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## QUIRINIUS AND THE CENSUS OF JUDAEA.\*

[This paper brings together the evidence for the reliability of Luke's account (2, 1-5) of the census of Judaea. It provides further support for Groag's contention that there is no adequate reason for the assumption that Quirinius governed Syria twice. Luke is probably mistaken in naming Quirinius as the governor of Syria, but he may be right in his account of a census of Judaea for which everyone was commanded to go to his own city.]

Luke explains the birth of Jesus in the city of David by the statement that, as a result of a command of Caesar Augustus that all the world be enrolled, everyone had gone to his own city. Hence Joseph with Mary his pregnant wife went up from Galilee to Bethlehem in Judaea. Luke further says that the census took place when Quirinius was governing Syria.<sup>1</sup> The statement of the evangelist has led classical and New Testament scholars, interested in the credibility of Luke's account, to study the career of the only important Augustan official who bore that name, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, consul in 12 B.C. Groag in a recent discussion of Quirinius has shown reason to doubt some of the generally accepted views about his career.<sup>2</sup> It is the purpose of this paper to consider whether Quirinius could have

\* My interest in this subject grew out of a suggestion of Professor Kirsopp Lake. I have discussed a number of the questions involved in it with him and with Professors H. J. Cadbury and T. R. S. Broughton. For the geographical problems associated with Quirinius' greatest military exploit, the conquest of the Homonadeis, I am fortunate in being able to refer to Professor Broughton's paper, pp. 134 ff. of this journal. I have not attempted to make full citations of the enormous bibliography on any detail except the career of Quirinius. The earlier bibliography is fully given by Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, I<sup>4</sup>, 508 ff. For a brief recent discussion see J. M. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (1930), pp. 28 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Luke 2, 1-5. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν. ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέτ, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, εἰς πόλιν Δαβὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλέεμ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαβὶδ, ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαριὰμ τῇ μεμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ γυναικί, ὅσση ἐγκύῳ.

<sup>2</sup> S. v. Sulpicius (90), *R. E.* 2nd Series, IV, 1, 822-843. The volume appeared in 1931.

been governor of Syria at the time to which Luke refers and whether the details which Luke gives about the conduct of the census are worthy of credence.

Quirinius was governor of Syria in the year 6 A. D. and at that time conducted a census both in Syria and in Judaea which was then being organized into a Roman procuratorial province.<sup>3</sup> The census was bitterly opposed by a large group of Jews who, under the leadership of the zealot Judas, refused to register. The opposition resulted in a considerable revolt which was well remembered in later times. Luke himself refers to it in Gamaliel's speech in Acts 5, 37: ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς. It is impossible to identify with this famous census the enrolment described in the gospel of Luke, for Luke agrees with Matthew in placing the birth of Jesus before the death of Herod the Great which took place in 4 B. C. In the account of the birth of Jesus we must suppose either that there is complete confusion in Luke's account or that Luke or his copyist inserted Quirinius' name through an error or finally that there had previously been a census of Judaea at a time when Quirinius was serving an earlier term as governor of Syria.

Although there is no proof of an earlier census, there is some evidence which has been taken to indicate that Quirinius was governor of Syria before 6 A. D. He was commander in a war against the Homonadeis, a tribe who dwelt in the Taurus above Cilicia and Pamphylia, and he succeeded in conquering them completely. For such a war he must have required legionary troops, and Syria, the Asiatic province where such troops were permanently stationed, would have been a natural place to secure them. Hence it has been suggested that he undertook the war as *legatus* of Syria and that he held the governorship of the province twice. The name of Quirinius has been restored in a fragmentary inscription from Tivoli which records the career of a man who was apparently twice governor of Syria and Phoenicia.<sup>4</sup> Quirinius' career suits the inscription exceedingly

<sup>3</sup> Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 13, 5; XVIII, 1, 1-2; 2, 1; XX, 5, 2; *Bell.*, II, 17, 8; VII, 8, 1. For his activity in Syria see *C. I. L.*, III, 6687 (Dessau, *I. L. S.* 2683).

