

ARTICLE V.

ON THE LATIN EQUIVALENT OF THE NAME IN LUKE
II. 2, TRANSLATED CYRENIUS.

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OPINIONS have differed and fluctuated in regard to the Latin name corresponding to *Κυρήνιος*, in Luke ii. 2. For some time, at first, after the revival of classical study in Europe, it was held by most scholars to be Quirinius. Afterwards, especially after the dissertation of Perizonius de *Augustea orbis terrarum descriptione* (1682 and 1690, following his treatise de *praetorio*, Franeker, as well as subsequently reprinted), and after the publication of Ryck's *Tacitus* (Utrecht, 1687), the tide was turned, and Quirinus was regarded as the true name, although some learned men — and those the best acquainted with the results of archaeological investigation — remained true to the earlier tradition. But since the manuscripts have been examined more carefully, and new inscriptions have been brought to light, the editors of *Tacitus* almost in a body, all the learned antiquarians, and the best informed commentators have returned to Quirinius. It is my object in this Essay to show that this form alone has solid ground for its support.

We must, however, at the outset, remark that both names occur in Latin records and on inscriptions. Both, also, as names of men, are not earlier than the end of the Republic. Quirinius, both as a *nomen* and a *cognomen*, derived either from the name of the old Sabine god or from the tribe Quirina, one of the thirty-five Roman local divisions so-called, cannot be traced to an earlier age than the end of the Republic. The subject of this Essay was a new man of humble origin; and his *cognomen*, if he indeed bore that of

Quirinius, began, as far as we know, with him. Quirinus is still later, but under the Empire occurs with greater frequency.

Quirinus, or the feminine Quirina, we have noticed twice among Muratori's Inscriptions (Nov. Thesaur. pp. 1173, 1735), and several times in Mommsen's Inscriptions of the Kingdom of Naples. Thus, in the latter collection, occur Q. Quirinus Hermes (No. 7202) and Sex. Julius Quirinus — "literis sequioris aevi," as the editor says — with Aureli Quirini Merodoti (No. 2992), where Aureli renders the nominative of Quirini uncertain. In Mommsen's Corpus of Latin inscriptions we find Gallia Quirina on a Spanish stone, and in the volume devoted to Britain there are three inscriptions relating to M. Aurelius Quirinus, a *praefectus cohortis*. Ryck, on Tac. ii. 30, cites from Reinesius the name of C. Sempronius C. f. Quirinus Lucretius Junianus. In Cent. III. Cyprian addressed two books of his "testimoniorum adv. Judaeos" to "Quirinus filius." In Cent. VI., near the end, we meet with a letter of Pope Gregory I. to an Irish bishop Quirinus. See Archbp. Usher's works (iv. 601, Dubl. 1864), who also mentions a Quirinus Comes.

An inscription in Muratori (p. 1895) speaks of a M. Quirinius Coeladus, and another mentions C. Quirinius. Both forms, then, are found as *nomina* and *cognomina*; and it is probable that all the examples come from the times of the Empire, after the old system of Roman names had begun to be undermined.

Confining ourselves, now, to the subject of this Article, whose full name is P. Sulpicius Quirinius, or Quirinus, we will look at the name as it stands in Greek writers, in Latin writers, and on inscriptions.

I. In Luke ii. 2, with some various readings; in six places of Josephus (Antiq. xvii. fin., xviii. 1 (*bis*), 2 (*bis*), Bell. Jud. vii. 8, 1); in Justin Martyr (Apol. i. § 35 § 46 Dial. cum Tryph. § 78); and in Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. i. 5, after Josephus, Antiq. xviii. init.) it is spelled *Κυρήνιος*; but in Strabo (xii. p. 569), *Κυρήνιος*.¹

