
¹ Valerius Maximus 6.15.5 in the 2015 Shackleton Loeb translation. See also Cook, *CMW*, 104. A more date-appropriate source would be Herodotus, alas, Herodotus does not describe Polycrates's death scene in detail, though he mentioned Polycrates was crucified after he was killed: Herodotus 2.134.3-4, 3.125-150. Other Roman accounts confirm his death through WHIPC: "But the daughter of Polycrates had previously had a remarkable dream. She had seemed to see her father, raised aloft on an open and conspicuous spot, being laved and anointed by the hands of Jupiter and the Sun. The diviners read the dream as foretelling a rich and happy fortune. But it turned out wholly otherwise. For Polycrates, beguiled by Oroetes the Persian, was seized and crucified [*captusque in crucem sublatus est*]. And so the dream was fulfilled in his crucifixion [*Ita ei crucianti somnium expeditum...*]. Cook, *CMW*, 134, quoting M. Cornelius Fronto, *De bello Parthico*, 6 (Haines II, p. 26; van den Hout p. 208). Translation and Latin from Cook's excerpt of *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Lucius Versus, Antonius Pius, and Various Friends*, vol. 2, LCL, ed. and trans. Haines. - But this man, whose felicity always held its prosperous course full sail, was crucified [*cruci adfixit*] by king Darius' viceroy Orontes on the highest peak of the mountain Mycale.

² Herodotus used *anastauroun* (ἀνασταυροῦν), the same term the New Testament uses for the crucifixion of Jesus. Hdt. 4.103.3- "As for enemies whom they defeat, each cuts his enemy's head off and carries it away to his house, where he places it on a tall pole and stands it high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set up to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war." πολεμίους δὲ ἀνδρας, τοὺς ἂν χειρῶσωνται, ποιεύσι τάδε: ἀποταμῶν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τα οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀνα πείρας ἴστα υπέρ της οἰκίης υπερέχουσαν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ υπέρ της καπνοδόκης· Φασι δὲ τούτους φυλάκους της οἰκίης πάσης υπεραιωρέεσθαι." Samuelsson, *Crucifixion in Antiquity*, 45.

³ Apuleius, *Metamorphosis*: 2. 21. See also Gollnick, *The Religious Dreamworld of Apuleius' Metamorphoses: Recovering a Forgotten Hermeneutic*.

⁴ Pliny, *NH*, 28.46.

⁵ Šabb. 6.10; Chapman, *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions*, 182.

⁶ The gem, second to third century CE, includes an inscription and a picture of the crucified Jesus. The writing used a sequence of magical sounds repeated in other magic and curse texts. Kotansky, "The Magic 'Crucifixion Gem' in the British Museum," 632, 638.

⁷ See also Immonen and Taavitsainen, "Finger of a Saint, Thumb of a Priest."

⁸ Livy 27.51.11; Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome*, 94-95.

⁹ Image from <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/trajans-column/the-project/numbering-conventions-and-site-guide/>, University of Saint Andrews, [accessed 6 July 2017].

¹⁰ Nagy, "The Argei Puzzle," 12-15; Graf, "The Right of the Argei," 102-103.

¹¹ Macrobius wrote quite late, in the early 400s CE. No other classical authors mention the human offering. The closest parallel is from Plutarch when Jupiter asks Numa for human heads. Laing, "The Origin of the Cult of the Lares," 127-128; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.7.28-31.

¹² Herodotus used *anastauroun* (ἀνασταυροῦν), the same term the New Testament uses for the crucifixion of Jesus. Hdt. 4.103.3- "As for enemies whom they defeat, each cuts his enemy's head off and carries it away to his house, where he places it on a tall pole and stands it high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set up to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war." -perseus tufts

¹³ Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 15.

¹⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.81-115. "“Meanwhile Dawn rose and left the ocean waves: though Aeneas's sorrow urged him to spend his time on his comrades' burial, and his mind was burdened by death, as victor, at first light, he discharged his vows to the gods. He planted a great oak trunk, its branches lopped all round, on a tumulus, and decked it out as a trophy to you, great god of war, in the gleaming armour stripped from the leader, Mezentius: he fastened the crests to it, dripping with blood, the warrior's broken spears, and the battered breastplate, pierced in twelve places: he tied the bronze shield to its left side, and hung the ivory-hilted sword from its neck. Then he began to encourage his rejoicing comrades: 'We have done great things, men: banish all fear of what's left to do: these are the spoils of a proud king, the first fruits of victory, and this is Mezentius, fashioned by my hands.'"

