

The Acts of Saint Cyprian of Antioch:
Critical Editions, Translations, and Commentary

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January 2017

A thesis submitted to McGill University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Ph.D.

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Abstract

The *Acts of Saint Cyprian of Antioch* consist of three principal texts, the *Conversion*, *Confession*, and *Martyrdom*, which were composed in Greek by three different authors during the latter half of the fourth century CE. Collectively they recount in first- and third-person narratives the life and deeds of a pagan magician in Syrian Antioch, his eventual conversion to Christianity, and his martyrdom under Diocletian. Eminent scholars such as Arthur Darby Nock, Friedrich Bilabel, and Howard M. Jackson once expressed their intentions to devote themselves to constructing authoritative editions of the *Acts*, but each proposal was abandoned due to insufficient manuscript evidence. This thesis presents critical editions of the Greek *Acts* based on newly discovered and previously unedited manuscript materials. The complete text of the *Confession*, in which Cyprian outlines in lurid detail his initiatory experiences in Greece, Egypt, and Chaldaea and his past crimes as a sorcerer in Syria, is reconstructed here for the first time. The Greek editions include facing-page English translations and commentary in the form of annotations. The introduction provides an overview of critical scholarship on the *Acts* and offers new proposals concerning the authorship, date, and provenance of each *Act*, their relationships to each other (composition history) and to other literatures, problems in reception history, and the Greek manuscript tradition.

Résumé

Les *Actes de Saint Cyprien d'Antioche* comprennent trois textes principaux, rédigés en grec par trois auteurs différents au cours de la deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle de notre ère: la *Conversion*, la *Confession*, et le *Martyre*. Ces récits racontent la vie d'un magicien païen d'Antioche, sa conversion au christianisme, et son martyre sous le règne de Dioclétien. Arthur Darby Nock, Friedrich Bilabel et Howard M. Jackson ont tous exprimé leurs intentions d'établir des éditions autorisées de ces *Actes*, mais chaque proposition a été abandonnée en raison de l'insuffisance des preuves manuscrites. Cette thèse offre de telles éditions critiques basées sur des manuscrits nouvellement découverts et précédemment non édités. Le texte complet de la *Confession*, dans lequel Cyprien décrit en détail ses expériences initiatiques en Grèce, Égypte et en Chaldée, ainsi que ses crimes commis en tant que sorcier en Syrie, est reconstruit ici pour la première fois. Ces éditions grecques sont traduites en anglais (en face) et fournies des commentaires sous la forme d'annotations. Mon introduction donne un aperçu des éditions critique sur les *Actes* et offre de nouvelles propositions concernant l'auteur, la date et la provenance de chaque *Acte*, leurs relations les une avec les autres ainsi que leurs relations avec d'autres œuvres, les problèmes de l'histoire de sa réception et la tradition des manuscrits grecs.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to those who offered advice and/or encouragement as I worked on this project: above all Ellen Bradshaw Aitken (†), under whose supervision this project began, and my current supervisor Ian H. Henderson; Lorenzo DiTommaso; Niels Gaul; Kimberly D. Bowes; and Phil Hart. Completion of this doctoral thesis would not have been possible without the generous support of the American Academy in Rome and the Emeline Hill Richardson Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize (2013–2014); the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Oscar Broneer Traveling Fellowship (2015–2016); and the Faculty (now School) of Religious Studies, McGill University. Special thanks are due to the curatorial staffs of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (especially Timothy Janz and András Németh); the Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes (IRHT), la Section grecque (especially André Binggeli, Marie Cronier, and Matthieu Cassin); the Bodleian Library; the Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame; and the Vatican Film Library. I would also like to thank those who kindly offered me assistance with some of the versions the *Acts*, especially Reyhan Durmaz for help with the Syriac translation and Harvey Goldblatt for help with the Old Church Slavonic. Finally, my undying thanks to my family and friends for their love and support.

