

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 67

Harry W. Tajra

The Martyrdom of St. Paul



Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

67

The Martyrdom of St. Paul

Historical and Judicial Context, Traditions,
and Legends

by

H. W. Tajra



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Tajra, Harry W.:

The martyrdom of St. Paul: historical and judicial context, traditions, and legends /
by H. W. Tajra. – Tübingen: Mohr, 1994.

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament: Reihe 2; 67)

ISBN 3-16-146239-4 978-3-16-157197-8 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

NE: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament / 02

© 1994 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O. Box 2040, 72010 Tübingen.

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 typeset by Sam Boyd Enterprise in Singapore using Times typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid-free paper from Papierfabrik Niefern and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

Printed in Germany.

ISSN 0340-9570

To His Excellency

The Most Reverend Pierre Duprey M.Afr.,

Bishop of the Titular See of Thibar
and Segretarius of the Pontificium Consilium
ad Unitatem Christianorum fovendam,

without whose kind help this book
could not have been written.

Table of Contents

Chapter I: Paul’s Condemnation and Martyrdom: Juridical Aspects	1
I. Paul’s Roman Citizenship and its Effect on His Martyrdom	1
II. The Juridical Foundation for Paul’s Condemnation to Death	4
1. The Modification and Extension of the Laws governing the <i>Crimen laesae maiestatis</i>	4
2. The Ruler-Cult	7
III. Imperial Jurisdiction: Paul and Nero	12
IV. The Imperial Tribunal: Penal Procedure	18
V. Execution of the Capital Sentence	20
VI. Regulation and Disposition of the Condemned’s Corpse	24
1. The <i>ius sepulcri</i>	24
2. <i>Violatio sepulcri</i>	26
VII. Paul’s Martyrdom and its Relationship to the Christian Persecution of 64 A.D.	27
 Chapter II: Paul’s legal Situation at the Close of Acts	 33
I. Acts 16–28: Luke’s Narration of Paul’s judicial History	33
II. Luke’s Omission of Paul’s Martyrdom	37
III. Acts 28: Luke’s Account of Paul’s two-year Captivity	39
1. Acts 28,16: Paul in <i>custodia militaris</i>	40
2. Acts 28,30–31: Paul exercises his Ministry at Rome <i>sine prohibitione</i>	46
IV. The Witness of the Captivity Epistles I	51
1. The <i>Epistle to the Colossians</i>	52
2. The <i>Epistle to Philemon</i>	55
3. The <i>Epistle to the Ephesians</i>	57
V. The Witness of the Captivity Epistles II: The <i>Epistle</i> <i>to the Philippians</i>	58
1. <i>In omni Praetorio</i>	59
2. The Saints of Caesar’s Household	65
3. “My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better” .	68
4. “That I may share his sufferings, becoming like Him in His death”	70
 Chapter III: Paul in Rome: the final Period	 73
I. Paul’s two Roman Captivities	73

II. Were Roman Judeo-Christians Responsible for Paul's Death?	76
1. The nascent Roman Church: a divided Community	76
2. The Christians as Paul's accusers: Cullmann's Theory re-visited	79
III. The Pastoral Epistles: the beginnings of the Pauline Tradition	84
1. The Image of the martyred Paul as depicted by an early Paulinist: the Pastor	84
2. The Theme of Abandonment: "At my first defence . . . all deserted me"	86
3. 2 Tim. 4,6: Paul's Death as a Sacrifice	94
IV. Excursus 1: Paul and the Mamertinum Prison	98
V. Excursus 2: ' <i>Usque ad ultimum terrae</i> ': Did Paul visit Spain between his two Roman Captivities?	102
1. The Westward Thrust of Paul's later Ministry	102
2. Spain as a missionary Objective	104
3. N.T. Evidence	105
4. Patristic Witness to a Spanish Journey	108
5. Paul's Journey to Spain in the early Christian Apocrypha	115
 Chapter IV: Narratives of Paul's Martyrdom in Christian Apocryphal Literature	 118
I. The <i>Acta Pauli</i> : from the historical Paul to the Paul of faith	118
II. The <i>Martyrion tou hagiou Apostolou Paulou</i> and the <i>Passio Paul fragmentum</i>	121
1. The text	121
2. The commentary	126
3. Historical value	131
III. The <i>Martyrion tou hagiou Apostolou Paulou</i> : Versions	134
1. The Syriac Version	134
2. The Armenian Version	136
3. The Coptic Version	137
IV. The <i>Passio Sancti Pauli Apostoli</i> (Pseudo-Linus)	138
 Chapter V: Paul's Martyrdom in later Christian Apocryphal Literature . .	 143
I. The Pseudo-Marcellus re-working of the tale of Paul's Martyrdom	143
1. Introduction	143
2. The <i>Acta Petri et Pauli</i> : Text	144
3. Commentary	150
II. Excursus 1: The <i>Aquae Salviae</i> as Paul's <i>locus passionis</i> : a late adjunction to the Paul legend	151
III. The <i>Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i> (Pseudo-Hegesippus)	154
IV. The <i>Historiae Apostolicae</i> of Pseudo-Abdias: Vol. II: The Passion of St. Paul	157

V. Excursus 2: Lucina buries Paul	160
VI. Later accounts of Paul's Martyrdom from the Eastern Christian Tradition	162
1. An Armenian <i>Martyrium</i>	162
2. A Syriac <i>Chronicle</i> : Fragments pertaining to the Legend of Paul's Head	164
Chapter VI: Paul's Martyrdom in Patristic Literature	166
I. The Apostolic Fathers	167
1. Clement of Rome	167
2. Ignatius of Antioch	170
3. Polycarp of Smyrna	171
II. The Fathers from Tertullian to the First Nicene Council	172
1. Tertullian	172
2. Peter of Alexandria	175
3. Lactantius	176
III. Eusebius of Caesarea: The <i>Tropaeum</i> of St. Paul	178
IV. Paul's Martyrdom in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers	183
1. John Chrysostom	183
2. Asterius Amasenus	187
3. Jerome	188
4. Augustine of Hippo	189
5. Sulpicius Severus	190
6. Orosius	192
7. Paul's decapitation and the milk-theme: Macarius Magnes and Gregory of Tours	193
V. The Flowering of the Roman Tradition: Leo the Great: <i>In Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>	194
Chapter VII: An Afterword	198
Bibliography	201
1. Reference Works	201
2. Bibliography of Works cited	202
Indexes	209
Passages	209
Modern Authors	222
Subjects	224

New Testament Textual Apparatus

I. *Codices*

D — Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis

E — Codex Laudianus

II. *Versiones Antiquae*

vg. — Vulgate

vg.^{codd} — Vulgate codices (excluding the *Sixtina* and the *Clementina*)

g — Codex Gigas

p — Codex Perpinianus

tepl — Codex Teplensis

sy^p — Syriac Peshitta

sy^{h*} — Asterisked additions to the Harclean readings

prov. — Provençal Version

eth. — Ethiopic

sa. — Sahidic

Ambst — Ambrosiaster

δ — indicates Western Text consensus

614 — miniscule (δ — text), Milan

Abbreviations

<i>Anal. Boll.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , Brussels.
<i>ANL</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Library</i> , T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.
<i>AC</i>	<i>Antiquité Classique</i> , Brussels.
Arndt & Gingrich	Arndt, W.F. and Gingrich, F.W., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature</i> (a translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's <i>Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des NT und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur</i>), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, (from) 1972.
<i>BC</i>	Foakes-Jackson, F.J. and Lake, K., (edd.), <i>The Beginnings of Christianity</i> , MacMillan & Co., London, in 5 volumes, 1920-1933.
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden</i> (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin), Berlin, (from) 1895.
<i>BHG</i> ³	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 3rd. Edition in 3 volumes, 1957.
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, in 3 volumes, 1898-1911.
<i>BHO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> , Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1910.
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i> , Paderborn.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> , Athens/Paris.
<i>Bull. J.R. Lib.</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester.
<i>Bull. Litt. Eccl.</i>	<i>Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique</i> , Toulouse.
<i>BAC</i>	<i>Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana</i> , Rome.
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , University of Cambridge Press, 1926-34.

- CR* *Classical Review London.*
- Corp.Christ.-Ser.Lat.* *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina*, Brepols, Turnhout.
- CII* J.B. Frey, (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, Rome; Vol. I, 1936; Vol. II, 1952.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, (from) 1863.
- DACL* *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Letouzey et Ané, éditeurs, Paris, in 15 volumes, 1907-1953.
- DB* *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Letouzey et Ané, éditeurs, Paris, in 5 volumes, 1895-1912. *DB-Suppléments* start in 1926.
- Dict. Théol. Cath.* *Dictionnaire de la Théologie catholique*, Letouzey et Ané, éditeurs, Paris, in 15 volumes, 1909-1972.
- Digesta* *The Digest of Justinian*, *Corpus Iuris Civile*, Vol. I; Latin text edited by Th. Mommsen, 1886. English translation by A. Watson, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, in 4 volumes, 1985.
- ET* *The Expository Times*
- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig/Berlin, (from) 1897.
- HTR* *The Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- HDB* Hastings, James, (ed.) *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Edinburgh, in 4 volumes, 1898-1902.
- ICUR* *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, Rome, in 3 volumes, 1857-1861; *Nova Series* in 9 volumes, 1922-1985.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, (from) 1873.
- IGR* *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, (from) 1911.
- JOeBG* *Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Vienna.
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Philadelphia.
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*, London.
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford.
- LP* Duchesne, L. (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, Ernest Thorin, éditeur, Paris, Vol. I, 1886; Vol. II, 1892, Vol. III, 1957.