¹ The various readings ought to be noticed. In Luke ii. 2 the Alexandrian

In the *Chronicon Paschale* (or *Fasti Siculi*) of L. Dindorf's ed. of 1832, followed by Migne, 1860, we find as consuls together, of the year 742 of Rome, *Μεσσάλα* and *Κυρινίου*. Mommsen (*Corp. Lat. inscr. i. 546*) prefers this to a various reading *Κυρίνου*, which Dindorf does not notice. In the chronological list of consuls prefixed to Dio Cassius, Book liv., we find the full name *Π. Σουλπίκιος Π. υί. Κυρίνιος*, which Mommsen and others receive without mentioning any various reading, and which Sturz also has in his text, although L. Dindorf, in the Teubner ed. of Dio Cass. (vol. v. p. xxiii.), has *Κυρίνος*. Finally, George Syncellus (*Chronograph. 316 B. ed. W. Dindorf i. 598*) has *Κυρίνιος*, in an extract, it is probable, from the Chronicle of Eusebius (comp. Euseb. Chron. ed. Maii, 1833, under Olympiad 194, and the year of the world 5500). These are all the places in Greek, known to the present writer, which bear on the decision between the endings *-us* and *-ius* in Latin. Whether the argument from them can be set aside we shall presently consider. We add, in this place, that the *eta* in the penultimate of the name in Luke and Josephus finds analogies in the common form *Σικηπίων* for *Σικπίων*, and *Μηνύκιος*, more frequent than *Μωνύκιος*, in Dionys. Hal. This, however, has little or nothing to do with our present inquiry.

There are no genuine coins on which either name occurs, although one published by Goltz and accepted by Vaillant (*Numism. Fam. Rom.*) for some time imposed on the earlier scholars.¹ Nor are there any coins in existence which show

ms. has *κηρινίου*, a few have *κηρηνίου*, the Vatican *ms. pr. manu* *κυρείνου*, tert. man. *κυρίνου*, but this reading does not deserve consideration in comparison with the vulgar text, although Lachmann was in favor of it. Tischendorf adopts the vulgar text, so do Tregelles and Westcott and Hort, (although with *κυρείνου* in the margin); and considering the support for that text in Josephus and Justin, it can hardly be doubted that they are in the right. In two *ms.* of Strabo, x and z of Cramer, *κυρήνιος* is the reading, but *κυρίνιος* has far better manuscript support. Of Josephus there is no critical edition. In W. Dindorf's corrected reprint of Hudson's edition, the reading *κυρήνιος* remains; so too in Bekker. I find in Heinichen's Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles. i. 5*, a note of the author, citing a translation of Rufinus in which Cyrinus represents the *κυρήνιος* of his original.

¹ Marini says (*Frati Arvali, ii. 786*): "Della medaglia del Golzio con Quirino sanno gli antiquari qual conto debba farsi."

that any Roman *gens* bore the *cognomen* of Quirinus. There is, indeed, a coin of the Memmii with the words "C. Memmii C. F." on the obverse, together with a head and the name Quirinus, and on the reverse, as Eckhel gives it (Doctr. Num. v. 252), "Memmius Aed. Cerialia (*sic*) preimus (*sic*) fecit," i.e. when Aedile first instituted the games in honor of Ceres. In Mommsen's *Corpus inscr.* i. 140, No. 490, the reverse appears with the legend "C. Memmius Imperator | Quirinus | Memmius Aed. Cerialia Preimus Fecit." But Quirinus here is the god, as Eckhel, Borghesi (*Opere* i. 94), and Mommsen regard it; just as the head of Roma appears on another coin struck by a magistrate of the mint of the same family, and as Brutus Libertas appears on another, probably struck by one of the Junii.

II. We come next to the third name of our P. Sulpicius as it appears in the manuscripts of the early Latin writers. These are Florus (iv. § 12, 41), Suetonius (Tib. 49), Tacitus (Ann. ii. 80; iii. 22, 23, 48).

Florus says of him that he could have returned from Africa with the title (or *agnomen*) Marmaricus, on account of his successful victories over the Marmaridae and Garamantes, "sed modestior in aestimanda victoria fuit." The mss. differ greatly about his name. The best of them, the liber Nazarianus (comp. Mommsen, *res gestae Augusti*, p. 119), reads Quirinio (*sic*); the ancient editions, the second Palatine ms. and the mss. used by Vinetus give Curinio; the first Palatine, Quirinio; others, Turmio, which may be for Turinio, and that for Quirinio; and Jordanes (*Jornandes*), with the third Palatine, Quirino (see Duker's note). On the whole, the evidence preponderates in favor of the longer ending *-io*.

