

JOHN GRANGER COOK

Crucifixion in the
Mediterranean World

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen

zum Neuen Testament

327

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgeber / Editor
Jörg Frey (Zürich)

Mitherausgeber / Associate Editors
Markus Bockmuehl (Oxford)
James A. Kelhoffer (Uppsala)
Hans-Josef Klauck (Chicago, IL)
Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg)

327



John Granger Cook

Crucifixion in the Mediterranean World

Mohr Siebeck

JOHN GRANGER COOK, born 1955; 1976 B.A. in Philosophy, Davidson College; 1979 M.Div., Union Theological Seminary (VA); 1985 Ph.D. at Emory University; Professor of Religion and Philosophy, LaGrange College, LaGrange, GA.

e-ISBN PDF 978-3-16-153125-5

ISBN 978-3-16-153124-8

ISSN 0512-1604 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2014 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. www.mohr.de

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

לזכר נשמת חברי ענדרו משה מוסקוויץ
ניצול שואה

et

ELISABETH
FILIAE DILECTISSIMAE

Acknowledgements

After I wrote an article on the *lex Puteolana*, the Palatine graffito, and several other ancient pieces of evidence about Roman crucifixion, the late Professor Martin Hengel asked me to revise his small book on the topic. I soon reached the conclusion that it would be advisable to write my own monograph. Along the way many have offered their help and advice, and some have read parts of the manuscript. These include: Professors Paul Achtemeier (†), Jean-Jacques Aubert, Timothy D. Barnes, Roger Bagnall, Jerker and Karin Blomqvist, John Bodel, Daniel Botsman, Giuseppe Camodeca, David W. Chapman, Kathleen M. Coleman, Simon Corcoran, Werner Eck, James Hevia, Annewies van den Hoek, Carl R. Holladay, Erkki Koskenniemi, Thomas J. Kraus, Felicity Harley McGowan, Josh van Lieu, Antonio Lombatti, Gordon Newby, Vernon Robbins, Arthur Robinson, Filippo Canali De Rossi, Donald Schley, A. J. Boudewijn Sirks, Timothy Moore, and William R. Turpin. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Professor Coleman for helping me sort out the semantics of *patibulum* and its relationship to *στραυρός* and for her unstinting willingness to help with a number of other issues. The same debt is due to Professor Sirks for critiquing my views on crucifixion and Roman law. I am, of course, responsible for my conclusions and any errors. Professor Aubert encouraged me to gather as much archaeological material as I could and to consider punishments related to crucifixion. The *lex Puteolana* and the Alkimilla graffito were fruits of that search (both were well known to a very narrow group of classical scholars). Professor Robinson, librarian and Latinist at my own institution, procured numerous obscure resources for me and answered many questions about Latin. Mr. Joseph E. Zias graciously provided me with information on various archaeological matters in ancient Palestine. Drs. Richard Goulet and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Paris) and Dr. Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome) answered a number of questions and sent material I found impossible to find in the USA. Several colleagues from diverse fields provided extremely helpful information about the physical effects of Roman impalement and some of the arguments I have used in the monograph. They include: Professors Terry Austin (physics), Melinda Pomeroy-Black (biology), Nickie Cauthen (biology), William Paschal (anatomy), and Senior Lecturer Ian Morton (philosophy). I was able to make an unforgettable visit to the *taberna* in Pozzuoli (the Alkimilla graffito), which I am convinced is one of the most

valuable pieces of visual evidence about Roman crucifixion that has survived from antiquity. On the same visit to Italy I was able to closely inspect the fresco from the Arieti tomb in the Centrale Montemartini (Capitoline Museums, Rome), which is valuable in its own right for its depiction of a man attached to a *patibulum*. With regard to the Alkimilla graffito, I am profoundly indebted to Professor Camodeca for his photographs and the time he spent informing me about the find in correspondence. My students constantly pose inspiring questions including one a theologically inclined New Testament scholar always needs to ask herself or himself: What is the value of this research for understanding the New Testament, and what is its value for the church? I am grateful to Provost David Garrison and President Dan McAlexander of my own institution, LaGrange College, for helping make this monograph possible. Most of all I am thankful for my wife Barbara Horton who supported my research into a very dark corner of human history.