Abbreviations

AARG	Arbeiten zur antiken Religionsgeschichte
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse
ACS	American Classical Studies
<i>Aeg</i>	<i>Aegyptus</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>Ancient World</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1885–1887. 10 vols. Repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994
<i>AnnEpig</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
APAW	Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
<i>ASNSL</i>	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</i>
BADG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999
BAlt	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BAO	Beihefte zum Alten Orient
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BEHE-SHP	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> . 3rd ed. 3 vols. Edited by F. Halkin. Brussels, 1957
BICSSup	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BSGRT	Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum teubneriana
<i>Byz</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CCCA	<i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> . 7 vols. Edited by M.J. Vermaseren. EPRO 50. Leiden, 1977–1989
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum: Series apocryphorum
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series graeca

<i>CIMRM</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithraicae</i> . 2 vols. Edited by M.J. Vermaseren. The Hague, 1956–1960
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CNV</i>	<i>Classical Views and News</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CPCP</i>	<i>University of California Publications in Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres</i>
<i>CSCP</i>	Cornell Studies in Classical Philology
<i>DKAW</i>	Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>EPRO</i>	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
<i>FGH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 3 vols. Edited by F. Jacoby. Leiden, 1923–1958
<i>GCS</i>	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>GLRBP</i>	<i>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100)</i> . Edited by E.A. Sophocles. New York, 1900
<i>GR</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HZAG</i>	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i>
<i>Iapameia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai</i> . Edited by T. Corsten. Bonn, 1987
<i>Iaph2007</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias (2007)</i> . Edited by J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and G. Bodard. Available at < http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 >.
<i>IByz</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion</i> . Edited by A. Łajtar. Bonn, 2000
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> . Editio minor. Berlin, 1924–
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCTCRS</i>	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

<i>LBG</i>	<i>Lexikon der byzantinischen Gräzität, besonder des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts.</i> 2 vols. Edited by E. Trapp. Wien, 1994–
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, H.G., R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua</i> . 10 vols. Edited by W.M. Calder et al. Manchester and London, 1928–1993
<i>MAPS</i>	Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society
<i>MBCBSup</i>	Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplement
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité</i>
<i>Milet</i>	<i>Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899</i> . Edited by T. Wiegand. Berlin, 1906
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NGWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse</i>
<i>NHMS</i>	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
<i>NHS</i>	Nag Hammadi Studies
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> . Edited by Philip Schaff. 1886–1889. 14 vols. Repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i>
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> . Edited by G.P.W. Glare. Oxford, 1982
<i>PA</i>	<i>Philosophia antiqua</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PGL</i>	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Edited by G.W.H. Lampe. Oxford, 1961
<i>PHCAM</i>	Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus
<i>Phil</i>	<i>Philologus</i>
<i>PLO</i>	<i>Porta linguarum orientalium</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> . 3 vols. Edited by A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. Cambridge, 1971–1992
<i>PTMS</i>	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
<i>PTS</i>	Patristische Texte und Studien
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Edited by T. Kluser et al. Stuttgart, 1950–
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . 68 vols. Edited by A.F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa. Stuttgart, 1893–1972
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustinienes</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>RevPhil</i>	<i>Revue de philologie</i>
<i>RGRW</i>	Religions of the Graeco-Roman World
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>

<i>RHLR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RSC</i>	<i>Rivista di studi classici</i>
<i>RTP</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philologisch-historische Klasse
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1943–
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . Edited by W. Dittenberger. 4 vols. 3d ed. Leipzig, 1915–1924
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SkrAth	Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae osloenses</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
SWH	Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus
<i>TAMV</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris: V. Tituli Lydiae, linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> . 3 vols. Edited by P. Hermann (Fasc. 1–2) and G. Petzl (Fasc. 3). Vienna, 1981–1989, 2007
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
<i>TGF</i>	<i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta</i> . 5 vols. Edited by B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt. Göttingen, 1971–2004
<i>TGL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Graecae linguae</i> . 8 vols. Edited by B. Hase, G. Dindorf, and L. Dindorf. Paris, 1831–1865.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae christianae Supplement
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

