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Religio illicita? Roman legal interactions with early Christianity in context

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Appendices

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Divinatory Practices

This appendix contains a systematic overview of the various interactions between the Roman authorities and those involved in divinatory practices that are discussed in chapter 2 (Divination in Roman Legal Measures). This overview is partially based on the various inventories presented in Frederick H. Cramer,¹ although a different set of categories has been introduced to suit the needs of the present study. Furthermore, certain cases and events that were originally included in Cramer's study are here omitted, due to the fact they refer not to divination, but rather to some other practice subject to regulations implemented by the Roman authorities. Certain primary sources cited by Cramer have likewise been disregarded for similar reasons, while a number of references that were unavailable to or overlooked by Cramer have been added.

The various interactions listed in this appendix have been ordered chronologically to conform to the structure of the chapter. If multiple cases are thought to date from the same year, they are included in the order in which they are presented in the sources. Cases for which no more specific date can be determined are listed at the end of the tenure of the Roman emperor or magistrate involved. Whenever the date is underlined, this means that the sources are likely reliable. A dotted line indicates that there is no concrete reason to doubt the essential character of the legal interaction under discussion, while at the same times acknowledging that a degree of caution is in order, e.g. due to a significant temporal distance between the available sources and the events they describe, the literary character of these sources, or because significant aspects of the relevant legal practicalities and proceedings are omitted or otherwise unclear. A wavy line means that there are certain significant difficulties or discrepancies, while cases with no underlining are considered to be either unreliable or irrelevant for reasons explained in chapter 2.

In order to distinguish between various kinds of legal interactions, different types of cases have been numbered in a variety of different ways. The cases that are indicated by numbers involve trials in which divination may have played an important part. Cases indicated by Roman numerals (i.; ii.; iii.; etc.) involved those who consulted diviners, while those with Arabic numbers (1.; 2.; 3.; etc.) involved cases against those who practiced divination themselves. Letters (A.; B.; C.; etc.) denote expulsions of divinatory practitioners, while Greek letters (α.; β.; γ.; etc.) are used for measures intended to regulate divination in some other way.

¹ Cramer (1954).

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>213 BCE</u>	1.α	Livius, <i>Ab Urbe Condita</i> 25.1.6-12.	Senate and <i>praetor urbanus</i> Marcus Aemilius (Atilius?)
<u>139 BCE</u>	1.A	Valerius Maximus, <i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i> 1.3 (<i>De Superstitionibus</i>).3.	<i>Praetor peregrinus</i> Cn. Cornelius Hispalus – praetorian edict
<u>33 BCE</u>	1.B	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 49.43.5.	Aedile Marcus Agrippa
<u>12 BCE</u>	1.β	Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Augustus</i> 31.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 6.12.	Augustus as Pontifex Maximus
<u>11 CE</u>	1.γ	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 56.25.5-6.	Augustus – imperial edict
<u>16 CE</u>	1.i	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 57.15.4; <i>Fasti Amiternini</i> , CIL 12, p 244; Seneca, <i>Epistulae</i> 70.10; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Tiberius</i> 25.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.27-32; Velleius Paterculus, <i>Historia Romana</i> 2.130.3.	Senate and Tiberius
<u>16 CE</u>	1.C	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 57.15.8-9; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Tiberius</i> 36; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.32; Ulpian, <i>De Officio Proconsulis</i> 7 in <i>Leg. Mos. et Rom. Coll.</i> 15.2.1-2.	Senate and Tiberius – <i>senatus consultum</i>
<u>16/7 CE</u> ²	1.D	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 57.15.8-9; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.32.	Senate and Tiberius – <i>senatus consultum</i>
<u>16 CE</u>	1.1	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.32.	Unspecified
<u>19 CE?</u> ³	1.δ	Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Tiberius</i> 63	Tiberius – imperial edict

² See Goodyear (1972), 284-285 and Ripat (2011), 119-120 for the issue of the date.

³ Date suggested by Kippenberg (1997), 154.

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Rome	<i>sacrificuli; vates</i>	Social unrest in Rome due to war. Books of prophecies and rituals are to be handed in, and sacrifice according to foreign rituals is banned.
Rome and Italy	<i>chaldaei</i>	Diviners expelled from Rome and Italy, possibly due to complaints or disturbances caused by (false?) predictions.
Rome	ἀστρολόγοι; γόητες	Diviners expelled as part of a wider programme intended to restore public order and win popular favour.
Rome	<i>fatidicorum librorum</i> (Suet.)	Books of divination are collected and destroyed, with the exemption of the Sibylline books – if they were deemed genuine. These ‘approved’ books were placed in the temple of Apollo.
Unclear	μάντεις	Ban on enquiries about anyone’s (!) death, and on divination without witnesses. Possibly repeated in 1.δ?
M. Scribonius Libo Drusus in Rome	<i>chaldaei; magi;</i> <i>sonniorum interpretes</i> (Tac.)	Tacitus suggests that Libo was brought to trial on the basis of certain divinatory enquiries, although this was likely not the formal charge. The other sources reference charges of treason, but make no mention of divination.
Rome and Italy	ἀστρολόγοι; γόητες (Cass. Dio); <i>mathematici</i> (Suet.); <i>mathematici; magi</i> (Tac.); <i>mathematici;</i> <i>chaldaei; arioli et ceteri</i> (Ulp.)	Diviners expelled from Rome and Italy. Tacitus links these events to the trial of Drusus in 1.i, as well as to the execution of two diviners in 1.1. Dio mentions execution for foreigners, and expulsion from Rome for citizens. Suetonius 36 simply mentions expulsion.
Rome and Italy	ἀστρολόγοι; γόητες (Cass. Dio); <i>mathematici; magi</i> (Tac.)	Likely a repetition of 1.C, which may have proved ineffectual. Dio makes an explicit distinction between two measures, Tacitus’ description is less clear-cut.
L. Pituanus and P. Marcius in Rome Likely Rome	<i>mathematici; magi</i> <i>haruspices; oracula</i>	Likely related to 1.C, although it remains unclear why these two diviners were punished separately. Possibly a reiteration of 1.y. The consultation of diviners without the presence of witnesses is banned. Consultations about an individual’s death are not mentioned.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
19 CE	1.e	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 57.18.4-5.	Tiberius
20 CE	1.ii	Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Tiberius</i> 49.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 3.22-23.	Tiberius and/or the senate
26 CE	1.iii	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 59.19.1-7 and 20.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 4.52.	Unclear – possibly Tiberius
32 CE	1.ζ	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 6.12.	Tiberius
32 CE	1.iv	Seneca Maior, <i>Suasoriae</i> 2.22; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 6.9.	Unspecified
34 CE	“...”	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 58.24.4-5; Tacitus <i>Annales</i> 6.29.	Unspecified
40/1 CE	1.2	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 59.29.4.	Caligula and likely also <i>praefectus Aegypti</i> Gaius Vitrasius Pollio
49 CE	1.v	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 12.22.	Unspecified
52 CE	1.vi	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 12.52.	Unspecified
52 CE	1.E	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 61.33.3; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 12.52.	Senate and Claudius – <i>senatus consultum</i>
53 CE	1.vii	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 12.59.	Unspecified