...

"Sorrowing, he draped the youth with one of these as a last honour, and veiled that hair, which would be burned, with its cloth, and heaped up many gifts as well from the Laurentine battle and ordered the spoils to be carried in a long line: he added horses and weapons stripped from the enemy. He had the hands of those he sent as offerings to

the shades, to sprinkle the flames with blood in dying, bound behind their backs, and ordered the leaders themselves to carry tree-trunks draped with enemy weapons, with the names of the foe attached.

Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.1-99

....

"Here according to ancestral custom they each brought the bodies of their people, and as the gloomy fires were lit beneath, the high sky was veiled in a dark mist. Three times they circled the blazing piles, clad in gleaming armour, three times they rounded the mournful funeral flames on horseback, and uttered wailing cries. Tears sprinkled the earth, and sprinkled the armour, the clamour of men and blare of trumpets climbed to the heavens. Then some flung spoils, stripped from the slaughtered Latins, onto the fire, helmets and noble swords, bridles and swift wheels: others, gifts familiar to the dead, their shields and luckless weapons. Many head of cattle were sacrificed round these, to Death. They cut the throats of bristling boars, and flocks culled from the whole country, over the flames. Then they watched their comrades burn, all along the shore, and kept guard over the charred pyres, and could not tear themselves away till dew-wet night wheeled the sky round, inset with shining stars."

Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.182-224 -not keeping armor? Translated by A. S. Kline © Copyright 2002.

<https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/VirgilAeneidXI.php>

¹⁵ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14.6, 16.5-6; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 87.

¹⁶ Image from ancient Coin Search Engine; a similar coin also appears in Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 20.

¹⁷ Plato, *Republic*, 6.508a-e.

¹⁸ Examples of armor of the deceased being valued as a prize can be seen in Achilles funeral games (Homer's *Iliad*); Olympic games and other panhellenic games. -See Donald Kyle's *Sports and Spectacles*.

¹⁹ Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 126.

²⁰ Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 123. Meineck and Konstan, *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks*, 182, note 30. Woelcke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tropaions," 127-235. Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 138.

²¹ Meineck and Konstan, *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks*, 175.

²² A. B. Cook, "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak," 360-375.

²³ Hope, "Trophies and Tombstones," 80.

²⁴ Stone grave markers of fallen soldiers became characteristic in the early Empire. Hope, "Trophies and tombstones," 80, 84.

²⁵ Kinnee, 25-29, 36.

²⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.81-115. "'Meanwhile Dawn rose and left the ocean waves: though Aeneas's sorrow urged him to spend his time on his comrades' burial, and his mind was burdened by death, as victor, at first light, he discharged his vows to the gods. He planted a great oak trunk, its branches lopped all round, on a tumulus, and decked it out as a trophy to you, great god of war, in the gleaming armour stripped from the leader, Mezentius: he fastened the crests to it, dripping with blood, the warrior's broken spears, and the battered breastplate, pierced in twelve places: he tied the bronze shield to its left side, and hung the ivory-hilted sword from its neck. Then he began to encourage his rejoicing comrades: 'We have done great things, men: banish all fear of what's left to do: these are the spoils of a proud king, the first fruits of victory, and this is Mezentius, fashioned by my hands.'"

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²⁷ Kinee, *The Greek and Roman Trophy*, 46-48; 50-53.

²⁸ Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece" 123, 126. Pritchett, *The Greek State At War*, 3.246. Van Wees, *Greek Warfare*, 136-138. "The earliest reference to battlefield trophies established in immediate wake of victory come from the period around 475-465 BCE. The earliest image of a trophy comes from a vase fragment found in Boeotia at Kabirion near Thebes. The vase dates to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE." Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece" 127.

²⁹ They also took great care to clean their own armor physically and spiritually, as in the Return of Ninurta to Nibru, "Let my father therefore bring in my battle trophies and weapons for me. Let Enlil bathe my heroic arms. Let him pour holy water on the fierce arms which bore my weapons. Let him set up a holy dais in the throne room for me. Let him set my heavenly chariot upon a pedestal. Let him tether my captured warriors there like butting bulls. Let him have my captured kings make obeisance to me there, as to the light of heaven." *The Return of Ninurta to Nibru*, 152-158: translation, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section1/tr161.htm> and composite text

<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section1/c161.htm#line152>, as early as 2100 BCE or as late as the Old Babylonian period, 2000-1600 BCE. See also Rubio, "Sumerian Literature," 19, 25, 37, 42, 50-52; Hallo, "Reiew of The Return of Ninurta to Nippur," 253-257.

