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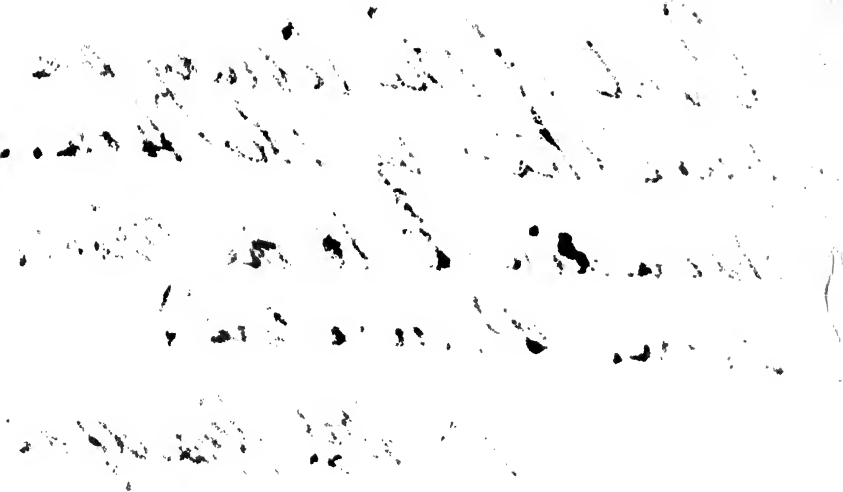
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V. 1. 2

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John Lardner

THE
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 :

O R, T H E
F A C T S
Occasionally mention'd in the
N E W T E S T A M E N T;

Confirmed by P A S S A G E S of
A N C I E N T A U T H O R S
Who were contemporary with our
S A V I O U R or his A P O S T L E S,
or lived near their Time.

With an A P P E N D I X concerning the Time of
H E R O D ' s D e a t h .

Part II

V O L. II.

By N A T H A N I E L L A R D N E R.

L O N D O N :

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THE
CONTENTS.
BOOK II.

- CHAP. I. **T** H R E E *Objections against Luke, ch. ii. v. 1, 2.* Pag. 1.
- CHAP. II. *Two Objections taken from the silence of Josephus.* 189
- CHAP. III. *An Objection against the fifteenth year of Tiberius compared with the age of Jesus at his Baptism.* 201
- CHAP. IV. *Of Annas and Caiaphas.* 300
- CHAP. V. *Of the different names given to Herodias's first husband by the Evangelists and Josephus.* 315

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI. <i>Of Zacharias the son of Barachias.</i>	334
CHAP. VII. <i>Of Theudas.</i>	352
CHAP. VIII. <i>Of the Egyptian Impostor.</i>	371
<i>The Conclusion.</i>	381
<i>An Appendix concerning the time of Herod's death.</i>	388

ERRATA.

PAGE 110. l. 3. from the bottom of the page, for *Quirinius* read *Quirinus*. 126. l. 14. for $\pi\epsilon\sigma\theta$ r. $\pi\epsilon\sigma\theta\delta$. 129. l. 10. after *Saint* r. *Luke*. 144. in the margin for *Deut.* r. *Numb.* 145. l. 1. for *this case*, r. *this rule in this case*. 255. l. 6., for *Antonines*. r. *Antonines*. 285. l. 10. for *Pfo* r. *Pifo*. p. 376. l. 15. for *would* read *it would*. In the Notes p. 26. l. 1. for $\chi\eta\sigma\tau\tau\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma$ r. $\chi\eta\sigma\tau\tau\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 71. l. ult. for $\alpha\delta\upsilon$ r. $\iota\chi\delta\upsilon$ 55. l. ult. for 142. r. 1242.



THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Three Objections against *Luke*,
ch. ii. v. 1, 2.

§. I. *The first Obj. 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 Obj. That there could be no taxing made in Judea, during the reign of Herod, by a Decree*
B of

of Augustus, stated and answered. §. III. The third Obj. 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 Obj. §. V. The last Solution confirmed and improved. §. VI. Divers particular difficulties attending the Supposition, that this taxing was made by Cyrenius, considered.



TH E 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*.

AND it came to passe in those days, says *St. Luke*, that there went out a decree
from

from Cesar Augustus that all the world should be 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.

Luke ii. 1.

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 *in the days of Herod the king.* *Judea* there-^{1.}

Matth. ii.

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

fore was not at that time a Roman province, 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 (*a*) 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 (*b*).

T H E R E

(*a*) Tillemont Memoires Ecclef. Tom. i. Not. ii. Sur *Jesus Christ*. (*b*) Nunc ambitum ejus, urbisque enumerabimus. Qua in re praefari necessarium est, auctorem nos Divum Augustum

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 ’em 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 particular persons and cities. But upon
 ‘ this the Senate complied immediately, and the old
 ‘ tax of the twentieth was confirmed, lest a worse
 ‘ should come in its room. This was all *Augustus* aimed at,
 ‘ and the Survey was laid aside (a)’. Besides, this
 ‘ affair happened, A. U. 766. A. D. 13. long after
 ‘ the taxing which *St. Luke* speaks of.

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

(a) Καὶ παραχρήμα μηδὲν εἰπὼν, μήτ' ἔσον, μήτ' ὅπως αὐτὸ δάσσειν, ἐπεμψεν ἄλλως ἄλλη τὰ τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων κτήματα ἀπογραφομένους ἵνα ὡς καὶ μειζόνως ζημιοιωθῆσόμενοι δέισωσι, καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τελεῖν ἀνθέλωται· ἐ καὶ ἰγέστε· *Dio.* lib. 56. p. 588. E.

6 *The Credibility of the* Book II.

THE passage, which *Baronius* (a) 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 per-* ‘ *sons*] if the whole course of his life be ‘ carefully considered, there will be observed ‘ in it many instances of the fickleness and ‘ inconstance of human affairs (b).’ 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* (c) *a survey of the whole Roman*

(a) Appar. N. 97.

(b) In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censura nuncupat, si diligenter aestimentur cuncta, magna fortis humanae reperiantur volumina Lib. 7. cap. 45.

(c) Idemque dum haec alibi ait: [lib. 7. cap. 45.] In Divo quoque Augusto, quem universa mortalitas in hac censura nuncupat, nempe eam, quam Vespasianus & Titus recens egerunt, de qua idem inferius [ibid. cap.

man 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 (*a*) 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, order- ‘ ing a certain quota to be paid into the ‘ treasury. This was the first Census, they ‘ who were before him having at pleasure ex- ‘ acted tribute of those who had any thing ; ‘ so that it was a public crime to be rich’.

BUT it is very difficult to take this upon *Suidas*’s authority alone, since he says not in what part of *Augustus*’s reign it was done, quoniam no author for it, and it is not to be

49.] Meminit, significare videtur, in quolibet repetito in orbe Romano lustris singulis censu, mentionem Augusti fieri; quod primus omnium univertum orbem Romanum subiectum imperio ceassisset. At de censibus satis. *Baron.* ubi supra.

(a) In Voc. Ἀπογραφή· Ἀπογραφή ἢ ἀπαριθμησις· Ὁ Ἡ Καῖσαρ Ἀύγουστος, ὁ μοναρχήσας, ἔκοσιν ἄνδρας τὸς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶ ὑπικῶων ἐξέπεμψε· οἱ ἂν ἀπογραφεὺς ἐποίησατο τῶ τε ἀνθρώπων ἔσειόν, αὐτάσκη τινὰ προσάξας τῶ δημοσίῳ μίσθον ἐν τέτων εἰσφέρειαδ· Ἀὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφή πρώτη ἐγένετο, τῶ πρὸ αὐτῆ τὸς κεκτημένους τὴ μὴ ἀφαιρημένους, ἵς εἶναι τοῖς ὑπόροις δημοσίον ἐγκλημα τὸν πλῆτον.

found in any ancient writer now extant. Tho', 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* (a). 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 Marcius Censorinus*, and *C. Asinius Gallus*] there was a second muster made at *Rome*, in which were numbered 4233000 Roman Citizens, as is gathered out of the fragments of the *Ancyran* marble. In *Suidas*, in *Αύγουστος* the number is far less of those that were mustered, 4101017. which yet he very ridiculously obtrudeth

(a) V. *Αύγουστος* Καίσαρ δόξαν ἀντῶ πάντας τὰς δικητόρας Ῥωμαίων κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀριθμῆναι βεβλήμεναι γινῶναι πῶσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος καὶ εὑρίσκονται οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων οἰκῆντες οὐ μωραῖα καὶ χίλιοι ἑξῆς ἄνδρες.

‘ upon us not for the muster of the city only
‘ but of the world (a)’.

THE late learned Editor (b) of *Suidas* does also highly approve of this censure passed upon his Author by our most learned and excellent Arch-bishop. 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 country 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 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 entered in a Census, be set down there;

(a) *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 ridiculè nobis ibi obtruditur.

(b) De hoc loco vide omnino Casubonum contra Baron. Exerc. 1. Num. 93. Et Usser.—qui rectè 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.

which

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 (a) 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 on the Ancyran marble is not the number of all the people of the *Roman Empire*: but other reasons may appear presently.

I must in the next place take the liberty of considering what Dr. *Prideaux* has said upon this subject, who, with *Huet* (b), and others, thinks, that this description or survey in *Judea* belonged to one of the surveys made by *Augustus*; and that in particular,

(a) 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.

(b) *Demon. Evang. ubi supra* §. iii.

it was a part of his *second* Censur. ‘ 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 be-
 ‘ fore the Christian Aera 8. And the last
 ‘ time in the Consulship of *Sextus Pom-*
 ‘ *peius 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 Collegue. But the second time he did it
 ‘ by himself alone, and this is the description
 ‘ which *St. Luke* refers to. The Decree con-
 ‘ cerning it issued out the year I have menti-
 ‘ oned, that is, in the 8th year before the
 ‘ Christian Aera, which was three years be-
 ‘ fore that in which Christ was born.-----
 ‘ That we allow three years for the execu-
 ‘ tion of this decree can give no just reason
 ‘ for exception-----The account 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 *William* the Conqueror, to be
 ‘ taken

‘ taken for *England* only, I mean that of
 ‘ the Domesday Book, it was six years in
 ‘ making; and the Roman province of *Syria*
 ‘ was much more than twice as big as all
 ‘ *England* (a).’

TO all this I shall only say (1.) that the surveys made by *Augustus* were of ROMAN CITIZENS only. So he says himself in the inscription on the Ancyran marble (b). And the Roman Historians say the same thing (c). But the Census or Description made in *Judea*, according to St. *Luke*’s account, was of all the *inhabitants* of that country, which certainly were not, all of them, Roman Citizens.

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

(b) 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. F. ci. Legi. Censurum. SINIO. Cof. Quo. Lustrum. Censa. sunt. CIVIUM. ROMANORUM. Quadragens. Centum. Millia. Et. Ducenta. Triginta. Tria.— In consulatu. FI.—Cum. nuperrime—Lustrum. Cum. Legi. Tiberio. Sext. Pompeio. Et. Sext. Apuleio. Cof. Quo. Lustrum. ROM. CAPITUM. Quadragens. Centum. Mil. —IGINTA. Et. Septem. Mil. Legi.

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

(2.) THE years which the Doctor mentions were not the years, in which the decrees were issued out, but in which the surveys were finished. This appears to me the most natural meaning of the words of the Inscription.

PERHAPS it will be objected, that the Consulships 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 census, 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 census, the verb *condo* is used, and not *facio*, which we have here.

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

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 (a) *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 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.

(a) 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. *vir. Tiber. cap. 20, 21.*

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 (a) 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. Doctor *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 Pro-
' vince and depending Kingdome of the Ro-
' man Empire, *Tacitus* (b), *Suetonius* (c),
and

(a) Καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεισε· 1. 53. p. 496. c.

(b) Cum proferrè libellum recitarique jussit. 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.* lib. i. cap. xi.

(c) De tribus voluminibus, uno, mandata de funere suo com-

‘ and *Dion Cassius* (a), make mention, and
 ‘ represent it to be very near of the same
 ‘ nature with our *Domesday Book* above-
 ‘ mentioned’.

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 *Augustus* 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

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 & fisco, & vectigalium residuis. *Suet.* in *Aug.* cap. 101.

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

it may appear in the progreſſe of this argument, that there were ſeveral countries, branches of the *Roman Empire*, which had never been obliged to ſubmit to a Cenſus.

BESIDE that there is not found in any ancient Roman hiſtorian any account of a general Cenſus of all the countries 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 the Doctor's Sentiment, who ſeems to think that the taxing St. *Luke* ſpeaks of was a proper Roman Cenſus. They who ſuppoſe that it was only a numbring 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 Monsieur *Lenfant* has translated it (a). *Bynaenus* likewise is of the same Sentiment, and has supported it, in my judgment, very well (b).

I HAVE shewn in another (c) place that the word we have here does sometimes denote a particular country only, and that St. *Luke* has used it for the land of *Judea*. And he must be so understood in this place. The Decree relates to the land of *Judea* only, because (d) the account that follows is of

(a) 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. (b) Antonius Bynaenus de natali J. Christi. lib. i. cap. iii. §. v. vi.

(c) See V. 1. p. 521. n. a. Some time after this whole chapter was in a manner quite finished, I met with *Keuchenii* Annotata in *N. T.* He has upon this text alleged some other examples of this use of *δικεμὲν*. I rely upon those I have produced in the place referred to, and shall not trouble the reader with more.

(d) 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 sub-

of that country only. And must not every one perceive some deficiency if *δικεμένην* 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 passe 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 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*,

subjoining here from him what follows: *Praeterea, an veri speciem habet, Augustum uno eodemque tempore descriptionem per totum orbem Romanum instituire voluisse? accedit quod omnes v. 3. ad civitatem patriam profecti leguntur, ut describerentur, nimirum illud πάντες respicit ad πᾶσαν τὴν δικεμένην, cujus descriptio injuncta fuisse vers. 1. legitur, & istius mandati autoritate omnes impulsī, & ad propriam civitatem profecti esse memorantur.*

the land of *Judea* or of *Israel* had suffered a dismembring. *Archelaus* had to his share *Judea* properly so called, together with *Samarina* 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 afterward the name of the City, from which *Joseph* came to *Bethlehem*; which City was not in the country that originally belonged to the tribe of *Judah*, was not situated in the bounds of the province of *Judea* at the time in which Saint *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

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
‘ *Judea* (a)’.

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

JUSTIN MARTYR in his first apology informs the Emperour and the Senate, of the time and place of Christ’s nativity.
 ‘ *Bethlehem*, says he, in which Jesus Christ
 ‘ was born, is a village in the country of
 ‘ the *Jews*, at the distance of five and thir-
 ‘ ty stadia from *Jerusalem*. You may as-

(a) Τρίτων ἡ ἔτη αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι. τῆς ἑλῆς Ἰουδαίας πεπλά-
 γωτο. Joseph. pag. 871. v. 34.

‘sure your selves of this from the Census
 ‘made in the time of *Cyrenius* your first
 ‘procurator in *Judea* (a)’. He mentions
 this Census also in several other places,
 and always in the same manner (b). I do
 not recollect above one passage of *Irenaeus*,
 in which there is any notice taken of this
 Census (c), and that is not very material.

S. T. Clement of *Alexandria* says: ‘Our
 ‘Lord was born in the eight and twen-
 ‘tieth year, when they first ordered a census to
 ‘be made in the time of *Augustus* (d)’

ORIGEN confounds this census with
 that afterward made in *Judea* by (e) *Cyre-
 nius*. But says nothing of its being universal.

(a) Κάθη δὲ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χώρα Ἰουδαίαν, ἀπέχουσα σαδίας
 τριέκοντα πέντε Ἱερουσαλίαν, ἐν ἣ ἐγενήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ
 μαθὴν δύνασθε ἐν τῶν ἀπογραφῶν ἧ γενόμενων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τῆ
 ὀμετίρης ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτης γενομένης ἐπιτήσεως Just. Mart. *Apol.*
 I. p. 75. E.

(b) Πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα
 γενενηθῆς τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κυρηνίᾳ. *ibid.* pag. 83. B.
 Ἀπογραφῆς ἕσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίᾳ κ. τ. λ.
Dial. i. p. 303. D.

(c) Sed proxima aetatis dicebant,
 [*Judaei Joh. 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.

(d) Ἐγενήθη ὅ ἡ Κόρη ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ ἑκαστῷ ἔτει, ὅτε
 πρώτων ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφῆς γενέσθαι. *Clem. Strom.* lib. i. pag.
 339. D.

(e) Καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνου [Θευδῶν] ἐν ταῖς τῆς
 ἀπογραφῆς ἡμέραις, ὅτ’ ἔθηκε γενενηθῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἰουδαίας τις Γαλι-
 λαῖτι πολλὰς ἐαυτῷ συναπέτησεν ἀπὸ τῆ λαοῦ ἧ Ἰουδαίων *Orig.*
cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 44.

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 apology addressed to the Roman Magistrates (*a*), in his books inscribed to the *Gentiles* (*b*): of this and the census, in his treatises, wrote against the *Jews* (*c*), and against *Heretics* (*d*): 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 countries of the *Roman Empire* was very much to their purpose, the more to illustrate the

(*a*) Apol. esp. v. vii. xxi.

(*b*) Ad Nat. lib. i. cap.

vii.

(*c*) Fuit enim de patria Bethlehem, & de domo

David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria, ex qua nascitur Christus. *adv. Judaeos* cap. 9.

(*d*) Aufer

hinc, inquit, molestos semper Caesaris census. *De carne Christi* cap. 2. Sed & census constat actus 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.

epocha 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 almost 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* (a) nor in his *Chronicle* (b).

I CANNOT say, that this interpretation is supported by any ancient version. But

(a) Vid. Hist. Ecc. lib. i. cap. v.

(b) Ἐν τῷ λγ
 Ἡρώδου Κυρήνου ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βασιλῆος ἀπετάλμει εἰς τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν ἀπογραφῆς ἐποίησατο ἧ ἑσίων κὶ ἧ ἰκνητόρον. p. 76.
 vid. & p. 200.

Bynaëus (a) 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*.

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

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

Historian all the affairs that were transacted in his country. We have undoubted evidence of this enrolment in the early testimonies of the christian writers. I have already exhibited more than enough of them. *Justin Martyr* speaks of it in his *apology* to the Emperour and the Senate before the middle of the second century. *Tertullian* mentions it in several of his pieces. There is scarce any one occasional fact or circumstance relating 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 subjoin his words. ‘ The Jesus, *says he*, whom you
 ‘ extol, was one of *Cesar’s* subjects. If you
 ‘ deny it, I’ll prove it by and by. Though
 ‘ it may be as well done now. For you say
 ‘ your selves that he was enrolled with his
 ‘ father and mother in the time of *Cy-*
 ‘ *renius* (a)’

(a) Ὁ παρ’ ὑμῶν χυρτοτόμενος Ἰησοῦς εἰς ἣν τὴν Καίσαρος ὑπακῶν εἰς ἧ ἀπιστεῖτε, μικρὸν ὑπερον ἀποδείξω μᾶλλον ἢ ἕδη λεγέσθω. Οὗτοι μὲν τοι αὐτὸν ἀπογράφουσι μετὰ τῆ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ Κυρήνῃς. *Apud Cyrill. lib. vi. pag. 213. ed. Spanh.*

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 it, that the silence of antiquity would be a very great objection. Nor 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

or at least many references to it: whereas there are none at all.

§. II. S T. *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*.

T H I S 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.

B E F O R E I distinctly consider this objection, I would 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 translati-

ONS,

ons (a) 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 conditions of life. Doctor *Whitby* paraphrases these words thus: *that all the world should be taxed: i. e.* ‘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 it, I am inclined to this latter opinion; and that Saint *Luke* speaks only of a Census in *Judea*, as I have already declar’d.

(a) Ut describeretur universus orbis. Haec descriptio prima facta est: *Verf. vulg.* pour faire un denombrement—ce denombrement se fit. *Mons. verf.* & *Mr. Le Clerc, Lenfant, &c.*

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 Saint *Luke's* words.

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

THERE was indeed another thing which belonged to the office of the Censors at *Rome*, sc. the Censure or Correction of manners: but, as I suppose this 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 Country 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 *Halicarnassus* gives us this account of it; that ‘ He ordered all the
 ‘ Citizens of *Rome* to register their estates
 ‘ according to their value in money, taking
 ‘ an oath, in a form he prescribed, to deli-
 ‘ ver 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, ad-
 ‘ ding also what quarter of the City, or
 ‘ what town in the country, they lived in (a).

(a) Ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους ἀπογράφεσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς εὐσίας πρὸς ἀργύριον, ὁμῶσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄγκον, ἢ μὴν τ’ ἀληθῆ καὶ δὴ πᾶν τῶν βελτίστων τιμημῶδες, πατέρων τε ὧν εἰσι γράφοντας, καὶ ἡλικίαν ἢν ἔχουσι δηλώντας, γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ὀνομάζοντας, καὶ ἐν τίνι κατοικῆσιν ἕκαστοι τῆς πόλεως τόπων, ἢ πάγῳ τῆς χώρας προσθέντας. *Dionysii Hal. Ant. Rom. L. iv. c. 15. p. 212. init. Huds. Edit.*

AND after much the same manner do we find a Roman Census described in the (a) Fragments of the Twelve Tables, and in the Roman (b) Orators, (c) Historians, and (d) Lawyers. 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 (e) of the whole : and from this seems to have been taken the name or title of this office both

(a) *Censores populi aevitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento.* *Cic. de Leg.* Lib. iii. cap. 3.

(b) Jam (ut censoriae tabulae loquuntur) fabriū & prociū, audeo dicere, non fabriū & procorū. *Cic. Orator.* Num. 156. (c) Ab hoc (Servio Tullio) populus Romanus relatus in censum.— Summāque regis solertiā ita est ordinata respublica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, aetatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur, ac si maxima civitas minimae domus diligentiam contineretur. *Florus Lib. i.* cap. vi. vid. *Liv. L. i.* cap. 42. & seq.

(d) Vid. *Digesta.* Tit. *de Censibus.*

(e) In censu habendo potestas omnis aestimationis habendae, summaeque faciundae censori permittitur. *Cic. in Verr.* Lib. ii. Num. 131.

in the (a) *Latin*, and in the (b) *Greek* language. For not only was the compass 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 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 tho' there were (e) rules by which they ought to regulate their estimation of

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

(b) *Τιμητής.* (c) In servis deferendis observandum est, ut & nationes eorum, & officia, & artificia specialiter deferantur. l. 4. §. 5. ff. de censibus. (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.

every particular, and the supreme Censors (*a*) were wont to issue out Precepts to their under officers, injoining Justice and equity in their posts; yet if the supreme Censors were men of ill principles, very great enormities often went unpunished (*b*).

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 *T. Lartius* 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

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

(*b*) Sic census habitus est, te Praetore, ut eo censu nullius civitatis respublica posset administrari. Nam locupletissimi cujusq; census extenuant, tenuissimi auxrant. *ibid.* L. 2. n. 138,

‘ seven hundred *Romans* at Man’s estate.
 ‘ After this, he separated those who were of
 ‘ military age from the elder ; and disposing
 ‘ those into centuries he formed four bodies
 ‘ of horse (a) and foot.’ From this passage
 it appears, that the knowledge of the mili-
 tary 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. W E shall now consider the force and
 import of the words St. *Luke* makes use of
 in his account of the matter before us.

No w it must be allowed, that the Verb
 made use of by St. *Luke* in the first verse,
that all should be taxed or enrolled (b), is
 used by *Greek* Authors, for the making of
 any kind of entry or enrolment. Thus
Servius Tullius observing many Roman Ci-

(a) Τὸ κράτιστον ἔτι ὑπὸ Σερείου Τυλλίου Ἰ δημοτικωτάτης βασι-
 λέας κατασθέντων νομίμων, πρῶτον ἐπέταξε Ῥωμαίους ἅπασιν
 παιῶσαι, τιμήσεις κατὰ φυλάς ἢ βίων ἐνεργεῖν, προσηρέφοντας
 γυναικῶν ἢ παιδῶν ὀνόματα, ἢ ἡλικίας ἑαυτῶν τε ἢ τέκνων ὡς
 ὄλιγων δὲ χρόνον πάντων τιμησαμένων, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τιμασίας
 τῆν τε ἢ εἶσαν ἀπελίσει τις ἀπειθήσαντας ἔδει, ἢ τὴν πολιτικῶν
 ἰσπακασίαις πλείους ἐυρεθησαν οἱ ὡς ἤβη Ῥωμαίαια πεντεκάδεκα
 μυριάδων μετὰ τῆτο διακρίνας τῆς ἔχοντας τὴν στρατεύσιμον
 ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ ἢ πρεσβυτέρων κ. λ. lib 5. c. 75. p. 324.

(b) Ἀπογράφου ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν ὀικουμένην (Αὐτὴν ὀπγραφήν κ. τ. λ.)

tizens to be in debt, ordered all of them who had not where-withal to satisfy their Creditors to enter (a) their names and the sum they 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 inlisted themselves in the Service of a General (b).

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 (c) the enrolments'.

(a) Ἀπογράφειν κελύσας τὰς ἀποχρῆς, ὅσοι τὴν πίσιν ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν φυλάττειν τοῖς ὀφείλασι, καὶ πόσον ἕκαστος. *Dionys. Hal. L. iv. c. 10. p. 207.*

(b) Συνέρρειον ἀπογραφόμενοι τε πρὸς τὰς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὀμνύοντες ὄρκον. *Dion. Hal. Lib. x. cap. 16. init.*

(c) Ἐν εἰς τῷ τότε παρόντι τότε ἄλλα ὡς περ εἰδῆσο ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε.

‘ enrolments :’ Hereby meaning, the whole 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 (a) 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.

ἐξετέλεισθαι Dio. L. 53. p. 496. c. ad A. U. C. 726.— vid. etiam pag. 512. B. καὶ αὐτῶν (sc. Gallorum) καὶ ἀπογραφῆς ποιήσατο, &c.

(a) Ἐκ ἧ τῆ τιμητέουσι, τὸς τε βίης καὶ τὸς τρόπος ἡμῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ ἀπογραφῆς ποιῶνται id. L. 53. p. 508. B. C.

THOUGH therefore the words in Saint *Luke*, and especially the Verb in the first verse, is used for the making of any kind of entry, yet the whole relation obliges us to understand 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 (a).

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 expences of the

(a) EDICTUM DE PROFESSIONE, *Cic. in Ver. Lib. iii. Num. 26.*

state not by the Head, but in proportion to their estates (a).

AND for ought 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 (b) 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 how-

(a) 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 imperio: ex quo belli pacisque munia NON VIRITIM, UT ANTEA, SED PRO HABITU PECUNIARUM, FIERENT. *Liv.* lib. 1. cap. 42.

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

ever do suppose that the survey of *Judea* at this time was made by *Augustus* with this very view (a). But I believe *Judea* was the last 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 (b). 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* (c). And in the description of *Herod's* funeral solemnity, *Josephus* reckons up three distinct corps of foreign soldiers, *Thracians*, *Germans*, and *Gauls* (d). 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.

(a) Breviario igitur quod meditabatur Augustus, quantum militum Judaea suppeditare possset, includi debuit. *Basnage. Ann. Polit. Ecc. ante D. 5. n. xi.*

(b) *Joseph. Ant. lib. 14. cap. x. §. 12.*

(c) *Id. de B. J. Lib. 1. p. 1006. 15.*

sub. fin.

(d) *Ibid. cap. ult.*

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 were at *Rome*) under a sort of a military oath into the more unhealthful provinces (*a*). 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 dishonourable to *Herod* to have the goods of his subjects enrolled and rated by a Roman officer for the payment of tribute. But where lies the difference between this, and the numbering and entering his people in order to demand for Soldiers as many men as his country could afford? If indeed this enrolment of

(a) *Judaeorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris coeli distribuit. vit. Tiber. cap. 36. vii. & Tacit. Ann. 2. cap. 85.*

his people had been made by *Herod*, by his own authority, and at his own discretion, in order to furnish the Emperour with a 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, *v. 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 by Herod, at the request of (a) 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 Saint *Luke* to mention *Augustus's* requirement or

(a) Short view of the Harm: of the four Evang. p. 149.

request 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* (a) 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 the value could never have been known with

(a) Et quidem cum ad census novum opere & inadueto Galliis, 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.

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 country (a). And though he calls this renewing a Census, only an inquiry 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 Emperours 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 his revenues; and yet they give people uneasiness: How much more must they have done so formerly?

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

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* (a) 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 forebore or remitted. And whether any Tri-

(a) Μετὰ τῆτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπυγροφῆς, *Act.* v. 37.

bute 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. (I.) 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 (a). But that this was not the

(a) Ἄυτος ὁ ἀπογραφὰς, ἣ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων. καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων ἔσται κικτημέναι, ἰπείσονται. Τες ἦν ἄσβεστοί τε

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 (a), that persons ought to enrolle 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, entered themselves according to their tribes and families. If against this, it be

ἀσθενεσέμενος, τὸς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκόντας ἐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογεγράφειν, δείσας μὴ νεωτερίσωσι τι ταραχθέντες. Dio. L. 55. p. 557. B.

(a) 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. l. 4. §. 2. ff. de censibus

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 daughter of Phanuel, of the TRIBE OF ASSER *.
Barnabas was a LEVITE †, *Paul* affirms, † *Acts* iv. 36.
 that he was of the TRIBE OF BENJAMIN || *Rom.* xi. 36.
 And these two were born in foreign countries, the one in *Cyprus*, the other at *Tarsus*.
 || *Phil.* iii. 5.

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 publick records’ (a). 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, that the registers of other families were in

(a) Τὴν μὲν ἔν τῃ γένει ἡμῶν διαδοχὴν ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις Δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην ἔυρον, ἕτως παρατίθεμαι. *Joseph.* in vit. init.

being likewise. ‘ Every priest, says he, among us is obliged to marry a woman of his own nation, and not so much to regard 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, wherever there is any part of our nation, this law relating to the marriages of the priests is most carefully observed; I mean in *Egypt* and *Babylon*, and every other part of the world, in which any of our priests live (a).

(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.

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

(a) Δείηδ μετέχοντα τῆς ἱεροσύνης ἐξ ὁμοσυνῆς γυναικὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς χρήματα μηδὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποβλέπειν τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γένος ἐξετάζειν ἐν ᾧ ἀρχαίων λαμβάνοντα τὴν διαδοχὴν, καὶ πολλὰς παραχόμενον μάρτυρας: καὶ ταῦτα πράττομεν ἐ μόνον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ἰσδαίας ἀλλ’ ὅπως ποτὲ σύστημα τῶ γένους ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, καὶ κτλ. τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποσώζεται τοῖς ἱερέσσι περὶ τὸς γάμους. κ. τ. λ. *Cont. Apion.* lib. i. §. 7.

they

they might have very good reasons for it that we are unacquainted with. *St. Luke* says ch. ii. 41, 42. *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 Law 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; *i. e.* 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 countries of the known world, whether situated in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Africa*. Beside those countries which were properly called Provinces, and were governed by Officers sent from

Rome, with the title of Presidents, Praetors, or Proconsuls; there were other countries 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 (*a*); 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 (*b*). These Friends of the *Romans* furnished them with a part of their troops, or with sums of money upon particular occasions; or made presents to the Emperour and his ministers, when needful. That is, they paid tribute in the genteel way. Others were more properly tributary, and were obliged to the payment of certain sums of money: but it is generally supposed

(*a*) Ἡς [Ἀρμενίας] Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ ἀρχῆσι μὴ ἐς φόρον κομισθῆν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τὰς βασιλείας. *Appian. in Praef. init.*

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

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 countries 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 (a) Senate; and was assisted in taking possession of it by Roman troops commanded by their own (b) 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, 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* (c) to obtain the grant and confirmation of *Augustus*, before they dared to take possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

(a) Joseph. de Bell. lib. 1. cap. 14. fin.

(b) Ibid. cap. 13.

(c) De Bell. lib. 2. cap. 2.

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 country of ' the *Samaritans*. These were caled of a ' fourth part of their tribute, *Cesar* decree- ' ing them this relief, because they had not ' joined with the other people in the late ' disturbances (a)'. I think it most reason- able to understand this of a tribute paid, or to be paid, not to *Herod* or *Archelaus* out to the Emperour. If the *Samaritans* were tributary to *Cesar*, the *Jews* were so like- wise. It is plain these were not more fa- voured 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

(a) Τὰ ἢ Ἀρχελάου συντελεῖντα Ἰδυμαϊά τε καὶ Ἰουδαία, τό, τε Σαμαρειτικὸν τετάρτη μέρει ἔτοι ἢ φόρων παρεῖλοντο, Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς κέφισιν ψηφισαμένω, διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποσῆσαι τῇ λοιπῇ πληθύνι. *Joseph. Ant. lib. 17. cap. xiii. §. 4. vid. & de Bell. lib. ii. cap. vi.*

‘ 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 (a).’
 And *Josephus* in his speech to the *Jews*
 besieged in *Jerusalem*, to persuade them to
 surrender to *Titus*, plainly dates the begin-
 ning of the *jewish servitude* to the *Ro-*
mans from *Pompey’s* conquest of *Judea* (b).
 It may be concluded from hence, that from
 that time the *Jews* were tributary to the

(a) Ἀλλὰ μὴν τότε οὖν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμῶν ἄωρον, δὲν ὑπὲρ
 τῆ μὴδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον.—τότε ἡδ ἔν
 ἐχρὴν πάντα ὑπὲρ τῆ μὴ δεῦσθαι Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἐπέβαινε τῆς χάρας ὁ Πομπηῖος· ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, καὶ
 οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ ψυχαῖς ἄρμενον ὑμῶν
 πολλὰ διακείμενοι, πρὸς μῶραν ὀλιγὰν τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἐκ
 ἀντέχον ὑμεῖς ἤ, οἱ τὸ μὲν ὑπακῆν ἐν διαδοχῆς παρεληφότες—
 πρὸς ὅλην ἀντίσθε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν *Joseph. de Bell. lib.*
ji. cap. 16. pag. 1085. 1086.

(b) Πόθεν οὖν ἠρχάμεθα
 δουλείας, ἃρ ἔχθ’ οἱ σάσεως ἔ πρόγοναν, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβέλος, καὶ
 Ἰρκανὸς μανίας, καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕρις Πομπηῖον ἐπηγαγα τῆ πόλει,
 καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἐκ ἀξίως ἐλευθερίας· *id. ibid. lib.*
v. cap. ix. p. 142. fin.

Romans. Subjection and Servitude must needs imply the paying of Tribute.

A P P I A N 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 (a). *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 deserves to be observed in this place. ‘*Syllaeus* more-
 ‘ over bribed *Fabatus*, *Caesar'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 more-
 ‘ over accused *Fabatus* to *Cesar*, saying, that

(a) Ἰση δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ βασιλέας ἕως δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις.—Ἰδυμαίων ἢ καὶ Σαμαρέων, Ἡρώδην *Appian.*
de Bell. Civ. lib. v. pag. 1135.

‘ he was a Procurator more in *Herod's* interests than the Emperours (a)’. 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 crimes committed by him (b). 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 country 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*.

(a) Πείσας ἡ [Συλλαῖος] πολλοῖς χρέμασι Φαβάτον τὸν Κάισαρος διοικητὴν, ἐχρῆτο βοηθῶ καὶ καθ’ Ἡρώδου· πλείονα ἢ δὲς Ἡρώδης, ἀφίστησί τε ἀπὸ Συλαίος Φαβάτον, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπραττεν· ὃ ἡ μηδὲν ἀποδῶς, ἔτι ἔ κατηγορεῖ Φαβάτε πρὸς Κάισαρα, διοικητὴν εἶναι λέγων, ἃ ἔ κείνους, ἔ ἡ Ἡρώδης συμφερότων· *Joseph. de Bell. lib. 1. cap. 29. pag. 1030. v. 21.*—

(b) *Vid. Joseph. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 3.*

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

ALL that I would shew farther here is, that a Censur was not inconsistent with the rights allowed to these dependent Princes, according to the Roman constitution. This is generally denied, and therefore some proof must be given of it. But it cannot be expected, that I should produce many examples of a Censur made 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 Censur, which was the most disagreeable way of all, was not used in all those countries 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

other things, he tells them : ‘ Your King *Attalus* bequeathed his kingdom to us by
‘ testament. Our government has been mil-
‘ der 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 demand-
‘ ing 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 the
‘ less hazard and trouble to ourselves, and
‘ required only the annual payment of a sum
‘ of money out of the produce of your
‘ country (a).’ In the conclusion they a-
‘ greed to pay a whole nine years tribute in
‘ two years time. The battle of *Philippi*
‘ was fought (b) A. U. 712. *Attalus* died
‘ (c) A. U. 621. So that *Asia (Propria)* had
‘ been then 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 depen-
‘ dent kingdoms.

(a) Ἐπεὶ ἡ ἐδέησεν, ἔ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῶν ἐπιθήκαμεν, ὥς
 ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδονον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μίση φέρειν τὸ ἐκάστοτε
 καρπῶν ἐπετάξομεν *Appian. De Bell. Civ. lib. V. pag. 1074.*

(b) Vid. *Petavii Rationarium Temporum Part. i. lib. iv. cap. 20.*

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

TACITUS however has given us one instance. About this time, *says he*, ‘ the
 ‘ *Cilicians* subject to *Archelaus* the *Cappa-*
 ‘ *docian* (a), being required to enrolle them-
 ‘ selves in our way, and to pay tribute ac-
 ‘ cordingly, withdrew 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, &c. (b).

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 Kingdome
 of *Cappadocia* (c). It is true, that upon
 the death of old *Archelaus*, A. U. 770,

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

(b) Per idem tempus Clitarum natio Cappadoci Archelæo
 subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa
 adigebantur, in juga Tauri Montis abcessit: locorumque in-
 genio sese contra regis imbelles copias tutabantur; donec
 M. Trebellius Legatus a Vitellio praeside Syriae cum quatuor
 millibus legionariorum, & delectis auxiliis missus, duos colles
 operibus circumdedit: & erumpere ausos, ferro, ceteros, siti
 ad deditionem coegit. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. vi. cap. 41.

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

A. D. 17. (a), the Kingdome of *Cappadocia* was reduced to the state of a Province (b); and this disturbance, which *Tacitus* here speaks of, is placed by him in A. U. 789. A. D. 36. (c). But *Tacitus* has no where 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 Roman 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*

(a) C. Coelio L. Pomponio *Coff.* (b) Regnum in provinciam redactum est. *Tacit Ann.* lib. ii. cap. 42. (c) Q. Plautio & Sext. Papinio *Coff.* (d) Item Thraciam, Ciliciam, & Comagenem ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciae formam redegit. *Sueton. in Vespas.* cap. 8. Item Thraciam, Ciliciam Tracheam, & Comagenem, quae sub regibus amicis fuerant, in provinciarum formam redegit [*Vespasianus*]. *Eutrop.* lib. vii. cap. xix.

says, that *Caligula* gave the Maritime *Cilicia*, (which was another name of this country) to *Antiochus*, as an accession to his kingdom of *Comagene* (a). Before *Caligula* died he took it away from him. And by *Claudius* it was again restored to the same *Antiochus* (b). And from an account, which *Tacitus* has given of another tumult of this people, A. U. 805. A. D. 52. [*Fausto Sulla & Salvio Othone Coff.*] they appear to have been then subject to *Antiochus* (c). 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* (d).

(a) Ὁ ἦν Ἀντιόχου τε τῆ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγενὴν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας ὄψεο. *Dio.* lib. 59. p. 645. D.

(b) Καὶ μετὰ τῆτο τὰ τε Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγενὴν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ ἦν Γάϊος, ὃ περ αὐτὸς οἱ ὄψεο αὐτὴν, ἀφῆρτο.) *id.* lib. 60. pag. 670. A.

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

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

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* (a), and by *Pagi* (b) from him, they must have understood by *Archelao subiecta*, the people that had been subject to *Archelaus*, that is, to *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*. However, *Lipsius* and *Muretus* (c) 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

(a) *Noris* Cenotaph. Pif. Diss. ii. pag. 308.
ad *Annal.* num. 127.

(b) *Appar.*

(c) *In loc.*

Archelaos 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 nevertheless, 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 *Cilicia* was far from being any strong temptation. The country 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* (a). *Cappadocia* had been a very rich booty to *Tiberius*. Upon its being made a province, by the ready mony and effects of *Archelaus* and the revenues of the country, such sums came into the public treasury of the *Romans*, that their tax called the hundredth fell immediately to a two hundredth (b). We may therefore suppose, that by *Archelaus* here is meant a son of the former King of

(a) Vid. *Strabo* lib. xiv. p. 987. D.

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

Cappadocia, tho' he be an obscure person. And the weaknesse 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 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.

66 *The Credibility of the* Book II.

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 country with almost kingly authority. *Herod* had lent *Obodas* a considerable sum of money: When the time of payment came, *Herod* demanded 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 Emperor'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 (a). But, when this 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

(a) Joseph. Ant. lib. 16. cap. ix. p. 74.

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 *Italie*. He procures an audience of *Augustus*, tells him, That *Herod* had made an incursion into *Arabia*, laid wast the country, and killed five and twenty hundred *Arabians* 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. 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 (a)’.

HEROD then sent Ambassadors 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 (b).

(a) Ὁργή τε μείζαν ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη, τάτε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς, καὶ τῆτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλος, νῦν ὑπηκόω χροῦσεται id. ibid. p. 735.

(b) P. 736 init.

IN the mean time *Obodas* dies, and *Aretas* takes upon him the crown of *Arabia*: and then sends away Ambassadors 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 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 govern-
' ment. And *Herod* having lost the Em-
' perour's favour was forced to submit to
' many disgraces and affronts. Seeing no
' end of these evils, he resolved to send
' once more an Ambassy 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* (a).

THIS

(a) Τα ἕξ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν, αἰεὶ καὶ μάλλον ἐπεδίδη,
— ἡ βασιλείαν, ἡ δὲ ἔπα τινὲς ἀρχὴν βεβαίαν ἔχων.— Ἡρώδης ἕξ
ἐφ' οὗς ἠμύνετο τάχιστα, ὀργισθέντος αὐτῷ Καίσαρος, ἀπάσας τὰς
εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομίας φέρειν ἠναγκάζετο. πέρας δὲ εὐδὲν εἶπεν
προεσάτω

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 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 *Obo das* 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

προσεσώτων κακῶν, ἔγνω πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποσέλθειν, εἰ τι δύαιτο μετρίωτερον εὐρεῖν διὰ τε τῶ φίλων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχίαν ποιησάμενον. κ. τ. λ. p. 736.

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

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 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,

(a) Id. *ibid.* cap. x pag. 740, 741.

‘ says (a) *Josephus*, a certain Sect of *Jews*,
 ‘ who valued themselves highly for their
 ‘ exact knowledge of the law, 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 controle Kings, extremely
 ‘ subtle, and ready to attempt any thing a-
 ‘ gainst 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

(a) Καὶ ἦν ᾧ μίσιόν τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ’ ἀκριβῶσει μέγα
 φρονῶν τῷ πατρὶς νόμῳ, οἷς χάριεν τὸ θεῖον προσποιουμένων ὑπὸ
 ἢ γυναικανῶντις· Φαρισαῖοι καλεῖνται, βασιλεύσι δυνάμειοι μάλιστα
 ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, καὶ τῷ πρέπτε εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ
 βλάπτειν ἐπληροῦν· ταυτὸς γὰρ τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ βεβαιώσαντ’ δι’
 ὄρεον ἢ μὴν ἐνοῆσαι Κάϊσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλείας πράγμασι, οἱ δὲ
 οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ ἁμοσων, ὅτις ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι· καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλείας
 ζημιώσαντ’ χρημασιν, ἢ Φεράρας γυνὴν τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 ἐισφέρει· οἱ δὲ ἀμειψόμενοι τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτῆι, πρόηκασιν ἵεπιστεύοντο
 ἐπιφοιτῆσαι τῷ Θεῷ, πρέλεγον ὡς Ἡρώδῃ μὲν καταπάσεως ἀρχῆς
 ὑπὸ Θεῷ ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γίνε τῷ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, τῆς τε
 βασιλείας εἰς τε ἐκείνην περιεξέσεως καὶ Φεράραν, παίδας τε οἱ εἶεν
 αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ταῦτα, ἃ ᾧ ἐλάμβανεν τῆς Σαλαμίην, ἑξαγγελετὰ βασιλεῖ
 ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τ’ περὶ τὴν αὐλήν διαφθέρουσιν τῆς· ἔ οὐ βασιλεὺς τ’
 τε Φαρισαῖον τὰς ἀτιωτάτας ἀναίρει, καὶ Βαγῶαν τὸν ἐνῆχρον,
 Καρὸν τε τινὰ τ’ τότε πρέχοντα ἀρετῇ τῷ εὐπρεπῶς, καὶ παιδικὰ
 ἔντα αὐτῷ κτίνει ἢ ἔ πᾶν ὅ, τι τῷ οἰκείῳ συνεισῆκει οἷς ὁ Φαρι-
 σαῖοι· ἔλεγεν· Ἦρτο ἢ ὁ Βαγῶας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὡς πατὴρ τε ἔ ευεργέτης
 ὀνομασθησόμεν’ τῷ ἐπικατασθησόμενος προῆρήσει βασιλείας,
 κατὰ χεῖρα ᾧ ἐκείνου πάντα εἶναι, παρεξόντ’ αὐτῷ γάμος τε
 γυν, ἔ παιδάσεως τέκνον γνησίων *Antiq.* 17. cap. 2. § 6.

‘ 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 kind-
 ‘ nesse, (for they were supposed by their
 ‘ great intimacy with God to have attained
 ‘ to the gift of foreknowledge) foretold, that
 ‘ God having decreed to put an end to the
 ‘ government of *Herod* and his race, the
 ‘ kingdome 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 cunuch, and one
 ‘ *Carus*, the most beautiful young man a-
 ‘ bout the Court, and the great instrument
 ‘ in the King’s unlawful pleasures. He like-
 ‘ wise slew every one of his own family
 ‘ which adhered to those things which were
 ‘ said by the *Pharisees*. But *Bagoas* had
 ‘ been elevated by them [*above all the rest*],
 ‘ for he was to be called father and bene-
 ‘ factor, the King who was to be appointed
 ‘ according to their prediction (for all things
 ‘ would be in his power) being to give him
 a capacity

‘ a capacity of marriage, and of having
 ‘ children of his own.’

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

(a) 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 preliſ legitimaſ.* They certainly did not look upon the origina’. If they had, they would have eaſily perceived his miſtake. By this means they have loſt one ſtrong argument, that this affair has a reference to our *Census*, as will appear by and by. Doctor *Hulſon* has very much corrected *Gelenius’s* version, and tranſlates the concluding words thus: *Fuit autem per eos elatuſ Bagoas, quod dicerent eum patrem beneficumque appellatum iri ejuſ, qui ex eorum praedictione creandus rex eſſet: habiturum enim cum regem omnium rerum poteſtatem, & Bagoae vires conciliaturum cum muliere congrediendi, proprioſque liberos gignendi.* But, methinks, the ſenſe of this is not very extraordinary, *Bagoas* is to receive a great benefit from the King, and beſtowes 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 country. I have made no alteration in the original words of *Josephus*. I have only interted a comma after *ἠνομαſθηſόμενῶν*, and changed the colon after *βαſιλείῃ* to a comma. This interpretation is not my own. I had it from a learned and ingenious friend, to whom I am very much indebted for this, and divers other critical obſervations which I highly value,

ſome

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 are 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 (a) 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 Saint *Luke’s taxing*, for these reasons.

(1.) As far as I can perceive, this oath must have been taken much about the same time

(a) Ὅποτε ἤδ ἐπ’ ἀρχῆς παρέλθοιεν, — προχωρῶσι εἰ ἐν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει. Antiq. 18. c. 1. §. 4.

with the taxing or Census mentioned by *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

76 *The Credibility of the Book II.*

that is born King of the Jews? Herod was troubled and all Jerusalem with him. Josephus's account is a perfect comment upon this text of 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

Mat. ii. 4, 5. 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. And it is the same thing in Josephus. And the chief priests and Scribes of Saint 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, or rather 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

whether it be matter of fact, that some of the *Pharisees* did at this 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 very same thing with *the chief priests and scribes (a): 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 air and character of a prophet, when he applied the ancient *jewish* prophecies of

(a) Unde putas factum, ut eo ipso tempore, proximè post descriptionem Judaicam Pharisei vaticinia ista tractarent, & pro lubitu suo interpretarentur? Numquid res ipsa testimonium perhibet Matthaei narrationi? Nonne audis magos ab 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 detorserunt. *Kepler.* de Anno Natal. Christ. cap. 12.

the Messias to *Vespasian*. He 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 law 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 faster, 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 (a).’

(a) Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμαρίαν δόμου φρεῖας μισθοῖ, εἰ κατε-
 χεδιάζω καὶ θεῶν. *Jos. de B. lib. iii. cap. vii. §. 9.*

HOWEVER, beside the answer given by the *Scribes* to *Herod's* enquiry, we are to 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 a reference.

S T. *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. And *Josephus* has given us the tokens of an uncommon rage in *Herod*. And though *Saint 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,

Jews, had been accessory 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 *Jew*; so his indecent way of speaking of this affair is a strong proof it relates to the 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, and that in the history of (a) the *jewish War*, writ long before his *Antiquities*, in which is the passage we are upon. His ridicule of the

(a) Vid. de Bell. lib. iii. cap. 7. §. 3. vid. & quae sequuntur *Josephi* ad *Vespasianum* alloquium, *ibid.* §. 9.

Pharisees

Pharisees appears to me very unseasonable in an account of such a scene of cruelty, and when they were under very heavy sufferings : And for what ? For refusing the oath of fidelity ? No. They had escaped with a *fine* for *not swearing to Cesar, &c.* 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 or 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.