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Likely Rome	-	Tiberius investigates circulating divinatory texts circulating in the city in response to a dire prediction, and has unauthorised works destroyed. Likely connection to 1.ζ.
Aemilia Lepida in Rome	<i>chaldaei</i> (Tac.)	Tacitus mentions a number of charges, including 'enquiries against the imperial family'. However, the focus is on poisoning, which is the only charge Suetonius mentions.
Claudia Pulchra in Rome	-	Dio mentions no charge, but Tacitus seems to focus on adultery, alongside poisoning and magic against the emperor. No mention to divination is made.
Likely Rome	-	Tiberius rebukes a tribune of plebs for entering a prediction ascribed to the Sibyl into the official collection without his knowledge or involvement. In doing so, he references Augustus' earlier measure 1.β. Likely connection to 1.ε.
Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus in Rome	-	Both authors mention only <i>maiestas</i> .
“...”	-	Both sources mention adultery with Claudia Livia Julia (Livilla) as the formal charge, although a tragedy composed by the accused seems to have been the original cause of disfavour. Tacitus mentions his involvement in magical rites.
Apollonius in Egypt	προλέγω	Diviner from Egypt made predictions about the violent death of Caligula (possibly during the unrests in Alexandria) and was brought to Rome to be tried there. The execution was never carried out. Note the similarities to 1.6.
Lollia Paulina in Rome	<i>chaldaei; magi; Apollinis Clarii simulacrum</i>	Accusations of consulting diviners, as well as Apollo (!) – although about marriage, rather than death.
Furius Camillus Scribonianus in Rome	<i>chaldaei</i>	Scribonianus allegedly consulted astrologers about the health of the emperor and was banished. His family was strongly connected to rebellion, even raising an army some ten years before.
Rome and Italy	ἀστρολόγοι (Cass. Dio); <i>mathematici</i> (Tac.)	Tacitus seems to connect this expulsion to the previous plot, but calls the measure <i>atrox et inritum</i> .
T. Statilius Taurus in Rome	-	Accusation of extortion and (according to Tacitus) especially <i>magicas superstitiones</i> . No mention of divination.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
54 CE	1.viii	Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Nero</i> 7.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 12.65.	Unspecified
Pre 66 CE	1.3	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 16.14.	Unspecified
66 CE	1.ix	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 16.14.	Likely Nero
66 CE	1.x	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> ep.62.26.3; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 16.23 and 16.30.	Senate
68 CE	1.F	Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 607A.	Nero – imperial edict
69 CE	1.4	Juvenal, <i>Satires</i> 6. 557-559; Plutarch, <i>Galba</i> 23.4; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Otho</i> 4.1 and 6.1; Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> 1.22.	Unspecified
69 CE	1.G	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 64.1.4; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Vitellius</i> 14.4; Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> 2.62; Zonaras 11.15.D.	Vitellius – imperial edict
70 CE	1.H	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 65.9.2.	Vespasian – imperial edict
89 CE?	1.xi	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> ep.67.12.2-3; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Vespasianus</i> 14.	Unspecified
89 CE	1.I	Jerome, <i>Chronica A.D.</i> 89-90.	Domitian – imperial edict

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Domitia Lepida in Rome	-	Lepida is accused of magical action against Agrippina, and imperfect control of her slaves in Italy. No mention of divination in either source.
Pammenes in Rome(?)	<i>chaldaeī</i>	Mention of a diviner in exile, although no further details are provided. Connection to 1.ix.
P. Anteius and Ostorius Scapula in Rome(?)	-	Mention of consultations about the accused's own welfare and that of the emperor. Connection to 1.3.
Barea Soranus and his daughter Servilia in Rome	μάγευμα (Cass. Dio); <i>magi</i> (Tac.).	Tacitus claims the father was accused of rousing his province to rebellion. His daughter allegedly consulted diviners about the welfare of her father. Both were executed, in connection to a larger conspiracy. Dio mentions only that the father offered some sort of sacrifice via his daughter.
Rome and Italy	ἀστρολόγοι; γόντες	Banishment of diviners from Italy without further context. Likely a wrongly dated reference to 1.G, about which Dio's account gives very similar details.
Ptolemy Seleucus (?) in Rome (?)	μάντεις; χαλδαῖοι (Plut.); <i>mathematici</i> (Suet.); <i>mathematici</i> (Tac.).	All sources mention Seleucus' attempts to urge Otho to seize the throne. Juvenal's reference seems to imply multiple banishments, but is ultimately unclear.
Rome and Italy	<i>mathematici</i> (Tac.); <i>mathematici</i> (Suet.); ἀστρολόγοι (Cass. Dio) ἀστρονόμοι; γόντες (Zon.)	Tacitus mentions an expulsion from Italy without further context, while Suetonius also refers to the execution of authors of invectives and astrologers without a trial. Dio mentions that the astrologers retaliated. Zonaras is the only one to mention two separate expulsions of astrologers and sorcerers respectively, but his 12th-century dating makes this doubtful.
Rome	ἀστρολόγοι	Expulsion of diviners from Rome, although Vespasian himself also consulted them.
Mettius Pompusianus (?) in Rome	ἀστρολόγοι	Some connection between Pompusianus and divination is made by both sources, but the charge appears to have been <i>maiestas</i> . Note that the accused was first banished, then executed.
Rome	<i>mathematici</i>	Expulsion of diviners and philosophers from Rome, without further context.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
93 CE	1.J	Jerome, <i>Chronica A.D. 93-94</i> ; Suidas on Domitian.	Domitian – imperial edict
96 CE	1.5	Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 607A; Cassius Dio <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 67.16.3 ; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Domitianus</i> 15.	Domitian
96 CE	1.6	Cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 607A; Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 67.16.2; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Domitianus</i> 16.1.	Domitian and likely also the local Roman governor
137 CE? ⁴	1.xii	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> ep.69.17.1; Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Hadrianus</i> 23.3.	Likely Hadrian
Pre 155 CE	1.1	Justin 1 <i>Apology</i> 44.12	Unknown
138-161 CE ⁵	1.0	Ulpian, <i>De Officio Proconsulis</i> 7 in <i>Leg. Mos. et Rom. Coll.</i> 15.2.3.	Antoninus Pius – rescript to governor Pacatus
175 CE?	1.7	<i>Digesta</i> 48.19.30; Tertullian, <i>De Idolatria</i> 9; Ulpian, <i>De Officio Proconsulis</i> 7 in <i>Leg. Mos. et Rom. Coll.</i> 15.2.5. Cf. Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Marcus</i> 13.6.	Marcus Aurelius – rescript
189 CE?	1.xiii	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Severus</i> 2.8-4.3.	Unnamed praetorian prefect under Commodus
199 CE	1.1	P. Yale Inv. 299.	<i>Praefectus Aegypti</i> Q. Aemilius Saturninus – administrative missive

⁴ This date is given by Potter (1994), 161. Cramer (1954), 268 suggests 138 CE.

⁵ The argument that we are in fact dealing with a rescript, rather than a decree, is made in Nogrady (2006), 196n.950.