- LCC* *The Library of Christian Classics*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia.
- LNPF* *A Selected Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, The Christian Literature Co., New York.
- LS*⁹ Liddell, H.G., and Scott, R.A., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 9th. Edition, 1940.
- Lipsius Lipsius, R.A. (ed.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Hermann Mendelssohn Verlag, Leipzig, Vol. I, 1891; Vol. II, 1898, (Bonnet, M., ed.).
- Loeb *The Loeb Classical Library*, W. Heinemann, Ltd., London/Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- MEFRA* *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*
- Mombritius Mombritius, B. (ed.), *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, Fontemoing et Cie., éditeurs, Paris, in 2 volumes, 1910.
- NBS* *New Testament Studies*, Cambridge.
- NBAC* *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, Rome.
- OGIS* *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Leipzig, 1903-1905.
- P Papyri
- P.Amh. Amherst Papyri
- P. Bodmer Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny-Geneva
- P.Fay Fayûm Towns and their Papyri
- P. Lille Papyrus grecs: Institut papyrologique de l'Université de Lille
- P. Lips. Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig
- P. Lond. Greek Papyri in the British Museum
- P. Oxy. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, London
- P. Ryl. Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester
- P. Thead. Papyrus de Théadelphie, Paris
- Patr.Gr.Lex.* Lampe, G.W.H., (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961.
- PG* *Patrologia Graeca* (J.P. Migne), Paris.
- PL* *Patrologia Latina* (J.P. Migne), Paris.
- PLSuppl.* *Patrologia Latina-Supplements*, Paris, (from 1958 on)
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris, (from 1907).

<i>PROLEGOMENA</i>	Moulton, J.H., <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> , T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 2nd. Edition, 1906: Vol. I, <i>The Prolegomena</i> .
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , herausgegeben G. Wissowa, Stuttgart/Munich, (from) 1894.
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de Science religieuse</i> , Paris.
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , J.C.B. Mohr (P.Siebeck), Tübingen, 3rd. Edition, 1961.
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i> , Paris.
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique</i> , Louvain.
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses</i> , Strasbourg.
<i>Rev.Hist.</i>	<i>Revue Historique</i> , Paris.
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> , Paris.
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Rivista di Archeologia cristiana</i> , Rome.
<i>RQS</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift</i> , Rome.
<i>SIG</i> ³	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , (W. Dittenberger, ed.), Leipzig, 3rd. Edition, 1915-1924.
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i> , Leipzig/Berlin, (from) 1882.
<i>ThWb.</i>	Kittel, G. and Friedrich, G. (edd.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> . The English edition used in this book is by G.W. Bromiley, <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, in 10 volumes, 1964-1976.
<i>Thesaurus Ling.Lat.</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , Leipzig, (from) 1900.
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> , Amsterdam.
<i>ZK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> , Gotha/Stuttgart.
Zerwick-GB	Zerwick, M., <i>Biblical Greek</i> , Rome, 1963 (based on the 4th Latin edition of <i>Graecitas Biblica</i>).

Chapter One

Paul's Condemnation and Martyrdom: Juridical Aspects

I. Paul's Roman Citizenship and its Effect on His Martyrdom

In the *Trial of St. Paul*, we reviewed at length the primordial importance of Paul's Roman citizenship in his earlier legal history. Twice in the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*, Paul had solemnly proclaimed his Roman citizenship¹ and this cry of *civis Romanus sum* had substantially modified his legal position over against the Roman magistrates charged with his case. Most importantly of all it was because of his status as a Roman citizen that he was able to avail himself of the *ius provocationis* and thus appeal to Nero's court at Rome for protection against what he felt to be an iniquitous magisterial decision on the part of Festus, Procurator of Judaea². It was thus his Roman citizenship which allowed the Apostle to escape extradition, which Festus had proposed³, and to escape a certain death sentence at the hands of the very same body which had not hesitated to condemn Jesus and the proto-martyr St. Stephen. Later in Rome, the benevolent treatment which Paul received from the police authorities was due to his citizen status. Although one must keep in mind that Luke's pro-Roman stance in Acts would have led him to emphasize the good relations which Paul enjoyed with the Roman *magistratura*, it is nonetheless indubitable that had Paul been a peregrine, the treatment accorded him would have been quite other than what it was. For his part Paul recognized the Roman Emperor, the Roman magistrates and the Roman police as holding full and legitimate political and juridical authority over him and he submitted willingly to that State power⁴.

E. Benveniste notes that the Latin word *civis* invoked links of kinship, friendship and companionship, that is of a common *sharing* of political and

1 Acts 16,37; Acts 22,25.

2 Acts 25,11.

3 Acts 25,9.

4 Rom. 13,1-7. Cf. M. Adinolfi, "San Paolo e le autorità romane negli Atti degli Apostoli", *Antonianum*, Rome, Vol. 53; 1978, pgs. 460-461.

juridical prerogatives as well as duties and of a common *participation* in the life of the State. "The true meaning of *civis*", writes Benveniste, "is not citizen (*citoyen*) ... but fellow citizen (*concitoyen*)"⁵. From this root, the term *civitas* is derived, meaning as it does, of course, the quality of being a citizen or citizenship, but also the whole of the citizenry and indeed the city itself as a real legal entity. Sharing and participation englobed not only the political but also religious life of the city; these were in fact quite inseparable in ancient urban societies. C. Nicolet is quite correct in pointing out that the Roman citizenship

"whatever visage it would later take on would always keep this double character of both a sacred and political community resting on a community of rights (the *ius civile* — the rights of citizens) which among other things governed family links very strongly".⁶

The fundamental characteristic of citizenship was the guarantee of the individual's juridical and civil status. The key word here is the word *protection*. Roman citizenship "... protected the individual over against the magistrates or high imperial officials in the straight line of Republican tradition"⁷. In Paul's time, Roman citizenship was the privilege of relatively few people. It was of enormous value as citizens enjoyed "all sorts of civil, military, political, juridical, economic and religious rights, privileges and duties (*iura, honores, munera*)"⁸. The Roman citizen was protected from magisterial abuse by the whole body of the Porcian and Valerian laws promulgated during the Republican régime and by the *Lex Julia de vi publica et privata* of Augustan provenance⁹.

The citizen therefore had a completely different legal status from the peregrine who enjoyed none of the former's juridical and political rights, benefits and privileges. Thus St. Peter, for example, as a peregrine, would have quite woefully lacked the legal protection against magisterial abuse and the right to due process which Paul enjoyed as rights inherent to his citizenship. So whereas Peter could be executed very summarily (perhaps after torture) during the anti-Christian terror which occurred in the wake of the great fire of 64 A.D., Paul was protected from torture and could only be executed subsequent to a proper juridical proceeding¹⁰. If one speaks purely in juridical

5 E. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des Institutions indo-européennes*, Paris, 1969, Vol. I, pg. 337.

6 C. Nicolet, *Le Métier de Citoyen dans la Rome républicaine*, Paris, 1976, pg. 39.

7 *Ibid*, pg. 34.

8 M. Adinolfi, *op.cit.*, pg. 461.

9 Ampler discussion in H. Tajra, *The Trial of St. Paul*, Tübingen, 1989, pg. 25 and 146.

10 Cf. Acts 16,37-38 and 22,24-29. Cf. Eusebius, *HE*, 5,1.44. Eusebius writes in his account of the persecutions of the Christians at Lyons: "The people were very bitter against him [Attalus], but when the governor learnt that he was a Roman, he commanded him to be put

terms, it is absolutely necessary to *de-couple* Peter and Paul, that luminous binary so joined together in later Christian traditions, legend, lore, liturgy and art, because their violent deaths occurred at separate times, with different modes of capital punishment (crucifixion/decapitation), consequent to entirely different legal proceedings (or lack thereof in Peter's case).

As we mentioned earlier, Roman citizenship brought with it not only privileges but also duties of both a political and religious nature. The Roman citizen would be expected to adhere to the national religion and, with the establishment of the Principate, this came to include fidelity to and participation in the ruler cult:

"A *religio* was *licita* for a particular group on the basis of tribe or nationality and traditional practices, coupled with the proviso that its rites were not offensive to the Roman people or their gods. But, for Roman citizens, loyalty to the national religion precluded participation in the rites of others, unless these had been specifically sanctioned by the Senate. (...) The practice by a Roman citizen of an *externa religio* which had not been accepted could be an insult to the gods and an affront to the greatness of the Roman people. (...) Not for nothing were *maiestas* and *sacrilegium* linked in the minds of Roman lawyers, and the participation of individuals in a *religio externa* condemned. Christianity was certainly among the latter".¹¹

Finally, a Roman citizen was expected to be fluent in Latin, the language of his *patria*¹². Although Rome was a completely cosmopolitan city and many of the early Roman Christians were non-Latins more at home in Greek than in Latin, Paul would not have ignored the city's main language when he preached, worked, received visitors or extended hospitality. The Apostle had already demonstrated a considerable knowledge of Roman institutions and of the Roman legal system and doubtlessly his stay in the empire's capital city had greatly enhanced his fluency in Latin¹³. Moreover, if, as seems likely, the Apostle did succeed in reaching Spain, any mission to that thoroughly

back with the rest, who were in jail, about whom he had written to the Emperor and was waiting for the reply" (*trans.* K. Lake, *Loeb*, 1959).

11 W.H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the early Church*, Oxford, 1965, pg. 106. Cf. *Digesta* 48,4,1.

12 Dio Cassius records an incident in which a Lycian was stripped of his Roman citizenship by Emperor Claudius (year 43 A.D.) when his inadequate knowledge of Latin was exposed: "During the investigation of this affair [the murder of a Roman by some Lycians] which was conducted in the Senate, he put a question in Latin to one of the envoys who had originally been a Lycian, but had been made a Roman citizen; and when the man failed to understand what was said, he took away his citizenship, saying that it was not proper for a man to be a Roman who had no knowledge of the Romans' language." (Dio Cassius 60,17,4; *trans.* E. Cary, *Loeb*, 1961).