A L L 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 favourites 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

and leave things in this posture? Would he, when he went away, leave securely in the hands of *Pheroras* and his wife the work of poisoning 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 *Mariamne*, have been able to have effected 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 them-
 ‘ selves 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 (A), and
 ‘ therein to him: adding, that she did all
 ‘ she could to create a difference between
 ‘ him and his brother, that the fine imposed

(A) *The virgins*] 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.

‘ upon the *Pharisees* had been evaded by her
 ‘ means, and that in the present affair no-
 ‘ thing had been done without her :---and
 ‘ that if *Pheroras* 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
 ‘ (a) 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 Doctor *Hudson* translates them (b), then her conduct in the late affair is not so much as made a particular crime, but is only

(a) Ἡράδης ὅ, κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖςδε ἐλληλεγ-
 μένους, συνείριόν τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων, καὶ κατηγορίαν τῆς Φεράρας
 γυναικὸς, τὴν τε ὕβριν τῶν παρθένων τῆς τολμῆς τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνατιθεῖς,
 καὶ ἔγκλημα τάυτην ἀτιμίαν αὐτῷ ποιεῖται, ὡς ἀγωνοθετεῖν
 εἶσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ πόλεμον ἐν φύσει αὐτοῖς ἐ-
 λόγη καὶ δι' ἔργων ὅσα δύναίτο, τὴν τε διάλυσιν τῆς ζημίας τῆς
 ὑπ' αὐτῆ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλεσι διαφουχιῆσαι τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῶν τε νῦν
 πεπραγμένων ἕδεν ὅ, τι ἔμετ' αὐτῆς ἀν' ἧν Φεράρα καλῶς
 ἔχειν, ἔδειξει ἕδεν γνώμων ἐισηγήσεως τῶν ἐμῶν, αὐτοκέρως
 ἀποπέμπεαδ' ἡ γυναῖκα τάυτην, ὡς πολέμα τῆ πρὸς με σοὶ αἰτίας
 ἐσομένην καὶ νῦν, ἕτερον ἀντιποῆ συγγενείας τῆς ἐμῆς, ἀπέπτααδ'
 τήνδε τὴν γαμετήν· μινεῖς ἦδ' ἔτας ἐμὸς ἀδελφός τε καὶ ἐργεῖν ἐκ
 ἀπληλαγμένον. Antiq. 17. c. 3. §. 1.

(b) Suisque impendiis evitata esset solutio mulctae ab ipso
 impositae, nihilque jam sine illa ageretur.

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 exprefs 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 accessories, 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 guesse, 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 kindnesse shewed to them, foretold, that God had decreed to transfer the kingdome 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, I hope he will come over to me, and 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 author has not confined himself barely to matter of fact, but has indulged his fancy and gone into fiction.

FOR these reasons then I think, that the *Oath* in *Josephus*, taken by all the *jewish* 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 reasons. 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 shewed that *Herod* had been, before this, a tributary prince.

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 before-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 the treating as 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 Emperours displeasure against *Herod* was manifest therefore, not at *Rome* only, but in all the countries about *Judea*.

(1.) BUT it may be objected, that *Josephus* has nowhere said, that there was any enrolment made 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,

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 Decree had been obeyed and executed

cuted 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 kingdom 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 very 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 enrolle all the land, to subjoin a parenthesis, the

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* wrote, he might be well pleased to touch upon it but 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 (a) *Suetonius* only, an author very little concerned in *jewish* affairs. The reason seems to be,

(a) Sed & Caium Nepotem, quod Judaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolymam non supplicasset, collaudavit [Augustus]. *Suet.* in *Aug.* cap. 93.

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 that 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 (a) had great intimacies with *Herod*. *Josephus* has affirmed more than once, that he was a great flatterer (b) of him. And in one place says particularly,
 ‘ That living in his kingdome and together
 • with him he composed his history with a
 • view to please the King and advance his
 • interest, touching upon those things only

(a) Καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς φίλος τε ἂν τῷ βασιλέως, καὶ τὰ πάντα συνδιδαιτόμενος ἐκείνω, κ. λ. Antiq. 17. c. 5. §. 4.

(b) Ibid. l. 14. c. 1. §. 3.

‘ which made for (a) 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 greatest mortification of *Herod's* whole life: and from the character of *Nicolas*, just set down, it may be concluded almost with certainty, that he did not give a particular account 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* were at first very much moved at the (b) mention of the enrolments, but by degrees

(a) Ζῶντι ᾧ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐ σὺν αὐτῷ, κεχαρισμένος ἐκείνῳ καὶ καθ' ὑπαρξίαν ἀνέγραψεν, μόνον ἀπτόμενος ἢ πρὸς ἑκκλησίαν αὐτῷ φερόντων. Antiq. 16. c. 7. §. 2.

(b) Ὅι ἡ κάμπερ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν δείνῳ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν. Antiq. 18. c. 1. §. 1.

‘ 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 introduce downright (a) 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 acknowledgment of subjection to the *Romans*.

BESIDES, though this *oath* had been quite omitted by *Josephus*, it would not have followed, 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 principle, that they ought to obey none but God: and for some reasons it was received with 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 af-

(a) *Ibid.*

ter *Herod* was dead, there was a very numerous Embassy sent to *Rome* in the name of the whole *jewish* nation, entreating, that instead of being governed by any of *Herod's* descendents, ‘ they might be annexed to the Province of *Syria*, and be subject to Praetors sent from thence, promising likewise a most quiet and peaceable behaviour under such a government (a).

IN another place *Josephus* represents *Judas's* arguments in these terms: ‘ And at this time a certain man called *Judas* the *Galilean* excited the people to rebellion, telling them they had 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 (b)’. It might be as 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

(a) Ἦν ἡ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τῆ ἀξιώσεως, βασιλείας ἢ καὶ τοῦν δε ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων, προσθήκη ἢ Συρίας γεγονότας ὑποτάσσεν, τοῖς ἐκάστῃ πεμπομένοις στρατηγοῖς· κ. τ. λ. *Jos. Ant.* 17. p. 784. v. 35.

(b) Κακίζων, εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομένουσι, καὶ μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν ὄντας κτητῆς διασπῆτας· *De Bell.* lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1.

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*, ex- ‘ acting of them seven hundred talents of ‘ silver (a)’. 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*.

(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 passage of an ancient writer, in

(a) Καὶ φόρος αὐταῖς μεγάλως ἐπέτεθει· μάλιστα ἢ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου ἐσπραττόμενον. Ant. lib. 14. cap. xi. §. 2.

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 country, by the taking an *oath* of Allegiance and Fidelity to the Emperour. I shall give an instance from *Josephus*, and which has likewise some affinity with our subject. In the *jewish* war he calls *Fabatus* *Cesar's* Procurator (a) : In his Antiquities (b) he calls him *Cesar's* servant. He also calls one *Stephen*, who was in *Judea* in the time of *Cumanus*, *Cesar's* servant. ‘ And (c) at this time, says he, some who aimed at innovations set upon *Stephen* a servant

(a) Πείσας ἢ πολλοῖς χρήμασι Φαβάτον τὸν ΚάισαροςⓈ διοκίτην. *De Bell.* lib. 1. cap. 29. p. 1030. v. 22. vid. & v. 29.

(b) —ἀνεργημένοι ἢ καὶ Φάβατον ΚάισαροςⓈ δῶλον. *Antiq.* 17. cap. 2. p. 758. v. 6.

(c) Τῶν γὰρ ἐφεσάτων ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῶ τινῶν, κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν, ἴδον ὡς κατὸν εὐαδίων ἀπεκθον τῆς πόλεως, Στέφανον ΚάισαροςⓈ

‘ a servant of *Cesar*, in the High-way about
 ‘ a hundred Stadia from the city, and robbed
 ‘ 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 Procura-
 tor in *Judea*, may be concluded, from the
 treasure he had with him, and from his being
 particularly the object of the spite of the se-
 ditious *Jews* who were uneasy under the
 Roman government. So that, with *Jose-
 phus*, the *Emperour’s* servant and the pro-
 curator of the *Emperour’s* revenue were sy-
 nonymous terms. If *Josephus* appears at
 present singular in this stile, yet I doubt not,
 but it was at that time very common.

[;.] 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

δῆλον ὁδοιπορῶντα λησίσαντες, ἄπισαν αὐτῷ τὴν κτήσιν διαρπάξουσιν.
Antiq. 20. cap. 4. §. 4. vid. &c. *de Bell.* p. 1072. v. 32.

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 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 country 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

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 labour 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 harrassed 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 Cy-*

renius 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 (a) seem to have in them an uncommon ambiguity. Many think, the most genuine natural sense of the original words is : *This first taxing* (or entolment) *was made when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* And 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. But *Josephus* says, that (b) *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 (c) of *Archelaus's* government, the chief of the *Jews*

(a) Ἄυτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντι τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου (b) *Ant. L. 17. cap. v. §. 2.* (c) Δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχηλαίου

‘ 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, banished him, ap-
 ‘ pointing *Vienna* a City in *Gaul* for the
 ‘ place of his abode (a). And the country
 ‘ of *Archelaus* being annexed to the pro-
 ‘ vince of *Syria*, *Cyrenius* a Consular person
 ‘ was sent by *Cesar* to make an assessment
 ‘ in *Syria*, and to seize *Archelaus*’s estate (b).

AFTERWARDS he says: ‘ In the mean
 ‘ time *Cyrenius* a Roman Senator, who had
 ‘ served all other offices, and through them
 ‘ arrived at the Consulship, and was distin-
 ‘ guished likewise by divers other honours
 ‘ and dignities, came into *Syria* with a few
 ‘ troops, being sent thither by *Cesar* to ad-
 ‘ minister justice to that people, and to make
 ‘ an assessment of their goods. And *Copo-*
 ‘ *nius* a person of the *Equestrian* rank was
 ‘ sent with him to govern in *Judea* with
 ‘ supreme authority. *Cyrenius* also came in-
 ‘ to *Judea*, now annexed to *Syria*, both

(a) Ant. L. 17. C. 15. §. 2.

(b) Τῆς ἑ Ἀρχελαῦ χάρας ὑποτέλῃς προσημεθίσεως τῆ Σόρων,
 τίμπεται Κυρήνιος ὑπὸ Κάισαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ἀποτιμησόμενος
 τὰ ἐν Συρία, ἔ ἀποδάσμενος οἶκον. ibid. §. 5.

‘ to assess their estates, and to seise *Arche-*
 ‘ *laus’s* effects and treasure (a)’.

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

(a) Κυρήνῃς ὅς τις εἰς τὴν βυβλὴν συναγομένῳ ἀνὴρ, τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχαίας ἐπιτετελεκώς, καὶ διὰ πᾶσῶν ὁδοῦσας ὑπάτος γενεᾶς, κατὰ ἀρχαίαν ἀξιόματι μίγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρὶν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τῷ ἔθνει ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητὴς τῷ ἐσθῶν γενοσόμενος· Καπάνιος τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται, τάγματος τῷ ἱππέων, ἠγησόμενος Ἰουδαίῳ τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἑξασίᾳ παρὶν ὃ καὶ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας γενομένην, δόκιμωτάμινος τε αὐτῶν τὰς ὑσίας, καὶ ἀποδασόμενος τὰ Ἀρχιλάου χρήματα·
 Antiq. 18. c. 1. §. 1.

IN the beginning of his third chapter St. *Luke* 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 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 shewn from undoubted testimonies, to enrol *women* as well as men, whereas the *Jews* used to number or enrol *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 Acts v. 37: 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 Saint *Luke* understood what he has related from *Gamaliel*. And then, here are particulars enough to satisfy us, he wanted no information

106 *The Credibility of the Book II.*
mation 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* (a), but he often stiles him *Judas the Galilean*, or of *Galilee* (b). *Gamaliel* says, that he drew away much people after him. *Josephus* says the same thing of him in almost the same words (c).

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 enrol themselves, when

(a) Ant. L. 18. cap. 1. pag. 792. v. 3.

(b) Ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας P. 974. 3. πῶς αὐτῶ Γαλιλαῖος, Ἰούδας ὄνομα. p. 1060. 8.

(c) Ἐλεάζαρος ἀπέργονος Ἰούδα τῷ πείσαντος Ἰουδαίων ἐν ὀλίγῳ μὴ ποιεῖν τὰς ἀπογραφάς, ὅτε Κυρηνεὸς τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη de B. Jud. L. vii. pag. 1313. v. 41.

' *Cyrenius* the Censor was sent into
' *Judea* (a).

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 enterprize 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 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 de-

(a) Ibid. & pag. 792. init.

sign 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, καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἄδέν.] They were ruined and came to nothing. Of *Judas* he says: *he also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him were dispersed* [διεσκορπίσθησαν]. Having mentioned these two instances, which the council were well acquainted with, and hereby 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 (a) 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 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.

(a) Καταλύσεται.

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.

AND to this seems to be owing the great success 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 (a). 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 King-

(a) Joseph pag. 1060. v. 10.

dom 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 some body* : 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 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 Censur 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 *Quirinius* : *Grotius* (a) and *Lipsius* (b) thought *Onuphrius* was mistaken, and that it ought to be correct-

(a) In *Luc.* ii. 2.
ann. L. iii. c. 48.

(b) In not. ad *Tacit.*

ed *Quirinius*. (a) *Perizonius* 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 *Kurinus*, and in the *Latin* vulgate *Cyrinus*. But however that be, he allows it to be common for the *Greeks* to make some alteration 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 *ios* or *ius*. *Strabo* (b) and *Dio* (c) call him *Kυριγιος* (*Cyrinius*). But in *Josephus* (d) 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

(a) Disserta. de Augustea orb. Terr. Descr. §. 30.

(b) Lib. 12. p. 854.

(c) Vid. *Dio*. lib. 54. ad A. U. 742.

(d) P. 791. v. 5, 12. p. 794. v. 24, 37. & alibi.

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 *Arche-laüs* was banished.

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

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.

I SHALL therefore briefly mention some which appear to me less probable, and then represent some others more distinctly, and
at

at last endeavour to support or emprove that which appears to me the fairest.

I. ONE Solution proposed by (a) *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 falshoods (b). And *Baronius* (c) 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* wastwice, 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* favourite, and employed by him in affairs of Government, can make any doubt, but that

(a) In loc.

(b) Praestat ut Josephi verò fidem & historiam deferamus, tanquam incertam, & fluctuantem & veritati in multis dissentientem. *Salmeron in Evang.* T. iii. Tractat. 32.

(c) Sicque contra Josephi deliria certo apparet, sub Augusto imperatore, vivente Herode seniore, reperiri duplicem, immo triplicem Quirinii in Syria praefecturam. *Baron. Ann.* An. D. 3. Vid. & app. ad *Ann.* num. 80--86.

Quintilius Varus was Governour of *Syria* when *Herod* died; that *C. Sentius 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 (a). So that there is no room for *Cyrenius* at this time.

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 this 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 (b).

(a) Vid. *Noris. Cenot. Pis. Diff. ii. cap. 16. §. 9. 10.*

(b) *Jos. Ant. L. 18. cap. 1. §. 6.*

2. ANOTHER Solution proposed by *Calvin* (a), and which *Valesius* (b) judges 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 nor finished till the time that *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, ten or twelve years afterwards.

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

(a) Ubi supra.
Ec. Lib. i. cap. v.

(b) Vid. Notas ad *Euseb.* Hist.

made by him. This is one of the Solutions proposed by (a) *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 learned (b) men have thought it a very easy and probable conjecture, that originally the name in *St. Luke* was *Quintilius*. *Quintilius Varus* succeeded *Saturninus*, and was in the Province of *Syria*, when *Herod* died. The Census afterward 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 (c) letters, and therefore might the more easily happen.

BUT this Solution is liable to the same objection with the former, *viz.* that *Cy-*

(a) Ubi supra. (b) *Huet. Dem. Evang. Prop. ix. cap. x. Parker* Demonstr. of the truth of the Christ. Religion, p. 219. 4to. 1681.

(c) *Κυϊντιλίας, Κυρηνίας*

renius 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*.

THE reader is to judge for himself, but there are some other (a) Solutions which seem to me more probable, and to deserve a more particular consideration.

5. THE next I shall mention is that offered by (b) *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 2d. chapter of Saint ‘ *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 Gover-

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

(b) A short view of the

Harm. of the Evangelists Prop. xi.

‘nour 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 ἀπογεγραμμαι; and that used for the taxation under *Cyrenius*, is the noun ἀπογραφή. He adds, that by custom a noun of the same original with a verb does vary in signification from it. Γεωμετρεῖν is to measure the earth: Γεωμετρία is Geometry; or the Science that consists of the knowledge of numbers and figures.----- Nay in *English*, in the words directly apposite to this matter, the verb to *tax* is oftentimes to lay an imputation, while the noun a *Tax* is the levy of money only.’

BUT (1.) Mr. *W-----n*’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) *Connex.* Part. ii. lib. ix. Anno ante ch. v.

(b) *Ubi supra.*

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 enlisted (a) 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 (b) 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 (c).

[3.] THIS

(a) See above, p. 36. n. b. (b) Ἐλεάζαρος δόρυγος Ἰδὼν τὴν πείσαντος Ἰσραήλιαν ἐκ ὀλίγου μὴ ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς. de B. Jud. L. vii. p. 1313. 40.

(c) Πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς, p. 509. C. αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς ἔειπεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατα-

[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 (a), and ordered several of the most wealthy of that people to be put to death, and seized their cash. And the Citizens of *Rome*, whose debts were more than they could discharge, having entered 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 (b).

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 ἀπογραφή, but is ever distinguished from what that signifies.

(2.) THIS

κέντων ἐποίησατο 557. B. vid. etiam jam citat. pag. 496. C. 508. B. C. See above p. 119.

(a) Κυβέων ἧ ποτὲ κῆ μαθὼν ὅτι ἐκ ἑῆς οἱ ἀργύριον, ἤτησέ τε τὰς τῶ Γαλατῶν ἀπογραφὰς κ. τ. λ. *Dio. L. 59. p. 657. B.*

(b) *Dion. Hal. L. iv. cap. 10. p. 207. 23.*

(c) Τὸν τε φόρον τὸν ἐκ τῶ ἀπογραφῶν ἀφῆκε, τέλη τε τινὰ κατέλυσε *Dio. L. 49. pag. 401. B.*

(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 matter as can be (a). Then it was that *Judas* of *Galilee* and his followers ‘exclaimed that an assessment would bring in among them downright slavery (b)’.

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 levied in *Judea*, after the removal of *Archelaus*, upon the Census or enrolment made at our Saviour’s birth, without the utmost confusion or the

(a) Παρὲν ἧ καὶ Κυρηνίος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς εὐχίας. *Ant. L. 18. c. 1.*

(b) Τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν εὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικεῖνος δεδλίαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες. *Id. ibid.*

utmost injustice. When the Enrolment which St. *Luke* speaks of was made, *Galilee*, *Trachonitis*, and other countries 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 *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 over-burdened. If there was an assessment of goods made at the latter 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

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 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 (a).

6. THE Solution I shall consider in the next place, is that, which was first offered by *Herwaert* (b). I give it here in the words

(a) Quia Solutio aeris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos; censum agi placuit. lib. 7. cap. 22. n. 6. vid. & c. 21.

(b) Ut hoc loco genitivus ἡγεμονέυουτος vocabulo πρώτη additus, vim comparisonis 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.

of (a) Doctör *Whitby* by whom it is espoused. *And this taxing was first made* (before that made) *when Cyrenius was Governour of Syria.* The learned *Kepler* (b) approved of this interpretation as perfectly agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* language. Notwithstanding this (c) *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. Monsieur *Le Clerc* in his additions to Dr. *Hammond's* annotations expresses his approbation of it: and has since declared (d) 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) *In loc.* (b) *Cum igitur omnium Graecè 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.* (c) *Exerc. in Baron. i. n. 33.* (d) *Ce denombrement se fit avant que Quirinius fut gouverneur de la Syrie. Des Savans hommes ont mis, cette explication dece passage de St. Luc dans un si grand jour qu'elle paroît defformais incontestable. Nouv. Testam.*

a design

a design of this nature in our own language. *Perizonius* allows, that a great many of *Herwaert's* instances are not to the purpose. And Mr. *Le Clerc* has in his writings more than once referred to *Perizonius's* treatise for the proofs of this interpretation. I reckon therefore, that it will be sufficient to represent this argument, as it is drawn up by Dr. *Whitby* and *Perizonius*: especially if I take in by the by an instance or two, insisted on by others, though neglected by them.

DOCTOR *Whitby* says ‘ I dare not allow
 ‘ of the boldness of those Criticks who for
 ‘ Κυρηνίε read Κυιντιλίε-----I would rather
 ‘ read πρὸ τῆς than πρώτη-----But neither
 ‘ do we need this criticism, since the words
 ‘ πρώτῳ and πρώτερον are by the Seventy
 ‘ oft used according to this sense; of the
 ‘ word πρότερον, this is beyond doubt, God
 ‘ saying twice ἀποσελῶ σφηκίας προτέρας σε,
I will send hornets before thee, Exod. xxiii.
 ‘ 28. Jos. xxiv. 12.-----That πρώτῳ also is
 ‘ used in the sense of priority, we learn
 ‘ from these instances πρώτοτατον ἐγὼ ἢ
 ‘ σὺ, I am before thee, I am elder than thou;
 ‘ καὶ ἵνα τι ἐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρώτῳ;
 ‘ Chal. לִי אֵת מֵרִיבֶיךָ, *Why then was not*
 the

126 *The Credibility of the Book II.*

‘ the word first spoken to me? *Cur mihi non*
 ‘ *annunciatum est priori?* 2 Sam. xix. 43.
 ‘ Isa. lxxv. 16. *The former troubles are for-*
 ‘ *gotten,* Gr. ἐπιλήσονται τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῶν
 ‘ τὴν πρώτην, and ver. 17. εἰ μὴ μνησθῶσι
 ‘ τῶν προτέρων, *they shall not remember*
 ‘ *the former.* So *John* i. 15. 30. ὅτι πρῶτός
 ‘ με ἦν, *for he was before me,* and chap. 15.
 ‘ 18. *know that they hated ἐμὲ πρότερον,*
 ‘ *me before you,* 1 Cor. xiv. 30. ὁ πρῶτος
 ‘ *Let the former hold his peace;* and 1 *Job.*
 ‘ 4. 19. *We love him,* ὅτι πρῶτος, be-
 ‘ cause he loved us before; and in *Aristo-*
 ‘ *phanes,* ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἂν προ τῆς is interpreted,
 ‘ ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἂν πρότερον, *Neph.* p. 122. And
 ‘ so *Theophylact* interprets the word here.
 ‘ ταῦτέστι πρότερα ἡγεμονέουσιν, ἦγεν πρότερον
 ‘ ἢ ἡγεμόνευε τῆς Συρίας Κυρήνῃ.

PERIZONIUS understands these words in the same sense (a) with the Doctor, only he differs from him and *Herwaert*, in that they suppose πρώτη to be the same as πρότερα, whereas he says

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

these

these numeral adjectives have the force of adverbs (a).

HE alleges divers of the same examples which the Doctor does, particularly *John* i. 15, and xv. 18. Of the later, ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτων ὑμῶν μεμίσηκε, he says, it must by all means be understood (b) of priority of time: *It hated me before it hated you.*

HE supposes also (c) 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

(a) Voluit autem Herwartus πρώτη poni ἀντὶ τῆς προτέρα, atque hujus locutionis vi, genitivum, qui sequitur, a τῶ πρώτη, tanquam a comparativo, regi. Durum hoc plerisque visum. Ego rem aliter expediendam omnino censeam. Πρώτη 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 δεύτερος & seqq. Pati hoc naturam rei significatae evidens ex lingua Hebraica, ubi, ut constat, eodem vocabulo יָשׁוּן prior & primus, אֶחָד primus & unus, promiscue significantur. Positivi autem naturam vere quasi induere aliquando τὸ πρῶτος apud Graecos, vel inde colligas, quod ex eo formatum fuerit aliud plane superlativum πρώτιστος id quod non fuisset opus, si semper istius gradus vim retineret πρῶτος: ibid. §. xxii.

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

(c) Ibid.

the

the adverb used in *Aristophanes in avibus* p. m. 564. de Gallo ; ἤρχε τε πρῶτον Δαρείῳ καὶ Μεγαβύζῳ, i. e. *imperabatque Persis priusquam Darius & Megabyzus.*

PERIZONIUS says, that the genitives that follow πρῶτος are governed by an Ellipsis (*b*), and that πρῶτός μου, πρῶτος ὑμῶν the same as πρῶτος πρό μου, πρῶτος ὑμῶν the same as πρῶτος πρὸ ὑμῶν. Thus in *Luke xi. 38.*

(*a*) Ibid.

(*b*) *Prò enim esse particulam, quae 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. Liberalcm fab. 29. Καὶ πρὸ Ἡρακλέους ἑστῆ ἄσπις Γαλινθιάδι πρώτῃ Galinthias ibi optime dicitur merita fuisse de Hercule, & idcirco Thebanos in festo Herculis sacrificare Galinthiadi prius, seu primae, ante Herculem. — Sed & ipse Lucas Evang. xi. 38. expressit fimiliter τὸ πρὸ post πρῶτος. ὁ δὲ Φαρισαῖος, inquit, ἰδὼν ἐθάυμασεν, ὅτι ἐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ ἀρίστου. quod non primum se laverit, antequam cibum sumeret. Vides utrobique post πρώτῃ & πρῶτον ante genitivum expressam hanc praepositionem; quod certo est indicio, ab ea etiam regi, quando nulla comparet, omissa per ἔθειψιν, sed tamen intelligenda: atque adeo explicandum etiam πρῶτον Δαρείῳ, quasi dictum esset πρῶτον πρὸ Δαρείῳ ἢ ἀπογραφῆ πρώτῃ Κυρηνίῳ, quasi πρώτῃ πρὸ Κυρηνίῳ §. xxv. — mihi que idem est, ac si dixisset Lucas, non quidem προτέρα ἡγεμονεύοντος, verum πρώτῃ πρὸ ἡγεμονεύοντος. — Sed nihil similius, quod ad constructionis & linguae rationem, Lucae verbis secundum nostram eorum interpretationem, quam locus Lxx. Interpretum Jerem. xxix. 2. ἔτσι οἱ λόγοι, ἐς ἀπίστειλον Ἰερειάσῃς Βαβυλῶνα ὑστερον ἐξελθόντος Ἰεχονίας ἐξ Ἰερουσαλήμ. Haec sunt verba, quae misit, vel scripsit Jeremias Babylonem, postquam exiit Jechonias ex Hierosolymis §. xxviii.*

He wondered, [ὅτι εἰ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ ἀδείας] that he had not washed before dinner. From this and another such instance he concludes, that the genitive is governed by *πρὸ* 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 Saint has omitted to name the person by whom this enrolment was made. But methinks, this is a defect which may be dispensed with. This interpretation answers very well what seems to be the main intention of this parenthesis, namely, to distinguish the enrolment now made from that which was made afterward. And if the words will bear this sense, I should think that most persons would acquiesce in it. For my own part, I dare not absolutely reject it : but yet I am not fully satisfied, that this sense can be fairly put upon the words. I think my self obliged to review the arguments here offered by these learned men, and hope it may be done without offense.

I SHALL therefore make some remarks upon Doctor *Whitby* and *Perizonius*, and consider likewise some other examples, omitted by them, upon which some others have laid a great stress.

DOCTOR *Whitby's* instances of the use of *πρότερος* and *πρότερον* from the *Seventy* are not to the point, because the word in *St. Luke* is *πρώτη*. There is no doubt, but *πρότερος*, 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 *πρωτῶν*. Nor is *πρωτότου* ἐγὼ ἢ σύ to the point, because the ἢ is wanting in *Saint Luke*, and the construction is different. The example from *Isa. lxxv. 16.* only proves that *πρωτῶν* signifies the *former*: and tho' *πρώτη* in *St. Luke* should be so rendered, the difficulty will remain in its full force. For, then the sense will be: *This former taxing was made, when Cyrenius was governour of Syria.* Nor can the *πρωτῶν* 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. 19. 43,*

as it is quoted by *Keuchenius* (a), seems to me more strongly to support this interpretation, than as it is quoted by the Doctor. Though, I suppose, the Doctor 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 Ἰέδα is wanting in (b) *Grabe's* edition of the *Septuagint*, as there is nothing answerable to it in the *Hebrew*. The instances from *St. John's Gospel* will be distinctly considered by and by.

PERIZONIUS [§. 22.] is concerned to shew that πρώτος is not always superlative, but some times only positive. But I cannot perceive the force of his arguments. Because the *Hebrews* have used some of their Numerals in this manner, does it follow that the *Greeks* did? Is it any proof that the *English* say *Henry Seven*, be-

(a) *Silentio tandem praeterire nequeo quod 2 Sam. cap. 19. 43. legitur, Et vir Israelis respondit viro Judae, & dixit, mibi sunt decem partes in rege, ubi Lxx. de suo addere videntur, & πρώτοτος ἐγὼ ἢ συ, & etiam in Davide ego prae te: cur igitur me vilibendisti, & non fuit verbum meum primum seu prius (inter duos enim termo est) mibi a reducendum regem meum; quod Lxx. vertunt, & ἐκ ἐλογίσθη λόγος μου πρώτος μοι & Ἰέδα ἐπιστρέψαι τὸν βασιλία ἐμοί; ubi πρώτος & Ἰέδα manifeste ponitur pro πρότερος. *Petri Keuchen: annot. in loc.* (b) Καὶ ἐκ ἐλογίσθη ὁ λόγος μου πρώτος μοι & ἐπιστρέψαι τὸ βασιλέα ἐμοί.*

cause the *French* say *Louis Quatorze*? And then for the other argument, that *πρῶτος* is as it were a positive, because *πρώτιστος* is formed from it: The Case, I think is this; *πρὸ* has two or three superlatives: and if *Perizonius* would prove *πρῶτος* to be a positive, he must produce some example in which it is so used.

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 outrun Peter* [*ὁ ἦλθε πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον*] and came first to the Sepulchre. Which *Perizonius* would render thus: and came first, viz. 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, *τοῖν δυοῖν*, and came the first of the two. *Perizonius* does not deny, that *πρῶτος* is used, where two only are spoken of;

of; nay, he contends for it. But because it is generally denied (a), 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 (b) *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 (c) only the latter (of the two)’.

(a) Πρῶτος κὲ πρότερος διαφέρει πρῶτος ἢ ἐπὶ πολλῶν, πρότερος ἢ, ἐπὶ δύο. *Ammion. de Sim. c. 3. Diff.*

(b) Ταρκυνίς θυγάτηρ ἔσα ἔ πρώτης βασιλείας. *Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 234. v. 13. confer. p. 250. v. 42. ὅτι Ταρκυνίς ἔ πρότερον βασιλεύσαντος Ἑρωμάων ἀδελφῆ παῖς ἦν. & p. 253. 10. ἔ πρότερον βασιλείας Ταρκυνίς θυγάτηρ.*

(c) Ἐὰν ἢ κὲ στρατηγῶν, ὅτι μὴ ὑπατεύει κὲ ὑπατεύων ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος, ἀλλ’ ὕστερος ἀναγορεύθη. *Plutarch. de Anim. Tranq. p. 470. c.*

THIS text then will not help *Perizonius*. All that can be proved from it is, that *πρῶτος* is used very properly where two only are spoken of. If *πρώτη* 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 'em 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. ἐὶ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκεν. *If the world hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you.* Herwart (a) is much pleased with this example. IF

(a) Ille verò S. Joannis xv. 18. locus ad hoc institutum mirificè facit,—*Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit.*

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 latter 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 had hated them: But he bids them consider, that it 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 is not above* Mat. x. 24. *his master, nor the Servant above his Lord.* 25.
 ----*If they have called the master of the*
 K 4 *house*

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*; that *me* is used δεικτικῶς, 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 anothers feet.*

John xiii.
14

Πρῶτος 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.*

Mark vi.
21.
Αἱ εἰς xv.
4.

IT is likewise used in the singular number in the same sense. Καὶ ὅς ἐὰν θέλη ἐν ὑμῖν

ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἕξω ὑμῶν δέσλος. *And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.* There is another un-
Matth. xx. 27.

exceptionable 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 MAN *of the Island.* Grotius, in Act. xxvii.
his annotations upon this place, has exhibi-
 ted a Greek inscription, found in this very
 Island of *Melita*, a part of which inscrip-
 tion is thus : Λ. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜ.
 ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. L. C. *Kius,*
Roman Knight, chief of the Melitencs.

THE word is often so used in the *Septuagint* version : πρῶτος τῶν τριάκοντα, chief
 of the thirty *. Καὶ Ἀσάφ πρῶτος τῶν * 1 Chron.
 ἀδόντων †, and in many other other places. † Nehem.
 And in *Josephus* : Ἰῆτος ὁ Πίστα παῖς, ὁ xii. 45.
 τῆς τρίτης μερίδος πρῶτος, *Justus* the
 son of *Pistus*, chief or leader of the
 third faction in (a) *Tiberias*. I throw an
 example or two more from other (b) authors
 into the margin.

(a) *Joseph.* in vit. p. 907. v. 12. (b) Τὸν Ἰ ἢ παῖδα
 ἰόντος πρώτος παρ' ἐμοί. κ. λ. *Herodot.* lib. i. c. 115. ἦν ἢ ἀνὴρ αἰσός,
 καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν κ. λ. *ibid.* c. 173. Καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας βιοιωταρχῶν
 ἐν Λιύκτροις ἐνίκησε Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων [Θηβαίων
 legit Perizonius] καὶ τῷ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος ἐγένετο. *Ælian.* Var.
 Hist. vii. 14.

THERE is likewise in the *New Testament* a verb derived from $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\Theta$, according to this sense of it: $\text{ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς πρωτεύων}$, *that in all things he might have the preeminence*: or, that in all things he might be chief: a word very common also in other writers.

NOR do I see, why $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\Theta$ 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. *Ἀυτοκράτωρ* is sometimes an (*a*) adjective. It is also used substantively. No one will deny it. *Ἰπατ* is a word very near parallel with $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\Theta$, is often an adjective, at other times is used substantively, and denotes a Consul.

ICOME now to the other instance, *John*. i. 15. $\text{ἔγω ἦν ὃν εἶπον, ὃ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὃτι πρῶτός μου ἦν}$. *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,

(a) Λαβὼν τὴν αυτοκράτορι ἀρχὴν Dionys. Hal. lib. 7. p. 408. v. 1.

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 *πρῶτος* 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 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 judgment seat of Christ^a. [Ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Βήματος τῆς Χριστεῖ]^{a 2 Cor. v.} I said unto Peter before them all^{b 10.} [Ἐμπροσθεν πάντων]. Forgetting the^{b Gall. ii.} things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before^{c 14.} [Τὰ μὲ ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθάνομενος, τοῖς ᾗ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτενόμενος]. ἐνώπιον and ἔμπροσθεν are frequently used the one for the other^{d.} ^{d Matth. x. 33.} It is true, *John* came before Christ, that is, ^{Luke xii.} before his face. He went before him as an^{9.} officer

officer before a great man. But that is expressed here in *ὀπίσω μὲ ἐρχόμενος*.

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

HOWEVER, *πρωτός μὲ* must nevertheless be understood, as I render it. And I learn from *Beza* (a), 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*

* *John* iii. 30. *him**. Referring to what he had declared at first: *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness*, MAKE STRAIT THE WAY OF

† —i. 12. THE LORD †. 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

‡ *Isa.* xl. 3. *Malach.* iii. 1. iv. 5. prophesied of ||: And under which he always speaks of himself. And what in the 15th and 30th verses of this 1st. chap. of *John*, is *ὅτι πρωτός μὲ ἦν*, *he is my Prince*,

(a) Quamobrem etiam nonnulli *πρωτός μὲ* interpretantur *Princeps meus*: quod mihi penitus insolens videtur. *Bez.* in loc.

is in the 27th. *vers.* represented by an expression that denotes the vast superiority of Christ above him: *αυτός ἐστιν ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, ὅς ἐμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν· ἔγωγ' ἐκ ἐμοῦ ἄξιός ἵνα λύσω αὐτῷ τὴν ἱμάντα τῆς ὑποδήματος·* *He it is, 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 *πρωτός μου ἦν*, but *ἐστίν*: for these are all one and the same. I need go no farther for proof than these two verses: *ἔτις ἦν ὃν εἶπον* in the 15th, in the 30th is *ἔτις ἐστὶ παρελ' ἔγωγ' εἶπον*. So that *ἦν* and *ἐστὶ* signify the very same thing, and are used one for the other.

(a) Προσῆκε ἢ τῷ μὲν τὸ πρωτεύειν κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ δὲ δευτερεῖν τὸν ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, ὁδοποιεῖν τε καὶ προανέργειν πᾶν ὅπεσον ἐμποδῶν καὶ πρόσαντες. Decet enim hoc secundum naturam principatum habere, illud autem, satellitis vice PRINCIPI suo viam facere & praevio cursu, omnia impedimenta & praerupta tollere. *De Resurr.* p. 50. D. Paris. 1636.

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 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 (a) *πρὸ*, or *περὶ*, or whatever else the Grammarians like best. *Πρῶτος* in *John* i. 15, 30. is evidently exclusive, according to my way of rendring it; and the *μὲ* following is governed by an ellipsis of one of the last mentioned prepositions. This I take to be

(a) *Perizonius* says §. 24. Apud Graecos hanc vicem praestant praepositiones *πρὸ* & *περὶ*, quarum illa respondet *τῶ* ante, haec *τῶ* prae. *Πρὸ* is also used to denote preference and pre-eminence, both simply and in composition. Simply: *Καὶ ἔτι ποιμὴν ἀποδείκνυται διανοίας, τυφλὸν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσπαζομένης, ἢ πρὸ ἔΐναι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀποδεχομένης Philo* p. 193. D. vid. & p. 194. D. In composition: in *προεσῶς, προτιμῶ, &c.*

perfectly

perfectly agreeable to the rules of the Gram-
 marians. And thus, in one place Jesus tells
 his disciples, that he was chief *above* them :
 and in the other *John 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 $\omega\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \mu\epsilon$ is *my prince* ; yet he
 says (a), after a very careful examination,
 he is convinced, it expresses the vast excel-
 lence and superiority of Christ above *John*.
 I am not singular therefore in supposing, that
 this text does not express directly and sim-
 ply priority of time, but only virtually and
 consequentially, as it is implied and com-
 prehended in the superior dignity, of which
 it is a part.

THERE is another $\omega\rho\omega\tau\eta$ in the *New*
Testament, which has been understood by
 some in the same sense, in which these learn-
 ed men have taken the two former instances,
 though it is not alleged by them. *Now the*
first day of the feast of unleavened bread:

Matt.
 xxvi. 17.
Mark xvi.
 12.

(a) Caeterum hoc loco diligentius expenso, quam antea,—
 Declarat igitur praestantiam, sed Christo pecuniarem, & ipsi
 propriam : nempe quasi diceret Joannes. Qui me sequitur quasi
 magistrum praeeuntem 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*

This

This was the fourteenth day of the month : but it is urged here, that the 15th day was the first day of the feast of unleavened bread ; for *Josephus* says, that the 16th day of the month was (a) the second day of that feast. And the words of the Law agree here with :
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.

Deut.
 xxviii. 16.
 17.
 See *Exod*
 xii. 18.

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 (b) preceeds the night. What stress ought to be laid upon

(a) Τῇ ἡ δευτέρα τῶ ἀζύμων (ἡμέρα ἕκτη δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν τῆ δεκάτῃ) *Antiq.* 3. c. 10. p. 124. v. 20.

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

this case, I know not. I am satisfied we do not need it. The *Passover* 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 unleavened 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 (a) 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

(a) Ἐνστάσης ἢ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς, ἐν ἣ Ἰσραὴλικοῖς ἀζυμα προτίθεισθαι πάτριον. Πάσχα ἢ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται, ἐπὶ ἄρτους ἕσα τῆς ἐξ Ἰαγύπτου ἀπάριστος αὐτῶν γενομένης. *Antiq.* 17. c. 9. §. 3. p. 773. v. 25. vid. & p. 609. v. 31. 887. v. 10.

146 *The Credibility of the* Book II.

(a) the feast of unleavened bread eight 'days.' According to this method of computation, the 14th day was the first of unleavened bread. So that when these two feasts 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 (b) lays great stress upon a passage of *Athenaeus*, who quotes

(a) Ὅθεν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε ἐνδείας ἐορτὴν ἀγομεν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, τὴν τῷ ἀζύρων λεγομένην. *Antiq.* 2. c. 15. p. 88. *init.*

(b) Ille vero locus Aristotelis est singularis. Eum recenset Athenaeus Lib. xi. p. 505. πρὸς ᾧ αὐτῷ [Πλάτων] τῷ ἑβ' εὐρὲ τὸ εἶδ' τῷ λόγον ὁ Τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἰσορεῖ ἔ Σωτηρίαν. Ἀριστοτέλης ἢ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν ἔταις γράφει Ὅουκ' ἐν ἐδὲ ἐμμέτρως τὸς καλεσμένους Σάφρον μίμους μὴ Φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους ἢ μιμήσεις, ἢ τὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ Τῆς τὸς πρώτους γραφέντας τῷ Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων ἀντικρως φάσκων ὁ πολυμαθὲς αὐτῷ Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτανος διαλόγους γεγραμένους τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον. Haec quidem Athenaeus: Ubi sane verba i la Aristotelis τὸς πρώτους γραφέντας τῷ Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων. Athenaeus hifce interpretatur [τὸς πρώτους] πρὸς Πλάτανος διαλόγους, 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 Alexandri Dialogos prius scriptos, quam Plato suos Socraticos conscripisset, vocat τὸς πρώτους γραφέντας τῷ Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων, sic Divus Lucas, &c. *Herwaert.* ubi supra. pag. 197.

Aristotle,

Aristotle, saying (as *Herwaert* understands the words) that *Alexamenus's* dialogues were wrote before the *Socratic* dialogues [that is the dialogues in which *Plato* introduces *Socrates*] expressly affirming, says *Athenaeus*, that *Alexamenus* wrote 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 (a) the first of the kind. From whence *Athenaeus* infers very justly that *Aristotle* says expressly, that *Alexamenus* wrote dialogues before *Plato*.

I THINK likewise, that *Athenaeus* never dreamt of that meaning of *Aristotle's* words which *Herwaert* affixes to them. Interpret

(a) So *Athenaeus* says expressly: τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἑδωκένων λόγων.

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

THAT I understand *Aristotle* aright, 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 *Alexamenus*
 ‘ the *Teian* was, as does also *Phavorinus* in
 ‘ his commentaries (a).

IT was necessary to dwell thus long upon this instance, because it is the only instance from a profane author which Monsieur (b) *Basnage*, who follows *Herwaert*, has quoted in favour of this interpretation of *St. Luke*.

WE return now to *Perizonius*, and will take next his instances [§. 25.] ἐν πρῶτῳ Ἡρακλέως ἐρετῇ ὑπόσι Γαλυθιάδι πρῶτῳ and *Luc.* xi. 38. ὁ δὲ φαρισαῖος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι ἐπρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ ἀρίστου. The least that can be said of these is, that they avail nothing at all, because they are not parallel with our text. If *St. Luke's* words had

(a) Διαλόγους τῶν φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἐλεάτην. Ἀριστοτέλης ἢ ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλιξάμηνον Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον, ὡς ἐν Φαβαρέθου ἐν ἀπομνημονεύμασι. *Diog. Laert.* Lib. iii. Segm. 48. (b) *Ann. Polit. Eccles. ant.* Dom. 5. num. 14.

been, *πρῶτη* or *πρῶτον ἐγένετο πρὸ ἡγ*, I suppose we should have been all agreed, and there would have been no occasion to employ a good part of a dissertation to prove that he said, This taxing was *before Cyrenius's* time. If there had been divers unexceptionable instances produced, in which *πρῶτος* followed by a genitive [without the *πρὸ*] had been used for priority of time, then these here alleged would have been very good proofs of this way of accounting for the construction by way of Ellipsis, and to suppose that *πρὸ* ought to be understood where it is not expressed. But till that is done, they are of no use.

BUT this is not all : For indeed *Perizonius* could not have shewn any thing more against himself than these examples. For if it be the custom of the *Greek* authors to subjoin *πρὸ* after *πρῶτος*, when they intend to say one thing is *before* another, it is an argument that *πρῶτος* alone has not this power. Nay, *St. Luke*, it seems, subjoins *πρὸ* to the adverb *πρῶτον*. I suppose *πρὸ* is never subjoined to *πρότερος*, or *πρότερον*. But these instances shew, it is usual to subjoin it to *πρῶτος*, when priority before another thing is intended to be expressed.

IF I should assert that *communicare te* was good *Latin*, and equivalent to *communicare tecum*, would it avail any thing to produce instances of *communicavit mecum*, *cum Caio*, and the like? Would these prove that *cum* is needless to be added, and that it is included in the Verb? Would not all such examples be against me? This is *Perizonius's* argument.

BUT then it must be allowed, that *Perizonius's* example from *Aristophanes*, and another from (a) *Alexander Aphrodisius*, alleged by others in this cause, prove that *πρῶτον* the adverb is used, 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, I think, that the passage [§. 23.] from the *Maccabees*, ἐσχάτη τῶν υἱῶν ἢ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε, *last of all, after the sons, the mother died*, is a parallel instance. But whether such another example can be found in any good *Greek* writer, I very much question. And the *πρῶτός μοι τῆ Ἰδέα*, of 2 *Sam.* xix. 43. but

(a) Ἡ πληγὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀστραπῆς τὴν βροντὴν ἀποτελεῖ, ἢ ἄμα. *Ictus prius tonitru perficit quam fulgur, aut simul. Alexand. Aphrod. Problema. Lib. i.*

not found in all copies of the Seventy, is likewise an equivalent phrase to that in St. *Luke*, and to be understood in the same sense these learned men put upon St. *Luke's* words. If I mistake not, the whole stress of the argument for this interpretation relies upon these three particulars; provided I understand aright, *John* i. 15. 30. xv. 18, the *πρῶτη τῶν ἀζύμων*, and the passage from *Athenaeus*: which, whether I do or not, is submitted to the judgment of the reader.

AND it ought to be considered, whether it be reasonable to affix to *πρῶτη* in Saint *Luke* a meaning so very unusual, if not unprecedented in any good writer, especially considering the many ways of expressing the sense which these learned men contend for, such as *πρῶτον*, *πρῶτα*, *πρῶτερον*, *πρῶτον*, *πρῶτον* *πρῶτον*, *πρῶτη*, *πρῶτη*, &c.

LASTLY, a passage of *Herodotus* (a) does very strongly incline me to think, that it is not very agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* Language to use the superlative adjective *πρῶτος* to express the priority of one thing before another either in a positive way, or instead of *πρότερος*. He says: *Οἱ δὲ Ἀργύπ-*

(a) Lib. 2. *init.*

τοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ ψαμμήτιχος σφέων βασιλεύσαι,
 ἐνόμιζον ἐωυτὰς πρῶτας γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 πων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας, ἠθέλησε
 εἰδέναι οἱ τινες γενόατο πρῶτοι, ἄπὸ τέττινομι-
 ζου Φρύγας πρῶτας γενέσθαι ἐωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ
 ἄλλωι, ἐωυτῆς· ‘The *Egyptians*, before the
 ‘ reign of *Psammetichus*, thought them-
 ‘ selves the first [or most ancient] of all peo-
 ‘ ple. 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’. If πρῶτος
 could be used in the sense contended for,
 why did not *Herodotus*, who had here used
 it twice, use it once more? Why did he take
 πρῶτες in the later branch of the Sen-
 tence, if πρῶτος would have been as proper?
 I do not think he did it for the sake of the
 sound, but the sense.

I HAVE now set before the reader the
 arguments for this interpretation, and have
 offered my own remarks upon them. I
 must conclude, as I began, with saying, that
 I am in suspense whether this meaning can
 be put upon St. *Luke's* words.

7. THERE is another Solution which was first proposed by (a) *Beza*, and has been embraced by many learned (b) men. The 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 (c)*. The Protestants generally render them : *This first Enrolment was made, Cyrenius being President of Syria : or, when Cyrenius was President of Syria (d)*.

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 Pro-

(a) *Bez.* in loc. Vid. & *Huet.* Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. Cap. x. §. 3.

(b) *Grot.* & *Hamm.* in loc. *Scaliger.* animad. in Chron. *Euseb.* ad A. 2016. *Casaub.* in Bar. Exerc. i. Numb. 31. 32. *Usser.* Ann. ant. aer. Chr. v. *Norif.* Cenot. Pis. Dissert. ii. p. 320. — 322. *Pagi.* app. ad ann. Bar. Num. 126.—129.

(c) Haec descriptio prima facta est a praefide Syriae, Cyrino.

(d) Haec descriptio prima facta est praefidente Syriae Cyrenio. *Bez.* Haec descriptio prima facta est cum praefisset Syriae Cyrenius, *Casaub.* ubi supra. Numb. 31.

vince was in peace, as *Syria* was at this time (a).

THEY suppose, that when *Augustus* had issued his decree that all the world, that is, 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 Censur 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 Prefect of *Syria*, may be called so in a loose and general sense: and 2dly, It must be shewn, that it is not unlikely, that *Cyrenius* might be sent upon this affair at this time with extraordinary power.

(a) Vid. *Noris. Cenotaph. Pis. Diff. ii. cap. 16. §. 10.*

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* (a), though *Saturninus* was at that time President, according to his own account, and *Volumnius* Procurator only, *i. e.* 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 honourable, 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 (b).