For his guidance and acceptance of this manuscript into the *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament I* series I thank Professor Jörg Frey. I also thank Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, the editor of theology at Mohr Siebeck, for his constant encouragement. Herr Matthias Spitzner of Mohr Siebeck graciously provided his expert help with the production of the book.

For permission to use images I thank the British Museum, the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, the Mainz Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, the Roma Capitale Struttura di Linea Sovraintendenza Capitolina, the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, The University of California, Berkeley (C. V. Starr East Asian Library), the University of Nagasaki Library, the Bridgeman Art Library International, Professor Camodeca, Professor van den Hoek, Mr. Zias, and Professor Lombatti.

I thank Walter de Gruyter for permission to reuse the material from two articles: “Crucifixion in the West: From Constantine to Recceswinth,” *ZAC* 16 (2012) 226-246 and “Roman Crucifixions. From the Second Punic War to Constantine,” *ZNW* (2013) 1-32.

I thank Mohr Siebeck for permission to reuse material from: “John 19:17 and the Man on the *Patibulum* in the Arieti Tomb,” *Early Christianity* 4 (2013) 427-453.

Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from Harvard University Press:

CICERO: VOLUME VIII, THE VERRINE ORATIONS II, Loeb Classical Library Volume 293, edited/translated by L. H. G. Greenwood, pp. 9, 69, 113, 309, 31, 481, 483, 485, 645, 647, 649, 641, 653, 655, 657, Cambridge,

- Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1928-1935. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Other excerpts are reprinted from:
- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, ROMAN HISTORY, vol. 1-3, Loeb Classical Library Volume 300, 315, 331, edited/translated by J. C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1935-1939. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- APULEIUS, THE GOLDEN ASS, Loeb Classical Library Volume 44, edited/translated by W. Adlington and W. Gaselee, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1924. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CASSIUS DIO, ROMAN HISTORY, VOL. 1-9, Loeb Classical Library Volume 32, 37, 53, 66, 82-3, 175-177, edited/translated by E. Cary, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1914-27. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CATO, ON AGRICULTURE, Loeb Classical Library Volume 283, edited/translated by W. D. Hooper and H. B. Ash, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1934. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME V, BRUTUS. ORATOR, Loeb Classical Library Volume 342, edited/translated by H. M. Hubbell, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1939. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME VII, THE VERRINE ORATIONS I, Loeb Classical Library Volume 221, edited/translated by L. H. G. Greenwood, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1928. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME IX, PRO LEGE MANILIA ..., Loeb Classical Library Volume 198, edited/translated by H. G. Hodge, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1927. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME XIV, PRO MILONE ..., Loeb Classical Library Volume 252, edited/translated by N. H. Watts, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1931. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME XVI, DE REPUBLICA. DE LEGIBUS, Loeb Classical Library Volume 213, edited/translated by C. W. Keyes, Cambridge, Mass.:

- Harvard University Press, © 1928. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- Cicero: VOLUME XVIII, TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS, Loeb Classical Library Volume 141, edited/translated by J. E. King, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1927. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME XIX, DE NATURA DEORUM. ACADEMICA, Loeb Classical Library Volume 268, edited/translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1933. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUMES XXII,-XXIV, XXIX, LETTERS TO ATTICUS, vol. 1-4, Loeb Classical Library Volume 7-8, 97, 491, edited/translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1999. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- CICERO: VOLUME XXVIII, LETTERS TO QUINTUS AND BRUTUS ... Loeb Classical Library Volume 462, edited/translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 2002. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- LUCIUS JUNIUS MOERATUS COLUMELLA, ON AGRICULTURE, vol. 3, Loeb Classical Library Volume 408, edited/translated by E. S. Forster and E. H. Heffner, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1955. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- DEMOSTHENES, ORATIONS, vol. III, Loeb Classical Library Volume 299, edited/translated by J. H. Vince et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1935. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- DIO CHRYSOSTOM, DISCOURSES, vol. 1-5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 257, 339, 358, 376, 385, edited/translated by J. W. Cohoon and H. L. Crosby, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1932-51. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- DIODORUS SICULUS, LIBRARY OF HISTORY, vol. 1-12, Loeb Classical Library Volume 279, 303, 340, 375, 384, 399, 389, 422, 377, 390, 409, 423, edited/translated by C. H. Oldfather et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1933-1967. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- DIOGENES LAERTIUS, LIVES OF THE EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 184-5, edited/translated by R. D.