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. L.*, XIV, 3613 (Dessau, 918). The suggestion to restore Quirinius' name in the inscription was first made by San Clemente, *De vul-*

well for, like the official of that document, he was active under Augustus, and attained the *insignia* of triumph, and died after the death of Augustus. Since the appearance of Mommsen's discussion of this inscription, most scholars have held that Quirinius' earlier governorship of Syria was practically proved.<sup>5</sup> Lately however Groag has shown convincing reason to doubt the usual interpretation of the inscription and to question the restoration of Quirinius' name in it.<sup>6</sup> He has moreover argued that in the command against the Homonadeis Quirinius may have been serving in some other capacity than as governor of Syria.

Since the evidence for Quirinius' first governorship of Syria must rest not on the restored inscription but on his well attested command against the Homonadeis, it is necessary to consider first of all the capacity in which Quirinius could have undertaken the war. The most important source for Quirinius' career is found in Tacitus' report (*Ann.*, III, 48) of the speech which Tiberius made in the senate at the time of Quirinius' death in 21 A. D.: Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium; sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus datusque rector G. Caesari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat. For the early career of Quirinius we have also the statement of Florus (2, 31) which records his conquest of the Marmaridae and the Garamantes, which Mommsen suggests he may have carried out as pro-consul of Crete and Cyrene. For his subsequent career there are the accounts of the census of 6 A. D. given by Josephus. In addition Quirinius' name is known from several

*garis aerae emendatione*, Rome, 1793, 414 ff., and was upheld by Borghesi. Mommsen supported it in a detailed discussion in the second edition of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, pp. 161-178.

<sup>5</sup> Quirinius' first governorship appears with the dates favored by Mommsen, 3-2 B. C., in E. Honigmann's article Syria, *R. E.* col. 1629 (1932).

<sup>6</sup> *Jahreshefte, Beiblatt*, XXII (1924), 445 ff. (See also Dessau, *Römische Kaiserzeit*, II, 2, 612, n. 4.) Groag would restore the name of M. Plautius Silvanus in the inscription. I would suggest M. Titius.

inscriptions, two of which, recently found at Antioch in Pisidia, show that he was honorary *duumvir* of the colony.<sup>7</sup>

For Quirinius' command against the Homonadeis we can supplement Tacitus' account by some details from Strabo<sup>8</sup> and by facts that have come to light from recently discovered inscriptions. The Homonadeis revolted against the Galatian king Amyntas and slew him in 25 A. D. For some years apparently their revolt against an ally and friend of the Roman people remained unavenged but eventually Quirinius was despatched against them and succeeded in bringing them into complete subjection, sending four thousand men under the yoke and removing the population from the mountain fastnesses into the plain below. If we can depend upon Tacitus' account—which probably has the *acta senatus* as its source—the date of Quirinius' victory can be placed between his consulship in 12 B. C. and his activity as *rector* of Gaius Caesar who was in the east from 1 B. C. until his death in 4 A. D. It has been more closely dated since the appearance of Mommsen's discussion by the discovery of milestones of the Via Sebaste which show that the road was built not later than 6 B. C.<sup>9</sup> This road, which passed close to the territory of the Homonadeis, could hardly have been constructed before the mountain tribe was fully conquered. We must therefore date Quirinius' command between 12 and 6 B. C.

If it was as *legatus* of Syria that Quirinius commanded the troops in the war, there is an immediate difficulty now that the date of the war seems to be more closely fixed. Normally the *legatus* of an imperial province served at least three years<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Dessau 9502-3. It is impossible to decide whether Quirinius held the office soon after the Homonadensian war as Ramsay argued (*J. R. S.*, VII, 1917, 242 ff. Cf. also Cheesman, *J. R. S.*, III, 1913, 253 ff.) or when he was in the east with Gaius Caesar, as Dessau held (*Klio*, XVII, 1921, 252 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> XII, 6, 5, p. 569.

<sup>9</sup> *C. I. L.*, III, 6974; cf. 12217, 14185, 14401. On the interpretation of the inscriptions see Ramsay and Cheesman, *l. c.* Against their assumption that the construction of the road can be used to date the war see Torr, *Rev. Arch.*, XII (1920), 154-6.