SUCH

(a) Ἐκείνος ἃ διελέγτο περὶ τάτων τοῖς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόσιν Σατυρνίνω τε καὶ Ουολουμνίῳ—περὶ ᾧ ἐπί τε Σατυρνίνῳ καὶ Ουολουμνίῳ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστάτων. *Antiq. L. 16. cap. 9. pag. 734. v. 25. and 37. Πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατυρνίνῳ ἐλθόντα καὶ Ουολύμνιον τῆς τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμόνας.* *ib. cap. 10. p. 741. v. 1.*

(b) *Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum agendo Galliarum Censui tum intentum. Tacit. Ann. Lib. 1. cap. 31. ad A. U. 767. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, censu, accipienti,*

SUCH an one was this *Cyrenius*. He was not descended from a noble, or *Patri-cian* family: But by his early services he had obtained the honour of the Consulship, and passed through that and other offices with great reputation: obtained a memorable victory over the *Homonadenses*, for which he received the honour of triumphal ornaments: Was afterwards Governour to *Caius Caesar*, *Augustus's* eldest adopted son: Married *Aemilia Lepida*, who had been designed by *Augustus* for the wife of *Lucius*, his second adopted Son; and at last had the honour of a publick funeral by a Decree of the Senate in the reign of *Tiberius* (a).

THIS quick dispatch he made of affairs of importance rendered him a very fit man

accipienti, excessisse Augustum, adfertur. Id. cap. 33. vid. & L. ii. cap. 6.

(a) Sub idem tempus, ut mors *Salpicii Quirinii* publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit (*Tiberius*) a Senatu. Nihil ad veterem & patritiam *Sulpiciorum* familiam *Quirinius* pertinuit, ortus apud municipium *Lanuvium*: Sed impiger militiae, & acribus ministeriis consulatum sub *Divo Augusto*; mox expugnatu per *Ciliciam Homonadensium Castellis* insignia triumphu adeptus; datusque *Rektor* *Caio Caesari Armeniam* obtinenti, *Tiberium* quoque *Rhodi agentem* coluerat. *Tacit. An. L. iii. c. 48. Quirinio—destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari, ac Divo Augusto nurus, dederetur. Id. ibid. c. 23. De hac re vid. etiam Sueton. Tib. c. 49. & de victoria in Homonadenses parta Strabon. Lib. xii. pag. 854.*

for such an affair as this Census in *Syria* and *Judea*.

M O R E O V E R there is nothing in the history which we have of *Cyrenius*, which is any way inconsistent with his coming into *Judea* about this time: but divers particulars, 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 *Homonadeses* in the year U. C. 747. or, possibly, in 746. It was a piece of prudent advice which *Maecenas* gave (a) *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 publick office in the City, and receiving another in the Provinces (b).

As *Cyrenius's* expedition against the fore-mentioned people was his first action after his Consulship, he might very probably be em-

(a) *Dio*. Lib. 52. pag. 479. fin.

(b) *Μηδία* πρό

πάντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρῆαι κληρῶσθαι Id. L. 53. p. 505.

C. Auctor & aliarum rerum fuit. In queis—ne magistratus deposito statim in provincias mitterentur. *Sueton*. Aug. c. 36.

ployed in it, A. U. 747. Archbishop *Usher* (a) thinks he was then Proconsul of *Cilicia*. Cardinal *Noris* thinks it more likely that he was not then the ordinary Governour of *Cilicia*, but that he was sent upon this expedition with extraordinary (b) power. However the learned men that embrace this solution suppose, that having finished this war, he might be sent into *Syria* and *Judea* 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 Rector Caio Caesari 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

(a) Vid. *Ann. A.* 5. ante aer. Chr.
Piff. Diff. ii. pag. 319.

(b) *Cenotaph.*

Lollius (a), 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 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 (b).

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 sup-

(a) *Velleius*, L. ii. c. 102. *Suet.* *Tib.* c. 13. *Norif.* ubi supra.

p. 317.

(b) *Joseph.* *Ant. L.* 17. c. 9. p. 775.

v. 24.

position, 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* government or presidentship. I do not at all contest the validity of their argument, that the title of ἡγεμῶν 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*, ἡγεμονεύωντος, &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

this Solution. He takes them thus. *This Description was the first under Cyrenius president of Syria.* I put his words in the margin (a), that the 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 assessement of Cyrenius Governour of Syria.* The natural order of the words is this: Ἄυτη ἐγένετο ἡ πρώτη ἀπογραφή ἢ γ. Τ. Σ. Κ. There are innumerable instances of a construction parallel with this here of Ἄυτη ἡ ἀπογραφή πρώτη. *Matth.* xxii. 38. Ἄυτη ἐστὶν πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή. *This is the first and great commandment.* *Mark* xii. 30. Ἄυτη πρώτη ἐντολή. *Numb.* ii. 32. Ἄυτη ἐπίσχεψις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. *These are those which were numbred of the children*

(a) Ideo S. Lucas non contentus est dicere Ἄυτη ἀπογραφή ἐγένετο ἢ γερμηνεύοντο τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναί. Sed quum duas ἀπογραφὰς sciret fuisse, addidit, πρώτη: ἄυτη ἡ ἀπογραφή ἐγένετο πρώτη. Certò, si est πρώτη, ergo quaedam fuit δευτέρα; & sane

dren of Israel. I put an instance or two more into (a) the margin. It is eafie for the reader to obferve, thefe instances are parallel with the words before us: the particle ἢ or αἰ follows Ἐγένετο or Ἐγένετο, and preceeds the Subftantive.

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

THE diftant fituation of ἐγένετο in Saint *Luke* from αὐτῆ need not create any fcruple. In fome examples the verb fubftantive is quite wanting, as in *Mark* xii. 30. *Numb.* i. 44. Sometimes ἐστίν is expreffed, and follows immediately after αὐτῆ. But it is found in all kinds of pofitions in paffages parallel with this of St. *Luke*. I give one inftance which answers the conftruction of this verfe in every refpect, *Rev.* xix. 9. Ἔλοι εἰς λόγῳ ἀληθινῶν εἰς τῷ Θεῷ. *These are the true fayings of the word of God.* And another inftance

τῆς δευτέρας meminit idem. *Act.* v. 37. Atque ita diftinguendum effe nemo dubitare potest. *Scaliger.* animadv. in *Chron. Enfeb.* ad. A. 2016.

(a) *Numb.* i. 44. Ἐγένετο ἡ ἐπίσκεψις ἣν ἐπεσκέψατο Μωϋσῆς. cap. iii. 1. Καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ γενέσεις Ἀαρῶν v. 2. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρῶν vid. cap. iv. 32. 38. *Deut.* vi. 1. & alibi.

from

from *Plato* (a) of ἐγένετο it self, in a situation exactly parallel with this in *St. Luke*.

Ἡ δὲ ἡ τελευταία, ᾧ Ἐχέκρατες, ἰδὲ ἐπίτερον ἡμῶν ἐγένετο, ἀνδρὸς, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν ἂν, πῶν τότε ᾧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστου, καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου καὶ δικαιοτάτου. ‘This, O *Echecrates*, ‘was the end of our friend; and as we say, ‘the best, wisest and justest man that ever ‘we knew’.

IF it be objected, that it must be *this census*; or this *first census* was made, and not this was the first census; because there is no noun substantive preceding αὕτη, by which it can be governed: I answer, that as I interpret the words, αὕτη is governed by the ἀπογεγραφή that follows, or by an ἀπογεγραφή understood. And this is the case of many other (b) passages, which yet must be construed, as I do *St. Luke*.

LET us proceed. When *St. Luke* calls *Cyrenius Governour of Syria*, I understand the words in the strict and proper sense. Ἡγεμονεύουσι τῆς Κυρίας is not the genitive case absolute, or governed by ἐπὶ understood, and to be construed, *Cyrenius being gover-*

(a) *Phaedo*. Fin.

(b) *Ezek.* 48. v. 1. Καὶ

ταῦτα τὰ ὄρια τῆς φυλῶν. v. 29. 30. Ἐκταυτῆς ἡ γῆ, ἣν βαλεῖτε ἐν κλήρωταῖς φυλαῖς τῆς Ἰσραὴλ: καὶ ἔσται οἱ διαμερισμοὶ αὐτῶν---Καὶ αὗται αἱ ἐκβεβηκαὶ τῆς πόλεως.

nour of Syria, or when Cyrenius was governor of Syria; but it is governed by *Διοεσφής*. 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. As we say, *Antony the Triumvir*, or *Cato the Censor*, to distinguish them from others of the same names. *Ἡγεμόνιος*, &c. is with me the same thing, as if *St. Luke* had said, *ἡγεμόν* τῆς Συρίας Κυρήνις.

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 (a) *Dio*, says: ‘We expect that our Praetors and
‘ Consuls should follow the laws of reason
‘ and justice.’ *Τὲς μὲν στρατηγούντας τοῖς θ’*
ὑπατεύουσιν πάντω ἀπ’ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανόιας
πειρῆν ἀξιάσομεν. The same same historian (b) says: ‘The three brothers, the *Antonies*,
‘ had all of them some office in the City at
‘ one and the same time: *Marcus* was Con-
‘ sul, *Lucius* Tribune, and *Caius* Praetor’.
Τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι ἔτοι ὄντες ἀρ-
χὰς ἅμα πάντες ἔχον. ‘Ο μὲν γὰρ Μάρκος ὑπα-
τεύων: ὁ δὲ Λέκιος δημαρχῶν ὁ δὲ Γάιος στρατηγῶν.

(a) Lib. 43. p. 250. D.
p. 274. C.

(b) Lib. 45.

THESE participles seem to me to be sometimes substantives, or at least, to be (a) used substantively. I believe all are sensible that ἀρχων is so used. Some of those other titles of offices or dignities expressed by participles seem to me very near, or altogether parallel with it.

BUT let ἡγεμνέουσι be a mere participle; only then it will be said: If it be governed by ἀπογγραφή, it ought to have been ἡγεμνέουσαν. To this I answer, that undoubtedly ἡγεμνέουσαν would have been very proper, but so is also ἡγεμνέουσι. It is no uncommon thing for Greek authors to use the Present tense for the first Aorist. I give an instance or two that fully justify my interpretation. Josephus says: ‘And it is certain that Varus was of a Royal Family, since he was a descendent of Soemus who was Tetrarch of a country near mount (b) Libanus’. Καὶ ἦν ὁμολογεμένως ὁ Ὀυαζ βασιλικῆ γένους, ἕγγονος Σόεμου ἑπερὶ Λίβανου τετραρχεῖντος. Dionysius says, that the Latins were so called from Latinus a King of (c)

(a) Δεκμῖνος Κᾶτ ὁ τῆς ἡσθ ἐπιτροπέων. Dio. lib. 62. p. 701. A. Κεσίω Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονίοντι. Joseph. p. 907. v. 12. Ἄυτὸς ὃ ὑπὸ τῆς χάρας ἡγεμονίοντος διθείς. id. p. 945. v. 35. (b) P. 909. v. 20. (c) Antiq. R. lib. 2. p. 76. v. 24.

that country. Ὀνομα ᾧ κρινὸν οἱ σύμπαντες ἔπει Λατῖνοι ἐκλήθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς δυναστεύουτος τῶν τόπων Λατίνε. If any should say, it is improper to understand this participle, as I do, because *Cyrenius* was not Governour of *Syria* till after the time in which *St. Luke's* survey was made ; I add one example more, which must fully obviate this exception. *Herodian* says, ' That to *Marcus* the Emperour ' were born several daughters (a) and two sons. Τῷ βασιλεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείυες, ἄρρετες δὲ δύο. Yet several of those children were born to him before he was Emperour. This instance shews plainly, that these participles do not always import only the time when men are in office.

I HOPE this is sufficient to shew, that ἡγεμονεύουτος is the same as ἡγεμόνος, at least that it is governed by ἀπογραφή. The supposing ἡγεμονεύουτος T. S. K. to be the Genitive absolute, or governed by ἐπὶ, as it has given occasion for the objection we are now upon, so it seems to have led some learned men into interpretations of this text unsupported by the use of good *Greek* writers.

I APPREHEND I have now justified my interpretation of every part of this verse :

(a) Lib. i. *init.*

This was the first Assessement (or survey) of Cyrenius the Governour of Syria, or, of Cyrenius 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 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, (a) they unavoidably run into the same meaning. *Ba-*

(a) Denique dicitur haec descriptio *πρώτη*, ut distinguatur ab aliâ, de qua *Act. v. 37.* 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 a *S. Luca* dicitur, quod idem postea *Quirinius* A. U. 760. praefes ordinarius in *Syriam* veniens, censum iterum in *Judaea* egit, eadem tum primum in provinciae formam redactâ. *Norif. Genotaph. Pis. p. 322.*

ronius (a) likewise understands the words much after the same manner, only he falsely supposed that *Cyrenius* was twice president of *Syria*.

SOME time after I had been persuaded 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 ἡγεμονεύωντος.---But I have since met with a more explicate authority for my way of translating Ἀπὸ γενεῆς. The title of *Origen's* xi. 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 (c) Homily are words to the same effect.

(a) 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. Num. 88.

(b) Epist. lib. i. ep. 43. (c) Haec fuit descriptio prima, a praeside Syriae Cyrino.

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 assessment 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 pretence 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,

Solution, to make it appear probable, that *Cyrenius* performed the Census of which *St. Luke* speaks. But I now 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, 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 joined with him, if *Saturninus* was then president. This has given *Perizonius* (a) 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,

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

by virtue of the extraordinary power with which he was sent. But if any are inclined to think, that *Saturninus* was joined in the Commission with him, this would be no disparagement to *Saturninus*. To give him authority in a neighbouring kingdom 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 country. 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 Census, which *St. Luke* says was made in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's nativity (a).

(a) Multis de causis displicet nobis gemina hæc *Cyrenii* descriptio. Bis ad eandem rem *Quirinius* in *Syriam* fuisse missum, fidem vix imperat, nec Romanos ad muros quadrat. *Basaage. Ann. Pol. Ecc. ant. Dom. 5. num. 14.*

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* 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 country in different Posts or with different degrees of authority. *Casaubon* (a) has produced instances enough to silence this objection. And *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. (b), and again, A. U. 738. (c). I W I L L

(a) Neque vero nullum est exemplum illorum, qui in eisdem provinciis cum eodem, vel diverso munere sunt missi. C. Cassius profectus in Syriam Quæstor 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 Atiam administravit, bis ex Italia eodem, est profectus, *Casaub.* in *Baron.* Exerc. 1. num. 32.

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

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

I WILL give an undeniable example of an officer's being twice in the same province with different degrees of power. When *Piso* prefect of *Syria* had been removed by *Germanicus*, and after that *Germanicus* himself 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* (a) 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 what I aim at. This Consultation (b) was held A. U. 772. A. D. 19. And it appears from *Josephus* (c), and *Tacitus* (d), that long after this, in the (e) reign of *Claudius*, this same *Vibius Marsus* came to be actually president of

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

(b) M. Silano & L. Norbano Coss.

(c) Καὶ μετ' ἑποῦ, Πετρώνιον μὲν Μάρσῳ διεδίξατο, ἐν δὲ οὐκ ἔπειτα Σουλῶν. *Ant. 19. cap. vi. §. 4.*

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

(e) About A. U. 795, vid. *Pagi; Crit. in Bar. A. D. 42. n. viii.*

Syria.

Syria. There is therefore no absurdity at all in supposing that *Cyrenius* was sent by *Augustus* with extraordinary power at the 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 Censur 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 Censur.

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 this Censur.

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 of some of his Services; yet *Florus* (a) has taken notice of a confi-

(a) Marmaridas atque Garamantas Curinio subigendo dedit (*Augustus*). Potuit & ille redire Marmaricus; sed modestior in aestimanda victoria fuit. *Florus* lib. iv. cap. 12.

derable action of his, omitted by all the rest: If indeed he means our *Cyrenius*.

3. BUT it will be said: It may be certainly concluded from the account which *Josephus* has given of the Census made (A) 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 O W N, 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 expresse 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,

(A) See the account above p. 103.

had it not been for a most remarkable disturbance in *Herod's* court and family, with which it had a connexion.

AND any one may perceive, that it is then touched upon very slightly. Is it not strange that *Josephus* should not name the officer who 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* country 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 [*ἐν τῷ 1818*] 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 (a) 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* (b), occasio-
 nally 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 pro-
 vince. This might have been reasonably ex-
 pected in a history of the *War*, when this as-
 sessment made by *Cyrenius* and the princi-
 ple broached at that time were main foun-
 dations of it.

IF it be said, that *Josephus* passed over
 this affair slightly in *the War*, because he in-
 tended to write his *Antiquities* and mention
 it more particularly then: I answer, this is
 said without ground. And I might as well

(a) *De Bell.* Lib. ii. cap. 8. §. 1.
 §. 8. & l. 7. c. 8. §. 1.

(b) *Ibid.* c. 17.

say, that *Josephus* omitted in his *Antiquities* the particular account of *Cyrenius'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 (a) *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 (b) *Monfieur Le Clerc*.

(a) Ὁ δὲ ἐπολιὼν ἢ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ ἐνίκησεν, πολλῶν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντων: ἢ γίνεται τὸ Γεσίω πταίσμα, συμφερόντι Ἑπαίδος ἡμῶν ἔθους: ἐπήρθησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆτοι μᾶλλον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαπήσαντες, ἢ πηκόντες τῆς Ἰαρωαίας εἰς τὸ ἐπιπείσασθαι. in Vit. §. 6.

(b) Hist. Ecc. A. D. 66. n. 12.

THERE is another omission appears to me very remarkable. *Pheroras*, *Herod's* youngest brother, is often mentioned by *Josephus*. He has particularly informed us, that when *Augustus* was in *Syria*, he gave this *Pheroras* a Tetrarchy (a) 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 (b) 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* (c) *Josephus* says *Pheroras* went to his Tetrarchy; in his *War* (d) 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 (e) had

(a) Antiq. 15. c. 10. §. 3,
de B. J. l. i. c. 29.
τετραρχίας. p. 756. v. 37.

(b) Ibid. l. 17. c. 2.
(c) Φεράραν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
(d) Φεράρας ἢ ὑπεραρχήσειπ

εἰς τὴν Περαίαν p. 1031. v. 41. vid. & p. 102. v. 20. (e) Τῷ
μὲ ἀδελφῷ Φεράρα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἠτήσατο τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς
ἀποπέμψας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσδοτον ἐκατὸν ταλάντων κ. λ. Antiq.
15. c. 10. §. 3.

been settled upon him by *Herod*. 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 perswaded
‘ not a few of the *Jews* not to enrol
‘ themselves, as I have said (a) above, when
‘ *Cyrenius* the Cenfor was (b) sent into
‘ *Judea*’.

I OWN it, 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

(a) Vid. de Bell. l. 2. c. 17. §. 8. (b) Καλέται
ἢ τὸ μὲν φέρον Μασάδα, προειρήκει ἢ ἴ κατακυριεύσαν αὐτὸ
σικαριῶν δυνατὸς ἀνὴρ Ἐλεάζαρ, ἀπόγονος Ἰούδα Ἰπείσαντος
Ἰουδαίων ἐν ὀλίγους, εἰς πρότερον δεδηλάκαμεν, μὴ ποιῆσαι τὰς
ἀπογραφὰς, ὅτε Κυρήνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμφθη δι
B. l. 7. c. 8. §. 1.

us. *Gamaliel* says: *After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him.* Acts v. 37.

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 *jerwish* writer of those times, in whom we have the history of that country: 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 historians 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. B U T 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* (a).

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 chapters (b) 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 (c) acknowledged. Possibly therefore *Tertullian* having, or supposing he had reason to think, that this census was made, when *Saturninus* was president of *Syria*, he

(a) Sed & census constat actus sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum. Apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent. *Contr. Marc.* lib. 4. c. 19.

(b) Accedit his Cerdon quidam.—Solum evangelium Lucae, nec tamen totum recipit. Post hunc discipulus ipsius emerfit Marcion.—Haereticum Cerdonis approbare conatus est. *de praescrip. Haeret.* cap. 51.

(c) Quam & argumentationibus earum, & scripturis quibus utuntur, provocavimus ex abundantia. *de carne Christi*, cap. 25.

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 (a) improperly. I thought it not fit to deprive the reader of this answer of this 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 very gross blunders in history, of

(a) *Tertullianus cum adversus Marcio. scribit, Sed & constat, — ad majorem fidem magistratum ordinarium potius nominat, quam extraordinarium. Ait autem per Sen ium Saturninum dicit & Tertullianice, hoc est, improprie pro ἐν Σωτῆς Σωτῆρις, vel ἡγεμονίῳ τῷ Σ. Κ. Casaub. Exercit. 1. n. 31.*

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 upon *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 that 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

war (a) in 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, that 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 all the Roman provinces for a couple of Centuries.

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

(a) Tum intellecto Barbarorum irrisu, qui peterent quod eripuerant, consuluit inter primores civitatis Nero, *bellum anceps an pax inhonesta placeret*, nec dubitatum de BELLO—scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque ac procuratoribus, —*jussis Corbulonis obsequi*. Tacit. Ann. 15. c. 25.

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 chronicles, that it was originally the common opinion of Christians, that *Cyrenius* was sent into *Judea* on purpose to make this Censur: ‘ In the thirty third year of *Herod*, *Cyrenius* being sent by the Roman Senate made a Censur (or enrolments) of goods and persons (a)’. 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 *Emp. rour*, 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 confess, 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 Censur made after *Archelaus*’s banishment was the same with that made before

(a) Chron. pag. 76.

Herod died. But *Eusebius* was resolved to have *St. Luke's* history confirmed by the express 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 Kingdome 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 President 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 Kingdome, 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 enrol the subjects of *Herod*, and value their estates, that for the future, tribute might be paid according to this Census. And this does admirably suit the nature

ture

ture 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.

IF any are still of another opinion, I wish they would support *Herwaert's* interpretation by at least two or three unexceptionable examples from some good *Greek* writers.

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.





C H A P. II.

Two objections taken from the
Silence of *Josephus*.

§. I. *He has not mentioned the slaughter of the Infants of Bethlehem : §. II. Nor of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their Sacrifices.*

§. I. **S**T. Matthew says : *Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men **.

* *Mat. ii.*
16.

IT is objected to this, That if there had been so cruel a slaughter made by *Herod*, of innocent infants at *Bethlehem*, a place not far from *Jerusalem*, it is very unlikely it should

should have been omitted by *Josephus*, who has writ the History of the *Jews*, and particularly of the reign of *Herod*.

To this I answer: 1. This appears to me to be at the best an objection of a very extraordinary nature. The most exact and diligent historians have omitted many events that happened within the compass of those times of which they undertook to write. Nor does the reputation which any one historian has for exactness invalidate the credit of another, who seems to be well informed of the facts he relates. *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and *Dio Cassius*, have all three written of the reign of *Tiberius*: but it is no objection against the veracity of any one of them, that he has mentioned some things of that Emperor, which have been omitted by the rest. No more is it any objection against *St. Matthew*, that he has related an action of *Herod*, not mentioned by *Josephus*.

2. THERE have been as great cruelties committed by many Eastern Princes: nor was there ever any man more likely than *Herod* to give the orders here mentioned by *St. Matthew*. When he had gained possession of *Jerusalem* (a) by the Assistance of

(a) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 14. c. 16. §. ult.

the *Romans*, and his rival *Antigonus* was taken prisoner, and in the hands of the *Roman* General *Sofius*, and by him carried to *Mark Antony*, *Herod* by a large sum of Money perswaded *Antony* to put him to death. *Herod's* great fear was, that *Antigonus* might some time revive his pretensions, as being of the *Asmonean* family. *Aristobulus*, brother of his wife *Mariamne*, was murdered (a) by his directions at eighteen years of age, because the people at *Jerusalem* had shewn some affection for his person. In the seventh year of his reign from the death of *Antigonus*, he put to death *Hyrchanus*, grandfather of *Mariamne*, then eighty years of age, and who had saved *Herod's* life when he was prosecuted by the *Sanhedrim*; a man, who in his youth, and in the vigour of his life, and in all the revolutions of his fortune, had shewn a mild and peaceable disposition (b). His beloved wife, the beautiful and virtuous *Mariamne* had a public execution (c), and her mother *Alexandra* followed soon after (d). *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, his two Sons by *Mariamne*, were strangled in prison by his order (e)

(a) *Antiq.* xv. c. 3. §. 3. *de Bell. L. 1. c. 22.* (b) *Antiq.* 15. c. vi. *de Bell.* ubi supra. (c) *Antiq.* 15. c. vii. §. 5. 6. (d) *Ibid.* §. 8. (e) *Antiq.* 16. c. xi. §. 6. *de Bell. L. 1. c. 27.*

upon groundless suspicions, as it seems, when they were at man's estate, were married and had children. I say nothing of the death of his eldest Son *Antipater*. If *Josephus's* character of him be just, he was a miscreant, and deserved the worst death that could be inflicted.

IN his last sickness, a little before he died, he sent orders throughout *Judea*, requiring the presence of all the chief men of the nation at *Jericho*. His orders were obeyed, for they were enforced with no less penalty than that of death. When these men were come to *Jericho*, he had them all shut up in the *Circus*, and calling for his Sister *Salome* and her husband *Alexas*, he told them: My life is now but short, I know the dispositions of the *jewish* people, and nothing will please them more than my death. 'You
' have (a) these men in your custody, as soon
' as the breath is out of my body, and be-
' fore my death can be known, do you let
' in the soldiers upon them and kill them. All
' *Judea* and every family will then, though
' unwillingly, mourn at my death'. Nay, *Jo-*

(a) Τὸς ἢ τὸς φραγεμένους ἄνδρας, ἐπειδὴν ἐκπνεύσω, τάχις α κτείνετε περισήσαντες τὸς στρατιώτας, ἵνα πᾶσα Ἰουδαία κὶ πᾶς οἶκος, ἄκων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δακρύσῃ. de Bell. i. c. 33. §. 6.

sephus says, ‘ That with tears in his eyes he
 ‘ conjured them by their love to him and their
 ‘ fidelity to God, not to fail of doing him
 ‘ this honour : And they promised (a) they
 ‘ would not fail.

THESE orders indeed were not executed.
 But, as a modern historian of very good sense
 observes, ‘ The history of this his most wick-
 ‘ ed design takes off all objection against the
 ‘ truth of murdering the innocents, which
 ‘ may be made from the incredibility of so
 ‘ barbarous and horrid an act. For this
 ‘ thoroughly shews, that there can nothing
 ‘ be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and hor-
 ‘ rid, which this man was not capable of
 ‘ doing (b)’.
 O

IT may also be proper to observe, that al-
 most all the executions I have instanced in
 were Sacrifices to his state jealousy, and love
 of empire. And the slaughter which *St. Mat-
 thew* has given an account of, was made up
 on the occasion of tidings brought to *Je-
 rusalem*, of the birth of one who was *King
 of the Jews*.

(a) Καὶ ὁ μὲ μετὰ δακρῶν ποτιώμενος, καὶ τῶ συγγενῆς τὴν
 ἐνόειαν καὶ πίσιν τῶ Θεῷ προσκαλῶν, ἐπέσκηπτε μὴ ἡτιμῶσθε
 ἀξιῶν καὶ κείνοι ὁμολόγησαν ἔ παραβίσασι. *Antiq.* 17. c. vi. §. 5.

(b) *Prideaux Conn.* Part. ii. p. 655.

3. *JOSEPHUS* has given us an account of a terrible execution made in *Herod's* court, and at *Jerusalem* about this very time, upon the occasion of some predictions that God was about to take away the kingdom from *Herod*. I think it was made at the very same time with the slaughter of the infants. *St. Matthew* relates only what was done at *Bethlehem*, *Josephus*, what happened at *Jerusalem*. The Silence of *Josephus* about the former, and of *St. Matthew* about the later, may be in a good measure accounted for by these two or three considerations.

(1.) *St. Matthew* was not concerned to relate state matters, but barely to give the history of Jesus Christ, and therefore all that he was obliged to take notice of upon this occasion was the attempts made upon the life of Jesus. *Josephus's* is a political history of the *jerwish* nation, and therefore the executions at Court might be more suitable to his design.

(2.) ALL writers of good sense and candour, who have wrote the history of such jealous and cruel princes as *Herod*, have been obliged, both out of a regard to themselves, and their readers, to omit some of their

their odious and offensive actions, and to pass by some parts or circumstances of those transactions which they mention (a). And I cannot help paying a particular respect to the Evangelists for the many instances of their candour and goodnesse, and for this in particular, that they have none of them sought to brand the memory of *Herod*, who sought the life of *Jesus*, with the many cruelties of his reign, nor the dreadful circumstances of his death; and that *Matthew*, who alone has informed us of the murder of the infants, confined his narration to that, and passed by all the other tokens, which, I doubt not, *Herod* shewed at this time of a most odious jealousy.

NOR would I blame *Josephus* barely for the omission of the barbarities committed at *Bethlehem*. He has related many cruel actions of *Herod*. To have related them all would probably have appeared spite and ill will, rather than faithfulness or impartiality. It is evident there were many put to death at *Jerusalem*, beside those he names in the account of that execution. Possibly the

(a) Neque sum ignarus, a plerisque scriptoribus, omissa multa tum pericula & poenas, dum copiâ fatiscunt; aut quæ ipsis nimia & maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent, verentur. *Tacit. Ann.* l. vi. c. 7.

omission of the murder of the Infants may be owing to those reasons I have here hinted, namely, a fear of being charged with a design to load *Herod* unreasonably, or a fear of rendering his history disagreeable by too particular a detail of cruel actions.

(3.) I HAVE thus far endeavoured to account for *Josephus's* silence in the way of apology for him, and should be glad to leave the matter here: but his strange way of speaking, and that in two (A) places of his works, of an execution at *Jerusalem* about this time, though according to his own account and acknowledgement it was very severe and terrible, will not permit me to conclude here. Supposing then that that execution was made on account of discourses which happened at *Jerusalem* upon the rumour of the birth of Jesus, I think, that since *Josephus* was determined in the main to vindicate *Herod* upon that occasion, he was obliged for his own honour to say nothing of what was done at *Bethlehem*. The slaugh-

(A) One of those passages with observations upon it may be seen above, p. 70.-86. It is the passage I referred to Vol. I. p. 278, as deserving a *particular attention*. If the reader has not yet observed it, I would now recommend it to his perusal. The other passage will be found toward the later end of §. 1. of the next chapter to this.

ter of all the infants from two years old and under, of a whole City, town, or village, and the district round about it, whatever colours an historian might have put upon it, would have appeared to all mankind, but prejudiced and hardened *Jews*, an horrid inhumanity.

4. S T. *Matthew's* account is confirmed by the testimony of ancient Christian Authors. I give one passage from *Justin Martyr*, who wrote before the middle of the second Century. ‘ But, says he, *Herod*, ‘ when the *Arabian* wise men did not come ‘ back to him as he had desired them, but ‘ according to a command given them re- ‘ turned by another way into their own coun- ‘ try, and when *Joseph* together with *Mary* ‘ and the young child were gone into *Egypt*, ‘ according to directions given to them also ‘ by a divine revelation, not knowing the ‘ child whom the wise men had come to ‘ worship, commanded all the children ‘ in *Bethlehem* without exception to be ‘ killed (a). This was prophesied of by *Je- ‘ remiah*, the spirit of God saying by him ‘ thus: *A voice was heard in Rama*.----

(a) Πάντας ἀπλῶς τὰς παῖδας τὰς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναί-
ρεῖσθαι. Dialog. Part. ii. p. 304. Paris. (p. 307. Thilb.)

THIS is all I offer by way of answer to this objection.

THERE is however a noted passage in *Macrobius*, a Heathen Author, who flourished in the later end of the fourth century, who among other jests of *Augustus* has this: ‘ When he [*Augustus*] had heard that among the children within two years of age, which *Herod* King of the *Jews* commanded to be slain in *Syria*, his own son had been killed, he said: *It is better to be Herod's hog than his son* (a).

I LAY little or no stress upon this passage, partly because it comes too late, partly because there is reason to suppose *Macrobius* has been mistaken about the occasion of the jest. No early christian writers have said any thing of *Herod's* having had a young child of his own killed in the slaughter at *Bethlehem*. If *Augustus* did pass this jest upon *Herod*, it might be occasioned by the death of *Antipater*, or rather of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* (b).

(a) Cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judaeorum intra bimum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum: ait, *Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium.* *Macrob. Sat. lib. 2. c. 4.* (b) See Doctor *Whitby's* Annot. on *Matt. ii. 16, 17.*

§. II. AN objection of the like sort with that we have been considering, may be made against St. *Luke*, who says, *There were present at that season, some that told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their Sacrifices.* It has been ^{Luke xiii.} _{1.} thought strange by some, that *Josephus* has made no mention of this event.

IN answer to this objection, I shall transcribe a passage of *Josephus*. ‘ *Judas the Galilean* introduced a fourth sect among the *Jews*. In all other things they agree with the *Pharisees*, but they have an invincible love of liberty, and acknowledge God alone their Lord and Governour. Nor can any kind of death, or any punishments of their friends and relations make them call any man Lord. As many have been witnesses of their immoveable firmness, I shall say no more upon this head: Not out of a fear, lest my accounts should be thought incredible, but rather because it is not easy fully to represent their contempt of all kinds of sufferings (a).

(a) Ου γὰρ δίδωκε μὴ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑποληφθῆ τι τῶ λεγομένων ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, τέναντίον ἢ μὴ ἐλασσάνως ἔειπεν καταφρονήματ’, δεχομένε τὴν ταλαπορίαν τῆς ἀλλαγόν’, ἡ λόγ’ ἀφηγήται. *Antiq.* L. 18. C. i. §. 6.

PERHAPS the *Galileans* mentioned by *St. Luke* were some of the followers of the before mentioned *Judas*. *Josephus* says he has omitted the greatest part of the sufferings of that Sect. I think it is not difficult to guess the reason. *Judas's* principles were very popular among the *Jews*, but in the opinion of the *Romans* they were criminal, as being inconsistent with Subjection to their government. And it was next to impossible for *Josephus* to give a particular account of all transactions in *Judea* relating to this matter, without offending the *Jews* his countrymen on the one hand, or the *Romans* on the other.

BUT whether the *Galileans* mentioned by *St. Luke* were men of this principle is not certain, nor is it material. For though they were not, the passage just transcribed from *Josephus* may satisfy us, that many remarkable events have been omitted by him upon some account or other.





C H A P. III.

An objection against the Fifteenth year of the Reign of *Tiberius* compared with the age of *Jesus* at his Baptism.

- §. I. *The Obj. stated.* §. II. *The first Solution: That St. Luke, by the fifteenth of Tiberius, might intend the fifteenth of his Proconsular power, not of his sole empire after the death of Augustus.* §. III. *The consistence of other notes of time in the Gospels with this Supposition.* §. IV. *The second Solution: That the age of thirty years ascribed to Jesus at his baptism may be understood with latitude.*



T. Luke says: Now in the FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS CESAR, Pontius Pilate being governour of Judca.----the word of

of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness *----- Now when all the people were baptized, it came to passe, that Jesus also being baptized, and praying the heaven was opened: And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased. And Jesus himself

* Luke iii. 1. 2.

---V. 21.

---BEGAN TO BE ABOUT THIRTY YEARS OF AGE.

AGAINST this account of St. *Luke* this objection may be formed. St. *Matthew* says expressly, that Jesus was *born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king*. But, though Jesus was born but a month or two before the death of *Herod*, he would be at least thirty one years of age at his baptism. But if Jesus was born above a year, much more, if above two years before *Herod's* death, then the age of *thirty years* here ascribed to him at his baptism is absolutely inconsistent with the notes of time mentioned at the commencement of *John the Baptist's* ministry: even allowing, that *the word of God came to John* in the very beginning of the *fiftieth year of Tiberius*, and that Jesus was baptized a few months after.

BEFORE

BEFORE I state this objection at length, I would observe, that the true genuine meaning of these words, *Jesus himself (a) began to be about thirty years of age*, is not that he then *entered* the thirtieth year of his age, but Jesus was about thirty years of age when he began his ministry: or *when (b) he thus began to shew himself publicly*. This, I think, is now the general opinion of (c) learned men. So the Greek word of this text is used by St. Luke in other places. Thus the High Priests and others charge Jesus before Pilate, saying, *He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry,* Lukexxiii.
 BEGINNING [*ἄρξάμεν* & having begun] from *Galilee to this place*. St. Peter in the debate concerning the choice of an Apostle in the room of Judas says: *Wherefore of these men which have accompanied with us ALL THE TIME that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, BEGINNING from the bap-*

(a) Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, ὡν, κ. λ. (b) Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase. (c) Lucae mentem Jansenius [Conc. cap. 14.] optime affectus est, quam sic exprimit: Sensus erit, & ipse Jesus erat fere triginta annorum, cum jam suscepto baptismo auspicaretur deinde munus suum. Basnage Annal. Pol. Ecc. ant. D. 5. n. 28. vid. & Anton. Cappell. de coenâ Christi supremâ. Sect. 12. c. 23. Mr. Whiston's short view of the harmony, &c. p. 136.

tism (c) of *John*, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.

Act. i. 21.
22.

I COME now to the objection: *Augustus* died and *Tiberius* succeeded him the 19th. of *August*, A. U. 767, *Julian* year 59, A. D. 14. Therefore the fifteenth of *Tiberius* began the 19th. *Aug.* A. U. 781, A. D. 28. *Herod* died (A) before the Passover in A. U. 750, *Julian* year 42, or else before the Passover in A. U. 751, *Jul.* year 43. If then *John* the *Baptist* began to preach in the beginning of the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, in the later end of A. U. 781, and *Jesus* be supposed to have been baptized by *John* a few months after, on the 6th of *January* of the year following, viz. A. U. 782; *Jesus* must have been in the 32d. year of his life, if *Herod* died in the Spring A. U. 751, and if *Jesus* was born the 25th *Decemb.* preceeding, viz. A. U. 750. But if *Herod* died A. U. 750, and *Jesus* was born the 25th *Decemb.* before, viz. A. U. 749, then he would be at his baptism in the 33d. year of his age.

(a) Ἐν ᾧ εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου.

(A) See the Appendix.

BUT

BUT it may be made appear several ways, that Jesus was born above a year, probably above two years before *Herod* died.

I. THIS may be inferred from the Evangelists themselves. For it is very probable that *Herod* lived a year or more after the murder of the infants. The wise men having worshiped Jesus, when they were departed, *Behold the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, arise, and take the young child and his mother and flee into Egypt, AND BE THOU THERE UNTIL I BRING THEE WORD: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt. And was there UNTIL THE DEATH OF HEROD.* Math. ii. 13.—15. The direction given to *Joseph* by the angel, may afford ground to suppose, that *Joseph* was to make some stay in *Egypt*, at least some months, or more than a few weeks or days: which, from what follows, appears to have been *till the death of Herod*.

MOREOVER St. *Matthew* says, that *when Herod was dead, Behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream in Egypt, saying, Arise, take the young child and*

and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: FOR THEY ARE DEAD WHICH SOUGHT THE YOUNG CHILDES LIFE.

—v. 19,

20.

IT being known from *Josephus*, that *Antipater* died but five days before his father *Herod*, it may be inferred from the use of the plural number, that *Antipater* is meant by the angel as well as *Herod*, and that he had been concerned in the design to put Jesus to death, and that his cruel intentions were one cause of *Joseph's* removal out of *Judea* into *Egypt*. But *Antipater* could have no influence on his father's counsels for ten months or more before *Herod* died, as will appear presently: therefore the murder of the infants happened, most probably, a year before the death of *Herod*.

IT may likewise be concluded from Saint *Matthew's* account, that Jesus was born near two years before the murder of the infants. For thus he says: *Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king: Behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and*

are come to worship him.-----Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men,

en-

Matt. iii. 1
2.

enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared *.

* v. 7:

THE wise men having been to worship the child, and departing into their own country without coming back to Jerusalem, *Then Herod when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men* †.

†—v. 16.

JESUS was born before the wise men came, for their question was: *Where is he that is born?* They knew he was born, because they had seen his star in the east. Herod enquired what time the star appeared, and slew all the children from two years and under, according to that time. Therefore the star had appeared two years before, and Jesus was born at or near that time.

NOR can the supposed distance between the appearing of the star and the arrival of the wise men weaken this calculation. There might be many reasons to hinder their undertaking the journey immediately: Possibly, they apprehended no necessity of setting out sooner. For allowing the truth of the fact,
that

that they had seen a star by which they understood the birth of a King in *Judea*, they could not well make any doubt of his living, or of their having an opportunity to worship him, though they delayed a year or two. But, whatever were the reasons of their delay, we have no right to depart from the words of *St. Matthew*, who intimates very plainly, that it was *two years* from the appearing of the Star to the time in which *Herod* ordered the children to be slain.

ADD these two years to the forementioned year which *Herod* lived after the slaughter of the children; and it will appear, that according to *St. Matthew*, *Jesus* was born three years before *Herod's* death.

2. IT may be proved from *Tertullian* that *Jesus* was born above two years before the death of *Herod*, for he says, that the census or tax made in *Judea*, at the time of which *Jesus* was born, was made (a) by *Sentius Saturninus*. But *Josephus* assures us, that *Quintilius Varus* was come into *Syria* as Successor to *Saturninus*, before (b) the death of *Herod*. It may not be easy to determine exactly from *Josephus* the time of *Varus's*

(a) *Adv. Marc.* lib. 4. c. 19. See above P. 182. (b) *Antiq.* 17 c. 5. §. 2. & alibi.

arrival in *Syria* : But there are in being some ancient Coins (*a*) or Medals of the City of *Antioch*, the Capital of that Province, that demonstrate the time of his government. One of these coins has on the reverse a figure representing the City of *Antioch*, and the name of *Varus* with a date in *Greek* numerals xxv. And there are others with the same figure and inscription, with the numerals xxvi, xxvii. The first of these coins assures us, that *Varus* was in *Syria* before *September* A. U. 748. For the Era which the *Antiochians* used at that time was that of the *Ætiac* Victory, which was obtained A. U. 723 (*b*). The 25th year of this Era ended the second of *September* A. U. 748. It is therefore manifest that *Jesus* was born before *September* in that year, if *Saturninus*

(*a*) Scripsit ad me Card. Norisius, extare in Scrinio illustrissimi Marchionis Riccardi nummum minimae magnitudinis caput Jovis in antica repræsentantem, in cujus posticâ habetur, ΕΠΙ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, mulier sedens pede super figuram Orontis fluminis, tenens dextrâ palmam : & in medio EK. id est. Anno xxv. Pagi appar. ad Bar. n. 136. vid. omnino. Noris. Epoch. Syromaced. Dissert. 3. c. 7. & Memoires de l'Academie des Inscrip. Tom. 4. p. 181. ed. Amst.

(*b*) Doctor *Allix* supposes the *Antiochian* Era of the *Ætiac* Victory does not begin till A. U. 724. Vid. Dissert. de J. C. Anno & Mense natali, p. 102. It is not my business to enter into dispute upon this head. The other opinion seems to me most probable. vid. Noris. ubi supra. Pagi Appar. n. 103, 104.

made the Census of which St. *Luke* speaks, or if it was made in his time. And if it be supposed, that Jesus was born on the 25th day of *December*, then his nativity must necessarily be placed as far back as the 25th. *Decemb.* A. U. 747.

3. I EXPECT likewise to be here reminded of some things advanced by me in the first chapter of this Book; and that it will be urged: If the oath which *Josephus* says was taken by all the *Jews* to *Augustus*, and *Herod* relate to the Census or enrolment which St. *Luke* speaks of, then Jesus must have been born about three years before the death of *Herod*.

POSSIBLY the objection may be stated in this manner.

IT cannot be less than ten months from the commencement of the enquiries made by *Herod* into the cause of *Pheroras's* death and the crimes of *Antipater* to the death of *Herod*. When the first discoveries were made, *Antipater* was at *Rome*. *Herod* sent for him in a very pressing but kind manner, dissembling all suspicions concerning him, that he might not delay to return to *Judea*. *Josephus* says, that when *Antipater* returned, he knew nothing of the ac-

cusations which had been brought against him, though (a) *seven months* had then passed from the first discoverie of his crimes. In a day or two after *Antipater's* return to *Judea* *Herod* calls a council, in which (b) he himself and *Varus*, Governour of *Syria*, presided. *Antipater* is brought before them, convicted and remanded to prison. But *Herod* not daring to pronounce sentence on *Antipater* without leave from *Augustus*, Expresses were sent to *Rome* with an account of what had passed. After that these messengers were sent away from *Judea*, a letter was intercepted, which was written to *Antipater* by *Acme* a jewish woman at *Rome* in the Service of the Emperesse *Livia*, in which letter were fresh proofs of *Antipater's* designs. Hereupon *Herod* sent away fresh dispatches from *Rome*. These return to *Judea*, and bring word, that *Acme* had been put to death by *Augustus*, and that the Emperour left it to *Herod* to do with *Antipater* as he thought fit. Soon after this, *Antipater* was put to death, and in five days after *Herod* died (c).

(a) Κάμ τοι μεταξύ ἑ̅ ἐλέγχων κ̅ τῆς ἐπανόδου διελθόντων ἑ̅πτα μῆσιν. De Bell. lib. 1. cap. 31. p. 1034. v. 27.

(b) Ibid. cap. 32.

(c) Vid. Joseph. de Bell. lib. 1. cap. 30. — 33. Ant. l. 17. cap. 3. — 8.

As there was a second Embassy sent to *Rome* after the trial of *Antipater*, and this returned before *Herod* died, with an account that *Acme* had been put to death, upon informations they had carried with them to *Rome*, it is impossible to assign less than three months for the interval between the arrival of *Antipater* in *Judea* and *Herod's* death, which added to the former *seven* make *ten* months.

IT being supposed in the *first* chapter, that the execution which *Herod* made in his own family, happened at the same time with the slaughter of the children at *Beth-lehem*, it must next be considered how long time that execution preceded the first enquiries into *Antipater's* designs. The facts mentioned by *Josephus* in this interval stand thus.

HEROD having put to death several of his courtiers and servants, calls his friends together, charges *Pheroras's* wife with creating disturbances, and insists upon it that *Pheroras* put her away. *Pheroras* loving his wife too well to comply with this demand, the two brothers fall out. *Pheroras* leaves *Herod* and goes to his Tetrarchy, withal swearing solemnly never to come to
Herod

Herod more. About this time, as it seems, *Antipater* with his father's consent left *Judea* and went to *Rome*. Soon after *Pheroras* was gone home, *Herod* fell sick. But though *Herod* sent for *Pheroras*, he would not come to him. Not long after, *Pheroras* is sick, *Herod* goes to see him, they are reconciled, *Pheroras* dies. *Herod* has him brought to *Jerusalem* and buried there (a).

WHEN *Pheroras* was buried, some of his servants made applications to *Herod*, desiring him to enquire into the manner and causes of *Pheroras's* death. These enquiries open a horrid scene of wickedness. And it appears, that a conspiracy had been formed by *Antipater* to poison his father *Herod*; and that he had committed the execution of this design to *Pheroras*, and servants of his own whom he had left behind him when he went to *Rome*, and who were to obey *Pheroras's* directions (b).

IT will not be easie to allot less than three months for the facts just now mentioned in the interval between the execution in *Herod's* family and the first enquiries into the

(a) *Joseph. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 29. §. 4. Ant. 17. cap. 3.*

(b) *De Bell. ibid. c. 30. Ant. ibid. 4.*

cause of *Pheroras's* death. Three months added to the former *ten* make *thirteen*.

THE execution spoken of by *Josephus* and the slaughter of the children mentioned by *St. Matthew* being allowed to have happened both at the same time, the interval between the birth of *Jesus* and this execution is already computed. It cannot be less than a year and nine or ten months, that is, near two years; consequently, we have a fresh argument that *Jesus* was born *three* years before the death of *Herod*. But how inconsistent this is with *Jesus* being *about thirty years of age* in the *fifteenth* year of *Tiberius*, appears from what has been said already.

HAVING now stated these objections and given them their full force, as I imagine, before I proceed to offer at a reply, I would make two or three reflexions upon some particulars contained in them.

I DO allow, that it appears to me highly probable, that *Herod* did live a year at least after the slaughter of the infants.

BUT as for *Tertullian's* testimony, that the Tax in *Judea* was made by *Saturninus*, I think it is not of much weight; since he is the only person that has said this, and he flourished

flourished not till about two hundred years after the event. Besides, though *Tertullian* was well skilled in the Roman Laws and Customs, he has committed many gross blunders in history. The reader may see several of them collected by (a) *Dodwell* in his Dissertations upon *Irenaeus*. One of them is the computation *Tertullian* has made of the time from the nativity of Jesus to the taking of *Jerusalem* (b) by *Vespasian*; which, according to him, was not full fifty three years. And in reckoning up the reigns of the several Emperours he has quite omitted that of *Claudius*, and allotted not quite ten years to the reign of *Nero*. He, who could make such mistakes in the history of the Roman Emperours, might very easily be ignorant who was President of *Syria* at the time of our Saviour's Nativity.

NOR am I satisfied with the proofs offered in these objections, that Jesus was born near two years before the slaughter of the children at *Bethlehem*. Dr. *Whitby* (c) questions whether ἀπὸ διετῆς ἢ ἡλικιώτερῳ should not be rendered from *one year old* and under rather than from *two years old* and under.

(a) Dissert. iii. §. xiii.
Jud. cap. 8.

(b) Vid. *Tertul.* advers.

(c) *Matth.* ii. 16.

But let *διετής* signifie two years, yet I think no conclusion can be made about the precise time of the birth of Jesus from *Herod's* orders. It is most likely, that this star appeared some time before the birth of Jesus, and that it was understood by the wise Men to presignifie it. Hereby they were prepared for their journey, and it is highly probable that these Wise men came into *Judea* to worship this King, as soon as they could after they concluded he was born, and that they arrived at *Jerusalem* in a very few months after his birth. But since their enquiry was: *Where is he that is BORN King of the Jews?* *Herod*, whose cruelty had in a manner no bounds, orders all children near *Bethlehem* to be slain who had been born since the appearing of the Star, or perhaps even for some space before the time, at which, after an exact enquiry of the wise men, he perceived it had appeared.