ACT 1

THE *CONVERSION OF SAINTS CYPRIAN AND JUSTA*

The third-person narrative known conventionally as the *Conversion* begins with the story of the conversion of Justa, a young maiden born to pagan parents, Aedesius and Cledonia. From her window she listens to the sermons of a deacon named Praëlius and desires to meet him face to face. Her parents disapprove of her newfound fascination with the Galilean religion but soon change their minds after an angelic host comes to visit them one night while they sleep. The next morning Aedesius, Cledonia, and Justa go with Praëlius to see the bishop Optatus and receive baptism. A rich young man named Aglaïdas spots Justa as she begins to frequent the local house of the Lord and falls desperately in love her. When Justa refuses each of his marriage proposals, Aglaïdas attempts to take her by force on a public street, but she repels the assault with the sign of the cross and beats her assailant senseless. Enraged, Aglaïdas approaches Cyprian the magician and pays him two talents of gold to procure her for him with demonic magic. The demon Cyprian summons directs him to sprinkle a magic potion around the virgin's home, but when the demon shows up Justa quickly senses its presence, offers a prayer to God, and seals herself with the sign of the cross. The demon flees immediately and reappears before Cyprian, but it refuses to identify the sign by which it was conquered. Undeterred, Cyprian summons a stronger demon, but the end result is the same. Now growing impatient, Cyprian summons an even stronger demon, the father of demons, and tries to abduct Justa for the third and final time. The father of demons first agitates Justa with diverse fevers for six days and then arrives at her doorstep in the form of a virgin. When the demon in disguise is too eager for Justa to exit her door, she recognizes her tempter's true identity and dispels the demon with an exorcistic puff. The father of demons reappears before Cyprian and induces him to swear an oath of allegiance before revealing to him the sign of Christ crucified. But Cyprian breaks his oath, spits upon the demon, and seals himself with the sign of the cross, causing the demon to abscond in disgrace. Cyprian approaches the bishop Anthimus and informs him of his desire to convert. At first Anthimus believes the magician is playing a trick on him, but when Cyprian tells him about his failed

attempt to seduce Justa with magic, the bishop first burns his books of magic and then welcomes him among the catechumens. Cyprian works his way up the ecclesiastical hierarchy and eventually becomes bishop of Antioch.

1.1. Author, Date, and Provenance

Theodor Zahn first suggested that the author of the *Conversion* derived some of the names of his characters from literary and historical antecedents, namely (1) Justa's father Αἰδέσιος (1.2; 2.1, 3, 5) from the Neoplatonic philosopher Aedesius of Cappadocia (d. ca. 355), who moved to Syria to study under Iamblichus of Chalcis and later founded his own school in Pergamum, where he became tutor to Julian the Apostate¹; (2) bishop Ὀπτᾶτος (2.3) from the bishop Optatus (ca. 203?) mentioned in the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas*, one of a very few of Cyprian's predecessors in the bishopric of Carthage known by name²; and (3) bishop Ἀνθίμος (11.2; 13.11, 12), the successor to Ὀπτᾶτος, from bishop Anthimus of Nicomedia, who was beheaded under Diocletian during the Great Persecution in the year 303.³ Richard Reitzenstein accepted each of Zahn's proposals concerning the names Αἰδέσιος, Ὀπτᾶτος, and Ἀνθίμος, and on the basis of these derivations wondered from where else the name Κυπριανός could come if not from the historical bishop of Carthage (ca. 200–258).⁴ Not long thereafter, in a short addendum to his more comprehensive study, Reitzenstein suggested, taking his cue from Karl Mengis' investigation into the "rhetoric of names" in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, that the author of the *Conversion* derived all of the names of his characters from literary precursors, Κυπριανός included.⁵ Nevertheless, Reitzenstein

¹ T. Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1882), 104–5; cf. Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.* 6.1.1–6 [461], 6.4.1–7 [464–465].

² Zahn, *Cyprian*, 84–85, 107; cf. *Passio S. Perpetuae* 13 [56–59 Harris-Gifford]; G.W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage* (4 vols.; Ancient Christian Writers, The Works of the Fathers in Translation 43–44, 46–47; New York: Newman Press, 1984–1989), 1:158. As for the suggestion that Optatus was not a bishop of Carthage but rather a bishop of Satorius' small town Thuburbo Minus, see J.N. Bremmer's sensible counter-argument in "The Vision of Satorius in the *Passio Perpetuae*," in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (ed. F. García Martínez and G.P. Luttikhuisen; JSJSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 66.

³ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 107 n. 2; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.6.6.

⁴ R. Reitzenstein, "Cyprian der Magier," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1917): 48

⁵ R. Reitzenstein, "Zu Cyprian der Magier," *AR* 20 (1920–1921): 237, referencing K. Mengis, *Die schriftstellerische Technik im Sophistenmahl des Athenaios* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1920). H. Delehaye's famous study "Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage," *AnBoll* 39 (1921): 314–32 was heavily influenced by Reitzenstein's original 1917 essay (see the preceding note), and Delehaye arrives at a very similar conclusion (p. 323).

refrained from commenting on the onomastic origins of Ἰοῦστα/Ἰουστῖνα, Κληδόνια, Πραῦλιος, Ἀγλαΐδας, and Ἀστέριος.

As for the author's choice of names, the Greek novels afford much more appropriate models for comparison, since it is virtually assured that all of the names of the *Conversion*'s characters are not based on literary or historical precursors as Reitzenstein claimed. Tomas Hägg, in his study on the naming of characters in the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesus, offers a useful typology of names in Greek novels: (a) *significant names*, i.e., a name with an easily discernable etymology that has an obvious bearing on a character's moral qualities, outward appearance, or role in the action; (b) *literary names*, i.e., a name that derives from and intentionally alludes to some precursor in mythology, history, or literature; and (c) *realistic names*, i.e., a common or uncommon name from the author's own era that may indicate a character's geographical region, ethnic origin, or social status.⁶

The names of Justa's mother, Κληδόνια (1.2), and the rich young man, Ἀγλαΐδας (3.2), are good examples of *significant names*. Κληδόνια (or "Divinatrix") does not play much of a role in the *Conversion*, but the name has an easily discernable etymological significance (from the adjective κληδόνιος, "giving an omen") and one that is especially appropriate for a Neoplatonic philosopher's wife who is herself "engulfed in the subtleties of blind philosophy" (1.5).⁷ Likely the author modelled Αἰδέσιος and Κληδόνια on Neoplatonic "power couples" like Eustathius of Cappadocia, another of Iamblichus' pupils, and his wife Sosipatra, who was renowned for her oracular abilities.⁸ The name Ἀγλαΐδας seems to belong to the same category, although the name was also quite common in Asia Minor and could be a *realistic name*.⁹ Ἀγλαΐδας derives from the adjective ἀγλός (of men, "beautiful, famous, noble"), but its etymological significance is perhaps closer in meaning to the negative connotations of the cognate ἀγλαΐα ("pomp, show, vanity"). Aglaïdas is an "extremely rich" σχολαστικός "of noble birth" (εὐγενεῖ τῷ γένει) and has

⁶ T. Hägg, "The Naming of the Characters in the Romance of Xenophon Ephesius," *Eranos* 69 (1971): 35.

⁷ Cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 107.

⁸ See esp. Eunapius' account of Aedesius' dream oracle at *Vit. Soph.* 6.4.1–7 [464–465]; see further note 3 to the translation.

⁹ Greek manuscripts of the *Conversion* attest several different spellings, e.g., Ἀγλαΐδας, Ἀγλαΐδης, Ἀγλαΐδος, and Ἀγλαΐος, and several manuscripts alternate between different spellings. Zahn's description of the name Aglaïdas as a "beispielloser Mannsname" seems to be accurate (*Cyprian*, 108–9), but not with respect to late antiquity. For epigraphic evidence for the spelling Ἀγλαΐδας, see, e.g., *IG IX.1*² 1.17.6 (Melitaia, B.C. 263) and *IByz* 219 (Byzantion, saec. II–I B.C.), and for the spelling Ἀγλαΐδης, see, e.g., *IG XII.5* 609 V.266 and V.295 (Ioulis, saec. IV–III B.C.), *IG XII.8* 288.25 (Thasos, B.C. 285–275) and 291.28 (Thasos, saec. III B.C.).