<sup>10</sup> The most specific ancient statement on length of tenure for provincial commands is Maecenas' recommendation reported by Dio, LII, 23, 2, that they function not less than three or more than five years, but the evidence that we have tends to show rather that the maximum

and it so happens that we already have the names of three *legati* of Syria who are well attested for the years 12 to 6 B. C. They are M. Titius who was there at some time between 12 and 10, C. Sentius Saturninus who was there in 8 B. C., and P. Quirinius Varus who went to Syria in 6 B. C.<sup>11</sup> If Quirinius served during this period, at least two of the *legati* must have had a period of service of not more than two years. Even the most determined advocate of the trustworthiness of Luke, Sir William Ramsay,<sup>12</sup> has been troubled by the difficulties and has come to the conclusion that at the time of the war there were two *legati* of Syria, Quirinius to take charge of the war, and Saturninus, to whom Ramsay would assign the internal administration of the province. But why, in that case, one may ask, does not Luke mention Saturninus rather than Quirinius? There is moreover no parallel in Roman provincial organization for such a division of authority among two provincial legates, and it seems contrary to the principles of Augustus' provincial system.<sup>13</sup>

There is less reason than is commonly supposed to assume that the territory of the Homonadeis was included in the sphere of operations of the *legatus* of Syria.<sup>14</sup> From the time of Antony's power until the reign of Vespasian the old province of Cilicia seems not to have existed. Most of it was parcelled

was exceeded than that the minimum was not reached. See Premerstein, s. v. *legati*, *R. E.*, 1146.

<sup>11</sup> For the evidence see Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 166. The discovery of the milestones of the Via Sebaste has led most scholars to an earlier date for Quirinius' first governorship than 3-2 B. C. which was suggested by Mommsen. Blackman, *Klio*, XVII, 104 ff., favors 11-10 B. C.

<sup>12</sup> Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem, A Study on the Credibility of Luke*, 1898; for his later views altered in details by subsequent discoveries of inscriptions see *J. R. S.*, VII (1917) 229-283, and *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament* (1920), 283 ff.

<sup>13</sup> The inscription from the senatorial province of Africa (*C. I. L.*, VIII, 25967) cited by Ramsay is not a genuine parallel for the division of authority in an imperial province like Syria. It shows two *legati*, one of whom is the regular commander of the African legion, acting as commissioners to mark the old boundaries of the province.

<sup>14</sup> Against the assumption that Cilicia Pedias was under the *legatus* of Syria see Gwatkin, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province*, *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, V (1930), 50-52.

out by Antony to client kings, chief among whom was Amyntas of Galatia. Even Augustus preferred to have the mountainous and almost impassable coast of Cilicia Tracheia ruled by local dynasts rather than by *legati*.<sup>15</sup> The only cases where *legati* of Syria are known to have been active in the region are explained by special conditions. When Piso, who went as *legatus* to Syria in 17 A. D., after abandoning his province because of his difficulties with Germanicus, heard of the death of Germanicus, he decided to return to Syria, but before doing so he sent word to the Cilician chieftains asking them to help him with auxiliaries (Tac. *Ann.*, II, 75 ff.). He occupied the coast town of Celenderis in the more accessible part of Cilicia Tracheia and was successfully besieged there by Sentius, the *legatus* who had assumed control of Syria after the death of Germanicus. Piso's message to the Cilician chieftains, his occupation of Celenderis, and Sentius' siege of him there have been taken as indications that Cilicia was in the sphere of the *legatus* of Syria.<sup>16</sup> But since this was virtually an occasion of civil war, it is unsafe to base conclusions on the operations of the period. As a matter of fact there is in Tacitus' earlier account (*Ann.*, II, 58) of the difficulties between Germanicus and Piso an indication that even Cilicia Pedias, which adjoined Syria and was easy to reach from it, was beyond the jurisdiction of Piso. Vonones, the claimant to the Parthian throne, was in Syria where he had ingratiated himself with Piso, and the Parthian king protested against his retention there. Germanicus, in response to the complaint, sent Vonones to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia Pedias which was presumably beyond Piso's province. Later in the reign of Tiberius, Vitellius, *legatus* of Syria, sent troops to the Clitae, a people of Cilicia Tracheia who opposed a census (Tac. *Ann.*, VI, 41). From this event no conclusion as to the scope of the Syrian legate's jurisdiction can be drawn, for Vitellius not only commanded in his own province of Syria but had *imperium maius* in the east (*Ann.*, VI, 32). The only real

