

Table of Contents

Introduction: Crucifixion Terminology	1
1 Definitions and Methodological Assumptions	2
2 Greek Terminology.....	4
2.1 σταυρός , σταυρόω, ἀνασταυρόω, σκόλοψ, ἀνασκοπιζω ..	5
2.2 κρεμάω, κρεμάνυμι	11
2.3 ἀποτυμπανισμός, ἀποτυμπανίζω.....	13
3 Latin Terminology	15
3.1 The Meaning of <i>Patibulum</i>	16
3.1.1 Latin (pagan) authors and <i>patibulum</i>	16
3.1.2 Christian Authors and <i>patibulum</i>	26
3.2 Excursus: <i>Patibulum</i> and σταυρός.....	28
3.3 Summary.....	33
3.4 <i>Crux</i> and <i>crucifigo</i>	34
3.5 <i>Furca</i>	37
3.6 <i>Furcifer</i>	44
3.7 <i>The Arbor Infelix</i>	45
4 Executions and Imperial Murders during Gaius’s Rule	48
5 Conclusion	49
 <i>Chapter one: Crucifixion in Latin Texts</i>	 51
1 Republic (Late Sixth Century until Caesar).....	51
1.1 Quintus Ennius (239–169)	51
1.2 Plautus (wrote ca 205–184).....	52
1.3 Publius Terentius Afer (active in the 160s)	58
1.4 Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.E.).....	59
1.5 Gaius Sempronius Gracchus (tribune in 123 and 122).....	62
1.6 Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43).....	62
1.7 Ps. Caesar.....	78
1.8 Gaius Valerius Catullus (ca 84–45 B.C.E.).....	78
1.9 Gaius Sallustius Crispus (probably 85–35 B.C.E.).....	79
1.10 Quintus Horatius Flaccus (8 Dec. 65 – 27 Nov. 8 B.C.E.).....	79
1.11 Sextus Propertius (b. between 54–47).....	82
1.12 Gaius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.).....	82
1.13 Titius Livius (59–17 C.E.).....	83
1.14 Lucius Annaeus Seneca (b. ca 50 B.C.E.–ca 40 C.E.).....	86

1.15	Vitruvius Pollio (military engineer of Caesar).....	92
2	From Caesar's Assassination to Constantine	92
2.1	Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C. – 17 C.E.).....	92
2.2	Gaius Iulius Phaedrus (ca 15 B.C.E. – 50 C.E.).....	93
2.3	Lucius Annaeus Seneca (born ca 4 B.C.E./1 C.E. – 65).....	94
2.4	Appendix Vergiliana (era of Augustus to 100 C.E.).....	103
2.5	Valerius Maximus (reign of Tiberius, 14–37).....	103
2.6	Pliny the Elder (23/24–79 C.E.)	106
2.7	Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (born ca 35 C.E.).....	107
2.8	Ps. Quintilian (school of Quintilian?).....	109
2.9	Ps. Quintilian, Major Declamations.....	111
2.10	Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 C.E.)	112
2.11	Publius Papinius Statius (b. between 45 and the early 50's).....	115
2.12	Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella (fl. 50 C.E.)	116
2.13	Marcus Manilius (reign of Augustus and Tiberius).....	117
2.14	Petronius (Petronius Arbiter? d. 66 C.E.)	118
2.15	Tiberius Catus Asconius Silius Italicus (ca 26–102).....	120
2.16	Marcus Valerius Martialis (38/41 – 101/104).....	121
2.17	A Graffito from Pompeii.....	122
2.18	Cornelius Tacitus (born ca 56)	122
2.19	Quintus Curtius Rufus (wrote I C.E.–early II C.E.)	124
2.20	Calpurnius Flaccus (wrote after ca 100 C.E.)	126
2.21	Apuleius of Madaurus (born ca 125)	129
2.22	Sextus Pompeius Festus (late second century scholar).....	132
2.23	Lucius Annaeus Florus (Antonine era).....	133
2.24	Marcus Cornelius Fronto (ca 95–ca 166).....	134
2.25	Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis (II C.E.).....	134
2.26	Hyginus (II C.E.)	137
2.27	Porphyrius (234–ca 305).....	138
3	Writers after Constantine.....	140
3.1	Marcus Iunian(i)us Iustinus (II–IV CE.).....	140
3.2	Scriptores Historiae Augustae	142
3.3	Servius (IV C.E.)	143
3.4	Ps. Probus (II–IV C.E.?)	145
3.5	Scholia in Iuvenalem (IV C.E.).....	146
3.6	Firmicus Maternus (337).....	147
3.7	Anthologia Latina	149
3.8	Acta Pilati.....	151
3.9	Jerome (347–420).....	151
3.10	Ausonius (IV C.E.).....	152
3.11	Caius Iulius Victor (IV C.E.?).....	152
3.12	Consultius Fortunatianus (IV C.E.).....	153

