being a substantive. I will then, for the present, suppose it to be an adjective. But yet I cannot part with the interpretation I

(A) Πρωτοῦ δὲ τῷ μὲν τὸ πρωτεύειν κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ δὲ δορυφορεῖν τὸ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, ὁδοποιεῖν τε καὶ προανέγειν πᾶν ὅπου ἔμποδος καὶ πρόσωντες. Decet enim hoc secundum naturam principatum habere, illud autem, satellitis vice PRINCIPI suo viam facere, & praevio cursu, omnia impedimenta & praerupta tollere. *De Resur. p. 50. D. Paris. 1636.*

have given of either of these texts. The context satisfies me, the sense I affix to the words is the true meaning: and I can, if I mistake not, account for it according to the strictest rules of the Grammarians. Let then *πρῶτον* in *John xv. 18.* be inclusive, and be understood partitively, and *ὑμῶν* will be governed by the ellipsis *ἐξ*. This I suppose will not be contested. But I choose to understand *πρῶτον* here exclusively. I think, that is the best sense. And then the ellipsis may be (*m*) *πρὸς*, *περὶ*, *ἐπὶ*, or whatever else the Grammarians like best. *Πρῶτον* in *John i. 15. 30.* is evidently exclusive, according to my way of rendering it; and the *μὲν* following is governed by an ellipsis of one of the last mentioned prepositions. This I take to be perfectly agreeable to the rules of the Grammarians. And thus, in one place Jesus tells his disciples, that he was chief *above* them; and in the other *John*

(*m*) *Perizonius* says §. 24. *Apud Graecos hanc vicem praestant praepositiones πρὸ & περὶ, quarum illa respondet τῷ ante, haec τῷ prae. Πρὸ is also used to denote preference and preeminence, both simply and in composition. Simply: Καὶ ἔτι τοιαυτὴν ἀποδείκνυται διανοίας, τυφλὸν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσπασομένης, καὶ πρὸ τῆς εἶναι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀποδεχομένης. Philo p. 193. D. vid. Ἔ p. 194. D. In Composition: in πρῶτος, πρῶτον, &c.*



*the Baptist* says, that Jesus was Prince or chief *above* him. And now I have *Beza* on my side, with reference to *John i. 15.* For though he would not allow, that *πρώτος μὲν* is *my prince*; yet he says (*n*), after a very careful examination, he is convinced, it expresses the vast excellence and superiority of Christ above *John*. I am not singular therefore in supposing, that this text does not express directly and simply priority of time, but only virtually and consequentially, as it is implied and comprehended in the superior dignity, of which it is a part.

There is another *πρώτη* in the *New Testament*, which has been understood by some in the same sense, in which these learned men have taken the two former instances, though it is not alleged by them. Now *the* Mat. xxvi. *first day of the feast of unleavened bread.* Mark xvi. <sup>17.</sup> This was the fourteenth day of the month: <sup>12.</sup> but it is argued here, that the 15th day was the first day of the feast of unleavened

(*n*) Caeterum hoc loco diligentius expenso, quam antea, —Declarat igitur praestantiam, sed Christo peculiarem, & ipsi propriam: nempe quasi diceret Joannes. Qui me sequitur quasi magistrum praecedentem discipulus quispiam, mihi ante positus est, idque optimo jure quia infinitis modis est praestantior: quamvis ante docere coeperim quam ille sese mundo patefecerit. *In loc.*

A a a bread;

Num xxviii.  
16. 17  
Sec Exod.  
xii 18.

bread ; for *Josephus* says, that the 16th day of the month was (o) the second day of the feast. And the words of the Lawe agree herewith. *And in the fourteenth day of the first month is the passover of the Lord. And in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast. Seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten.* The fourteenth day therefore was the day of the Passover. The feast of unleavened bread was distinct from it, and lasted seven days from the 14th at night. The fifteenth day of the month was the first of unleavened bread. Therefore when the Evangelists, speaking of the 14th day, say, it was πρώτη τῶν ἀζύμων, they mean not the first day of unleavened bread, but the day before that Feast.

The Jews have a rule, that in the computation of Feasts, the day (p) precedes the night. What stresse ought to be laid upon this rule in this case, I know not. I am satisfied, we do not need it. The Pass-

(o) Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων (ἡμέρα ἕκτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ καὶ πρώτη) *Antiq.* 3. c. 10. p. 124. v. 20.

(p) Quum autem Matt. 26. 17. & Marc. 14. 12. ipse dies 14. Nisan appellatur primus dies azymorum, intelligendum id est s. cundum canonem Judaeorum, mox traditum, scilicet in sacris comedendis diem praecedere noctem ; sic ut tempus vespertinum diei 14. & nox subsequens hoc modo diei 14. accenscatur. *Reland. Antiq. Heb.* p. 422.

er was strictly speaking distinct from the feast of *unleavened bread*, and seven days of unleavened bread followed the day of the passover. But their houses were cleansed from all leaven on the morning of the day on which the paschal lamb was slain, and therefore after noon they could eat no leavened bread. For this reason, perhaps, the day of the passover was called the first of unleavened bread. But whatever was the reason of it, it is certain, that the passover and the feast of unleavened bread are often taken promiscuously the one for the other. And though *Josephus*, in the particular account of the institution, distinguishes the passover from the feast of unleavened bread, yet he often calls the one the other. “ At (7) that time, says he, the feast approaching, in which the Jews are wont to eat unleavened bread. The feast is called the passover, it being kept in remembrance of their departure out of *Egypt*.” And in one place he says, “ we keep the (r) feast

(7) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τοῦδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς, ἐν ἣ Ἰουδαίοις ἔμεν προσθῆσθαι πάτριον. Πάσχα δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται, ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπάξεως αὐτῶν γειομένης. *Antiq.* 17. c. 2. p. 773. v. 25. *vid.* Ἔ p. 609. v. 51. 837. v. 10.

(r) Ὅθεν ἀνομήμην αὐτῆς τότε ἐνδοξίας ἑορτὴν ἀγομεν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. ἡ ἑορτὴν λεγομένην. *Antiq.* 2. c. 15. p. 88. *init.*

“of unleavened bread eight days.” According to this method of computation, the 14th day was the first of unleavened bread. So that when the Passover and feast of unleavened bread were considered as one, (as they were very often,) and the whole was called by the feast of unleavened bread, the fourteenth day must be the first. The Evangelists perhaps do not write in system: nor does *Josephus*, as it seems, nor indeed any other good writers; but according to the usual way of speaking.