As there appears not to be any proof from *St. Matthew*, that Jesus was born two years, or near two years before the slaughter of the infants; so, I think also, that there are no proofs in *Josephus* that the Oath taken by the
the

the *Jews* had preceded two years or near two years the execution made in *Herod's* court. The Oath and the Execution are related by *Josephus* both together. The reader is referred to that passage, as also to the charge brought against *Pheroras's* wife immediately after that execution was over. Among other things in that charge *Herod* says,---*That she did all she could to create a difference between him and his brother; that the fine imposed upon the Pharisees had been evaded by her means; and that in the present affair nothing had been done without her.* This present affair I suppose to relate to the predictions given out by the *Pharisees*, that *God would take away the kingdom from Herod and his children.* The payment of the fine is the last crime she is charged with before this affair, which had preceded the execution. It certainly therefore is not a crime of two years standing. *Herod* in so long a time might have found out some new fault in a woman, he was so much offended with. We may be pretty well assured from this account, if I mistake not, that this Oath had preceded the said execution and predictions but some few months only.

SUPPOSING then the Execution to be truly dated, in the objection, at about thirteen months before the death of *Herod*, we may infer, that the *Oath* in *Josephus*, and the *description* in *St. Luke* was made, and that *Jesus* was born about a year and six or seven months before *Herod's* death.

IF indeed *Antipater* had been at *Rome* two years before he was recalled by his father, as some learned men have thought, then this execution must have been made above thirteen months before *Herod's* death ; because it is likely, or rather certain, that *Antipater* was in *Judea* at the time of that execution. But I think it is a mistake to suppose he had been so long out of *Judea*. *Antipater* stayed some time in *Judea* after his brothers *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* were (a) dead, and took a great deal of pains to defeat and set aside the advantageous marriages which *Herod* designed for their children : He also entered into cabals with *Pheroras* and his wife in order to secure the Succession for himself. Moreover, *Saturninus* was got to *Rome* a good while before *Antipater* went from home. *Josephus* says in his *Antiquities*, that *Antipater* having resolved, if pos-

(a) Antiq. 17. c. 1.

sible, to hasten his father's death, and being desirous to strengthen and secure his own interest that he might reign after him, ' He re-
 ' mitted large sums of money to his father's
 ' friends at *Rome*, that he might gain their
 ' good will, but especially that he might have
 ' the favour of *Saturninus* the governour of
 ' *Syria*. (a) *Saturninus* is not here called
 governour of *Syria*, because he was then
 actually in that Post, for he is manifestly
 at *Rome*; but to distinguish him from others
 of that name, of which there were many.
 And it appears from the parallel place in the
War of the Jews, that one favour which
Antipater desired of these persons at *Rome*
 who had influence on his father was, that
 they would write to *Herod* that his [*Anti-*
pater's] presence at *Rome* would be service-
 able to him in the present posture of affairs.
Antipater had now settled all things with
Pheroras for the poisoning of *Herod*, as
 soon as an opportunity offered. But *Anti-*
pater, so long as he staid in *Judea*, could
 not forbear conversing with *Pheroras* and
 his wife, which was extremely disagreeable

(a) Καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλους ΠΟΜΠΑΙΣ μεγάλαν
 δαρεῶν εὐνὴς καθιστάμενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σαταρνήνον, τὸν τῆς Συρίας
 ἐπιμελητήν. *ibid.* p. 750, v. 10.

to *Herod*. ‘Therefore *Antipater* (a) con-
 ‘trived by the interest of friends at *Rome*
 ‘to procure leave for a voyage thither. These
 ‘writing, that it would be very proper for
 ‘*Antipater* to be sent to *Cesar* without de-
 ‘lay, he [*Herod*] immediately sent him
 ‘thither, having furnished him with a sum-
 ‘ptuous equipage and large sums of money,
 ‘giving him also his Will to carry with him
 ‘to the Emperour.’

IT is true, that after *Antipater*’s journey to *Rome*, mention is made of *Saturninus* as in *Syria*: but then it is, because *Josephus* relates a fact that had happened before *Antipater* went from *Judea*. *Josephus*, giving an account of what *Antipater* did at *Rome*, mentions (b) some accomplices of *Syllaeus* sent thither by *Saturninus* to answer for themselves. But this might have been done by *Saturninus* some time before.

AGAIN, if *Antipater* had been two years out of *Judea*, *Herod*, who wanted plausible reasons to induce him to return, could not have failed to put this, of his long absence,

(a) Πραγματεύεται, διὰ τῆ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων, τὴν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ. γραψάντων δὲ ἐκείνων, δειὴ Ἀντίπατρον πευφθῆναι διὰ χρόνου πρὸς Κάισαρα, ὁ ὅς ἔτι μετὰ τὸν ἐξέπεμψε,
 x. 2. de B. l. i. c. 29. §. 2.

(b) De B. ibid. §. 3.

Antiq. 17. c. 3. §. 2.

into his letters, as a very cogent and unexceptionable argument, which yet he does not appear (a) to have done.

IT may be farther argued, that *Antipater's* journey to *Rome* did not precede the death of *Herod* two years. The very commencement of the enquiries into the death of *Pheroras* could not be above ten months before the death of *Herod*, as has been shewn already. A great progress had been made in those examinations, *Doris*, *Antipater's* mother, had been detected and put out of (b) *Herod's* house; *Mariamne* the High Priest's daughter (c) was also put away, and her son struck out of a new Will *Herod* had made. 'When these things were doing, ' says *Josephus*, *Bathyllus Antipater's* freed-man arrived from *Rome*. And being put to the question was discovered to have brought with him a fresh quantity of poison to be given to his [*Antipater's*] mother and *Pheroras*, that if the former had failed to dispatch the King they might try this (d) upon him.' Before *Antipater* had gone

(a) See the substance of these letters, *De B. l. i. c. 31. §. 3. Antiq. 17. c. 5. §. 1.* (b) *Antiq. 17. c. 4. §. 2.* (c) *Ibid*
 (d) 'Εν τῷ ᾧ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπελεύθερος Ἀντιπάτρου πατρὸς, καὶ βασιανισθεὶς ἐνίσκεται φάρμακον κομίζων τῇ τε αὐτῆς μητρὶ

gone to *Rome* he had provided (a) poyson for *Pheroras* to give his father. It is plain, that when *Bathyllus* was sent from *Rome*, *Antipater* did not know whether *Pheroras* had made any use of the first poyson or not, and that he had still a full confidence in him. But if *Antipater* had been gone from *Judea* two years, and had heard nothing of the effect of that poyson, such a delay would have created suspicions. Moreover this second preparation appears to be sent to back the former; so that we may be assured, we are to go backward, not years, but only some months for the true time of *Antipater's* leaving *Judea*.

ONCE more, the first opening of the enquiries into the causes of *Pheroras's* death has been laid at about ten months before the death of *Herod*. That *Antipater* was then but newly set out for *Rome*, may be inferred from hence. *Pheroras* being dead, *Herod* had him brought to *Jerusalem*, honoured him with a funeral, and made great lamentations for him. 'This, says *Josephus*, was 'the beginning of sorrow to *Antipater*

μητρὶ καὶ Φεράρα, ὡς εἶ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ἄπτοιτο τῷ βασιλείῳ, τέττα γὰρ μεταχειρίζοντο αὐτόν. *ibid.* §. 3. de B. 1. c. 31. §. 1.

(a) *Antiq.* *ibid.* §. 3. *De Bell.* *ibid.* c. 30. §. 5.

though

‘ though (a) he was then sailed to *Rome*.
 ‘ God requiring of him the blood of his
 ‘ brothers. I shall give a particular relation
 ‘ of this whole affair, that it may be an ad-
 ‘ monition to all mankind to adhere to the
 ‘ practise of virtue.’ If *Antipater* had
 been then any long time out of *Judea*, *Jo-*
sephus would have said, though he was *then*
at Rome, or though he *had been some time*
there. It is possible, *Antipater* might have
 been gone from home a month or two:
 but the phrase here used by *Josephus* seems
 to me to import, that there were not yet
 come to *Jerusalem* any tidings of *Antipa-*
ter’s arrival at *Rome*.

I HOPE it will be excused, that I have
 insisted so long upon this point. The supposi-
 tion, that *Antipater* was gone to *Rome* be-
 fore the removal of *Saturninus*, and two
 years or more before the death of *Herod*, has
 caused much confusion in the chronology of
 many learned men about this time.

THERE is in *Josephus* another passage,
 not yet observed by any one upon this oc-
 casion, that I know of, which may help to
 determine the time of the execution made

(a) Καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ προέβητο τῆτο Ἀντιπάτρω καὶ
 τοιγε ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς πεπλευκότι κακῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ, τῆς ἀδελφοκ-
 τοσίας αὐτὸν τιτυμένῃς Ἐ. Ἐσῆ, κ. λ. Antiq. 17. c. 3. §. 3.

224 *The Credibility of the* Book II.

by *Herod* in his court and at *Jerusalem*, and which will confirm my opinion about it. *Josephus*, having given the history of *Herod's* putting to death his two Sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, makes divers reflections upon that action. It might have been sufficient, *says he*, even supposing them guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, to have condemned them to perpetual imprisonment, or to have banished them, but to take away their lives was a piece of downright cruelty. ' Nor does the delay extenuate the crime, ' for after deliberation, having been resolved ' at one time and in suspense at another, to ' commit such a fact, is an argument of a ' bloody disposition, and of a mind obsti- ' nately bent upon wickedness: Which ' same temper he shewed afterward upon ' another occasion, when he spared not others ' [or *the rest*] persons who seemed to be the ' most dear to him of any. The justice of ' their punishment abates our compassion ' for their ruine, but yet his cruelty was a- ' like here also, in that he spared not even ' them. But of these more in course (a) ' by and by'.

HIS

(a) 'Εν ἐπιστάσει ἤ, Ἐ πολλάκις ἔδ' ὀρμηθέντα πολλάκις ἢ μετὰ ἡ-
σαντα, τὸ τελευταῖον ἢ ὑποσῆναι καὶ διαπράξασθαι, φοιήσης καὶ δυσ-
μετακινήσε

THIS last piece of cruelty I take to mean the execution made by *Herod* in his court, and which *Josephus* relates afterward in the next book of these *Antiquities*. It cannot refer to the death of *Antipater*, because he is but one ; nor to the design upon the *chief men of Judea* shut up in the *Circus*, because they had committed no offense, and that design was never executed ; nor to the *Rabbies*, because they do not appear to have ever been dear to *Herod*. But it must be the before mentioned *execution*, of which I hope the reader has a clear idea. Then *Herod* put to death all of his own family that adhered to the things said by the *Pharisees*, and to other persons that appear to have been favourites with him. And it is observable, that as in that account *Josephus* is pleased to divert himself with those executions ; so, here also, even when he is aggravating the cruelty of *Herod*, he betrayes the same good will toward those who then suffered under the rage of this inhumane tyrant.

μετακινήτε ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶ χειρόνων ἐδήλωσε ἡ κη τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκ ἀποχόμενος ἐδὲ τῶ περιλοίπων ὅσως ἐδόκει φιλιτάτης, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ μὲ δίκαιον ἔλαττον ἐποίησε συμπαθειῶν τὰς ἀποκλυμένους, τὸ ἡ ἀμὸν ὁμοίον ἦν, τῶ μὴδὲ ἐκείνων φεισσομένη διέξιμεν ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξῆς ἀφηγόμενοι. Antiq. 16. c. ult. ad fin.

IT would be desirable here to settle exactly the time when these two sons of *Herod* were put to death. Dr. *Allix* (a) places the council of *Berytum*, before which they were tried, and by which they were condemned, in the month of *May*, A. U. 749, about ten months before *Herod* died. But if *Herod* died in the Spring A. U. 750, as the Doctor supposes, this council is certainly placed by him too late. It is evident from particulars insisted on in the objection, and since allowed or mentioned by me, that it must have preceded the death of *Herod* above ten months. Moreover, *Saturninus* was one of this council, and if the first Medal and the epocha above mentioned be allowed, *Saturninus* was gone from *Syria* before *Sept.* 748. It may be, however, supposed, I think, that this Council was not held long before the removal of *Saturninus*: And it is certain from the passage just transcribed, that the execution of the *Pharisees* and others at *Jerusalem* happened some considerable time after the death of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*.

(a) —Conventum Berytensem qui habitus est in causa Alexandri & Aristobuli Maio mense A. U. 749. *ibid.* p. 18. *vid.* & p. 13. & alibi.

IF any should object, that according to the account I have given of the *Oath* or Enrolment, that it was owing to the displeasure of *Augustus* against *Herod*, it cannot be placed so near the end of *Herod's* reign as I here suppose, but must have happened a considerable time before the removal of *Saturninus*; because *Augustus* appears to have been reconciled to *Herod* before *Saturninus* left the province, and before the Council at *Berytum* in which *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* were condemned: I answer, that the enrolment is not placed by me too late at all. It might be resolved upon by *Augustus* before, and yet not be executed till after *Saturninus* went away. And though *Augustus* might be in some measure pacified, yet he might think fit to have the assessment made. Besides, though *Josephus* says, that upon the applications *Nicolas* of *Damascus* had made to *Augustus* at *Rome*, the Emperour was reconciled to *Herod*, that *Syllaeus* was ordered home, required to pay the money he owed, and give all proper satisfaction, and was afterward (a) to be punished: Yet it is certain, that

(a) Και πέρας εις τῆτο κατέβη Καῖσαρ, ἄς ἔμ̄ Συλλαίῳ καταγνώσθαι θάνατον, Ἡράδῃ ἢ διαλλάττεισθαι — το ἢ σύμπαν, ὃ μ̄ Σύλλαῖος ἀνεπέμπετο, τὰς δίκας ἔ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δεδανεικόσι· ἀπαλλάσσει, ἔτα ὕτω κολασθησόμενος. Antiq. 16. c. 10. §. 9.

Syllaeus did not give *Herod* or any one else satisfaction. And it may be from thence inferred, that *Herod* was not fully reinstated in *Augustus's* favour, for then *Syllaeus* would have been more submissive. *Josephus* relating *Antipater's* voyage to *Rome*, of which we have made frequent mention, says :
 ‘ *Syllaeus* the *Arabian* (a) also went thither
 ‘ at the same time, not having performed
 ‘ any of those things which *Cesar* enjoined.
 ‘ And *Antipater* accused him to *Cesar* upon
 ‘ the same heads he had been before accused
 ‘ of by *Nicolas*.’ From what has been said concerning the time of *Antipater's* journey it appears, that this accusation must have been brought against *Syllaeus* in the last year of *Herod's* life.

IT is evident, that *Herod's* affairs were not in a good posture at this time at *Rome*. If they had, *Antipater* could not have made the state of them, and the service he might do his father there, a pretense for his journey. Moreover, *Antipater* (b) charged *Herod* with a sum of two hundred talents, laid out

(a) Συνεξορευῆς ἦ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Σύλλαϊος ὁ Ἀραβὺς, μηδὲν αὖ προσέταξε Καίσαρ διαπεπραγμένους καὶ Ἀντίπατρος αὐτῷ κατηγορεῖ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος, περὶ αὐτῶν πρότερον Νικόλαος. *ibid.* l. 17. c. 3. §. 2.

(b) Δικασίᾳ γὰρ ἀναλόματος ἀνήνεγκε τάλαντα, καὶ τέτων μεγίστην πρίφασιν ἦν ἡ πρὸς Συλλάϊον διακη. *De B.* l. c. 31. §. 2.

chiefly, as he pretended, in the cause against *Sylla us*, his father's great enemy. From all which it is reasonable to conclude, that *Ni-colas* had, in his history, out of regard to his master and himself, magnified the success of his negotiations at *Rome*. Nor can it be justly expected from an Historian, that, when he comes down to the affairs of his own time, he should be perfectly indifferent toward those in which he acted a part himself.

HAVING now cleared the way, I would lay down two or three conclusions.

1. I APPREHEND it appears from what has been here offered, that there is no necessity of placing the birth of Jesus above a year and six months before the death of *Herod*. If *Herod* died in *March* A.U. 750, I should be inclined to place the nativity of Jesus in *September* or *October* A.U. 748. If *Herod* died in *March* 751, then the nativity of Jesus might very well be placed in *September* or *October* 749. As I am not able fully to determine the time of *Herod's* death, I shall for the future have some regard to both these dates of our Saviour's Nativity.

2. THE account that has been given above of the time of *Saturninus's* removal,

and *Varus's* arrival in the province of *Syria* does also incline us to one of these dates. It is not improbable, that the oath was taken or the assessment made much about the same time that *Varus* came into *Syria*. And it is supposed by many learned men, that the Roman Governours usually came from *Rome* into these Eastern Provinces at the later end of the summer. It is certain, that upon the removal of *Arche'laus*, when *Cyrenius* came Governour into *Syria*, there was an assessment made in *Syria* and *Judea*. I am the rather inclined to think this the time of the Oath, because *Josephus* in his history does not relate it when it was taken, but mentions it only upon occasion of a disturbance at *Jerusalem* which had a connexion with it. And it is observable, that he has said nothing of *Varus*, nor of the concerns of *Syria*, till we hear of *Varus* being at *Jerusalem* when *Antipater* returned home. But, if those Medals are to be relied on, *Varus* had now been a good while in *Syria*. There is therefore in *Josephus* a long gap in the concerns of *Syria*, and also in the publick concerns of *Judea* from the council at *Berytum* to the Execution at *Jerusalem*. During this time of *Josephus's* silence, I suppose

pose the assessment was made. According to the first of the *Antiochian Medals*, *Varus* came into *Syria* before *Sept. 748*. If this be supposed the most likely date of his government, and if it be also most probable that *Herod* died A. U. 750, these may strongly dispose us to place the nativity of Jesus in *September* or *October 748*.

3. THE later part of the Summer, or Autumn season seems to be the most likely time of the year for the birth of Jesus. There is no particular reason to determine us to the 25th of *December*. The very depth of Winter is not a very proper season for a survey and assessment, when people are to enter themselves according to their tribes or families. The Autumn, when Harvest and Vintage are over, is a time of general leisure. When Jesus was born at *Bethlehem*, *There were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks* Luke ii. 84 *by night*. In some very mild climates sheep may be abroad in the night time in *December*. But it is not very likely, they should be so in those countries, where they must be attended with Shepherds. This circumstance is not very favourable to the supposition, that Jesus was born the 25th *Dec.*

and we are at liberty to place it in autumn, a more likely season.

IT is not improbable then, that Jesus might be born some time between the middle of *August* and the middle of *November*. *Cyrenius*, we may suppose, came into *Judea* at the time, or soon after the time that *Varus* came Governour into *Syria*, and published the Decree of *Augustus*, requiring all people to enter themselves, their dependents, and estates. *Judea* was a country of a narrow compasse, and the assessment might very well be made in two or three months. *Cyrenius* coming into the country, and being a man of dispatch in all his undertakings, being desirous also to hasten to *Rome* to receive the honours decreed him for the Victory over the *Homonadenfes*, being also concerned to set sail before the bad weather came on, appointed all people to enrol themselves with all expedition within a certain limited time, which they did accordingly. *And all went to be taxed every one in his own city.* The short time appointed for this work may be fairly concluded from *St. Luke's* history of it. If the space of time allotted for it had been of any considerable length, it cannot be thought but that *Joseph*
would

would have taken an opportunity to go to *Bethlehem* some while before the time of the Virgin's delivery, or else have deferred the journey till that was over. There is not the least hint, that this journey was taken just at this season in obedience to a divine admonition. It is given us as the pure result of obedience to this decree of *Augustus*.

WE will now lay together a few events of this time, in the order in which it may be supposed they happened.

ABOUT a year and six or seven months before the death of *Herod*, soon after the arrival of *Varus* in the province of *Syria*, in *August* or *September*, A. U. 748, or 749, *Julian* year 40, or 41, *Cyrenius* [or some other person of eminence] came into *Judea*, an assessment was made there, and in the time of it, Jesus was born at *Bethlehem* in the month of *September* or *October*. After the term of forty days was expired Jesus was presented at the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and *Mary* made her offering according to the Law. When these things were finished, they went from *Jerusalem* and dwelt in some City of *Judea*, possibly at *Bethlehem*. In the year following, viz. A. U. 749, or 750, about the beginning of *February*, came wise
men

MAT. ii. *men from the east to Jerusalem, saying,*
 2. *where is he that is born king of the Jews?*
 They, being guided by the star which they
had seen in the east, went and worshipped
him. After their departure, the Virgin and
 the child Jesus being now fit for travelling,
Joseph was admonished by *an angel* to take
the young child and his mother and flee into
 v. 13. *Egypt,* which he did. *Herod* soon perceiv-
 ing from the wise men's not returning to
 him, that he had been *mocked* by them, and
 being much enraged thereat, *sent forth and*
slew all the children that were in Bethlehem,
and in all the coasts thereof, from two years
 v. 16. *old and under, according to the time which*
he had diligently enquired of the wise men.
 He also put to death at the same time divers
Pharisees, and other persons at *Jerusalem,*
 some of his own family and attendants; who,
 being before in expectation of the coming
 of a great Prince who was to rise up from
 among them, and by the arrival of the wise
 men had been confirmed in the belief that
 this event was now at hand, expressed them-
 selves in terms, which *Herod* and his son
Antipater and their flatterers termed seditious.
 Immediately after these executions *Pheroras's*
 wife was called to an account also, as being
 supposed

supposed to have entertained the same principles and expectations with these *Pharisees*, to whom she had lately shewn great favour in paying the fine imposed upon them for not entering themselves and taking the appointed Oath in the time of the forementioned assessment. *Pheroras* not submitting to the orders given him by *Herod* in council to put away his wife, *Herod* and *Pheroras* fell out. Hereupon, in the later end of *February*, or beginning of *March*, the same year *Pheroras* retires with his wife to his Tetrarchy. And *Antipater* having, before (a) this by various practices, and particularly by letters procured from *Rome*, disposed his father to consent to his making a Journey into *Italy*; and supposing, that by the execution now just over, all turbulent spirits had been awed and peace and quiet might ensue, sets sail for *Rome*. In the later end of *April* or the beginning

(a) The account of *Antipater's* sending letters and presents to *Rome* is *Antiq.* 17. c. 1. §. 1. Of *Herod's* last quarrel with *Pheroras*, his forbidding *Antipater* to converse with *Pheroras*, or his wife, of *Antipater's* journey to *Rome*, and *Pheroras's* retirement is *ibid.* c. 3. In the *War*, [1. 1. c. 29. §. 2.] *Antipater's* letters to *Rome* and his journey are mentioned together: but as his journey is here also represented as the effect of advice brought from *Rome*, it is supposed that these letters were sent by him some time before. And *Pheroras's* retirement is the thing next mentioned.

236 *The Credibility of the Book II.*

of *May* following, *Pheroras* dies, is brought to *Jerusalem* and buried. No sooner was the Mourning for him over, but his Servants apply to *Herod* to make enquiry into the causes of his death : and now in the middle of *May*, or soon after, the Examinations into this matter began ; and though *Antipater* was sailed from *Judea* for *Rome*, and got at a distance from the place in which justice ought to be executed on him, and therefore, according to the ordinary course of things, it might have been supposed he was in safety ; yet from this time the divine vengeance began to prepare itself against him, till at last it fell upon him for all his horrid crimes. The evidence was at first obscure and imperfect, but opened continually more and more. *Herod* in his letters to *Antipater* dissembled his resentments, but earnestly pressed his return to *Judea*. About the middle of *December*, seven months after the first enquiry into the cause of *Pheroras's* death, *Antipater* arrived at *Jerusalem* : And is tried there before *Herod*, and *Varus* President of *Syria*, and condemned to death. *Herod* however, not daring to proceed to execute the Sentence without express leave from *Augustus*, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* with a
full

full account of what had passed, and soon after, a second Embassy, new evidence having been found after the departure of the former. These last Ambassadors return to *Judea* with full power from *Augustus* about the middle of *March* A. U. 750, or 751: soon after which *Antipater* was executed, and in five days time *Herod* himself died, about a year and five or six months after the birth of *Jesus*.

UPON the whole, I presume it appears, we lie under no necessity of dating the birth of *Jesus* before the later end of the year of *Rome* 748, or 749. We hereby in part abate the objection, as stated above; but still we have before us, undoubtedly, a very great difficulty. We will now enquire what can be said to it.

§. II. I. WHEN *St. Luke* says, *Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,--the word of God came unto John*, he may intend some computation of the reign of *Tiberius*, different from that of his sole empire after the death of *Augustus*. It is no unusual thing for the reigns of Princes to be computed from several dates. There were two computations of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign. For, as *Dr. Prideaux* observes,
 † *Nabo-*

238 *The Credibility of the* Book II.

‘ *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon* being old
 ‘ and infirm took his son *Nebuchadnezzar*
 ‘ into partnership in the Empire, and sent
 ‘ him with an army into those parts [*Syria*
 ‘ and *Palestine*]. And from hence the *jewish*
 ‘ computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*’s
 ‘ reign begins.---But according to the
 ‘ *Babylonians* his reign is not reckoned to
 ‘ begin till after his father’s death, which
 ‘ happened two years afterwards. And both
 ‘ computations being found in scripture, it
 ‘ is necessary to say so much here for the re-
 ‘ conciling of them (a).’ And there were
 two or three ways of computing the reign
 of (b) *Cyrus*.

BUT to come nearer to our time, there
 were many computations of the reign of
 (c) *Augustus*. Some computed the begin-
 ning of his reign from the year in which
Julius Cesar was killed, as (d) *Josephus* :
 who says : *Augustus* reigned fifty seven years
 six months and odd days. Some from the year
 after, and reckoned his reign fifty six years.
 Others computed from the year in which the

(a) Conn. Part. I. p. 60.
 of the 70 weeks, p. 44.

(b) *Marshall’s Treatise*

(c) Vid. *Petav. Rationarium*
 Temp. Part 2. l. 3. c. 15. *Pagi appar. n. 66.—73. 103. 114.*

(d) *Antiq.* 18. c. 2. §. 2. *De Bell.* 2. c. 9. §. 1.

victory was obtained at (a) *Actium*, and say he reigned forty four years; others from the year after, as *Ptolomee*, in his Canon, and *St. Clement* (b) of *Alexandria*; and give him only forty three years. And *Herod* reigned thirty four years from the death of *Antigonus*, thirty seven from the time he was declared King of *Judea* by the (c) Roman Senate.

2. THERE seems to be very good reason to conclude from divers passages of the Roman historians and the most ancient Christian writers, that there were two different computations of the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, one from the time he was made Collegue with *Augustus*, and the other from his sole empire after the death of *Augustus*.

SEVERAL very learned men and very eminent chronologers (d) are of opinion, that *St. Luke* intends the former of these

(a) Atque ab eo tempore exercitiis comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio, Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor & quadraginta solus Rempublicam tenuit. *Sueton.* in *August.* c. 8. vid. *Dio.* l. 51.

(b) *Strom.* p. 339. A Edit. *Paris.*

(c) *Josph. de B.* l. c. ult. §. 8 1. *Antiq.* 17. c. 8. §. 1.

(d) *Herwartus* in nova & vera chronologia cap. 248. *Usser.* Ann. A. M. 4015. *Joann. Cleric.* Dissertatio de Ann. vitæ, Christi. *Prideaux Conn.* Part. ii. Book 9. A. D. xii. *Pagi Critic.* in *Baron.* A. Chr. 11. 71.

two computations. I shall give a brief account of the grounds there are for this supposition, taken chiefly from Doctor *Pagi*; who appears to have bestowed a great deal of pains upon this argument, and must be allowed to have treated it with great accuracy and judgment.

(1.) THAT *Augustus* did in part lay aside government some time before he died, may be inferred from the words of an uncertain author of a Panegyrick, in which, in the name of the City of *Rome* he dissuades *Maximianus Hercules* from resigning the Empire. ‘Is it fit, says he, that you should now give your self a discharge, and do that so soon, which *Augustus* did not do till after the seventieth year of his age, and the fiftieth of (a) his reign?’

(2.) SEVERAL of the Roman historians have expressly mentioned *Tiberius’s* being taken into partnership in the Government with *Augustus*.

(a) Quo usque hoc Maximiane, patiar, me quati, te quiescere, mihi libertatem adimi, te usurpare tibi illicitam missionem? An quod Divo Augusto post septuaginta aetatis, quinquaginta imperii, non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi? Panegyric. cap. 11. laudat. a *Pagio. Critic. A. Ch. 11. n. iii.*

VELLEIUS

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, who lived in the reigns of these two Emperours, says, ‘ that at the desire of *Augustus* there was a law passed by the Senate and People of *Rome*, that *Tiberius* might have equal power with him in all the provinces and (a) armies’. *Suetonius* says, ‘ There was a Law made, that *Tiberius* should govern the provinces jointly with *Augustus*, and make the Censur with (b) him’. *Tacitus* says ‘ That *Tiberius* was made colleague in the Empire (with *Augustus*) taken into partnership with him in the Tribunician power, and recommended (c) to all the armies’.

(a) Cum res Galliarum maximae molis, accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones, coercionem magis quam poenam molisset, & Senatus Populusque Rom. (postulante patre ejus) aequum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset.—in urbem reversus, jam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatatum, ex Pannoniis Dalmatiisque egit triumphum. *Vellei. lib. ii. cap. 121.*

(b) A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum quem distulerat egit——Dedicavit & Concordiae aedem: item Pollucis & Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis. Ac non multo post lege per Coss. lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret; simulque censum aegeret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est. *Suet. in Tiber. cap. 20. 21.*

(c) Drusoque pridem extincto, Nero solus è privignis erat: illic cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribunitiae

‘armies’. And there are in this last mentioned (a) Historian frequent references to *Tiberius’s* partnership in the empire with *Augustus*.

I MUST be allowed to be particular in the account of some things said by *Dio*. In his history of the affairs A. U. 765, A. D. 12. he says: ‘*Augustus* (b) now advanced ‘in years, recommended in a writing *Germanicus* to the Senate, and the Senate to ‘*Tiberius*. He did not however read the ‘writing himself (not being able) but *Germanicus*, as he had been wont to do.---- ‘But yet he did not lay aside the care of ‘the public.’--Under the next Year, A. U. 766. A. D. 13. the same historian says: ‘*Augustus* then accepted (c) for the fifth

potestatis adsumitur, omnique per exercitus ostentatur. *Tacit. An. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

(a) Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio Tribuniciam potestatem A PATRIBUS RURSUM postulareret, &c. id. ibid. c. 10 Veriæ inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille variè differebat, de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia: solam Divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem: se in PARTEM CURARUM VOCATUM, experiendo didicisse, quam arduum,—legendi cuncta onus. ibid. c.-11.

(b) ‘Ο ὃ δὴ Ἀύγουστος ἐκεῖνόν τε, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ γήρας ἂν, τῇ βελῆ, καὶ ταύτην τῇ Τιβερίῳ παρακατεθετο ἀνάγνω ἢ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ ἀνάσ (ὃ γὰρ αἰὸς τε ἦν γεγωνίσκειν) ἀλλ’ ὁ Γερμανικός, ἄσπερ εἰάθει. —ὃ μόντοι ἐ τὰλλα ἤτιόν τι παρὰ τῆτο διάκει. *Dio. l. 56. p. 587. B. C.*

(c) Τὴν τε προσασίαν ἢ κοινῶν τὴν δεκίτην, τὴν πέμπτην ἄκων δὴ ὁ Ἀύγουστος ἔλαβε, καὶ τῇ Τιβερίῳ τὴν ἕκτασιν τὴν δημαγωγικὴν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε. *ibid. p. 588. B.*

time,

‘ time, though unwillingly, the government
 ‘ of the state for ten years, and renewed also
 ‘ the Tribunician power to *Tiberius*.’ He
 says also, ‘ That *Augustus* (a) on account
 ‘ of his great age (which likewise hindered
 ‘ his coming to the Senate, except very rare-
 ‘ ly) desired he might have twenty annual
 ‘ counsellors.---And a decree was passed, that
 ‘ whatever was enacted in council by him,
 ‘ together with *Tiberius*, and those said
 ‘ counsellors, and the Consuls in being, and
 ‘ the Consuls elect, and his Grandsons adop-
 ‘ ted by him, and any others whom he
 ‘ should call to his council, should be ratified,
 ‘ and deemed of the same authority, as if
 ‘ enacted by the authority of the whole
 ‘ Senate.’ This mention of *Tiberius*, and
 of him only by name, in this Decree of
 the Senate, next after *Augustus*, appears to
 me remarkable. I do not observe that any
 of these passages of *Dio* have been quoted
 by *Pagi*. For what reason he omitted them
 I do not know. He has however insisted

(d) Καὶ συμβέβηκε, ὑπὸ Φ' γήρας (ὕφ' ἔπερ' εἰς τὸ βαλευτήριον
 ἔτι, πλὴν σπανιάτατα, συνεφόιστα) ἑικοσιν ἐτησίαις ἤτησατο—καὶ
 προσεψηφίσθη, πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ μετὰ τε Φ' Τιβερίου καὶ μετ'
 ἐκείνων, ἢ τε αἰὲ ὑπατευόντων, καὶ ἢ εἰς τῆτο ἀποδειγμέναν, ἢ
 τε ἐγγύονα αὐτῶ ἢ ποιητῶν δηλονότι, ἢ τε ἄλλων ὅσων ἂν ἐκάστοτε
 προσπαράλαβη, βαλεουμένω δόξῃ, κύρια, ὡς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ γερουσίᾳ
 ἀρτίσαντα, εἶναι. *ibid.* C. D.

upon another passage of this historian taken from the preceding year, *viz.* A. U. 764. A. D. 11. But his argument from it seems to me to be founded upon a forced and arbitrary construction of *Dio*: and therefore I content my self with referring the reader for it to (a) him, and (b) Monsieur *Le Clerc*, who also lays a stress upon it.

ONCE more, *Dio* says, that upon the death of *Augustus* ‘*Tiberius* immediately ‘ (c) sent away letters from *Nola* to the armies and all the provinces, as Emperour: ‘ but yet did not call himself so, though ‘ that, with other titles, had been given him ‘ by a decree’.

(3.) THERE is a particular fact related of *Tiberius* by several Historians, said to be done by him when *Prince*, which yet must have been done before *Augustus* died. *Plinie* says, that *Tiberius* was much given to drinking: ‘ And that it was thought, that ‘ for this reason *Lucius Piso* had been chosen ‘ by him to be Prefect of *Rome*, because he ‘ had continued two days and two nights

(a) A. D. 11. n. 13, 14, 15.

(b) Ubi supra.

(c) Τοῖστος ἐν δὴ τις ἂν, ἕς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἕς τὰ ἔθνη, πάντα, ὡς Ἀυτοκράτωρ, ἐυθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Νόλης ἀπέστειλε, μὴ λέγων αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι. Ψηφιστὴν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν, ἐκ ἰδιόζατο. Dio. l. 57. p. 602. D.

‘ drinking with him (a) when Prince’.
Suetonius says, that *Tiberius* in his first cam-
 paigns, was much reflected on for his excess
 in drinking, and that, ‘ Afterwards when
 ‘ Prince, in the very time of the Correction
 ‘ of the public manners he spent a night and
 ‘ two days in eating and drinking with
 ‘ *Pomponius Flaccus* and *Lucius Piso*, to the
 ‘ former of which he gave immediately the
 ‘ province of *Syria*, and to the other the
 ‘ prefecture of the City (b)’.

It may be worth while to observe with
Pagi, that these two writers who tell us the
 story of this drunken bout of *Tiberius*, and
 the consequences of it, seem not to have
 had their accounts from one and the same
 source. They differ from each other in two

(a)——Tribus congiis (unde & cognomen illi fuit) epotis
 uno impetu, spectante miraculi gratia Tib. principe, in Senectâ
 jam severo atque etiam faevo alias, sed ipsa juventa ad merum
 pronior fuerat: eaque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem
 urbis Romae curae ab eo delectum, quod biduo duabusque
 noctibus perpotationem continuasset apud ipsum jam PRINCEM.
Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 22.

(b) In castris tiro etiam tum, propter vini aviditatem pro
Claudio, Callius, pro *Nerone Mero* vocabatur. Postea PRIN-
 CEPS in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum *Pomponio*
Flacco & *L. Pifone* noctem continuumque biduum epulando
 potandoque consumpsit: quorum alteri *Syriam* provinciam,
 alteri praefecturam urbis concessim detulit. *Suet. in Tib.*
cap. 42.

or three particulars: One says, that this piece of excess lasted *two days and two nights*; the other, *one night and two days*. *Plinie* mentions only the preferment of *Piso*, *Suetonius* adds that of *Flaccus* also. But they both agree in saying, that *Tiberius* was *then Prince*; and *Suetonius* adds a very particular circumstance as to the time, that it was during the correction of the public manners, which may very naturally lead us to what he had said of the Law passed, that *Tiberius* should govern the provinces jointly with *Augustus* and make the Censur with him; one part of which at *Rome* was the Correction of manners.

BUT we must enquire somewhat more particularly into the time of this act of intemperance. It may be easily inferred from *Tacitus*: who relating the affairs of the year in which *Domitius Aenobarbus* and *M. Furius Camillus* were Consuls, sc. A. U. 785, A. D. 32. says: ‘ Then *Piso* had the
 ‘ honour of a public funeral by decree of
 ‘ the Senate, having behaved in his office to
 ‘ general satisfaction for (a) twenty years’.

(a) Dein *Piso* viginti per annos pariter probatus, publico funere ex decreto Senatus celebratus est. *Tacit. Ann.* lib. vi. cap. 11.

If we go back twenty years, we are brought to the 12th year of the Christian Era, and the 765th of the City; in which year, according to *Tacitus*, *Piso* must have been prefect of *Rome*, which is two years before the death of *Augustus*.

THERE are however some objections to this story, which must be considered before we leave it. Several (*a*) learned men would read in *Tacitus* X. instead of XX. But to this Doctor *Pagi*'s reply is sufficient, that this emendation is without the authority of any Manuscripts. It is likewise objected, that *Pomponius Flaccus* was not Prefect of *Syria* till long after the year of the City 765: consequently, neither was *Piso* then made Prefect (*b*) of *Rome*. Dr. *Pagi* (*c*) allows very readily, that *Pomponius* did not at this time go Prefect into *Syria*; but then he gives several instances of men who have been nominated governours of provinces, who yet never went into them; one is *Aelius*

(*a*) Lipsius in loc. *Norif. Cenot. Pil. Diff.* ii. p. 324.

(*b*) Sed hoc amplius ex Suetonio colliges, factum Pisonem Praefectum, sub idem tempus quo Pomponius Syriae Praetor. Ille autem Syriae non ante annum 773 praeponi potuit (Maesiam enim provinciam administrabat, A. 772. uti ex *Tacit.* lib. ii. clarum:) non ergo tot annos Piso Praefectus urbi. *Lipsius* ubi supra. yid. etiam *Norifium* ibid.

(*c*) A. Chr. 11. n. v.

Lamia, who by this very same Emperour had been nominated prefect of the same province likewise, namely of *Syria*, but yet never went thither. The fact is taken notice of by (a) *Tacitus*, and (b) *Dio*, which last observes, that this was a common practise with *Tiberius*. *Tacitus* has mentioned another like instance in the reign of *Nero* (c).

ANOTHER objection against *Piso's* being made prefect of the City A. U. 765, is this: *Suetonius* says, that this excess of *Tiberius* was committed during the public correction of manners: By which he has been supposed to refer to *Tiberius's* being made Censor with *Augustus*. But Cardinal *Noris* objects, that the Census was not made by *Augustus*, A. U. 765, but 767. And

(a) Extremo anni [A. U. 786. A. D. 33.] Mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Suriae imagine tandem exsolutus, urbi praefuerat. *Tacit. Ann.* lib. vi. c. 27.

(b) Τότε Πείσωνα τὸν πολίτην τελευτήσαντα δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ ἐτίμησε, καὶ Λάμιον (legendum Λάμιον, id est Lamiam) ἀντ' αὐτῆς ταμίαν ἀνθέλειτο, ὃν πρόπαλαι τῇ στρατιᾷ (legendum Συρίᾳ: Muretus in Tacit. An. vi.) προσάξας κατέχεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. τῆτο ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἐτέραν πολλῶν ἐποίει, ἕργω μὲν, μύθεος αὐτῶν δέομενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴν, τιμῶν αὐτῆς προσποιούμενος. *Dio.* lib. 58. p. 633 D.

(c) Syria P. Antioi destinata, & variis mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est. *Tacit. Ann.* lib. 13. cap. 22.

(a) he is of opinion, that the *public correction of manners* which *Suetonius* here speaks of intends the Edicts which *Tiberius* published against Luxury A. U. 775. For my own part, I cannot see, but that the words of *Suetonius* may very well refer to the time in which *Tiberius* was decreed Censor with *Augustus*, which might be done A. U. 765 : though the Census was not made, or at least not finished, till the year 767.

BUT that this *correction of manners*, which *Suetonius* here speaks of, is not that which he has himself mentioned in another (b) place ; and which *Tacitus* says was made A. U. 775 (c), may be made evident from two or three passages not particularly insisted on by *Pagi*. *Seneca* says, that *Tiberius* gave secret directions of importance to *Piso*, when he went into *Campania*, at which time there were divers uneasinesses and dif-

(a) Sed *Suetonius* si *censores* *Tiberium* significaret, annum U. C. 767. designasset, quo ipsa *publicorum morum correctio* a censoribus peracta est. Itaque designat tempus, quo *Tiberius* publicis edictis urbano luxui Modum ponebat, A. U. 775. *ibid.* p. 324. *vid. eund.* p. 329.

(b) In *Tib.* cap. 34.

(c) *Caius Sulpicius*, *D. Haterius* consules sequuntur. Inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum. *Ann. L.* iii. cap. 52.

contents in the City (a). This Journey of *Tiberius* was made in the beginning of the year before that, in which the Edicts were published for the suppressing of luxury, namely in the year of the City 774, as appears from *Tacitus* (b). It is plain therefore, that *Piso* was Prefect of *Rome* in 774, and in the very beginning of it: and it may be supposed, that *Tiberius* had had considerable experience of *Piso's* fidelity and ability in that post before that, since he relied upon him in a very critical conjuncture.

CARDINAL *Noris* objects (c) farther: It is true *Tiberius* had proconsular power in the provinces two years before *Augustus's* death: all the authority he had in the city was owing to his Tribunician power, but that included

(a) L. Piso, urbis custos, ebrius ex quo semel factus est, fuit, majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat. usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat: hoc erat ejus matutinum. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic & Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum praeponeret Thraciae, quam perdomuit, & Tiberius proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe & suspecta relinqueret & invisa. *Seneca* ep. 83.

(b) Sequitur Tiberii Quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus. ejus anni principio Tiberius, quasi firmandae valetudini, in Campaniam concessit: longam & continuam absentiam paulatim meditans. *Tacit. Ann.* lib. iii. cap. 31.

(c) His accedit, Tiberium in provinciis biennio ante mortem Augusti imperium obtinuisse; intra urbem verò non habuisse, nisi

cluded only a right of interceding or forbidding, but could not give the power of appointing a Prefect.

I THINK it is undoubted, that *Tiberius* might call the Senate by virtue of the Tribunician power (*a*), and it is likely do several other things. But there is no need of contending about this point. Perhaps *Tiberius* did not nominate and appoint *Piso* Prefect of the City: He might however recommend him so effectually to *Augustus*, his Collegue, that he might appoint him. Dr. *Pagi* observes, that *Plinie*, speaking of this matter, uses the word *choosing*, not appointing (*b*).

I IMAGINE, that this fact is now cleared up and vindicated against the several objections which have been made to it, and that *Piso* was appointed or chosen to be Prefect of the City of *Rome* by *Tiberius*, then Prince, two years before the death of *Augustus*, namely, in A. U. 765.

BUT before I quite leave this story, I would strengthen the argument founded up

nisi jus intercedendi ob tribuniciam potestatem. Quare unus Augustus Urbis praefecti designandi potestatem habebat. *Noris*, ibid. p. 324.

(a) Vid. *Uffer. Ann.* A. M. 4015. & 4017.

(b) Eaque commendatione credidere L. Pisonem Urbis Romae eugae ab eo delectum. vid. *Pagi. Crit.* ad an. Ch. 11. n. iv.

on it by a remark or two upon the Title of *Prince* given here to *Tiberius* by *Plinie* and *Suetonius*.

IT is well known that *Prince* was the soft title, which *Augustus* chose rather than that of (a) King or Dictator. This title therefore, when used absolutely, is equivalent to Emperour: And *Dio* says, that *Tiberius* had the title of Emperour given him by a decree, before *Augustus* died, as has been observed already. Moreover this title of Emperour is frequently given by *Roman* and *Greek* Authors to *Titus* and *Trajan* on accounts of their tribunician and proconsular power, which they enjoyed, the former in the life-time of his father *Vespasian*, the later, of *Nerva*. Doctor *Pagi* thinks, this title of Emperour which was given to these Collegues in the Empire was founded particularly on the perpetual proconsular power in all the provinces (b). But however that

(a) Qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine PRINCIPIS sub imperium accepit. *Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. cap. 1.* Non regno tamen, neque dictatura, sed PRINCIPIS nomine constitutam Rempublicam. *id. ibid. cap. 9.*

(b) Titus enim, quemadmodum & ante cum *Tiberius*, ac post eum *Trajanus*, imperii Collega fuit, ideoque imperatoris titulo exornatus; Imperii collegae Tribunicia potestate, & imperio proconsulari donabantur, ratione cujus imperatores nuncupati. *Pagi. A. D. 71. n. lii. in Crit. ad Bar.*

be, it is certain, they are often called Emperours. *Jofephus* in his description of *Vefpafian's* and *Titus's* triumph at *Rome* after the *jewish* war, fays, That the (a) Emperours lodged the night before near the temple of *Ifis*. *Plinie* the elder in his dedication of his Natural History to *Titus*, written before the death of *Vefpafian*, calls *Titus Emperour* (b) more than once. *Philofostratus* fays, that *Titus* was declared Emperour at *Rome*, and admitted to equal power in the government (c) with his father. It is in vain therefore to fay, that *Titus* was called Emperour in his father's life-time purely on account of his having been faluted Emperour by his Soldiers in the Camp, or in the Senfe in which this word was ufed under the Commonwealth, fince *Philofostratus* fays he was declared Emperour at *Rome*.

(a) Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνεπαύοντο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης οἱ αὐτοκράτορες.
Jofeph. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. v. p. 1305. v. 2.

(b) Jucundissime Imperator——Sciantque omnes quam ex aequo tecum vivat imperium. Triumphalis & Cenforius tu, fexiefque conful, ac Tribuniciae potestatis particeps. *Plin. in Praefat.*

(c) Ἀναρρήθεις ἢ Ἀυτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἀριστείων ἀξιωματικῶν τῶν τετραίων, ἀπῆει μὲν ἰσομοιήσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί κ. τ. λ.
Cumque imperator Romae effet appellatus, omnibus ornatus dignitatibus, Romam iter ingreffus, ut patris collega fieret. *Philofof. vit. Appollonii lib. vi. cap. 30. p. 269. Lipfinae. 1709.*

More-

Moreover *Capitolinus* (a) calls *Vespasian* and *Titus Princes* without any distinction. All these passages thus laid together may satisfy us, that *Prince* and *Emperour* are equivalent in these writers; and that *Tiberius* had a right to the title of *Prince*, even during the life-time of *Augustus*, after he was made his Collegue in the Empire. I shall refer the reader to but one passage more, in which *Plinie* the younger assures us, that *Trajan* was declared *Emperour* (b) by *Nerva* in his life-time. And it seems very strongly to support *Doctour Pagi's* opinion, that the title of *Emperour* given to these Collegues was founded rather on their Proconsular empire than their Tribunician power.

(4.) THERE are two or three verses of *Dionysius* the geographer, which *Doctour Pagi* esteems a very remarkable testimony to the Proconsular Empire of *Tiberius* (c).

It

(a) Avus Annius Rufus, item Consul & praefectus urbi adscitus in patricios a PRINCIPIBUS Vespasiano & Tito censoribus. in *Marc. Antonin Philos.*

(b) Simul filius, simul Caesar, mox IMPERATOR, & consors Tribuniciae potestatis, & omnia pariter & statim factus es, quae proximè parens verus tantum in alterum filium contulit. *Plin. Paneg.* cap. 8.

(c) Ἐκ διὸς Ἀυσονίης αἰεὶ μέγα κοιρανέοντες. v. 78.

A Jove Ausonii semper longe lateque dominantes.

It appears from the two last of these verses, that in *Dionysius's* time *Rome* was governed by more than one Prince. It has been questioned indeed, when *Dionysius* lived, and who are the *Princes* he speaks of. Some have thought, they were the two *Antonines*: others have thought, he intended *Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Geta*. (a) Cardinal *Noris*, I think, hath put it beyond all doubt by a passage alleged from (b) *Plinie*, that *Dionysius* lived in the time of *Augustus*. The Cardinal indeed supposes, that the Princes here referred to are *Caius* and *Lucius Caesar*, *Augustus's* adopted Sons. Doctor *Pagi* seems to me to have shewn, that the title of ἀνακτες cannot belong to them; and that *Augustus* and *Tiberius* are the Princes which *Dionysius* means: But for the particulars I must refer the reader to the Doctor himself (c).

Ῥώμην τιμήσαν, ἐμῶν μέγαν εἶκον ἀνάκτων, 355
 Μητέρα πασῶν πόλεων, ἄφνειον ἔδιδλον. 356

De amne Tiberi loquitur; atque, Qui amabilem fecit in duas partes Romam, Romam honorabilem, meorum magnam domum Principum vel Dominorum. *Dionys.* orbis descript.

(a) Cenotaph. Pis. Diff. ii. p. 193. (b) Hoc in loco [Arabia nempe] genitum esse Dionysium, terrarum orbis situs recentissimum auctorem, quem ad commentanda omnia in orientem præmisit Divus Augustus, ituro in Armeniam ad Parthicas Arabicaque res Majore filio. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. vi. cap. 27.

(c) Critica in Baron. A. D. 11. n. vi. vii.