Suetonius speaks of Lepida, a lady of very high family and the wife of this man, as condemned "in gratiam Quirini consularis praedivitis et orbi," who, Suetonius goes on to say, divorced her after a marriage of twenty years, on the charge that she had formerly tried to poison him. Tacitus makes the crimes adultery, poisoning, and consultation of the Chaldaean soothsayers to the prejudice of the emperor's

house. The reading here is *Quirini*, which is ambiguous, and often occurs as *ī* for *īī*.

For Tacitus — i.e. for the six first books of the *Annals* — the only original manuscript is the *Mediceus* or *Corbeiensis* (*Laurent. Plut.* 68, 1). This was discovered at Corbei at Westphalia by an agent of Leo X., and after the pope's death was taken to Florence to be deposited in the Laurentine or Medicean library. An edition containing only these books, then called five, was published at Rome by Philipp Beroaldus, and was soon succeeded by the editions of Rhenanus (in 1519 and later), of Junta (*Flor.* 1527), by the Aldine (*Ven.* 1534), by the editions of Lipsius (1574 and later), by that of Curtius Pichena (*Flor.* 1607), by Ryck's (*Utr.* 1687), and by that of J. Gronovius (1721), — to mention none of more recent date. The text owes most to Pichena and J. Gronovius, and in modern times to Fr. Furia, whose collations were placed at the disposal of Immanuel Bekker for his edition of 1831. As for the reading of the name with which we are concerned, there seems to be some confusion in the statements of the earlier editors. Ryck, on *Annal.* ii. 30, has these words: "Beroaldus eumque secutus Rhenanus hic ediderunt P. Quirino: reliqui post hos editores (quos quidem vidi) P. Quirinio. Restitui primitivam lectionem," etc. J. Gronovius, as cited in Ernesti's edition, adds the Aldine also as reading *Quirino*, states it to be the manuscript reading, and adopts it himself. Bekker, in his brief way, after mentioning this, adds, "Si Furiae fides M. [the Medicean codex] et hic et infra iii. 22, et 48, Quirinium vocat hominem." There seems to be no doubt that this is true, as it has been verified since; and this reading, wherever the name occurs in the *Annals*, is now adopted by Ritter (second ed.), in Orelli's second ed., by Doederlein (1841), by Halm, by Nipperdey, and by a number of other editors. The disregard by Beroaldus of his manuscript — and that the only witness to the text — can be accounted for by his undertaking to judge over its testimony. For the mistake of Gronovius we cannot account; for he seems to have spent a long time in Tuscany, and he inspected the manuscript himself.

The name Quirinius is found eight times in the Annals of Tacitus (ii. 30 ; iii. 22, 23, 48) : twice in the nominative, and three times in the genitive and dative each. In regard to the genitive there is some doubt. Bekker and Doederlein give Quirinii ; Nipperdey, Quirini. It would seem, from a note of the latter, that he had not fully conformed, in the two first books, to the spelling of the manuscript ; and he there makes some words to conform to it, one of which is Quirinii. There is nothing strange in Quirini from a nominative in *-ius* ; but it is strange that there should be this difference after the careful collations in Bekker's edition. It is worth remarking, also, that we find (in iii. 48) Sulpicii Quirini (with Nipperdey's text) together ; for which we may account by the unpleasantness of four syllables ending in *i* in succession.¹

Several lists of consuls existing in Latin manuscripts have the reading Quirinus to denote the consul of 742 A.U.C., or 12 B.C. The chronographer of A.D. 354, the *fasti Idatiani* of much later origin, and the *fasti* cited by Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici* iii., 742 A.U.C.) from Cardinal Noris, concur in giving that name to our Cyrenius.