*Herwaert* (s) lays great stress upon a

(s) Ille vero locus Aristotelis est singularis. Eum recenset Athenaeus Lib. xi. p. 505. Πρὸ γὰρ αὐτῆ [Πλάτων] τῆ εὔρε τοῦ εἶδ[ος] τῶν λόγων ὁ Τηϊ[εύς] Ἀλεξάμενος, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαίου ἰσοφειῖ καὶ Σωτηρίων. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν ἕτως γράφει, Οὐκ ἔν ἡδὲ ἐμμέτρως τὸς καλωμένως Σώφρονος μίμωσι μὴ εἶναι εἶναι λόγως καὶ μιμήσις, ἢ τὸς Ἀλεξάμενος τῆ Τηϊῆ τὸς πρῶτως γραφέντως τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων ἀντικρως φάσκων ὅτι πλυμαθέσαί[ον] Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸ Πλάτωνος διαλόγως γεγραφαίται τῶν Ἀλεξάμενον. Haec quidem Athenaeus: Ubi sane verba illa Aristotelis τὸς πρῶτως γραφέντως τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων, Athenaeus hisce interpretatur. [τὸς πρῶτερον] πρὸ Πλάτωνος διαλόγως, κ. τ. λ. Plato enim in suis dialogis introducit Socratem qui hortetur juvenes, sophistas redarguat, viros doceat: unde haud immerito vocantur Socratici.—Quemadmodum igitur Aristoteles Alexameni dialogos prius scriptos, quam Plato suos Socraticos conscripsisset, vocat τὸς πρῶτως γεγραφαίται τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων, sic Divus Lucas, &c. *Herw.* ubi supra. p. 197.

passage

passage of *Athenaeus*, who quotes *Aristotle*, saying, (as *Herwaert* understands the words,) that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were writ before the *Socratic* dialogues; [that is, the dialogues in which *Plato* introduces *Socrates* ;] expressly affirming, says *Athenaeus*, that *Alexamenus* writ dialogues before *Plato*.

But it is very plain to me, that *Aristotle* says that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were the first *Socratic* dialogues; that is, that *Alexamenus* was the inventor of that way of writing. I have transcribed the passage of *Athenaeus* more at length than *Herwaert* has done. And if the reader will consider the whole of it, I think he will be convinced: 1st, That by *Socratic dialogues* is here meant, not *Plato's dialogues*, in which he introduces *Socrates*, but in general that way of writing: and 2dly, That *Aristotle* says, that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were the first of the kind. From whence *Athenaeus* infers very justly, that *Aristotle* says expressly, that *Alexamenus* writ dialogues before *Plato*.

I think likewise, that *Athenaeus* never dreamed of that meaning of *Aristotle's* words, which *Herwaert* affixes to them. Inter-

(1) So *Athenaeus* says expressly: τῶν εὖτε τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων.

pret *Aristotle*, as *Herwaert* does, and *Athenaeus* is guilty of a ridiculous tautology in his inference.

That I understand *Aristotle* right, is farther evident from *Diogenes Laertius*, whose words upon the same subject are thus: “Some say, that *Zeno* the *Elean* was the “first writer of dialogues, but *Aristotle* in “his first book of Poets says, that *Alexa-  
“menus* the *Teian* was, as does also *Pharvo-  
“rinus* in his commentaries (u).”

But though I contest all these instances, (as thinking I have given the true meaning of all those places;) it must be allowed, that *Perizonius*'s example from *Aristophanes*, and another from *Alexander Aphrodisius* (x), alleged by others in this cause, prove that *πρῶτον*, used adverbially, is put without *πρὸ* following it to denote the priority they contend for. How far the argument will hold by way of analogy from adverbs to adjectives, I cannot say. It ought also to be allowed,

(u) Διαλόγες τίνων φασι πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἐλεῖ-  
πτον Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλεξάμενον Στυζίε  
Τύιον, ὡς καὶ Φαβριῖον ἐν ἀπομνημονεύμασι. *Diog. Laert. l. iii.*  
*Segm. 48.*

(x) Ἡ πληγὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀστραπῆς τὴν βρόντην ἀποσιλεῖ ἢ ἐ-  
μα. Ictus prius tonitru perficit quàm fulgur, aut simul. *Alex-  
and. Aphrod. Problem. l. i.*

that the *πρῶτός μοι τῆ ἰῆδα* of 2 *Sam.* xix. 43. (but not found in all copies of the *Seventy*,) is an equivalent phrase to that in *St. Luke*, and to be understood in the sense put upon *St. Luke's* words. The passage from the *Maccabees*, *Last of all after the sons the mother died*, contains also a parallel phrase. To these I add two other instances (y) of *πρῶτ* itself, which I am unwilling to contest, and shall leave with the reader.

*Perizonius's* way of accounting for this construction by the ellipsis of a preposition to be understood, when not expressed, is well argued from the two instances he has alleged of *πρὸ* subjoined to *πρῶτ*. I add another like instance from *Eusebius* (z): Though perhaps the other way of supposing *πρώτη* used for *προτέρα* (a) need not be quite rejected.

(y) *Πρὸ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων, καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῶν ἐστὶ θεὸς εἷς, πρῶτος καὶ τῆ πρώτης θεῆ καὶ βασιλείως.* Ante eas res quae vere sunt, & ante principia universalium est unus deus prior etiam primo deo & rege. *Jamblich. de Mysteriis, §. 8. c. 2.* Καὶ πρῶτος ἰσιφανῆτο τῶν ἄλλων. primus ante alios corona honoratus est. *Dionys. Hal. Hist. Rom. l. iv. c. 3.*

(z) *Αὐτίκα γὰρ μάλα θεασώμεθα, ὅπως μὲν ὁ Πλάτων τῆς τῆ αὐτῆ πρώτης ἰσκάπειν, ὅπως δὲ τῆς Πλάτωνος διαδόχους ἄλλοι.* *Praepar. Ev. l. 14. c. 2.*

(a) *Ἐστὶ δὲ τις δύναμις, οὐσίας μὲν δευτέρα, ψυχῆς δὲ πρώτη.*

I presume this may be sufficient to shew, that the phrase in St. *Luke* is capable of the sense contended for by these learned men. But I cannot yet persuade my self, that it is the real sense of the text for the following reasons.

1. This is a very uncommon use of the word *πρῶτον*. This, I think, is evident, in that the critics have been so much at a loss for instances. *Stevens* knew of (*b*) none, beside that produced above from *Aphrodisius*, where *πρῶτον* is used adverbially. There are also almost innumerable other ways of expressing this priority of time (*c*). The reason of the *Greek* writers so rarely using this word thus is very obvious: It can hardly be done without causing some ambiguity; therefore when they use it in this sense, we see they often subjoin *πρῶτον*. That this use of *πρῶτον* was designedly avoided, seems to me evident from a passage of *He-*

*Est autem quaedam vis essentiâ quidem inferior, sed nobilior animo. Sallust. de mundo. c. 8.*

(*b*) *Πρῶτον πρότερον*, prius. *Alexander Aphrodisius*, *πληγῆ, κ. λ.* Quem alioqui usum apud vetustiores scriptores rarissimum esse puto: affertur tamen & ex *Aristotelis Rhet.* *πρῶτον ἢ*, pro prius quàm. *Theaur. Gr. Tom. 3. 567. A.*

(*c*) *Πρῶτον, πρότερον, πρότερον*, [adverb.] *πρότερον, πρότερον, πρότερον, &c.*



*Herodotus*; where having in the former branch of the sentence twice used the superlative, in the later he takes the comparative; either to avoid ambiguity, or as more agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* language (*d*)."

2. It does not appear, that any of the first *Christians* understood *St. Luke* in this sense. That they did not so interpret this text, we are assured from the *Syriac*, *Vulgate*, and other Versions; from *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, and from the passage of *Julian* above quoted; in which he certainly represents the common opinion of people in his time, of *Christians* and others.

7. There is another solution, which was first proposed by (*e*) *Beza*, and has been embraced by many learned (*f*) men. The  
 Roman

(*d*) Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφείων βασιλεύσαι, ἰνόμιζον ἐωϋτὸς πρῶτος γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχ' ἑβασίλευσας, ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἷ τινες γενόιατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τῆς νομίξεσι Φρύγας πρῶτους γενέσθαι ἐωϋτῶν, τῶν ἄλλων ἐωϋτὸς. *Herodot. l. 2. init.* The *Egyptians*, before the reign of *Psammetichus*, thought themselves the first [or most ancient] of all people. But since the reign of *Psammetichus*, who made an experiment for finding out who were the first of all people, they have thought that the *Phrygians* were before them, they before others.