THERE

(5.) THERE were two different computations of *Tiberius's* reign in the time of *St. Clement of Alexandria*. For having first said, that *Augustus* reigned forty three years and *Tiberius* twenty two (a), he adds:
 ‘ But some reckon the reigns of the Roman
 ‘ Emperours thus.—*Augustus* reigned forty
 ‘ six years four months and one day. Then
 ‘ *Tiberius*, twenty six years, six months,
 ‘ nineteen days (b).

HAVING laid before the reader the chief arguments that have been produced for the Proconsular or joint Empire of *Tiberius* with *Augustus*, I will consider also some of the objections there are against this opinion.

I. IT is objected, That *Spartian* says, that *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus* (c) were the two first *Augusti* that governed the *Roman Empire* together. But to this it is answered, that none of the Patrons of this opinion ever said, that *Tiberius* had the title of *Augustus*, whilst *Augustus* lived, but only that he was Collegue with him

(a) Ἀύγουστος, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία· Τιβερίος, ἔτη κβ. *Clement. Strom.* lib. I. p. 339. A. Parisiis 1629.

(b) Τινὲς μὲν τὰς χρόνας τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλείων ἕτως ἀναγράφουσι—Ἀύγουστος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μς, μῆνας δ, ἡμέρας μίαν. Ἐπειτα Τιβερίος, ἔτη κς, μῆνας σ, ἡμέρας ιθ. *id. ibid.* C.

(c) Hi sunt, qui postea duo pariter Augusti, primi rempublicam gubernaverunt. *Spartian.* in *Hadrian.* cap. 24.

in the Empire. These words of *Spartian* are no more an objection against *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire, than they are against *Titus's* and *Trajan's*, who certainly enjoyed this honour, the one with his father *Vespasian*, and the other with *Nerva*.

NOR indeed did the title of *Augustus* give any new power. It was only a title of honour (a), which sort of Titles were usually taken gradually. *Tiberius* ever refused that of Father of his country. And would not permit that of *Augustus* to be given him by any Decree, though he accepted of it from some persons, and made use of it himself in his letters to (b) foreign Princes. And *Dio* takes notice of it as a singularity in *Caligula*, that in one day he accepted all those titles which *Augustus* had received throughout his long reign, and had suffered to be given him only one by one (some of which *Tiberius* never would accept of) except only that of father of his country; which he

(a) Vid. *Dio*. lib. 53. p. 507.

(b) Τό τε τῶ πατρὸς ἢ πατρὶδος πρόσθημα παντελῶς διεώσατο, τὸ τῆ Ἀυγύστου ἐκ ἐπέλετο μὲν (εὐδὲ γὰρ ψηφισθῆναι ποτὲ ἔιασε) λεγόμενον ἐλ' ἀρχάν, καὶ γραφόμενον ἀναγινώσκων, ἔφερε καὶ ὅσάκις γε βασιλεύσει τισὶν ἐπέσειλλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσενέγραψε. *Dio* lib. 57. p. 607. A.

took upon him also in a short time after (a).

2dly, IT is objected: If *Tiberius* had been made Collegue in the empire with *Augustus*, there could have been no reason for those fears about the Succession of *Tiberius*, which *Livia* shewed upon the death (b) of *Augustus*. Nor would *Tiberius* have hesitated to accept the empire when offered to him by the Senate: Or indeed, what occasion could there have been for any new investiture at all?

BUT to this, I think it is easy to answer, that it is no surprising thing, that *Livia* should be under some pain, when the settlement of her son in the Empire was at stake. Though *Tiberius* had been partner in the empire, yet certainly the death of *Augustus* made a great change. *Germanicus* was very popular, and at the head of a numerous army (c). And as for *Tiberius's* hesitation, he had been hitherto but partner in the empire, and some kind of new investiture was needful. It is

(a) Ὡς τε πάντα ὅσα ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐν τισέτω τ' ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μόλις καὶ ἐν ἑκατον ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐδέξατο (ἀν' ἧναι Τιβερίος ἐδ' ὅλως προσήκατο) ἐν μιᾷ ἡμερᾷ λαβεῖν. κ. τ. λ. *Dio. lib. 59. p. 64. D.*

(b) Acribus nanque custodiis domum, & vias seperat *Livia. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

(c) *Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. cap. 33.—35. Dio. lb. 57. pag. 603.*

true, he carried his dissimulation very far : but *Augustus* himself never renewed a fresh term of government (which he did several times) but with much difficulty ; and not till he had been overcome by importunity and the consideration of the necessity of affairs.

HOWEVER, this dissimulation of *Tiberius* has afforded a new proof, that he had been Collegue with *Augustus*. For, as *Tacitus* and *Dio* intimate very plainly the fears which *Tiberius* had of *Germanicus* ; so *Suetonius* in particular says, ‘ He pretended a bad state of health, that *Germanicus* might entertain hopes of a speedy Succession, or at least (a) a partnership in the empire’. But such an expectation had been ridiculous in *Germanicus*, and this pretence of *Tiberius* could never have had the effect he designed, if no one had been partner in the empire before.

3. BUT the chief objection against the supposition, that *St. Luke* has computed the reign of *Tiberius* from the time of his Proconsular empire seems to be this, That it does not appear that any writers have com-

(a) S mulavit & validudinem, quo acquirere animo Germanicus celerem Successionem vel certe societatem principatus operiretur. *Suet.* in *Tiber.* Cap. 25.

puted the reign of those who were Collegues in the empire by the epocha of their Proconsular empire, and that in particular there are no traces of this computation of *Tiberius's* reign (a).

To this I answer: There is reason to think, that people did often compute according to the epocha of the Proconsular empire. *Pagi* mentions a Medal which has this inscription: *In the xi. new sacred year of the Emperour Titus Cesar Vespasian (b) Augustus.* Now *Titus* reigned alone after his father's death but a little above two years.

IT will not be expected, I should here attempt to explain the meaning of the epocha of the *new sacred Year.* All that I shall observe, is, that it appears not to have been used upon the coins of any Emperours beside those of *Vespasian, Titus, Domitian* and

(a) Est autem inauditum in omni memoria, *Titi* annos ab alio initio fuisse deductos quam a morte *Vespasiani.* *S. Bafnage* Annal. Pol. Ecclef. A. D. 11. n. iv.

(b) Sic in nummo Graeco apud *Oconem* pag. 166. legitur ΑΥΤ. ΤΙΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. ΣΕΒ. ΕΤΟΥΣ. ΙΕΡΟΥ. ΙΑ. id est, Imperatoris *Titi* Caesaris *Vespasiani* Augusti anno novo Sacro xi. Quo ex *Titi* nummo manifeste apparet, deceptos viros eruditos qui negant annos *Tiberii, Titi, aliorum,* que Imperii Collegarum numeratos fuisse. Haec porro epocha non nisi in *Vespasiani, Titi, Domitiani & Nervae* nummis occurrit. *Pagi. Crit. in Baron.* A. D. 81. n. iii.

Nerva : And that it does not begin at any one common period, such as the building or dedication of any one particular Temple, but that the numbers answer exactly to the years of the several emperours on whose coins it is found (a). And Doctor *Pagi* is of opinion, that it was an epocha chiefly used by the people of *Syria* and *Egypt*, because the epithet *sacred* is more common upon their coins than any others (b).

AND I cannot but think, that there were for some time different computations of the length of *Nerva's* and *Trajan's* reigns; and that they were owing to this, that *Trajan* was for some time *Nerva's* Collegue in the empire. *Dodwell* (c) was of opinion, that *Nerva* did actually resign the empire to *Trajan* before his death. And so (d) *Au-*

(a) Nisi enim hoc modo in nummis Titi, Domitiani & Nervae epocha haec explicetur, impossibile est nummos inter se posse convenire; cum eorum imperii annos non excedat, sed ad amissim iis respondeat. *Pagi*. *ibid.*

(b) Et nullibi sacri nomen frequentius, quam in nummis in Syria & Ægypto percussis, usurpatum. *Pagi*. *ibid.* n. iv.

(c) Vid. Append. ad Dissert. *Cypr.* n. 39, 40.

(d) Quid enim *Nerva* Cretensi prudentius?—Qui cum extrema aetate apud Sequanos, quo Tyranni defecit metu, imperium arbitrio legionum cepisset; ubi prospexit, nisi a superioribus robustioribusq; corpore, animoque geri non posse, menie Sexto ac Decimo semet eo abdicavit. *Aurel. Vict. de Caesar. in Nerva.*

relius Viator, and (a) *Lactantius* seem to say. I think indeed that *Nerva* did not resign, not only because *Eutropius* (b) says that *Diocletian* was the first of all the Roman Emperours that did so, but especially because the younger *Plinie*, who served under *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and knew them both very well, says nothing of it, though he often (c) mentions their joint empire. But I think, that the notion which the fore-mentioned Authors had of *Nerva's* resigning may be very well accounted for upon the Supposition, that they had met with different computations of the time of these two Princes reigns, in some ancient writers: And their mistake is not easie to be accounted for otherwise.

(a) Simul & exemplum Nervae proferbat; qui imperium Trajano tradidisset. *De Mort. Persecut.* cap. 13.

(b) Diocletianus privatus in villa, quae haud procul a Salonis est, praeclearo otio senavit; inultata virtute usus; ut solus omnium post conditum Romanum imperium ex tanto fastigio sponte ad privatae vitae statum civilitatemque remearet. *Eutrop.* lib. ix. cap. 28.

(c) Assumptus es in laborum curarumque consortium. *Plin. Papaz.* cap. 7. Inde QUASI deposito imperio qua securitate, qua gloria lactus? (*Nerva nempe*). Nam quantum re. fert deponas an PARTIARIS imperium, nisi quod difficilium hoc est? *Ibid.* cap. 8. Magnum hoc tuae moderationis indicium, quod non solum successor imperii, sed PARTICEPS etiam SOCIUSQUE placuisti. cap. 9.

As for *Tiberius*, I take it for granted that it has been fully proved, that he was for some time partner in the empire with *Augustus*; and particularly that it has been made appear that *Piso* was Prefect of *Rome* twenty years, and that he was put into that Post by the appointment or procurement of *Tiberius*. (Thus much I think Monsieur *Basnage* allows) (a). And *Suetonius* and *Plinie* both say that *Tiberius* was then *Prince*.

AND it is highly probable, that the first Christians had a persuasion that there were two different epochaes of the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign: Otherwise, when they said, that *Jesus* was crucified in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, when the two *Gemini* were Consuls, namely A. D. 29. (as they did almost universally) after he had preached above (b) two years, or a (c) whole year including two

(a) Ubl supra. A. D. 11. n. ii.

b) Tricesimo

enim juxta Evangelistam Lucam anno aetatis suae coepit in carne Dominus Evangelium praedicare, & juxta Johannem Evangelistam, per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos: & inde sex Tiberii supputantur anni. &c. *Spollinarius Laeditenensis* apud *Hieroz.* Comment. in Dan. c. 9. Ὁ ὅς Ἰησους παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶδε τρεῖς διέτριψεν ἔτη *Orig.* cont. Cels. l. 3. p. 67.

(c) Καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον εἶδε αὐτὸν κηρῖλαι, κητῆστο γένηται ἔτος—πεντεκαδικάτω ἐν ἔτι Τιβερίῳ, κὲ πεντεκαδικάτω Ἀυγύστῳ ἔτω πληρῶνται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως δ' ἔπαθεν. *C'erm. Alex. Stom.* l. 1. p. 340. A.

passovers, or a year and some (a) few months ; they must have been sensible that they contradicted *St. Luke* ; who says, that the *word of God came to John the Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius* ; since also they must necessarily have allowed some time for the ministry of *John*, distinct from that of *Jesus*.

THAT we have so few examples of this way of computing the reign of *Tiberius* is not to be wondered, considering how few ancient writers who lived near his time are come down to us, and especially such as lived in the Provinces, where this epocha must have been chiefly used. The distinct computation of *Augustus's* reign to the time of his death, and of *Tiberius's* after him was undoubtedly most commodious : and for this reason, probably, the computation of *Tiberius's* reign from the time of his Proconsular Empire was soon dropped. Besides, *Tiberius* seems to have taken pains to obliterate this date of his government : inasmuch as he was unwilling to have it thought that he owed his greatness to the adoption of *Augustus*, or the intrigues of his mother

(a) Ἐπειτὸν γὰρ περὶ μῆνας ὀλίγους ἐδίδαξαν *Orig. Philoc.*

Livia ; but would have it ascribed solely to the free choice of the people after *Augustus's* death (a), that is, to his own merit, as *Dio* expressly says (b).

TIBERIUS then having had for some time before the death of *Augustus* equal power with him in all the provinces and armies, and having been made thereby partner with him in the empire, it is not impossible, but that St. *Luke* might compute the reign of *Tiberius* by this epocha.

WE should now, if possible, settle the exact time when *Tiberius* was made partner with *Augustus*. It may be concluded, that he was so A. U. 765, two years before *Augustus* died, because in that year *Piso* was made prefect of *Rome*, *Tiberius* being Prince. And Arch-bishop *Usher* and Dr. *Prideaux* place the beginning of this government of *Tiberius* in this year.

THERE is however a considerable difficulty attending this matter, because *Velleius*

(a) Dabat & fama, ut vocatus electusque potius a Republica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum & senilem adoptionem inrepsisse. *Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

(b) Ἦδη μὲν ἤκουσα ὅτι ἐπειδὴν ἡ Λιβία ἀκοντος ἔ' Ἀυγύστου τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ περιπεποιηκέναι ἐλέγτο, ἐπλαττεν ὅπως μὴ παρ' ἐμείνης ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς βελῆς ἀναγκασὸς ὡς ἔ' κατὰ ἀρετὴν σφῶν προήκων δόξειεν αὐτὴν ἐιληφέναι. *Dio. lib. 57. p. 603 D.*

and *Suetonius* differ about the time in which the Law was passed by the Senate decreeing *Tiberius* equal power with *Augustus* in the provinces and armies. According to *Suetonius* this law was not passed till after *Tiberius's* triumph, which certainly happened A. U. 765. A. D. 12. But according to *Velleius* (a) this law was passed at the desire of *Augustus* before *Tiberius* returned to Rome from Germany to make his triumph. Doctor *Pagi* (b) is inclined to prefer the testimony of *Velleius Paterculus* before that of *Suetonius*, because *Velleius* was contemporary with *Tiberius*. But yet he dares not be positive in this matter, because St. *Clement's* numbers are different from both. However, as *Tiberius* was Consul in the 21st, and 31st years of our Lord, he judges this piece of respect to the tenth and twentieth years from the 11th year of our Lord to (c)

(a) *Sueton. in Tiber. cap. 21, 22. Velleius Pat. L. ii. cap. 121.*
Their words are transcribed above, p. 241.

(b) Vid. Crit. A. Ch. 11. n. x.

(c) Quia tamen *Tiberius* anno Christi xxi. rursusque anno Christi xxxi. Consul processit, existimandum, utrumque consultum ob Decennalia & Vicennalia Imperii Proconsularis *Tiberii* gestum, ideoque & illum anno Christi xi. Imperio Proconsulari donatum: quamquam uterque consulatus anno Christi xii. quo rem actam narrat *Suetonius*, respondere etiam possit, etiamsi quinquennalia legitimo tempore celebrata fuerint. id. ibid.

be a confirmation of the Supposition that *Tiberius's* proconsular power commenced A. D. 11. He observes also marks of honour shewn to the Quinquennals of this epocha, such as the dedication of temples by himself or the people of the provinces, the founding of cities by dependent princes, and such other the like things, with which the *Quinquennals* and *Decennals*, that is, the fifth and tenth years of remarkable events were wont to be celebrated.

As he thinks it most probable, that *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire began A. U. 764. A. D. 11; so he is pretty well satisfied as to the month and day of the month; which he thinks was the 28th of *August*, or vth. of the Kalends of *September*. One reason for it is, that from the 725th year of the City, *Augustus* seems to have had a particular respect for the vth. of the Kalends of months. Moreover, according to the second computation which *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions of the reign of *Tiberius*, it must have begun on the 28th. of *August*. Saint *Clement* says, that *Tiberius* reigned twenty six years, six months, nineteen days. Now *Tiberius* died the 16th. of *March* A. D. 37. From the 28th. of *August* A. D. 10 to the
16th.

16th. of *March* A. D. 37. are exactly (according to Doctor *Pagi's* reckoning) so many years, months, and days as *St. Clement* mentions. So that though *St. Clement* has been in the wrong as to the year, since he begins this computation of *Tiberius's* reign A. D. 10; yet he has helped us to the month and day of the month on which it commenced (*a*).

I HAVE represented the Doctor's sense of this matter, as well as I can, in a few words. But I cannot say, that this reasoning is altogether convincing. I must acknowledge, that I see not how any argument can be drawn from *St. Clement's* testimony, either for the year or month of this epocha, if his numbers have been altered, as the Doctor allows they have been in many places, and particularly in this very passage.

THERE appears to me some weight in the Doctor's observation upon the Quinquennals and Decennals of this epocha: But yet it is not fully conclusive. There might be some other reason, beside that here supposed, for *Tiberius's* taking the consulship

(a) Quare Clemens Alexandrinus rei gestae diem nobis conservavit, sed numeri annorum corrupti, quod in eo auctore non infrequens. *Pagi. Critic. A. D. 11. n. ix.*

A. D. 21. and 31. The 22d. and 26th. years of the Christian Era are as remarkable as any other for the founding of Cities, dedicating temples, and erecting of monuments. Though indeed, if this epocha began in the middle of any year, it is obvious at first sight, that these honours may be divided betwixt two years.

AND perhaps *Velleius Paterculus* and *Suetonius* may be reconciled by supposing only, that there was some time between *Augustus's* proposing *Tiberius's* partnership with him to the Senate, and the passing of the Act.

UPON the whole, I think there is good reason to believe, that *Tiberius* was Collegue in the Empire with *Augustus*, and that this epocha of *Tiberius's* empire was followed for some time by some persons, in the provinces at least: but it appears to me uncertain, when this Proconsular empire began, whether about *two* years, or about *three* years before *Augustus* died.

LET us however adjust the numbers in *St. Luke* to this computation of the reign of *Tiberius*, which commenced either about two years, or about three years before his sole empire after the death of *Augustus*.

And

270 *The Credibility of the Book II.*

And we will have an eye to the two dates of our Saviour's nativity abovementioned, *sc.* *September* or *October* A. U. 748, and 749°

IF *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire began about *three* years before *Augustus* died, *sc.* the 28th. of *Aug.* A. U. 764. A. D. 11. then this 15th. of *Tiberius's* reign (according to this computation of it) began *August* 28. A. U. 778. A. D. 25. Supposing that *John the Baptist* began his ministry *November* following, in the same year; and that *Jesus* was baptized by him the 6th. of *January* following in, A. U. 779. A. D. 26 : Then upon the supposition that *Jesus* was born in *September* A. U. 748, he would be at his baptism thirty years of age and some months over.

IF *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire commenced about *two* years before the death of *Augustus*, *sc.* A. U. 765. A. D. 12, then the fifteenth of the reign of *Tiberius* began in A. U. 779. A. D. 26. And supposing that *John the Baptist* began his ministry in *November* of that year, and that *Jesus* was baptized by him the 6th. of *January* following, A. U. 780. A. D. 27, then, upon the supposition that *Jesus* was born in *September* A. U. 749, he would be at the time of his
baptism

baptism thirty years of age and some months over : Or, if born A. U. 748, he would be somewhat more than thirty one years of age.

WE will put this matter one way more. If *John* the *Baptist* began his ministry in the fifteenth of *Tiberius* A. U. 778. A. D. 25. (as in the first stating of this question) but did not baptize Jesus till the 6th. of *January* A. U. 780. A. D. 27, after he had preached somewhat above a year, then Jesus would be at his baptism thirty years of age and odd months, if he was born A. U. 749 ; thirty one years of age and some odd months, if born the later end of the year 748.

I SEE not but that we have a very good right to take those dates of these events which appear most favourable to *St. Luke* ; since it is not absolutely certain when *Herod* died, or when *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire began : Nor have any of the writers of harmonics determined, that I know of, beyond contradiction, the space of time between the commencement of *John* the *Baptist's* ministry and our Saviour's baptism. But if we allow on each hand the dates the least favourable to *St. Luke's* numbers, *viz.* that Jesus was born A. U. 748. and that he was
not

not baptized till *January* A. U. 780. A. D. 27 ; yet even then Jesus would be little more (as has been shewn) than thirty one years of age ; at which time a person may be said very properly to be ABOUT *thirty years of age*, as will appear by and by.

I IMAGINE I have now shewed, that there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that St. *Luke* computed the reign of *Tiberius*, not from his sole empire after the death of *Augustus* but from the time of his proconsular empire, when he had equal power with *Augustus* given him in all the provinces and armies, and that upon this supposition, there lies no objection against the age ascribed to Jesus at his baptism.

§. III. HOWEVER, in order to compleat this Solution of this difficulty, it will be proper to consider some other notes of time, which we find in the Evangelists, and to enquire, whether these likewise agree with this supposition.

ST. *Luke* says : *Now in the fiftcenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, PONTIUS PILATE BEING GOVERNOUR OF JUDEA ---the word of God came unto John the Son of Zacharias.*

IT has been the opinion of some learned men, that *Pilate* did not come into *Judaea* so soon as the 15th year of *Tiberius's* Proconsular empire, the 12th of his sole empire, A. U. 778. A. D. 25.

THAT everyone may judge of this matter, I shall set down the account *Josephus* has given of *Pilate's* leaving *Judea*, from which we shall be able to conclude, when he came into it.

THE Senate of the *Samaritans* sent complaints against *Pilate* to *Vitellius*, President of *Syria*. And *Josephus* says: ‘*Vitellius*, sending his friend *Marcellus* to administer the affairs of *Judea*, commanded *Pilate* to go to *Rome* to answer to the Emperour for those things of which he was accused by the *Jews*. And *Pilate* having spent TEN YEARS IN JUDEA, hastened away to *Rome*, in obedience to the commands of *Vitellius*, not daring to refuse. But before he got to *Rome*, *Tiberius* was dead.

‘MOREOVER *Vitellius* came into *Judea*, and went up to *Jerusalem*. It was then a Feast time. The Feast is called the PASS-OVER. *Vitellius* being received there with great magnificence, abolished entirely the

' tax upon vendible fruits, and granted to
 ' the Priests the right of keeping in the
 ' temple the Vestment of the High-Priest
 ' and all its ornaments as they had done for-
 ' merly.----- Having conferred these favours
 ' upon the nation, he also took away the
 ' Priesthood from the High-Priest *Joseph*,
 ' who is likewise called *Caiaphas*, and sub-
 ' stituted in his room *Jonathan* the Son of
 ' *Ananus* the High-Priest. And then re-
 ' turned to *Antioch* (a).

JOSEPHUS immediately after this
 says, that *Tiberius* sent orders to *Vitellius* to
 to go and make a league with the King of
 the *Parthians*; that *Vitellius* having had a
 meeting with the King at the river *Euphrates*,
 and executed his commission, returned again
 to (b) *Antioch*.

(a) Καὶ Οὐιτέλιος, Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτῷ φίλον ἐκπέμφας
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρηστέρως, Πιλάτου ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης
 ἄλλοιαι, πρὸς ἃ καταργεῖν Ἰουδαῖν διδάγματα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
 Πιλάτου, δὲνα ἔσονται διακρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας, εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπεύξει,
 ταῖς Οὐιτέλιος παρόντος, ἰστορίας, ἐκ ἐναντιπῶν πρὶν καὶ τῆ Ῥώμης
 προχρῶν αὐτῶν, φέρων Τιβέριος μεταστάς. Οὐιτέλιος ἦ, εἰς τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος, ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄσκει, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτή,
 Πάσχα ἢ καλεῖται· ὁ χθεῖς ἢ μεγαλοσπετῶς Οὐιτέλιος, τὰ τέλη
 τῶ ἀνερέτων καρπῶν ἀνήσων εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς αὐτοῖν κατοικῶσι καὶ
 τῆν πόλιν τῶ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τὸν πάντα αὐτῷ κόσμον συνεχάρησεν
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κείμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερέσιν ἔχων τὴν ἐπιμελείαν, καθότι
 καὶ πρότερον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσία κ. τ. λ. *Jos ph. Ant. lib. 18. cap.*
v. §. 2, 3. pag 801. 802. (b) *Id. Ibid. p. 802. 803.*

AFTER

AFTER this *Vitellius* received orders from *Tiberius* to go and make war with *Aretas* King of *Petra*.

' *Vitellius* then having got all things
' ready for the war with *Aretas*, hastened
' away for *Petra* with two legions, and
' other auxiliary forces, and was come as far
' as *Ptolomaïs*. But as he was about to
' march his army through *Judea*, the chief
' men met him, entreating him not to go
' through their country; ---He complied
' with their request. And having ordered
' his army to take their rout through the great
' plain, he himself with *Herod* the Tetrarch
' and their friends went up to *Jerusalem*, to
' worship God, a Feast of the *Jews* being
' at hand (a). He was received by the people
' of the *Jews* with great respect. Having
' been there three days, he took away the
' High-Priesthood from *Jonathan* and gave it
' to his brother *Theophilus*. And on the
' fourth day after his arrival, receiving let-
' ters which brought an account of the death
' of *Tiberius*, he took an oath of the peo-
' ple to *Caius* (b)'.
'

(a) Ἐορτῆς πατρὸς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπισημοῦσας.

(b) Id. ibid. cap. vi. §. 3.

276 *The Credibility of the* Book II.

A FEW remarks on this account will suffice.

IT is not expressly said, which Feast of the *Jews* the last mentioned Feast was: But there can be no doubt, but that it was the Passover A. D. 37. I think this is not contested by any one. *Tiberius* died the 16th of *March*, A. D. 37. The news of his death might easily reach *Judea* by the Passover of that year, and could not be retarded to the Feast of *Pentecost*.

THE Passover first mentioned in this account must have been the Passover A. D. 36. It is evident, that the summer following *Vitellius* went as far as the river *Euphrates*, and returned to *Antioch*: and the next spring he was to go and make war with *Aretas*. But whilst his troops marched towards *Petra*, he went up to *Jerusalem* at the Passover in the year thirty seven, as has been observed. Nothing can be plainer, I think, than that *Pilate* was removed before the Passover in thirty six. And he must have been out some time before. *Vitellius* did not go to *Jerusalem* immediately after he had sent away *Pilate*, but first ordered his friend *Marcellus* to take care of affairs there.

IT is not said here, how long *Pilate* had been out, before *Vitellius* went up to *Jerusalem*; but it is probable, it was half a year. This may be concluded from hence. *Josephus* says, that *Vitellius*, when he was at *Jerusalem*, the first time here spoken of, put the High-Priest's vestment into the Priest's hands to be kept by them in the Temple. *Josephus* is very expresse, that this favour was conferred by *Vitellius* upon the nation at this time, and that having done so, he put out *Caiaphas* and returned to *Antioch*. Now in another place *Josephus* says: ' This Vestment King *Herod* kept here [*in the Castle of Antonia*]. And after his death it was kept in the same place by the *Romans* till the times of *Tiberius Cesar*. In his reign *Vitellius* president of *Syria*, having come to *Jerusalem*, and the people receiving him in a very honourable manner, he being willing to make them a suitable return, since they had desired that the sacred vestment might be in their own custody, wrote to *Tiberius Cesar* about it, and he granted their request (a).' From this passage it appears,

(a) Ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἐφυλάξεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἕν μὲχρι τῷ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι.

appears, that *Vitellius* did not put the High-Priest's Vestment into the hands of the *Jews* without leave from *Tiberius*. If *Vitellius* actually made this grant when he was at *Jerusalem* at the Passover A. D. thirty six, (as *Josephus* says expressly in the first passage) it is likely the *Jews* had sent their request to him about the time that *Pilate* was removed. And considering the slownesse of *Tiberius* in all his proceedings, it will not be thought strange, that we allow half a year between the *Jews* presenting their request to *Vitellius* in *Syria*, and the return of an answer from the Emperour: It is rather surprizing it should have come back so soon.

It is possible that some may except against this argument, and say, that the grant was not made by *Vitellius*, when he was at *Jerusalem*; but that he there received the *Jews* request, then wrote to *Tiberius*, and sometime after this put the sacred Vestment into their custody. But though *Josephus* does in this last passage seem to place things in this order; yet I should think that since

χρόνον ἐπὶ τὰτα ἢ Οὐτίλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν, ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, δεχάμενος τὴν πλῆθιν αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα πάντων, θελῶν αὐτὰς τῆς εὐπορίας ἀμείψασθαι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱερὰν εὐχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξουσιῶν ἔχειν, ἐγράψεν περὶ τούτων τὸ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέστρεψεν. *Ant. lib. xv. cap. xi. §. 4.*

in the passage first cited, he says, *Vitellius* bestowed this favour upon the *Jews*, whilst at *Jerusalem* at that time; it may be inferred, that the petition had been presented to him whilst in *Syria*, and that he brought *Tiberius's* grant to *Jerusalem* with him.

HOWEVER, though this argument should not be allowed me, yet since upon *Pilate's* removal *Marcellus* was sent to govern in *Judea*, it is plain there was some time between *Vitellius's* issuing his orders to *Pilate* to go to *Rome*, and his own Journey to *Jerusalem*. This time might be the space of five or six months, and I apprehend that the probability at least of my reasoning above, that *Vitellius* received the *Jews* petition for keeping the High-Priest's Vestment in *Syria*, then wrote to *Tiberius*, and delivered it to them, when he was at *Jerusalem*, may very much dispose us to admit the supposition of this space.

AND though it should be thought, that at the Passover next after *Pilate's* removal *Vitellius* did not give the High-Priest's Vestment into the *jewish* hands, but only received their petition for that favour; yet this does fully overthrow the opinion of those, who have thought, that *Pilate* was

removed but a few weeks before the death of *Tiberius*. *Vitellius*, after the removal of *Pilate*, was at *Jerusalem* at a Passover, and having been magnificently received by the *Jews*, in requital of their civilities wrote to *Tiberius* (so we will suppose at present) that they might have the keeping of the High-Priest's garment, and *Tiberius* granted it. This Passover then was not that Passover, at which *Vitellius*, being at *Jerusalem*, heard of the death of *Tiberius*. We are therefore fully assured that the passover which followed the removal of *Pilate* was not the passover A. D. 37, before which *Tiberius* died, but the passover preceding, *viz.* that in A. D. 36.

IT is certain then, that *Pilate* was removed before the Passover, A. D. 36, and probable, that he was removed about five or six months before it, namely, about *September* or *October*, A. D. 35. about a year and a half before the death of *Tiberius*.

SINCE *Josephus* says, that *Pilate* spent ten years in *Judea*; he came thither about *October* A. D. 25, or at least before the Passover A. D. 26, in the twelfth year of *Tiberius's* sole empire, which twelfth year began the nineteenth of *August* A. D. 25. This

also

also is perfectly consistent with what *Josephus* says of *Valerius Gratus*, the first Procurator of *Judea* under *Tiberius*, that he
 ‘ spent eleven years in *Judea*, and was then
 ‘ succeeded by *Pontius Pilate* (a)’.

So that though we should suppose that *Tiberius’s* Proconsular Empire began three years before the death of *Augustus*, as *Dr. Pagi* is inclined to do, sc. 28. *August.* A. U. 764. A. D. 11; yet *Pontius Pilate* would even then be in *Judea* in the fifteenth of that Empire, which began *Aug.* 28. A. U. 778. A. D. 25.

THERE is one difficulty, and but one in all this matter. *Josephus* says, that ‘ *Pilate* --- hastened away to *Rome* in obedience to the commands of *Vitellius*, not daring to refuse. But before he got to *Rome*, *Tiberius* was dead’.

IT will be best to take the objection from *Mr. Whiston*. ‘ Now it is known from *Josephus* that *Pontius Pilate* was Procurator of *Judea* but ten years; and that he was put out so little a while before the death of *Tiberius*, that the Emperour was actually dead before *Pilate* arrived at *Rome* to

(a) Καὶ Γράτῳ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἔπειτα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ. Πόντιος δὲ Πιλᾶτῳ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ ἔγενετο. *Antiq.* 18. c. 2. §. 2.

‘ answer for himself. *Tiberius* died *March*
 ‘ 26th. (a) A. D. 37. And *Pilate* might
 ‘ be out of his office a month, or six weeks
 ‘ before, suppose it *February*, from thence
 ‘ we must count ten years backward for
 ‘ for the beginning of *Pilate’s* government,
 ‘ which will therefore fall into *February*
 ‘ A. D. 27. (b).’

THIS is the difficulty : But I think, it would be very wrong to be determined by one single Sentence against all the evidence which arises from the whole series of a narration. It is extremely evident, that the Feast time, in which, *Vitellius*, being at *Jerusalem*, heard of the death of *Tiberius*, is not the Passover which followed next after *Pilate’s* removal. I shall not repeat particulars, but content my self with referring the reader to *Josephus’s* account, already transcribed.

AND if this one sentence about the time of *Pilate’s* arrival at *Rome* be inconsistent with the rest of the story, it is more reason-

(a) I suppose that Mr. *Whiston* herein follows *Dio* (unless it be a fault of the press) : But according to *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, *Tiberius* died the 16th. of *March*. vid. *Pagi. Crit. in Baron.* A. D. 37. n. ii.

(b) *Whiston’s* short view of the harmony of the four Evangelists, pag. 139.

able to suppose, that *Josephus* was mistaken in this particular, than in every thing else. He might be mis-informed about the time when *Pilate* got to *Rome*, but he could not well be ignorant of some of the most remarkable events in his own country, that is, when *Pilate* left *Judea*, when *Caiaphas*, and his Successor *Jonathan* were put out of the High-Priest's Office.

BUT there is no reason to suppose this particular is inconsistent with the other circumstances mentioned in this relation. Mr. *Whiston* indeed can allow but a *month* or *six weeks* between the time of *Pilate's* removal out of his office and his arrival at *Rome*. But it ought to be considered, that *Pilate* was not sent to *Rome* in order to take possession of a kingdom or some new ample province, but to answer for his conduct in his late government. Nor was he sent express: Nor was he recalled by the Emperour himself. But he was sent away by *Vitellius*, a fellow subject, though a superior officer. *Josephus* says, that *Pilate* hastened away to *Rome*. I have given his words the strongest sense in the translation: but I think, the meaning is no more than that he went away out of *Judea*. And

Josephus intimates very plainly the reluctance with which *Pilate* obeyed *Vitellius*, when he says, that he went, not *daring to refuse*.

THERE was, if I mistake not, some Law under the Commonwealth, which required the Governours of provinces to be at *Rome* in three months time after their term of government was expired: But whether that law was in force now, I cannot say. However it is plain it was not observed: *Piso's* conduct is a proof of it. *Germanicus* died in *November* or (a) sooner: As may be inferred from a passage of *Suetonius*, who says, 'that the publick sorrow for his death at *Rome* continued even through the Holy Days of *December* (b)': meaning, I suppose, the *Saturnalia*, which were celebrated in the middle of that month. And as *Germanicus* died in *Syria*, some time must be allowed for the carrying the news

(a) *Basnage* [Ann. Polit. Ec. Vol. 1. p. 221.] supposes he died in *July*. *Decimo quinto Julii Germanicum vitam cum morte commutasse ex Tacito conjecturam facimus: Equester ordo insituit, uti turmae idibus Julii imaginem ejus sequerentur.* Ann. l. 2. c. 83.

(b) Sed ut demum fato sanctum palam factum est, non solatis ullis, non edictis ullis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit, duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. *Sueton.* in *Calig.* cap. 6.

of his death from thence to *Rome*. *Piso* was gone from the Province of *Syria* before the death of *Germanicus*. It is most probable, that he was turned out by *Germanicus* (c). And yet he was not come to *Rome* at the time of the *Megalensian* games of the next year, which were kept on the fifth of *April* (b). It is true, the people of *Rome* were very uneasy at these delays of *Piso*, because they wanted to have him brought to his trial for the death of *Germanicus*, whom he was thought to have poisoned. But yet I do not perceive that when (c) his trial came on, his long absence from *Rome* is reckoned up amongst his other crimes.

A N D to add no more, the slowness of *Tiberius* in all his proceedings may help us to account for *Pilate's* delays in going to *Rome*,

(a) Addunt perique jussum (*Pisonem*) provinciae decedere. *Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. 70.*

(b) Et quia Ludorum Megalensium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent. Tum exuto justitio, reditum ad munia; & Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis patendae a Pifone ultionis; & crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Aethiopiae, adroganti & subdola mora scelerum probationes subverteret. *Tacit. Ann. lib. iii. cap. 6, 7.*

(c) Id. ibid. cap. 13.

though

though it be supposed that he made a year and a half of it.

JOSEPHUS says, that *Tiberius* was the most dilatory Prince that ever lived (a). His conduct towards *Herod Agrippa* affords a strong proof of it. A Servant of *Agrippa* waited upon the Prefect of *Rome*, assuring him he had some informations of great consequence to give to the Emperour relating to his master. The Prefect sent him to *Tiberius*, but he, without making any particular enquiry into the matter, only keeps the man safe in custody. *Agrippa* lying under the Emperour's displeasure was forced to make interest to have his servant heard. And though he then informed the Emperour of words spoken by *Agrippa* which were little less than treason, and *Agrippa* was immediately thereupon confined; yet he was never called for again, though *Tiberius* lived six months (b) after. *Tacitus* has mentioned another instance well nigh, or quite as remarkable (c). This slow way of think-
ing

(a) Μεθυστής ἐστὶ καὶ τις ἑτέρων βασιλείων ἢ τωράνου γνώμωνος.
Antiq. lib. 18. pag 811. v. 3.

(b) *Joseph.* Ant. 18. cap. vii.

(c) Consululque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, (De *Asinio Gallo loquitur*) non erubuit permittere, ultroque incusare casus, qui

ing and acting was visible in *Tiberius* in his very youth (a). And no historian of those times is silent about it. *Pilate*, who had served *Tiberius* ten years, could not be ignorant of what all the world knew. He might have many probable reasons to think, that, if he did not come in the Emperour's way, he should never be called for. If enquiry was made for him, an excuse might be found out that would serve for some time. Sicknesse might be pretended, as a reason for his stay in *Asia*, *Achaia*, or some other place where he was got. Perhaps this was really the case. To be put out of his Government by *Vitellius*, upon the complaints of the people of his province, must have been a very grievous mortification. *Eusebius* assures us, that not long after this *Pilate* made away with himself out of vexation for his many misfortunes (b).

reum abstulissent antequam coram convinceretur. Scilicet medio triennio detuerat tempus subeundi iudicium consulari seni tot consularium parenti. Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 23.

(a) *Sæva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit. Sueton. in Tiber. cap. 57. Sed mitigavit Sejanus, non Galli amore, verum ut cunctationes principis aperirentur; gnarus eum lentum in meditando. Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 71.*

(b) Πόντιος Ηιλάτος ἐπὶ Γαίῃς Καίσαρος ποικίλαις περιπεσῶν συμφοραῖς, ἃς φασιν οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράμμενοι, αὐτοφονευθῆς ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο. *Euseb. Chron. p. 78.*

THERE

THERE is another note of time mentioned in St. *John's* Gospel, which ought also to be considered. *Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building : and wilt thou rear it up in three days ?*

John ii.
20.

I SUPPOSE, that the objection to be formed upon this text is to this effect. These words were spoken by the *Jews* at the first Passover of our Saviour's public ministry, and the next after his Baptism by *John*. The Temple which the *Jews* spoke of, was the Temple then before their eyes, and which *Herod* had rebuilt or repaired. But *Herod* did not make the proposal for rebuilding it till the eighteenth year of his reign, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus*. Therefore, if the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* reign mentioned by St. *Luke* be the fifteenth of his Proconsular Empire, and not of his sole empire after the death of *Augustus*, this temple could not have been so long as *forty six years* in building, at the time these words were spoken.

TO this I might answer, That an objection taken from *Josephus's* account of the time when *Herod* repaired the temple can be of little moment : because in one place

place he says, that *Herod* repaired the temple in the fifteenth (a), and in another the eighteenth year (b) of his reign. As the fifteenth year from the death of *Antigonus* is supposed to be coincident with the eighteenth year from the time in which *Herod* was declared King of *Judea* by the Senate of *Rome*, some may be disposed to conclude, that, when *Josephus* says *Herod's* proposal to rebuild the Temple was made to the *Jews* in the eighteenth year of his reign, he computes from the time in which *Herod* was declared King by the Roman Senate.

BUT I do not insist upon this, and am willing to allow, that *Herod* made the proposal to the *Jews* of building their temple in the eighteenth year of his reign from the death of *Antigonus*.

AND I think it is as likely that the *Jews*, in these words recorded by *St. John*, refer to the time of *Herod's* proposal, as to the time in which he began actually to repair the temple. It is most probable, that *Herod* made this offer to the *jewish* people, when assembled together at one of their great Feasts. This therefore would be the most solemn and

(a) De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. init.

(b) Ant. lib. xv. cap. xi. init.

remarkable Epocha of rebuilding the temple, which work undoubtedly he set about as soon afterwards as he could.

AND it is very common to say, that men do things, when they propose to do them, or begin to do them. Thus *Josephus* says in his *War of the Jews*: ‘In the fifteenth year of his reign he [*Herod*] repaired the temple it self, and enclosed a spot of ground about it, of double the compass with that which surrounded it before. This was done at a vast expence, and is a proof of his uncommon magnificence (a). We will allow that the fifteenth year in this place ought to be corrected by his *Antiquities*, where he says, that ‘in the eighteenth year of his reign *Herod* projected [or undertook] the rebuilding the Temple, which was the greatest of all his works (b)’. But then it appears from hence, that *Herod* is said by *Josephus* in one place to do what in another he is only said at the same time to propose or begin.

(a) Πεντακαιδέκτω γέν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας, αὐτὸν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκεύασε, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίστατο χάραν, τῆς ἕως διπλασίου, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλάμασιν, ἀνυπερβλήτω ἢ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ. De Bell. lib. i. cap. 21. init.

(b) Τότε γέν ὀκτακαιδέκτω τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγενησὶς ἑνιαυτῷ, — ἔργον ἔ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπεβάλετο, τὸν ναὸν ἔθει δὲ αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι. Ant. lib. xv. cap. xi. init.

SUPPOSING that the *Jews* in this text of *John* refer to the time in which *Herod* made the proposal of rebuilding the temple, we will see how this term of forty six years will agree with the Supposition that St. *Luke's* fifteenth year of *Tiberius* is the fifteenth of his Proconsular Empire.

IF the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire began the 28th of *August* A.U. 778. A. D. 25. (according to Dr. *Pagi's* opinion) and if *John the Baptist* began to preach in *November* that year, but did not baptize *Jesus* till after he had preached a year and some months, then the Passover at which these words were spoken was the Passover A. U. 780. A. D. 27.

OR if the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* reign began A. U. 779, A. D. 26, and *John* began then to preach, and *Jesus* was baptized by him, some time before the passover next following; still these words would be spoke by the *Jews* at the Passover A. U. 780, A. D. 27.

THE eighteenth year of *Herod's* reign, from the death of *Antigonus*, is supposed to have begun some time in A. U. 734. *Herod* might make his offer to the *Jews* of rebuilding the Temple at the Feast of *Tabernacles*, in *November* that year. From *November* A. U. 734. to the Passover A. U.

780, A. D. 27, is almost forty five years and an half. At this time therefore the *Jews* might not improperly say, the temple had been *forty six years in building*. The forty sixth year was then current. And it was to the purpose of the *Jews*, rather to add to, than to diminish the time which had been spent in that work. So that there is no time more suitable to these words of the *Jews* than the Passover A. D. 27. Though there is no manner of inconsistency between understanding the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, of his Proconsular Empire, and supposing that these words were spoken at the Passover A. D. 28. And then the Temple might have been above forty six years in building.

WHAT has been here said, may be sufficient to shew, that St. *Luke* might compute the reign of *Tiberius* from the epocha of his Proconsular Empire; that if he did, Jesus might be said, with great exactness and propriety, to be *about thirty years of age* at his baptism; and that there is nothing in this supposition inconsistent with any other notes of time mentioned in the Gospels.

§. IV. ANOTHER way of solving this difficulty is this. These words of Saint *Luke*: *And Jesus himself began to be about thirty*

thirty years of age, may be understood with Luke iii. 23. some latitude. Jesus might be thirty (a) two years of age or more at this time. The word *about* (ὥσει) is often used, where a precise exactness is not intended or expected. *Matth. xiv. 21.* *And they that had eaten were ABOUT five thousand* [ὥσει πεντακισχιλίοι], *beside women and children.* And the other Evangelists, in speaking of this Miracle, use the same phrase *. *St. Luke* says, * Mark vi. 44. Luke ix. 14. John vi. 10. *Act. ii. 41.* *And the same day there were added unto them about [ὥσει] three thousand souls.* And with a like latitude does this phrase seem to be used in many other places †.

IT is *Kepler's* opinion, that round and decimal numbers may be used with great latitude: And that a person may be very truly said to be about thirty years of age, if he be above five and twenty and under thirty five: But that, if a person be said to be about eight and

(a) Ex nostrâ quidem Chronologia, sequitur Christum jam annum xxxii. evasisse cum ad baptismum accessit. Nil tamen in ea, vel absurdi, vel pugnae aliquid cum Lucâ intelligimus, cum de viro annos duos & triginta nato, cujus aetas dubitanter profertur, non incongrue dici possit, est annorum circiter triginta—Iterum iterumque monemus, ex phrasi Lucae, Josephi de supremo Herodis anno chronologia damnari nequit. *Basnage Ann. Pol. Ec. Ante Dom. 3. n. vi. vid. etiam ad A. D. 30. num. iv.*

twenty or two and thirty years of age, it is to be supposed he is exactly so old, or not above a month or two more or less. (a).

AND indeed many examples of this use of round numbers may be found in the (b) best writers, even without the particle *ὠσεὶ*, *about*, which of it self seems to be a hint, that the writer does intend to be understood with some latitude.

(a) Hic receptus mos est linguis omnibus ut circiter 5000 dicamus quicquid est inter 4500 & 5500. Quare sic etiam in nostro exemplo quicquid est inter 25 & 35, id omne circiter 30 dici potest. Alia esset voculae ratio, si praefixisset numero non rotundo. Ut si dixisset circiter 28 annos, vel circiter 32 annos. Quae enim infra decem nominatim exprimuntur, iis apposita vocula *circiter* raro unum annum solidum in dubio ponat, sed fere menses tantum aut dies aliquot numero paucos & infra quantitatem anni solidi. *Keplerus de Anno C. Natali*. Cap. xii. p. 140, 141.

(b) Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in QUADRAGINTA deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. *Livius*, Lib. i. cap. xv. n. 7. This refers to *Numa's* reign, of which afterwards *Livie* says—Romulus septem & triginta regnavit annos, Numa TRES ET QUADRAGINTA. *ibid.* cap. xxi. When the City of Rome was taken by the Gauls and the remnant of the people were entering into the Capitol, *Livie* uses these words: Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum; quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequerantur, *commendantes virtuti eorum juventaeque urbis per TRECENTOS SEXAGINTA annos omnibus bellis victricis,——fortunam.* *id.* lib. v. cap. 40. *Camillus* not long after in the very same year, in his speech to dissuade them from removing to *Veii*, says; TRECENTESIMUS SEXAGESIMUS QUINTUS annus urbis, *Quirites, agitur.* *ibid.* cap. 54. *vid. eundem* Lib. vi. cap. 28. n. 7. & *Jean. Cleric. notas.*

IF we may take St. *Luke's* words in this manner, there is scarce any need that I should trouble the reader with any calculation, to shew the agreement of his numbers with the time of our Saviour's nativity.

THE fifteenth of *Tiberius's* sole empire began A. U. 781. A. D. 28. If Jesus was baptized the 6th *January* A. U. 782, A. D. 29, he would be but some months above thirty three years of age, though he was born so soon as *September* A. U. 748. And if he was born A. U. 749, then, though his baptism be placed in the beginning of A. U. 783, A. D. 30, still he would be little more than thirty three years of age.

ALL the other notes of time in the Gospels are also very easily reconciled with this fifteenth of *Tiberius's* sole Empire. *Pontius Pilate* came into *Judea* before the Passover in the 12th year of *Tiberius's* sole Empire, A. U. 779, A. D. 26. (as has been shewn) : And continued there *ten* years. Therefore he was undoubtedly Governour of *Judea* at the commencement of *John the Baptist's* ministry, and till after our Saviour's crucifixion.

As for those words of the *Jews* spoken by them at the first Passover of our Saviour's

ministry, *Forty six years has this temple been building*, it is but to suppose that they referred, not to the time when *Herod* made the proposal of repairing the Temple in the 18th year of his reign, but to the time when in pursuance of that proposal he actually set about the work, after he had got all things in a readinesse for it, and it will be easily perceived that these words are agreeable to truth.

I DO not presume to determine, which of these two Solutions is the justest: or whether *St. Luke* intended the fifteenth of *Tiberius's* Proconsular Empire when he was made Colleague with *Augustus*, or the fifteenth of his sole Empire. In order to do this, it would be needful, as I apprehend, to consider the time allotted by the Evangelists to the ministry of *John the Baptist* and our Saviour, the Chronology of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, compared with some passages in the *Epistles*, and also the testimonies of the ancient Christian writers. As I have not here room for all these premises, it may be best to wave the conclusion. All I shall say at present is, that the Supposition, that *St. Luke* intended the former of these two epochaes, seems to be very much favoured by the first Christians,

ftians, who generally place the crucifixion of Jesus at the Passover of the 15th of *Tiberius's* sole Empire, when the two *Gemini* were Consuls of *Rome*, A. D. 29 : And that their testimonies are of great weight with me. I subjoin in the Margin (*a*) a few of them, for the sake of those who may happen to be unacquainted with these matters.