- Hicks, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1925. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSUS, THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, vol. 1-7, Loeb Classical Library Volume 319, 347, 357, 364, 372, 378, 388, 465-6, edited/translated by E. Cary, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1937-1950. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- EPICTETUS, THE DISCOURSES AS REPORTED BY ARRIAN, THE MANUAL, AND FRAGMENTS, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 131, 218, edited/translated by W. A. Oldfather, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1925-8. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- EUSEBIUS, ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 153, 265, edited/translated by K. Lake et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1926-32. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- FLORUS, THE EPITOME OF ROMAN HISTORY, Loeb Classical Library Volume 231, edited/translated by E. S. Forster, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1929. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- FRONTINUS, THE STRATAGEMS, Loeb Classical Library Volume 174, edited/translated by C. E. Bennett, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1925. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- HERODOTUS, PERSIAN WARS, vol. 1-4, Loeb Classical Library Volume 117-20, edited/translated by A. D. Godley, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1921-4.
- HISTORIA AUGUSTA, vol. 1-3, Loeb Classical Library Volume 139, 140, 263, edited/translated by D. Magie, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1921-1932. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- HORACE, ODES AND EPODES, Loeb Classical Library Volume 33, edited/translated by N. Rudd, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 2004. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- HORACE, SATIRES, EPISTLES, ART OF POETRY, Loeb Classical Library Volume 194, edited/translated by H. R. Fairclough, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1929. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- JOSEPHUS, vol. 1-13, Loeb Classical Library Volume 186, 203, 487, 210, 242, 490, 281, 326, 365, 489, 410, 433, 456, edited/translated by H. St. J.

- Thackeray et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1926-1965. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- LIBANIUS, *SELECTED ORATIONS*, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library Volume 451, edited/translated by A. F. Norman, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1987. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- LIVY, *HISTORY OF ROME*, vol. 1-14, Loeb Classical Library Volume 114, 133, 172, 191, 233, 355, 367, 381, 295, 301, 313, 332, 396, 404, edited/translated by B. O. Foster et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1919-1959. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- LUCAN, *CIVIL WAR (PHARSALIA)*, Loeb Classical Library Volume 220, edited/translated by J. D. Duff, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1928. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- LUCIAN, vol. 1-8, Loeb Classical Library Volume 14, 54, 130, 162, 302, 430, 431, 432, edited/translated by A. M. Harmon et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1913-67. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- MACROBIUS, *SATURNALIA*, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 510-11, edited/translated by R. A. Kaster, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 2011. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PETRONIUS, *SATYRICON*, Loeb Classical Library Volume 15, edited/translated by M. Heseltine, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1925. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PHILO, vol. 1-10, Loeb Classical Library Volume 226, 227, 247, 261, 275, 289, 320, 341, 363, 379, edited/translated by F. H. Colson ed al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1929-62. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, vol. 5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 237, edited/translated by P. Shorey et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1914-35. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PLAUTUS, vol. 1-5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 60, 61, 163, 260, 328, edited/translated by P. Nixon, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1916-38. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