(*e*) *Bez. in loc. Vid. Ἐ Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. x. §. 3.*

(*f*) *Grot. Ἐ Hamm. in loc. Scaliger. animad. in Chron. Euseb.*

Roman Catholic authors, that approve of this solution, agree to understand the words, as they stand in the vulgate version: *This first Description, or Enrolment, was made by Cyrenius (g).* The Protestants generally render them: *This first Enrolment was made, Cyrenius being President of Syria: or, when Cyrenius was President of Syria (h).*

By President of Syria, they do not understand President in the most strict and proper sense of the word; it being apparent from *Josephus*, that either *Saturninus*, or *Quintilius Varus*, must have been President of Syria at the time this enrolment was made. And there is no instance of two persons being jointly Presidents with equal power in the same province, when a province was in peace, as Syria was at this time (i).

They suppose, that when *Augustus* had issued his decree, that all the world, that is,

*Feb. ad A. 2016. Casaub. in Bar. Exerc. i. Num. 31. 32. Ufser. Ann. ant. aer. Chr. v. Noris. Cenot. Pis. Dissert. ii. p. 320. —322. Pagi. App. ad ann. Bar. Num. 126---129.*

(g) Haec descriptio prima facta est a praeside Syriae, Cyreno.

(h) Haec descriptio prima facta est praesidente Syriae Cyrenio. *Bez.* Haec descriptio prima facta est, cum praesisset Syriae Cyrenius. *Casaub. ubi supra. Num. 31.*

(i) *Vid. Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diss. ii. cap. 16. §. 10.*

all the *Roman Empire* should be taxed, (for in this wide and extensive sense do these learned men understand these words of *St. Luke*;) *Cyrenius* was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in *Syria* and *Judea*: And *Saturninus*, or *Quintilius Varus*, which soever of them was then President, was joined with him: and was subordinate to him, or had equal power with him in this particular work. *Cyrenius* therefore having at this time some power in *Syria*, he is called President of it, though he was not properly President, or the ordinary chief magistrate of that province.

In order to justify this solution, two things are to be considered: 1. Whether *Cyrenius*, though not properly President of *Syria*, may be called so in a loose and general sense: 2. It must be shewn, that it is not unlikely, that *Cyrenius* might be sent upon this affair at this time with extraordinary power.

As to the first point, it is alleged, that the title of *Governour* or *President* is often given to others beside those who are properly possessed of that dignity. *Josephus* calls *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* Presidents of *Syria* (k), though

(k) Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ διελέγετο περὶ τέτων τοῖς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόσιν  
Σατουρ-

though *Saturninus* was at that time President, according to his own account, and *Volumnius* Procurator only; that is, the officer that took care of the Emperour's revenue in that province.

That *Cyrenius* might be sent upon this affair with extraordinary power, is not at all unlikely. For the office of Censor in the City was very honorable, and was a distinct charge from that of the Consuls and Praetors, the ordinary magistrates. The surveys in provinces also were often performed not by the ordinary governours, but by persons sent thither with extraordinary power, and those, persons of the highest eminence and dignity (*l*).

Such an one was this *Cyrenius*. He was not descended from a noble, or *Patrician* family: But by his early services he had obtained the honour of the Consulship, and passed through that and other offices with

Σατυρήριον τε καὶ Οὐλοῦμνιον—περὶ ἃν ἐπί τε Σατουρήριον καὶ Οὐλοῦμνιον τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστατέωνται *Ann. l. 16. c. 9. p. 734. v. 25. § 37.* Πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατουρήριον ἐλθόντα καὶ Οὐλοῦμνιον τῆς Συρίας ἀγερμασίν *ib. c. 10. p. 741. v. 1.*

(*l*) Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum agendo Galliarum censui tam intentam. *Tacit. Ann. l. i. c. 31. ad A. U. 767.* Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti, excessisse Augustum, adfertur. *Id. c. 33. vid. §. l. ii. c. 6.*

great

great reputation : obtained a memorable victory over the *Homonadenses*, for which he received the honour of triumphal ornaments : was afterwards Governour to *Caius Cesar*, *Augustus's* eldest adopted son : married *Aemelia Lepida*, who had been designed by *Augustus* for the wife of *Lucius*, his second adopted son ; and at last had the honour of a public funeral by a decree of the senate in the reign of *Tiberius* (*m*).

The quick dispatch he made of affairs of importance rendered him a very fit man for such an affair as this Census in *Syria* and *Judea*.

Moreover there is nothing in the history that we have of *Cyrenius*, which is any way inconsistent with his coming into *Judea* about this time : but divers particulars,

(*m*) Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirinii publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit [*Tiberius*] a Senatu. Nihil ad veterem & patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium : Sed impiger militiæ, & acribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto ; mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium Castellis insignia triumphii adeptus ; datusque Reçtor Caio Cafari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. Tacit. An. l. iii. c. 48. Quirinio---destinata quondam uxor L. Cafari, ac Divo Augusto nurus, dederetur. Id. ibid. c. 23. De hac re vid. etiam Sueton. Tib. c. 49. & de victoriâ in Homonadenses partâ. Strabon. l. xii. p. 854.

which

which render it very probable he might be employed in this work.

*Cyrenius* was Consul of *Rome*, A. U. 742. He might therefore very well be sent upon the expedition against the *Homonadenses* in the year U. C. 747. or, possibly, in 746. It was a piece of prudent advice, which *Mæcenas* gave (*n*) *Augustus*, never to bestow a provincial government upon the Senators, or other great men, till some time after they had laid down their City Magistracy. Which advice *Augustus* followed, and appointed the space of five years interval between their serving any public office in the City, and receiving another in the provinces (*o*).

As *Cyrenius's* expedition against the fore-mentioned people was his first action after his consulship, he might very probably be employed in it, A. U. 747. Archbishop *Usher* (*p*) thinks he was then Proconsul of *Cilicia*. Cardinal *Noris* thinks it more likely, that he was not then the ordinary Go-

(*n*) *Dio lib. 52. p. 479. fin.*

(*o*) Μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρξῆαι κληρονομεῖν. *Id. l. 53. p. 505. C.* Auctor & aliarum rerum fuit. In queis---ne magistratus deposito statim honore in provincias mitterentur. *Sueton. Aug. c. 36.*

(*p*) *Vid. Ann. A. 5. ante aer. Chr.*

vernour of *Cilicia*, but that he was sent upon this expedition with extraordinary (*q*) power. However the learned men that embrace this solution suppose, that having finished this war, he might be sent into *Syria* and *Ju-  
dea* to perform the census there, in the later end of the year of *Rome*, 747; or, as others, in 748, or 749. About which time the census or enrolment, which *St. Luke* speaks of, must have been made; for *Herod* died in the year 750, or 751.