I APPREHEND that each of these is a very good Solution of the objection stated at the beginning of this chapter, though I believe many will think it is there stated by me in a manner very favourable to an objector. Nay, I imagine I have said what is sufficient to satisfy any reasonable person, that there does not lie any objection against any notes of time mentioned by the Evangelists

(*a*) Hujus [*Tiberii*] quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus — Quae passio hujus exterminii intra tempora lxx. hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Caesare, Cons. Rubellio Gemino & Rufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschae. *Tertul.* advers. Jud. c. 8. Atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum Tiberii Caesaris, quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni sexaginta. *Africanus* apud *Hieron.* Dan. C. ix. Qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Caesaris; cujus anno quinto decimo, id est, duobus Geminis consulibus — Judaei Christum cruci affixerunt. *Lactant.* Inst. l. 4. c. 10. Extremis temporibus Tiberii Caesaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judaeis cruciatus est, ————— duobus Geminis consulibus. de *Mort. Persecut.* c. 2.

from

from the Chronology of other ancient writers. This is sufficient to my present purpose.

I HAVE nothing farther to add here, beside this one observation.

IT is no disparagement to the sacred Historians, that we are somewhat at a loss to settle precisely the very year of some of those events which they have related. Many important facts related by the best historians are attended with Chronological difficulties. I shall give but one instance, an instance which we are nearly concerned with. *Josephus* was a man of a learned education, is a professed writer of history, of the civil and sacred history of his country: and is generally allowed to be an accurate writer. He has expressly mentioned two epochæ of the commencement of *Herod's* reign, and has given an account of his death, and the duration of his government. He has writ the history of the whole reign of this Prince. He has related the Series of events, and the Succession of the Princes and Governours of *Judea* before and after *Herod*. He has put down the years of the *Olympiads*, and the names of the Consuls, when some of the most remarkable of these events happened. Nor have all *Roman* and *Greek* historians
been

been silent about *Herod* or his descendents, and the *jewish* Affairs, near this time: Not to mention *Talmudical* or other *jewish* Authors. And yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, whether through prejudice or want of sufficient light, it has happened, that learned men have differed widely about the time of *Herod's* death, and are not yet come to a full agreement.






C H A P. IV.

Of *Annas* and *Caiaphas*.

§. I. *The difficulty relating to their being both high-priests at the same time considered.* §. II. *Of Caiaphas being high-priest that year, in which Jesus was crucified.*

I.  E have another objection against the account St. *Luke* gives of the Government *Judea* was under, when *John* the *Baptist* began to preach. Now in the *fifteenth* year of the reign of *Tiberius Cesar*, *Pontius Pilate* being governour of *Judea*, and *Herod* being *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*.-----ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS BEING THE HIGH-PRIETS *the word of*
 * *Luke* iii. *God came unto John* *.

I. 2.

IT is objected, that it appears from the books of the *Old Testament*, the writings of *Josephus* and other *Jews*, that there was
 but

but one High-Priest among the *Jews* at a time. St. *Luke* therefore has been mistaken in saying, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were both High-Priests.

MUCH has been writ upon this subject, and learned men (*a*) have been of divers opinions. I hope I may be excused, if in this place I depart from the method I usually take in considering these objections, and do not set down all the Sentiments of writers upon this point.

I SHALL here therefore do little more than deliver my own Sentiments concerning this matter in a few particulars, which, I hope, will contain a sufficient answer to the objection.

1. IT would be extremely unreasonable to impute to St. *Luke* so great a mistake as the supposing, that there were properly two High-Priests among the *Jews* at the same time. He appears in the rest of his history well acquainted with *jewish* affairs. It is plain, that he knew very well there was one who was in the office of High-Priest: ch. xxii. 50. *And one of them smote the Ser-*

(a) Vid. *Baron. Ann. A. D. 31. num. 8.*—*Casaubon* in *Eron. Exerc. xiii. Num. v. Selden* de *Sucess. in Pontif. Lib. i. cap. 12. Hammond. Annot. cum multis aliis.*

vant of the HIGH-PRIEST.--- 54. *Then took they him and led him, and brought him to the HIGH-PRIEST's house.*

2. IT is likely, that the power which the *Jewish* people were possessed of under the *Romans* was lodged chiefly in the hands of two persons: and it may be supposed, the *Jews* chose to have it so. When they had resolved upon the War with the *Romans*, *Josephus* says: 'They assembled in the temple, and appointed several Generals. And *Joseph* the Son of *Gorion*, and the High Priest *Ananus*, were chosen to be supreme governours (a) of all things in the City.' I have not observed this passage quoted by any upon this occasion: Whether it be material or not, the reader will judge. But it has inclined me to suppose, that about this time there were usually among the *Jews* two persons, to whom the government was chiefly committed. I must however advertise the reader, that *Ananus*, here called High Priest, was not then in the office of the Priest-hood.

(a) Καὶ συναβροισθέντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, στρατηγὸς ἀπέδειξαν ἔ πολλοὺς πλείονας ἤρεθῃ ἢ Ἰώσηπ[Ⓞ] υἱὸς Γαρίαν[Ⓞ], καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀναν[Ⓞ], ἃ τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων αὐτοκράτορες, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τεῖχην τῆς πόλεως ἀνεγείρειν DeBell. 2. c. 20. §. 3.

3. SINCE *Caiaphas* was now properly High-Priest, and *Annas* had been so; if the latter was now in some post of authority, they might be both said very properly to be High-Priests at this time. *Josephus* often calls *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* Presidents or Governours of *Syria* (a), though *Saturninus* only was President, and *Volumnius* the Emperour's Procurator, that is, the officer that took care of the revenue.

THERE happened a disturbance between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* in the reign of *Claudius*. *Cumanus* the Procurator of *Judea* was not able to compose it: appeals were made to *Quadratus* President of *Syria*. He having punished several ' sent two others of ' the most powerful men of the *Jews*, as ' also THE HIGH PRIESTS *Jonathan* and ' *Ananias*, and *Ananus* the Son of this last ' mentioned person, and some other confide- ' rable men to *Cesar* (b). I take this passage of *Josephus* (which has been often cited by

(a) Πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατυρνίνον ἐλθόντα ἔ' Ουολέμνιον τὴν Συρίας ἡγεμόνιαν· Ant. lib. 16. cap. x. p. 741. v. 1, 2. Τοῖς Καίσαρι ἡγεμόσιν Σατυρνίνω τε καὶ Ουολεμνίῳ—ἐπὶ τε Σατυρνίνου καὶ Ουολεμνίου τῆ Συρίας ἐπιστατέων. ibid. cap. ix. p. 734. v. 25. & 37.

(b) Δύο ὃ ἐτέρευ τῶ δυνατωτάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερεῖν Ἰωνάθαν καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τὸν τε τῶτα παῖδα Ἀνανον — ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα. De Bell. lib. ii. cap. xii. §. 6.

learned men) to be very near parallel with St. *Luke's*.

JONATHAN had been High-Priest, but had been put out long before now by *Vitellius* (a): *Ananias* was (b) now High-Priest. In like manner, in the case in question, *Annas* had formerly been High-Priest, but *Caiaphas* was now in that office.

I AM the more inclined to think *Josephus's* stile here parallel with St. *Luke's*, because it appears from another place, where *Josephus* mentions this affair, that *Ananus*, the third person named, was then Captain of the Temple (c). From whence I conclude, that the Three persons here mentioned were then in the three chief posts of the *jewish* civil and sacred Government. He speaks indeed of two others, whom he calls the *most powerful of the Jews*. But I apprehend they were so only in respect of their influence. It is reasonable to suppose, that the persons named were in the most eminent Stations.

THERE is another particular, in which these two passages are parallel: *Jonathan*,

(a) Ant. 18. cap. 6. §. 3.

(b) Ibid. 20. cap. 4. p. 886. v. 41,

(c) Ant. 20. c. 5. p. 889. v. 36.

who had been High-Priest, is named before *Ananias*, then in office: The two names stand in the same order in Saint *Luke*. I suppose, that these propositions may afford a clear Solution of this difficulty.

THE learned *Selden* conjectures, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* are not mentioned in this place by St. *Luke* on account of any *Sacred* function they discharged, but as they were the two persons who had then the chief authority under the *Romans* in the *Civil* administration of the *jewish* affairs: that *Annas* was now Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, and *Caiaphas* the father of it; and that therefore *Annas* is first named, as being in the more honourable station of the civil government. He supposes that these two posts might then be annual, that *Annas* was Prince of the *Sanhedrim* when *John* the *Baptist* began his ministry, and that *Caiaphas* was Prince when our Saviour was crucified. And therefore St. *John* says particularly, that *Caiaphas* was High-Priest *that same year* *. But that afterwards when *Peter* * John xi. 49. 51. and *John* were called before the council, † Acts iv. 6. *Annas*, who is first † named, was Prince, 6.

X

and

and *Caiaphas*, *Father* of the *Sanhedrim* (a).

SELDEN offers these thoughts, as conjectures only. I hope therefore, it will not be deemed presumption, to be of another mind, or to offer some different thoughts upon this subject.

As *Caiaphas* was now in the office of the Priesthood when *John* the *Baptist* began his ministry, I suppose that *Caiaphas* is mentioned by *St. Luke* on the account of

(a) Hinc, si conjecturae venia detur, existimarem, Annam & Caiapham Pontifices simul a D. Luca dictos, non qua sacrae functionis dignitas illo nomine denotatur, sed qua civilis eorum administratio, ut & ceterorum quibuscum conjunguntur, ad ipsum annum, de quo verba ibi fiunt, indicandum denotaretur. Scilicet Annam tunc fuisse Synedrii Principem, Caiapham verò ejusdem Patrem.—Ita demum cur Caiaphas, quem sacram dignitatem ipsam velut Aharonis successorem gessisse intervallo illo ex Josepho docemur, Annae postponatur, ratio non inepta reddi potest. Etenim Principi Synedrii Pater Synedrii erat semper secundarius. Sed vero nec Principis nec Patris Synedrii munus semper perpetuum erat, sed ab alio ad alium, pro re nata translatum. Quod ex titulo Talmudico Horaijoth, cap. iii. aliisque Magistrorum commentariis elicitor. Et forsitan tunc temporis annuum erat. — Atque illinc forsitan altera illa quaestio de Caiaphae pontificatu suo anno apud D. Joannem defigato solvenda—Adeo ut Anno Tiberii xv, seu in loco D. Lucae, Annas esset Princeps Synedrii, Caiaphas Pater, anno vero Passionis Annas Pater, Caiaphas Princeps; postmodum vero Annas, inter suos utpote eminentissimus, itidem Princeps, & Caiaphas Pater, ut in Actorum quarto, *Selden. de Succ. In Pontif.* lib. i. c. xii.

the High Priesthood, and the Civil Authority joined with it ; and that, the *jewish* government being at this time under the *Romans Aristocratical*, *Annas* is mentioned together with *Caiaphas*, as being the other chief person in the *jewish* administration. But I am of opinion, that we have not sufficient light at present to determine, what Post of honour *Annas* was in, though that of Prince of the *Sanhedrim* be as likely as any. However, I cannot easily persuade my self, that during the *jews* subjection to the *Romans*, the Prince of the *Sanhedrim*, or any other *jew*, not in the High Priesthood, was equal, much less superior to him who enjoyed that Office : unless, when there was some *jewish* Prince appointed Governour of the Temple by the Roman Emperour. If *Josephus's* authority be sufficient to decide this matter, it is plain the High-Priest had the chief power in the *jewish* nation under the *Romans*. This may be concluded from hence, that he has preserved the Succession of the High-Priests, and of them only, to the destruction of the Temple. But if there had been after the removal of *Archelaus* any persons in an office of superior authority to the High-Priest, he would have also given us their

names. We should also in all probability have met with some accounts in his history, of the putting out of these Officers by the Roman Governours, when they did not behave to satisfaction. And indeed *Josephus* seems to me expressly to say, that the High-Priest was the chief person in the *jewish* nation under the *Romans*. Having at the conclusion of his *Antiquities* reckoned up the *jewish* High-Priests he says: ‘ Some
 ‘ of these administered affairs under *Herod*
 ‘ the King and his Son *Archelaus*: after
 ‘ their death the administration was *Ari-*
 ‘ *stocratical*, but the Presidentship of
 ‘ the nation was committed to the High-
 ‘ Priests (a).

FARTHER, I apprehend no mystery at all in the order in which these two persons are named by *St. Luke*. Ancient writers seem not to be very solicitous about the order in which they name persons who are pretty near equal (b). I suppose that

Caiaphas

(a) Κάι τινες ἔξ αὐτῶν ἐπολιτεύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδῃ βασιλεύοντι, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχελαῷ υἱοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τέτατον τελευτήν, ἀριστοκρατία ἢ ἢν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προασίαν ἔθνησιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πεπίστευον· *Joseph. Antiq. xx. c. 9. fin.*

(b) Thus *Herodotus* says, that *Cambyfes* was the Son of *Cyrus* and *Cassandana*: and presently after, that he was Son of this woman and *Cyrus*. Παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλίην Καμβύσης,

Caiaphas was at this time chief in dignity and authority in the government: But that nevertheſſe, there is no abſurdity or impropriety in naming *Annas* firſt, inasmuch as he was father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, and was paſt the Prieſthood.

§. II. It will perhaps be expected I ſhould here ſay ſomewhat to a Text of St. *John*, which has a relation to this matter, and which does appear at firſt to be a very difficult place. *And one of them named Caiaphas, being HIGH-PRIEST THAT (a) SAME YEAR, ſaid unto them, ye know nothing at all, nor conſider that it is expedient for us, that one man ſhould die for the people, and that the whole nation periſh not. And this ſpake he, not of himſelf: but being (b) HIGH-PRIEST THAT*

Κόρυς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Καιοσανδάνης———ταύτης ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κόρυς Καμβύσης. Euterp. init. *Josephus* ſays, Herod had two Sons by a Samaritan woman, namely, *Antipas* and *Archelaus*. Soon after, *Archelaus* is mentioned firſt, ἦν ἢ καὶ τῆ Σαμαριανῶν ἔθνος μία, καὶ παῖδες αὐτῆ Ἀντίπας καὶ Ἀρχέλαος—Ἀρχέλαος ἢ καὶ Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρά τινι ιδιώτῃ τροφῶς ἔειχον. Antiq. 17. c. 1. § 3. *Josephus* ſays again, that Herod called to the Council at *Berytam Salome* and *Pheroras*, De Bell. l. 1. c. 27. §. 3. Afterwards *Tero* the old Soldier complains to Herod, that he hearkned to *Pheroras* and *Salome* againſt his own Sons, *ibid.* §. 4.

(a) Ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τῆ ἐνιαυτῆ ἐκεῖνος
ὢν τῆ ἐνιαυτῆ ἐκεῖνος, προεφῆτευσεν.

(b) Ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς

310 *The Credibility of the Book II.*

YEAR, HE PROPHESED *that Jesus should die for that nation: and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad.*

John xi.
49—52.

THERE are here two things which need to be explained; *first*, Why *Caiaphas* is said to be High-Priest *that same year*: And *secondly*, What is meant by his *prophefying*, being *High-Priest*.

SOME have thought that the Phrase; *being High-Priest that year*, implies that *St. John* supposed the High Priesthood was annual. And upon this account they have been willing to charge him with a great mistake. For *Pontius Pilate* was Governour of *Judea* ten years, and *Caiaphas* was put into the Priesthood by *Valerius Gratus*, *Pilate's* Predecessor; and continued in it, till after *Pilate's* removal. *Selden* thought that by High-Priest is meant the chief man of that nation, and particularly the Prince of the Sanhedrim, which post might be at that time annual. For my own part, I think, *that year* (as it ought to have been rendered, and as the same phrase is render'd v. 51, and not *that same year*) denotes no more than at *that time*. It is very

very common to put *years* and *days* in the plural number, for time. *After many DAYS thou shalt be visited: In the latter YEARS thou shalt come into the land that is brought back from the sword, &c. Then shall the offerings of Judah be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the DAYS of old, and as in former YEARS.* There are other texts perhaps more apposite to our purpose. *And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in THOSE DAYS. And he shall dwell in that City, until the death of the high priest that shall be in THOSE DAYS.* Philo uses the word *day*, in the singular number, in the same manner: Speaking of the trial of Jealousy, he says, the man and the woman shall go up to the temple, ‘ and the man standing before the altar shall declare the cause of his jealousy ‘ in the presence of him who is Priest at that ‘ (a) day’. All that St. *John* says therefore is, that *Caiaphas* was High Priest at that time, or the High-Priest of that time. And if we ought to suppose any thing emphatical in the expression, which yet I cannot see, I apprehend it arises from the distance between the

Ezek.
xxxviii. 8.

Malach.
iii. 4.

Deut.
xxvi. 3.

Jos. s. xx̄
6.

(a) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀντικρὺ Ἐβραμῆ, παρόντος Ἐ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἱερωμένου, δηλώτω τὴν ὑπόνοιαν αἰμα κ. λ. De Legibus special. p. 785. C.

time of the event and the writing. Saint *John* writing his Gospel a considerable time after the crucifixion of Jesus, when many might be supposed to be ignorant who was then High-Priest, and there having been under the *Romans* frequent removals made in that office, it was natural enough for him to expresse this circumstance with some peculiar emphasis, or to mention it more than once.

THE other difficulty to be considered lies in these words: *Being High-Priest that year he prophesied.* Here I cannot perceive the sense of this observation, supposing, with *Selden*, High-Priest to stand for Prince of the Sanhedrim. By *prophesying* I understand in this place, declaring the event, which it was in a peculiar manner the office of the Priest to do, when he was enquired of, or when God was enquired of (A) by him concerning any important matters under deliberation. Thus

(A) *Then the king sent to call Abimelech the PRIEST the Son of Abitub.—And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the Son of Jesse,—and hast ENQUIRED of God for him? 1 Sam. xii. 11. 13. And David said to Abiathar the PRIEST, Bring hither the Ephod. Then said David, O Lord God of Israel—Will the men of Keilah deliver me into his hand? Will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard?—And the Lord said he will come down, 1 Sam. xxiii. 10.—12. And when Saul enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor BY URIM, nor by prophets, ch. xxviii, 6.*

Josephus

Josephus says: ‘ But the *Philistines*, when
 ‘ they heard that the *Hebrews* had made
 ‘ *David* King, brought forth their army
 ‘ against him.-----But the (a) King of
 ‘ the *Jews* (for he allowed not himself to
 ‘ do any thing without prophesy, and the
 ‘ command of God, and assurance of the
 ‘ event from him) required the High-Priest
 ‘ to foretell him, what was the will of God,
 ‘ and what would be the issue of the battle.
 ‘ When he had prophesied victory and pow-
 ‘ er, he led out his forces against the *Phi-*
 ‘ *listines*’. And presently after: ‘ The (b)
 ‘ King of the *Israelites* enquiring again of
 ‘ God, concerning the event of the battle,
 ‘ the High-Priest prophesied’, that he should
 do so and so, and then would have a sure
 and easy victory: referring to the story told,
 2 *Sam.* v. 22---25.

LET us now apply these remarks in a ge-
 neral paraphrase of this text of *St. John*.
 Some of the council, of a different opinion

(a) Ὁ ᾧ τῷ Ἰσραηλίων βασιλεύς, εἶδὼν ἡδὲ ἄνευ προφητείας, καὶ τῷ
 κελύσαι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ περὶ τῷ ἐσομένῳ λαβεῖν ἐγγυητὴν ἐκείνου,
 αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν. ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τί δοκῆι τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ
 ποδαπὸν εἶσαι τὸ τῆς μάχης τέλος, προλέγειν αὐτῷ προφητεύ-
 σαντος ἢ νίκην καὶ κράτος, ἐξάγει τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰς Παλαιστί-
 νους. *Antiq.* 7. c. 4. §. 1.

(b) Πάλιν ᾧ βασιλεύς τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐρομένῳ τὸν Θεὸν, περὶ
 τῆς περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξόδου, προφητεύει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, κ. λ. *ibid.*

from

from those whose words are recorded v. 48, having, as may be supposed, from considerations taken from the dispositions of the people, the temper of the Roman Governour, and other circumstances of their affairs, expressed some doubts about the success of a prosecution of Jesus, and the consequences of taking away his life: ‘ *Caiaphas*, who
 ‘ was the High-Priest at that time, when it
 ‘ came to his turn to deliver his opinion,
 ‘ said : You have hitherto talked very weak-
 ‘ ly and ignorantly. You may proceed in
 ‘ the case before you without hesitation. The
 ‘ taking (a) away the life of this man will
 ‘ be so far from being ruinous to the whole
 ‘ nation in this country and in other parts,
 ‘ as some of you fear, that it will be much
 ‘ for the advantage of the people of God
 ‘ every where. This however he said, not
 ‘ merely of himself: but being then High-
 ‘ Priest, he foretold the issue and event of
 ‘ their counsels and of the death of Jesus :
 ‘ And that it (b) would come to pass that
 ‘ Jesus would die for that nation, and not

(a) Ὑμεῖς ἄκ ὀίδατε ἐθὲν ἐδὲ διαλογιζέσθε ὅτι συμφέροι ἡμῶν ἵνα εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ Ἑβραίων, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπολέσθαι.


(b) Προεφήτευσεν ὅτι ἕμελλον ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ Ἑβραίων κ. λ.

‘ for that nation only, but that through his
 ‘ death he would also gather together in one
 ‘ the children of God which were scattered
 ‘ abroad.’



C H A P. V.

Of the different names given
 to *Herodias's* first husband
 by the Evangelists and *Jo-*
sephus.

 C O M E now to consider the diffi-
 culty hinted above (A) arising
 from the different names given by
 the Evangelists and *Josephus* to the first hus-
 band of *Herodias*: whom they call *Philip* *, * *Matth.*
Josephus, Herod. I need not transcribe ^{xiv. 3.}
 here the passages of the Gospels, or of *Jo-* ^{*Mark* vi.}
sephus, relating to this affair. If the reader ^{17.}
 will be pleased to look back (B) he will ^{*Luke* iii.}
 find what is sufficient for the purpose. ^{19.}

(A) Vol. I. p. 14. note c.

(B) —p. 12. — 152

As *Josephus*, speaking of this unlawful marriage of *Herod* the Tetrarch and *Herodias*, calls her first husband *Herod*; so it is certain that according to him, *Philip*, whom Saint *Luke* styles *Tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis*, could not be the person: for *Josephus* says, that *Herodias's daughter Salome was married to Philip, Herod's Son, the Tetrarch (a) of Trachonitis*. Nor is there any mention made in *Josephus* of any other Son of *Herod* the Great, who was called *Philip*, beside the forementioned Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*.

I HAVE no reason to say any thing more of *Philip* the Tetrarch than I have done already, having shewn in another place (c), that St. *Luke* has given a just account of him. But I will here give a brief history of *Herod*, to whom *Josephus* says *Herodias* was first married; because I apprehend it may be needful for some readers, and it will be of great use to us upon this occasion.

HEROD was the Son of *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne* daughter of *Simon* the High-Priest. After *Herod* the Great had

(a) Ἡ ὃ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Σαλάμην Φιλίππου γαμῆται, Ἡρώδης καὶ τῷ Τετραρχῇ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος. Antiq. 18. c. vi. §. 4.

(c) Vol. i. p. 12.

killed

killed his two Sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, he repented of what he had done, and resolved to take special care of their children. And in particular, he contracted *Herodias*, daughter of *Aristobulus*, to the above mentioned *Herod* (a). There happened indeed afterwards some alterations in the dispositions made by *Herod* the Great at this time, but however this (b) contract remained good, as may be concluded from hence : that this contract is not mentioned among those alterations, and because in the account *Josephus* gives of *Herod* the Tetrarch's unlawful marriage with *Herodias*, her first husband, whom she left in his lifetime, is expressly said to be *Herod* Son of *Mariamne* the High-Priest's daughter.

HEROD the Great in one of his wills, made after this contract, appointed the said *Herod* his Successor in case *Antipater* should die before him. But afterwards, in the enquiries concerning *Antipater's* design to poyson his father, it appeared that *Mariamne*, mother of *Herod*, had been con-

(a) Ἐνεργυήτό τε εἰς γάμον—τὴν ἣ ἐπέζων τῷ Ἀριστοβέλῳ θυγατέραν, Ἡρώδης παιδὶ τῷ αὐτῷ· γύεται ἣ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῆς τῷ Ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς· Ant. lib. 17. c. i. p. 751. v. 1. vid. & p. 1027. v. 36.

(b) Vid. *Joseph.* p. 751. v. 20. p. 1028. v. 35.

cerned in the same design : whereupon *Herod* the Great put away *Mariamne*, altered the clause of his Will relating to her Son, and took away the Priesthood from her father (a) *Simon*. After this we hear no more of *Herod*, till we have the account of *Herodias's* leaving him.

HERE then lies our difficulty. The Evangelists call *Herodias's* first husband *Philip*. It is objected that they must mean *Philip* the Tetrarch. But it is plain from *Josephus*, that *Philip* the Tetrarch was not her first husband, but *Herod*, son of *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne* the High-Priest's daughter.

IN answer to this : 1. It has been said by some, that *Josephus* was mistaken. Mr. *Basnage* (b) of *Flottemanville*, whom I have often

(a) Καὶ διὰ τὰδε Ἡρώδης ἐκείνην τε ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐξήλειψε τῷ διαθηκῶν, εἰς τὸ βασιλεύσαι μεμνημένον ἐκείνης· καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλατο Σίμωνα τὸν Ἰ Βοηθᾶ. Antiq. 17. c. iv. p. 757. v. 43. vid. & p. 1033. v. 30.

(b) Nulla ergo excusatio Josepho parari potest. Cujus narrationi, illa Evangelistarum, missa vel eorum ἀναμαρτησία, dubio procul est anteponenda, cum testes & plures, & antiquiores fuerint, & rationes longè graviore habuerint diligentius inquirendi in causas mortis illatae Joanni, quas ducunt ex Herodiadis, Philippo Legitimo viro, contra jus & fas, ab Antipae creptae odio, in Joannem, scelestas nuptias damnantem.

often quoted, is fully persuaded, that *Philip*, Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*, was *Herodias's* first husband. Beside that the Evangelists lived nearer the time of the Event than *Josephus*, he says, they had more reason to be well informed in this matter than *Josephus*, and they are three to one. Mr. *Basnage* does not deny *Herod's* having had a son of his own name by the High-Priest's daughter: but he says, this son died before his father. And he thinks, that *Josephus* says as much, and has assured us that after *Antipater* was dead, *Herod* had no sons left, beside *Archelaus*, *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, betwixt whom he divided his kingdom. And therefore *Josephus* is guilty of a most flagrant self-contradiction in making the Son of the High-Priest's daughter, *Hero-*

Equidem Josephus tenetur ἐν' αὐτοφώρῳ deprehensus, cum ipse docuerit, Herodi Magno post mortem Antipatri, nil filiorum fuisse, præter Archelaum, Herodem Antipam, & Philippum, quos inter, regnum diviserat suum. Nec vero simile est in testamento, hujus Herodis, Herodiadi, ut ait Josephus, matrimonio conjuncti, parentem non meminisse, ne expers partis esset, de bonis ejus; eo magis, quo multa Salomi sorori suae prædia moriendo dederat Herodes. Id faciles Josepho largiemur, ex Simonis Pontificis filia procreatum Herodi regi filium fuisse, paterno nomine donatum. Parenti superstitem fuisse, negabimus, ex alto historiae Judaicae silentio, in qua vir ille partes egisset suas. — Erravit igitur Josephus — *Basnage. Ann. Polit. Eccles. A. D. 29. n. iii.*

dias's

dias's husband. Besides there is no mention of this Son in *Herod* the Great's last will, which would be very strange, if he was then alive, especially considering that *Herod* left his Sister *Salome* a very good estate in land.

THIS is Monsieur *Basnage's* Solution: but, in my opinion, a very poor one. I will not be positive that *Josephus* has made no mistake in the accounts of *Herod's* family: because where a man has issue by seven or eight wives, as *Herod* had, perhaps a writer had need to have a head peculiarly turned for genealogy to be secure from all errors in giving an account of his children and all their marriages; especially considering how much the (D) female descendants of *Herod*

in-

(D) Beside *Herodias*, her three nieces, daughters of her brother *Herod Agrippa*, would employ the attention of an Historian. *Bernice*, the eldest, after the death of her first husband *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, married *Polemon* King of *Cilicia*, [or as some read it *Lycia*]. 'But this marriage lasted not long, ' for *Bernice* left *Polemon*.' 'Ου μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος, ἀλλὰ Βερίκη δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, καταλείπει τὸν Πολέμωναν. *Antiq.* 20. c. 6. §. 3. *Mariamne* [the second daughter] 'about ' the same time, having divorced *Archelus* the Son of *Helchias*, married *Demetrius* the *Alabarch* of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*. τῷ αὐτῷ ἢ καιρῷ καὶ Μαριάμνη, παραιτησαμένη τῷ Ἀρχέλαου, συνώκησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ—τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀλαβαρχίαν αὐτὸς εἶχε. *ibid.* *Drusilla*, the youngest, left *Azizus* King of the *Emesenes* and married *Felix*: as has been shewn already, V. I. p. 33.

increased the task in a short time by leaving or divorcing their husbands. But I can never persuade my self, that *Josephus*, a professed writer of *jewish* history, could be guilty of so many mistakes as are included in a mistake about *Herodias's* first husband. If he was not furnished with the events of all *Herod's* children, yet he must certainly know the marriages of the last princes in the land of *Israel*, his own country. Could he be ignorant who was *Philip* the Tetrarch's wife? who was the first husband of *Herod* the Tetrarch's second wife, and of *Agrippa* the

have put down here all these instances for the like of a remark. Our Saviour says: *Whoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another she committeth adultery.* Mark x. 11, 12. It may be inferred from hence, that the *jewish* women, as well as the men, did then practise Divorces, and after that marry to others. These instances from *Josephus* confirm the inference. We may be assured these Ladies were not singular. Their examples would be followed by others: and, it is likely, were supported by many precedents. If the women took this licence, what would not the men do! Our Historian *Josephus* affords us a double example of this practice. His first wife left him, *vit.* §. 75. And he married another. Her he divorced after he had had three children by her, because he was not pleased with her Manners. And then he married a third, by whom also he had children: καθ' ἣν δὲ καιρὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, μὴ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἥθεσιν, ἀπέπεμψε αὐτῆν, τριῶν παιδῶν γενουμένην μητέρα. §. 76.

Great's Sister? Was not *Herodias's* leaving her first husband, in all respects a most notorious action? Was not *Josephus* well acquainted with her nephew, *Agrippa* the younger?

MR. *Basnage* says, *Josephus* has assured us *Herod* had but three sons left after the death of *Antipater*. I think, *Josephus* has never said any such thing. If he had, he would be a writer of no weight, since he has afterwards expressly said that *Herodias's* first husband was *Herod* the son of the High-Priest's daughter. And if *Josephus* had assured us *Herod* the Great had but three sons left after *Antipater* was dead, Mr. *Basnage* might have spared his arguments from the omission of *Herod* the High-Priest's daughter's son, and the large estate left to *Salome*, in *Herod* the Great's last will.

INDEED, there is no reason to conclude that *Herod*, son of the High-Priest's daughter, died before his father: but a great deal of reason to suppose he survived him, beside the expresse mention made of him long afterwards as the husband of *Herodias*. For in the will his father made after the enquiries into *Antipater's* conspiracy, and there-

therefore in the last year of his life, this said *Herod's* succession was struck out, as *Josephus* expressly says (a). And though there be no mention made in *Herod's* last will, of any other sons by name, beside those to whom he left a part of his territories; yet it is very likely, there were others to whom he left presents (b). It is not strange that *Herod* should leave no towns or Lordships to this son (though living) in his last will, since his mother had been lately detected in a great crime. Nay, it is not strange, that Three sons only of *Herod* had Tetrarchies, and the rest, though never so many, only sums of money or revenues. As for the Towns bequeathed by *Herod* to his sister *Salome*; she had been always faithful to him, and it was fit she should have some extraordinary testimony of his affection. *Josephus* himself (c) assigns this as the

(a) See before, p. 221. (b) *Josephus's* account of *Herod's* last Will, that he gave to *Herod Antipas*, Galilee, &c. to *Philip*, *Gaulonitis*, &c. to *Archelaus* the Kingdome, to *Salome* his Sister, *Famnia*, &c. and that he took care of all the rest of his family, leaving them handsome legacies of money or ample revenues. *πρενόησε ἡ κὴ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁποῖοι συγγενεῖς ἦσαν αὐτῷ, χρημάτων τε δόσεσι κὴ προσόδων ἀναφοραῖς, ἐκάστος ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καθιστάμενος*. Antiq. 17. c. 8. § 1.

(c) *Σαλώμην τε ἐπὶ μέρη ἐπλάτιζεν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἔδωκεν τε ἐν πᾶσι πρὸς αὐτὸν διαμεμενηκυῖαν κ. τ. λ.* Antiq. 17. c. vi. § 1.

reason of that regard shewed to her in *Herod's* wills.

AND *Philo* says, that when *Pilate* dedicated shields and placed them in *Herod's* palace at *Jerusalem* (a), the *Jews* got four (b) of the Kings sons, and other his descendents to make use of their interest with *Pilate* to remove the shields. If *Philo* may be relied upon in this matter, and if we may understand the word *Sons* in the most proper sense, (which it seems most reasonable to do) and not for Grandchildren or other descendents; then *Herod* must have left behind him at least two Sons, beside those three betwixt whom he divided his dominions: For *Archelaus* certainly was not one of the four sons whom *Philo* speaks of, because he had been banished into *Gaul* long before *Pilate's* government. Supposing then that *Herod* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Philip* Tetrarch of *Trachonitis* were two of the four, there must have been two other Sons of *Herod*, beside them and *Archelaus*.

(a) Ἀνατίθησιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱερὸπολιν Ἡρόδου βασιλείοις
Philo de legat. in Cai. p. 1034. A, (b) Προσηνάμενοι
 τὸς τε βασιλείωσ υἱεῖς τέτταρας — καὶ τὸς ἄλλους ἀπυγόνους: id.
 ibid.

BUT however *Philo* ought to be understood, I can never think it a fair way of getting rid of this difficulty to charge *Josephus* with a great many gross blunders.

2. I PROCEED therefore to lay before the reader another Solution which has been in the main approved of already by many learned men.

(1.) THE Evangelists and *Josephus* are in the right, and none of them have committed any mistake in this matter. I have just shewn, that there is no reason to think *Josephus* was mistaken. And it is as unreasonable to suppose, that the Evangelists are mistaken. They all agree in calling *Herodias's* first husband *Philip*. And they appear to be fully master of the history of *Herod* the Great's family. One or other of them have told us, that *Archelaus* succeeded his father in *Judea*, that *Herod* (who was also called *Antipas*) was Tetrarch of *Galilee*, *Philip* of *Trachonitis*. If they had not been well informed, some errors would have appeared here. *St. Luke* has given the proper titles and characters to all the other descendents of *Herod* whom he hath mentioned afterward, *Herod* the King, *Agrippa*, *Bernice*, *Drusilla*.

THEY speak of this unlawful marriage of *Herodias*, as a matter they were well acquainted with ; and *Josephus* concurs with them in the main.

(2.) THE Evangelists do not intend *Philip* the Tetrarch, but the same person that *Josephus* does. If they had intended *Philip* the Tetrarch, when they speak of *Herodias's* husband, they would have given him his title. This is their constant method. *St. Matthew* says, that Jesus was born *in the days of Herod the king*. *St. Luke*, that the vision of *Zacharias* was *in the days of Herod the king of Judea*. In the account of our Saviour's return from *Egypt* *St. Matthew* says, that *Joseph* heard that *Arche-laous* did reign, in *Judea*, *in the room of his father Herod*. *St. Luke* gives the proper titles to all the princes whom he mentions at the beginning of *John the Baptist's* ministry. In the account of *Pilate's* sending our Saviour to *Herod* it appears plainly, that he was the Tetrarch of *Galilee*, to whom he was sent. When *St. Luke* begins the history of *Herod Agrippa*, he calls him *the king*. He gives also the title of *King to Agrippa*.

Matth. ii.
Luke i. 5.
Matth. ii. 22.
Luke iii. 1.
Luke xxiii. 6.-8.
Act. xii. 1.
Act. xxv. 13.

INDEED the church at *Jerusalem* in their prayer to God give *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* no titles. And I believe none Act. iv. 27. would have them there at length. In the account of the death of *John the Baptist*, and this marriage, all the Evangelists do ever give *Herod* his title: But not one of Matth. xiv. them have given the *Philip* whom they men- I. Mark vi. tion any title, but that *Herod had laid* 14. Luke iii. *hold of John, and put him in prison for* 19. xi. 7. Matth. xiv. *Herodias sake, his brother Philip's wife,* 3. or bound him in prison for *Herodias sake,* Mark vi. *his brother Philip's wife.* Again: *Herod* 17. Luke iii. *the Tetrarch being reproved by him for* 1 *Herodias his brother Philip's wife.* I make no doubt therefore but that *Philip*, *Herodias's* first husband, was a private person who lived in all probability at *Jerusalem*, and that *Herod* the Tetrarch in his way to *Rome* there fell in love with her and made the contract. *Philip* then, whom the Evangelists speak of, as the first husband of *Herodias*, was a private person, invested with no titles or dignities: and so is *Josephus's Herod*, as appears from the history I have given of him: And it is not unlikely, that this was one reason, among others, why *Herod* the Tetrarch's proposal of mar-

riage was so soon accepted by *Herodias*, an ambitious woman.

THE only difficulty therefore concerning this matter arises from the name. *Josephus* calls this person *Herod*, the Evangelists *Philip*: Moreover *Philip* was the name of the Tetrarch of *Iturea* and *Trachonitis*, therefore it may be thought strange, that *Herod* the Great should have another son called *Philip*.

THIS difficulty will be cleared by the following considerations. It is not at all strange that *Herod* the Great should have two sons called by the same name, when he had children by seven or eight wives. Even according to *Josephus*, the eldest son was called *Antipater*, and another, who was the youngest, *Antipas* or *Herod Antipas*, the Tetrarch of *Galilee*. These are but one and the same name, only a different termination. *Josephus* mentions three of *Herod's* sons of the name *Herod*, without any other addition (a). But yet it is highly probable, they had some other names by which they were distinguished,

(a) Vid. *Joseph. Antiq. L.* 17. C. i. L. 18. C. vi. §. 4. *De Bell.* L. i. C. xxviii. & *Genealog. Herod. in Reland. Palest. Illustr.*

though

though *Josephus* has not mentioned them. *Grotius* (a) thinks it very probable, there was a *Philip* among the ancestors of *Herod* the Great, after whom two of his sons were named *Philip*: as there were two of them, who bore the name of *Antipater* or *Antipas* from his father.

THOUGH there was another brother by the same father, namely *Philip* the Tetrarch, called by the same name with *Herodias's* husband; yet it was not necessary for the Evangelists to take notice of it. When writers relate a well known fact, near the time in which it happened, whilst there is no danger of persons making a mistake, this precaution is often neglected. *Dio's* account of *Archelaus's* removal is thus: ‘*Herod* of *Palestine* being accused by his brothers was banished to the other (b) side the *Alps*’. *Herod* was the name by which the Tetrarch of *Galilee* was usually called. And he also was afterwards banished to the other side the *Alps*. Yet I believe no one ever charged *Dio* with a mistake here as to the person he speaks of, or sus-

(a) In *Matth.* xix. 3.

(b) ‘Ο, τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος, εἰτιάν τινα δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβῶν, ἰπὸ τῆς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερωρίσθη. lib. 55. p. 567. B.

lected that he thought the Tetrarch of *Ga-*
lilee, was banished from his dominions A. U.
 759. I will transcribe here an observation of
 the learned and judicious Dr. (a) *Prideaux*.
 ‘ He [*Ptolomy Lathyrus*] was succeeded
 ‘ by *Cleopatra* his daughter, and only le-
 ‘ gitimate child. Her proper name was
 ‘ *Berenice*, and so *Pausanias* calls her. For
 ‘ it is to be noted that as all the males of this
 ‘ family had the common name of *Ptolomy*,
 ‘ so all the females of it had that of *Cleo-*
 ‘ *patra*, and besides had other proper names
 ‘ to distinguish them from each other.
 ‘ Thus *Selene* was called *Cleopatra*, and so
 ‘ were also two other of her Sisters. And
 ‘ in like manner this daughter of *Lathyrus*,
 ‘ whose proper name was *Berenice* bore also
 ‘ that of *Cleopatra*, according to the usage
 ‘ of her family. The observing of this will
 ‘ remove many obscurities and difficulties
 ‘ in the *Egyptian* History’.

THE Evangelists do all agree in calling
Herodias’s first husband *Philip*: and they
 appear fully masters of their story. It is
 therefore highly reasonable to suppose he
 was called *Philip* as well as *Herod*. I shall
 put a case resembling this. *Josephus* al-

(a) Conn. Part. ii. year before Christ 81. p. 396:

ways calls *Livia*, *Augustus's* wife, (a) *Julia*, though that was the proper name of *Augustus's* daughter, without ever giving the least hint of his reason for it. It is true, that though the Roman historians do generally call her *Livia*; yet they have told us, that she had also the name of *Julia*, and have informed us of the reason of it; which was, that *Augustus* in his last will adopted his wife into the *Julian* family, and appointed that she should bear the name of *Julia* (b). And there are medals, on which she bears this name. But if nothing of this had appeared in any of the Roman authors, or inscriptions that are extant; yet since *Josephus* appears to be well acquainted with the Roman affairs from *Julius Cesar* down to his own time, I believe, most men would have allowed that he had some good reason for calling the wife of *Augustus Julia*. And for the same reason a like supposition ought to be made in behalf of the Evangelists in the case before us.

(a) Vid. *Joseph.* p. 1028. not. h.

(b) Tiberium & Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliam nomenq; Augustae adsumebatur. *Tacit. Ann. Lib. i. c. 8.* vid. & *Sueton. Aug. cap. 101. Dion. p. 600. A.*

IT was exceeding common among the ancients, *Jews* and others, for persons to have two names, and to be called sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other. There are several instances in the *New Testament*. *Simon, who is called Peter; Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus; Thomas, which is called Dydimus; Simeon, that was called Niger; Saul who was also called Paul.*

Matt. x.
2, 3.

John xi.

16.
Act. xiii. 1.

JOSEPHUS calls *Caiaphas*, the High-Priest, *Joseph*. He has indeed told us that he was also called *Caiaphas* (*a*). If mankind would have been as equitable to the writers of the *New Testament*, as they usually are to other authors, to some who are far from giving equal tokens of skill or probity with them, this would have created no difficulty, though *Josephus* had never subjoined the name of *Caiaphas* to that of *Joseph*. But if any had been disposed to give the Evangelists unfair and unequal treatment, it is likely, they would have pretended that here was a notorious blunder; and that *Caiaphas* was so far from being High-Priest when *John Baptist* began his ministry, and when *Jesus* was crucified, that there never

(a) P. 795. v. 23. 802. v. 28.

was any such person High-Priest among the Jews.

I HOPE what is already said may be sufficient to convince all reasonable men, there is no just ground to suspect the Evangelists of any mistake in the name of *Herodias's* first husband. However, there is somewhat farther to be offered. There are other writings extant in which he is called *Philip*. I shall transcribe here the account of it in Dr. *Whitby's* words. ‘*Gorionides* saith, ‘*Herodias* was first married to *Philip*, and ‘then taken away from him by *Herod Antipas*. The old *Hebrew* chronicle saith, ‘*Uxorem fratris sui Philippi ipso vivente* ‘*junxit sibi matrimonio, quae liberos ex* ‘*fratre ejus susceperat, & tamen is eam* ‘*duxit uxorem*’ (chap. 36). And an old ‘*Chronicle* of the second Temple, saith, ‘*Antipas Philippi fratris sui uxorem ac-* ‘*cepit, ex qua ille liberos ante genuerat* ‘(F. 54. c. 4.) *i. e.* *Antipas* married the ‘wife of his brother *Philip*, he being yet ‘living, and having had children by her (a).

(a) *Whitby* on *Matth.* xiv. 3.





C H A P. VI.

Of *Zacharias* the Son of
Barachias.

HERE are some difficulties attending the prophetic representation, given by our Lord, of those judgments which he foresaw, would soon befall the *jewish* nation. This we have in two of the Evangelists, in *St. Matthew*, and *St. Luke*. One account will illustrate the other, and we may have some occasion to refer to each of them: and therefore I shall set them both down here at once.

THE account of this matter, as it stands in *St. Matthew*, is thus: *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous; and say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets. Wherefore*

fore ye be witnesses unto your selves, that ye are the children of them that killed the Prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye Serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and wise men and Scribes, and some of them ye shall kill and crucifie, and some of them shall ye scourge in your Synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of ZACHARIAS, SON OF BARACHIAS, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation*.

THE parallel place in St. Luke is in these words: *Wo unto you, for you build the sepulchres of the Prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers, for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the Prophets, which was shed from the foundation*

* Matth.

xxiii.

v. 29.—

36.

dition

336 *The Credibility of the Book II.*
dation of the world, may be required of
this generation ; from the blood of Abel,
unto the BLOOD OF ZACHARIAS, which pe-
rished between the altar and the temple :
verily, I say unto you, it shall be required
of this generation.*

* Luke xi.
47—51.

HERE the Evangelists may be charged with a mistake several ways. They who would suppose, that the *Zacharias* here referred to, is *Zacharias*, one of the twelve lesser *jewish* prophets, will say, they must have been mistaken, because in the time of this *Zacharias*, the temple is supposed to have been in ruins: and therefore it is impossible, he should have been killed *between the temple and the altar*. And others, who suppose the *Zacharias* here intended, is the *Zacharias*, whose death is related in *2 Chron. xxiv*, may say, that *St. Matthew* mistook the name of his father. For his name was *Jehojada*, and not *Barachias*.

THERE is another *Zacharias*, whose death is related by *Josephus*. But that happened not till long after the time, in which our Saviour is supposed to have spoken these words. This seems to afford the most formidable objection. I shall therefore state
and

and consider it particularly. And in answering this I hope to answer also the other two.

BEFORE I state this objection, I shall here transcribe the passage of *Josephus*, on which it is founded. I must abridge it indeed, but I shall omit nothing that's material to the point before us.

' THE zealots, says *Josephus*, were exceedingly enraged against *Zacharias* (a) the son of *Baruch*: for he was a man who detested all wickedness, was a lover of liberty, and moreover was very rich. They call (b) together therefore by a decree seventy of the chief of the people, and form a kind of Council destitute of all authority. They then brought *Zacharias* before them, and accused him of a conspiracy with the *Romans*: and in particular charg'd him with sending messengers to *Vespasian*, the better to concert measures for betraying them into his hands'. But they had no witnesses. The facts were not proved. *Zacharias* in a speech he delivered before the Council confuted all the calumnies of the

(a) Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν Βαρούχου.

(b) Συγκαλεῖσθαι ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἰσθρομήκετα ἢ ἐν τέλει δημοτῶν.

zealots, and warmly reprov'd them for their wickedness. The seventy then acquitted him, choosing rather to die with him, than to bring upon themselves the imputation of his death. He being thus absolv'd, the zealots rais'd a loud clamour against these Judges, as not understanding the design for which they had been invest'd with authority. And two of the most daring of the zealots, falling upon *Zacharias* in the middle of the Temple, slew him there (a).

IT may be said then : From hence it appears, that the writers of these books were not acquainted with the affairs of those times. These writings therefore don't come from *St. Matthew* or *St. Luke*. At least the authors of them did not live at the time they are supposed to have lived : possibly not till long afterwards. How else could they have committed such a blunder, as to make *Jesus* tell the *Jews* of his time, in the reign of *Tiberius*, that they had killed *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Baruch* ; when *Josephus* informs us, that he was not killed till the latter end of *Nero's* reign,

(a) Δύο ἡ τῶν τολμηροτάτων, προσπαρόντες ἐν μέσῳ τῶ ἱερῷ, διαφλέμενοι τὸν Ζαχαρίαν. De Bell. l. 4. c. 5. § 4.

above thirty years after these words are said to have been spoken by Christ?

I. TO this I answer, in the *first* place, that the fact related by *Josephus* does not suit the words of Christ in the Evangelists.

FOR (1.) the name of the father of *Zacharias* seems to be different. Dr. *Whitby* (a) observes ‘ that as *Baruch* in *Jeremiah*, ‘ and the *Apocrypha* is always called by ‘ the Septuagint Βαρούχ (*Baruch*) so ברכיה (‘ *Barachiah*) is rendered by them Βαρραχίας ‘ (*Barachiah*) *Isa.* viii. 2. *Zach.* i. 1. 7. ‘ And in *Neb.* iii. we find Βαρραχίας (*Barachias*) v. 4. and Βαρούχ (*Baruch*) v. 20. ‘ which shows they were not the same ‘ name’.

(2.) THEIR characters are not the same. The design of our Saviour’s discourse obliges us to suppose, that the *Zacharias* he mentioned was a *prophet*: Whereas the *Zacharias* in *Josephus* has not that character from him.

(3.) THE place, in which they are said to have been slain, is not the same. The *Zacharias* in the gospels perished *between the temple and the altar*, according to both *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*. But there is

(a) On *Matth.* xxiii. 35.

no reason to suppose, that *Josephus's Zacharias* was slain in the inner court, in which the altar stood. The council was not held within that Court: and *Zacharias* seems to have been slain immediately after his absolution by the council. If he was slain in any part of the (*ἱερόν*) temple, that is perfectly agreeable to the words of *Josephus*; for under that name were comprehended the temple and all the courts and buildings belonging to it.

THESE several instances of disagreement, I should think, must incline most persons to conclude, that the same *Zacharias* was not intended by the Evangelists and *Josephus*.

BUT perhaps this is more than is reasonable to expect should be allowed by an Objector. He can easily believe of writers who are in little credit with him, that they may run far wide of the truth; and really intend a fact that has but a small resemblance with their relation. With such what hath been said hitherto will have little weight.

I PROCEED therefore to some other considerations.