³⁰ Odysseus took the weaponry and warrior clothing of Dolon and dedicated it to the goddess Athena. "He spake, and the other was at point to touch his chin with his stout hand and make entreaty, but Diomedes sprang upon him with his sword and smote him full upon the neck, and shore off both the sinews, and even while he was yet speaking his head was mingled with the dust. Then from him they stripped the cap of ferret skin from off his head, and the wolf's hide, and the back-bent bow and the long spear, and these things did goodly Odysseus hold aloft in his hand to Athene, the driver of the spoil, and he made prayer, and spake, saying: 'Rejoice, goddess, in these, for on thee, first of all the immortals in Olympus, will we call; but send thou us on against the horses and the sleeping-places of the Thracian warriors.' So spake he, and lifted from him the spoils on high, and set them on a tamarisk bush, and set thereby a mark plain to see, gathering handfuls of reeds and luxuriant branches of tamarisk, lest they two might miss the place as they came back through the swift, black night." Homer, *Iliad*, 10. 460-469. Trans. Murray.

³¹ The gold plaque from the fourth to third century BCE is held at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

³² <https://www.thecultureconcept.com/scythians-warriors-of-ancient-siberia-british-museum-show>.

³³ "But the trophy -the tropaion of victory – was really only possible when a state could dedicate some of the stripped armor itself in the wake of a battle and individuals did not steal (for want of a better word) all the metal for themselves. Individuals' greed and desire was submerged beneath the state's political interest to demonstrate its own victory on the field over the neighboring state and the state's ability to redistribute and so dedicate the spoils of war itself as the community rather than as a group of aristocratic individuals. In this sense trophies fulfilled a specific political and arguably socio-economic role in the wake of the Persian Wars." Trundle, "Commemorating Victory in Classical Greece," 138. A similar idea of a trophy or icon changing the tide of war comes from Herodotus. The Spartans find, unbury, and keep the bones of Agamemnon's son, Orestes, and in turn were able to finally beat the Tegeans. Herodotus 1.67-69.

³⁴ "And on the stern [πρῶμνα] of his ship did Odysseus place the bloody spoils [ἔναρα-arms] of Dolon until they should make ready a sacred offering to Athene. But for themselves they entered the sea and washed away the abundant sweat from shins and necks and thighs. And when the wave of the sea had washed the abundant sweat from their skin, and their hearts were refreshed, they went into polished baths and bathed. But when the twain had bathed and anointed them richly with oil, they sate them down at supper, and from the full mixing-bowl they drew off honey-sweet wine and made libation to Athene." Homer, *Iliad*, 10.570-579. Trans. Murray.

³⁵ The Spartans erected an Athenian ship they had captured with their trophy.³⁵ In the Campus Martius the Romans set up Macedonian ships along with the Column of Marcus Aurelius commemorating the Marcomannic War in the second century CE, serving as battle trophies exhibited at this shore of the Tiber. Throughout the Republic, military victories brought the construction of temples to foreign deities in the Campus Martius. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 6, 261, 264, 270, 274.

³⁶ "And she took her hand by Odysseus' black ship, huge of hull, that was in the midst so that a shout could reach to either end, both to the huts of Aias, son of Telamon, and to those of Achilles; for these had drawn up their shapely ships at the furthest ends, trusting in their valour and the strength of their hands. There stood the goddess and uttered a great and terrible shout, a shrill cry of war, and in the heart of each man of the Achaeans she put great strength to war and to fight unceasingly. And to them forthwith war became sweeter than to return in their hollow ships to their dear native land." Homer, *Iliad* 11.5-14. Trans. Murray. See also *Iliad* 12.137-138; 23.795-804

³⁷ See above on Polycrates.

³⁸ *Tropaia*, on wind -an alternating wind from sea to land or a change in the spirit. See Theophrastus, *Weather Signs*, 57; Pliny *HN* 2.114.

³⁹ Merriam-Webster, “apotropaic” 2017. <https://merriam-webster.com/dictionary/apotropaic>.

⁴⁰ Pausanias, 1.33.2

⁴¹ Open source image from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portonaccio_sarcophagus.

⁴² Discussed below.

⁴³ Pausanias, 1.28.11.

⁴⁴ *Iliad*, 23.795-804.