*Cyrenius* was not appointed Governour to *Caius Cesar* till the year U. C. 755. Cardinal *Noris* infers this from the words of *Tacitus* above-cited: *datus Reſtor Caio Caefari Armeniam obtinenti*. It is evidently a mistake of those learned men who have thought, that *Cyrenius* was Governour to *Caius*, when he first went into the *East*. It is certain, that *M. Lollius* was then his Governour. And *Cyrenius* was not put into that post, till after the death of *Lollius* (*r*), which seems to have happened some time in the year of *Rome* 755. Besides, it is certain from *Josephus*, that *Caius* was at *Rome* after the death

(*q*) *Cenſtaph. Piſ. Diſſ. ii. p. 319.*

(*r*) *Velleius, l. ii. c. 102. Suev. Tib. c. 13. Noriſ. ubi ſupra, p. 317.*

of *Herod*, and therefore was not yet set out for the *East*. For he was one of those, whom *Augustus* called to the Council he held after *Herod's* death about confirming his last will (s).

*Cyrenius* therefore seems to have been at leisure for this work. And from the whole of his story and character, so far as it is come down to us from the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, no man appears more likely to have been employed in it.

This solution has one advantage above most of those above-mentioned, in that it is here allowed, that this survey was performed by *Cyrenius*, in which all the ancient christian writers agree, except *Tertullian*; who in one place (but the only place in which he has named the chief officer concerned in it,) ascribes it to *Saturninus*. And we are much obliged to these learned men for tracing the history of *Cyrenius*, and thereby removing, in part at least, the objections against this supposition, which has been the current opinion of Christians.

There is however one difficulty attending this solution: I mean the sense, in which these learned men understand *Cyrenius's* go-

(s) *Josepb. Ant. l. 17. c. 9. p. 775. v. 24.*



vernment or presidentship. I do not at all contest the validity of their argument, that the title of ἡγεμόνων may be given to one who is not properly president. But since *Cyrenius* certainly was afterwards the ordinary Governour of *Syria*, it is not easy to understand this title in *St. Luke* in a loose and general way. And I can never persuade myself, that *St. Luke* intended no more, than the power and authority of making a census in *Syria*. If *Cyrenius* had never been President of *Syria*, perhaps their instances had been to the point; but now, I think, they are not. Besides, according to the way in which these learned men generally interpret *St. Luke*, ἡγεμονέουσι, &c. is here the genitive case absolute, or governed by ἐπὶ understood: either of which does as fully express *Cyrenius's* being President of *Syria*, as any form of expression can do.

*Joseph Scaliger* seems to have interpreted these words somewhat differently from other learned men, who embrace this solution. He takes them thus: *This description was the first under Cyrenius, president of Syria.* I put his words in the margin (*t*), that the reader

(t) Ideo S. Lucas non contentus est dicere αὐτὴν ἀπογραφὴν

reader may judge whether I misunderstand him. But still this interpretation is liable to the objection last mentioned: for it is implied in it, that *Cyrenius* was President of *Syria*, at the time of both these surveys.

§. V. There is yet another interpretation, which these words are capable of, and which has for some time appeared to me the genuine meaning of them. *This was the first assessment of Cyrenius, Governour of Syria.* The natural order of the words is this: *Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ ἣν ἔγραψεν Τ. Σ. Κ.* There are innumerable instances of a construction parallel with this here of *Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη* *Matth. xxii. 38.* *Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή.* *This is the first and great commandment. Mark xii. 30.* *Αὕτη ἡ πρώτη ἐντολή.* *Numb. ii. 32.* *Αὕτη ἐπίσκεψις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ.* *These are those which were numbered of the children of Israel.* I put an instance or two more into (u) the margin.

*Ἐγράψεν ὁ γερμανός τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίους.* Sed quum dicitur ἔγραψεν sciret fuisse, addidit, *πρῶτη αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ ἣν ἔγραψεν* πρώτη. Certè, si est *πρῶτη*, ergo quaedam fuit *ἄλλη* ἢ *ἄλλα* fane τῆς *ἄλλης* meminuit. *idem. Act. v. 37.* Atque intelligendum esse nemo dubitare potest. *Scaliger. animadv. in Chion. Euseb. ad A. 2016.*

(u) *Numb. i. 44.* *Αὕτη ἡ ἐπίσκεψις ἣν ἐπέσκεψεν αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς*

It is eafie for the reader to obferve, thefe intances are parallel with the words before us: the particle *ἢ* or *αἰ* follows *Αὕτη* or *Αὐται*, and precedes the substantive.

*Ἐγένετο* is not here *facta est*, *was made*, but *fuit*, *was*. I prefume I need not give any proofs, that this is a very common meaning of this verb.

The diftant fituation of *ἔγένετο* in St. *Luke* from *αὕτη* need not create any fcruple. In fome examples the verb substantive is quite wanting, as in *Mark xii. 30. Numb. i. 44.* Sometimes *ἔστιν* is expreffed, and follows immediately after *αὕτη*. But it is found in all kinds of pofitions in paffages parallel with this of St. *Luke*. I give one intance, which answers the construction of this verfe in every refpect. *Rev. xix. 9. ἔσται οἱ λόγοι ἀληθινοῖσι τῷ θεῷ. Thefe are the true fayings of God.* And another intance from (x) *Plato* of *ἔγένετο* it felf, in a fituation exactly parallel with this in St. *Luke*. *Ἡ δὲ ἡ τελευταία, ἀρχαίρατες, τῷ ἑταίρῳ ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ἀνδρὸς, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν αὐν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστῳ, ἢ ἀλλῶς φρονιμωτάτῳ ἢ δικαιοτάτῳ.* “ This,   
ἡμεῖς φαίμεν αὐν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστῳ, ἢ ἀλλῶς φρονιμωτάτῳ ἢ δικαιοτάτῳ. “ This,   
 1. καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ γενέσεις Ἀαρών. v. 2. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἔργα τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρών. vid. cap. iv. 32. 38. Deut. vi. 1. Ἐ

x) *Platodo. Fin.*

“ O Echebrates, was the end of our friend ;  
 “ and, as we say, the best, wisest and just-  
 “ est man that ever we knew.”

If it be objected, that it must be *this cen-  
 sus* ; or this *first census* was made, and not  
 this was the first census ; because there is  
 no noun substantive preceding *αὐτή*, by which  
 it can be governed : I answer, that as I in-  
 terpret the words, *αὐτή* is governed by the  
*ἀπογραφῆ* that follows, or by an *ἀπογραφῆ*  
 understood. And this is the case of many  
 other (y) passages, which yet must be con-  
 strued, as I do St. *Luke*.

Let us proceed. When St. *Luke* calls Cy-  
*renius Governour of Syria*, I understand the  
 words in the strict and proper sense. Ἡγε-  
 μονεύοντ<sup>ς</sup> τῆς Συρίας is not the genitive case  
 absolute, or governed by ἐπὶ understood, and  
 to be construed, *Cyrenius being governour of  
 Syria*, or *when Cyrenius was governour of  
 Syria* ; but it is governed by ἀπογραφῆ.  
 They do not express any time at all. But  
 this is *Cyrenius's* title, the title, by which he  
 was well known in that part of the world :

(\*) Ezek. xlviii. v. 1. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρια τῶν φυλῶν. v. 20.  
 Αὕτη ἡ γῆ, ἐν βαλεῖτε ἐν κλήρῳ ταῖς φυλαῖς τῆς Ἰσραὴλ  
 ἐπει οἱ διαμερισμοὶ αὐτῶν.—Καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ διεκῆλαι τῆς γῆς.  
 45.

As we say, *Antony the Triumvir*, or *Cato the Censor*, to distinguish them from others of the same names. ἡγεμονεύοντι, &c. is with me the same thing, as if St. *Luke* had said, ἡγεμόντι τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίῳ.