- PLAUTUS, vol. 1-5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 60, 61, 163, 260, 328, edited/translated by W. de Melo, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 2011-3. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PLINY, NATURAL HISTORY, vol. 4-5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 370-71, edited/translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1945-50. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PLINY, LETTERS AND PANEGYRICUS IN TWO VOLUMES, Loeb Classical Library Volume 55, 59, edited/translated by B. Radice, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1975. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PLUTARCH, PARALLEL LIVES, vol. 1-11, Loeb Classical Library Volume 46, 47, 65, 80, 87, 98-103, edited/translated by B. Perrin, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1914-26. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PLUTARCH, MORALIA, vol. 1-15, Loeb Classical Library Volume 197, 222, 245, 305, 306, 337, 405, 424, 425, 321, 426, 406, 427, 470, 428, 429, edited/translated by F. C. Babbitt et al, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1927-69. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- POLYBIUS, THE HISTORIES, vol. 1-6, Loeb Classical Library Volume 128, 137-8, 159-161, edited/translated by W. R. Paton, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1922-27. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PROCOPIUS, HISTORY OF THE WARS, vol. 1-5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 48, 81, 107, 173, 217, edited/translated by H. B. Dewing, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1914-28. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- PTOLEMY, TETRABIBLOS, Loeb Classical Library Volume 435, edited/translated by F. E. Robbins, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1940. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- [QUINTILIAN], THE LESSER DECLAMATIONS, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 500-1, edited/translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 2006. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- SENECA THE ELDER, DECLAMATIONS, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 463-430, edited/translated by M. Winterbottom, Cambridge,

- Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1974. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- SENECA, AD LUCILIUM EPISTULAE MORALES, vol. 1-3, Loeb Classical Library Volume 75-7, edited/translated by R. M. Gummere, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1917-25. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- SENECA, MORAL ESSAYS, vol. 1-3, Loeb Classical Library Volume 214, 254, 310, edited/translated by J. W. Basore, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1928-35. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- SILIUS ITALICUS, PUNICA, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 277-8, edited/translated by J. D. Duff, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1927. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- STATIUS, SILVAE, Loeb Classical Library Volume 206, edited/translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 2003. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- STRABO, GEOGRAPHY, vol. 6, Loeb Classical Library Volume 223, edited/translated by H. L. Jones and J. R. S. Sterrett, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1917-32. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- SUETONIUS, LIVES OF THE CAESARS, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 31, 38, edited/translated by J. C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1914, revised 1997. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- TACITUS, AGRICOLA. GERMANIA, HISTORIES, ANNALS, vol. 1-5, Loeb Classical Library Volume 35, 111, 249, 312, 322, edited/translated by M. Hutton et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1914-37, rev. 1970. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- TERENCE, THE WOMAN OF ANDROS ..., vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library Volume 22, edited/translated by J. Sargeant, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1912. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- TERTULLIAN, APOLOGY AND DE SPECTACULIS. MINUCIUS FELIX, OCTAVIUS, Loeb Classical Library Volume 250, edited/translated by T. R. Glover and G. H. Rendall, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1931. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, COMPENDIUM OF ROMAN HISTORY. RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI, Loeb Classical Library Volume 152, edited/translated by F. W. Shipley, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1924. Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

VIRGIL, ECLOGUES, GEORGIS, AENEID, vol. 1-2, Loeb Classical Library Volume 63-4, edited/translated by H. R. Fairclough and G. P. Goold, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, © 1999-2000 (1st ed. of Fairclough 1919). Loeb Classical Library ® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Reprinted by Permission of the University of Pennsylvania Press:

The Digest of Justinian, vol. 1-4, translation edited by A. Watson, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1985.

Reprinted by Permission of the University of California Press:

Collected Ancient Greek Novels, edited by B. P. Reardon, Berkeley, CA et al: University of California Press 1989.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Crucifixion Terminology	1
1 Definitions and Methodological Assumptions	2
2 Greek Terminology.....	4
2.1 σταυρός , σταυρώω, ἀνασταυρώω, σκόλοψ, ἀνασκολοπιζω ..	5
2.2 κρεμάω, κρεμάννυμι	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 The <i>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 Catius 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	Rutilus 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	ἀνασοκολοπίζειν as a Byzantine Penalty.....	296
10.5	ἀνασοκολοπίζειν 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 Peshar 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>slb</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 ^ʿ 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