The balance of good authorities thus far inclines towards Quirinius, and the weight of authority is on that side. But Perizonius, in the dissertation above referred to, turned the current of opinion.² Grotius had thought that the ending *-ius* was the true Latin one, and that all texts were to be amended accordingly. Perizonius, on the other hand, denies that a Roman gentile form or *cognomen* with this ending can be found before the age of Augustus. What are called *agnomina* — i.e. a third or fourth name, given to an individual, and having some significance — may be found ; but

¹ The age of this ms. I find nowhere spoken of. But mistakes in it, such as the confusion of *c* and *t* before *i* (*sedicio*, *justicium*, *toiciens*, *quociens*, *promcius*, *pociebatur*, and *spetiem*, *pervicatia*, *contumatis*, *andatae*, *pernitium*), point to the Langobardic period.

² I use the edition of this Dissertation which appears in the *Dis. septem* of our author, published in Leyden in 1740. It is the fourth of the seven. Dr. Ezra Abbot has kindly enabled me to use this and Byck's Tacitus.

such a third name as Quirinius, derived from Quirinus, and meaningless in itself, is without a parallel at this epoch. Furthermore, to meet the objection that the name in question repeatedly ends in *-ios*, he lays down the following rule: "Solemne [est] illis [i.e. Graecis] dare istam terminationem nominibus propriis Romanorum, quia videbant eorum pleraque praenomina, omnia gentilitia, nonnulla etiam cognomina ita desinere." And thus he adds that Pupienus (or Maximus) on certain Greek coins is called *Πουπήνιος*, — which, however, does not quite suit his rule, as it would require *Πουπιήνιος*; and this, in matter of fact, is the real name, the Greek form being nearer right than the received Latin one.¹ So Nautes the companion of Aeneas is called Nautius, Caeles Vibenna, Caelius, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. And in like manner some of the Roman names and appellatives often took this ending in Greek. "The same cause that led the Greeks to treat the Roman names this way led some scribes also to write this *cognomen* Quirinus after that form of the gentile name."

Theodore Ryck, in his edition of Tacitus, which is an excellent one on the whole, reaffirms the two rules of Perizonius (Annal. ii. 30), and adds other arguments in proof that Quirinus is the true name. As no one has added anything new to his arguments, unless the Venetian marble be thought such, we will here notice what he says with all possible brevity. 1. Quirinus is the reading of Beroaldus and the primitive reading. But we now know that he was in an error as to the last point. 2. Suetonius (Tib. 49) has Quirini. But this is, as we have seen, ambiguous. 3. *Κυρίνου* is in the *Fasti Siculi* (or *Chronicon Paschale*). But the approved ending is *Κυρίων*, as has already appeared. 4. The coin in Goltz's *Fasti*. But it is a forgery. 5. There are several examples of Quirinus. That is very true; and there are examples, though fewer in number, of Quirinius. In the

¹ The *Fasti Sacerdotales* found in the Basilica Julia, name, as the colleague of Maximin, Pupienius Africanus. See Hensen's note in Borghesi's *Opere*, iii. 455.

lists of consuls, as that in Dion. Cass., and in the passage of Luke, he would alter the text.

The rule of Perizonius and Ryck was accepted by Deyling, an important theologian who was nearly their contemporary, and by a number of others whom he mentions (*Obs. Sacrae*, 1708 sqq. I use the ed. of 1735, Part ii. p. 432). From Deyling it passed down to later scholars. Schleusner has it in his lexicon, s.v. *Κυρήνιος*. Kuinoel repeats it on Luke ii. 2; and Alford, both in the Dictionary of the Bible and in his commentary, regards it as a settled fact that "*Κυρήνιος* is the Greek form of the Roman name Quirinus, not [of] Quirinius." Orelli, as we have seen, for some time took it for granted on Ryck's authority. It is a pity that Meyer's abandonment of his earlier opinion favoring Quirinus, which is seen in the fifth edition of his Luke, was not, as it would seem, known to Alford, although published in 1867, several years before Alford's death; for with his great respect to Meyer's opinion, he would not have failed to reconsider the question. Nor would Farrar, in his *Life of Christ* (i. 8), have relied on Orelli's first edition of Tacitus, as his only guide for Quirinus, when Quirinius had taken its place in the edition of 1859.