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Rome	<i>mathematici</i>	Possibly repetition of 1.I, although both references are questionable. Cassius Dio, Plinius Minor, Philostratus and Suetonius mention an expulsion of philosophers exclusively.
Ascleptario (?) in Rome	<i>mathematici</i> (Suet.)	All sources mention that Domitian ordered the diviner to predict the method of his own death, and then had him slain to prove predictions about his own approaching death false, but none mentions a real trial. The name of the diviners is in doubt.
Larginus Proculus in Germania	προλέγω (Cass. Dio); <i>haruspex</i> (Suet.)	Dio's account shows strong similarities to 1.2 in that the diviner was convicted, but survived due to the death of the emperor. Suetonius mentions only that the soothsayer was convicted, but gives no further details.
Pedanius Fuscus in Rome	<i>praesagi; ostenti</i> (SHA)	Dio mentions only that Fuscus and his grandfather were executed because they disagreed with the emperor's choice of successor. The SHA mentions a clear connection to treason: Fuscus is supposed to have wanted imperial power, and therefore consulted diviners.
Unknown	-	Ban on reading oracular texts?
Gallia Lugdunensis	-	Ulpian states that he cites <i>haec pauca [verba]</i> from a decree sent to the governor, but gives no indication of where his own analysis stops, and where the transcript of the imperial order begins. As such, the contents of the decree are unclear.
Unnamed diviner from an unknown location	<i>vaticinati</i> (Ulp.)	Ulpian mentions the expulsion of a single diviner in connection to the rebellion of Avidius Cassius. The <i>Digesta</i> confirm that Marcus Aurelius ordered an expulsion of some kind. Tertullian provides only a vague reference.
Septimius Severus in Rome	<i>astrologi; mathematici; vates; chaldaei</i>	Septimius Severus was tried, but acquitted, for receiving predictions about his imperial future.
Egypt	μαντεία; ρησμοί; κωμασία	Diviners in Egypt are threatened with capital punishment if they do not abandon their profession within the year. Various types of divination are mentioned, including local Egyptian practices.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>205 CE</u>	1.xiv	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> ep.77.8.1; Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Severus</i> 15.5.	Septimius Severus
<u>Third Century CE</u>	1.K	Pseudo-Paul, <i>Sententiae</i> 5.21.	Pseudo-Paul – legal analysis
<u>Third Century CE</u>	1.λ	Ulpian, <i>De Officio Proconsulis</i> 7 in <i>Leg. Mos. et Rom. Coll.</i> 15.2.	Ulpian – legal analysis
<u>Third Century CE</u>	1.8	Ulpian, <i>Ad Edictum</i> 77 in <i>Digesta 47.10.15.13</i>	Unknown

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Popilius Pedo	<i>chaldaei; vates</i> (SHA)	Combined charge of divination and magic: the accused's nurse apparently dreamed that he would become emperor, and he himself applied magic to this end.
Apronianus		
-	<i>mathematici; harioli; haruspices; vaticinatores</i>	Pseudo-Paul notes that diviners (<i>vaticinatores</i>) should be expelled due to concerns for public order, and notes that first offenders should be flogged and expelled, while persevering cases are thrown in prison or sent into exile. It is also noted that consultations about the welfare of the emperor (or, for slaves, that of their master) warrant capital punishment. The jurist recommends against possessing any knowledge about divination at all.
-	<i>mathematici; chaldaei; arioli et ceteris; vaticinatores</i>	Ulpian states that diviners of all kinds are to be banished and relieved of their possessions if they are citizens, and killed if they are not. He references a discussion about whether the knowledge or practice of divination is banned, and seems to settle on the former. He furthermore argues that divinatory consultations should be punished according to the nature of the enquiry, stating that enquiries about the death of the emperor are to be punished more severely than questions about oneself and one's relatives. Elaborate legal precedent is quoted throughout.
-	<i>astrologus vel qui aliquam illicitam divinationem pollicetur</i> (?)	The passage suggests a punishment for an astrologer (and potentially other diviners) who falsely accused someone of being a thief. Since the passage is likely redacted, this punishment is now impossible to determine, but it may be suggested that they should be tried according to criminal, rather than private law.

Judaism

This appendix contains a systematic overview of the known legal interactions between the Roman authorities and the various Jewish communities of the empire that are discussed in chapter 3 (Judaism in Roman Legal Measures). This overview includes cases from both the republican and the imperial period, and from different parts of the Roman Empire.

The various interactions in this list have been ordered chronologically to conform to the structure of the chapter. In the case of events referenced in the catalogues of legal measures found in Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Iudaicae* 14 and 16, the dating offered by Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev has generally been adhered to, unless otherwise indicated.¹ If multiple cases are thought to date from the same year, they are included in the order in which they are presented in the sources. Cases for which no more specific date can be determined are listed at the end of the tenure of the Roman emperor or magistrate involved. Whenever the date is underlined, this means that the sources are likely reliable. A dotted line indicates that there is no concrete reason to doubt the essential character of the legal interaction under discussion, while at the same times acknowledging that a degree of caution is in order, e.g. due to a significant temporal distance between the available sources and the events they describe, the literary character of these sources, or because significant aspects of the relevant legal practicalities and proceedings are omitted or otherwise unclear. A wavy line means that there are certain significant difficulties or discrepancies, while cases with no underlining are considered to be either unreliable or irrelevant for reasons explained in chapter 3.

In order to distinguish between various kinds of legal interactions, different types of cases have been numbered in a variety of different ways. The cases with Roman numerals (i.; ii.; iii.; etc.) are political treaties with the various rulers of Judea, including agreements about taxes, which have been included for the sake of completeness, whereas the Arabic numbers (1.; 2.; 3.; etc.) indicate laws guaranteeing Jews the right to maintain their ancestral customs in various ways, like exemptions from military service, the protection of the Temple Tax, the right to congregations, etc. Letters (A.; B.; C.; etc.) denote expulsions of Jews, while Greek letters (α.; β.; γ.; etc.) are used for events involving the Jewish communities of the empire in some other way. This last category includes, but is not limited to, decisions to diminish the rights of Jewish communities.

¹ Pucci Ben Zeev (1998).

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
161 BCE	2.i	1Maccabees 8.17-32; Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 12.10.6 (414-419).	Senate – <i>senatus consultum</i>
161 BCE ²	2.ii	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.15 (233).	Consul (?) Gaius Fannius, son of Gaius
143/2 BCE	2.iii	1Maccabees 12.1-4; Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 13.5.8 (163-165 and 169-170).	Senate
139 BCE	2.A	Valerius Maximus, <i>Facta et Dicta Memorabilia</i> I.3 (<i>De Superstitionibus</i>). ³	<i>Praetor peregrinus</i> Cn. Cornelius Hispalus
134-104 BCE ³	2.iv	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.22 (247-255).	Magistrates of Pergamum – ψήφισμα
134-104 BCE	2.v	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 13.9.2 (259-266).	Senate
59 BCE	2.a	Cicero, <i>Pro Flacco</i> 67-69	Governor Lucius Valerius Flaccus – edict
49 BCE	2.1	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.13 (228-229).	Consul Lucius Lentulus
49/8 BCE	2.2	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.13 (230).	Legate and propraetor Titus Ampius Balbus

² Gera (1998), 310.

³ Rajak (2002^a), 308.