13 F.R. Montgomery Hitchcock, "Latinity of the Pastorals", *ET.*, Vol. 39; 1927-1928, writes: "He would not have been slow to seize the opportunity of conversing in Latin with the well-trained and educated Praetorian who was always with him ... We must take into account his

Romanized land would have had to have been conducted in Latin¹⁴. It would seem reasonable to conclude that the proceedings in Paul's trial in Rome took place in that language and that the Apostle's *apologia* before the imperial court, the final one of his ministry, was delivered in Latin.

II. The Juridical Foundation for Paul's Condemnation to Death

As a Roman citizen, Paul could not have been put to death except after having been found guilty by the imperial court of a very grievous infraction of the law. In view of what is known of the indictment lodged against Paul in the lower courts as recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles* and of the political and juridical situation during Nero's reign, Paul could only have been condemned to death on a charge of *crimen laesae maiestatis*. That is to say that his words and deeds were judged to have directly and indubitably diminished and injured the Emperor's person, station and sovereign authority¹⁵.

II,1. The Modification and Extension of the Laws governing the *Crimen laesae maiestatis*

The establishment of the Principate by Augustus substantially modified the legal definition of *crimen laesae maiestatis*. At the end of the Republican régime, Cicero had described crimes of lese-majesty as those acts diminishing the dignity, high estate or authority of the Roman people or those to whom they had confided authority: *maiestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit aliquid derogare*¹⁶. Later on the great imperial jurist Ulpianus (170 ? — 228 A.D.), defined *maiestas* as follows: "The crime of treason is that which is committed against the Roman people or against their safety (*maiestatis autem crimen illud est, quod adversus populum Romanum vel adversus securitatem eius committitur*)"¹⁷. In the same passage Ulpianus also writes that "closest to

Latin studies and the fact that he was hourly, for two years, in the company of an Italian who would not speak Greek and with whom he would have to converse in Latin". (pg. 348)

14 *Ibid*, pg. 348.

15 Cf. R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life*, Philadelphia, 1979, pg. 46: *Maiestas* was "in all likelihood ... the actual charge on which Paul was executed".

16 Cicero, *de Inventione* 2,17.53.

17 *Digesta* 48,4.1.

sacrilege is that crime which is called treason (*proximum sacrilegio crimen est, quod maiestatis dicitur*)¹⁸.

With the founding of the Principate, written or verbal insults or any other sort of denigrating acts aimed at diminishing the dignity, sovereign authority or person of the Emperor became assimilated with crimes against the State:

“The association of insults to the emperor with treason was productive of many anomalies and inconsistencies. Other legal systems know the crime of lèse-majesté, of injury to the dignity of the sovereign, alongside what is usually known as High Treason, but as a rule the distinction between the two is clear. It was not so in Rome”.¹⁹

This new definition of the law assimilating insults to the Emperor with State treason (thereby effacing the old *perduellio* as a crime distinct from *maiestas*, a separation that was clear under Republican law) was refined and more rigorously applied in the reign of the second Emperor, Tiberius (14—37 A.D.). Tacitus writes rather scathingly:

“For he had resuscitated the *Lex Maiestatis*, a statute which in the old jurisprudence had carried the same name but covered a different type of offence — betrayal of an army; seditious incitement of the populace; any act, in short, of official maladministration diminishing the ‘majesty of the Roman nation’. Deeds were challenged, words went immune (*facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant*). The first to take cognizance of written libel under the statute was Augustus; ... then Tiberius, to an inquiry put by the praetor, Pompeius Macer, whether process should still be granted on this statute, replied that ‘the law ought to take its course’ (*exercendas leges esse*). He, too, had been ruffled by verses of unknown authorship satirizing his cruelty, his arrogance, and his estrangement from his mother”.²⁰

Suetonius provides a parallel account showing how repressive the law was:

18 *Digesta* 48,4.1. R.A. Bauman comments: “Etymologically *maiestas* is derived from *maior*. As *maior* expresses not an absolute value but the comparative degree, so *maiestas* is not an absolute quality but a relationship. This fact is fundamental to Roman *maiestas*. The word denotes an unequal relationship, with one component occupying the position of the *maior*, and the other that of the *minor*, but it denotes only a relationship and not a quality or attribute existing in isolation”. (R.A. Bauman, *The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate*, Johannesburg, 1967, pg. 1).

19 R.A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem*, Munich, 1974, pg. 2. C.W. Chilton writes that the *crimen laesae maiestatis* “was extended to include, as well as the abuse of the divinity of Julius, verbal abuse and slander of the Princeps and sometimes even slander of his family. It was this extension of the meaning of *maiestas* by Augustus — showing as it did the shift in the balance of power in the State — that was so significant...” (C.W. Chilton, “The Roman Law of Treason under the early Principate”, *JRS*. Vol. 45; 1955, pg. 75). B. Kübler notes: “In der Zeit der Monarchie ... ist das Majestätsverbrechen aus einem Staatsverbrechen zum Verbrechen gegen die Person des Herrschers und seiner Familie, der *domus Augusta*, geworden” (B. Kübler, “*Maiestas*” *RE*. Vol. 14,1; 1928, col. 550).

20 Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.72 (*trans.* J. Jackson, *Loeb*, 1962).

"It was about this time that a praetor asked him whether he should have the courts convened to consider cases of lese majesty; to which he replied that the laws must be enforced (*exercendas esse leges*), and he did enforce them most rigorously (*et atrocissime exercuit*)."²¹

A passage from Dio Cassius about Tiberius (year 20 A.D.) indicates that not only deeds but even *speech* deemed improper was enough to condemn someone under the expanded *maiestas* law:

"Among other ways in which his rule became cruel, he pushed to the bitter end the trials for *maiestas*, in cases where complaint was made against anyone for committing any improper act, or uttering any improper (*ἀνεπιτήδειος*) speech, not only against Augustus, but also against Tiberius himself and against his mother".²²

In Nero's reign, Tacitus notes the case of the Praetor Antistius Sosianus, who was charged with treason in the year 62 A.D. by Cossutianus Capito at the urging of his father-in-law Tigellinus, joint commander of the Praetorian Guard. Antistius had written some verses satirizing Nero and had read them openly at a dinner party. Tacitus notes this case as an ominous revival of the *maiestas* law: *tum primum revocata ea lex*²³.

The sort of political climate engendered by the extension of the law on *maiestas* spawned a whole breed of private accusers (*delatores*) whose denunciations would open a judicial proceeding against a foe. Seneca has given a chilling account of the perversion of the Roman legal system during the Julio-Claudian period:

"Under Tiberius Caesar there was such a common and almost universal frenzy for bringing charges of treason, that it took a heavier toll of the lives of Roman citizens than any Civil War; it seized upon the talk of drunkards, the frank words of jesters; nothing was safe — anything served as an excuse to shed blood, and there was no need to wait to find out the fate of the accused since there was but one outcome".²⁴

Indeed this brings us to the question of the punishment meted out to the perpetrator of a crime of lese-majesty. C.W. Chilton notes that in the late Republic death was probably the penalty prescribed for crimes of lese-majesty, but that Roman citizens could avoid the capital sentence by going into exile, i.e. *interdictio* "with or without confiscation, became the actual legal

21 Suetonius, *Tib.* 58 (trans. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb, 1960).

22 Dio Cassius 57,19 (trans. E. Cary, Loeb, 1961). The adjective *ἀνεπιτήδειος*, that is improper, mischievous, prejudicial, can also be used in a political sense, i.e. as the unfriendly act or discourse of a political opponent (*LS*⁹, pg. 134).

23 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14,48.

24 Seneca, *de Beneficiis* 3,26 (trans. J.W. Basore, Loeb, 1958). Tacitus notes that after the fall of Nero in 68 A.D., the Senate demanded the swift punishment of *delatores* as required by ancestral custom (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4,42). Cf. Suetonius, *Titus* 8.

penalty for *maiestas*²⁵. Under the Julio-Claudian Emperors, *interdictio* as a penalty for *maiestas* soon disappeared: “banishment was made harsher and summary execution became more and more common”²⁶.

II,2. The Ruler-Cult

In Antiquity political loyalty was almost always inseparable from religious practice. The concept of divine honours being bestowed on a ruler had its roots in the ancient Greek notion of kingship and in the later Hellenistic idea of the god-like king who was the benefactor and protector of his subjects:

“It is an essential aspect of the ruler-cult in Hellenistic and Roman times that it develops this notion of divine man and is not founded upon the notion of hero. One excellent reason among others, is that the ruler-cult, though interested in past rulers, was basically oriented towards living sovereigns: it was meant to explain, justify, and recognize present, not past power”.²⁷

It is not surprising then that one of the most important factors in the growth and spread of the imperial ideology was the process of increasing veneration for the Emperor; the conscious propagation of what A. D. Nock has termed a “doctrine of royal divinity”²⁸. The imperial cult became quite extensively integrated into the local cults in the diverse cities and provinces with the consequence that “the Emperors were the object of the same cult-acts as the other gods”²⁹.

Imperial Roman policy strove to promote a common religious faith in the Emperor as the being to whom his subjects looked to satisfy their temporal needs, as the benefactor of mankind, as the giver of peace and defender of security, as the liberator from oppression; all this in order to encourage a sense of unity and bonds of loyalty in the vast and variegated Empire. Cultic forms of Emperor-worship varied in the different parts of the Empire, being rather more intense and developed in the Hellenistic East than in the Latin West. Yet everywhere there was a common veneration for the Empire’s ruler. Emperor-worship was one of the major assizes underpinning the whole imperial régime

25 C.W. Chilton, *op.cit.*, pg. 75.

26 *Ibid.* pg. 75.