<sup>15</sup> Strabo XIV, 5, 6 (p. 671) εὐφυοὺς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τὰ ληστήρια καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν . . . ἐδόκει πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τοιοῦτο βασιλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς τόπους ἢ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις πεμπομένοις, οἳ μὴτ' αἰεὶ παρεῖναι ἐμελλον μήτε μεθ' ὅπλων.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Ann.*, III, 12, *armis repetita provincia*. See also III, 14 and 16.

indication of a closer union between Syria and Cilicia is given by a record of a *κοινόν* of Syrians, Phoenicians, and Cilicians which dates from the Domitianic period or later.<sup>17</sup> But the Cilicians who gathered at Antioch with Syrians and Phoenicians in a league assembly could hardly have come from the inaccessible regions of the Homonadeis. They must have been inhabitants of the flat coast of Cilicia Pedias which adjoined Syria.

There are several other capacities in which Quirinius may have acted in the war. He may have held a special command created for the war which perhaps seemed important enough to call for the services of a tried general of consular rank. But he may also have been *legatus* of Galatia or Pamphylia or proconsul of Asia.<sup>18</sup>

As Professor Broughton's paper shows, it was from the north that the territory of the Homonadeis could best be reached, though the approach through Pamphylia which followed the line of Servilius Isauricus' campaigns was also possible. If the army took the easier approach from the north, the commanding officer must have operated in Galatia, the province formed from the kingdom which Amyntas willed to the Romans at his death in 25. Galatia was organized as an imperial province governed by *legati* who were of praetorian rank.<sup>19</sup> There were no regular legions stationed in the province, the only troops being auxiliaries. Quirinius, as an ex-consular, would not, according to the usual arrangement, have been sent to Galatia. In the years when Agrippa, as Augustus' colleague in power, was in the east there seem to have been no provincial legates, even in Syria where the chief army was stationed. But it is

<sup>17</sup> *I. G. R.*, 1, 445, *κοινὸν Συρίας Κιλικίας Φοινίκης ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*. The inscription is cited by Anderson in his review of Gwatkin, *op. cit.*, *Class. Rev.*, XLV (1931), p. 190.

<sup>18</sup> Groag thinks Quirinius served either as a special commander or as proconsul of Asia; Dessau, *Römische Kaiserzeit*, II, 2, 612, n. 4, suggested that he was *legatus* of Pamphylia.

<sup>19</sup> The first governor of Galatia, M. Lollius, who began his term immediately after the formation of the province in 25, was of praetorian rank. Cf. Groag, s. v. Lollius (11), *R. E.* On the status of the Galatian *legati* later see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, I, p. 361, n. 1.



possible that a man of the rank and experience of Quirinius was chosen for the province and the war and provided with a legion after the death of Agrippa removed the strong hand of the general who had been in charge of operations in the east for a number of years.<sup>20</sup>

If the Homonadeis were attacked from the south, troops would naturally have approached not from the inaccessible coast of Cilicia Tracheia but from Pamphylia where they would have come either by sea or overland from Asia. Professor Broughton has discussed the status of Pamphylia at this time and the command held by L. Calpurnius Piso who is said to have been in charge of it in 13 B. C. It is uncertain whether Pamphylia was an independent province or was combined, as it apparently was after Pharsalus, with Asia. Piso, an experienced general of consular rank, was apparently serving as a *legatus* of Agrippa. He was perhaps sent to Pamphylia to undertake the war against the Homonadeis, but recalled because of the greater danger that threatened in the Chersonese. Quirinius, another experienced general, may have been a special consular legate despatched to Galatia, or, like Piso not long before, to Pamphylia, his object in either case being the conquest of the Homonadeis.