Introduction

Crucifixion Terminology

The New Testament's narrative of the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth and the accompanying *theologia crucis* (theology of the cross) or perhaps better *theologiae crucis* (theologies of the cross) motivate many of the studies on crucifixion in the Mediterranean world – as they do my own. One of the great humanists of the sixteenth century, Justus Lipsius, wrote a seminal work in 1593, a book written soon after he had reembraced the Catholic faith in 1591 under the influence of the Jesuits after a journey through Neostoicism.¹ The title, *De cruce libri tres: Ad sacram profānamque historiam utiles; Unā cum notis* (*Three Volumes on Crucifixion: useful for sacred and secular history; together with notes*),² indicates his continuing interest in humanist scholarship (a characteristic of the Jesuits), but his dedication to the reader and the first words of the book in which he prays to Christ that he may write what is true make his intentions clear.³ He does, however, indicate his historical method: *Siquid usquam praeter religionem moresque veterum, non agnosco ...* (I do not acknowledge anything at all except the religion and customs of the ancients ...). The book includes illustrations, and although later scholars argue with various aspects of his conclusions it remains a fascinating element in the man's vast scholarship. The illustrations are an element that has been omitted in many of the best modern studies of the theme – perhaps because they are not “objective” enough. Rather than use illustrations below of my own making, I will appeal to what archaeological evidence I have been able to find including graffiti, a fresco, the famous crucifixion nail in a *calcaneum* bone,

¹ He obtained a position at the University of Louvain in 1592. Cf. idem, *Politica*. Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction, ed. with trans. and intro. by J. Waszink, Assen 2004, 23 (and cf. the entire biographical section in *ibid.*, 15-23). Waszink (23) calls the book on the cross a work of “antiquarianism.”

² Published in Antwerp in 1593 (the edition used below was published in 1594 by the same printer in Antwerp).

³ Lipsius, *De cruce*, Ad lectorem and pp. 1-2. Cp. J. de Landtsheer, Justus Lipsius's *De Cruce* and the Reception of the Fathers, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (2000) 99-124, esp. 119 (on Lipsius's “approach of the ancient historian”) and F. P. Pickering, Justus Lipsius' *De Cruce libri tres* (1593) or The Historian's Dilemma, in: *Festgabe für L. L. Hammerich*. Aus Anlass seines siebenzigsten Geburtstags, Copenhagen 1962, 199-215 (esp. 202-3, on where the text belongs in Lipsius's historical study [*Ritualia-profana-publica*]).

and so forth (figures 1, 5-7, 10-14). It is not my intention to give a history of research on the topic. A partial attempt at such an exercise may be found in the able study by Gunnar Samuelsson whose work has served as a muse for my own semantic research.⁴ In my view the path breaking studies of August Zestermann in the nineteenth century remain some of the best material before the fine investigation of Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn in the twentieth century.⁵ Martin Hengel's collection of data is also of great usefulness. A very welcome addition to the field is David Chapman's extensive survey of attitudes toward crucifixion in Hebrew and Aramaic literature of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism, which enabled me to write chapter four below.⁶

1 Definitions and Methodological Assumptions

The definition of crucifixion as "execution by suspension" is acceptable as long as one excludes impalement or hanging.⁷ Four markers of the execution that Samuelsson takes over from Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn are important: "suspension," "completed or intended execution," "with or without a crossbeam," and "an extended death struggle."⁸ Against Samuelsson, however, when the context of an account of suspension does not indicate any other mode of execution (including impalement) besides crucifixion, then it is fair to assume that crucifixion is the mode of death, given the linguistic usage in texts of the Roman era.⁹ By "Roman era" I refer to the period beginning with the Second Punic war when the first historical crucifixions appear in Roman texts and ending with Constantine.¹⁰ There does not seem to be any overwhelming rea-

⁴ G. Samuelsson, *Crucifixion in Antiquity. An Inquiry into the Background of the New Testament Terminology of Crucifixion*, WUNT 2/310, Tübingen 2013, 2-24.