27 A. Momigliano, “How the Roman Emperors became gods”, *8^o CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEGLI STUDI CLASSICI E DEL MONDO ANTICO*, Rome, 1987, pg. 301.

28 A.D. Nock, “The Augustan Restoration”, *CR*, Vol. 39; 1925, pg. 62. Nock notes in the same passage that religion could in no way be neglected by a ruler “eager to regenerate the national spirit”.

29 F. Millar, “The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions”, in *LE CULTE DES SOUVERAINS DANS L’EMPIRE ROMAIN*, Vandoeuvres-Geneva, 1973, pg. 164.

as it was a concrete and very visible act in which all the Emperor's subjects could unite. It was as much a political statement as a religious deed.

At Rome itself there was a strong tradition against the actual worship of a living ruler; a factor which the early Emperors were forced to take into account. Octavian tried to maintain the political fiction that he was the providential restorer of Republican traditions. It was thus embarrassingly awkward to attribute divine status to an "alleged Republican leader"³⁰. He therefore limited himself to being called, from 42 B.C. on, *divi filius* (i.e. of the deified Julius) and then in 27 B.C. taking on the title Augustus. This title, which had formerly been reserved for the gods or sacred things, gave him "a holy character by raising him above mankind"³¹. Augustus set an example in religious policy which was the model for his immediate successors, especially Tiberius and Claudius, although not for Caligula or Domitian, both of whom applied the title *deus* to their person and consequently sought a more developed worship of their divinity. It was only upon his death in 14 A.D. that the Principate's founder was decreed by the Senate to be *divus Augustus* and to be placed among the other State gods³²:

"This inclusion was the culmination of a series of honours given in return for services rendered. It was not an automatic culmination. It was warranted by miracle and approved by the authority which was necessary for any addition to the official circle of worships. Further, it depended on the quality shown by the man and not on the fact of his having held the supreme position. Divinity hedged a princeps around but was not inherent in him however much it might and did so appear to provincials and even to individual citizens. From the constitutional point of view he stood between the mass of citizens and the gods on the godward side but without any loss of his humanity or of his ultimate responsibility before the bar of public opinion".³³

While never *imposing* imperial worship, Augustus encouraged in many subtle ways an unofficial or semi-official veneration of his person. Indeed the founder of the Principate and his successors all quite eagerly accepted the *fact* of the imperial cult³⁴. The titles Saviour (σωτήρ) and Benefactor (εὐεργέτης) were frequently attributed to the Emperor³⁵, sometimes alongside the title "son

30 A. Momigliano, *op.cit.*, pg. 304.

31 L. Cerfaux & J. Tondriaux, *Le Culte des Souverains dans la Civilisation gréco-romaine*, Tournai, 1957, pg. 330-331.

32 Tacitus, *Ann.* 1,11.

33 A.D. Nock, "Religious Developments from the Close of the Republic to the Death of Nero", *CAH*. Vol. 10; 1934, pg. 488-489.

34 F. Miller, *op.cit.*, pg. 157.

35 *IGR.* 1,1294; Horace, *Odes* 1,12. Cf. two edicts of Germanicus (19 A.D.) in which he disclaims divine status for himself whilst asserting the divinity of Tiberius Saviour (in V. Ehrenberg & A.H.M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford, 2nd. Edition, 1955, No. 320,b.38. A bilingual inscription from Sagalassos in

of god"³⁶. In the Latin West the Emperor gradually promoted the cult of *Dea Roma* and *Augustus*, often assimilated with *Pax* and *Fides* or divinized qualities such as *Victoria*, *Fortuna Redux*, and *Pax Augustus*, and moulded it into an imperial mystique³⁷. The identification of Rome with Augustus was a political masterstroke designed to legitimate the Emperor's exceptional State power and to instill political loyalty in his subjects³⁸.

"What meaning did this deification possess, especially for Roman citizens? Of one thing we can be certain, of the enormous impression that Augustus had produced: his deification as *Divus Augustus* corresponded to a widespread feeling that here, in his achievements and benefits, was a being divine."³⁹

Nero was never officially deified in Rome during his lifetime (nor was he of course, after his death in 68 A.D.), but official worship of a living Emperor as divine was brought nearer mainly through the exaggerated adulation and sycophancy of the Senate and Court. In the Hellenistic East, of course, the cult of the divine Nero was considerably more developed than in the West. Coins struck in the East called him θεός and his bust on the coins had him wearing the radiate crown of the deified Emperors⁴⁰. Nero was invested with the titles of Saviour and Benefactor⁴¹ and was called "Lord of the whole cosmos"⁴². Significantly the Emperor was equated with the sun-god Helios (Νέωι Ηλίωι Νέρωνι)⁴³ as well as with Zeus⁴⁴. The usage of such titling clearly demonstrates that the tendency toward the deification of a living ruler was becoming considerably more normalized. Even at Rome itself where the tradition against the worship of a living ruler was much stronger than in the East, Nero succeeded in assimilating himself with the traditional gods to a much greater degree than his predecessors (except for Caligula). Already at the outset of his reign, in 55 A.D., Senators had proposed placing his statue in the temple of Mars Ultor. This motion was more than an ascription of divine attributes to

Pisidia, dated 18-19 A.D., is most revealing. Here the Latin *princeps optimus* is rendered in the Greek as σωτήρ Σεβαστός. The same manuscript renders *maiestas* as θειότης (in G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents illustrating early Christianity*, North Ryde, Australia, 1981, Vol. I, pg. 36-37).

36 *I.G.* 7,1836.

37 *CIL.* 14,2898; *CIL.* 10,820.

38 Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 52.

39 M.P. Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult especially in Rome", *HTR.* Vol. 28; 1935, pg. 29.

40 D.L. Jones, "Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult", *ANRW.* II,23.2; 1980, pg. 1029.

Both the head radiate and the head laureate occur on the Nero coins struck at the Rome mint.

41 *OGIS.* 668. The Greek formula θεός Σεβαστός was rather widespread.

42 *SIG*³. 814.

43 *IGR.* 3,345.

44 *SIG*³. 814.

Nero. It was a direct association of the reigning Emperor's image with that of a principal god. The fact that the Nero statue was to be of the same size as that of the temple's titular god was a highly symbolic gesture aimed at equating Nero with Mars Ultor himself⁴⁵.

The idea of the divine Nero permeated court life especially in the latter part of that Emperor's reign. The unfortunate poet Lucan divinized Nero in a panegyric which amply manifests the perversion of cultural life by the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty⁴⁶. Dio Cassius writes that when Tiridates came to Rome to be crowned by Nero as King of Armenia in 66 A.D., he worshipped the Emperor as a god:

"And I come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras".⁴⁷

Dio Cassius also provides an account of Nero's triumphal entry into Rome in 68 A.D., his last regnal year. Here the author notes that the population hailed the Emperor as Nero-Hercules and Nero-Apollo⁴⁸. Yet even Nero, with his fearsome political power, could not go beyond certain limits. In the same year,, 68 A.D., when the Consul-designate Anicius Cerialis proposed that a temple be built out of public funds to *divo Neroni*, the project was vetoed:

"His notion, it is true, merely implied that the prince had transcended mortal eminence and earned the worship of mankind; but it was vetoed by that prince, because by other interpreters it might be wrested into an omen of, and aspiration for, his decease; for the honour of divinity is not paid to the emperor until he has ceased to live and move among men."⁴⁹

Religious policy under the Julio-Claudian Emperors was thus characterized by attempts to assure the stability of the régime through a programme of restoring traditional Roman religion into which the ruler-cult was inserted in order to assure the ruler a primordial place within the body politic of the State. Thus an active and visible participation in some sort of cultic devotion to the Emperor had become by the end of the Julio-Claudian period a test of a Roman citizen's loyalty and political conformity.

45 Tacitus, *Ann.* 13,8.

46 Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1,45 ff.

47 Dio Cassius 63,5 (*trans.* E. Cary, Loeb, 1961)..

48 Dio Cassius 63,20. The great scholar of Roman numismatics, Harold Mattingly, writes: "One very rare Aureus, with reverse *IUPPITER LIBERATOR*, was probably struck for Nero during his stay in Greece (67 A.D.). (...) The allusion of the reverse is unmistakable. *IUPPITER LIBERATOR* (Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος) is but a thin disguise for the Emperor who set Greece free, and was actually acclaimed by the grateful province under that name". (II. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, Vol. I, 1923, pg. clxxxiii-clxxxiv).