It is also possible that Quirinius fought the war as proconsul of Asia, the only eastern province besides Syria which was regularly assigned to a *consularis*. This is a suggestion of Groag, and there is some evidence in its favor which has not come to his notice. An inscription from Attaleia gives a series of dates in the Roman and Pamphylian calendar. Kubitschek<sup>21</sup> has shown that the Pamphylian dates are calculated from the same New Year's Day (September 23, Augustus' birthday) as the calendar instituted in Asia in 9-8 B. C. by the proconsul Paulus Fabius Maximus. An obvious explanation of the identity of calendar would be that Pamphylia, before its organization with Lycia into a separate province, was governed with the prov-

<sup>20</sup> As a parallel for such an arrangement one may cite the case of Pliny, a *consularis* who was sent by Trajan as *legatus Augusti pro praetore consulari potestate* to Pontus and Bithynia, a senatorial province regularly assigned to *praetorii*.

<sup>21</sup> *Jahreshefte*, VIII (1905), p. 108. For the inscription see also *I. G. R.*, III, 785.

ince of Asia. The lack of evidence for governors of Pamphylia in the period makes it not impossible that such was its status at the time of the conquest of the Homonadeis. If that was the case, we should have a restoration at some time after Amyntas' death of the union of Asia and Pamphylia which was in existence after Pharsalus.

The difficulty in accepting the suggestion that Quirinius was proconsul of Asia lies not in the geographical association of the two regions but in the use of a proconsul to command an army. Yet the strict separation of proconsuls and armies which we find at a later period had not been fully carried through in the reign of Augustus. The legion regularly stationed in Africa was under the command of the proconsuls until a special *legatus* was sent out under Caligula to command it.<sup>22</sup> In Macedonia the proconsul, an official usually of praetorian rank, waged a number of wars under Augustus. In Illyricum the proconsul P. Silius had to put down an uprising of the Camunni and Vennii.<sup>23</sup> Asia which like Africa regularly had a governor of consular rank may have had a legion in it which the proconsul commanded in the Augustan period.<sup>24</sup>

Yet the fact remains that though the general in such a war may have held some other office, he may also have been commander of the chief legionary forces of the east, *legatus* of Syria. But here there are two difficulties, first that the list of governors of Syria for the period of the war appears, as we have seen, to be already complete, and second, that Josephus, who makes a statement about Quirinius' experience in his account

<sup>22</sup> Tac. *Hist.*, IV, 48: Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus sub divo Augusto Tiberioque principibus proconsuli parebant. Mox G. Caesar turbidus animi ac Marcum Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit.

<sup>23</sup> For a list of proconsuls commanding armies see Premerstein, *Jahreshefte*, I (1898), *Beiblatt*, 154; VII (1904), 224; Groag, *Jahreshefte*, *Beiblatt*, XXII (1924), 450 and 460. Quirinius was himself perhaps fighting as proconsul against the Marmaridae and Garamantes.

<sup>24</sup> It is worth noting that it is uncertain where the legio XII Fulminata (mentioned in inscriptions of Pisidian Antioch) was stationed in the Augustan period. Later it was in Syria. See Ritterling s. v. legio, *R. E.*, 1705 ff.

of the census of 6 A. D., says nothing of his previous connection either with Syria or with the taking of the census. Josephus' fullest account (*Ant.*, XVIII, 1, 1) reads: Κυρήνιος δέ, τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ, τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκὼς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὑπάτος γενέσθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος. The omission of any reference to an earlier governorship here is hard to explain on any other supposition than that it had not occurred.

Now it happens that in Christian sources there is not entire unanimity in naming Quirinius as the governor under whom the census was taken at the time of the birth of Jesus. One of the best scholars among the early fathers, Tertullian, says that the census was conducted by Sentius Saturninus whose tenure of the Syrian command we know from Josephus to have included the year 8 B. C.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps Tertullian has preserved the true tradition, and the name of Quirinius has slipped into the text through a mistake either of Luke or of an early copyist. As a matter of fact the confusion may extend to the whole verse; αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. The 'first enrolment' ought to be the famous one conducted in 6 A. D.