The rule of Perizonius, Ryck, and Deyling, if it were true, would not concern us much; for, as the Greeks certainly expressed *-ius* by *-ios*, it would follow that *-ios* determined nothing in regard to a particular Latin name, since both *-us* and *-ius* would then be represented by one Greek ending. We should have in every case to ask whether, as the Greek form is ambiguous, there are any clear arguments for one or the other of the two endings. But in regard to the rule of Perizonius we have to say that, although the Greek MSS. blunder between the two endings, and are likely to write *-ios* because of the great frequency of that ending in Latin proper names, we find no such rule; but, on the contrary, proof (as far as we can tell what the manuscript readings are) that no such rule existed. The Latin names of the New Testament ending in *-us* have *-os* with no variation, we believe, except

that for the best supported reading *Κυρήνιος* are found *Κυρεῖνος* and *Κυρίνος*. But the Latin names Titus, Marcus, Paulus, Rufus, Urbanus, and others, always keep their Latin ending. In Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 10, § 20), however, we find Rabilius for the rarely occurring Rebilus, a *cognomen* in the *gens Caninia*. In the lists of consuls, as they are given by Mommsen in his collation of the *fasti*, according to the mss. (*Corp. Inscr.* i. 483-531), the mss. of Dionys. Hal., Diodor. Sic., and Dio Cass. are full of errors; and the confusion of *-ος* and *-ως* is one of them, although not very common. In Dionysius, assisted by the collations above-mentioned, we find Geminius, Flavius, Læinius (*sic*), represented by Greek forms instead of Geminus, Flavius, and Albinus. In Diodorus we find Rutilius, Cichorius (?) Pontinius, which are balanced by Romulus (for Romilius), Quintus for the family name Quinctius, Quintius. In Dio occur Calvinus for Calvinus, and both Alfenus and Alfenius. In the *Chronicon Paschale* the errors of this kind are more numerous. We have noticed the Greek names answering to Rutilius, Bolisius, Quintius, Lepidius (several times, while Lepidus appears, also, several times), Bruttius, Calvinus, Rusticius, for Rutilus, Volesus, Quintus, Lepidus, Brutus, Calvinus, Rusticus, and, per contra, Vatinius for Vatinus. The result is, that this is a mistake into which Greek copyists are apt to fall for a reason already given, but is not by any means a law of transliteration.

We may put this statement in another shape. Looking at the lists of consuls in Diodor. Sic., we find within a small compass ten *cognomina* ending in *-us* in Latin which are represented by *-ος* in Greek, in Dionys. Hal. fourteen in *-ος* answering to *-us*, with two mistakes, and in the *Chron. Paschale* twenty, and scarcely a mistake. The Greek transcribers did not, then, as a rule, transliterate *-us* by *-ως*, but by *-ος*; and the other practice can by no means be called a rule, but rather an exception.

Another objection more worthy of notice connected with this point is the occurrence of two names ending in *-ius*, as *nomen* and *cognomen*. No doubt the Roman rule through

the Republic was that the *nomen*, or gentile name, should always end in *-ius*, and the *cognomen*, or family name, should not end in *-ius*. But toward the end of the Republic a great change in family names began, of which we have many striking examples. (Compare Marquardt in Bekker-Marquardt V. pt. 1. 26.) Nipperdey calls attention to Sulpicius Quirinius as being perhaps the first known instance in which two gentile names occur, or, in other words, in which the third name, not being a personal name, ends in *-ius*. But examples of the practice became ere long not uncommon. Thus we find C. Appius Junius Silanus, Appius coming from his mother's house; and the emperor Galba's full name was L. Livius Servius Sulpicius Galba. The great Roman glutton (temp. Tiberii) had the name M. Gabius Apicius. In the *fasti consulares* we find T. Rustius Nummius Gallus, a *consul suffectus* of 26 A.D.; and in 37 A.D. C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus. And so the full name of a praeses of Syria about 51 A.D. was C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, Durmius being discovered from an inscription. (Comp. Orelli's inscr. 3128, and Tac. Annal. xii. 45, ed. Nipperdey.) So the poet P. Papinius Statius (Cent. I.) and Roscius Caelius, Tac. Hist. i. 60. Whether our Cyrenius belonged to a family of clients of the *gens Sulpicia*, or took the name Sulpicius by adoption, or for some other reason, it is useless to inquire. Thus much appears, that about his time a practice grew up of having a third name ending in *-ius*. It is probably owing to this termination of the two names in *-ius* that errors were made by scribes who expected that the third should end in *-us*.