It is certain, that *Greek* authors delight very much in the use of participles; and I think, more especially, when they speak of titles and dignities. Thus *Cicero*, in (2) *Dio*, says: “We expect that our Praetors and Consuls should follow the lawes of reason and justice.” The same historian (a) says: “The three brothers, the *Antonies*, had all of them some office in the City at one and the same time; *Marcus* was Consul, *Lucius* Tribune, and *Caius* Praetor.”

These participles seem to me to be sometimes substantives, or at least, to be (b) used substantively. I believe all are sensible that ἀρχων is so used. Some of those other titles

(2) Τὰς μὲν στρατηγείας τὰς θ' ὑπατεύσεις πάντα ἀπ' ὁρῆς τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖν ἀξιώσομεν. Lib. 43. p. 250 D.

(a) Τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντωνιοὶ ἕτοι οὗτοι ὄντες ἀρχαὶς ἀμαρτυροῦσιν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάρκος ὑπάτειον ὁ δὲ Λέκιος δημαγωγὸν ὁ δὲ Γαίος στρατηγὸν. Lib. 45. p. 274. C.

(b) Δικταῖος Κατὰ ὁ τῆς νόσε ἐπιρροπιάν. Dio l. 62. p. 307 A. Κεσίω Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντι Joseph. p. 907 v. 12. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆ τῆς χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντι δεθείς. p. 945 v. 35.

of offices or dignities expressed by participles seem to me to be very near, or altogether parallel with it.

But let ἡγεμονεύοντες be a mere participle; only then it will be said: If it be governed by ἀπογραφῆ, it ought to have been ἡγεμονεύσαντες. To this I answer, that undoubtedly ἡγεμονεύσαντες would have been very proper, but so is also ἡγεμονεύοντες. It is no uncommon thing for *Greek* authors to use the present tense for the first aorist. I give an instance or two that may fully justify my interpretation. *Josephus* says: “And it is certain that *Varus* was of a Royal family, since he was a descendent of *Seamus*, who was Tetrarch of a countrey near mount (c) *Libanus*.” Καὶ ἦν ἰμοδογμίας ὁ οὐαρὸς βασιλικῶς γενεῆς, ἕγγονος Σεμίου τῆς ἐν Λιβάνου τετραρχίας. *Dionysius* says, that the *Latins* were so called from *Latinus*, a King of that countrey (d). If any should say, it is improper to understand this participle as I do, because *Cyrenius* was not Governor of *Syria*, till after the time in which *St. Luke's* survey was made; I add one ex-

(c) *Mat. 909. v. 20.*

(d) Ομοία δὲ κοινὴ αἰ συμπαῖς ἔστι Λατῖνοι ἐν Λατίνῳ ἀπογραφῆ τῶν τόπων Λατίνῳ *Antiq. R. lib. 2. p. 76*

ample more, which must fully obviate this exception. *Herodian* says, “That to *Mar-*  
*cus* the Emperour were born several  
 “daughters (*e*) and two sons.” Τῷ βασι-  
 λεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείεις, ἀρ-  
 ῆεις δὲ δύο. Yet several of those children  
 were born to him before he was Emperour.  
 This instance shews plainly, that these par-  
 ticiples do not always import only the time  
 when men are in office.

I hope this is sufficient to shew, that ἡγε-  
 μενέοντι is the same as ἡγεμόντι, at least that  
 it is governed by ἀπογραφή. The supposing  
 ἡγεμονέοντι Τ. Σ. Κ. to be the genitive abso-  
 lute, or governed by ἐπὶ, as it has given oc-  
 casion for the objection we are now upon, so  
 it seems to have carried most learned men  
 off from the right way of solving it.

I apprehend I have now justified my in-  
 terpretation of every part of this verse: *This*  
*was the first Assessment (or survey) of Cyre-*  
*nus, the Governour of Syria, or of Cyreni-*  
*as, who was Governour of Syria.*

But if any choose rather to take *Scaliger's*  
 method, as to the first part of the verse, I  
 shall not contend about that, provided my  
 sense of the later part be admitted. Then

(e) *Lib. i. init.*

the interpretation will stand thus : This survey was the first [*survey*] of *Cyrenius* the Governour of *Syria*.

Nor can I see any reason why all those who follow *Beza*, and suppose that this survey was made by *Cyrenius*, as well as that made after *Archelaus's* removal, should not receive this interpretation. When they come to shew, why this is called by *St. Luke* the first survey, though indeed they have not translated the place as I do (*f*), they unavoidably run into the same meaning. *Baronius* (*g*) likewise understands the words much after the same manner, only he falsely supposed, that *Cyrenius* was twice president of *Syria*.

(*f*) Denique dicitur haec descriptio  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta$ , ut distinguatur ab aliâ, de qua *Act. v. 57.* quam *Josephus* & *Eusebius* litteris consignarunt, & sub *Cyrenio* etiam factam dicunt, licet diverso tempore. *Hamm. in loc. ex versione Cleric.*

Hunc igitur censum *Quirinius* habuit A. U. 749. cum extraordinario imperio in *Syriam* missus; quae descriptio prima à *S. Luca* dicitur, quod idem postea *Quirinius* A. U. 760. praeses ordinarius in *Syriam* veniens, censum iterum in *Judaea* egit, eâdem tum primum in provinciae formam redactâ. *Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. p. 322.*

(*g*) Quod igitur ab *Evangelista* ea descriptio a *Quirino* prima facta dicitur, non sic (ut vidimus) est accipiendum, ut tunc primum *Judaei* fuerint descripti atque censi : sed primam dixerit respectu secundae sub eodem praeside facta. *App. N. 88.*

Some



Some time after I had been perswaded this was the sense of this text, I met with these words of *Tanaquil Faber* (b). *Beatus Lucas, cap. 2. ait natum esse Christum dominum tempore primi census, seu descriptionis, quae a Cyrenio seu Quirinio facta est.* This passage gave me a great deal of pleasure, though it does not appear how this acute and learned man understood ἡγεμονεύοντες.——But I have since met with a more explicate authority for my way of translating αὐτῆ ἢ ἀπογραφῆ. The title of *Origen's* xith Homily upon *St. Luke*, in the *Latin* edition of his works, is thus: *De eo quod scriptum est, Puer autem crescebat & confortabatur spiritu, usque ad eum locum ubi ait: Haec est descriptio prima quae facta est sub praeside Syriae Cyrino.* And in the body of the homily (i) are words to the same effect.

The version I here offer does not only appear to me a very natural and obvious meaning of the words, but it is very good sense, and extremely suitable to their position in a parenthesis. *In those days there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world [land] should be taxed. (This was the first as-*

(i) *Epist. lib. i. ep. 43.*

(b) *Haec fuit descriptio prima, a praeside Syriae Cyrino.*

*sessment of Cyrenius the Governour of Syria.*) It is needless to observe, that if this version be allowed, the objection we are considering vanishes. There is no colour or pretense to say, that St. *Luke* confounded the census or survey, made in the time of *Herod*, with that made after the removal of *Archelaus*.

§. VI. I apprehend there lies now no objection against St. *Luke*, but what may arise from the doubts, which some may have in their minds, concerning *Cyrenius* being the officer employed in making this survey. I wish the reader be not quite tired with this long succession of criticisms. But whether he will accompany me any farther or not, I think my self obliged to take into consideration all the difficulties, which attend this particular circumstance.