49 Tacitus, *Ann.* 15,74 (*trans.* J. Jackson, Loeb, 1962).

Index of Passages

Old Testament and O.T. Pseudepigrapha

<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
26,13	49	7,19	181
<i>Psalms</i>		<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>	
7,2	92	4,1	98
22,21	91	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
35,17	92	8,2	98
103,19	109		
<i>Isaiah</i>			
61,1	54		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		15,26	21
8,11	109	15,39	126
10,22	97	15,43-45	25
14,12	25	15,46	182
18,19	147	16,8	106, 109
24,9	52, 82	16,15	106
24,10	82		
24,27	109	<i>Luke</i>	
26,56	89	4,18	54
27,27	60	12,11	86
27,37	21	13,29	109
27,46	125	21,14	86
27,54	126	21,24	54
27,57-60	25	22,15	52, 68
28,19	106	22,53	89
		23,27	141
<i>Mark</i>		23,32-33	93
6,27	24	23,38	21
6,29	25	23,39	93
15,16	60	23,46	130
15,21	104	23,47	126

23,50-53	25	18,2	78
24,1	126	18,3	45
24,26	52	18,6	38
24,47	126	18,7	78
		18,12ff	139
<i>John</i>		18,13	11, 35
7,4	48	19,8-10	78
16,32	91	19,23ff	90
18,20	49	19,26-27	34
18,28	60	19,27	30
18,33	60	19,28	55
19,9	60	20,2	102
19,12	34	20,4	54
19,19-22	21	20,6	55
19,30	95	20,9-12	122
19,34	194	20,17-38	37
19,38	25	20,17	90
		20,24	95
<i>Acts of the Apostles</i>		20,25	90, 103
1,8	106	20,33-34	66
2,10	76	20,37-38	103
2,29	50	20,38	90, 108
4,13	50	21,5	108
4,29	50	21,27	90
4,31	50	21,33	43
5,39	181	22,1	86
7,10	169	22,22	36
7,29	168	22,24-29	2
7,46	182	22,25	1
7,59	130	22,27-28	174
8,2	25	23,6-10	74
9,15	91	23,11	16
12,2	23	23,18	43
12,6	43	23,29	75
12,12	55	23,34	89
12,25	55	23,35	61
13,13	55	24,5-6	35
13,25	95	24,5	124, 128
13,46	38	24,10	36, 86
13,47	106	25,8	36, 86
15,3	108	25,9	1
15,22	169	25,10-12	129
15,37-38	55	25,11	1, 13, 36,76
16,1-3	54	25,12	16
16,21	11, 34	25,14	43, 61
16,23-34	101	25,16	86, 87
16,37-38	2	25,21	16
16,37	1	25,25	16, 75
17,7	34	26,1	86

26,2	86		
26,23	52		
26,24	86		
26,26	50		
26,32	75		
27,24	16		
28,15	81		
28,16	39, 41, 42, 122		
28,17-28	29		
28,17-20	40		
28,17	43		
28,21	73, 76		
28,22	79		
28,23-28	40		
28,24	30		
28,25	30		
28,28	38		
28,29	30		
28,30-31	30, 33, 39, 46		
28,30	46		
28,31	62		
<i>Romans</i>			
1,5	107		
1,9-15	107		
1,9-10	41		
1,11-15	29		
1,14-15	41		
1,29	63,64		
2,8	64		
5,3	53		
7,23	54		
8,18	70		
8,29	71		
11,25	103		
12,13	66		
13,1-7	1, 129		
13,4	23		
13,13	64		
15,19	102, 103		
15,20-21	107		
15,23-24	107		
15,23	103		
15,24	117		
15,28-29	108		
15,28	117		
16,2	91		
16,7	53		
16,13	104		
		<i>I Corinthians</i>	
		3,1-2	194
		3,2	130
		3,3	64
		4,17	54
		10,10-11	54
		15,18	181
		15,32	90
		16,6	108
		16,8-9	90
		16,11	108
		<i>II Corinthians</i>	
		1,5-6	53
		1,5	52, 70
		1,8-10	90
		1,16	108
		2,4	52
		5,20	58
		10,5	54
		11,25	168
		12,20	64
		<i>Galatians</i>	
		5,20	64
		5,21	63
		<i>Ephesians</i>	
		1,9-10	57
		1,15	57
		3,1	43, 54, 57
		3,12	50
		4,1	43, 54, 57
		6,19-20	57
		6,20	43
		6,21	58, 61
		6,22	58
		<i>Philippians</i>	
		1,7	59, 86
		1,12-14	60
		1,12	61
		1,13	61
		1,14	62, 63
		1,15-17	63
		1,15	168
		1,17	86
		1,19-23	68
		1,23	94

1,24-26	69		
1,29-30	96		
2,3	64		
2,16	95		
2,17	96		
2,19-24	54		
2,23	65		
2,24	65, 102		
2,25	66		
2,27	66		
2,30	52		
3,5	84		
3,8-11	70		
3,21	71		
4,18	66		
4,21-22	66		
4,22	122		
<i>Colossians</i>			
1,1	54		
1,5	97		
1,7	55		
1,15-20	52		
1,18	52		
1,23	52		
1,24	52, 53, 70		
1,25-27	52		
1,25	52		
1,26	53		
4,3	53		
4,7	61		
4,9	54, 55		
4,10-11	55		
4,10	53		
4,13	55		
4,14	55, 94		
4,16	57		
4,18	53		
<i>I Thessalonians</i>			
2,15	185		
2,17	68		
3,2-6	54		
3,3	53		
<i>I Timothy</i>			
6,12-14	96		
		<i>II Timothy</i>	
		1,15	90
		1,16-17	92
		1,16	43
		2,9	93
		4,6-8	94
		4,6	69, 188
		4,8	91
		4,10-11	122, 127
		4,10	55, 90
		4,11	93
		4,13	89
		4,16-17	86
		4,16	18
		4,17	92
		4,19	92
		<i>Titus</i>	
		3,12	102
		3,13	108
		<i>Philemon</i>	
		1	43, 54, 56
		2	66
		9	43, 54, 56
		10	56
		13	56
		19	56
		22	55, 65, 102
		23	53, 56
		24	55, 56, 94
		<i>Hebrews</i>	
		2,10	70
		11,32-33	91
		12,1	95
		<i>James</i>	
		1,12	97, 98
		3,14	64
		3,16	64
		<i>I Peter</i>	
		3,15	86
		5,4	98
		5,8	91
		5,13	55
		<i>II Peter</i>	
		1,13-14	182

<i>Revelation</i>		13,2	92
2,9-11	98	13,15	12
2,10	97	20,4	12, 23

Epigraphical and Papyrological Publications

<i>BGU</i>		<i>P. Bodmer</i>	
531.I.21	87	20,1.5	88
628	47, 74		
917.14	51	<i>P. Fayum</i>	
		2,III.24	129
<i>CIL</i>		108,11	93
3,13648	42		
3,14187	42	<i>P. Lille</i>	
6,1057.7.4	93	7,20	93
6,25144	152		
10,820	9	<i>P. Lips.</i>	
13,1780	93	26.11	51
14,2898	9		
14,3482	152	<i>P. Lond.</i>	
<i>Edicts of Augustus</i>		196,5	43
(Cyrene)			
2	43	<i>P. Oxy.</i>	
		33	20
<i>IG</i>		502,29-31	51
7,1836	9	580	43
12,(7),55.15	47	707,24	47
		1242	19, 20
<i>IGR</i>		1242,26ff	83
1,1294	8	2760	42
3,345	9		
<i>OGIS</i>		<i>P. Ryl.</i>	
199.33	109	169,16	47
668	9	<i>P. Thead,</i>	
707	61	15,19	74
<i>P. Amh.</i>		<i>SIG³</i>	
66,40	91	814	9

Christian Apocrypha: The Martyrdom of St. Paul

<i>Acta Pauli</i>		b). Martyrium Pauli	
a). Acts of Paul		(Greek)	
and Thecla		1	45, 122, 127
2-3	93		

2	123, 128	<i>Historiae Apostolicae</i>	
3	21, 123, 128	(Ps. Abdias)	
4	124, 130	The Passion of	
5	24, 125, 130	St. Paul	157ff
6	23, 125, 131		
7	23, 126, 131		
(Armenian)	136ff	<i>Martyrium Petri et Pauli</i> (Armenian)	162ff
(Coptic)	137ff		
(Syriac)	134ff	<i>Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>	
		(Ps. Hegeppus)	154ff
c). P. Hamburg	121, 130		
(Greek)		<i>Passio Sancti Pauli Apostoli</i>	
d). P. Heidelberg	122, 138	(Ps. Linus)	138ff
(Coptic)			
<i>Acta Petri et Pauli</i>		<i>Syriac Chronicle</i>	
(Ps. Marcellus)	143ff	(fragmentum)	164ff

Christian Apocrypha: Other Passion Tales and Martyrologia

<i>Acts of Peter</i>		<i>Martyrium S. Polycarpi</i>	
(Vercelli)		17-18	25
1	115	<i>Martyrologium</i>	
2	115	Ado	101, 141, 161
3	116	Notker	100, 141, 161
4	116	Rhabanus	141
5	116	Maurus	
33-35	185	Romanum	141
33	185	Usuard	100, 141, 161
40	131		
<i>Acts of Thomas</i>		<i>Passio SS. Processi et Martiniani</i>	
169	131	100, 161	
<i>Acts of Titus</i>	122	<i>Passio S. Sebastiani</i>	
<i>Acts of Xanthippe, Polyxena and Rebecca</i>	117	161	
<i>Martyrium S. Apollonii</i>			
45	23		

- Cyril of Jerusalem
Catechesis
4,15 147
17,26 114
- Didascalia Apostolorum*
(Syriac)
24 147
- Epiphanius of Salamis
adversus LXXX Haereses
(*Panarium*)
27 180
27,6 114
- Eusebius of Caesarea
Chronicon
2 179, 180
- Historia Ecclesiastica*
2,2.6 76
2,13 147
2,22.1-2 76
2,22.4 92
2,22.6 94
2,22.7 76
2,23 180
2,25 178ff
3,1 181
3,3.5 119
3,25.4 119
4.8-9 124
5,1.44 2, 21
5,1.47 22
5,1.61 25
5,1.62 25
5,21 23
5,21.4 22
6,20 179
- de Theophania*
(Syriac)
4,7 183
- Gregory the Great
Registri Epistolarum
14,14 152
- Gregory of Tours
de Gloria Beatorum Martyrum
1,28 146
1,29 130, 194
- Ps.-Hegesippus
de Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanae
III,2 154, 155, 156
- Hippolytus of Rome
Philosophumena
6,20 147
- Ignatius of Antioch
Ep. to the Ephesians
4,1 171
12 170ff
13,1 171
- Ep. to the Romans*
2,2 110
4 170
5 22
5,1 43
6 69
- Irenaeus of Lyon
adversus Haereses
1,10.2 104
3,2-3 173, 177
3,3.3 108, 109
- Isidorus of Seville
Chronicon
70 148
- Jerome
Epistola
65,12 113
- in Isaiam Prophetam*
3(130) 113
4.11(163-164) 113
- Tractatus de Psalmo 96*
(Series Altera)
176-183 188