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Judea / Judas Maccabeus	Ἰουδαῖοι (Macc); Ἰουδαῖοι (Jos.).	Treaty of allegiance between Rome and the Maccabees against the Seleucid Empire. Mutual support is promised where possible (!). Link to 2.ii; 2.iii; 2.vi and 2.v.
Magistrates of Cos	Ἰουδαῖοι	Gaius Fannius asks the magistrates of Cos the respect the decision of the senate in 2.i, and to grant the Jewish ambassadors safe passage. Note that Cos is not yet part of the empire, nor of the Seleucid sphere of influence. Link to 2.i; 2.iii; 2.vi and 2.v.
Judea / Jonathan Apphus	Ἰουδαῖοι (Macc.); Ἰουδαῖοι (Jos.)	League of friendship of 2.i is renewed. The senate also gives the ambassadors letters to guarantee their safe conduct in- and outside the Roman territories. Link to 2.i; 2.ii; 2.vi and 2.v.
Rome	<i>Iudei</i>	Expulsion of Jews from Rome.
Pergamum	Ἰουδαῖοι	Pergamum decrees that it will follow Roman example and enter a league of friendship with Judean Jews. Link to 2.i; 2.ii; 2.iii and 2.v.
Judea / Hyrcanus I	Ἰουδαῖοι	League of friendship of 2.i is renewed. The senate will later deliberate about the delegation's other questions (restoration of lands, etc.); Praetor Fannius, son of Marcus, ensured the delegation's safe passage home. Link to 2.i; 2.ii; 2.iii and 2.vi.
Asia	<i>Iudei</i>	Gold may not be exported from Asia; by which Jews are particularly affected. Earlier measures of the senate regarding the export of gold are mentioned, but no specifics are given. Protests by Jewish community of Rome in response.
Ephesus	Ἰουδαῖοι	Jews who are Roman citizens are exempt from military duty because of their religion. Link to 2.2; 2.3; 2.4; 2.6 and 2.7.
Ephesus	Ἰουδαῖοι	Balbus passes on Lentulus' orders from 2.1. He mentions that he himself has petitioned the consul and others to obtain the exemption from military service. No mention is made of Roman citizenship. Link to 2.1; 2.3; 2.4; 2.6 and 2.7.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>49/8 BCE</u>	2.3	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.14 (231-232).	Magistrates of Delos
<u>49 BCE</u>	2.4	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.16 (234).	Consul Lucius Lentulus
<u>49 BCE</u>	2.5	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.17 (235).	Proquaestor and propraetor Lucius Antonius
<u>49 BCE</u>	2.6	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.18 (236-237).	Lucius Lentulus – petition by Marcus Publius, son of Spurius; Marcus, son of Marcus; Lucius, son of Publius on behalf of Dositheos the Alexandrian
<u>49 BCE</u>	2.7	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.19 (238-240).	Lucius Lentullus – δόγμα
<u>Ca. 47 BCE</u>	2.vi	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.1 (185).	Gaius Julius Caesar – petition by Hyrcanus II
<u>Ca. 47 BCE?</u>	2.β	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.1 (188) ; <i>Contra Apionem</i> 2.4 (37).	Gaius Julius Caesar or Augustus?
<u>47 BCE</u>	2.vii	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.2 (190-195).	Gaius Julius Caesar
<u>47 BCE?</u>	2.viii	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.3 (196-198).	Gaius Julius Caesar
<u>47 BCE?</u>	2.ix	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.4 (199)	Gaius Julius Caesar

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Unspecified, but likely Delos	Ἰουδαῖοι	Roman legate has issued the order that Jews who are Roman citizens are exempt from military duty, and should not be bothered about this issue on the basis of 2.1. The Delian magistrates confirm this order – as did the people of Sardis, according to Josephus. Link to 2.1; 2.2; 2.4; 2.6 and 2.7.
Ephesus	Ἰουδαῖοι	A shorter version of 2.1. Link to 2.1; 2.2; 2.3; 2.6 and 2.7.
Magistrates, senate and people of Sardis	Ἰουδαῖοι	Response to a petition asking that Jews should be allowed to hold their own assemblies according to their ancestral laws, as well as their own meeting place to judge their own legal issues. Antonius agrees.
Unspecified	Ἰουδαῖοι	Likely the petition that led to Lentulus' decision in 2.1. One Dositheos (possibly Jewish himself) appears to have intervened on behalf of those Jews who were Roman citizens. Link to 2.1; 2.2; 2.3; 2.4 and 2.7.
Ephesus	Ἰουδαῖοι	Longest version of 2.1 and 2.4. Link to 2.1; 2.2; 2.3; 2.4 and 2.6.
Judea / Hyrcanus II	-	Request to confirm friendship and allegiance
Alexandria	Ἰουδαῖοι	Claim that Caesar (or Augustus) had the right to citizenship of all (!) Alexandrian Jews inscribed on a bronze tablet.
Magistrates, senate and people of Sidon	Ἰουδαῖοι	Caesar orders Sidon to set up a bronze tablet proclaiming the position of Hyrcanus and Caesar's friendship and allegiance with him. Hyrcanus is granted the right to judge Jewish matters, although it is unclear if this applies to Judea alone, or to the Diaspora as well. No stationing of troops or money was to be required. Link to 2.viii; 2.ix; 2.x; 2.xi and 2.xii.
Sidon, Tyre and Ascalon	Ἰουδαῖοι	Likely an abbreviated version of 2.vii. Hyrcanus is described as protector of all Jews who are unjustly treated. Link to 2.vii; 2.ix; 2.x; 2.xi and 2.xii.
Judea / Hyrcanus II	-	Caesar confirms Hyrcanus and his descendants as high priests. Link to 2.vii; 2.viii; 2.x; 2.xi and 2.xii.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>47 BCE?</u>	2.X	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.6 (202-210).	Gaius Julius Caesar
<u>47/6 BCE</u>	2.8	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.20 (241-243).	Governor Gaius Rabirius, son of Gaius – letter from the Magistrates of Laodicea
<u>Post 47 BCE?</u>	2.9	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.23 (256-258).	People of Halicarnassus – ψήφισμα
<u>Post 47 BCE?</u>	2.10	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.24 (259-261).	People of Sardis – ψήφισμα
<u>46-44 BCE?</u>	2.11	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.21 (244-246).	Governor Publius Servilius Galba
<u>Ca 46 BCE</u>	2.12	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.8 (213-216); possibly also Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesorum: Iulius</i> 42.3.	Gaius Julius Caesar
<u>44 BCE</u>	2.xi	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.5 (200-201).	Gaius Julius Caesar

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Judea / Hyrcanus II?	'Ιουδαῖοι	Some regulations regarding taxes, which do not have to be paid in the sabbath year; no troops should be raised from the Jewish territories; Sidon is given to Hyrcanus, as well as a number of villages and possessions in Syria and Phoenicia; Jewish laws may be used, as can privileges previously granted by the Roman senate; some privileges for Hyrcanus and family. Link to 2.vii; 2.viii; 2.ix; 2.xi and 2.xii.
Laodicea	'Ιουδαῖοι	Envoy from Hyrcanus have brought a letter declaring that the governor allowed Jews to observe Sabbath and perform their ancestral rites. Delegates from Tralles objected, but were overruled, and the governor was asked to write to Laodicea as well. Laodicea promises to observe these rulings.
Halicarnassus	'Ιουδαῖοι	Following the example of Rome, Halicarnassus decides to allow Jews to perform their devotions and observe their festivals and religious gatherings. They may build places of prayer. Anyone who prevents them is liable to pay a fine.
Sardis	'Ιουδαῖοι	Jewish delegation has asked the council permission to maintain their customs, to hold meetings and to judge their own legal cases, referencing decisions made by the city in the past and proclamation by the Roman senate restoring their rights. They also request a location to offer sacrifices. Permission is granted, and market officials are ordered to provide suitable foods.
Miletus	'Ιουδαῖοι	Response to a petition. Jews have been prevented from observing Sabbath, performing their native rights and managing their produce. Governor has heard the two parties, and determined that Jews should be allowed to follow their customs.
Rome	'Ιουδαῖοι	Caesar banned all <i>collegia</i> in the city of Rome, except those of notable antiquity. Josephus claims that Jews were exempt, possibly because they were not involved in internal Roman conflicts.
Judea?	'Ιουδαῖοι	Walls may be built around Jerusalem, and Hyrcanus is in charge of the city. Some tax regulations. Link to 2.vii; 2.viii; 2.ix; 2.x and 2.xii.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>44 BCE</u>	2.xii	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.7 (211-212).	Gaius Julius Caesar – speech before the senate, possibly a <i>senatus consultum</i>
<u>44 BCE</u>	2.xiii	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.10 (219-222)	Senate – <i>senatus consultum</i>
<u>43 BCE</u>	2.13	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.11 (223-224)	Governor Dolabella of Asia – petition by Hyrcanus II
<u>43 BCE</u>	2.14	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.12 (225-227).	Governor Dolabella of Asia
<u>42 BCE</u>	2.15	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.25 (262-264).	People of Ephesus – ψήφισμα
<u>42/1 BCE?</u>	2.16	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.10.8 (213-216). Cf. Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 311-312.	Octavian?
<u>Ca. 41 BCE</u>	2.xiv	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.12.3 (306-313).	Mark Antony
<u>Ca. 41 BCE</u>	2.xv	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.12.4 (314-318).	Mark Antony