Here I adopt at once all that has been already offered by those who embrace *Beza's* solution, to make it appear probable, that *Cyrenius* performed the census of which St. *Luke* speaks. But now I enjoy a peculiar advantage above those learned men, in the supposition I advanced at first, that this census of *Cyrenius* was of *Judea* only. They think,

think, that *Augustus's* decree extended to the whole Empire ; and that *Cyrenius* was sent with extraordinary power to make the census in *Syria* and *Judea.* But they suppose, (and indeed they are obliged to allow it,) that *Saturninus* was joyned with him, if *Saturninus* was then president. This has given *Perizonius* (*k*) a fine advantage against their supposition, that *Cyrenius* was concerned in this census. To give *Cyrenius* superior, or equal power to *Saturninus* in *Syria*, the province of which he was the ordinary governour, would have been an affront; especially considering, that *Saturninus* was equal to *Cyrenius*, in every respect, and superior to him in some : for he was of a better family, and the elder Consul by seven years. And it is no less injurious to *Cyrenius*, to put him under *Saturninus*.

I am not at all concerned with this. I think *Cyrenius* performed the census alone, by virtue of the extraordinary power with which he was sent. But if any are inclined to think, that *Saturninus* was joyned in the commission with him, this would be no disparagement to *Saturninus*. To give him authority in a neighbouring kingdome,

(*k*) *Dissert. de Aug. Descrip.* §. 15. 16. 17.

where

where he had none before, would not be to lessen him, but to augment his power. Nor do I suppose, it could be any disgrace to *Cyrenius*, to have the Governour of *Syria* made his partner.

I proceed to consider all the difficulties that can affect the supposition, that this census was made by *Cyrenius*, as far as I am concerned with them.

1. It is said, that it was not customary for the *Romans* to send any great man twice into the same countrey. Since it is certain from *Josephus*, that *Cyrenius* afterwards made a census in *Syria* and *Judea*, it may be concluded, he did not perform that survey, which *St. Luke* says was made in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's nativity (1).

To this I answer: I allow, that it was not usual for the same person to be more than once made the President of one and the same province. And in this *Baronius*, who thought *Cyrenius* was twice or thrice Governour of *Syria*, is deserted by all learned men. For none of the defenders of *Beza's*

(1) Multis de causis displicet nobis gemina haec Cyrenii descriptio. Bis ad eandem rem Quirinium in Syriam fuisse missum, fidem vix imperat, nec Romanos ad mores quadrat. *Basnage. Ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. Dom. 5. num. 14.*

solution, who maintain the double census of *Cyrenius*, do say, that *Cyrenius* was twice the ordinary president of *Syria*.

But it was very common for one and the same person to be sent twice or oftner into the same countrey in different posts, or with different degrees of authority. *Casaubon* (*m*) has produced instances enough to silence this objection. *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, the person last mentioned by him, was sent twice into *Syria* by *Augustus* with extraordinary power: First of all, A. U. 731. (*n*), and again, A. U. 738 (*o*).

I will give an undeniable example of an officer's being twice in the same province with different degrees of power. When *Pis*, prefect of *Syria*, had been removed by *Germanicus*, and after that *Germanicus* him-

(*m*) Neque vero nullum est exemplum illorum, qui in eadem provincias cum eodem, vel diverso munere sunt missi. C. Cassius profectus in Syriam Quaestor M. Crassi; mox ipso & ejus exercitu deleto, res magnas ibi gessit, & aliquamdiu provinciam obtinuit: eidemque post aliquot annos senatus Syriam & bellum contra Dolabellam decrevit. Ventidius Bassus, quando primum cum Parthis bellum gessit, Antonii fuit Legatus: postea ejusdem belli gerendi cura illi demandata est,—Agrippa qui per decennium Añam administravit, bis ex Italia eodem, est profectus. *Casaub. in Baron. Exerc. 1. num. 32.*

(*n*) *Dio l. 53. p. 518. c.*

(*o*) *Id. l. 54 p. 534. B.*

self died ; the officers in the province had a consultation together, who should be made President of Syria. *Vibius Marsus* laid claim to it, but at last yielded to *Cn. Sentius Saturninus* (*p*), the elder officer. Thus *Sentius*, one of the chief officers then in the province, was made president. This alone is a proof, that it was very common for officers to serve different posts in the same province. But this is not the only thing I aim at. This consultation (*q*) was held A. U. 772. A. D. 19. And it appears from *Josephus* (*r*), and *Tacitus* (*s*), that long after this, in the reign (*t*) of *Claudius*, this same *Vibius Marsus* came to be actually president of Syria. There is therefore no absurdity at all in supposing, that *Cyrenius* was sent by *Augustus* with extraordinary power at the

(*p*) Consultatum inde inter legatos, quique alii senatorum aderant, quisnam Syriae praeficeretur. Et ceteris modice mensis, inter VIBIUM MARSUM & Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum: dein Marsus seniori, & acrius tendenti Sentio concessit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 74.*

(*q*) M. Silano & L. Norbano Coss.

(*r*) Καὶ μετ' ἑποῦ, Πετεργίου μὲν Μάρσου διεβέβηται, ὅτι διεῖπε Συρίαν. *Ant. 19. c. 6. §. 4.*

(*s*) Et recipere Armeniam, ni VIBIO MARSO Syriae legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret. *Tacit. Ann. xi. cap. 10.*

(*t*) About A. U. 795. *vid. Pagi. Crit. in Bar. A. D. 47. n. 8.*

later end of *Herod's* reign to make a survey in *Judea*, and that about ten or twelve years afterwards he came as the ordinary governour into *Syria*, and then made a census in that province, and in *Judea* annexed to it.

2. It is objected, that none of the *Roman* or *Greek* historians, though *Cyrenius* has been spoken of by several of them, have taken any notice of this census.

I answer, that this is no difficulty at all. I suppose, that no one will make any question, but that *Cyrenius* made an assessment in *Syria* and *Judea*, when he was sent president into *Syria*, because we have *Josephus's* authority for it. And yet none of the *Roman* or *Greek* authors have said any thing of that census.

Though *Tacitus* has in the passage cited above reckoned up divers of *Cyrenius's* exploits and honours, and others have made mention of him, and some of his services; yet *Florus* (11) has taken notice of a considerable action of his, omitted by all the rest: if indeed he means our *Cyrenius*.

(11) Marmaridas atque Garamantas Curinio subigendo de-  
dit [Augustus]. Potuit & ille redire Marmaricus; sed mo-  
rior in aestimanda victoria fuit. *Florus lib. iv. cap. 12.*

3. But

3. But it will be said : It may be certainly concluded from the account, which *Josephus* has given of the census made (c) by *Cyrenius* after *Archelaus's* banishment, that *Cyrenius* had never been in *Judea*, or enrolled the *Jews* before. If he had, *Josephus* could not well have omitted to take notice of it then.

I own, that at first sight this must appear a very considerable difficulty.

(1.) But it ought to be observed, that *Josephus* does not particularly name any of *Cyrenius's* honours or services, beside those which relate to the City of *Rome*. *Josephus* knew of divers others, but he does not express them. And among those omitted or referred to in the general only, may be that of the first survey in *Judea*.

(2.) I think it is plain, that either *Josephus* did not care to give any particular account of that oath taken by the *Jews* to *Augustus* in the later end of *Herod's* reign, or else that he found but a slight account of it in those memoirs or histories which he made use of. He had said nothing of it, had it not been for a most remarkable disturbance in *Herod's* court and family, with which it had a connexion. And

(c) See the account above, p. 661.