3.13	Medicina Plinii.....	154
3.14	Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius (mid V C.E.?)	154
3.15	Iunius Philargyrius	155
3.16	Orosius (composed his work between 416–418).....	155
3.17	Hermetis Trismegisti, De triginta sex decanis	157
4	Conclusion	158
 <i>Chapter two: Roman Crucifixions</i>		159
1	Synthesis of the Evidence	159
2	Republic.....	161
2.1	Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.E.)	161
2.2	M. Acilius Glabrio	164
2.3	First Sicilian Slave War (?135–132).....	164
2.4	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (97 B.C.E.), Second Slave Revolt	167
2.5	Mucius Scaevola (97 B.C.E.).....	167
2.6	Bruttius Sura (87 B.C.E.).....	168
2.7	Valerius Soranus (82 B.C.E.?).....	168
2.8	Julius Caesar and the Pirates (75 B.C.E.).....	170
2.9	Strato, <i>servus</i>	170
2.10	The Third Servile War (73–71).....	171
2.11	Theodotus of Chios/Samos	173
2.12	Alexander, <i>servus</i>	174
2.13	Pirates	174
2.14	The Battle of Ucubis (45 B.C.E.).....	175
2.15	The Triumvirate (43–32)	175
2.16	Theodorus <i>paedagogus</i>	179
3	Imperium	180
3.1	Augustus (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.).....	180
3.2	Tiberius (14–37)	182
3.3	Gaius Caligula (18 March 37 – 24 June 41).....	186
3.4	Claudius (41–54).....	188
3.5	Nero (13 Oct. 54 – 9 June, 68).....	190
3.6	Galba (8 June 68–15 Jan. 69): Crucifixion of a Guardian.....	195
3.7	Vitellius (2. Jan.–20 Dec. 69): Geta’s Crucifixion.....	195
3.8	Vespasian (1 July 69–23 June 79).....	196
3.9	Before the Destruction of Pompeii in 24 Aug. 79 C.E.....	199
3.10	Titus (24 June 79 – 13 Sept. 81): “Laureolus”	200
3.11	Domitian (14 Sept. 81–18 Sept. 96).....	201
3.12	Egypt, first century C.E.	202
3.13	Trajan: Bishop Symeon son of Clopas	203
3.14	Trajanic-Hadrianic Period: Alkimilla.....	203
3.15	Africa.....	204

3.16	Avidius Cassius (175).....	205
3.17	Commodus (180–192): An Accuser (<i>calumniator</i>).....	206
3.18	Pertinax (31 Dec. 192–28 March 193): Slave-Informers.....	207
3.19	Clodius Albinus (195/196): A Legionary Centurion.....	207
3.20	Opellius Macrinus (11 April 217–8 June 218).....	208
3.21	Severus Alexander (222–235).....	208
3.22	Maximinus Thrax (235–238).....	209
3.23	Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (Oct./Dec. 285–ca. July 310).....	211
3.24	Maximinus Daia (1 May 305–late summer 313).....	213
4	The Frequency of Crucifixion.....	214
5	Conclusion.....	216