III. We turn now to the testimony given by inscriptions: and first to those fragments, called *fasti capitolini*, from which the ordinary *fasti consulares* are derived, as far as the first are extant. These ordinary *fasti* are the work of Onuphrius Panvinius and Sigonius, who, when their authorities failed them, supplied, sometimes successfully sometimes by unfortunate conjecture, the missing magistrates. In these *fasti consulares* (see them in Orelli's Cicero, Vol. viii. part 3), we find a Sulpicius Quirinus three times. 1. In the year 712

(711) the censors are given as L. Antonius Pietas and P. Sulpicius Quirinus. The censors of this year are known only from the *fasti Colotiani*, so called as being found in the garden of one Angelo Coloti at Rome, and after several removals joined to the *Capitoline fasti* in the palace of the Conservatori. The names there are [L] Antonius, P. Sulpicius, *with no third name*. There is not the slightest proof that this was the P. Sulpicius of whom we treat. Henzen, the distinguished collaborator with Mommsen, regards this censor as P. Sulpicius Rufus, a trusted officer of Julius Caesar, to whom Cicero addressed a letter a year or two before this censorship (anno 709, ad fam. xiii. 77). It is also highly improbable that our Cyrenius could have been a censor thirty years before he was actually consul, and sixty-two years before his death.

2. In the ordinary *fasti consulares* we find a P. Sulpicius, P. f. Quirinus as a *consul suffectus* of the year 718 (717). For this there is not the slightest authority. A. W. Zumpt says, "*totus ex conjectura natus est, eaque parum probabili.*"

3. All agree that our Cyrenius was consul in 742 (741), but the bad condition of the stone (as may be seen in Piranesi's *Fasti Capitol.*, where a chart of the fragments is given, and in Mommsen's faithful repetition of the *fasti*) hides from us everything about him, except P. S., the initials of his *praenomen* and *nomen*; even the S. is partially obliterated.¹

Thus far we wander in the dark, but the *fasti Praenestini* bring us into the clear day. This is a testimony to which the earlier scholars had no access. Suetonius (*de illustr. grammaticis*) speaks of the author of these, Verrius Flaccus, the tutor of the grandsons of Augustus, as dying at an advanced age under Tiberius, and then adds: "*Statuam habet Praeneste in inferiore fori parte, contra hemicyclium,*

¹ H. Gerlach (*die Röm. Statthalter in Syrien, etc.*, Berlin, 1865, p. 37), accepts the name Quirinius on the right grounds, but explains Quirinus in the *fasti consulares* by supposing an N, with the right-hand mark prolonged and capped (thus, N,) to have stood instead of N the ordinary letter. This is a common abbreviation on inscriptions for NI. But if he had looked at the *Capitoline Fasti* themselves, he would have found no Quirinus there at all. See below.

in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo pariete incisos publicarat." The foundation of a building answering to this hemicyclium, or semicircular hall for gatherings of the learned, was discovered in 1770, and around it were found fragments of inscriptions on marble tablets, of the kind called *fasti* or *fasti minores*, which relate not to the annual magistrates, but to sacred days, to consecrations, and the like. These, it is agreed, are the tablets mentioned by Suetonius, and were probably inscribed before the death of our Cyrenius, — as Mommsen thinks, between the years 752 and 763 of Rome, or 2 B.C. and 10 A.D. They were published first at Rome in 1779; and in 1863, the year when the volume of Mommsen's Latin inscriptions relating to them came out, were in a house belonging to Cardinal Vidoni. Only the Calendars from January to April inclusive, and these not in an entire condition, were discovered. They may be found in F. A. Wolf's Suetonius, iv. 314–355, in Orelli's Delectus Inscr. ii. 379, and in Mommsen's often-mentioned work, with all necessary explanations. They are sometimes called *fasti Verriani* from their author.