And any one may perceive, that it is then touched upon very slightly. Is it not strange, that *Josephus* should not name the officer that took the oath for *Augustus*? No one can make any doubt, but there was some person of eminence deputed by the Emperour for that work. As *Josephus* did not mention him then, I should never expect to find his name afterwards. And whoever can account for *Josephus's* omissions relating to the affair of the oath, may account for his silence in this passage, though *Cyrenius* had been once before in *Judea*.

(3.) I think that arguments formed upon the omissions of historians are of very little weight. There are in *Josephus* other omissions as remarkable as this. I desire to consider the account he gives, in his *War of the Jews*, of the reducing *Judea* to a province. “ *Archelaus's* countrey being reduced to a province, *Coponius*, a man of the Equestrian rank among the *Romans*, was sent Procurator, being invested with the power of life and death. In his time [ἐπὶ τῷ] a certain *Galilean*, whose name was *Judas*, excited the people to a rebellion, telling them; That they were of a mean spirit, if they could endure to pay tribute

“ to the *Romans*, and acknowledge mortal  
 “ men for their lords after God had been  
 “ their King. This man was the head of  
 “ a distinct sect in nothing like (x) the rest.”  
 This is all he says. He does not say there  
 was now any census made, has not one  
 word of *Cyrenius*, or his coming into *Judea*.

It is true, that *Josephus* has in two other  
 places in the *War of the Jews* (y), occasi-  
 onally mentioned *Cyrenius*, and in the later  
 of those places, his census also. But it must  
 be allowed to be a very great omission, not  
 to do this in the proper place, in the account  
 of the reduction of *Judea* to the state of a  
 province. This might have been reasona-  
 bly expected in the history of the war, when  
 this assessment made by *Cyrenius*, and the  
 principles broached at that time, were main  
 foundations of it.

If it be said, that *Josephus* passed over  
 this affair slightly in *the War*, because he  
 intended to write his *Antiquities*, and men-  
 tion it more particularly then: I answer,  
 this is said without ground. And I might  
 as well say, that *Josephus* omitted in his  
*Antiquities* the particular account of *Cyreni-*

(x) *De Bell. Lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1.*

(y) *Ibid. cap. 17. §. 8. & l. 7. c. 8. §. 1.*

us's first assessment, because he intended to write afterward another book of the history of the *Jews*, and go over their affairs once more, as he expressly assures us at the conclusion of his *Antiquities*.

*Josephus* informs us in his *Life*, writ after *the War*, and *the Antiquities*, that the *Jews* had a battle with *Gessius Florus*, their last Procurator, and killed him, and a good many of his men, and that this victory was fatal to them: Forasmuch as this determined them to the war with the (2) *Romans*. Is it not strange that *Josephus* should say nothing of this in the history of *the War*, where he has made so frequent mention of *Florus*, and ascribed the *Jewish* uneasiness under the Roman government to the cruelties and other irregularities of this man? For this instance I am indebted to (a) *Mr. Le Clerc*.

There is another omission appears to me very remarkable. *Pheroras*, *Herod's* youngest brother, is often mentioned by *Josephus*.

(2) Ὁ δ' ἐπειθὲν κ' συμβαλὼν μάχῃ ἐνικήθη, πολλὰν τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ποικίλων κ' γίνεται τὸ Ἰουδαίων πταίσμα, συμφορὰ τῷ παντὶ Ἰουδαίῳ· ἐπερθεσαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλλον οἱ τὴν πλεονεξία καὶ ἀκαταστάσιον, κ' ἐκείσαντες τὰς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τέλος ἠλπίσαντες. *Ant. 1. 6.*

(a) *Hist. Eccl. A. D. 66. n. 12.*

He has particularly informed us, that when *Augustus* was in *Syria*, he gave this *Pheroras* a Tetrarchy (*b*) at the request of *Herod*. And we are informed by *Josephus*, of *Pheroras*'s retirement into his Tetrarchy, of *Herod*'s visiting him there, and of *Pheroras*'s dying (*c*) at home, and of his being brought afterwards from thence to be buried. But yet, if I mistake not, he has never once said, what this Tetrarchy was, whose it had been before, nor where it lay. It is true, that whereas in the *Antiquities* (*d*) *Josephus* says, *Pheroras* went to his Tetrarchy; in his *War* (*e*) he says, he went to *Peraea*; or, as in some copies, *Petraea*: but *Peraea*, properly so called, could not be this Tetrarchy, because *Peraea* belonged all along to *Herod*. But this Tetrarchy of *Pheroras* was given him by *Augustus*, and was distinct from that estate or revenue which had (*f*) been settled upon him by *Herod*.

(*b*) *Antiq.* 15. c. 10. §. 3.

(*c*) *Ibid.* l. xvii. c. 3. de B. J. l. i. c. 29.

(*d*) Φερωσαν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τετραρχίας ρ. 756. v. 37.

(*e*) Φερώρας δὲ ὑποχωρήσειεν εἰς τὴν Περαίαν ρ. 1031. v. 41. *vid.* Ἐ ρ. 1032. v. 26.

(*f*) Τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἠτήσατο τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς ἀπονέμειναι ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς ὅσον ἑκάστῳ τῶν τῶν κ. λ. *Antiq.* 15. c. 10. §. 3.

These particulars may convince us, that though *Cyrenius* was in *Judea* in the time of *Herod*, *Josephus* was capable of omitting to take notice of it.

4. Again, it will be said: It may be fairly concluded from another place in *Josephus*, that *Cyrenius* was but once in *Judea*. For he says, that “*Massada* was then held by *Eleazar*, the chief man of the *sicarii*, a descendent of *Judas*, who persuaded not a few of the *Jews* not to enrolle themselves, as I have said (g) above, when *Cyrenius* the Cenfor (h) was sent into *Judea*.”

I own, this is a difficulty, but the argument is not conclusive. It is true, that *Judas* made this disturbance, when *Cyrenius* was sent into *Judea*, or in the time of *Cyrenius*: but it does not follow, that *Cyrenius* was sent but once into *Judea*. The New Testament will afford us an instance upon this very subject, which will be of use to us. *Gamaliel* says: *After this man rose* <sup>Acts v. 37.</sup>

(g) *Vid. de Bell. l. 2. c. 17. §. 8.*

(h) Καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μὲν φρέγιον Μασαδα, προεστῆκει δὲ τῶν σικαριῶν αὐτὸ σικαριῶν ὀνομαστὸς ἀνὴρ Ἐλεαζαροῦ, ἀπόγονος τῶν πεισαροῦ Ἰουδαίων ἐκ ὀλίγου, ὡς πρότερον ἐδηλοκαμεν, ἀποπέσει τὰς ἀπογραφὰς, ὅτε Κυρήνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρῆεν. *de B. l. 7. c. 8. §. 1.*

up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him. If we had in our hands this book only of St. Luke, namely, *the Acts of the Apostles*; it is not unlikely, that many would have supposed, that St. Luke knew of no other taxing made in *Judea*, but that, in the time of which Judas rose up. But we are assured from his *Gospel*, that this conclusion would have been false: for there he has spoke very particularly of another, which he calls *the first*, or at least distinguishes very plainly from some other.