Chapter three: Crucifixion in Greek Texts 218

1	Republic (Late Sixth Century until Caesar).....	218
1.1	Aesop.....	218
1.2	Herodotus (probably died in the 420s).....	219
1.3	Thucydides (born between 460–455).....	222
1.4	Ctesias (late V B.C.E.).....	222
1.5	Demosthenes (384–322).....	223
1.6	Callisthenes (d. 327 B.C.E.).....	224
1.7	Theopompus (died ca 320).....	225
1.8	Septuagint.....	225
1.9	Hellenica (P.Oxy. 5.842: First half of IV B.C.E.).....	228
1.10	Polybius (ca 200 – ca 118 B.C.E.).....	229
1.11	Amyzon.....	230
1.12	Diodorus Siculus (I B.C.E.).....	231
2	Imperium.....	233
2.1	Strabo (born ca 64 B.C.E., dead after 21 C.E.).....	233
2.2	Dionysius Halicarnassus (reign of Augustus).....	234
2.3	Philo Judaeus (I C.E.).....	234
2.4	Flavius Josephus (born 37/38).....	236
2.5	Dio Chrysostom (ca 40/50–after 110).....	239
2.6	Plutarch (before 50 – after 120).....	243
2.7	Ps. Plutarch.....	246
2.8	Lucius Flavius Arrianus (ca 86–160).....	247
2.9	Appian (end of I A.D. – 160s).....	249
2.10	Lucian of Samosata (born ca 120).....	250
2.11	Polyaenus (II C.E.).....	254
2.12	Valerius Harpocration (II C.E.).....	255
2.13	Cassius Dio (ca 164–after 229).....	255
2.14	Claudius Aelianus (165/70–230/5).....	257
2.15	Flavius Philostratus (d. 244–249).....	258

2.16	Palladas of Alexandria (IV C.E.)	258
2.17	Philogelos	259
2.18	Ps. Phalaris.....	259
3	Romance Novels.....	260
3.1	Chariton of Aphrodisias (I – II C.E.).....	260
3.2	Xenophon of Ephesus (ca 100–150)	263
3.3	Achilles Tatius (II C.E.)	264
3.4	Iamblichus.....	265
3.5	Heliodorus (230?).....	266
3.6	The Alexander Romance of Ps. Callisthenes	266
4	Rhetors.....	268
4.1	Aelius Aristides (Nov. 17, 117–ca 179).....	268
4.2	Aelius Herodianus (II C.E.).....	269
4.3	Libanius (314–ca 393).....	269
4.4	Anonymous Rhetor: Rhetorical Problems in Status Theory.....	270
4.5	Anonymous Rhetor: On Figures of Discourse.....	270
5	Philosophers	271
5.1	Plato (ca 429–347 B.C.E.).....	271
5.2	Epictetus (mid I–II C.E.)	272
5.3	Atticus (ca 150–200 C.E.)	273
5.4	Diogenes Laertius (Second half of III C.E.?)	273
5.5	Ps. Diogenes.....	273
6	Pagan Critics of the New Testament	274
6.1	Celsus	274
6.2	Porphyry	278
6.3	The Anonymous Philosopher of Macarius of Magnesia	278
6.4	Flavius Claudius Julianus (ca Feb. 360 – 26/27 June 363)	281
7	Astrologers.....	282
7.1	Dorotheus of Sidon (I or beginning of II C.E.).....	282
7.2	Vettius Valens (wrote between 152 and 162).....	282
7.3	Ptolemy (wrote in Alexandria between 146 and ca 170).....	283
7.4	Ps. Manetho (II–III C.E.).....	284
7.5	Hephaestion of Thebes (IV–V C.E.).....	285
7.6	Rhetorius (620 C.E.?).....	285
7.7	Johannes Lydus (490–ca 560).....	287
7.8	Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785)	287
7.9	<i>Astrologica, De mansionibus Lunae</i>	288
7.10	<i>Hermae Trismegisti methodus mystica</i>	288
7.11	Apomasar (IX C.E.).....	289
8	Dream Interpreters.....	289
8.1	Artemidorus of Ephesus (mid/late II C.E.).....	289
8.2	Achmet (X C.E.)	292

