

## Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
<i>Chapter one: Claudius and the Christians</i> .....	11
1 <i>Chrestus</i> , Jews and Christians .....	11
1.1 Claudius' Relations with the Jews.....	11
1.2 The Texts .....	14
1.3 The Identity of <i>Chrestus</i> .....	15
1.4 The Date in Orosius .....	22
1.5 The Tradition in Cassius Dio .....	25
2 Conclusion.....	27
<i>Chapter two: Nero and the Christians</i> .....	29
1 Pagan Sources .....	29
1.1 IG VII, 2713 and Nero as Zeus Liberator .....	29
1.1.1 The Inscription.....	30
1.1.2 The Gift of Freedom: Nero and Greece.....	32
1.1.3 Zeus the Liberator .....	34
1.1.4 Archaeological Questions: Statues, Altars, and Temples	35
1.1.5 IG VII 2713, the Christians, and the New Testament....	37
1.2 Nero and the New Testament.....	38
1.3 Tacitus' Text .....	39
1.3.1 Tacitus' Sources.....	41
1.3.2 The Date of the Fire.....	42
1.3.3 The Persecuting Magistrate.....	43
1.3.4 Human Help (Ann. 15.44.2).....	46
1.3.5 Arson and Faith (Ann. 15.44.2).....	46
1.3.6 Crimes (Ann. 15.44.2) .....	47
1.3.7 Christ, Pilate, and Chrestians (Ann. 15.44.3).....	50
1.3.8 Repression (Ann. 15.44.3) .....	50
1.3.9 Superstition (Ann. 15.44.3).....	51
1.3.10 Acceptable Roman Religion: A Digression .....	54
1.3.11 Resurgence (Ann. 15.44.3).....	56
1.3.12 Shocking and Shameful Things in Rome (Ann. 15.44.3)	57
1.3.13 Confession and Guilt (Ann. 15.44.4) .....	57

1.3.14	“Convicted” or “Added” (Ann. 15.4.4).....	59
1.3.15	Trial or Coercitive Process?.....	61
1.3.16	Hatred of the Human Race (Ann. 15.44.4).....	62
1.3.17	Misanthropy: Judaism and Christianity.....	63
1.3.18	Public Enemies: Hatred of the Human Race?.....	65
1.3.19	The Punishments: Textual Problems (Ann. 15.44.4).....	69
1.3.20	The Outrageous Spectacle of Death (Ann. 15.44.4).....	73
1.3.21	Torture Shirts? (Ann. 15.44.4).....	77
1.3.22	Animal Skins (Ann. 15.44.4).....	78
1.3.23	Nero’s Gardens (Ann. 15.44.5).....	79
1.3.24	Public Utility and Compassion (Ann. 15.44.5).....	81
1.4	The Persecution in Suetonius and the Question of Law.....	83
1.4.1	Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Cicero.....	85
1.4.2	Dio and Celsus.....	86
1.4.3	Apostasy and <i>mos maiorum</i> .....	89
1.4.4	An Analogy: Heretics in the <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .....	92
2	Christian Authors on the Persecution.....	94
2.1	Tertullian and the Existence of an <i>Institutum Neronianum</i> .....	95
2.2	Imperial Legislation?.....	97
3	Peter and Paul and other Martyrs of Nero.....	98
3.1	Clement’s Epistle to the Corinthians.....	98
3.2	The Date of the Deaths of Peter and Paul.....	99
4	Peter, Mark, and Tacitus.....	101
4.1	Papias.....	101
4.2	Irenaeus.....	104
4.3	Mark and Tacitus.....	104
5	Nero and Revelation.....	105
5.1	Nero as an Interpretive Reference Point in the Apocalypse.....	106
5.2	The Worship of Nero and the Worship of the Beast.....	108
6	Conclusion.....	110
 <i>Chapter three: Domitian and the Christians</i> .....		112
1	Imperial Ideology.....	112
1.1	Architecture.....	112
1.2	<i>Dominus et Deus</i> .....	113
1.3	Inscriptional Evidence.....	116
2	Persecution of the Christians.....	117
2.1	Bruttius.....	117
2.2	Cassius Dio.....	121
2.3	Suetonius.....	122
2.4	<i>Maiestas</i> and Atheism.....	125
2.5	Domitian and Anti-Judaism.....	127