gained a reputation for being “a public menace in his ways of life” (3.7). The names of the two Christian deacons, Πραῦλιος (1.3, 6; 2.3) and Ἀστέριος (13.2, 6), both of which were common in Asia Minor in late antiquity, are probably *realistic names*.¹⁰

The name Ἰούστα (tit.; 1.2; 11.3; 13.13), from *justus* (“just, fair, lawful”), appears only in manuscripts of recension C.¹¹ Although most scholars are in agreement that the name Ἰούστα is original and Ἰουστῖνα secondary, none seem to have noticed that the phrase ὠνόμασέ τε αὐτὴν Ἰουστῖναν in 13.13, where Cyprian as the newly appointed bishop of Antioch promotes Justa and changes her name to Ἰουστῖνα, appears only in manuscripts in which Justa is consistently named Ἰουστῖνα, i.e., only in recensions A and B. It is difficult to determine whether the phrase was omitted inadvertently (possibly by homoeoteleuton) or added later when the *Conversion* joined the *Confession* and *Martyrdom* in the manuscript tradition. The author of the *Confession*, for example, consistently uses the name Ἰουστῖνα and never Ἰούστα,¹² but the name Ἰούστα appears sporadically in some Greek manuscripts of the *Martyrdom* (see § 3.4). It is notable that in the Syriac translation of the *Acts*, which lacks the *Confession*, the name Justa is used throughout both the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom*, and the phrases ὠνόμασέ τε αὐτὴν Ἰουστῖναν and μητέρα τε αὐτὴν τοῦ ἀσκητηρίου ἐποίησε (both of which are lacking in manuscript Y of recension C) are nowhere to be found. Thus, Justa’s name change in 13.13 and the name Ἰουστῖνα in the *Martyrdom* may both represent

¹⁰ Zahn correctly notes that Asterius “ist ein im 4. Jahrhundert häufig vorkommender Name,” but concerning Praylius he merely mentions that it was the name of the bishop of Jerusalem in the year 417 (*Cyprian*, 107). For epigraphic evidence for the name Πραῦλιος, see *IEph* 3321 (Thyairia, saec. III); *TAM* V.1 757 (Iulia Gordos, saec. III–IV); *TAM* V.2 1331 (Lasnedda, saec. III–IV); *TAM* V.3 1184 (Philadelphia, A.D. 530), 1785b (Philadelphia, saec. III–IV), and 1882 (M-kome, A.D. 515); *Iaph* 2007 11.55b (Aphrodisias, saec. V–VI), and esp. *Iaph* 2007 15.334 (Aphrodisias, saec. III–IV), where a Praylius and an Asterius are mentioned together, and *Milet* VI.2 983 (Miletos, saec. V–VI), where Praylius is the name of a presbyter. For epigraphic evidence for the name Ἀστέριος, see, e.g., *Apameia* 31B (Myrleia-Apameia, saec. III–IV), *MAMA* III 200 (Korykos, saec. III–IV), *Iaph* 2007 1.19i (Aphrodisias, saec. V–VI), and esp. *TAM* V.1 643 (Daldis, saec. IV), which mentions “Asterius the most pious deacon” (the inscription is quoted in note 58 to the translation).

¹¹ The one notable exception occurs at 11.3, where manuscript V of recension B reads Ἰούστη (104.II.9 Radermacher), and at this same place, oddly enough, manuscript Z of recension C reads Ἰουστῖνη. The name Ἰούστα is also used in manuscript Δ at 1.2 (Ἰούστα prout rec. C), 1.6 (ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν recc. ABC : ἡ δὲ Ἰούστα λέγει πρὸς τὴν μητέρα Δ), and 2.3 (τὴν παρθένον recc. ABC : τὴν αὐτῶν θυγατέρα Ἰούσταν Δ), but not consistently, e.g., at 11.3 manuscript Δ also reads Ἰουστῖνη.