One of the two places, where the name of Quirinius occurs in these *fasti* is in connection with the fourth day before the kalends of May (Apr. 28). With the missing words supplied in small letters the passage is as follows: LUDI FLORAE, FERIAE EX S. C. QUOD EO DIE aedacula ET | ara VESTAE IN DOMU IMP. CAESARIS AUGUSTI PONTIF MAX | DEDICATA'ST, QUIRINIO ET VALGIO COS., etc. In the other passage, which pertains to the day before the nones of March, there is mention of *feriae* being instituted by the Senate because then Augustus was made Pontifex Maximus. Here the name of Quirinius is not complete, but happily the latter part of it is preserved, — NIO, as it stands in Wolf's Suetonius, — INIO, as Mommsen's more careful examination gives it.

Another inscription on bronze, now found in the museum at Cortona, and first made known by Marini (Atti dei Frat. Arvali ii. 782), begins with P. Sulpicio Quirinio, C. Valgio Cos., and makes known that a union of stipendiary towns

in Africa enter into a relation of hospitality and clientel with a Roman of importance, one of the Domitii.

These are the only known genuine inscriptions which relate to the Cyrenius of Luke, with the exception of one found at Capua (No. 7041, in Orelli's *Delectus* ii. 416) where only Sulpicio Quirin. with C. Valgio is extant. They show beyond a question that his third name was Quirinius, and that Luke gives the true Latin ending in its Greek form. There is, however, one inscription, which would be of great importance if it were genuine, inasmuch as it relates to a census of Syria in which it declares Quirinius to be concerned. It was first made known by Orsato Sertorio, the author of some epigraphical works, as *Marmi Eruditi* (Parma, 1669 and 1719), and *Monumenta Patavina* (Padua, 1652). According to this writer the marble was preserved at Venice in the house of a certain Nicolaus Venerius (*Monum. Patav.* p. 276). Muratori published it in his *Novus Thesaurus* (ii. 670), and Orelli in his collection (i. No. 623). Marini condemned it as a forgery, and Orelli was of the same opinion; while A. W. Zumpt, giving well-considered reasons for a similar judgment, pronounces it to be a "magnum et turpe mendacium." Huschke in his treatise on the census in the time of Christ defends it in vain. It makes mention of a census taken by Q. Aemilius, Q. F. Pal. Secundus, under orders from P. Sulpitius (*sic*) Quirinus, of the civitas Apamena, or Apamaea in Coele-Syria (where he finds one hundred and seventeen thousand *homines cives*), and of a military expedition against the Ituraeans on Mt. Lebanon. The reason for Marini's and Orelli's suspicion of it, that it contains the name Quirinus, is by no means sufficient. It is the point to be proved; and, moreover, as Zumpt remarks, N might be really NI. For the rest we must refer to Zumpt's *Comment. Epigraph.*, Vol. ii. p. 105 et seq.; adding that the marble has never been seen, and its existence cannot be proved.¹ A single argument additional to those of Zumpt,

¹ This inscription Ph. E. Huschke, a learned professor of law at Breslau, defends as genuine (in his treatise *über den zur Zeit d. Geburt Jesu Christi gehaltenen Census*. Breslau, 1840). On page sixty he stoutly defends the