But there is still the question whether Luke—or Tertullian—is worthy of credence in the account of the holding of a census in Judaea at the time of the birth of Jesus or whether, as has often been suggested, the details about the census were invented to show that Jesus, a Galilean, was born, as the prophets said the Messiah should be, in the city of David. It seems desirable to summarize the results of recent investigations which bear upon the census.<sup>26</sup>

There is no support from any non-Christian writer for the statement of Luke that Augustus ordered a census of the whole Roman world.<sup>27</sup> The three censuses which he himself records in his *Res Gestae* were, as far as we know, enumerations only of

<sup>25</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, 4, 19, census—actos sub Augusto in Iudaea per Sentium Saturninum.

<sup>26</sup> In assembling this material Ramsay's work in the two books cited has been invaluable, but his attitude is not dispassionate. Compare his statement, *The Bearing etc.*, p. 223.

<sup>27</sup> See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, II<sup>3</sup>, 417.

Roman citizens, and that was also the case with the census under Claudius. On the other hand the census conducted by Vespasian was perhaps a general enrolment of population, both citizens and non-citizens.<sup>28</sup> In the provinces censuses of non-Romans seem to have been taken at regular intervals from the time of the Republic. They occurred every five years in Sicily in the days of Verres (Cic. *Verr.*, II, 139) and every fourteen years in Egypt during the Empire. The fact that lists of non-Romans divided according to their property qualifications could be secured in Cyrene in 7-6 B. C. is a good indication that census records were fairly well up to date at that time.<sup>29</sup>

It is thus likely that censuses were held in Syria before the enrolment of 6 A. D. which included both Syria and the newly-formed province of Judaea. But it is more difficult to determine whether the census would have been extended to the realm of the client king Herod. Part of Herod's kingdom certainly paid tribute to the Romans but it is uncertain whether Judaea did and whether the tribute, if exacted, would have been based upon a census. Judaea had been placed under tribute by Pompey (Joseph. *Bell.*, I, 154), and had apparently been released from it by Caesar, though the evidence on the latter point is far from clear.<sup>30</sup> Herod is mentioned by Appian (*B. C.*, V, 75) among the kings whom Antony confirmed in their rule on condition that they continue to pay a prescribed tribute. But the subjects of Herod named by Appian are the Idumaeans and Samaritans, and the omission of the Jews has been interpreted to mean that they were free from tribute. A

<sup>28</sup> Phlegon, *περὶ μακροβίων*, Jacoby, *Frag. der griech. Hist.*, II B, p. 1187 (Müller, *F. H. G.*, III, pp. 608 ff.) has a list of men and women who lived a century or more which came from the Vespasianic census records (cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, VII, 162). His list includes names from the eighth region of Italy and also from Macedonia, Bithynia, and Lusitania. See Mommsen, *l. c.*, and E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I, 51, n. 2.

<sup>29</sup> See the first of the Augustan edicts recently discovered in Cyrene and the discussion of it by Stroux and Wenger, *Abhand. der bay. Akad.*, XXXIV, 2, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> See the corrupt passage in Caesar's edict quoted by Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 10, 5-6, and the translation of it in the Latin version (quoted in Niese's edition).

similar conclusion has been drawn from Josephus' statements about the opposition of the Jews to the census of 6 A. D.<sup>31</sup>

For the activity of a client king in taking a census in his realm one may cite again the case of the Clitae, a people of Cilicia Tracheia (Tac. *Ann.*, VI, 41). In 36 A. D. their king, Archelaos, who owed his kingdom to the Romans, tried unsuccessfully to carry out a census in the Roman manner among his people. It is possible that Herod acted similarly in his realm. In that case the opposition to the census of 6 A. D. would have been aroused less by the enrolment itself than by the fact that the officials conducting it were not native but Roman.

Luke's statement that every man was commanded to go to his own city to be enrolled has significant parallels in Egyptian records.<sup>32</sup> Among the papyri dealing with the census held in Egypt every fourteen years during the Empire are various documents providing for the enrolment by household, ἡ κατὰ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή. One of them, dating from 104 A. D., is a command of the prefect of Egypt that those outside their own nome return to their own households to be enrolled.<sup>33</sup> Still other records, the relation of which to the census seems now to be established, mention not the household but the ἰδία, the place of origin to which men could on an occasion like the taking of the census be forced to return.<sup>34</sup> The idea of the ἰδία was familiar elsewhere in the east. Whatever our decision about the historical accuracy of Luke, he seems to have been recording a custom familiar in Judaea when he says that everyone was ordered to go to his own city (εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν) to be enrolled.