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Judea / Hyrcanus II	Ἰουδαῖοι	Caesar recommends that Hyrcanus and his people should be formally thanked for their help and loyalty. Link to 2.vii; 2.viii; 2.ix; 2.x and 2.xi.
Judea / Hyrcanus II	Ἰουδαῖοι	Caesar's decrees are confirmed by Mark Antony and Dolabella, since they had not yet been entered in the records. Likely a response to a delegation sent by Hyrcanus.
Asia	Ἰουδαῖοι	Petition to exempt Jews (likely specifically those living in Asia) from military service, and to maintain their native customs. Link to 2.14.
Roman officials in Asia; magistrates, senate and people of Ephesus	Ἰουδαῖοι	Response to the petition in 2.13. Dolabella exempts Jews from military service because of Sabbath and dietary restrictions. He also grants them the right to meet for holy rites, and to perform sacrifices. He bases this on proclamations of governors before him, and asks lower officials to spread these instructions. No mention is made of consultations with central Roman authorities. Link to 2.13.
Ephesus	Ἰουδαῖοι	The city's Jewish community asked the governor for permission to observe Sabbath and their native customs. Since the Romans have granted this permission, Ephesus repeats the command.
Magistrates, senate and people of Parium (or Paros)	Ἰουδαῖοι	Response to a Jewish embassy, which claimed that Jews had been prevented from observing their rites and customs. They should be allowed to collect their money and hold common meals. Reference to Caesar's measures mentioned under 2.12.
Judea / Hyrcanus II	Ἰουδαῖοι	Response to an embassy asking for renewal of the treaty of friendship between Judea and Rome. Jews who were sold as slaves by Gaius Cassius are to be released. Privileges granted by Antony and Dolabella are confirmed. Tyre should cease hostilities and give back conquered territories. Link to 2.xv; 2.xvi and 2.xvii.
Magistrates, senate and people of Tyre	Ἰουδαῖοι	Envoy from Hyrcanus have complained that territories have been conquered by Tyre. Antony orders that these should be given back. Link to 2.xiv; 2.xvi and 2.xvii.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>Ca. 41 BCE</u>	2.xvi	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.12.5 (319-322).	Mark Antony
<u>Ca. 41 BCE</u>	2.xvii	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 14.12.6 (323).	Mark Antony
<u>14 BCE?</u>	2.17	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 16.6.4 (167-168). Possible connection to Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 12.3.2 (125-128) and 16.2.3-5 (27-65).	Marcus Agrippa
<u>14 BCE</u>	2.18	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 16.6.5 (169-170).	Marcus Agrippa
<u>12 BCE</u>	2.19	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 16.6.2 (162-165); Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 291; 311-313.	Augustus
<u>12 BCE?</u>	2.20	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 16.6.3 (166).	Augustus – letter to governor Gaius Norbanus Flaccus
<u>12 BCE?</u>	2.21	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 16.6.6 (171). Cf. Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 314-316.	Governor Gaius Norbanus Flaccus
<u>4 BCE</u>	2.22	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 16.6.7 (172-173).	Governor Julius Antonius

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Magistrates, senate and people of Tyre	'Ιουδαῖοι	Order to give back territories and possessions, and release slaves. Link to 2.xiv; 2.xv and 2.xvii.
Magistrates, senate and people of Sidon, Antioch and Aradus	-	Order to give back territories and possessions, and release slaves. Link to 2.xiv; 2.xv and 2.xvi.
Magistrates, senate and people of Ephesus	'Ιουδαῖοι	Jews of Asia should be granted the right to control the sacred money meant for the Temple in Jerusalem. Those who steal this money are to be treated as temple robbers. Agrippa has also written to the praetor to make sure that Jews do not have to appear in court during Sabbath. Link to 2.18; 2.19; 2.20; 2.21 and 2.22.
Magistrates, senate and people of Cyrene	'Ιουδαῖοι	This community has complained that the money meant for the Temple was taken from them. Agrippa orders that it should be restored. Reference to a previous (though likely recent) letter from Augustus to the praetor of Libya regarding the Jews of Cyrene. Link to 2.17; 2.19; 2.20; 2.21 and 2.22.
Asia	'Ιουδαῖοι (Jos.)	Augustus references the fact that the Jews have been seen as allies since the time of Caesar. Jews should be allowed to maintain their ancestral customs, and should be allowed to send money to Jerusalem. Jews also should not be compelled to appear in court during Sabbath. Their sacred money and books are inviolable. Whoever breaks these rules, shall be seen as sacrilegious. 2.17; 2.18; 2.20; 2.21 and 2.22.
Asia	'Ιουδαῖοι	Flaccus is made aware that Jews should be allowed to send sacred money to Jerusalem without hindrance. 2.17; 2.18; 2.19; 2.21 and 2.22.
Magistrates and senate of Sardis	'Ιουδαῖοι (Jos.); 'Ιουδαῖοι (Phil.)	Flaccus passes on Augustus' message stating that Jews should be allowed to send sacred money to Jerusalem without hindrance. Philo's citation addresses Ephesus. 2.17; 2.18; 2.19; 2.20 and 2.22.
Magistrates, senate and people of Ephesus	'Ιουδαῖοι	Response to a delegation of the Jews of Asia, who had brought missives from Agrippa and Augustus giving them the right to maintain their own customs and to send sacred money to Jerusalem. Governor confirms this previous decision. 2.17; 2.18; 2.19; 2.20 and 2.21.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>27 BCE-15 CE</u>	2.23	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 158.	Augustus
<u>27 BCE-15 CE</u>	2.γ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 19.5.2 (283); Philo of Alexandria, <i>In Flaccum</i> 74.	Augustus – <i>mandata</i> to Magius Maximus?
<u>19 CE</u>	2.B	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 57.18.5a; Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 18.3.5 (83-84); Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 160; Seneca, <i>Epistulae</i> 108.22; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Tiberius</i> 36; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.85.4.	Senate and Tiberius – <i>sentatus consultum</i>
<u>40 CE</u>	2.δ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 18.8.1 (257-260); Philo of Alexandria, <i>In Flaccum</i> and <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> .	Caligula
<u>40 CE</u>	2.ε	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 18.8.2-9 (261-309); Philo of Alexandria, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i> 200-348.	Caligula
<u>41 CE</u>	2.ζ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 19.5.2 (279-285); P.Lond. 6.1912.	Claudius
<u>41 CE</u>	2.24	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 19.5.3 (286-291).	Claudius
<u>41 CE?</u>	2.η	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 60.6.6.	Claudius
<u>42/1 CE</u>	2.25	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 19.6.3 (300-311).	Governor Publius Petronius of Syria