2.6	Dio, Judaism, and Flavia Domitilla .....	128
2.7	Political Grounds for the Trials.....	131
2.8	Trials of Christians in Domitian's Principate? .....	132
2.8.1	Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians.....	132
2.8.2	Pliny's Trials of the Christians .....	135
3	Conclusion .....	136
<i>Chapter four: Trajan and the Christians.....</i>		138
1	Pliny and Trajan .....	138
1.1	Pliny's Career .....	138
1.2	Pliny in Bithynia.....	143
1.2.1	Propraetor .....	144
1.2.2	The Trials of the Christians.....	146
1.3	The Text of the Letter to Trajan and Trajan's Response .....	148
1.4	Roman Trials: The Question of Extraordinary Procedure .....	151
1.5	The Context.....	156
1.6	The Rhetorical Structure and Nature of the Letter.....	156
1.7	Pliny's Trials of Christians and Earlier Trials (10.96.1).....	158
1.8	The Judicial Investigation and Punishments (10.96.1).....	162
1.9	<i>Flagitia</i> (10.96.2).....	165
1.10	The <i>Nomen Christianorum</i> (10.96.2).....	166
1.11	The Executions (10.96.3).....	168
1.12	Obstinacy and Contumacy (10.96.3) .....	169
1.13	Madness, Charges, and Anonymous Pamphlets (10.96.4-5)....	173
1.14	Prayers and Supplications (10.96.5) .....	176
1.14.1	Narratives of Supplication in Livy.....	177
1.14.2	Supplications in Inscriptions and other Texts .....	178
1.15	Incense and Wine (10.96.5) .....	179
1.15.1	Inscriptional Evidence .....	180
1.15.2	The Arval Brethren.....	181
1.15.3	Martyrological Accounts and other Christian Literature	182
1.16	Statues/Images of Trajan and the Gods (10.96.5) .....	183
1.16.1	Inscriptions .....	183
1.16.2	Archaeological Evidence .....	185
1.16.3	Statues of the Gods.....	186
1.16.4	Tiridates.....	186
1.17	Sacrificial Meals .....	187
1.18	Christian "Revenge".....	189
1.19	Reviling Christ (10.96.5).....	189
1.19.1	A Jewish Background .....	190
1.19.2	The Behavior of Pliny and other Magistrates.....	191
1.19.3	Pagan and Christian Blasphemy of Statues and Gods....	193

1.20	Informers and Apostates (10.96.6).....	194
1.20.1	Patristic Evidence .....	195
1.20.2	Peregrinus, Ammonius, and Julian .....	196
1.21	The Former Guilt and Error of the Apostates (10.96.7).....	198
1.22	Before Daylight on a Certain Day (10.96.7) .....	199
1.23	Singing to Christ (10.96.7).....	201
1.24	<i>Christus</i> and <i>maiestas</i> ? (10.96.7).....	206
1.25	The Oath of the Christians (10.96.7).....	209
1.26	Common and Harmless Food (10.96.7).....	213
1.27	Associations (10.96.7) .....	214
1.28	The Torture of the <i>ministrae</i> (10.96.8).....	215
1.29	The Corrupt and Immoderate Superstition (10.96.8).....	218
1.30	Suspended Trials (10.96.8).....	219
1.31	The Growth of Christianity and its Repression .....	220
1.32	Temples and their Revenues (10.96.10) .....	222
1.33	Trajan's Response (10.97).....	227
1.34	Supplication of our Gods.....	229
1.34.1	Imperial Language from the "Great Persecution" .....	229
1.34.2	Celsus.....	231
1.34.3	Porphyry.....	232
1.34.4	Julian.....	233
1.34.5	Ancestral Tradition and Religion in Greece and Rome ..	235
1.35	Toleration of the Jews.....	238
2	Persecution and I Peter.....	240
2.1	Capital Sentences .....	241
2.2	Arguments Against a Background in Trajan's Imperium.....	243
2.3	Concluding Results.....	245
3	The Setting in Life of the Apocalypse of John .....	246
3.1	The Patristic Tradition .....	247
3.2	Revelation and Persecution .....	249
4	Conclusion.....	250
 <i>Chapter five: Hadrian and the Christians</i> .....		252
1	Hadrian's Rescript.....	252
1.1	Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus .....	253
1.2	C. Minicius Fundanus .....	253
1.3	Hadrian's Travels and Image.....	255
1.4	Martyrdoms under Hadrian .....	260
1.5	The Text of the <i>Epistula</i> in Justin and Rufinus .....	261
1.6	The Interpretation of Hadrian's <i>Epistula</i> .....	262
1.7	The Question of the Council of Asia.....	263
1.8	Hadrian's Receipt of the Letter from Granianus .....	265

1.9 Hadrian's Humanity .....	265
1.10 Informers: Prosecution and Punishment.....	266
1.11 The Correct Legal Procedure .....	270
1.11.1 Petitions.....	270
1.11.2 <i>Accusatio</i> and <i>Inquisitio</i> .....	271
1.11.3 The Accusations.....	272
1.11.4 Pleading the Case .....	273
1.11.5 Demands and Outcries .....	274
1.11.6 Successful Accusations.....	275
1.11.7 Fitting the Punishments to the Offense .....	276
1.11.8 The Blackmailers.....	277
2 The Authenticity of the Rescript and Conclusion.....	279
 <i>Conclusion: Christian Attitudes toward Pagans and Jews</i> .....	281
1 Pagans .....	281
2 Jews.....	287
3 Conclusion.....	290
 <i>Bibliography</i> .....	294
Ancient Sources.....	294
Databases, CD Roms, Websites .....	299
Scholarship.....	299
 <i>Sources</i> .....	322
1 Greek and Latin Literature .....	322
2 Coins .....	334
3 Inscriptions and Papyri .....	335
4 Juristic Sources .....	339
5 Judaica.....	341
6 New Testament.....	342
7 New Testament Apocrypha and Apostolic Fathers.....	344
8 Martyrological Texts .....	345
9 Ancient Christian Writers.....	345
 <i>Ancient Individuals</i> .....	352
 <i>Modern Authors</i> .....	356
 <i>Subjects</i> .....	360