⁵ A. Zestermann, *Die Kreuzigung bei den alten*, *Annales de l'académie d'archéologie de Belgique* 24, 2^e série, tome quatrième (1868) 337-404 and idem, *Die bildliche Darstellung des Kreuzes und der Kreuzigung Jesu Christi historisch Entwickelt ...* Leipzig 1867. Cp. H.-W. Kuhn, *Die Kreuzesstrafe während der frühen Kaiserzeit. Ihre Wirklichkeit und Wertung in der Umwelt des Urchristentums*, ANRW II/25.1 (1982) 648-793 and M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*, Philadelphia 1977 (cp. *La crucifixion dans l'antiquité*). S. Castagnetti, *Le leges libitinariae* flegree, Napoli 2012, 49-84, 103-14, 214 etc. is of fundamental importance.

⁶ D. W. Chapman, *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions of Crucifixion*, WUNT 2/244, Tübingen 2008.

⁷ Samuelsson, *Crucifixion in Antiquity*, 19, 143, 262 (and cf. 261-70).

⁸ See Samuelsson, *Crucifixion*, 19, 29, 30 and Kuhn, *Die Kreuzesstrafe*, 679.

⁹ I am aware of no Latin texts, for example, in which *crux* was used for some kind of Roman exotic torture (and not execution) – the *arbor infelix* being the exception (with its distinct terminology). Cf. the discussion of Cicero's *Rab. perd.* below in § 3.7 and chapt 1 § 1.6.

¹⁰ Cp. chapt. 2 and J. G. Cook, *Roman Crucifixions: From the Second Punic War to Constantine*, ZNW (2013) 1-32.

son to assume that when a penal text indicates a person was suspended that any other method of execution was then subsequently used. That would be a needless and rather gratuitous exercise in interpretive futility and skepticism. What is logically possible in this context is not historically probable. An author narrating a past event (fictional or historical) is forced by the nature of language itself to choose the details the author has an interest in describing.

It is impossible, of course, to completely exclude impalement in all cases that use *crux*, *σταυρός* (*stauros*) and the associated verbs, but explicit impalement is (textually) rare as a Roman punishment. Seneca, for example, in one of his letters distinguishes the cross (*crux*) from the *stipes* used in impalement.¹¹ Physically it is not difficult to impale an individual lengthwise on a sharp stake.¹² My colleagues in biology assure me that such a stake could not possibly avoid fatally damaging vital organs and/or nicking the descending aorta or inferior vena cava, which would have caused a victim to bleed to death immediately.¹³ In Greek texts before the Roman era, however, that describe non-Roman penalties one cannot always assume that impalement is not the intended form of execution. Another form of execution that can be ruled out both during the Republic and the imperium is hanging, since it was used during neither period by the Romans.¹⁴ They did make use of garroting, how-

¹¹ Seneca, Ep. 14.5. Cf. chapt. 1 § 2.3. In Ep. 101.10-12 it is doubtful that impalement is the punishment, because Maecenas does not die immediately and in 101.12 prolongs his life hanging with his arms extended horizontally on a *patibulum*. Seneca includes impalement as a form of crucifixion in Dial. 6.20.3 *Video istic cruces, non unius quidem generis ... alii per obscena stipitem egerunt*. But even in that text he uses *stipitem* for the object used in impalement. See § 3.1.1, 4 below. In the revolt of Boudicca (60/61 CE), for example, the Britons suspended (*ἐκθρόμασαν*) the elite Roman women of two captured Roman cities. Cassius Dio, however, uses the precise expression *πασάλοις ὀξέσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μήκος ἀνέπειραν* to refer to their subsequent impalement with sharp stakes through the length of the entire body (Cassius Dio 62.7.2). Tacitus (Ann. 14.33.2), on the other hand, uses the vocabulary of crucifixion to describe the executions (*patibula ... cruces*) and not the vocabulary of impalement. Cp. chapt. 3 § 2.13 and chapt. 1 § 2.18.

¹² “Pressure (pounds per square inch or newtons/square meter) is the result of a force acting on a given area. Pressure (P), force (F), and area (A) are related by $P = F/A$. For a given force the resulting pressure varies inversely with the area. For example, a 150 lb person on a 1 square inch surface would have a pressure of 150 lb/in² exerted on the area in contact with the surface. If the contact surface area were reduced to 1/2 inch by 1/2 inch yielding a 1/4 in² surface the resulting pressure would be 150 lb/(.25 in²) = 600 lb/in². So the act of tapering the stake dramatically increases the pressure at the point of contact.” My thanks to colleague Professor Terry Austin for this calculation.