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Rome	Ἰουδαῖοι	Augustus determined that Jews of Rome could receive donations of money or corn on another day, if the appointed day for such donations fell on the Sabbath.
Alexandria	Ἰουδαῖοι (Jos.) Ἰουδαῖοι (Phil.)	A γερονσία is appointed after the death of the ethnarch, likely at the community's request.
Rome	Ἰουδαῖοι (Cass. Dio); τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν (Jos.); Ἰουδαῖοι (Phil.); <i>Iudaei</i> (Suet.); <i>Iudaei</i> (Tac.)	Expulsion of Jews from Rome, possibly combined with conscription of young men of fighting-age. This expulsion was possibly withdrawn after the death of Sejanus in 31 CE.
Alexandria	Ἰουδαῖοι (Jos.) Ἰουδαῖοι (Phil.)	Delegations to ask for the resolution of the conflict between Greek and Jewish Alexandrians by the various factions.
Jerusalem, possibly noticeable effects elsewhere	-	Placing of a statue of Caligula in the Temple in Jerusalem in response to an incident in Jamnia. Local officials try to stop this from happening.
Alexandria and Syria	Ἰουδαῖοι (Jos.) Ἰουδαῖοι (P.Lond.)	The sources contain two drastically different version of Claudius' resolution of the riots in Alexandria. Response to a petition. Jews should be allowed to maintain their rights, but should not make any more demands.
“All the World”	Ἰουδαῖοι	At the request of kings Agrippa and Herod, the privileges of the Alexandrian Jews become valid for Jews throughout the Empire. Claudius references the various proclamations made by Augustus. Jews should be allowed to maintain their ancestral customs.
Rome	Ἰουδαῖοι	Claudius did not expel the Jewish community due to its size, but forbade them to hold meetings. Connection to 2.C is unclear.
Dora	Ἰουδαῖοι	At the request of king Agrippa, the governor writes to Dora in anger because they had set up a statue of the emperor in the synagogue. Governor references Claudius' edict granting Jews permission to maintain their ancestral customs (possibly 2.24, or 2. ζ). Agrippa read Claudius' missive to the Alexandrians (2.ζ) when pleading his case.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
41-53 CE	2.C	<i>Acts</i> , 18.1-3; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum</i> : <i>Claudius</i> 25.4.	Claudius
Ca. 58 CE?	2.θ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 20.8.7 (173-178) and 20.8.9 (183-184); Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> 2.13.7 (266-270) and 2.14.4-5 (284-292).	Nero – decree
67-69 CE	2.26	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 12.3.1 (120); Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> 7.3.3 (52-53).	Governor C. Licinius Mucianus of Syria and local officials
70 CE	2.27	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i> 12.3.1 (121-124); Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> 7.5.2 (100-111).	Titus
71 CE ⁴	2.ι	Appianus, <i>Syriaca</i> 50.251-253; Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 65.7.2; Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> 7.6.6 (218).	Vespasian
73 CE	2.κ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> 7.11.1-4 (437-451); Flavius Josephus, <i>Vita</i> 76 (425).	Governor Catullus of Libya
73 CE	2.λ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicum</i> 7.10.2-4 (420-436).	Vespasian
Ca. 95 CE	2.μ	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 67.14.1-2; Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 3.17-8; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum</i> : <i>Domitianus</i> 12.1-2 and 15.1.	Domitian
96 CE	2.ν	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 68.1.2; various coins.	Nerva
131 CE?	2.ξ	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 69.12.1; Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.6.4.	Hadrian
Post 136 CE?	2.ο	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.6.3-4; Justin, <i>1 Apology</i> 47.4-6; Justin, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i> 16.	Hadrian

4 See Heemstra (2010), 10.

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Rome	Ἰουδαῖοι (Acts); <i>Iudei impulsore Chresto</i> (Suet.)	Expulsion of Jews from Rome. This reference is included in a list of Claudius' dealings with foreigners, and foreign rites in particular.
Caesarea	Ἰουδαῖοι	At the request of Greek Caesareans, Nero takes away the citizenship of the Jewish inhabitants of the city, which had been previously granted. This then leads to religiously inspired riots.
Antioch	Ἰουδαῖοι	Jews forced to sacrifice and banned from observing Sabbath, but maintain right to buy their own oils, after Greek petition to revoke it.
Antioch (and Alexandria)	Ἰουδαῖοι	Response to a petition by the Greeks of Antioch. Titus refuses to eject Jews from the city, and even confirms the rights they had previously had. A similar story is told about Alexandria.
Throughout the empire	Ἰουδαῖοι (App.); Ἰουδαῖοι (Cass. Dio); Ἰουδαῖοι (Jos.)	Introduction of the two-denarii tax known as the Jewish Tax, which replaced the yearly tax meant for the Temple in Jerusalem.
Cyrene, Alexandria and Rome	Ἰουδαῖοι	The governor of Libya accuses several prominent Jews of Alexandria and Rome of working with the <i>sicarii</i> . The accused are not convicted, but no real actions against the governor are undertaken either.
Leontopolis	Ἰουδαῖοι	Forced closure and demolition of the 'alternative' Jewish temple in Leontopolis by governors Luperinus and Paulinus. It should be noted that synagogues of nearby cities are not reported to have been closed.
Throughout the empire?	Ἰουδαῖοι (Cass. Dio); τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν (Eus.); <i>Iudei</i> (Suet.)	Stricter enforcement and possible expansion of the Jewish Tax. Possible connection to trials against members of the Roman elite, which may have been political in nature. Christian involvement has been suggested, but remains doubtful.
Throughout the empire?	Ἰουδαῖοι	End to trials regarding the 'Jewish way of life', end of the 'abuses connected to the <i>Fiscus Iudaicus</i> '.
Jerusalem	Ἰουδαῖοι (Eus.)	Foundation of Aelia Capitolina. Sources disagree about whether this was a cause or consequence of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.
Jerusalem	Ἰουδαῖοι (Eus.)	Banishment of Jews from Jerusalem, authenticity doubtful.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>Ca.</u> <u>130-138 CE?</u>	2.π	<i>Digesta</i> 48.8.4.2; <i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrianus</i> 14.2.	Hadrian – rescript
<u>138-161 CE</u>	2.28	<i>Digesta</i> 48.8.11; possible connection to pseudo-Paul, <i>Sententiae</i> 5.22.4?	Antoninus Pius – rescript
<u>193-211 CE</u>	2.ρ	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Severus</i> 17.1. Possible connection to pseudo-Paul, <i>Sententiae</i> 5.22.3?	Septimius Severus
<u>198-211 CE</u>	2.29	<i>Digesta</i> 50.2.3.3.	Septimius Severus and Caracalla
<u>213 CE</u>	2.30	<i>Codex Iustiniani</i> 1.9.1.	Caracalla – rescript
<u>222-235 CE</u>	2.31	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Severus Alexander</i> 22.4	Alexander Severus

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Throughout the empire?	<i>Iudaei</i> (SHA)	Ban on castration, which possibly included circumcision. Link to 2.28 and 2.ρ
Throughout the empire?	<i>Iudaei</i> (Dig.); <i>Iudaei</i> (Paul.)	Jews are permitted to circumcise their own children, but no-one else. Possibly an amendment of 2.π. Link to 2.π and 2.ρ
Throughout the empire?	<i>Iudaei</i> (SHA); <i>Iudaei</i> (Paul.)	Conversion to Judaism becomes illegal. The same law is said to have applied for Christianity. Link to 2.π and 2.28
Throughout the empire?	<i>qui Iudaicam superstitionem sequuntur</i>	Jews are permitted to hold public office, but only those that do not force them to violate their ancestral customs.
Cornelia Savlia in Antioch	<i>Iudaei</i>	The emperor decides that a legacy left to the Jewish community of Antioch cannot be accepted, even though this practice was not legal under Roman law.
Throughout the empire?	<i>Iudaei</i>	The emperor is said to have respected Jewish privileges.