I must be allowed to repeat here once more, that arguments formed upon the silence of writers, are very seldom of much moment. *Josephus* is the only *Jewish* writer of those times, in whom we have the history of that countrey: And it cannot be justly concluded, that any particular thing was not done, or that such or such a circumstance did not attend it, because he has not mentioned it. All writers have their particular views, and some things we are very desirous to know might, for some reason or other, which we are ignorant of, lie without the compass of their designs. Besides, the most accurate and careful histo-

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rians have omitted many facts or incidents, that might be very properly mentioned, through forgetfulness or oversight. I take the omission of the description of the Tetrarchy that belonged to *Pheroras* to be a remarkable instance of this sort.

5. But it will be said, that *Tertullian* is positive, the census in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's birth was made by *Sentius Saturninus* (*i*).

I answer to this: (1.) It ought to be considered, that the heretic *Marcion*, with whom *Tertullian* disputes in this place, did not admit the authority of the first chapter (*k*) of *St. Luke's Gospel*. And it was the custom of *Tertullian*, to argue from those parts of scripture, which the heretics he was dealing with (*l*) acknowledged. Possibly therefore *Tertullian* having, or suppos-

(*i*) Sed & census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum. Apud quos genus ejus inquirere possent. *Cont. Marc. lib. iv. c. 19.*

(*k*) Accedit his Cerdon quidam.—Solum evangelium Lucae, nec tamen totum recipit. Post hunc discipulus ipsius emerfit Marcion.—Haeresin Cerdonis approbare conatus est. *De praescrip. Haeret. c. 51.*

(*l*) Quam & argumentationibus earum, & scripturis quibus utuntur, provocavimus ex abundantia. *De carne Christi. .17. 25.*

ing he had reason to think, that this census was made, when *Saturninus* was president of *Syria*, he might choose to mention the ordinary officer, as a thing certain : but yet might not intend to affirm, that the census was made by him, but only that it happened in his time. *Isaac Casaubon* judged it not unreasonable so to understand *Tertullian*, who often uses words (*m*) improperly. I thought it not fit to deprive the reader of this answer of that learned man. But I do not adopt his interpretation of *Tertullian*.

(2.) *Tertullian's* authority ought not to outweigh the testimony of more ancient writers, who were nearer the event. *Justin Martyr*, in his first apology, presented to the Roman Emperour sixty years before *Tertullian* wrote his books against *Marcion*, says, this Census was performed in *Judea* by *Cyrenius*; and all other writers agree with *Justin*, as has been shewn already.

(3.) *Tertullian's* authority is of the less weight in this point, because he has made

(*m*) *Tertullianus* cum adversus *Marcio*. scribit, *Sed & cetera*,—ad majorem fidem magistratum ordinarium potius nominat, quam extraordinarium. Ait autem *per Sentium Saturninum* durè & *Tertullianice*, hoc est, improprie pro τῆς Σατ. Σατεγῆς, vel ἡγουμένου τῆς Σ. Κ. *Casaub. Fac.* l. c. 31.



very gross blunders in history, of which I shall say somewhat more in the third chapter.

(4.) I imagine some account may be given of this mistake of *Tertullian*. It has been observed, that *Marcion*, whom *Tertullian* was now arguing with, did not own the first chapters of St. *Luke's* Gospel. *Tertullian* therefore not having his eye particularly on St. *Luke*, and supposing that this census was made in *Judea*, when *Saturninus* was president of *Syria*, says, it was made by him.

*Judea* having been afterwards a branch of the province of *Syria*, he concluded it was so at this time, and that therefore the census must have been made by the President of *Syria*. But this was arguing from later to more early times, as men not thoroughly versed in history are apt to do.

After the banishment of *Archelaus* *Judea* was annexed to *Syria*. But whilst *Herod* was living, the President of *Syria* had not any proper authority in *Judea*. The President of *Syria* was always the most considerable officer in the Eastern part of the Empire. When the *Romans* had any war (*m*) in  
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Tam intellecto Barbarorum irrisu, qui peterent quod  
eripu

that part of the world, the neighbouring Kings were obliged to follow his directions; to furnish those sums of money, or those troops, which he required, and to send these to the places he appointed. When any differences happened between these Kings and Tetrarchs, they were bound to refer them to him, nor could they march any forces out of their territories without his consent. But he seems not, especially in a time of peace, to have had any proper authority within their dominions.

Nor do I think, I here impute to *Tertullian* any very gross mistake. The state of dependent kingdoms and provinces in the Roman Empire underwent frequent changes. And a person had need to have made history his peculiar study, and to have aimed at some uncommon accuracy, in order to understand the state of the Roman provinces for a couple of centuries.

I have now gone through all the difficulties, which are of any moment in this point.

*eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, bellum an pax inhonesta placeret, nec dubitatum de BELLO.— scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque ac procuratoribus, —jussis Corbalonis obsequi. Tacit. Ann. 15. cap. 25.*

I have

I have nothing farther to add to those evidences which I have already produced, except these two observations: 1st, That it seems to me highly probable, from the manner in which *Eusebius* speaks of this matter in his chronicle, that it was originally the common opinion of Christians, that *Cyrenius* was sent into *Judea* on purpose to make this census: “In the thirty third year of  
 “*Herod*, *Cyrenius* being sent by the Roman  
 “Senate, made a census (or *enrolments*) of  
 “goods and persons (o).” This does very much confirm the opinion of those learned men, who think, that *Cyrenius* was sent with extraordinary power: though why *Eusebius* mentions the *Senate* instead of the *Emperour*, I know not.

Possibly some may be disposed to set aside *Eusebius*'s authority, because in his *Ecclesiastical History* he has confounded the two surveys. But I must confesse, I ascribe that, not to ignorance, but to somewhat a great deal worse. It is impossible, that a man of *Eusebius*'s acutenesse, who had the New Testament and *Josephus* before him, should think a census made after *Archelaus*'s banishment was the same with that made be-

(o) *Chron. pag. 76.*

fore *Herod* died. But *Eusebius* was resolved to have St. *Luke's* history confirmed by the exprefs testimony of the *Jewish* historian, right or wrong. Here *Eusebius* was under a biaſſe. In his Chronicle we have a ſimple unbiaſſed account of what was the opinion of Christians, and others, at that time.

*Secondly*, It ſeems to me in the nature of the thing moſt probable, that ſome perſon was ſent with extraordinary power to make this enrolment. There is no evidence in *Joſephus*, that *Augustus* had any intention to take away the kingdom from *Herod*, and make *Judea* a province. A cenſus in his dominions was a very great diſgrace. But to have ordered it to be performed by the Prefident of *Syria*, would have been an additional affront. It would have looked like making *Herod* ſubject to *Syria*. Since *Judea* was to continue a diſtinct kingdom, as hitherto, and only to be reduced to a more ſtrict dependence; the only method of making this cenſus could be that of ſending ſome perſon of honour and dignity, like *Cyrenius*, to enrolle the ſubjects of *Herod*, and value their eſtates; that for the future, tribute might be paid according to this cenſus. And  
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this does admirably suit the nature of the oath mentioned in *Josephus*, the substance of which was, to be faithful to *Cesar* and *Herod*.

I conclude therefore, that it is, upon the whole, most probable, that the first assessment, of which *St. Luke* here writes, was performed by *Cyrenius*, as well as the second. This appears to me a very natural meaning of *St. Luke's* words, and the external evidences for this supposition seem to me to outweigh the objections.

We have now got through the affair of the census. If I have not been so happy, as to remove every difficulty attending this text of *St. Luke*; yet I hope the reader will allow at least, that I have not concealed, or dissembled any.