which Marini seems to hint at, may, perhaps, here deserve place. It is drawn from the spelling on the inscription of Sulpitius with a *t*. The name of this *gens* is always spelled with *c* in Latin, and with *Kappa* in Greek, until long after the times when the marble, if genuine, was set up. Diez, in his Roman. Gram. (i. 250, ed. 3), lays it down as proved, that during the continuance of the West-Roman empire *c* before *all* vowels sounded like the Greek *Kappa*. And he quotes Corssen (Lat. Ausspr. i. 48, ed. 2) as saying that *c* before *e* and *i* had this hard sound, even into the sixth and seventh century, until the time after the Lombards emigrated into Italy. *Ti* before a vowel seems to have been assimilated sooner than *ci* in the same place (Diez i. 229). And there are traces of the change of pronunciation in *ci* having begun here and there at an earlier period, (comp. Schneider's Lat. Gram. i. 241). Yet we may be sure that Sulpicius could not have been confounded with Sulpitius at the time demanded for the genuineness of this monument. It is for this reason, and for others mentioned before, nearly certain that the inscription was an Italian forger's work.

I close with saying that the modern Latin archaeologists, with many of the most eminent older scholars of great name, receive Quirinius as beyond question the true original of

name Quirinus, which his object scarcely renders necessary, by arguments some of which are really astonishing. We say nothing of his assertion that Quirinus is in the Capitoline Fasti, and the Sicilian (or Chron. Paschale), which is a mistake, nor of the coin mentioned by Goltz and the inscription in Orelli's coll. No. 623, both of which are forgeries, nor of a Calpurnius Quirinus in Gruter's thesaur. which might well be, as there are many Calpurnii among the Latin inscriptions of Spain, only that this is probably a fraud and is not even mentioned by Mommsen. Further, when he says that "the Greeks were wont to transform Latin names of persons regularly into such flexions sounding like gentile names," we can pass by this mistake which we hope that we have refuted. But when he adds that "the Greek flexion in the case of our Quirinius occurs in the Praenestine Kalendar also at the 5th of March and the 28th of April, and on an African inscription where the Greek "Sprachidiom" had had influence," we must wonder at the absurdity of conceiving that Verrius Flaccus, a leading Roman grammarian should put a graecised form of a Roman name, rather than the Latin one, on a monument set up twenty-three miles from Rome. The names of the consuls Drusus, Norbanus, Crispinus, in their Latin form occur on those marbles; why did not the 'Sprachidiom' of the Greeks alter these also?

Kυρήνιος. Marini, in the last century, said, "pare certo che così [Quirinio] debba nominarsi et non Quirino; e così veramente il chiamarono il Lipsio (ad Tac. Ann. iii. 48), il Noris [Cardinal Noris in his Cenotaph. Pisan. Diss. 2, ch. 2, § 12] il Pagi ed altri, senza aver essi a favore loro sì belli e sì certi documenti, quali abbiam ora noi." To the older scholars we add only Archbp. Usher. Of those in quite recent times we add Eckhel, Marini himself, Borghese, Mommsen, A. W. Zumpt, and Henzen. Borghese speaks of Quirinius by no other name, and mentions the passage of the *fasti* where he appears as a *consul suffectus*, as a "mucchio d'errori." A. W. Zumpt speaks of his name and various particulars of his life in an extended passage to which we have referred and from which we have derived great benefit. Mommsen discusses the events of his life in the appendix to the "res gestae Augusti" (or Ancyra marbles), and shows that an inscription, from which the name has been broken off, which speaks of some one having gained a victory and having had peculiar honors conferred upon him at Rome, belongs, as had been suspected before, to this Quirinius. His name has returned to the possession of more rights than it had been stripped of by many of the earlier scholars, and stands now just as the *Kυρήνιος* of Luke's gospel ought to stand, according to the marbles and best manuscript readings.

NOTE.— In the mss. of the Old Latin we find *Cyrinus* (Vercell., Veron., Colb., Corb., S. Gat.), *Cyrenus* (S. Germ. 1), *Cyrenius* (Cantabrig.). In the Vulgate *Cyrinus* is given by codd. Fuld., Amiat., Forojul., and the fragm. Perusin. In Ambrose, Augustine, Juvenius, the same reading is found (except that *Syrinus* is given in Aug. de cons. evang. l. ii. ch. v. § 17, col. 1082, ed. Migne), and this must have prevailed in the Latin church.