APPENDIX III

Christianity

This appendix presents a systematic overview of the various legal interactions between the Roman authorities and Christian communities or members thereof that are discussed in chapter 4 (Early Christianity in Roman Legal Measures). It should be noted that the distinction between Christian and Jewish groups was likely somewhat unclear in a number of earlier cases, especially in the eyes of the Roman authorities. Such cases, like Claudius' expulsion of Jews from the city of Rome that is also present in Appendix 2 – Judaism, have nevertheless been included in this list for the sake of completeness. The various Christian martyr narratives referred to below may be found in a number of editions referenced in the bibliography, each of which makes its own selection of texts. Musurillo (1972) continues to be frequently cited and contains all martyr narratives discussed in the chapter, but more recent, and somewhat more thorough, editions may be found in Bastiaensen (1987); Rebillard (2017) and Seeliger and Wischmeyer (2015), among others.

The various interactions in this list have been ordered chronologically in order to conform to the structure of the chapter. If multiple cases are thought to date from the same year, they are included in the order in which they are presented in the sources. Cases for which no more specific date can be determined are listed at the end of the tenure of the Roman emperor or magistrate involved. Whenever the date is underlined, this means that the sources are likely reliable. A dotted line indicates that there is no concrete reason to doubt the essential character of the legal interaction under discussion, while at the same times acknowledging that a degree of caution is in order, e.g. due to a significant temporal distance between the available sources and the events they describe, the literary character of these sources, or because significant aspects of the relevant legal practicalities and proceedings are omitted or otherwise unclear. A wavy line means that there are certain significant difficulties or discrepancies, while cases with no underlining are considered to be either unreliable or irrelevant for reasons explained in chapter 4.

In order to distinguish between various kinds of legal interactions, different types of cases have been numbered in a variety of different ways. The cases indicated by numbers involve trials against members of the Christian community. Roman numerals (i.; ii.; iii.; etc.) denote events in which larger groups of Christians, the majority of which remain unnamed, are being targeted, whereas cases with Arabic numbers (1.; 2.; 3.; etc.) involved a smaller number of individuals in particular. Letters (A.; B.; C.; etc.) are used to indicate measures that were likely intended to regulate legal proceedings, rather than to pronounce judgement on specific individuals. Greek letters (α.; β.; γ.; etc.) are used for cases that cannot be otherwise categorised.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
35 CE?	3.A	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 2.2; Jerome, <i>Chronicon A.D. 35</i> ; Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus pro Christianis</i> 5.2.	Tiberius – edict?
40-60 CE?	3.1	<i>Acts</i> 4.1-22; 5.17-42; 6.11-8.1; 8.1-3; 12.1-4; 13.44-50; 14.1-6; 14.19-20; 16.16-40; 17.1-13; 18.12-17; 19.23-40; 21.27-28.31.	Various
41-53 CE	3.i	<i>Acts</i> , 18.1-3; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Claudius</i> 25.4.	Claudius
54-68 CE?	3.2	<i>1Clement</i> 5.4; <i>1Peter</i> 5.1 and 5.13; <i>2Peter</i> 1.12-15; <i>Acts of Peter</i> 33-41; <i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> 14.4-6; <i>Apocryphon of James</i> 5.9-20; <i>Ascension of Isaiah</i> 4.2-3; Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 2.25.5-8 and 3.1.2-3; <i>Ignatius of Antioch, passim</i> ; <i>Irenaeus, Adversus Haereses</i> 3.1.1; <i>John</i> 13.36-38 and 21.18-19; <i>Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum</i> 2.5-8; <i>Tertullian, passim</i> .	Nero?
54-68 CE?	3.3	<i>1Clement</i> 5.4; <i>Acts of Paul</i> ; Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 2.25.5-8 and 3.1.2-3; <i>Ignatius of Antioch, Letter to the Ephesians</i> 12; Jerome, <i>De Viris Illustribus</i> 5; <i>Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum</i> 2; <i>Tertullian, De Praescriptione Hereticorum</i> 36 and <i>Scorpiace</i> 15.	Nero?
64 CE?	3.ii	Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Nero</i> 16; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 15.44; Tertullian, <i>Ad Nationes</i> 1.7.8-9 and <i>Apologeticus pro Christianis</i> 5.3.	Nero

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Throughout the empire?	Χριστιανοί (Eus.); Christiani (Jer.); Christiani (Tert.)	Tiberius attempted to ban the punishment of Christians, but was met with opposition from the senate. It is highly unlikely that such an event ever took place.
Paul (and others) in various locations	-	Paul is regularly faced with trials and expulsions on the basis of various accusations made by the local population (Jewish or Greek) of a number of cities, who seek to remove him for causing unrest. On some occasions, though not all, the Roman authorities become involved.
Rome	Ἰουδαῖοι (Acts); <i>Iudei impulsore Chresto</i> (Suet.)	Expulsion of Jews from Rome. This reference is included in a list of Claudius' dealings with foreigners, and foreign rites in particular. It has been suggested that Christians were caught up in this expulsion, or even its intended target.
Peter, location uncertain	-	According to many Christian traditions, Peter was martyred, possibly in Rome during the reign of Nero. Details about the circumstances that led to his conviction, are however lacking. The connection to 3.ii. and the Great Fire is sometimes made, but ultimately cannot be proven.
Paul, location uncertain	-	According to many Christian traditions, Paul was martyred, possibly under Nero, likely by beheading. Details about the legal proceedings are, however, hard to come by. The connection to 3.ii. and the Great Fire is sometimes made, but ultimately cannot be proven.
Rome	<i>Christiani</i> (Suet.); <i>Chrestiani</i> (Tac.); <i>Christiniani</i> (Tert.)	Nero takes action against the Christians of Rome – likely in the form of executions. The connection to the Great Fire is only made by Tacitus, and the nature of the Christians' crimes is the subject of debate. The connection to 3.2. and 3.3. is uncertain.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
Ca. 95 CE	3.iii	Cassius Dio, <i>Historiae Romanae</i> 67.14.1-2; Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 3.17-18; Suetonius, <i>De vita Caesarum: Domitianus</i> 12.1-2 and 15.1; Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus pro Christianis</i> 5.4.	Domitian
<u>110-113 CE</u>	3.iv	Plinius Minor, <i>Epistulae</i> 10.96.	Governor Plinius Minor of Bithynia et Pontus – letter to emperor Trajan
<u>110-113 CE</u>	3.B	Plinius Minor, <i>Epistulae</i> 10.97	Trajan – rescript to governor Plinius Minor of Bithynia et Pontus
<u>122/3 CE</u>	3.C	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.8.6-4.9.3 and 4.26.10; Justin, <i>1 Apology</i> 68.3-70-4 (including Appendix).	Hadrian – rescript to Governors Serennius (?) Granianus and Minucius Fundanus of Asia
<u>Ca. 157 CE</u> ¹	3.v	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.15; <i>Martyrium Polycarpi</i> .	Governor Statius Quadratus of Asia
<u>152-161 CE</u> ²	3.D	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.12-13 and 4.26.10; Justin, <i>1 Apology</i> (Appendix).	Antoninus Pius – rescript

¹ Barnes (2010), 49. For alternative suggestions, see Dehandschutter (1993), 497-501. For the doubtful authenticity and historicity of the text, see Moss (2010^a).

² Authenticity doubted by Frend (1965), 175-177 and Williams (2012), 199n.55. Attributed to the time of Marcus Aurelius by Coleman-Norton (1966), 8-13.