¹² The sole exception is the title in manuscript S, but this title (πρᾶξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰούστης) must have been taken over from the title of the *Conversion* in the scribe’s exemplar (see § 2.4). In Eudocia’s hexameter poem *Conf.* 8.2’s ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνω ἐκ τῆς παρθένου Ἰουστίνης τοὺς δαίμονας becomes κούρης ἀγίης γὰρ / ἔγνω παρθενικῆς ἀπὸ σεπτοτάτης κεν Ἰούστης / δαίμονας (*De S. Cyp.* 2.278–280), but Ἰούστης was necessary to preserve the meter in line 279 and surely did not come from her exemplar, and the same may be said of the appearance of the name Ἰούστα in her reworking of the devil’s oracle at *Conf.* 10.10 with the lines μὴ πρὶν λωφῆσιν κότον ἄσχετον, ἄχρις Ἰούστην / ἐς λῆχος Ἀγλαΐδης ἀγάγοι τάχος, ἢ θέμις ἐστίν (*De S. Cyp.* 2.395–396).

subsequent redactions made after the three *Acts* had begun to circulate as a group in the manuscript tradition, but if such a stage of redaction ever took place, it must have been at a very early period in the manuscript tradition, because Eudocia's exemplar, from which she composed her metaphrasis in epic hexameters in the middle of the fifth century, clearly had both of the clauses missing from manuscript Y of recension C and from the Syriac version and, presumably, used the name Ἰουστῖνα throughout the text of the *Martyrdom*.¹³ And so it is equally possible that the Syriac translator changed the name Justina in the *Martyrdom* to Justa for the sake of consistency.

At any rate, the name Ἰοῦστα, which was relatively common in Palestine and Asia Minor,¹⁴ could well be a *literary name*, especially given the fact that her conversion story was unquestionably modelled on the conversion of Thecla (see § 1.2). In Syrian tradition, namely in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*,¹⁵ the Syro-Phoenician woman from Mark 7:25–30 bore the name Ἰοῦστα:

There is amongst us one Justa, a Syro-Phoenician, by race a Canaanite, whose daughter was oppressed with a grievous disease. And she came to our Lord, crying out, and entreating that he would heal her daughter. But he, being asked also by us, said, "It is not lawful to heal the Gentiles, who are like to dogs on account of their using various meats and practices, while the table in the kingdom has been given to the sons of Israel." But she, hearing this, and begging to partake like a dog of the crumbs that fall from this table, having changed what she was, by living like the sons of the kingdom, she obtained healing for her daughter, as she asked. For she being a Gentile, and remaining in the same course of life, he would not have healed had she remained

¹³ Eudocia renders the two phrases as follows: οὐ δ' ἔτι μιν καλέεσκεν Ἰούσταν, ἀλλ' ὀνόμηνεν / Ἰουστῖναν ἄμωμον· ὄλων δέ τε μητέρα θῆκε / κουράων ἀταλῶν, Χριστοῦ μεγάλου θεραπαινῶν (*De S. Cypr.* 1.317–319). Although Eudocia's reworking of the *Martyrdom* has not survived, in his summary of Eudocia's poetic rendition of the third *Act* Photius uses the name Ἰουστῖνα (*Bibliotheca*, "codex" 184); see R. Henry, *Photius: Bibliothèque* (9 vols.; Collection byzantine; Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles lettres, 1959–1991), 2:198.13 (Ἰουστῖνης). But this is not very meaningful since Photius uses Ἰουστῖνα in his summary of Eudocia's rendition of the first *Act* (2:196.36–37 Henry), in which she frequently uses the name Ἰοῦστα (see *De S. Cypr.* 1.9*, 61*, 166, 317). However, to judge from Eudocia's use of the name Ἰοῦστα in the *Confession* (see the preceding note), it is likely that she followed the same practice in the *Martyrdom* and used Ἰοῦστα occasionally and only to preserve meter.

¹⁴ See, e.g., T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part II. Palestine 200–650* (TSAJ 148; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 303–4 s.v. *Justa*; cf. *IEph* 47.21 and 3072.15 (Ephesus, saec. II); H. Delehay, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," *AnBoll* 31 (1912): 198, 208 (Beroe, A.D. 320–324); *IG XIV* 826.23 (Neapolis, saec. III–IV); A. Dumont and T. Homolle, "Inscriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1892), 365 no. 62^{ai} (Byzie, saec. III–IV); *CJI* I 583 (Venusia, saec. V).