⁴⁵ *Iliad*, 12.137-138.

⁴⁶ See Kyle’s *Sports and Spectacles* -all of the Greek chapters rave about armor.

⁴⁷ Livy 9.40

⁴⁸ Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, 195.

⁴⁹ Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 7.26-27.

⁵⁰ “He likewise chose twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and granted them the distinction of wearing the embroidered tunic and over it a bronze breastplate, and of bearing the divine shields which men call *ancilia*, while they proceeded through the City, chanting their hymns to the triple beat of their solemn dance,” Livy *Ab Urbe*, 1.20.4.

⁵¹ Judith 13-15. The Book of Judith is included in the Septuagint and Catholic Bibles, but excluded from the Jewish and Protestant canons. The oldest version of the text is from the Septuagint. The date of the original composition is highly debated.

⁵² Marcus Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 29. Hengel, *Crucifixion*, 4.

⁵³ “The army standards bear the emblem of the cross [*cruce*]. The purple robes of kings and the jewels that sparkle on their diadems are adorned with the gibbet [*patibulum*] sign that has brought to us salvation.” Jerome “*Ad Laetam de institutione filiae*,” in *Select Letters*. Trans. Wright. Loeb.

⁵⁴ Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 52; Bonfante, “Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings,” 59. Beard notes (56) Versnel’s theory that the extensive similarities between the triumphal practices and the Sacred New Year’s Festival demonstrate that the triumph evolved from Etruria’s vernal new year, citing Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin*. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 313; Rainey, “Amenhotep II’s Campaign to Takhsi,” 71-75. Both Breasted and Rainey have translated the text. Breasted’s is more literal while Rainey’s is clearer. I have used Rainey’s translation here. The Stele of Amenhotep II from Elephantine has been broken up into several sections on display across the globe. Perhaps parading spoils was merely human nature following a successful battle. Boasting transcends cultural borders. The Elephantine and Amada steles from New Kingdom Egypt likewise show a triumphal procession with boats, literal parade floats, and human WHIPC trophies.

⁵⁵ Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 226-228; Bonfante, “Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings,” 61, 63.

⁵⁶ Bonfante, “Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings,” 53. Taylor, “Watching the Skies,” 1. Quirinus was an aspect of Janus involved in starting and finishing war, not unlike the opening and closing of the Janus temple. For more details on ritual execution and exposure of prisoners via the *Scalae Germoniae*, *carcer* (jail), and Tarpeian Rock see Barry, “Exposure, Mutilation, and Riot,” and Cadoux, “The Roman Carcer and its Adjuncts.”

⁵⁷ “Those who celebrate a triumph temporarily stay the executions of the enemy’s leaders so that the people of Rome can witness the beautiful spectacle and the reward of victory when these men are paraded in the triumph. But when the wagons in the procession begin their turn from the **Forum to the Capitoline**, they order the captive leaders to be led into the Prison to their death. Thus does one same day put an end to both the command of the victorious general and the life of the defeated foe.” Cicero, *In Verrem*, 5.75-77; Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 129, 135. “Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of **Jupiter Capitolinus**, to which they come, they stood still; for it was the Romans’ tradition to stay until somebody brought the news that the general of the enemy was slain. General Simon, the son of Gioras, had been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also looped around his head, and he had been dragged into a proper place in the **Forum**, and had been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there.” Josephus, *BJ*, 7.153-5; Kyle, *Sports and Spectacles*, 331-312; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 118-119.

⁵⁸ Some debate exists over whether the executions were ritual killings or human sacrifices. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 129-131.

⁵⁹ Holliday, “Roman Triumphal Painting,” 133; Livy 9.4; Josephus, *BJ*, 7.153-155. Note also, Assyrians and Egyptians yoked prisoners too.

⁶⁰ Tacitus, *Annales*, 1.61. -, and the *patibula* which Arminius, the German leader at the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest, had used on captured Roman soldiers in 9 CE

⁶¹ ...*neque enim capere aut venundare aliudve quod belli commercium, sed caedes patibula ignes cruces, tamquam reddituri supplicium at praerepta interim ultione, festinabant.* . “For it was not on making prisoners and selling them, or on any of the barter of war, that the enemy was bent, but on slaughter, on the gibbet [*patibula*], the fire and the cross [*cruces*], like men soon about to pay the penalty, and meanwhile snatching at instant vengeance.” Tacitus, *Annales*, 14.33. Late 60s CE.

⁶² Appian, *Civil Wars*, 1.14.120.