- de Viris illustribus*
 1 188
 5 113, 188
 12 139
- John Chrysostom
Acta Apostolorum
 46 128, 184
- contra Oppugnatores*
Vitae monasticae
 1,3 128, 184
- in Epistolam ad*
Hebraeos
arg. 1,1 114
- in Epistolam ad*
Romanos
 2,6 186
 29,3 114
 30,1 114
- in Epistolam secundam*
ad Timotheum
 3,1 128
 4 186
 10,2 184
 10,3 114, 128
- de Laudibus Pauli*
(Panegyrics)
 2 53
 4 186
 7,9 41, 114
- ad Populam Antiochenum*
 16 186
- John Malalas
Chronographia
 10 26, 151
- Justin Martyr
I Apology
 68 124
- Dialogus cum Tryphone*
 10 22
- Lactantius
Divinarum Institutionum
 4,21 178
- de Mortibus Persecutorum*
 2 176ff
 22 24
- Leo the Great
Sermones
 82,1 196
 82,3 196
 82,4 197
 82,5 197
 82,6 195ff
 82,7 197
- Macarius Magnes
Apocriticus
 4,14 130, 194
- Maximinus the Arian
Sermo 11 147
- Michael Glycas
Annalium 3 185
- Minucius Felix
Octavius
 8,3-4 29
- Muratorian Canon*
 3,5 94
 34-39 111
- Orosius
Historiarum adversus
Paganos
 7,6.16 78
 7,7 192ff
- Peter of Alexandria
de Poenitentia
(Epistola Canonica)
 9 175ff
- Polycarp of Smyrna
Ep. to the Philippians
 9 171ff

Prudentius		<i>adversus Iudaeos</i>	
<i>Peristephanon</i>		7	104
12	189		
		<i>Apologeticum</i>	
<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>		5,2	76
<i>Visio</i> 3,2	22	21	35
Sulpicius Severus		<i>de Anima</i>	
<i>Chronicorum libri duo</i>		51	181
2,28-29	190ff		
Tertullian		<i>de Baptismo</i>	
<i>adversus Gnosticos</i>		17	119
(<i>Scorpiace</i>)		<i>de Praescriptione</i>	
10	83	<i>Haeticorum</i>	
15	173ff	36	172ff, 187
		36,1-3	23

Graeco-Roman Writers

Aeschylus		<i>pro Caelio</i>	
<i>Choephoroi</i>		63	87
938	91		
Antipho		<i>pro Cluentio</i>	
6,7	87	93	87
		175	47
Apuleius Madaurensis		<i>pro Flacco</i>	
<i>Metamorphoseon</i>		28,66.69	83
10,6	88		
Aristotle		<i>pro Sexto Roscio</i>	
<i>Politica</i>		20,55.36	74
1302 b 4	64		
1303 a 14	64	<i>pro Sulla</i>	
		2,4	89
Artemidorus Daldianus		2,6	89
<i>Onirocriticus</i>		Dio Cassius	
1,35	129	51,19	13
		52,21.2	15, 16
Cicero		57,19	6
<i>de Inventione</i>		60,1	42
2,17.53	4	60,6.6	77
		60,17.4	3
<i>in Verrem</i>		60,28	75
II,ii,17.43	88	63,5	10
II,v,31.80	60	63,12	17

63,18	17	Hyperides	
63,20	10	<i>pro Euxenippo</i>	
		31	87
Diogenes Oenoandensis		Josephus	
<i>Fragmenta</i>		<i>Antiquitates Iudaicae</i>	
2,II,11-12	69	2,59	93
		2,74	47
Dionysius Halicarnassensis		13,203	43
<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>		16,41	51
1,35.3	110	17,145	43
10,36.6	42	17,300	83
		18,203-204	44
Q. Ennius		18,228	92
<i>Annalium</i>		18,235	44
17(23)	110	20,135	83
		20,195	83
Epictetus		20,252	83
<i>Arrian Discourses</i>		<i>Bellum Iudaicum</i>	
1,1.19	129	1,621	87
		2,531	42
Euripedes		6,238	42
<i>Hippolytus</i>		<i>contra Apionem</i>	
422	49	1,255	68
		2,147	87
<i>Ion</i>		<i>Vita</i>	
671-675	49	3,13	83
		3,16	83
<i>Phoenissae</i>		Lucan	
390-391	49	<i>Pharsalia</i>	
		1,45ff	10
Herodian		7,541	110
6,1.2	19	Ps.-Lucian	
		<i>Asinus</i>	
Herodotus		27	54
2,180	47	Ovid	
3,32	89	<i>Fasti</i> 1,498	110
Hesiod		Pausanias	
<i>Theogony</i>		5,26.3	96
429	89	Philo	
		<i>de Cherubim</i>	
Horace		22	109
<i>Carminum</i>			
1,12	8		
1,28.26	111		
1,36.4	111		
3,3.8	111		

<i>de Ebrietate</i>			Quintillian	
152	96		<i>de Institutione Oratoria</i>	
			7,2.21	87
<i>de Legatione ad Gaium</i>			Secundus	
44,349	19, 20		<i>Sententiae</i>	
			19	94
<i>de Specialibus Legibus</i>			Seneca	
1,321	49		<i>Apocolocyntosis</i>	
			10	88
<i>in Flaccum</i>			<i>de Beneficiis</i>	
16,128-129	47		3,26	6
35	67		7,5.3	47
187	94		<i>de Clementia</i>	
Philostratus			1,1.9	14
<i>Vita Apollonii</i>			Servius	
4,47	111		<i>Commentarius in Vergilii</i>	
			<i>Aeneidos</i> 1,530	111
Plato			Silius Italicus	
<i>Apologia</i>			<i>Punica</i>	
24 C	96		17,637	110
28 A	87			
<i>Respublica</i>			Strabo	
557 B	49		<i>Geographikon</i>	
			3,5.5	110
Pliny the Younger			Suetonius	
<i>Epistulae</i>			<i>Augustus</i>	
4,22	19		33	14, 15
6,31	19		51	14
7,6.8	15		52	9
10,56	47		Tiberius	
10,57	42		58	6
10,96	12, 22, 28		<i>Caligula</i>	
10,97	87, 124		32	21
Plutarch			<i>Claudius</i>	
<i>Consolatio ad Apollonium</i>			14	14
13	94		15	20, 75
			23	43
<i>Moralia</i>			25	78
308 D	129		29	88
Polybius				
1,42.5	109			
2,38.6	49			
5,104.7	109			
9,32.4	96			

<i>Nero</i>		6,11	15
10	20	13,4	14, 17
15	20	13,8	10
16	28	14,48	6
		14,51	42
<i>Titus</i>		15,44	22, 28, 30, 79, 124, 191
8	6	15,68	42
		15,74	10
<i>Domitian</i>		16,22	11
10	21		
		<i>Historiae</i>	
Tacitus		1,22	83
<i>Annales</i>		4,42	6
1,2	12		
1,11	8	Thucydides	
1,72	5	2,96	109
3,10	14, 19	3,54.4	89
3,22	43		
3,24	14	Virgil	
3,38	14	<i>Aeneid</i>	
3,51	21	1,530	110

Index of Modern Authors

- Adinolfi, M., 1,2
Alföldy, G., 104
van Andel, G.K., 191, 192
Antonelli, F., 154
Aus, R.D., 103
- Baillie Reynolds, P.K., 42, 43
Barrett, C.K., 37, 86, 103, 166
Batiffol, P., 157
Bauman, R.A., 5, 6, 17
Bayan, G., 162
Bayet, C., 181
Beaujeu, J., 18,76
Belvederi, G., 161
Benveniste, E., 2
Bleicken, J., 13
Bovon, F., 84, 119, 126
Brezzi, P., 41
Bruce, F.F., 27, 37, 77, 81
Buti, I., 13,14
- Cadbury, H.J., 19, 44, 112
Capocci, V., 153
Cecchelli, C., 76
Cerfaux, L. & Tondriau, J., 8
Charlesworth, M.P., 9
Chilton, C.H., 5, 7
Congar, Y., 178, 197
Conzelmann, H., 37, 42, 81
Crook, J.A., 19
Cullmann, O., 80, 81
Cumont, F., 27
- Dassmann, E., 104
Delebecque, E., 50
De Rossi, G.B., 152, 154, 161
Dibelius, M. & Conzelmann, H., 102
Duchesne, L., 147
- Dufourcq, A., 147
Dupont, J., 48, 87
- Ehrenberg, V. & Jones, A.H.M., 8
Erbetta, M., 118, 144, 154
- Fasola, U.M., 101, 102
Ferrari, G., 153
Ferrua, A., 161
Flamion, J., 144, 146
Freeborn, J.C.K., 94
Frendl, W.H.C., 3, 31, 171
Frey, J.B., 41
- de Gaiffier, B., 23
Greenidge, A.H.J., 13, 14
Grisar, H., 147
Grundmann, W., 71
Guarducci, M., 183
Guerra, A.J., 77, 78
Guidi, I., 137
- Hanson, A.T., 90
von Harnack, A., 127
Hemer, C.J., 33
Hengel, M., 37, 39
Hitchcock, F.R.M., 3, 4
Hitzig, H.F., 43
Horsley, G.H.R., 9, 18
- James, M.R., 115, 117, 118, 122
Jewett, R., 4
Jones, A.H.M., 13, 14, 18
Jones, D.L. 9, 28
Joüon, P., 48
- Käsemann, E., 103
Kasser, R., 120