¹⁵ The Syrian provenance of the *Pseudo-Clementines* has long been firmly established; see, e.g., G. Uhlhor, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus nach ihren Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt* (Göttingen: Dieterische Buchhandlung, 1854), 381–429; C. Bigg, "The Clementine Homilies," *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica* 2 (1890): 191–92; J.N. Bremmer, "Pseudo-Clementines: Texts, Dates, Places, Authors and Magic," in *The Pseudo-Clementines I: Homilies* (ed. J.N. Bremmer; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 1–23.

a Gentile, on account of its not being lawful to heal her as a Gentile. (*Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 2.19, *ANF* 8:232)

The speaker, Peter, is explaining to Clement where he should go to seek out accurate information about Simon Magus. After her conversion, Justa divorced her husband and took up “a manner of life according to the law,” refusing to remarry (cf. *Matt* 5:32; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.7.10). She lived alone with her daughter (who is named Bernice at *Hom.* 3.73) and two adopted sons, Aquila and Nicetas, who were the childhood schoolmates of Simon Magus (*Hom.* 2.20) and later became his followers, until they encountered Peter’s disciple Zacchaeus and repented (*Hom.* 2.21). Justa’s two adopted sons Aquila and Nicetas are Clement’s primary sources of information concerning the doctrines of the Samaritan magician (*Hom.* 2.22–32). It may not be a matter of sheer coincidence that the stories of both Justas have to do with conversion, celibacy, and magic.¹⁶

Even though all of the names in the *Conversion* are not *literary names*, Reitzenstein’s conclusion that the name Κυπριανός derives from the name of the celebrated bishop of Carthage is unavoidable, and Hippolyte Delehaye, independently of Reitzenstein’s addendum, arrived at the very same conclusion.¹⁷ Already Zahn pointed to elements in the *Conversion* that seemed suggestive of the Carthaginian bishop, e.g., the fact that the historical bishop of Carthage and the legendary magician/bishop of Antioch share a common ecclesiastical predecessor in bishop Optatus/Ὀπτατός.¹⁸ Moreover, the onomastic origin of Κυπριανός seems not to have been lost on the authors of the subsequent *Acts*, in which the Carthaginian veneer of Cyprian of Antioch is equally visible.¹⁹ For example, in the *Confession* the general outline of Cyprian of Antioch’s life darkly mirrors that of Cyprian of Carthage: both are born to pagan parents, both convert rather late in life at around forty years of age, and both are prone to visionary experiences. In the *Martyrdom*, the connection to Cyprian of Carthage is perhaps even stronger: Cyprian is portrayed as a prolific author of letters that cause a stir throughout the whole Roman Empire, which leads to his

¹⁶ Zahn (*Cyprian*, 108 n. 1) merely notes the occurrence of the name Ἰουστὰ at *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 2.19 and 3.73, without further comment. Delehaye does not comment on the name Justa and says only, “Nous ne savons où a été pris le nom de Justine” (“Cyprien,” 323).

¹⁷ Delehaye, “Cyprien,” 322–23.

¹⁸ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 84–85.

¹⁹ Zahn’s contention that a redactor of the *Conversion* authored the *Martyrdom*, a hypothesis made on the basis of a single manuscript, BnF gr. 1468, is addressed elsewhere (see § 3.1).

martyrdom by decapitation. Consequently, Delehay's claim that *only* Cyprian's name was borrowed is not entirely accurate, but his assertion that "it would not be exactly right to say that Cyprian of Carthage is the hero of the story of Cyprian the magician" still rings true.²⁰