¹³ I thank Professors William Paschal, Melinda Pomeroy-Black, and Nickie Cauthen.

¹⁴ E. Cantarella, *I supplizi capitali in Grecia e a Roma*, Milan 1991, 185. Cf. J.-L. Voisin, *Pendus, crucifiés, oscilla dans la Rome païenne*, *Latomus* 38 (1979) 422-450, esp. 441. Of 410 cases of suicide between 509 B.C.E. and 235 C.E., Voisin finds only six cases of hanging (*ibid.*, 426). Cp. S. Castagnetti, *La lex cumana libitinaria nelle sue due redazioni*, in: *Libitina e dintorni. Libitina e i luci sepolcrali. Le leges libitinae campanae. Iura sepolcrorum*. Vec-

ever (while the individuals were on the ground), using a garrote or noose (*laqueus*). W. A. Oldfather lists a number of terms used for this form of execution including *strangulare*, *laqueo gulam frangere*, *cervicem frangere*, *fauces elidere*, etc.¹⁵

2 Greek Terminology

The Greek terminology for “cross”, “stake”, and “crucify,” “impale,” or “suspend” is ambiguous at times. One must pay careful attention to the context. The context is a reliable guide for determining if an act of suspension is a penal execution. During the Roman era there does not exist much doubt that suspension (i.e., crucifixion) was a frequent form of execution.¹⁶ The fre-

chie e nuove iscrizioni. Atti dell’XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l’épigraphie, ed. S. Panciera, Libitina 3, Rome 2004, 133-46, esp. 140 (approves Cantarella’s position). W. A. Oldfather, Livy i, 26 and the *Supplicium de More Maiorum*, TAPA 39 (1908) 49-72, esp. 54, “There is not a particle of evidence that Romans ever hanged criminals from a gallows.” W. B. Tyrrell, A Legal and Historical Commentary to Cicero’s *Oratio pro C. Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*, 93 “... hanging by the neck is unattested as a means of executing criminals.” One possible example from the Republic is Cic. Ver. 2.3.57 (Nymphodorus of Athens was apparently not “hung” by Apronius [a tithe collector], but kept in discomfort suspended from an olive tree, and then rescued [*suspendi ... in oleastro ... pependit in arbore ... quam diu voluntas Apronii tulit*], according to Cantarella, *ibid.*, 177) and cp. Oldfather, *Supplicium*, 52 (he escaped with his life although he was suspended a long time). *pependit in arbore* should be compared to Ov. Pont. 1.6.38 and Mart. Sp. 9.(7)4 (both *pendens in cruce*), Iuvenius Euang. 4,662 (CSEL 24, 140 Huemer) *Iamque cruci fixum pendeat in arbore corpus*. Cp. Apronius’s temporary punishment of another individual in 2.3.56 (*quantum Apronii libido tulit*). Apronius did not have legal authority to put him to death. In Ammianus 15.7.4-5 a rioter named Peter is suspended with his hands tied behind his back and flogged (*post terga manibus vinctis suspendi*), but not put to death. One of the earliest accounts of execution by hanging occurs in Oros. Hist. 5.16.5 (V C.E.). The Cimbri in 105 B.C.E. executed their prisoners by placing nooses on their necks and hanging them from trees (*homines laqueis collo inditis ex arboribus suspensi sunt*). The earliest evidence for Roman hanging I have found is from the era of Constantine (319) in Codex Iust. (CJ) 9.14.1.1 where Constantine decrees a charge of murder against masters who suspend their slaves by a noose (*suspendi laqueo praeceperit*). He also used the noose (while the condemned was presumably standing): He had the vertebrae of Maximianus Herculeus fractured using a noose after capturing him in Marseilles: *Maximianus Herculeus a Constantino apud Massiliam obsessus, deinde captus, poenas dedit mortis genere postremo, fractis laqueo cervicibus* (Epit. 40.5 [BiTeu 164,27-9 Pichlmayr]).