- Keresztes, P., 28, 30, 84
 Kirsch, J.P., 152
 Kittel, G., 54
 Kübler, B., 5
- Lampe, P., 76, 181, 182
 Leclercq, H., 45, 112
 Leenhardt, F.J., 103
 Leloir, L., 136, 144, 145, 162, 163
 Lindemann, A., 131, 166, 168, 171
 Lipsius, R.A., 121, 122, 143, 155
 Lopuszanski, G., 93
 Lüdemann, G., 111
 Lugli, G., 99, 101
- MacDonald, D.R., 119, 120
 Maddox, R., 39
 Martin, V., 88
 Mason, H.J., 42
 Mattingly, H., 10
 Mealand, D.L., 48, 51
 Millar, F., 7, 8
 Minear, P.S., 79, 108
 Mohrmann, C., 182, 183
 Mornigliano, A., 7, 8, 11
 Mommsen, T., 14, 15, 31, 89
 Moraldi, L., 119, 132, 151
 Morin, G., 166, 168
 Moule, C.F.D., 84
 Muratori, L.A., 111
 Musurillo, H., 39
- Nau, F., 134, 135, 136, 164
 Nicolet, C., 2
 Nock, A.D., 7, 8
- O'Brien, P.T., 59, 62, 71
- Paoli, U.E., 19, 93
 Peeters, E., 164
 Penna, R., 83
 Pezzella, S., 130
 Pfitzner, V.C., 96, 97, 170
 Pherigo, L., 75
 Pietri, C., 139
 Platner, S.B., 101
- Plümacher, E., 119, 131
- Quasten, J., 120, 132, 173, 175
 Quinn, J.D., 166
- Ramsay, W.M., 102
 Recasens i Comes, J.M., 105
 Reicke, B., 61
 Ricciotti, G., 42, 44
 Ritter, S., 112
 Rohde, J., 127
 Rordorf, W., 119, 130, 173
 Rougé, J., 12, 105, 186
 Rowlingson, D.T., 103
 Ruyschaert, J., 183
- Sansterre, J.M., 154
 di S. Maria, M., 183
 Schlier, H., 50
 Schmidt, C., 121, 130., 138, 185
 Schneemelcher, W., 119, 120, 131
 Schubart, W. & Schmidt, C., 121
 Schürer, E., 83
 Serra-Vilaro, J., 105
 Sevenster, J.N., 139
 Sherwin-White, A.N., 12, 18, 19, 29, 43, 75
 Smallwood, E.M., 83
 Solin, H., 77, 78, 83
 Spicq, C., 85, 89, 91, 107
 Stern, M., 83
 Strathmann, H., 169
 Sundberg, A.C., 112
- Tajra, H.W., 2, 78, 129
 Taubenschlag, R., 18
 Taylor, J.E., 77
 Testini, P., 26, 181
- Vega, A.C., 109, 112
 Vielhauer, P., 116, 117
 de Visscher, F., 14, 43
 Vouaux, L., 118, 128, 132, 142, 144, 151
- Walaskay, P.W., 38
 Wikenhauser, A., 42
 Wilckens, U., 52

Index of Subjects

(Supplement to the Table of Contents)

actio prima, 88ff
actio secunda, 89ff
advocatus, 18ff
aequitas, 18, 87
agon, 96
apologia, 4, 18, 87ff
appello ad Caesarem, 33, 36, 76

capitis amputatio (decollatio), 22, 124ff, 129ff,
133, 148, 156, 159, 173, 175, 194
castra praetoriana, 41ff, 61
civis/civitas, 1, 174
coemeterium (Pauli), 181ff
coercere/coercitio, 12, 15
cognitio extra ordinem, 13ff, 19, 36
consilium principis, 18ff
corona iustitiae, 91, 97ff

delator, 6, 18, 73
delegation (of Emperor's judicial power),
14ff
Demas, 55ff

Edictum de temporibus accusationum, 47, 74

imperium, 12ff, 18
interdictio, 6
ius gladii, 23
ius provocationis, 1

Lex Iulia de vi publica et privata, 2
Lex Iulia publicorum iudiciorum, 74
Luke
— *apologia pro imperio*, 38, 73
— *apologia pro ecclesia*, 38, 73, 75
— as Paul's companion, 55ff, 92ff, 122,
126ff, 131, 134ff

memorandum (judicial), 20

Nero

— divine titles of, 9ff, 35
— in apocryphal tradition, 122ff, 129ff, 134ff,
139ff, 144ff, 156ff, 163ff
— in Patristic tradition, 167, 174, 176ff,
181, 184ff, 191ff
— involvement in Great Fire, 28, 192
— legal procedure in his tribunal, 20
— persecution of Christians, 28ff, 123, 128,
133, 136, 166, 174, 192
— reluctance to try cases, 16
— revives *Maiestas* laws, 6
Nicopolis, 102

Onesiphorus, 92ff

pannicularia, 24

parresia (as a legal term), 48ff, 58

Paul

— his house in Rome, 44ff, 134
— internal exile, 168
— knowledge of Latin, 2
— legal history (prior to Rome), 34ff
— rents a *horreum*, 45, 122
Perpetua, 149, 159
Plautilla, 141, 159
Poppaea, 83
prima defensio, 18, 86ff
probare crimen, 73

religio licita, 3, 35

Roma (cult of) 9, 36

sacrilegium, 3, 5, 27

SC Turpillianum, 74

sepulcrum (locus religiosus), 24, 26
Simon Magus, 116, 144ff, 155ff, 158
stratopedarch, 41ff
speculator, 24, 125, 135ff, 142, 159

Tarragona, 104ff
Timothy (as Paul's companion), 54, 56, 65,
122, 126ff, 131
titulus, 21
tribunicia potestas, 13, 36

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der ersten und zweiten Reihe

- APPOLD, MARK L.: The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel. 1976. *Band III/1*.
BACHMANN, MICHAEL: Sünder oder Übertreter. 1991. *Band 59*.
BAKER, WILLIAM R.: Personal Speech-Ethics. 1994. *Band II/68*.
BAMMEL, ERNST: Judaica. 1986. *Band 37*.
BAUERNFEIND, OTTO: Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte. 1980. *Band 22*.
BAYER, HANS FRIEDRICH: Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection. 1986. *Band II/20*.
BETZ, OTTO: Jesus, der Messias Israels. 1987. *Band 42*.
– Jesus, der Herr der Kirche. 1990. *Band 52*.
BEYSLAG, KARLMANN: Simon Magnus und die christliche Gnosis. 1974. *Band 16*.
BITTNER, WOLFGANG J.: Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium. 1987. *Band III/26*.
BJERKELUND, CARL J.: Tauta Egeneto. 1987. *Band 40*.
BLACKBURN, BARRY LEE: 'Theios Anēr' and the Markan Miracle Traditions. 1991. *Band III/40*.
BOCKMUEHL, MARKUS N. A.: Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity. 1990. *Band III/36*.
BÖHLIG, ALEXANDER: Gnosis und Synkretismus. Teil 1 1989. *Band 47* – Teil 2 1989. *Band 48*.
BÖTTCHER, CHRISTFRIED: Weltweisheit – Menschheitsethik – Urkult. 1992. *Band II/50*.
BÜCHLI, JÖRG: Der Poimandres – ein paganisiertes Evangelium. 1987. *Band II/27*.
BÜHNER, JAN A.: Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium. 1977. *Band II/2*.
BURCHARD, CHRISTOPH: Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth. 1965. *Band 8*.
CANCIK, HUBERT (Hrsg.): Markus-Philologie. 1984. *Band 33*.
CAPES, DAVID B.: Old Testament Yaweh Texts in Paul's Christology. 1992. *Band III/47*.
CARAGOUNIS, CHRYS C.: The Son of Man. 1986. *Band 38*.
– siehe FRIDRICHSEN.
CARLETON PAGET, JAMES: The Epistle of Barnabas. 1994. *Band II/64*.
CRUMP, DAVID: Jesus the Intercessor. 1992. *Band II/49*.
DEINES, ROLAND: Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit. 1993. *Band III/52*.
DOBBELER, AXEL VON: Glaube als Teilhabe. 1987. *Band II/22*.
DUNN, JAMES D. G. (Hrsg.): Jews and Christians. 1992. *Band 66*.
EBERTZ, MICHAEL N.: Das Charisma des Gekreuzigten. 1987. *Band 45*.
ECKSTEIN, HANS-JOACHIM: Der Begriff der Syneidesis bei Paulus. 1983. *Band III/10*.
EGO, BEATE: Im Himmel wie auf Erden. 1989. *Band III/34*.
ELLIS, E. EARLE: Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity. 1978. *Band 18*.
– The Old Testament in Early Christianity. 1991. *Band 54*.
ENNULAT, ANDREAS: Die ›Minor Agreements‹. 1994. *Band III/62*.
FELDMEIER, REINHARD: Die Krisis des Gottessohnes. 1987. *Band III/21*.
– Die Christen als Fremde. 1992. *Band 64*.
FELDMEIER, REINHARD und ULRICH HECKEL (Hrsg.): Die Heiden. 1994. *Band 70*.
FORNBERG, TORD: siehe Fridrichsen.
FOSSUM, JARL E.: The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. 1985. *Band 36*.
FRIDRICHSEN, ANTON: Exegetical Writings. Hrsg. von C. C. Caragounis und T. Fornberg. 1994. *Band 76*.
GARLINGTON, DON B.: The Obedience of Faith. 1991. *Band III/38*.
– Faith, Obedience, and Perseverance. 1994. *Band 79*.
GARNET, PAUL: Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls. 1977. *Band III/3*.
GRÄSSER, ERICH: Der Alte Bund im Neuen. 1985. *Band 35*.
GREEN, JOEL B.: The Death of Jesus. 1988. *Band III/33*.
GUNDRY VOLF, JUDITH M.: Paul and Perseverance. 1990. *Band III/37*.
HAFEMANN, SCOTT J.: Suffering and the Spirit. 1986. *Band III/19*.