II. I SAY then, that our Lord in the words we are now considering, instanceth in

in facts supposed to have been done a considerable time before. The whole tenour and design of his discourse assure us of it.

THE *Zacharias* he mentions is not one whom they of that age had themselves slain, but rather one of those prophets whose tombs they built.

THE sum of what our Saviour says (if I mistake not) is this: Ye say, *If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.* This you say; but, as hereby you own, that you *are the children of them that killed the prophets*; so by your conduct, by your malice, your pride, your hypocrisy, your obstinate disobedience to God, you make it appear that you allow the deeds of your fathers, and are their genuine off-spring. You even exceed them in wickedness. You are now filling up, and you will still go on to fill up the measure of their iniquity. I am come among you in my fathers name, and have done works which no man ever did; but you do not hearken to me. My words you do not receive, and me you will crucify. God will still send among you, as he did to your fathers, prophets and wisemen, to instruct you

in the most excellent doctrine, to admonish and reclaim you: but ye will kill and crucifie them, scourge them in your Synagogues, and persecute them from City to City. Hereby you will make the wicked deeds of your fathers your own, and bring the guilt of 'em upon your selves: You will hereby deserve, that all the righteous blood, shed from the foundation of the world, from the blood of righteous *Abel* to the blood of *Zacharias*, should be required of you: and verily I say unto you, *it shall be required of this generation.*

OUR Lord seems to me to remind them of instances of disobedience and cruelty, which they were well acquainted with, *which they avowedly condemned*, and pretended to see the evil of; but yet did, and would imitate in a most notorious manner: and hereby would bring the guilt of them upon themselves. And the conclusion of all obliges us to suppose, that the death of the *Zacharias* he had mentioned, was an act of cruelty committed by their fathers. This is the sense of the words in both the Evangelists.

THIS appears to me so evident, that if there had been no event recorded in any of
 their

their ancient writings which answered to the death of *Zacharias* here described; yet I should have supposed that there was some such event, that had happened some time before, and which they were then well acquainted with.

III. HOWEVER, we have (a) a fact recorded in the *Old Testament* which exactly answers the words of our Saviour. It is in 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 17.---22. *Now after the death of Jehojada-- they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers-----and wrath come upon Judah and Jerusalem--- yet he sent prophets unto them to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them: but they would not give ear. And the spirit of God came upon Zachariah, the son of Jehojada the priest, which stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgresse ye the commandment of the Lord? And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. Thus Joash the king remembered not the kindness which Jehojada his father had done to him, but slew his son:*

(a) Vid. *Whitby, Matt.* xxiii. 36.

and when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it and require it.

THIS fact is exactly parallel with that described by your Lord. (1.) This *Zachariah* spoke in the name of the Lord (*the spirit of God came upon him*). It was suitable to our Lord's design to instance in the death of a prophet. *Ye say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the death of the PROPHETS ---- I send unto you PROPHETS, and wisemen and scribes. Abel was a righteous man, and this Zacharias a prophet.*

(2.) THE place, in which this *Zacharias* is said to have been killed, answers the description in the Evangelists. He was slain in the *court of the house of the Lord*, that is, in the court of the priests, the inner court of the temple. In both the Evangelists the same place is specified, *between the temple and the altar*. This particular circumstance of so remarkable an event was, doubtless, handed down to them by tradition. According to the account in the *Chronicles*, he was in the inner court when he delivered his message from God to them: *He stood above the people*. The ground of the inner court was raised above the rest. He stood at
the

the extremity of that, and spoke to the people standing in the next court below him.

At the commandment of the King, they rushed in upon *Zachariah*. He retired, they pursued him and *stoned him with stones*, so that he fell down in the space between the altar of burnt-offerings and the temple.

(3.) OUR Lord subjoins : *whom YE SLEW*. The death of *Zacharias* in the *Chronicles* was the act of the nation, of King and People. This particular is added to this instance with the highest propriety. The death of *Abel* was the death of a *righteous man*, but not committed by them. The death of *Zacharias* was the act of their ancestors, that is, of that people to whom our Lord was speaking. For a nation is in all ages reckoned the same people. *And he answered and said unto them, what did Moses command YOU? Verily I say unto you, Moses gave YOU not that bread from heaven. Did not Moses give YOU the law?*

Mark x. 3.

Joh. vi. 32.

--vii 19.

see... 22.

(4.) EXPRESSIONS made use of in the history of *Zacharias* in the *Chronicles*, and by our Saviour in his discourse to the *Jews* put it past doubt that he intended this fact,

fact, and alluded to this very account in that book. *Behold I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes.* The history in the *Chronicles* begins thus: *Yet he sent unto them prophets to bring them again unto the Lord, and they testified against them, &c.* It concludes thus: *And when he died, he said, the Lord look upon it and require it.* Our Saviour tells the *Jews*, that the blood of all the prophets would be required of that generation.

(5.) As the fact related in the *Chronicles* does in all its circumstances answer that described by our Lord, so there is a suitability in the order in which it stands in our Lord's discourse. *Abel* is the first *righteous man* slain, and the death of this *Zacharias* is the last act of cruelty to a *prophet* related in the *Jewish* sacred writings.

IV. IT ought to be observed, that there is an exact harmony between the Evangelists, in the account they have given of this discourse of our Saviour, though there is no reason to think that one has copied the other. This ought to satisfy us that no mistake has been made.

IN one particular indeed there is a difference. In *St. Matthew Zacharias* is filed the
the

the son of *Barachias*, whereas in St. *Luke's* account it is not said who was his father.

AND in this particular the person whom our Saviour speaks of seems not to answer to him mentioned in the *Chronicles*. For there he is called the son of *Jehojada*.

THERE is therefore but one objection against supposing, that our Saviour meant the *Zacharias* in the *Chronicles*. But it is such an objection as deserves consideration.

IT has been observed by (a) divers learned men, that many persons among the *Jews* were called by two names, especially when their true name happened to have some of the letters of the word *Jehovah* in it. For this reason *Barachias* may have been used for *Jehojada*, since likewise these two names have much the same meaning.

OTHER learned men suppose, that *Barachias* was very early inserted into Saint *Matthew's* Gospel by some transcriber. There is the more reason for this supposition, because it is wanting in St. *Luke*: Or else *Jehojada* might have been originally in St. *Matthew*, but some Christian transcriber not well acquainted with the *Jewish* history nor knowing who *Jehojada* was, and there-

(a) Vid. *Grot.* & *Whitb.* in loc.

fore suspecting that to be a mistake, might pretend to correct it by putting *Barachias* in the room of *Jehojada*. *Zachariah* the son of *Barachias*, whose prophecies form one of the books of the *Old Testament*, was certainly better known among the Christians than *Zacharias* the son of *Jehojada*. It is not at all unlikely therefore, that our not having this name in *St. Matthew* may be owing to the ignorance and rashness of some transcriber. This supposition seems to be favoured by what *St. Jerome* says, who informs us, that in the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* *Zachariah* is called *the Son of (a) Jehojada*.

SOME have thought, that there is a like instance in *Matth. xiii. 35*, where we have these words: *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet saying, I will open my mouth in parables, &c.* The words of this quotation are in *Pf. 78. 2.* the title of which is *Maschil of Asaph*. *Saint Jerome (b)* says that in some copies of *St. Matthew* it was written: *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Esaias.* He thinks it was originally: *which*

(a) In evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni, pro filio Barachiae, filium Jojadae reperimus scriptum. S. Hieron. comment. *Matth.* xxiii. 36.

(b) In loc.

was spoken by the prophet Asaph. But some transcriber, not knowing *Asaph* to be a prophet, put *Esaias* in his room. Afterward, others, perceiving there were no such words as those which follow here to be found in *Esaias*, left out his name. And from thence forward in most copies it was written: *which was spoken by the prophet, saying, &c.*

I C R A V E leave to mention an observation, that may support the former of these two suppositions, *viz.* that originally *the son of Barachias* was wanting in *St. Matthew*, as well as in *St. Luke*. The ancient Christians seem to have been very much divided in their opinion who the *Zacharias* here spoken of was. Many Christians in *St. Jerome's* time thought he was *Zacharias* the father of *John the Baptist*, borrowing this notion (as he (a) adds) from some Aprocypal books of no authority. In the copies of *St. Matthew's Gospel* in his time, he was stiled the son of *Barachias*, as in ours: But the *Nazarene* Christians, being *Jews* by birth, and understanding the history of their own nation, had it in their Gospel, *Zacharias the son of Jebojada*. This in-

(a) Com. in *Math.* xxiii. 36.

indeed was the truth, but it seems to have been an insertion.

BUT this is left to the reader to judge of as he thinks fit. It is highly probable, that one of these may be the case; either that *Jokojada* not being well known, *Barachias* was put in his room: or else, that *the Son of Barachias*, was added.

THERE being so probable an account of this reading, I hope there remains no farther scruple about this text.

THERE is another interpretation of these words which some have inclined to, namely, that the *Zacharias* here mentioned is the *Zacharias* whose death *Josephus* has given us the history of: and that our Saviour spoke of him by way of prophecy. But as there can be no objection which I am concerned with formed against the Evangelists from this sense of the words, I have taken no notice of it.

BESIDES, I think it is by no means the true sense of the place. Dr. *Whitby* observes very well, that ‘ Christ speaks
 ‘ here of the Prophets whom they had slain,
 ‘ not of one who was to be slain a little be-
 ‘ fore the destruction of *Jerusalem*; for
 ‘ then

‘ then none of the people could have understood his meaning’.

BY the whole tenour of our Saviour’s discourse, the *Zacharias* he speaks of is excluded from the number of those that were to be slain. If the *Zacharias* whom *Josephus* speaks of was as good a man as he represents him, and did faithfully reprove the wickedness of the prevailing party of his nation, he might be one of those *holy and wise men*, whom our Saviour foresaw would be slain by the *Jews*. But he can never be the *Zacharias* whom our Saviour mentioned by name, for he is one of those *prophets* which had been slain before, and whose blood would be required of them.





C H A P. VII.

Of *Theudas*.

IT will be proper in the next place to consider the objection relating to *Theudas*. The Apostles were brought before the council at *Jerusalem*: *And when they took counsel to slay them, Gamaliel commanded to put the Apostles forth a little space; and said unto them, Ye men of Israel take heed to your selves, what ye intend to do as touching these men.* FOR BEFORE THESE DAYS ROSE UP THEUDAS, *boasting himself to be some body, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain, and all as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought* AFTER THIS MAN rose up *Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.*

Act. v. 34
—36.

THIS

THIS speech of *Gamaliel* was made not long after our Saviour's ascension. *Ludovicus Cappellus* places it in the beginning of (a) *Caligula's* reign. Dr. *Whitby* (b) and others three or four years sooner, in the 20th of *Tiberius* A. D. 34. And *Gamaliel* here speaks of *Theudas* as having given disturbance before *Judas* of *Galilee*, who in the days of the taxing drew away much people. This refers doubtless to the assessment made by *Cyrenius* after *Archelaus* was deposed, when *Judea* was reduced to a Roman (c) Province: which happened in the sixth or seventh year of the Christian Aera. It was at this time that *Judas*, whom *Josephus* calls *Judas Gaulanites*, and likewise *Judas* the *Galilean*, rais'd disturbances in that country.

BUT *Josephus* gives us an account of an Impostor, called *Theudas*, when *Cuspius Fadus* was Procurator in *Judea*; and therefore not before the fourth year of *Claudius* the Roman Emperor A. D. 44. that is, seven years after *Gamaliel's* speech was made,

(a) *Spicileg.* in Act. cap. v. 36.
upon this text.

(b) *Whitby* Par.

(c) *Jos. Antiq.* Lib. xvii. cap. ult. xviii. cap. 1. *De B. Jud.* Lib. vii. cap. viii. §. 1.

according to *Cappellus's* computation, and ten years after it, according to Dr. *Whitby's*.

JOSEPHUS's words are these:
 ' Whilst *Fadus* was Procurator of *Judea*,
 ' a certain Impostor called *Theudas* per-
 ' swaded a very great multitude, taking their
 ' effects along with them to follow him to
 ' the river *Jordan*. For he said he was a
 ' prophet, and that causing the river to di-
 ' vide at his command, he would give them
 ' an easie passage over. By these speeches
 ' he deceived many. But *Fadus* was far
 ' from suffering them to go on in their
 ' madnesse: for he sent out a troop of horse,
 ' who, coming upon them unexpectedly,
 ' slew many, and took many prisoners.
 ' *Theudas* himself was among the latter.
 ' They cut of his head, and brought it to
 ' *Jerusalem*. These things happened in
 ' *Judea*, while *Cuspius Fadus* was Pro-
 ' curator (a).'

IT

(a) Φάδου ἢ τ' Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπέουτος, γόνος τις ἀνὴρ, Θεουδᾶς
 ὀνόματι πείθει τ' πλείστον ὄχλον, ἀναλαμβάνοντάς τὰς κτήσεις ἐπισταίει πρὸς
 τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῶν. προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προσάγγ-
 ματι τὸν ποταμὸν αἰσῶσαι, διδοὺν ἔφη παρέχειν αὐτοῖς βλάδιον· καὶ
 ταῦτα λέγων πόλλους ἐπάτησεν. ἐ μὴν ἕωσαν αὐτὸς, τῆς ἀφροσύνης
 ὄνομα Φάδου, ἀλλ' ἐξέτεμψεν ἰλην ἰππέαν ἐπ' αὐτὸς, ἥτις ἀπροσ-
 ἔοικτος ἐπιστάσῃα, πόλλους μὲ ἀνῆλε, πάλλους ἢ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν.
 αὐτὸν

IT may therefore be pretended, that Saint *Luke* has made a mistake. The *Theudas* whom *Josephus* mentions appeared not till several years after *Gamaliel's* speech was made. Nor has *Josephus* said any thing of any other. The person *Gamaliel* speaks of is of the same name. He likewise *boasted himself to be some body*, that is, a prophet. He was slain, and his followers were scattered. In these particulars *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* agree. Therefore they mean the same person, but they differ most widely about the time. For which reason St. *Luke* must have been mistaken.

DIVERSE solutions have been offered of this difficulty.

1. SOME say, St. *Luke* might put the affair of *Theudas* into *Gamaliel's* speech by way of anticipation. He knew very well, that *Theudas* did not appear till after this time; but this being a very proper instance, and suitable to the main scope and design of the speech which *Gamaliel* made, He inserted it himself. But this is not at all agreeable to the simplicity of

αὐτὸν τε τὸν Θεοῦδαν ζωγήσαντες ἀποτέμνωσι τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἢ κομίζωσιν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα· τὰ μὲν ἔν συνεβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν Κεσπίαν Φάδαν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χρόνος, ταῦτα ἐγένετο. Ἀπ. 20. c. 4. §. 1.

356 *The Credibility of the Book II.*

St. *Luke's* narration, especially considering how particular he is as to the number of *Theudas's* followers: *To whom a number of men, about four hundred joined themselves.* And one would think *Valesius* was at a loss for examples of anticipation, when the only one he produces is out of a Poet, and that has scarce any resemblance with this before us (a).

2. SOME think that *Josephus* has been mistaken, and has misplaced *Theudas's* insurrection. This Solution *Valesius* prefers before the former; and it is approved likewise by Monsieur (b) *Le Clerc*. They understand *Gamaliel* to say: *Before these days* (c) that is, a little while ago rose up *Theudas*, boasting himself to be some body. And if you look farther back (d), before this man (not

(a) Alia quoque conciliandi ratio excogitari potest; si dicamus B. Lucam in eo loco κατὰ πρόληψιν locutum esse. Quae quidem figura occurrit interdum apud antiquos scriptores exempli causa apud Virgilium cum dicit

—porrusque require Velinos.

Atqui cum haec dicerentur Aeneae, nondum condita erat *Velina*. *Vales. Annot. in Euseb. H. E. L. ii. c. xi.*

(b) Clerici *Histor. Eccl. A. D. 28. n. 60.*

(c) Πρὸ τῶν τεττῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεοδᾶς. Quae verba rem nuper ac novissimè factam demonstrant. *Vales.* ubi supra.

(d) Sed quoniam *Casaubonus* negat *Craecos* unquam i locutos fuisse, producendus est testis omni exceptione major.

(not *after this man*, as we render it) rose up *Judas of Galilee*.-----Thus, according to *Valesius*, *Josephus* has not misplaced this event of *Theudas* above twelve years; but according to *Mr. Le Clerc*, the error is greater, for he supposes he *rose up* A. D. 28.

BUT this kind of Solution appears to me perfectly arbitrary, and not to be untying, but cutting the knot. And I freely own, I have no right to them. It is very unlikely, that *Josephus* should have been mistaken about the time of that *Theudas's* insurrection which he gives an account of. He may have made mistakes in chronology: but *Josephus* is very express here, that this affair happened in the time of *Fadus*, when he himself must have been seven years of age.

AND in my opinion these learned men give a wrong meaning to two expressions in *Gamaliel's* speech. It is not necessary to un-

Is est Clemens Alexandrinus, qui in lib. 7 Stromat. sub finem, eodem profus modo locutus est quo B. Lucas—*Nam Marcion isdem quidem temporibus vixit quibus Basilides & Valentinus. Verum tanquam senior cum illis adhuc junioribus versatus est.* addit deinde, μετ' ὃν Σίμων ἐπ' ὀλίγον κηρέουσαντος ἔ Πέτρος ὑπάκουσεν. *Post quem Simon praedicantem Petrum audivit aliquamdiu.* Quis non videt in hoc Clementis loco post hunc idem Valere atque ante hunc—sed & geographiae scriptores, quoties terrarum situm & populorum nomina describunt, eodem loquuntur modo. Dicunt enim μετὰ τέρας εἰσὶν ἑκαῖνοι. id. *ibid:*

derstand those words, *Before these days rose up Theudas*, of a little while ago, two or three years before. These common phrases are loose and undetermined in all languages, and signify sometimes, a shorter, at others, a longer space of time. And the subject matter of the discourse, or the coherence of things, or some light from abroad can alone determine what the space of time intended is. It is said: *But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which were at Damascus.*---AND AFTER THAT MANY DAYS *were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him.* By these *many days* can be meant but a short space of time, as appears from *Gal. i. 17. 18.* St. Paul tells *Felix: Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more chearfully answer for my self.* Though it is likely, *Felix* had not then been in *Judea* above five years. And yet it might be said very properly, that he had been there *many years*: since in five years time, a Governour may be supposed to gain a good insight into the laws and customs of his province, and the temper of the people; as also, because very often Governours were removed in a shorter space of time.

Acts ix.
22. 23.

Act. xxiv.
10.

time. When *Pilate's* Soldiers had marched into *Jerusalem* with Ensigns, the *Jews* went from thence in a great body to *Pilate* at *Cesarea*, and there made *Supplications*, *Josephus* (a) says, *many days*. But it appears presently afterwards, that on the (b) *sixth day* from their arrival *Pilate* seated himself on his Tribunal, and granted their petition. So *Josephus* relates this in his *Antiquities*. In his *War* these earnest *Supplications* continued *five whole days* (c) *and nights*.

THUS these phrases that seem to import a long duration, are much limited by the connexion of a discourse, or by the nature of the things spoken of. And other phrases that denote ordinarily a shorter duration, must be understood sometimes with great latitude. There is an example in *Jeremiah* ch. xxxi. 31. *Behold THE DAYS COME saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, v. 33. AFTER THOSE DAYS, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts.* I suppose no one thinks, these promises or predictions were to be accomplished presently. *Porphyrus* says

(a) *Ἰουδαίων ποιήμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας.* Antiq. 18. cap. 4. §, 1. (b) *Κατὰ ἕκτην ἡμέραν*——*αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἦκε* *ibid.* (c) *Ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἰσως ἀκίνητος διακαρτέων,* lib. 2. c. 9. §. 2.

‘ that many of the ancients had been sup-
 ‘ posed to understand the sounds of birds
 ‘ and other animals, and *Apollonius (a)* of
 ‘ *Tyana* not long ago.’ *Apollonius* died
 before the end of the first century of the
 Christian Aera. *Porphry* was not born till
 the 232d, or 233d year (b) of the same
 Aera. Every one must be sensible, with
 what latitude *Porphrye’s not long ago* is to
 be understood.

I SEE NO necessity therefore of restraining
 the sense of the phrase in this text, *before
 these days*, to two or three years. It may as
 well intend twenty or thirty years. It is
 plain it does so here, since it was not till
after Theudas that *Judas* rose up.

WHICH brings me to the other phrase
 misunderstood by these learned men: *Af-
 ter this man*, μετὰ τῆτον. The instances
 of the use of this preposition by Geogra-
 phers for a remoter distance are not to the
 point, because here it imports time. And
 as for *Valesius’s* quotation from *St. Clement*,
 I think it not worth while to consider here,
 whether he understand it aright or not. At
 the best *St. Clement’s* passage is very ob-

(a) Ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ πικράδιον ὁ Μελάμπου, — καὶ οἱ τοῖστοι, &
 πρὸ πολλῆς ἢ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς. *Porphyr. de Abst.* lib. 3. c. 3.

(b) Vid. *Luc. Holsten. de Vit. & Script. Porphyr. cap. 2.*

scure and perplexed. St. *Luke's* phrase is one of the most common phrases in all the *Greek* language, and is ever understood as it is rendered in this place by our translators. It would be unreasonable to affix a new meaning to a very common phrase upon the single authority of one obscure passage. This is said upon the supposition that the phrase in St. *Clement* was the same with that in St. *Luke*, and that the sense assigned by *Valesius* to St. *Clement's* passage was the most likely sense of any. But indeed the phrase in St. *Clement* is not the same, and for that reason is of the less weight here.

I SUPPOSE then that our translation is just, and that the substance of this part of *Gamaliel's* speech is this: Not long since rose up *Theudas*. It might be thirty years or more. The persons he spoke to knew very well how long. And after this man, in the time of the celebrated assessment, when *Judea* was made a Roman province, rose up *Judas* of *Galilee*. Both these men perished, and their adherents were scattered.

3. AND the Solution, already offered by divers learned (*a*) men, of the difficulty under consideration, appears to me perfectly

(a) Casaub. Exercit. in Baron. ii. n. 18. Grot. & Hamm. in *Act.* v. 36.

just. There were two *Theudas's* in *Judea* that were impostors, one before *Judas* of *Galilee*, and another in the reign of *Claudius*. There is no mistake upon this head in *Josephus*, nor in *St. Luke*, who has given us an exact and true account of *Gamaliel's* speech.

IT is not at all unlikely that there should be two impostors in *Judea* of the same name in the compass of about forty (A) years, and that they should both come to the same end. These are the two chief difficulties in this matter, and they may be both cleared up.

(1.) It is not at all strange that there should be two impostors in *Judea* of the name *Theudas*, in the space of forty years. There were several impostors named *Simon*. Beside *Simon Magus*, mentioned in the *New Testament*, and often spoken of by the first Christian writers, there was one *Simon* a servant of *Herod*, who, after his master's death, had the impudence to set himself up

(A) The interval cannot be shorter. *Josephus's Theudas* could not appear before the year 44. *Gamaliel's Theudas* rose up before *Judas* of *Galilee*, who made his disturbance in the 6th or 7th year of the Christian *Æra*.

for King, and put (a) on a diadem. After a long and obstinate engagement with *Gratus*, he was defeated, and his men were dispersed. He was taken prisoner, and by *Gratus's* order his head was (b) cut off. There was another *Simon*, son of *Judas* of *Galilee*, who was crucified in the (c) reign of *Claudius* by *Tiberius Alexander*, governour of *Judea* after *Fadus*. There was in the time of *Felix* one *Simon* of *Cyprus*, who pretended to Magic. I have already mentioned him in another place (B).

THERE were likewise several *Judas's* who gave disturbance to this country in a very short time. *Judas* of *Galilee* was a noted person, mentioned here by *Gamaliel*, and oftentimes by *Josephus*. He rose up in the time of the taxing presently after the removal of *Archelaus*. There was (d) another *Judas* (c), son of *Ezechias*, who soon af-
ter

(a) Ἦν ὁ Σίμων δὲλος ἢ Ἡρώδης βασιλέως.—ἔτος ἀρβίς τῆ ἀκραιῆ τῶ πραιγμάτων, διάδημά τε ἐτόλμησε περιθεῖσθαι. *Antiq.* 17. c. 12. §. 6. (b) Γράτος ἐντυχὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπτεμένει

ibid. (c) Ibid. l. 20. c. 4. §. 2. (B) Vol. I.

P. 34. (d) Ἰέδωσ ὁ ἦν Ἐζεκιῆς υἱός, κ. λ. *Antiq.* 17. cap. 12. §. 5.

(c) Archbishop *Usher* thinks this *Judas* to be *Gamaliel's Theudas*. 'For whereas *Fehudab* of the *Hebrews* is the same with *Theudab* of the *Syrians*, from whence *Judas* and *Thaddæus* [compare *Luke* vi. 16. with *Mark* iii. 18.] and much rather *Theudas*, the same name plainly comes. This

ter *Herod's* death affected regal authority, and did a great deal of mischief. There was one *Judas*, son of *Sepphoraenus*, a man in great reputation for his skill in the law, who with some others raised a Sedition during *Herod's* last sicknesse. He and some of his confederates (a) were burnt alive. So that there were three men of the same name, who in the space of about ten years raised commotions in *Judea*.

(2.) NOR is the agreement of *character* and *circumstances* mentioned by *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* a proof they speak of one and the same person. There are but two particulars of this sort: That they pretended to be extraordinary persons, and that they were slain and their followers scattered or brought to nought. But in this there is nothing extraordinary. Though there had been yet more circumstances, in which they had agreed, this would have been no proof that one and the same person is spoken of.

GAMALIEL says: *Theudas* boasted himself to be some body, and he was slain: *Josephus*, that *Theudas* said he was a prophet, and his head was cut off.

* *Judas* seems to be no other than *Theudas*, of whom *Gamaliel* speaks *Acts* v. 36. *Annals* p. 797.

(a) *De Bell.* l. 3. c. 33. §. 2. — 4.

JOSEPHUS has informed us, concerning the *Theudas* he speaks of, that he got a good number of people to follow him to *Jordan*. Though *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* had concurred in so particular a circumstance as this (which they do not) yet it would not have been a sufficient reason for our supposing that they intended the same person.

I SHALL give an instance. Of *Simon* (a) above-mentioned, servant of *Herod*, *Josephus* says, that he plundered and burnt the palace at *Jericho*. And that he burnt several royal houses in divers parts, having first given them to be plundered by his followers. He says also, that the people with *Simon* were chiefly (b) *Peraeans*, or people that lived on the other side of *Jordan*. Afterward, even while he is speaking of affairs that passed in *Judea* soon after the death of *Herod*, he says that ' at *Amatha* near *Jordan*
' a Royal Palace was burnt down by a num-
' ber of men very much like those who were
' with (c) *Simon*.'

(a) Τὸ ἐν Ἱεριχῶντι βασιλείον πημπρησι δὲ ἀεργίης ἄγων τὰ ἐγκαταλελειμμένα. Antiq. 17, c. 12. 6.

(b) Τό τε πολὺ τῶν Περαιῶν. ibid.

(c) Κατεπρήσθη ἢ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐν Ἀμαθῆσι βασιλεία ὑπὸ τῶν συστάντων ἀνδρῶν Σίμωνι παραπλησίαν, ibid.

IF *Josephus* had omitted this last fact, and some other historian had related it, together with the name of the leader of this body of men, and given them their character; which, if true, must have resembled that of the men with *Simon*; unless the reputation of this historian had been very well established, it would have been thought that he was mistaken, and the person he meant was *Simon*, though he called him by another name. A palace burnt down at *Amatha* by *Jordan*. Who could these be but *Simon's* people, who, *Josephus* says, were mostly *Paraeans*? Then the time agrees exactly: Both facts in the absence of *Archelaus* from *Judea* after his father's death. This writer therefore must have been grossly mistaken in the name of the person to whom he ascribes the conduct of this action.

Or, it is not unlikely, that Critics, might have been divided: Some would have vindicated *Josephus*, and some the other writer. And yet they would have been all mistaken, unless they had allowed two different bodies of men, and two different matters to be spoken of, and that both the historians were in the right.

IT is certain, that these impostors about this time had a resemblance in their pretensions and their fates : one boasted he would give his followers a passage over *Jordan*, as *Josephus's Theudas* : another promised his people they should see the walls of *Jerusalem* fall down before them, as the *Egyptian* Impostor. The great scene of expectation was the (a) wilderneffe. But in this they agreed universally, the company was routed and dispersed, and usually the leaders executed. This, we may be certain was the case, or else the government had been overturned.

THESE few circumstances then, in which *Gamaliel's Theudas* resembles him mentioned by *Josephus* are no good argument that one and the same person is intended.

BESIDES, there is one material circumstance in which they differ. *Gamaliel* says : *before these days rose up Theudas,--- to whom a number of men, about four hundred joined themselves.* But *Josephus* says of his *Theudas*, that he *perswaded a very great multitude to follow him.* And that *many were slain, and many taken prisoners.* *Josephus's Theudas* therefore must

(a) *Matth.* xxiv. 26. *Joseph. Antiq.* 20. cap. 7. 6. & alibi, have

have had with him a much larger company than the former.

(3.) IT has been very well observed by (a) Dr. *Whitby*, that the ancients generally agreed there was a *Theudas* before the coming of our Lord, though *Josephus* has taken no notice of him. *Beza* (b) was of opinion that the *Theudas*, of whom *Gamaliel* speaks, did not arise before our Saviour's nativity, but soon after *Herod's* death, in that sort of interregnum, which there was in *Judea*, whilst *Archelaus* was at *Rome*. Which was also Archbishop *Usher's* opinion, as I have shewn above.

It is certain that this was a time of the utmost confusion. *Josephus* has mentioned several by name who then gave disturbance in that country, and hinted at mischiefs done by others, whose names he has not put down. It is plain he has past by many more than he has mentioned. For he says: 'At that time (c) there were innumerable disturbances in *Judea*'.

(a) Ἐξῆμιν ὅτι Θεουδᾶς πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ γέγονέ τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίους, μέγαν τινὰ ἑαυτὸν λέγων. *Orig. cont. Cels.* p. 44. See more citations in *Whitby* upon the place. (b) In

loc. (c) Ἐν τῷ ᾧ ἕτερα μύρια θορύβων ἐχόμενα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατελάμβανε. *Antiq.* 17. c. 12. §. 4. vid. & de B. l. 2. c. 4.

CONSIDERING all these things, that there had been before this many pretenders in *Judea*; that *Josephus* has been far from mentioning all that rose up in the later end of *Herod's* reign, and in that remarkable time of confusion which succeeded his death; since there had been in this country in a very short time divers adventurers for power and authority of one and the same name; and since *Theudas* (a) was no uncommon name among the *Jews*; and since these leaders of parties and factions very much resembled each other, and that sometimes in more particulars than those specified by *Gamaliel*, it is not at all unlikely that there were two *Theudas's* who were impostors. We may depend upon it there were. *Gamaliel* speaks of one who was before *Judas of Galilee*, and *Josephus* of another in the time of *Claudius*.

INDEED I am somewhat surprized that any learned man should find it hard to believe, that there were two Impostors in *Judea* of the name of *Theudas* in the compass of forty years (b).

BATRICI.

(a) Frequens erat id nomen apud Hebraeos. Itaque non mirum est diversis temporibus plures extitisse factiosos homines ejusdem nominis. *Grot. in loc.*

(b) Duos enim *Theudas* fuisse, qui se prophetas esse mentiti, alter post alterum

BATRICHIDES, Patriarch of *Alexandria* about the middle of the eighth century, supposed that the High-Priest *Simon*, surnamed the *Just*, and who according to other Historians (a) died about 290 years before the Christian Aera, and *Simeon*, who took our Saviour into his arms when he was presented at the temple, were one and the same person, and that he was then 350 years of age (b). I do not say, these two mistakes are equal; but the pretence for thus confounding two persons is just the same, in both these cases, which is the agreement in name and character. For the High-Priest's name is sometimes writ *Simeon*: He was called *the just*: And the Evangelist says, that *Simeon* was *JUST and devout*.

rum Judaeos ad spem rerum novarum concitaverint, nunquam adduci possum ut credam, *Vales.* ubi supra.

(a) See *Prideaux Conn.* Part. 1. Book 8. year before Christ 292.


(b) *In septuaginta autem fuit vir, qui nuncupatus est Simeon Justus; is qui excepit ulnis Dominum nostrum Christum e Templo.—Produxit autem Deus ei vitae terminum, adeo ut viveret CCCL annos, & videret Dominum nostrum Christum. Quem cum vidisset, dixit, nunc dimitte servum tuum O Domine, &c.* apud *Selden.* De Succ. in Pontif. L. 1. c. vii.





C H A P. VIII.

Of the *Egyptian* Impostor.


 H E R E is yet another particular, in which it has been thought by some that *Josephus* contradicts *St. Luke*. In the *xxi.* of the *Acts of the Apostles* is the account of the uproar at *Jerusalem*, when the *Jews* apprehended *Paul* and would have killed him. When the chief captain had taken him from the *Jews*, and had got him in his own custody, it is said, he put this question to him : *Art not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness* FOUR THOUSAND men that *Acts* *xxi.*
38. were murderers?

T H E objection lies against the number here mentioned. For *Josephus*, speaking of this same *Egyptian*, says : he gathered together *thirty thousand men*.

WE have the story twice told in *Josephus*, in his *Antiquities*, and in his *History of the jewish War*. I shall set down *Josephus's* words, and leave it to the reader to judge, whether an objection of any weight can be formed against St. *Luke* from the account we have of this affair in *Josephus*. I shall in the first place transcribe the account in the *jewish War*, because that was first writ.

‘ BUT the *Egyptian* false prophet
 ‘ brought a yet heavier disaster upon the *Jews*.
 ‘ For this impostor coming into the country
 ‘ and gaining the reputation of a prophet,
 ‘ gathered together thirty thousand men who
 ‘ were deceived (a) by him. Having brought
 ‘ them round out of the wilderness up to
 ‘ the mount of Olives, he intended from
 ‘ thence to make his attack upon *Jerusalem*,
 ‘ and having beaten the Roman Guard, to
 ‘ bring the people into subjection to him,
 ‘ and govern them by the help of the men
 ‘ whom he had got with him. But *Felix*
 ‘ coming suddenly upon him with the Ro-
 ‘ man Soldiers, prevented the attack: and

(a) Μείζονι ἢ ταύτης πληγῆ Ἰουδαίως ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Ἀιγύπτιου
 ψευδοπροφήτης παραγενόμενος ἧδ' εἰς τὴν χάραν, ἀνθρώπος γόνος, καὶ
 προφήτης πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτῶν, περὶ τρισμυρίας μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶ ἡπατη-
 μίαναν περιαγαγῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον
 ἔρος κ. λ.

‘ (a) all the people joined with him in their
 ‘ own defence, so that, when they came to
 ‘ engage, the *Egyptian* fled, followed by a
 ‘ a few only. A great number of those
 ‘ that were with him were either slain or
 ‘ taken prisoners. The rest of the multi-
 ‘ tude being scattered shifted for them-
 ‘ selves as they could.’

THE account he gives of this affair in
 the *Antiquities* is thus : ‘ About the same
 ‘ time (*he had been speaking of some other*
 ‘ *events in the beginning of Nero’s reign*)
 ‘ there came (b) a person out of *Egypt* to
 ‘ *Jerusalem*, who pretended to be a Prophet,
 ‘ and having persuaded a good number of
 ‘ the meaner sort of people to follow him to
 ‘ the Mount of Olives, he told them, that

(a) Καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνερέψατο τῆς ἀμύνης· ὡς συμβο-
 λῆς γενομένης, ἧ μὲν Ἀιγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ’ ὀλίγων, διαφραγῆναι
 ἢ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείους σὺν αὐτῷ. τὸ ἢ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σκεδασθέν
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον διαλαθεῖν. De Bell. 2. c. 13. §. 5.

(b) Ἀφικνεῖται ἢ τις ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου κατὰ τῶτον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὰ
 Ἱεροσόλυμα, προφήτης εἶναι λέγων, καὶ συμβεβύλευν τῷ δημοτικῷ
 πλῆθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἐλαιῶν ἐ-
 χεῖσθαι—θέλειν ἡδ’ ἴφασκει αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδηῖσαι, ὡς, κελεύσαντος,
 αὐτῷ, πίπτει τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη, δι’ ἧν τὴν εἴσοδον αὐ-
 τοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέμετο. Φηλὶς ἢ, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κελεύει τῆς
 στρατιώτης ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἵππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν
 ὀρμήσας διὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσβάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸ Ἀιγύπτιον καὶ
 τετρακοσίαις μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνείλε, διακοσίαις ἢ ζῶνας ἔλαβεν ὃ ἢ Ἀιγύπτιος
 αὐτὸς διαδράσας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. Antiq. 20. c. 7 §. 6.

‘ from thence he would let them see the walls
 ‘ of *Jerusalem* fall down at his command,
 ‘ and promised through them to give them
 ‘ entrance into the City. But *Felix* being
 ‘ informed of these things ordered his sol-
 ‘ diers to their arms. And marching out of
 ‘ *Jerusalem* with a large body of horse and
 ‘ foot, fell upon those who were with the
 ‘ *Egyptian*: killed four hundred of them,
 ‘ and took two hundred prisoners. But the
 ‘ *Egyptian* getting out of the fight, escap’d.

THE reader, if he thinks it needful,
 may consult the commentators and other
 writers who (a) have considered this dif-
 ficulty. *Grotius* supposes, that they were
 at first but *four thousand*; but that at length
 they increased to the number of *thirty thou-
 sand*. *Valesius* reckons there were *four thou-
 sand* only that were *murderers* or *Sicarii*, tho’
 the whole company amounted to the number
Josephus mentions. *Dr. Whitby* thinks, that it
 is likely the number in *Josephus* was original-
 ly *three thousand*. And certainly none of these
 solutions are contemptible. But, for my
 own part, I think there is more need of re-

(a) *Grot. Whitby* in loc. *Joseph.* p. 1075. not. p. *Vales.*
 in *Euseb. Hist.* L. ii. cap. 21,

conciling *Josephus* with himself, or at least one of these accounts with the other, than to reconcile St. *Luke* with *Josephus*.

IF indeed we had any good reason to think, that the number in *Josephus* was originally three thousand, the disagreement would be small. The number of a multitude got together in a short time, and soon dispersed, might not be exactly known: the chief captain at *Jerusalem* might compute them at four thousand, and *Josephus* think they were but three thousand.

DR. *Aldrich* has proposed another very ingenious conjecture: that originally the number of the whole company in *Josephus's War of the Jews* was four thousand, and that the number of *two hundred* said in the *Antiquities* to be taken prisoners was originally *two thousand*: Both which errors might happen only by a very small alteration (a).

BUT I choose not to insist upon any of these Solutions, which rely on emendations made without the authority of any Manuscripts.

(a) Susplicamur interim pro διακοσίαις scriptum olim διαχιλίαις permutatis λ & δ, vel etiam Λ. & Δ. ex τετρακισχιλίαις factum esse τρισμυριάς ne dubitamus quidem. *Aldr.* in *Joseph.* p. 1075. Not. p.

The numbers in *Josephus* are at present plainly faulty. In the first account he says they were thirty thousand in all, and that a *great number of these were either slain or taken prisoners*. I might have rendered the words, *the most of them*. But though I do not give them that sense, yet certainly the *four hundred slain and two hundred taken prisoners*, in the other account, cannot be reckoned a *great number* or a *large part* of thirty thousand.

BUT then, as I do not insist on these conjectural emendations for reconciling *Josephus* with *St. Luke*; so, on the other hand, would be very unfair, first to take it for granted that the number of thirty thousand in *Josephus* is right, and then arbitrarily to reform all the other numbers in him, in order to form an objection against the *New Testament*.

I THINK therefore there can be no objection brought against the numbers in *Saint Luke* from what *Josephus* has said of this affair, because his two accounts are not consistent one with another in this point: And that is sufficient.

BUT yet I cannot leave the History *Josephus* has given us of this *Egyptian*,
with

without making two or three observations.

1. THE chief captain here asks Saint Paul: *Art not thou that Egyptian which (a) LEDDEST OUT into the wilderness?---* which seems to imply, since the question was asked at *Jerusalem*, that these men, or a good number of them at least, were drawn out of *Jerusalem*: And *Josephus* says expressly in the later account, that this impostor came out of *Egypt to Jerusalem*; and persuaded a good number of the meaner sort of people, (*i. e.* who were there) to follow him.

2. THE chief captain speaks of their being *led out into the WILDERNESSE*. This circumstance *Josephus* has mentioned in the first account, where he more particularly relates their march, and the compass they took, than in the other.

3. THIS *Egyptian* escaped. *Josephus* has put down this in both places, and undoubtedly this is supposed in the question put to St. Paul by the chief captain. The agreement in this particular deserves to be taken notice of, because it was the com-

(a) Ὁ ἰζαυαγιώτης.

mon fate of these impostors to perish themselves with a good number of their followers

4. THIS *Egyptian* caused this disturbance, according to *Josephus*, when *Felix* was Governour of *Judea*. This impostor therefore did not arise any long time before the seizure of *St. Paul* at *Jerusalem*. He might be still living therefore: In this respect there was no absurdity in this question of the chief captain.

5. ANOTHER particular, which we are obliged to *Josephus* for, is, *that all the people* (*sc.* at *Jerusalem*) favoured, or joined with *Felix*, upon this occasion, in their own defense: That is, all but some very mean people. If *Josephus* had not mentioned this, perhaps it would have been said: Since considerable numbers usually joined these impostors, and it is likely more favoured them; how was it possible, that the chief captain should ask *Paul*, when he saw the whole city was in an uproar, and the people were ready to tear him to pieces: *Art not thou that Egyptian?* That pretended prophet, that *before these days* madest an uproar? A man of a favourite character at this time among the *Jews*!

I THINK indeed, that if *Josephus* had omitted this circumstance, it would have been a very good reply, to say, that the chief captain did not yet know what was the matter: And though there was a loud cry in the multitude, of *away with him*; Yet the confusion was such, *some saying one thing*, and *some another*; that the chief captain had yet no notion what the case was. However we have now no occasion to have recourse to this reply. *Josephus* has told us, that all the people favoured *Felix* in his enterprize against this man: whether it was because he came from *Egypt*, or what was the reason, is of no importance.

6. THERE is a remarkable agreement between the chief captain in the *Acts* and *Josephus*, in the description they give of this man. The chief captain says: *Art not thou that Egyptian?* And it is observable, that *Josephus* has not mentioned this man's name in either of the accounts. In the first he calls him the *Egyptian false prophet*, and *the Egyptian*. In the other, he says, *there came one* (or a certain person) *out of Egypt*: And again, *Felix* fell upon those who were *with the Egyptian*: But the *Egyptian* escaped.

WE have therefore in the *Acts* the exact manner, in which the *Jews* about this time spoke of this impostor. This is with me a proof, that St. *Luke* lived and wrote about this time: that is, at the time he is supposed to write. We have here undoubtedly the chief captain's question in the very words in which it was put. St. *Luke* must have received this account from St. *Paul*, or some one else who was present, if he was not by himself.

AFTER all these points of agreement we may be allowed to suppose, that, if we had *Josephus's* original numbers (the only material particular in which his two accounts differ the one from the other and from St. *Luke*) they would have been exactly, or very near the same with those in the *Acts*.





T H E
C O N C L U S I O N .

I HAVE now performed what I undertook, and have shewn that the account given by the Sacred Writers of persons and things is confirmed by other ancient authors of the best note. There is nothing in the books of the *New Testament* unsuitable to the age in which they are supposed to have been writ. There appears in these Writers a knowledge of the affairs of those times not to be found in authors of later ages. *We are hereby assured, that the books of the New Testament are genuine, and that they were writ by persons who lived at or near the time of those events of which they have given the history.*

ANY one may be sensible, how hard it is for the most learned, acute, and cautious man to write a book in the character of some person of an earlier age ; and not betray his own time by some mistake about the affairs of the age in which he pretends to place him-

himself, or by allusions to customs or principles since sprung up, or by some phrase or expression not then in use. It is no easy thing to escape all these dangers in the smallest performance, though it be a treatise of theory or speculation. These hazards are greatly increased, when the work is of any length, and especially if it be historical, and be concerned with characters and customs. It is yet more difficult to carry on such a design in a work consisting of several pieces, writ to all appearance by several persons. Many indeed are desirous to deceive, but all hate to be deceived. And therefore, though attempts have been made to impose upon the world in this way, they have never or very rarely succeeded, but have been detected and exposed by the skill and vigilance of those who have been concerned for the truth.

THE Volume of the *New Testament* consists of several pieces. These are ascribed to eight several persons. And there are the strongest appearances that they were not all writ by any one hand, but by as many persons as they are ascribed to. There are lesser differences in the relations of some facts, and such seeming contradictions as would never have happened, if these books had

had

had been all the work of one person, or of several who writ in concert. There are as many peculiarities of temper and stile, as there are names of writers : divers of which shew no depth of Genius, or compasse of knowledge. Here are representations of the titles, posts, behaviour of persons of higher and lower rank in many parts of the world. Persons are introduced, and their characters are set in a full light. Here is a history of things done in several cities and countries, and there are allusions to a vast variety of customs and tenets of persons of several nations, sects, and religions. The whole is writ without affectation, with the greatest simplicity and plainnesse, and is confirmed by other ancient writers of unquestioned authority.

IF it be difficult for a person of learning and experience to compose a small treatise, concerning matters of speculation, with the characters of a more early age than that in which he writes ; it is next to impossible, that such a work of considerable length, consisting of several pieces, with a great variety of historical facts, representations of characters, principles, and customs of several nations and distant countries, of persons

of all ranks and degrees, of many interests and parties, should be performed by eight several persons, the most of them unlearned, without any appearance of concert.

I MIGHT perhaps have called this argument a demonstration, if that term had not been often misapplied by men of warm imaginations, and been bestowed upon reasonings that have but a small degree of probability. But though it should not be a strict demonstration, that these writings are genuine : or though it be not absolutely impossible in the nature of the thing, that the books of the *New Testament* should have been composed in a later age than that to which they are assigned, and of which they have innumerable characters ; yet, I think, it is in the highest degree improbable, and altogether incredible.

IF the books of the New Testament were writ by persons who lived before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, if they were writ at the time in which they are said to have been writ, the things related in them are true. If they had not been matter of fact, they would not have been credited by any persons near that time, and in those parts of the world in which they

are said to have been done, but would have been treated as the most notorious lies and falsehoods. Suppose three or four books should now appear amongst us in the language most generally understood, giving an account of many remarkable and extraordinary events which had happened in some kingdom of Europe, and in the most noted cities of the countries next adjoining to it; some of them said to have happened between sixty and seventy years ago, others between twenty and thirty, others nearer our own time: Would not they be looked upon as the most manifest and ridiculous forgeries and impostures that ever were contrived? Would great numbers of persons, in those very places, change their religious principles and practises upon the credit of things reported to be publickly done which no man had ever heard of before? Or rather, is it possible that such a design as this should be conceived by any sober and serious persons, or even the most wild and extravagant?

IF the history of the New Testament be credible, the Christian Religion is true. If the things here related to have been done by Jesus, and by his followers, by virtue of powers derived from him, do not

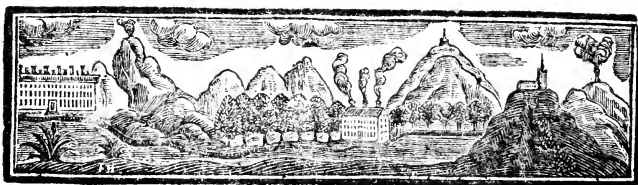
prove a person to come from God, and that his doctrine is true and divine, nothing can. And as Jesus does here in the circumstances of his birth, life, sufferings, and after exaltation, and in the success of his doctrine answer the description of the great person promised and foretold in the *Old Testament*, he is at the same time shewed to be the Messiah.

F R O M the agreement of the writers of the *New Testament* with other ancient writers we are not only assured that these books are genuine, but also that they are come down to us pure and uncorrupted, without any considerable interpolations or alterations. If such had been made in 'em, there would have appeared some smaller differences at least between them and other ancient writings.

T H E R E has been in all ages a wicked propensity in mankind to advance their own notions and fancies by deceits and forgeries. They have been practised by *Heathens*, *Jews*, and *Christians*, in support of imaginary historical facts, religious schemes and practices, and political interests. With these views some whole books have been forged, and passages inserted into others of undoubt-

ed authority. Many of the Christian writers of the second and third centuries, and of the following ages appear to have had false notions concerning the state of *Judea* between the nativity of Jesus and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and concerning many other things occasionally mentioned in the *New Testament*. The consent of the best ancient writers with those of the *New Testament* is a proof, that these books are still untouched, and that they have not been new modelled and altered by Christians of later times in conformity to their own peculiar Sentiments.

THIS may be reckoned an argument, that the generality of Christians have had a very high veneration for these books; or else, that the several sects among them have had an eye upon each other, that no alterations might be made in those writings to which they have all appealed. It is also an argument, that the Divine Providence has all along watched over and guarded these best of books (a very fit object of an especial care) which contain the best of principles, were apparently writ with the best views, and have in them inimitable characters of truth and simplicity.



A N

APPENDIX

Concerning the time of
Herod's death.



N all enquiries concerning the chronology of the *New Testament*, and particularly concerning the true time of our Saviour's nativity, and the commencement of his ministry, it is very needful to take into consideration the time of *Herod* the Great's death. Indeed it is very desirable in the first place to settle exactly the date of this event. But to do this is a very hard task. Nor has any one yet been so happy, as to remove all difficulties

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ties and give universal satisfaction upon this head.

THAT none may be quite at a loss in judging of the difficulty considered in the *third* chapter of this Volume, I shall here give a brief account of this matter.

THE chief opinions at present concerning the time of *Herod's* death are these three. Some think he died a little before the passover of A. U. 750, *Julian* year 42. others, on *Novemb. 25*, that same year: others, a short time before the Passover, A. U. 751.