9	Physicians	293
9.1	Galen (129–?199/216).....	293
9.2	Alexander of Tralles (525–605)	294
10	Later Traditions of Crucifixion and the <i>furca</i> in Greek Texts.....	294
10.1	Sozomen.....	294
10.2	Socrates	295
10.3	A Byzantine Tradition on Purim	295
10.4	ἀνασοχολοπίζειν as a Byzantine Penalty	296
10.5	ἀνασοχολοπίζειν as a Penalty Used by non-Byzantines	304
10.6	Priscus (Fifth Century).....	307
11	Conclusion.....	309
 <i>Chapter four: Hebrew and Aramaic Texts.....</i>		 311
1	Impalement in Middle Eastern Texts	312
2	<i>tlh</i>	315
2.1	Qumran Texts (4Q Nahum Peshet and the Temple Scroll)	316
2.2	תלה (<i>tlh</i>) in other Qumran Texts.....	322
2.3	m. Sanhedrin 6:4	324
2.4	t. Sanhedrin 9:8	325
2.5	b. Sanhedrin 46b.....	325
2.6	Sifre Deuteronomy 21:22	326
3	<i>šlb</i>	326
3.1	Targum Ruth.....	327
3.2	Deuteronomy 21:22–23 in the Targums	328
3.3	Numbers 25:4.....	329
3.4	Joshua 8:29 (Targum)	330
3.5	Sifre Deuteronomy on Crucifixion	330
3.6	The Bodies of the Crucified	332
3.7	Blood.....	332
3.8	Nails	335
3.9	Jose ben Jo‘ezer	336
3.10	The Hadrianic Persecution?.....	338
3.11	Simeon b. Shetach and the Witches.....	339
3.12	Brigands	340
3.13	The Last Judgment.....	343
3.14	Mordecai and Haman in Midrashic Literature	344
3.15	Mordecai and Haman in the Targums to Esther.....	347
3.16	Isaac	352
3.17	Exodus Rabbah: Moses.....	353
3.18	Deuteronomy Rabbah	353
3.19	A Persecution.....	354
3.20	Midrash Tannaim.....	354

3.21 Redemption from Crucifixion.....	355
4 Crucifixion in the Muslim World.....	355
5 Conclusion	356
<i>Chapter five: Crucifixion. Law and Historical Development.</i>	358
1 Law and Crucifixion	358
1.1 The Use of Crucifixion	358
1.2 The Question of the <i>Summa Supplicia</i> (Extreme Penalties)	359
1.3 Differential Application of Punishments	362
1.4 The <i>lex Puteolana</i>	370
1.5 Crucifixion in the Classical Jurists	387
1.6 A Third Century Inscription	390
1.7 <i>Pauli Sententiae</i>	392
1.8 The <i>Edictum de accusationibus</i>	395
1.9 CIL VIII, 18261 = CLE 278.....	396
1.10 The Abolition of Crucifixion.....	398
<i>Chapter six: Roman Crucifixion and the New Testament</i>	417
1 Roman Procedure and the Gospels.....	417
1.1 Crucifixion as a Miserable and Shameful Death	418
1.2 The Practice of Crucifixion	423
2 The Medical Causes of Death from Crucifixion.....	430
3 The Theology of the Cross in Mark	435
3.1 Methodology	436
3.2 Markan Texts.....	438
4 Conclusion	448
<i>Conclusion: Crucifixion in the Mediterranean World</i>	450
<i>Images</i>	453
<i>Bibliography</i>	467
Ancient Sources.....	467
Databases, CD Roms, Websites	475
Scholarship.....	475
<i>Sources</i>	486
1 Classical Texts before Constantine with Selected Scholia	486
2 Biblical Literature	500
3 Christian Texts before Constantine.....	501
4 Latin Texts after Constantine	502
5 Greek Texts after Constantine	505

6 Coins, Inscriptions, and Papyri.....	507
7 Juristic Texts.....	508
8 Semitic Texts.....	509
<i>Images Index</i>	513
<i>Ancient Individuals</i>	514
<i>Modern Authors</i>	516
<i>Subjects</i>	518