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

- HECKEL, THEO K.: Der Innere Mensch. 1993. *Band II/53*.
- HECKEL, ULRICH: Kraft in Schwachheit. 1993. *Band III/56*.
- siehe FELDMEIER.
 - siehe HENGEL.
- HELIGENTHAL, ROMAN: Werke als Zeichen. 1983. *Band II/9*.
- HEMER, COLIN J.: The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History. 1989. *Band 49*.
- HENGEL, MARTIN: Judentum und Hellenismus. 1969, ³1988. *Band 10*.
- Die johanneische Frage. 1993. *Band 67*.
- HENGEL, MARTIN und ULRICH HECKEL (Hrsg.): Paulus und das antike Judentum. 1991. *Band 58*.
- HENGEL, MARTIN und HERMUT LÖHR (Hrsg.): Schriftauslegung. 1994. *Band 73*.
- HENGEL, MARTIN und ANNA MARIA SCHWEMER (Hrsg.): Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult. 1991. *Band 55*.
- Die Septuaginta. 1994. *Band 72*.
- HERRENBRÜCK, FRITZ: Jesus und die Zöllner. 1990. *Band III/41*.
- HOFIUS, OTFRIED: Katapausis. 1970. *Band 11*.
- Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes. 1972. *Band 14*.
 - Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6 – 11. 1976, ²1991. *Band 17*.
 - Paulusstudien. 1989, ²1994. *Band 51*.
- HOLTZ, TRAUOGOT: Geschichte und Theologie des Urchristentums. Hrsg. von Eckart Reinmuth und Christian Wolff. 1991. *Band 57*.
- HOMMEL, HILDEBRECHT: Sebasmata. Band 1. 1983. *Band 31*. – Band 2. 1984. *Band 32*.
- KAMLAH, EHRHARD: Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament. 1964. *Band 7*.
- KIM, SEYOO: The Origin of Paul's Gospel. 1981, ²1984. *Band III/4*.
- »The ›Son of Man‹ as the Son of God. 1983. *Band 30*.
- KLEINKNECHT, KARL TH.: Der leidende Gerechtfertigte. 1984, ²1988. *Band III/13*.
- KLINGHARDT, MATTHIAS: Gesetz und Volk Gottes. 1988. *Band III/32*.
- KÖHLER, WOLF-DIETRICH: Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus. 1987. *Band II/24*.
- KORN, MANFRED: Die Geschichte Jesu in veränderter Zeit. 1993. *Band III/51*.
- KOSKENNIEMI, ERKKI: Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese. 1994. *Band III/61*.
- KUHN, KARL G.: Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim. 1950. *Band 1*.
- LAMPE, PETER: Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. 1987, ²1989. *Band III/18*.
- LIEU, SAMUEL N. C.: Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. 1992. *Band 63*.
- LÖHR, HERMUT siehe HENGEL.
- MAIER, GERHARD: Mensch und freier Wille. 1971. *Band 12*.
- Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. 1981. *Band 25*.
- MARKSCHIES, CHRISTOPH: Valentinus Gnosticus? 1992. *Band 65*.
- MARSHALL, PETER: Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians. 1987. *Band III/23*.
- MEADE, DAVID G.: Pseudonymity and Canon. 1986. *Band 39*.
- MELL, ULRICH: Die »anderen« Winzer. 1994. *Band 77*.
- MENGEL, BERTHOLD: Studien zum Philipperbrief. 1982. *Band II/8*.
- MERKEL, HELMUT: Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien. 1971. *Band 13*.
- MERKLEIN, HELMUT: Studien zu Jesus und Paulus. 1987. *Band 43*.
- METZLER, KARIN: Der griechische Begriff des Verzeihens. 1991. *Band II/44*.
- NIEBUHR, KARL-WILHELM: Gesetz und Paränese. 1987. *Band III/28*.
- Heidenapostel aus Israel. 1992. *Band 63*.
- NISSEN, ANDREAS: Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. 1974. *Band 15*.
- NOORMANN, ROLF: Irenäus als Paulusinterpret. 1994. *Band III/66*.
- OKURE, TERESA: The Johannine Approach to Mission. 1988. *Band III/31*.
- PHILONENKO, MARC (Hrsg.): Le Trône de Dieu. 1993. *Band 69*.
- PILHOFER, PETER: Presbyteron Kreiton. 1990. *Band III/39*.
- PÖHLMANN, WOLFGANG: Der Verlorene Sohn und das Haus. 1993. *Band 68*.

- PROBST, HERMANN: Paulus und der Brief. 1991. *Band II/45*.
- RÄISÄNEN, HEIKKI: Paul and the Law. 1983, ²1987. *Band 29*.
- REHKOPF, FRIEDRICH: Die lukanische Sonderquelle. 1959. *Band 5*.
- REINMUTH, ECKART: Pseudo-Philo und Lukas. 1994. *Band 74*.
– siehe HOLTZ.
- REISER, MARIUS: Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums. 1984. *Band III/11*.
- RICHARDS, E. RANDOLPH: The Secretary in the Letters of Paul. 1991. *Band III/42*.
- RIESNER, RAINER: Jesus als Lehrer. 1981, ³1988. *Band III/7*.
– Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. 1994. *Band 71*.
- RISSI, MATHIAS: Die Theologie des Hebräerbriefs. 1987. *Band 41*.
- RÖHSER, GÜNTER: Metaphorik und Personifikation der Sünde. 1987. *Band III/25*.
- ROSE, CHRISTIAN: Die Wolke der Zeugen. 1994. *Band III/60*.
- RÜGER, HANS PETER: Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza. 1991. *Band 53*.
- SALZMANN, JORG CHRISTIAN: Lehren und Ermahnen. 1994. *Band III/59*.
- SÄNGER, DIETER: Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien. 1980. *Band III/5*.
– Die Verkündigung des Gekreuzigten und Israel. 1994. *Band 75*.
- SANDNES, KARL OLAV: Paul – One of the Prophets? 1991. *Band III/43*.
- SATO, MIGAKU: Q und Prophetie. 1988. *Band II/29*.
- SCHIMANOWSKI, GOTTFRIED: Weisheit und Messias. 1985. *Band III/17*.
- SCHLICHTING, GÜNTER: Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu. 1982. *Band 24*.
- SCHNABEL, ECKHARD J.: Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul. 1985. *Band III/16*.
- SCHUTTER, WILLIAM L.: Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter. 1989. *Band III/30*.
- SCHWARTZ, DANIEL R.: Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity. 1992. *Band 60*.
- SCHWEMER, A. M.: siehe HENGEL.
- SCOTT, JAMES M.: Adoption as Sons of God. 1992. *Band III/48*.
- SIEGERT, FOLKER: Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten. Teil 1 1980. *Band 20*. – Teil 2 1992. *Band 61*.
– Nag-Hammadi-Register. 1982. *Band 26*.
– Argumentation bei Paulus. 1985. *Band 34*.
– Philon von Alexandrien. 1988. *Band 46*.
- SIMON, MARCEL: Le christianisme antique et son contexte religieux I/II. 1981. *Band 23*.
- SNODGRASS, KLYNE: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants. 1983. *Band 27*.
- SOMMER, URS: Die Passionsgeschichte des Markusevangeliums. 1993. *Band II/58*.
- SPANGENBERG, VOLKER: Herrlichkeit des Neuen Bundes. 1993. *Band II/55*.
- SPEYER, WOLFGANG: Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld. 1989. *Band 50*.
- STADELMANN, HELGE: Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. 1980. *Band II/6*.
- STROBEL, AUGUST: Die Stunde der Wahrheit. 1980. *Band 21*.
- STUCKENBRUCK, LOREN: Angel Veneration and Christology. 1994. *Band III/70*.
- STUHLMACHER, PETER (Hrsg.): Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. 1983. *Band 28*.
- SUNG, CHONG-HYON: Vergebung der Sünden. 1993. *Band III/57*.
- TAJRA, HARRY W.: The Trial of St. Paul. 1989. *Band III/35*.
– The Martyrdom of St. Paul. 1994. *Band III/67*.
- THEISSEN, GERD: Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums. 1979, ³1989. *Band 19*.
- THORNTON, CLAUS-JÜRGEN: Der Zeuge des Zeugen. 1991. *Band 56*.
- TWELFTREE, GRAHAM: Jesus the Exorcist. 1993. *Band III/54*.
- WAGENER, ULRIKE: Die Ordnung des ›Hauses Gottes‹. 1994. *Band III/65*.
- WEDDERBURN, A. J. M.: Baptism and Resurrection. 1987. *Band 44*.
- WEGNER, UWE: Der Hauptmann von Kafarnaum. 1985. *Band III/14*.
- WELCK, CHRISTIAN: Erzählte ›Zeichen‹. 1994. *Band III/69*.
- WILSON, WALTER T.: Love without Pretense. 1991. *Band III/46*.
- WOLFF, CHRISTIAN: siehe HOLTZ.
- ZIMMERMANN, ALFRED E.: Die urchristlichen Lehrer. 1984, ²1988. *Band III/12*.