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Throughout the empire?	Ἰουδαῖοι (Cass. Dio); τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν (Eus.); <i>Iudaei</i> (Suet.)	Stricter enforcement and possible expansion of the Jewish Tax. Possible connection to trials against members of the Roman elite, which may have been political in nature. Christian involvement has been suggested, but remains doubtful.
Bithynia et Pontus	<i>Christiani</i>	Pliny asks Trajan's advice on how to deal with denunciations of Christianity in his province, describing his course of action so far (including trials and executions). Answer follows in 3.B.
Bithynia et Pontus	<i>Christiani</i>	Trajan confirms Pliny's procedure described in 3.ii, but adds that it is impossible to make general pronouncements on the subject. He also adds that anonymous accusations are not to be accepted, and that Christians are not to be sought out.
Asia	Χριστιανοί (Eus.); Χριστιανοί (Just.)	Hadrian has received a message from his governor regarding the correct procedures for dealing with Christians. Hadrian insists on proper proceedings, rejecting 'petitions and shouts', and stating that Christians can be punished if a formal case can be made that they have acted contrary to the law. He does not make explicit what kind of behaviour this would be, stating that it is up to the governor to convict or acquit.
Polycarp in Smyrna	Χριστιανοί, ἄθεοι (Eus.); Χριστιανοί, ἄθεοι (M.P)	Polycarp is tried and executed for being a Christian after the mob calls for him specifically, but other executions are also mentioned. Christians are repeatedly referred to as atheists. The governor claims that Polycarp should not convince him, but rather the people.
Asia? Possibly also Greek provinces	Χριστιανοί (Eus.)	Antoninus forbids the inhabitants of the province to take legal measures against the Christians in what is apparently a time of unrest. An exception is made for Christians who plot against the Roman state. Those who do make accusations are to be punished. The authenticity of this passage is dubious. The citation of Melito in <i>HE</i> 4.26 mentions only a ban on <i>νεωτεριζεῖν</i> without further specifications.

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
<u>Ca. 150-160 CE</u>	3.4	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.17; Justin, 2 <i>Apology</i> 2.	Urban prefect Urbicus
<u>161-180 CE</u>	3.vi	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.26.5-6.	Unknown, possibly local officials
<u>Ca. 165 CE</u>	3.5	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 4.16; <i>Acta Iustini</i> .	Urban prefect Rusticus
<u>171-174 CE</u>	3.E	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 5.5.1-6; Justin, 1 <i>Apology</i> (Appendix); Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus pro Christianis</i> 5.6-7 and <i>Ad Scapulam</i> 4.6.	Marcus Aurelius
<u>177 CE</u>	3.vii	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 5.1.3-5.2.8.	Unknown governor of Gallia Lugdunensis and Marcus Aurelius
<u>July 180 CE</u>	3.6	<i>Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum</i> .	Governor Publius Vigellius Saturninus of Africa
<u>Ca. 180 CE</u>	3.7	Eusebius, <i>Historiae Ecclesiastica</i> 5.21; <i>Martyrium Apollonii</i> (multiple versions).	Governor/urban prefect Perennis, Roman senate in certain versions
<u>Ca. 180-212 CE?</u> ³	3.8	Tertullian, <i>Ad Scapulam</i> 4.	Various Roman governors of Africa

³ Not all magistrates mentioned by Tertullian can be reliably dated. This date is therefore based on the range between the earliest known tenures, and the date of *Ad Scapulam*. For the latter, see Barnes (1985), 55.

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Ptolemaeus and Lucius in Rome	Χριστιανοί (Eus.); Χριστιανοί (Just.)	Ptolemaeus is arrested because he caused a Christian woman to divorce her non-Christian husband, and subsequently executed. Lucius is executed for standing up for him. No consequences for the woman are mentioned.
Asia	-	Melito of Sardis, as cited by Eusebius, makes reference to 'new decrees' causing trouble for Christians in Asia, asking for the emperor's help. The exact contents and origins of these measures are unknown.
Justin Martyr and companions in Rome	Χριστιανοί (Eus.); Χριστιανοί (A.I.)	Trial of a select number of Christians Possible connection to an order regarding compulsory sacrifice, which may have been an imperial edict. Prefect also enquires about meeting places, and methods of spreading Christianity.
Throughout the empire	Χριστιανοί (Eus.); Χριστιανοί (Just.); <i>Christiani</i> (Tert.)	Marcus Aurelius is said to have banned trials against Christians for their faith, and orders any accusers to be punished. This idea is highly dubious, especially given the many differing accounts.
Larger group of largely unnamed Christians in Lyon (and Vienne)	Χριστιανοί (Eus.);	Actions against Christians instigated by the local community before the arrival of the governor. A second trial under the governor takes place, who then consults the emperor about certain aspects of the course of action he means to follow. A number of Christians are executed.
Twelve named Christians in Africa	<i>Christiani</i>	Twelve Christians are tried and executed. The governor repeatedly offers imperial clemency and a chance to recant, but Christians refuse. Very few details are offered
Apollonius, either in Rome or in Asia	Χριστιανοί (M.A.)	Apollonius is accused of being a Christian, and is questioned by the prefect and the senate after having been given some time to reconsider and a lengthy debate. The legal basis for his conviction differs significantly depending on the version of the story one adheres to.
Africa	<i>Christiani</i>	Tertullian makes mention of various Roman officials who, for various reasons, refused to hear cases against individual Christians or otherwise displayed leniency during these proceedings. Cf. Lucian, <i>De Morte Peregrini</i> 14

Date	Type	Sources	Relevant Officials
Ca. 204 CE ⁴	3.9	<i>Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis.</i>	Procurator Publius Aelius (?) Hilarianus
Ca. 204 CE ⁵	3.α	Tertullian, <i>Ad Scapulam</i> 3.	Governor Publius Aelius Hilarianus
193-211 CE ⁵	3.F	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Severus</i> 17.1.	Septimius Severus – edict?
218-222 CE	3.β	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Antoninus Heliogabalus</i> 3.5.	Elagabalus
222-235 CE	3.γ	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Alexander Severus</i> 22.4; 29.2; 43.6; 45.7; 49.6; 51.7-8.	Severus Alexander
Third Century CE	3.δ	Lactantius, <i>Divinae Institutiones</i> 5.11.19.	Various unknown Roman officials, as recorded by Ulpian – rescripts
235-238 CE	3.viii	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> 6.28.	Maximinus Thrax – edict

⁴ Not included in the selection of Bisbee (1988), 82. For the date of the martyrdom, see Barnes (1985), 267 and (2010), 304-307, as well as Rebillard (2017), 296.

⁵ Authenticity disputed by Barnes (1968^a), 40-41 and (1968^b), 526; Molthagen (1970), 39-43; Rives (1996), 19; Ste Croix (1974^a), 224n.66, *et al.*

Applicability	Terminology	Circumstances and Contents
Perpetua, Felicitas and others in Carthage	<i>Christiani</i>	A number of Christians are condemned to the arena. They are moved to different jails in succession. Few details about the trial are given, only that Perpetua and others are repeatedly encouraged to sacrifice
Carthage?	-	Potential attempt to deprive Christians of their burial grounds. No other details are given.
Throughout the empire?	<i>Christiani</i>	Conversion to Christianity becomes illegal. The same law applies for Judaism, although the source is considered to be highly suspicious.
Unspecified	<i>Christiana devotio</i>	According to a suspicious account, the rites of Jews, Christians and Samaritans were transferred to Rome in order to be included in Elagabalus' own cult
Unspecified	<i>Christiani</i>	The author reports several instances in which Alexander seemed to show an interest in Christianity, a case in which he ruled in their favour regarding a piece of land in Rome, and an assertion that he 'left Christians alone' that is not otherwise explained.
Likely various origins	<i>cultores dei</i>	According to Lactantius, the seventh book of <i>De Officio Proconsulis</i> contained rescripts against the Christians by a number of emperors. No further details are given.
Unspecified	-	According to Eusebius, Maximinus ordered the Christian clergy to be executed. No external evidence for this claim exists.