§. I. THE *English* reader may see all, in a manner, that can be said for the second opinion, in Mr. *Whiston's short View of the Harmony of the four Evangelists*, Prop. 12. But, though several very learned men have embraced this opinion, it appears to me a meer hypothesis without foundation. The only ground of it is a *jewish* account of their Feasts and Fasts, in which that day is noted as a Feast; because on it *Herod* died. But (a) this book appears to be of no authority.

(a) See *Whist. Annota. Matth. ii. 23* *Lamy Appar. Chronol. Part. i. cap. 9. §. 5.*

§. II. THAT *Herod* died but a short time before some one of the *jewish* Passovers, is evident from (a) *Josephus*. If we reject entirely his authority, it is in vain to talk about the time of *Herod's* death. *Archelaus* kept a Passover in *Judea* after his father's death, before he went to *Rome*; which he would not have done, if it had not been near. He had good reason to hasten to *Rome*. He had many enemies. *Herod Antipas* had been appointed his father's successor in a former Will, and he pretended that Will ought to take place. When the *Jews* at the Temple made their demands of *Archelaus*, he gave them fair words, that they might not make any disturbance and retard his journey (b), he being in haste to go to *Rome*. This haste is expressed by *Josephus* in the *War*, and in the *Antiquities* in very strong terms. *Archelaus*, in his way to *Rome*, at *Cesarea*, met *Sabinus* the Emperour's Procurator in

(a) *De Bell.* l. 2. c. 1. *Antiq.* 17. c. 9.

(b) Πρὸς τὴν παραζώνοντο τῷ Ἀρχελαῷ, ἀπέχετο ἢ τὴν ἀμύνην ὑπὸ ἧς περὶ τὴν ἕβδον ἐπίχεως, κ. λ. *De Bell.* 2. c. 1. §. 3. Τέτοις Ἀρχελαῷ, καίτοις δύνως φέρει τὴν ὄρμητιν αὐτῶν, ἐπένοσε, ἔχων τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὁδοῦ ἀνάεσθ' ὑποκειμένην αὐτῷ τάχος, ἐπὶ περισκοπήσει ἢ δεξάντων τῷ Κάϊσαρι. *Antiq.* 17. c. 9. §. 1.

Syria, who was going (a) in all hast to *Jerusalem* to secure *Herod's* treasure for *Augustus*. By help of the intercessions of *Varius*, president of *Syria* (who was then likewise at *Cesarea*) *Archelaus* prevailed upon *Sabinus* to promise, that he would not proceed any farther. But notwithstanding that, when *Archelaus* was gone away, he went up to *Jerusalem*; and there ordered all things, according to his own will and pleasure. This was all managed without any orders from *Rome*. If *Herod* had been dead two or three months, they would have had directions from thence upon this matter. Nay, if *Herod* had been dead one month, this vigilant Procurator would have been at *Jerusalem* before now. I think this has not been insisted on by any before. But I take it to be a demonstration, that, according to *Josephus*, *Herod's* death happened but a very short space before some Passover.

§. III. THAT *Herod* died a little before the Passover A. U. 750, *Jul.* year 42, is argued in this manner. His distemper had made great progresse before the pulling down

(a) Ὑπαντιάζει δ' ἐν Καισαρίᾳ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον Σαδῶνος, καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος ἢ ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων, εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ ἄρχικ-
μένος ἐπὶ Φυλακῆ ἢ Ἡρώδου χειρμάτων. *Antiq.* *ibid.* §. 3. *vid.* *Sc*
De B. *ibid.* c. 2. §. 2.

the Golden Eagle at the Temple. The *jewish Rabbies* excited their Scholars to this action, *News being brought that Herod was* (a) DYING, as it is in the *War*; (b) DEAD, as it is in the *Antiquities*. These Rabbies were taken up and carried to *Jericho*, where *Herod* was. A council was called, and they were tried. *Herod* was so ill that he could not stand, and notwithstanding the new strength (c) which rage gave him upon this occasion he was carried (d) to the council in a chair. Soon after this these Rabbies were burnt to death, and that very (e) night there was an eclipse of the moon. This eclipse, according to astronomical computations, happened (f) the 13th *March*, A. U. 750. After this, *Herod* grew worse and worse. It is plain, he could not live long. The *Passover* (g) of this year happened the 11th of *April*. From

(a) Διαφωμίσθη ἢ θύσκειν ὁ βασιλεὺς. de Bell. 1. c. 33. §. 1.

(b) Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιαύτοις λόγοις ἐξήραν τὰς νέες ἀφικνεῖται ἢ λόγῳ εἰς αὐτὰς τεθνάναι φράζων τὴν βασιλείαν, ἢ συνέπραττε τοῖς σεφισταῖς. Antiq. 17. c. 6. §. 3.

(c) Ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ βασιλεὺς, δι' ἰσπερβολὴν τὸ ἐργὸν κρείττων τὸ νόσος γινόμενον, πρόεισιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, κ. λ. de Bell. 1. c. 33. §. 4.

(d) Καὶ παραγενομένων, ἐξεκκλησιάσας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ θέατρον ἐπὶ κλιθῆς κείμενος ἀδυναμία ἔσῃναι. Antiq. ibid.

(e) Καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἢ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν. ibid. §. 4.

(f) Petav. Doct. Temp. l. xi. c. 1.

(g) Vid. Lamy App. Chron. p. 58.

the

the 13th of *March* to the 11th of *April* is a sufficient space of time for all that *Josephus* has related concerning *Herod's* illness, his settling his affairs, the execution of *Antipater*, *Herod's* death and funeral ; which are the things placed between the Eclipse and *Archelaus's* coming to *Jerusalem* at the Passover.

IN the *War*, (a) *Josephus* says that *Archelaus* was banished in the ninth year of his reign : In the *Antiquities*, that he was accused before *Augustus* by the *Jews* and *Samaritans* in the (b) tenth year of his government. In his own life *Josephus* says, that his father was born in the (c) tenth year of *Archelaus's* reign. From whence one would be apt to conclude, that *Archelaus* reigned nine years compleat ; and that the tenth year was current, when he was banished. *Dio* (d) places *Archelaus's* banishment in the 759th year of *Rome*. If *Herod* did not die till the beginning of A. U.

(a) Επει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνάτῃ φουγαδύεται μὲν εἰς Βιένναν. de B. l. 2. c. 7. § 3.

(b) Δεκάτῃ ἢ ἔπει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου, εἰ πρώτοι---κατηγορέσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Καίσαρ. l. 17. c. 15. 2.

(c) Καὶ [γίνεται] Μαυθίας βασιλεύοντ' Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον. §. 1.

(d) Ὁ, τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστίνος,---ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερωρίσθη ἢ τὸ μέγιστον τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ἐδημοσιώθη. l. 55. p. 557. B.

751, the ninth year of *Archelaus's* reign could not be compleated in the 759th year of *Rome*. But if *Herod* be supposed to have died the beginning of A. U. 750, *Josephus* and *Dio* agree. Moreover, *Josephus* says that (a) *Cyrenius* seized *Archelaus's* estate, and finished the Assessement in *Judea* in the *thirty seventh year after the defeat of Antony at Actium by Cesar Augustus*. The victory at *Actium* was obtained the 2d. *Septemb.* A. U. 723. Therefore the 37th year from it begins 2d. *Sept.* A. U. 759, and ends 2d. *Sept.* 760. Supposing then, that *Herod* died the beginning of A. U. 750, there is in this particular also a very good harmony between *Josephus* and *Dio*.

THERE is however one great difficulty attending this opinion. For *Josephus* has said in two places, that *Herod* reigned *thirty four years* after the death of (b) *Antigonus*; and *thirty seven years* after he was

(a) Κυρήνῳ ἢ τὰ Ἀρχελαῖου χρήματα ἀποδόμενον ἦδη, καὶ τῷ ἀποτιμήσειον πύριος ἔχουσάν, αἱ ἐγένοντο τριακοσῶν ἢ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίῳ ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἦνταν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος. Antiq. l. 18. c. 2. §. 1.

(b) — Τελευταῖα βασιλίσσας ἀφ' ἧς μὲν ἀσπυκτίνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησε τῷ πραγμάτων, ἔτη τέσσαρα ἢ τριάκοντα, ἀφ' ἧς ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς, ἑπτὰ ἢ τριάκοντα. de B. J. l. 1. c. ult. §. 8. vid. & Antiq. 17. c. 8. §. 1.

declared King by the Roman Senate. And he places this declaration of (a) the Senate in A. U. 714, the death of (b) *Antigonus* in the year 717. If indeed at the beginning of A. U. 750, *Herod* had reigned thirty six years compleat from the first date of his reign, and thirty three from the later; so that the 37th of the one epocha, and the 34th of the other were to be current at the time of his death; then *Herod* might be said not improperly to have reigned, with respect to the one, thirty seven years, and to the other, thirty four. It is supposed by some learned men that *Herod* was declared King by the Senate, (c) toward the very end of the year 714, by others (d) the later end of *October* or beginning of *November*, by others (e) in *September* or *October*, by others (f) about the middle of *July*, that year. But then, at the beginning of the year 750, *Herod* could not have reigned from this date thirty six years compleat, nor was the 37th year current. *Herod* took *Je-*

(a) *Antiq.* 14. c. 14 §. 5. *de B. I.* c. 14 §. 4. (b) *Antiq.* 14. c. ult. §. 4. (c) *Alix de J. C.* Anno & mense natali. p. 75. (d) *Bafnage Ann. Polit. E.* Vol. 1. p. 17. n. 16. (e) *Norif. Cenot. Pis.* p. 139. *Pagi Appar.* p. 80. (f) *Whiston's short view.* p. 150.

rusalem as some (a) think in *September* A. U. 717, others (b), about the end of *June*, Archbishop *Usher* (c), on the first of *January* this year. If the Archbishop's supposition could be allowed, we should have here no difficulty. But if any of the others are followed, then from this date of *Herod's* reign, viz. the taking of *Jerusalem*, or the death of *Antigonus* (which are all one) to the beginning of the year 750, we have not quite thirty three years compleat, nor is the thirty fourth current.

I N answer to this difficulty it is said (d) by learned men, that the years of the *jewish* Kings were computed from the beginning of the Month *Nisan*, which usually answers pretty near to our *March*. In somuch that, if a King began to reign in any part of the year before, even in *February*, another year of his reign would begin with *Nisan*, that is, *March*. So *Josephus* relates, that *Jerusalem* was taken (e) by *Pompey* when

(a) Alix ubi supra. p. 117. (b) *Whiston* ibid. p. 152.
B. fudge ibid. p. 30. n. 9. (c) *Annals*. P. J. 4677. (d) *Inde*
 etiam anni regum Hebraeorum seputabantur, ita ut si quis
 Rex in Adar regnaret, a Nisan alter annus imperii ejus inciperet.
Riland. Antiq. Heb. de Temporib. sacris, c. 1. init. vid. & *K. p-*
ler. de ann. natal. J. C. cap. 7. p. 46. (e) *Antiq.* 14.
 c. 4. §. 3.

Antony and *Cicero* were Consuls, by *Herod*, when *M. Agrippa* and *Caninius Gallus* were consuls, on the very anniversary of the same calamity from *Pompey*, it having been taken by him on the same (a) day twenty seven years before: Though there were but twenty six years compleat between these two events. And from the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Herod* to its destruction by *Titus*, *Josephus* computes (b) one hundred and seven years, though it was but one hundred and six compleat. But, in my opinion, these instances are not home to the point. For in them the year named is current. Whereas, in the case before us it is not so. If *Herod* died in the beginning of the year 750, the thirty third and thirty sixth years of his reign were not compleat.

§. IV. OTHER (c) learned men suppose that *Herod* died a short time before the Passover A. U. 751. This they argue from the number of years assigned to *Herod's* reign in the places above mentioned. They do not allow the truth of the *Talmudical* account of computing the Reigns of the *jewish*

(a) Ibid. c. 16. §. 4. (b) Ibid. 20. c. 9. vid. *Kepler* ibid. (c) Vid. *Lamy* Appar. Chron. Part i. c. ix. *Bafnage* Annal. Pol. Ecc. Vol. i. p 156. n. v.

Kings from the beginning of *Nisan* or from the Passover. If *Josephus* had followed such a kind of computation, he would have given some hint of it in his books writ in the *Greek* language and for the instruction of strangers. They say also, that *Herod's* was a slow lingering distemper; and that it is not likely he should die so soon after the execution of the Rabbies and their accomplices, as is supposed by the Patrons of the former opinion. Lastly, they observe the (A) agreement of all the other numbers in *Josephus* concerning the dates of the reign of *Archelaus* and other sons of *Herod*.

THIS opinion however labours under several very great difficulties. *Dio's* account of the removal of *Archelaus* is entirely rejected. But to do this (b) is not very reasonable. Farther, the supporters of this opinion must allow of the Eclipse above-mentioned; or they must say it was no real eclipse, but only some obscurity that was taken for an Eclipse. If they allow the Eclipse, then *Herod* must have lived a year

(A) Note, the learned men, who espouse the former opinion, suppose also that *Josephus's* numbers in all other places agree with them. (b) Vid. *Norij. Cenot. Pil.* p. 147.

after the execution of the Rabbies, provided he died (a) but a few days before the Pass-over A. U. 751. But it is incredible that *Herod* should live so long, considering the description *Josephus* gives of the distemper. Besides, it is evident that the Mourning of the *jewish* people for the Rabbies, at the Pass-over next after *Herod's* death, was (b) very fresh, which it could not have been, if the Rabbies had been dead above a year before. Moreover, it is evident, that *Herod's* Ambassadors were sent away to *Rome* to know *Augustus's* pleasure concerning *Antipater*, some time (c) before the disturbance at the Temple, when the Golden Eagle was taken down. And it is very plain, that *Herod* lived not (d) many days after the arrival of the Ambassadors. So that according to this opinion these Ambassadors must have spent above a year in their journey from *Judea*

(a) Quae aptis temporibus tribui non possunt, nisi haec mors contigerit jam aliquibus mensibus promotò Anno U. C. 751, in quo comprobavimus mortuum fuisse Herodem. Quoquo autem anno mortuus sit, NON MULTIS ANTE PASCHA DIEBUS mors illa obtigit, ut testatur *Josephus*, cui fidem adhibemus. *Λαμπυ ubi supra.* §.

(b) Ἦν ἡ τὸ πένθος ἐξ ὑπερβαλμένου, ἀλλ' ὁμοιωτοὶ διαπεύσιστοι, καὶ θεῶν ἐγκέλευστοι, κοπετοὶ τε περιηχῶντες ἄλην τὴν πόλιν. de B. 2. c. 1. §. 2. vid. & Antiq. 17. c. 9. §. 1. (c) De B. 1. c. 32. fin. Antiq. 17. c. 5. fin. (d) De B. ibid. c. 33. §. 7, 8. Antiq. ibid. c. 7. & c. 8. §. 1.

to *Rome* and back again, though they were sent upon very pressing business, which is also incredible. Or they must reject the account of the Eclipse and say, as Father *Lamy* (a) does, that it was only a paleness or obscurity which was no real Eclipse of the Moon; which, I believe, will appear very unreasonable to all Astronomers.

THESE are the three principal opinions concerning the time of *Herod's* death. And these the main arguments for, and objections against them. I presume it appears to the reader from particulars alledged from *Josephus* and *Dio*, That *Herod* did not die before the year 750, nor survive the year 751: And that he died a short time before the *jewish* Passover, of one of these years. It follows that if *Herod* died in 750, he died three years and nine months before the Vulgar Christian *Æra*, which commences *January* 1. A. U. 754. If at the time abovementioned in the year 751, then he died about two years and nine months before the said *Æra*. Which is the truth I dare not determine.

(a) Ubi supra. §. 6.



I N D E X

T O T H E SECOND VOLUME.

A.



A M E, a *jewish* woman put to death at *Rome*. p.211.

Aldrich (Dr.) commended, 375.

Antipater, eldest Son of *Herod* the Great, concern'd in the murder of the infants at *Bethlehem*, p. 206. His design to poison his father, 210, 211, 213. The time of his last journey to *Rome* settled, 218,—223.

Ἀπογραφαί. The meaning of this word, p. 119, 120.

Assessment, the nature of a Roman Assessment, 30—35. Sometimes made in the territories of

dependent Kings, 58, — 65. That there was one made in *Judea* at the time of our Saviour's birth, 65—101.

Augustus, several computations of his reign, 238. The nature of this title of *Augustus*, 257.

B.

Baronius, his mistake of *Plinie*, 6. Thought *Cyrenius* was twice Governour of *Syria*, 113.

Bassage (of *Flottemanville*) his Solution concerning the different names of *Herodias's* first husband. 318.

Bitricides, his peculiar opinion concerning *Simon* the just, 370.

Beza, his solution concerning *Cyrenius's* tax, 153, &c.

INDEX.

C.

C*aiaphas*, called *Joseph* by the historian *Josephus*, 332.
Caius (*Augustus's* adopted son) his journey through *Judea*, 91.
Census. See *Assessment*.
Clerc. See *Le Clerc*.
Cyrenius, the account of his coming into *Judea* after the removal of *Archelaus*, 103. His true name, 110. His character, 156, 157. Divers particular solutions of the chief difficulty concerning his *Tax*, 112—188.

E.

E*mperour*, this title given to collegues in the Roman Empire, 253.
Eusebius (of *Cæsarea*) censured, 186.
 An Execution made by *Herod* at *Jerusalem*, 70,—73, 224, 225.

F.

F*abatus*, Procurator of *Augustus* in *Arabia* and *Judea*, 56, 57.
Faber (*Tanquil*) commended, 168.

G.

G*amaliel*, the force of his reasoning in favour of the Apostles, 107,—110.

H.

H*erod* (the Great) always a dependent tributary prince, 53,—57. reduced to a more strict subjection to the *Romans*,

65, &c. Several opinions of learned men concerning the time of his death, 298, and 389. &c.

Herod, (Son of *Herod* the Great, by the High-Priest's daughter) his history, 316, &c.
Hermaert, his interpretation of *Luke* ii. 2. 123.
High-Priest's Vestment. See *Vitelinus*.

I.

J*ews*, the registers of their families in being till the destruction of *Jerusalem*, 49. practised divorces, both men and women, 320. note *D*.
Jesus, the true time of his nativity, 229—237. The duration of his ministry according to the first Christian writers, 263, 264. The time of his crucifixion according to the same writers, 297.
Joseph, on what account he was obliged by *Augustus's* decree to enrol himself, 47. Why he went to *Bethlehem* to be enrolled, 48.
Josephus (the *Jewish* historian) pretended to prophecy, 77, 80. was a firm *Jew*, 80,—82. His passages concerning a terrible execution at *Jerusalem*, 70.—73, 224, 225. calls *Livia*, *Augustus's* wife, *Fulia*, 331. calls *Caiaphas Joseph*, 332.

K.

K*epher*, quoted, 7. note a. 124. 293.

I N D E X.

L.

L E Clerc (*John*) quoted, 124.
244, 356. commended, 178.
Livia (*Augustus's* wife) called *Fu-*
lia by *Josephus*, 331.

M.

M *Ary* the (Blessed Virgin) why she went to *Beit-*
hem at the time of the taxing, 50.

N.

N *ativity*. See *Jesus*.
Nebuchadnezzar, two computations of his reign, 237.
Nerva did not resign the empire to *Trajan*, 261, 262.
Nicolas (of *Damascus*) his character, and his Embassy to *Augustus*, 68, &c. Was very intimate with *Herod*, 92. magnified the success of his embassy, 229.

O.

O *ath*, taken by the *Jews* to *Cesar* and *Herod*, 71. was the same thing with *St. Luke's* enrolment, 74, &c.

P.

P *Agi* (*Dr. Antony*) commended, 240.
Perizonius, his interpretation of *Luke* ii. 2. represented and considered, 126,—152.
Pharisees, six thousand of them refuse to swear to *Cesar* and *Herod*, 71, &c.

Pheroras, enquiries into the occasion of his death, 213.
Pheroras's Wife, misrepresented by *Josephus*, 82,—86.

Pilate (*Pontius*) when he came into *Judea*, and when removed, 273,—281. Objections considered, 281—287. Made away with himself, 287

Philo, speaks of four Sons of *Herod* living in the time of *Pilate*, 324.

Piso (*Lucius*) when made prefect of *Rome*, 247—250.

Piso (*President of Syria*) his delays in going to *Rome* after his removal, 284, 285.

President, this title taken in a general sense, 155, 303.

Prideaux (*Dr. Humphry*) commended, 330. His opinion concerning the assessment at our Saviour's nativity considered, 10.

Prince, when used absolutely, equivalent to *Emperour*, 252.

S.

S *Caliger* (*Joseph*) his sense of *Luke* i. 2. 160, 167.

Selden, his opinion concerning the authority of *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, 305, &c.

Suidas, his passages concerning *Augustus's* census. 7, 8.

T.

T *emple* at *Jerusalem*, that it had been 46 years in building at the first passover of our Saviour's ministry, 288,—296.
Tertullian, says the Tax at our Saviour's birth was made by *Saturninus*, 182, 208. committed

I N D E X.

mitted great mistakes in history,
183, 215.

Tiberius, two computations of
the time of his reign, 239-----
256. Objections against this
Supposition, 256,-----264.

The date of the first computa-
tion, 265---269. A Dilatory
Prince, 285, 286.

U.

V*arus (Quintilius)* when he
came President into *Syria*,
209.

Vitellius (President of *Syria*) dis-
places *Pilate*, puts the-keeping
of the High-Priest's vestment

into the hands of the *Jews*,
and does several other things at
Jerusalem, 273---277

W.

W*Histon (William)* his suppo-
sition that the *Jews* were
enrolled by *Herod* at the request
of *Augustus*, 43. His solution
of a difficulty concerning *Cy-
renius's* Tax, 117---123. His
opinion concerning the time of
Pilate's removal, 281---287.
concerning the time of *Herod's*
death, considered, 389.

Whitby his interpretation of *Luke*
ii. 2. 125, &c.



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OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY:
OR, THE
FACTS

Occasionally mention'd in the

NEW TESTAMENT

Confirmed by

PASSAGES of Ancient Authors, who were con-
temporary with our SAVIOUR or his Apottles, or
lived near their time.

With an Appendix concerning the time of *Herod's* death.

By *NATHANIEL LARDNER*.

L O N D O N :

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ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the

SECOND EDITION.



NOW allow, that the words of St. *Luke*, ch. ii. 2. are capable of the sense, in which they are understood by *Herwaert* and *Perizonius*. But as I still dispute most of the examples alledged by those learned men in support of that sense, there is but a small alteration made in that article. The Reverend Mr. *Maffon* has * given me occasion to consider afresh what I had said concerning *Macrobius's* passage. I hope, what is now added will be to his and others satisfaction. I have also taken this opportunity to add some farther observations on *Josephus's* silence about the slaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem*. But the most important addition is a curious observation on *Josephus* concerning the *Egyptian* impostor, which I received from Mr. *Ward*. These and the few other alterations and additions made in this edition can need no apology with those who understand the nature of this design. As the Additions are printed by themselves, and may be had separate, I hope the first edition is not much prejudiced hereby.

Note ; *The Additions are to be given to those who are possessed of the first Edition.*

* See his Slaughter of the children in *Bethlehem*, as an historical fact, vindicated, &c. in the dedication to the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*.



B O O K I.

Note: The figures included within Crotchets are the Pages of the second edition; the other are the pages of the first edition.

C H A P. II.

P A G E [47] 70. l. 2. — *and to intimate, that they ought not to expect to be restored to the authority they wished for, whilst they were so universally corrupt (a).*

Note added, (a) There is a remarkable passage to this purpose in the speech of *Josephus* to the *Jews* in *Jerusalem*, while *Titus* with the *Roman* army lay before the city. Ἰὸθὲν δ' ἠρξάμεθα δουλείας; ἃρ ἔχει ἐν σάσεως ἡσ' προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Αἰσοβέλι καὶ Τρεανὲ μανία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕεις, Πουπήιον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πόλει, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ὑπέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἀναξίῳ ἐλευθερίας. *Joseph. de B. l. v. c. 9. §. 4.*

Page [151] 243. At the end of Chap. iii. *Add:* It appears from a verse of *Horace* (b), that the *Jewish* zeal in making profelytes was very extraordinary, and much taken notice of.

(b) ——— Ac veluti te
Judæi cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

Lib. i. Sat. iv. ver. ult.

Page [213] 346. At the end of Chap. vii. *Addition.* §. XVII. *St. John* says [Ch. xix. 39, 40.] *There came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrhe*

and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they [Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus] the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. This may seem to some a large quantity of spices, to be bestowed on a single body at its interment. And it has been made an objection by a modern (c) Jew against the history of the *New Testament*. And yet according to St. Mark [Ch. xvi. 1.] and St. Luke [Ch. xxiii. 55, 56] Mary Magdalene, and some other women, having observed the sepulchre, and where the body was laid, went and bought sweet spices, that they might anoint him. And on the first day of the week, early in the morning, they came to the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared.

But the largeness of this quantity will not surprize any, who consider the Jewish custom; and that they were wont not only to embalm, or anoint the body, but to lay it also in a bed of spices. 'Tis said of *Asa* [2 Chron. xvi. 14.] *They buried him in the bed which was filled with sweet odors, and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries art: and they made a very great burning for him.* The Jews of this time seem not to have fallen short of their ancestors in this kind of expense. For *Josephus* in the account of *Herod's* funeral procession says: "The soldiery was followed by five hundred slaves and freed-men bearing sweet spices (d)." He mentions the same number in the *War*, and in the *Antiquities*. 'Tis likely there were spices here for a burning, as well as for a bed to lay *Herod's* body in.

It is likewise objected by the same Jew, that the quantity of spices mentioned by St. *John* was a load for

(c) *Anram*, in *B. Kidder*, affirms, that this was enough for two hundred dead bodies, and that it could not be carried with less than the strength of a mule, and therefore not by *Nicodemus*. *Kidder's Demonstrat. of the Messias*, Part III. Ch. iii. §. 11.

(d) Πεντακλήτοις ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς οἰκετῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων ἀρωματίζουσι. De B. J. l. i. c. ult. §. 9. Τάτοις ἔπιπολοῦ πεντακλήτοις οἰκετῶν ἀρωματιστοῖς 1. Antiq. l. 17. c. 8. §. 3. As Bishop *Kidder* has not quoted these passages, I hope they will not be unacceptable here.

for a mule, and therefore could not be carried by *Nicodemus*. One would not have expected such an objection from a reasonable creature, who might know it to be a very just, as well as common way of speaking, to ascribe to any person that which is done by his order or direction. *St. John* has made particular mention of *Joseph* and *Nicodemus*, as present at the burial of *Jesus*. They were both of them men of substance, and may be supposed to have order'd the attendance of some of their servants on this occasion.

Chap. viii. Page [253] 413, and the first three lines of p. 414. are altered thus: But I apprehend (e), that *St. Paul* tells them, he perceived they were *in all things very devout*. This would give no offense at *Athens*. It was their peculiar character (f); the encomium, which they were fond of above any other.

(e) The conclusion of the note, page 413. is altered from a paraphrase to a literal version thus. I think therefore that *St. Paul* says: *I perceive, that ye are in all things very devout. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription: TO THE UNKNOWN GOD, Whom therefore ye worship without knowing him, him do I declare unto you.*

(f) Note added: Ἐν γὰρ τι ἄλλο τὸ Ἀθηναίων πόλει, καὶ τὰ ἐν πρώτοις ὄντι ἐγκώμιον, τὸ περὶ πάντων πραγμάτων, καὶ ἐν παντὶ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιστάει, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἀνευ μαρτυρίας καὶ χρησιμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν. *Dionys. Hal. de Thucyd. Judic. §. 40. Vid. & omnino Sophoc. Oed. Col. v. 1000. & seq.* It was customary for eminent strangers, who spoke in public at *Athens*, to give them in their first discourse some commendation, taken from the wisdom of their laws and institutions, or some other topic. *St. Paul* had good reason not to be defective in this point upon so nice an occasion. He could very truly say they were a devout people. It was extremely to his purpose, and they would be much pleased to hear it from him. ἡ μὲν δὴ διάλεξις ἐπαινοὶ ἦσαν τῶ ἀσέως, καὶ ὑπολογίαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἵνα τὸ μὴ πρῶτον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀείχθαι. *Philost. vit. Alexand. Sophist. §. 3. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδοκίμουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγους, ὅτε καὶ πρῶτον Ἀθήναζε ἀγέειν, ἐκ ἐς ἐγκώμιον κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτελεῖν τῶ ἀσέως, τοσούτων ὄντων, ἃ τινὲς ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων εἶποι. Id. vit. Polem. §. 4.* It was therefore a singularity in *Polemon*, a most proud man, that in his discourse at *Athens*, at his first visit, he said nothing in their praise. There is another like example particularly observed in *Adrian* the sophist. Μισὸς ὃ ἔταυ παρόνσιας ἐπὶ τὸ ἕρπον παρῆλθε, τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ὡς καὶ προδόμεῖν οἱ γένοσθαι τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέξων, ἂ 3 λέξεως,

λέξεως, μὴ τ' ἐκείνων σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ τ' ἑαυτῶ. Id. vit. Adrian. §. 2. Grotius understood St. Paul to speak here of the Athenians in the way of commendation, as I do.

Page [256] 416. *How can it be thought then, that these governours should undertake to suppress the (g) first Christians, &c.*

(g) Note added. When the Romans permitted the Jewish synagogues to use their own laws, and proper government; Why, I pray, should there not be the same toleration allowed to the Apostolical Churches? The Roman censure had as yet made no difference between the judaizing synagogues of the Jews, and the Christian synagogues or churches of the Jews. Nor did it permit them to live after their own laws, and forbid these. Dr. Lightfoot *Hebr. & Talm. Exerc. on Matth. iv. 23.*

Page [262] 426. in the note, after *chief Roman officers*, add: or as *Philostratus* expresses it, Judges who had the sword: Δικαστῆ γὰρ δεῖσθαι πῶτας [δικαστῆ ἐπὶ μύχης, &c.] ξιφῶ ἐχούσῶ. Vit. Sophist. l. i. n. 25. §. 2.

Chap. x. p. [299] 488. l. 17, after, *should be set at liberty*, add: *Lucian* says, that “ at the request of *Athenodorus*, of *Tarsus*, the stoic philosopher, and “ preceptor of *Augustus*, the city of *Tarsus* obtained “ freedom from tribute (b) ”.

(b) Αθηνόδωρῶ, ταρσεύς, στωικός, ὃς καὶ διδάσκαλῶ ἐγένετο Καίσαρῶ Σεβαστῶ δεῦ, ὅφ' ἔη ἡ Ταρσεῶν πόλις καὶ φόρων ἐκκρίσθη, κ. λ. Vol. 2. edit. Amst. p. 473. *Lucian. Macrob.*

Page [313] 512. at the end of Ch. x. add: *Heliodorus*, the sophist, being in a certain (i) island, fell under a charge of murder. “ Whereupon, says (k) “ *Philostratus*, he was sent to *Rome*, to answer for himself before the Prefects of the Praetorium.”

(i) About A. D. 223. (k) Λαβὼν ἢ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ φοινικὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνεπέμπεθαι εἰς τ' Ῥώμην. ὡς ἀπολογιστόμενῶ τοῖς τῆσ' ἑξατοπέδων ἡγεμόσι. Vit. Sophist. l. 2. num. 32.

B O O K II.

Ch. i. p. [369] 73. in the notes, instead of *a learned and ingenious friend*, read, my learned and ingenious friend, Mr. Ward.

Page

Page [401] 129. the lines 13—22 are to be thus read. 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, &c.*

Page [411] 148, after *commentaries*, and *p.* 149, 150, 151, 152. are altered thus: 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* (*l*) alleged by others in this cause, prove that *πρῶτον*, used adverbially is put without *περὶ* 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, that the *πρῶτός μοι τῆς Ἰῆδα* of 2 *Sam.* xix. 43. (but not found in all the copies of the *Seventy*) is an equivalent phrase to that in *St. Luke*, and to be understood in the same sense, which is 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 (*m*) of *πρῶτῳ* 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 *περὶ* subjoined to *πρῶτῳ*. I add another like instance from *Eusebius* (*n*). Though perhaps the

A 4

other

(*l*) Ἡ πληγὴ πρῶτον τῆ ἀσπίδος τῆ βρόντην ὑποτελεῖ, ἢ ἄμα. *Ictus prius tonitru perficit quàm fulgur, aut simul.* *Alexand. Aphrod.* Problem. l. i. (*m*) Πρὸ τῆ ὀψίως ὄνται, καὶ τῆ ὀλων ἀρ. ἐν ὅσῃ θεὸς ἔς, πρῶτῳ καὶ ἀπὸ πρῶτα θεῶ καὶ βασιλείας. Ante eas res quae vere sunt, & ante principia universalium est unus deus prior etiam primo deo & rege. *Iambl. de mysteriis*, §. 8. c. 2. Καὶ πρῶτῳ ἕσπεσαν ἔτο τῆ ἄλλων. *primus ante alios corona honoratus est.* *Dionys. Hal. Hist. Rom.* l. iv. c. 3. (*n*) Ἀντίκα γὰρ μάλα θεασάμεθα, ὅπως

other way of supposing *πρώτη* used for *πρωτέρα* (θ) need not be quite rejected.

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 myself, that it is the real sense of the text for the following reasons.

1. This is a very uncommon use of the word *πρωτῶ*. This, I think, is evident, in that the Critics have been so much at a loss for instances. *Stevens* knew of none (p), beside that produced above from *Aphrodisius*, where *πρωτον* is used adverbially. There are also almost innumerable other ways of expressing this priority of time (q). 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 *πρῶ*. That this use of *πρωτῶ* was designedly avoided, seems to me evident from a passage (r) of *Herodotus*; where having in the former part of the sentence twice used the superlative, in the latter he takes the comparative; either to avoid ambiguity, or as more agreeable to the genius of the *Greek* language.

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.

Page

ὅπως μὲν ὁ Πλάτων τῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρώτης ἐσκωπήεν, ὅπως ἢ τῆς Πλάτωνος διαδόχους ἄλλοι. Praepar. Ev. l. 14. c. 2. (θ) Ἔστι δ' ἔτις δύναμις, οὐσίας μὲν δυνάμεως, βυχῆς ἢ πρώτης. Est autem quaedam vis essentiâ quidem inferior, sed nobilior animo. *Sallust.* de mundo. c. 8. (p) Πρωτον; πρωτερον prius. *Alexander Aphrodisius*, ἢ *πληγῆ*, κ. λ. Quem alioqui usum apud vetustiores rarissimum esse puto: affertur tamen & ex *Aristotelis* Rhet. πρωτον ἢ, pro prius quam. *Theaur. Gr.* Tom. 3. 567. A. (q) Πρὸ, πρῶτερον, πρωτον [adverb.] πρωτέρα, πρώτη πρὸ, πρῶν, &c.

(r) The same as in the first edition, p. 152.

Page 188. The last paragraph but one is left out.

Chap. ii. p. [439] 197. after *horrid inhumanity*, add :
 In a word, the objection against this relation of *St. Matthew* must be founded on the silence of the *Greek* and *Roman* historians, or of *Josephus*. As for the silence of the former, the *Roman* republick or empire about this time was so vast, that the affairs of many dependent princes have been lost in the crowd. *Tacitus* goes over the history of the *Jews* from *Pompey's* conquest of *Judea* to the government of *Felix*, mentioned in the *Acts*, in one short chapter. Of *Herod* he says: 'The kingdom he received from *Antonie* was enlarged [or confirmed] by *Augustus*. And that after his death his kingdom was divided between three of his sons (s).' Without so much as naming the sons of *Herod*, who arrived at sovereign power, and succeeded their father. *Strabo* says, '*Herod* obtained the title of king first from *Antonie*, and then from *Augustus*. Some of his sons he put to death, as guilty of designs against himself: others he appointed his successors, dividing his kingdom among them. But his sons were not happy, for they fell under some accusations. One of them was banished into *Gaul*, and the other two by means of a great deal of submission with much difficulty kept their several tetrarchies (t).' He does not so much as name those sons whom *Herod* killed, nor those that succeeded him. 'Tis with a like brevity that some other writers have mention'd *Herod*. *Dio Cassius's* history of affairs about the latter part of *Herod's* reign
 is

(s) Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum, victor Augustus auxit [al. sanxit]. Post mortem Herodis, nihil expectato Caesare, Simon quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quinctilio Varo obtinente Syriam punitus. Et gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 9. (t) Ἡρώδης — ὡς κ' βασιλεὺς ἐξηπάτησε, δόνησ' τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀντωνίῳ ἔξωσίαν, ὕστερον δ' κ' Καίσαρι τῷ τῷ Σεβαστῷ. ἢ δ' υἱῶν τῶν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνέλεν, ὡς ἐπιβλέυσαντας αὐτῷ. τῶν δ' ἑτεροῦν διαδόχους ἀπέλιπε, μερίδας αὐτοῖς ἀποδόν. — ἢ μὲν τοὶ εὐτύχησαν οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο. κ' ὁ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ διετέλεσε, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλήεσσι Γαλάταις λαβὼν οὐκισιν. οἱ δ' ἑραπεία πολλῇ μόλις ἔφερον καθόδου, τετραρχίας ἀποδοθείσης ἐκατέρῳ. Strabo. l. 16. p. 765. ed. Casaub.

is wanting. I leave it to any one to judge, whether it be reasonable to expect the particular fact at *Bethlehem* from historians, who plainly content themselves with delivering the succession of princes, without relating their affairs, or so much as recording all their names.

As for *Josephus*; his silence is no more an objection against *St. Matthew*, than the silence of other writers is against him. *Josephus* has said a great deal of *Herod's* liberality to foreigners, to *Antioch*, *Berytum*, *Tyrus*, *Sidon*, *Damascus*, and many other cities in *Syria*; to the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Rhodians*, and other people of *Greece*. Of his benefaction to the *Eleans*, he says, 'It was a common benefit not to *Greece* only but to all the world (u)': and 'that he was so remarkable for his liberality, that *Augustus* and *Agrippa* often said; *Herod's* kingdom was too small for him, and that he deserved to be king of all *Syria* and *Egypt* (x).' I suppose people take these things upon *Josephus's* authority. I cannot conceive how the single silence of *Josephus* (and of *Justus* of *Tiberias* if you please to add him) should be an objection against *St. Matthew*; when the silence of the *Greeks* and *Syrians*, people that abounded so much in writers (several of which are also still in being) is no objection against *Josephus*: who has recorded many things done by *Herod* for those people, of which they have made no mention, that we know of.

It has been pretended indeed, that *Josephus* was a great enemy to *Herod*, and seems willing to tell all his various acts of cruelty. But this is not certain, for *Herod's* character in *Josephus* has a mixture of good and bad. He has related a great many things to his advantage, which can be verified by no other writers. *Herod* put to death every member of the *Jewish* great Council in *Hircanus's* time, except *Hillel* and *Shammai*; yet *Josephus*

(u) Antiq. l. 16. c. 5. §. 3, 4. de Bell. l. 1. c. 21. §. 11, 12. Τὸ ἦ
 Ηλείοις χαιρισθῆν, ἔ μόνον κοινὸν τῆ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆ οἰκουμένης
 δῶκεν. ibid. §. 12. (x) Καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν τε Καίσαρα καὶ
 Ἀγρίππαν πολλὰ κτλ. εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐποδῆοι τὰ τῆ ἀρχῆς Ἡρώδη τῆ ἕως
 ἐναυτοῦ μεγαλοφυχίας· ἀξίον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ Συρίας ἀπάσης καὶ Αἰγυπ-
 τῶν τῆ βασιλείαν ἔχειν. Antiq. l. 16. c. 5. §. 1.

Josephus mentions this very slightly (y). He even takes part with *Herod* against the *Pharisees* in an account of an execution made at *Jerusalem* in the later part of his reign. Though *Josephus* were an enemy to *Herod*, he might have inducements to shew him favour upon some occasions. *Agrippa* the younger was living, when *Josephus* wrote; and he had some acquaintance with him, and obligations to him (z). It was not for the honour of the *Jewish* nation to make a mere monster of *Herod*, who had reigned over them between thirty and forty years. A particular recital of all *Herod's* cruelties could not but make the uneasiness of the *Jewish* people under the *Roman* government appear very unreasonable. They might be thought a strange people who rebelled against the *Romans*, and yet had bore with a man who had spared neither young nor old; who had slaughtered all the members of their great council, and the innocent infants of a whole town and all its district. I have sometimes thought, that this was really one reason, why *Josephus* made so slight mention of the cutting off the members of that senate. It might also be some inducement not to relate the slaughter of the infants.

But *Josephus*, as a firm *Jew*, had certainly a particular reason for passing over this event at *Bethlehem*: He could not mention it without giving the *Christian* cause a great advantage. To write, that *Herod* at the latter end of his reign had put to death all the young children at *Bethlehem*, on occasion of a report spread at *Jerusalem*, that the *King of the Jews* had been newly born there, would have greatly gratified the *Christians*; since it was well known, when he wrote, that about thirty years after the death of *Herod*, *Jesus*, being then about thirty years of age, had been stiled the *King of the Jews*, and had been publicly crucified at *Jerusalem* with that title; and it was firmly believed by all his followers that he was the great person spoke of under that character, and was now advanced to dominion and power.

Nay,

(y) Ant. l. xix. c. 9. §. 4. xv. 1.

(z) Vid. Jos. vit. §. 65.

Nay, I do not see how any serious and attentive Heathen, who had heard any thing of *Jesus*, could read a relation of this event in *Josephus* (a *Jewish* historian, known to be no favourer of those called *Christians*) but he must be disposed to think, the *Christian* belief deserved some consideration. For if there was a report spread at *Jerusalem*, the Capital city of *Judea*, that the *King of the Jews* had been newly born; and if this report was so far credited, that *Herod*, notwithstanding his numerous issue, thought it needful to make away with all the young children at *Bethlehem*, and its borders, in order to secure the succession in his own family: this is at once a strong argument, that the *Jewish* expectation of a great person to arise from among them is no new thing, and that there were some reasons to think that great person had been born at that time. Moreover, he must also suppose it possible, that the Child, whose life was aimed at, escaped, notwithstanding the care of *Herod*. For it is plain, he did not certainly know the child, of whom the discourse was: if he had, he would not have given orders for destroying all the young children under such an age.

The more any Heathen knew of the *Jewish* expectations, or of the story of *Jesus*, either from hearsay from the *Christians*, or by having looked into any of the Gospels, the more would he have remarked such a relation in this historian.

For this reason *Josephus* could by no means be willing to relate this event, with its most peculiar circumstances; though I think he has given a general account of *Herod's* cruelty at that time, as I have sufficiently shewn already.

Page [444] 197. After, *A voice was heard in Rama*, add: This event is also mentioned in *Irenaeus* (a), who lived in the same century; and by *Origen* (b) in the third century, in his answer to *Celsus*, where he says: ' *Herod* put to death all the little children in *Bethlehem* and its borders, with a design to destroy the *King of the*

‘ *the Jews*, who had been born there.’ ’Tis needless to make any more quotations of *Christian* (c) writers.

(a) Propter hoc & pueros eripiebat, qui erant in domo David, bene fortiti in illo tempore nasci, ut eos praemitteret in suum regnum; ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum, qui in Bethlehem natus est Judae, in civitate David, interfectos secundum scripturas. *Contra Haer.* l. iii. c. 16. §. 4. al. c. 17. In qua [Aegypto] & dominus noster servatus est, effugiens eam persecutionem quae erat ab Herode. *ibid.* c. 21. §. 3. al. c. 28. (b) Ο δ’ Ἡρώδης ἀνῆλε πάντα τὰ ἐν Βηθλεεμ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίαις αὐτῆς παιδίαια, ὡς συναναγιγῶσιν ἢ χρηθέντα Ἰουδαίου βασιλεία, l. i. p. 47. (c) Vid. Euseb. *Hist. Ec.* l. i. c. 28. P. Oros. l. vii. c. 3, &c. &c.

Page [445] 198. After *Aristobulus* add: This is what I said of this passage in the first edition. I would now add: It ought to be allowed, that *Augustus* did pass this jest upon *Herod*, upon some occasion or other, and that *Macrobius* has given us exactly the words of the jest. This passage also shews, that *Herod’s* slaughter of the infants in *Judea* was a thing well known in *Macrobius’s* time, and was not contested by Heathens.

If we could be assured, that *Macrobius* transcribed this whole passage, not only the jest it self, but the occasion of it likewise, from some more ancient author, it would be a proof, that this event was well known in that author’s time also. And we should have a great deal of reason to suppose, that author was a Heathen; because it is most likely, that *Macrobius*, a bigotted Heathen (d) himself, did not much deal in Christian writers.

But it is possible, that *Macrobius* found only the jest in his author, and added the occasion, having collected it from the common discourse of the Christians of his time, who frequently spoke of this cruel action of *Herod*. There is some reason to suspect this, because it is very likely that *Augustus’s* reflexion upon *Herod* was occasioned by the death of one of those sons whom *Josephus* has mentioned;

(d) This is very evident from his works. And the reader may see a full proof of it in the Rev. Mr. *Masson’s* slaughter of the children in *Bethlehem*, as an historical fact, vindicated. §. 3.

mentioned; and that it has no relation at all to the slaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem*. This suspicion may be farther strengthened by the great agreement of *Macrobius* with *St. Matthew* in the words he uses concerning the children (e). *Macrobius* being ignorant of *Herod's* story, and having heard of the slaughter of the infants; when he met with this jest in some author, concluded there had been some young child of *Herod* put to death together with them.

I am content therefore to leave it a doubtful point, whether *Macrobius* transcribed this whole passage, or the jest only, from some more ancient author.

Upon the whole then, there lies no objection against this relation of *St. Matthew*. There is nothing improbable in the thing it self, considering the jealous, cruel temper of *Herod*. The silence of *Josephus*, or of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* historians, can be no difficulty with any reasonable person. This fact is confirmed by the express testimony of very early Christian writers, and by *Macrobius*, a Heathen author, in the latter end of the fourth century; from whom it appears, that this event was not then contested, and that it was even better known, than the fate of those sons of *Herod*, whom *Josephus* says he put to death at man's estate.

(e) *Children within two years of age, which Herod King of the Jews commanded to be slain.*

Chap. vii. p. [541] 360. l. 10. after *understood*, add: I place another remarkable instance from *Cicero* in the margin (f).

(f) *Quid ea, quae NUPER, id est paucis seculis, medicorum ingenii reperta sunt? De Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 50.*

Chap. viii. p. [551] 376. after, *And that is sufficient*, add: These were my thoughts concerning this difficulty formerly. But I have now an observation to offer to the reader, which I think will not only reconcile *St. Luke* with *Josephus*, but likewise *Josephus* with himself;

self; and that without making any alterations in his numbers. This observation has been communicated to me by the truly learned and accurate Mr. *John Ward*, Rhetorick Professor at *Gresham Colledge*.

The history of this impostor seems to lye thus. He came first to *Jerusalem*, went from thence into the country, and taking a circuit by the wilderness returned again to the mount of *Olives*. In the *Antiquities* (which contain the shorter account of this affair) *Josephus* mentions only the beginning and end of the story, that is, the impostor's coming at first to *Jerusalem*, and at last to the mount of *Olives*; and drops the middle part, of which he had given a sufficient account in the books of the *War*. The chief captain's *four thousand* therefore were the men carried out of *Jerusalem*, who were afterwards (g) joined by others in the country to the number of *thirty thousand*, as related by *Josephus*. 'Tis likely also, that before he left the city, he had so concerted matters with some friends, whom he left behind him, as to entertain hopes, that upon his return his design would be favoured by great numbers of *Jews* in *Jerusalem*, and that he should have no opposition from any but the *Romans*. But upon his arrival at the mount of *Olives*, finding the *Romans* drawn out to attack him, and the citizens in general prepared to oppose him, he did not dare to venture an engagement, but presently fled with a body of his most trusty friends, as is usual in such cases. With these in particular the *Roman* soldiers were ordered to engage, neglecting the rest, who were only a confused multitude, and immediately made off as they could by different wayes. When therefore *Josephus* says, *the Egyptian fled accompanied by a few (b) only*, he is to be understood of that body which at first fled away with the impostor, and were but *a few* with respect to the whole *thirty thousand*. When he

(g) The words *ἐξαγαγὼν* in *St. Luke*, and *ἀθεοίξει* in *Josephus*, seem very well adapted to this distinction.

(b) Τὸν μὲν Ἀιγύπτιον οὐρανὸν μὲν ἄλιγόν.

he says, *the greatest (i) part, or most of those who were with him were slain or taken prisoners*, which in the *Antiquities* are said to be *four hundred killed, and two hundred taken*, he means the *greatest part* of those few that fled with him. Nor need it be thought strange, that the number of the slain and the prisoners is no greater; since, as it seems, *Josephus* speaks only of that body of men who fled with the impostor. 'Tis possible, some of the rest of the multitude might be killed likewise, though *Josephus* takes no notice of them; but 'tis most likely not many. For it seems by *Josephus*, as if only the *Roman* soldiers marched out against them, while the *Jewish* people in *Jerusalem* stood upon their defence, if any onset had been made upon them.

Thus then, though there were but *four thousand* of these men at first, they might be joined by others afterwards to the number of *thirty thousand*. So *St. Luke* is reconciled with *Josephus*. And the number, said by *Josephus* to be *slain or taken prisoners*, might be a *great number*, or the *greatest part*, of that body which fled with the *Egyptian* upon the attack made by *Felix* and his soldiers. Thus *Josephus* is reconciled with himself.

(i) Διαφθαρέναι ἢ καὶ ζωρηθῆναι πλείους σὺν αὐτῷ.

Page [555] 380. Instead of the last paragraph read: I hope therefore, that the account, which *Josephus* has given of this impostor will be no longer reckon'd an objection against *St. Luke*, but a confirmation of his history.

F I N I S.

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