<sup>31</sup> For the view that Judaea was free from tribute see Mommsen, *Provinces*, II, 176. Against this view see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*<sup>2</sup>, I, 405 ff. See the statement p. 408 "so ist auch Herodes selbst factisch als ein procurator des Kaisers mit dem Königstitel zu betrachten." Cf. Joseph. *Bell.* I, 21, 4 (*Ant.* XV, 10, 3).

<sup>32</sup> On the census in Egypt see Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, I, 192-6, and the articles λαογραφία (by Laum) and λαογράφος (by Preisigke) in the *Realencyclopaedie*. Cf. Johnson and Van Hoesen, *Papyri in the Princeton University Collection*, *J. H. U. Studies in Archaeology* (1929), pp. XV ff.

<sup>33</sup> Wilcken, *op. cit.*, II, no. 202; first published by Kenyon and Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, III, p. 125. See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*<sup>4</sup>, 270 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, 305 ff.

There is moreover a curious correspondence in date between the periods of the Egyptian census and the census of Judaea. The earliest record of a *κατὰ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴ* dates from the year 61-62, but the census itself seems to be attested as early as 19-20 A. D. It is generally believed to have been instituted under Augustus. Wilcken suggests either 5-6 A. D. or 10-9 B. C. as the first era. It is a significant fact that 5-6 practically corresponds with the census of Quirinius in Syria and Judaea. The earlier era brings us very close to the Syrian governorship with which Tertullian associated the census at the birth of Jesus, that of Sentius Saturninus who was there in 8 B. C. and may well have begun his office as early as 10-9. It is possible from this curious correspondence in dates which Ramsay pointed out<sup>35</sup> that the regions which had made up the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms had their enrolment at the same time.

Moreover 10-9 is just a year before Augustus' second census of Roman citizens, that of 8 B. C. It seems to have been customary in Italian municipalities to take the census a year before the *lustrum* in Rome.<sup>36</sup> The census of 8 B. C. differed from those of 28 B. C. and 14 A. D. in that Augustus himself held it without a colleague. Is it possible that it differed also in that it included not only all citizens but all the inhabitants of the Roman world? It is shortly after this, in 7-6 B. C., that Augustus in writing to the people of Cyrene made provisions which were founded on the assumption that lists of non-citizens divided according to their property qualification were available.<sup>37</sup> If however the census of 8 B. C. included the whole

<sup>35</sup> Ramsay also associates with the Egyptian census era the census of the Clitae in 35. It is a year later than the census era 33-4.

<sup>36</sup> The list of magistrates preserved from Venusia (*C. I. L.*, IX, 422) shows that in 29 B. C., the year before Augustus' first census, *duumviri quinquennales*, the regular census officials, were appointed in Venusia.

<sup>37</sup> The edict opens with Augustus' statement that he has found (*εὑρίσκω*) the number of Roman citizens in Cyrene possessing a census qualifying them for jury duty to be only 215. In the rest of the document it is evident that the emperor has no list of non-citizens at hand, but he assumes that the records are available. He is answering a complaint, and it may be that the numbers are based not on figures which he has secured from the census bureau in Rome but on figures given in the communication which he is answering. For a different conclusion

population, Augustus saw fit to mention only the record of citizens in his *Res Gestae*, and Christian writers have preserved the only reference to the general census.

Luke, who probably lived through the great census of Vespasian, may of course have been reading the conditions of his own time into his account both of the universal enrolment<sup>38</sup> and of the accompanying order that every man go to his own city. But the knowledge of the empire which he elsewhere shows perhaps gives ground for more faith in his accounts of the past. Although he is probably wrong in naming Quirinius as governor of Syria before the death of Herod, he may be right in saying that a census of Judaea took place in the days of Herod for which everyone was commanded to return to his own city. It is perhaps not impossible that he is right in the statement that this census was part of an enrolment of all the population of the Roman world.

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see Premerstein, *Zeitschr. der Sav. Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLVIII (1928), 448 ff.

<sup>38</sup> See Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, 51.