¹⁵ Oldfather, *Supplicium*, 54. Tac. Ann. 6:5.9.2 depicts the “squeezed throats” (*oblisis faucibus*) of Sejanus’s two children who were then thrown down the Gemonian stairs. Cp. Tacitus in chapt. 1 § 2.18, Cic. Vat. 26 (*fregerisne in carcere cervices*), Sal. Cat. 55.5 (*laqueo gulam fregere*), SHA Trig. Tyr. 22.8 (*strangulatus in carcere*), Vell. 2.4.2 (*elisarum faucium* [apparently a murder])

¹⁶ Cf. Cook, Roman Crucifixions, *passim* and chapt. 2.

quency, dreariness and brutality of the act itself did not encourage authors to expend a great deal of energy making narrative descriptions.

2.1 *σταυρός* (*pole, cross*), *σταυρώω* (*crucify*), *ἀνασταυρώω* (*suspend, crucify, impale*), *σκόλοψ* (*stake, cross*), *ἀνασκολοπίζω* (*impale, crucify*)

Samuelsson has recently made numerous and intriguing claims about crucifixion terminology.¹⁷ In my view his attempt to identify one main sense for *σταυρός*, i.e. “a raised pole” or “a pole onto which something or somebody (dead or alive) is suspended,” is erroneous.¹⁸ Clearly words can have numerous senses.¹⁹ Samuelsson’s claim that *σταυρός* “is a pole in the broadest sense. It is not the equivalent of a ‘cross’ (†)” is almost certainly incorrect. Two texts and two graffiti that he ignores are decisive evidence against his position. Lucian writes in his *Consonants at Law*:

People weep and mourn over their destiny and often curse Cadmus, because he brought the Tau into the class of letters. For they affirm that tyrants follow its [Tau’s (T)] figure and imitate its form and then join beams together with the same figure to crucify people on them. From this [Tau], the evil name [*stauros*, cross] is united with the evil device. For the cross [*stauros*] has been created by this letter [the Tau], but has been given a name by people.

κλάουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην ὀδύρονται καὶ Κάδμω καταρῶνται πολλάκις, ὅτι τὸ Ταῦ ἐς τὸ τῶν στοιχείων γένος παρήγαγε· τῷ γὰρ τούτου σώματί φασι τοὺς τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἔπειτα σχήματι τοιούτῳ ξύλα τεκτῆναντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ’ αὐτά· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ πονηρῷ τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἄρα σταυρὸς εἶναι ὑπὸ τούτου μὲν ἐδημιουργήθη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζεται.²⁰

Lucian thinks it self-evident that *σταυρός* has a cruciform shape. Barnabas, in his discussion of Gen 14:14, also draws an equivalence between tau and *stauros*, since tau’s numerical value is 300: “Ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ Τ ἤμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς «τριακοσίους» (Because the

¹⁷ Samuelsson, *Crucifixion*, 203, 309 (*σταυρός* is “a pole in the broadest sense”). *σταυρός* in certain contexts can be used for the stake to which an individual was bound (*προσδέω*) on the ground and then flogged to death (Cassius Dio 2.11.6 [I, 27,9-11 Bois-sevain], 30-35.104.6, 49.22.6, 63.13.2).

¹⁸ Samuelsson, *Crucifixion*, 285. He then hedges his definition of *σταυρός*: “a pole or wooden frame on which corpses were suspended or persons exposed to die” (cf. OLD, s.v. *crux*).

¹⁹ One of the most useful handbook for semantics is K. Baldinger, *Semantic Theory. Towards a Modern Semantics*, Oxford 1980.

²⁰ Lucian *Jud. voc.* 12. J. Sommerbrodt deletes the last sentence, but it is included in the Oxford edition (Luciani Opera. Tomus I. Libelli 1-25, SCBO, ed. M. D. Macleod, Oxford 1972, 143). Samuelsson, *Crucifixion*, 278 includes this text in his quotation of LSJ s.v., but does not discuss it, nor modify his position accordingly (in either edition). P. Degen, *Das Kreuz bei den Alten*, Aachen 1872, 24 recognized the importance of this text.