The literary leap from historical figure to fictional character required little more than a name and a vivid imagination. The *Martyrdom of Saint George* is peppered with *literary names* derived from historical persons active in the fourth century CE: the Persian king Δαδιανός from Datianus (fl. 337–365), the wealthy politician who owned various properties in Antioch, served as consul in 358, and enjoyed a correspondence with Libanius²¹; the magician Ἀθανάσιος from Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria (from 328 to 373, with intermittent breaks) who combatted Arianism and was formally charged with practicing sorcery²²; the governor Μαγνέντιος from Magnentius, the commander who usurped Constans as emperor in the West in 350 and ruled from Gaul until 353²³; the general Ἀνατόλιος from Anatolius, Julian's *magister officiorum* from 360 to 363.²⁴ It is hard to imagine that the soldier-saint Γεώργιος, who is said to come from Cappadocia, could have any other namesake than George of Cappadocia (or Cilicia, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 22.11.3), the Arian intruder who showed up in Alexandria under the escort of soldiers²⁵ and replaced Athanasius as bishop of Alexandria from 356 to 361.²⁶ Already the historian Edward Gibbon noticed the not-so-subtle allusion and maintained that "through a cloud of fiction, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained, in the presence of Queen *Alexandria*, against the *magician Athanasius*."²⁷ Nevertheless, the quest for an "historical core,"

²⁰ "Il ne serait donc pas exact de dire que Cyprien de Carthage est le héros de l'histoire de Cyprien le mage. Il n'a fait que prêter son nom" (Delehay, "Cyprien," 323).

²¹ See *PLRE* 1:243 s.v. Datianus 1; K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), 93.

²² See Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography*, 93; cf. note 32 below.

²³ See *PLRE* 1:532 s.v. Fl. Magnus Magnentius; Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography*, 93.

²⁴ See *PLRE* 1:61 s.v. Anatolius 5; Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography*, 93.

²⁵ So Athanasius, *Fug.* 6: "After this [the Arians] again fastened themselves upon Alexandria, seeking anew to put us to death: and their proceedings were now worse than before. For on a sudden the church was surrounded by soldiers, and sounds of war took the place of prayers. Then George of Cappadocia who was sent by them, having arrived during the season of Lent, brought an increase of evils which they had taught him" (*NPNF* 4:256–57).

²⁶ See esp. D. Woods, "The Origin of the Cult of St George," in *The Great Persecution: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference, Maynooth, 2003* (ed. V. Twomey and M. Humphries; Irish Theological Quarterly Monograph Series 4; Dublin: Four Courts, 2009), 141–58; Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography*, 93–94.

²⁷ E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (rev. ed. H.H. Milman; 8 vols.; Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1840), 3:125 n. 124 (ch. XXIII).

never mind for an “historical George,” in the fictional hagiography remains a futile enterprise,²⁸ and the same is true of the legend of Cyprian of Antioch.

The choice of the name Cyprian for the magician-saint of the *Conversion* is as meaningful (or meaningless) as the choice of the name George for the soldier-saint of the *Martyrdom of Saint George*. One can only hazard a guess at what prompted the author to choose the name Κυπριανός. Some possible contributing factors would include not only the general outline of the Carthaginian’s biography, most notably the fact that Cyprian had been born and raised a pagan and did not convert until he was in his mid-forties, but also his predisposition to admonitory dreams and visions and his self-professed abilities as a clairvoyant.²⁹ For example, Cyprian of Carthage once describes his escape from the persecutions of Decius as the intended consequence of divine monition (cf. *Ep.* 16.4.1).³⁰ In the latter half of the fourth century in particular a bishop’s reputed or professed psychic abilities could very easily become grounds for accusations of magic from theological opponents. For example, according to Sozomen it was divine monition that enabled Athanasius of Alexandria to escape, at least temporarily, the machinations of Constantius II, but he admits that both pagans and heterodox Christians alike attributed his successes in avoiding such perils to expertise in sorcery (*Hist. eccl.* 4.10.5), which Ammianus Marcellinus confirms (*Res gest.* 15.7.8).³¹ Athanasius had successfully defended himself against the Arians’ obviously trumped-

²⁸ See, e.g., H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris: Picard, 1909), 45–76; for criticisms of this approach, see C. Walter, “The Origins of the Cult of Saint George,” *REB* 53 (1995): 295–326.

²⁹ See further A. von Harnack, “Cyprian als Enthusiast,” *ZNW* 3 (1902): 177–91; A. d’Alès, “Le mysticisme de Saint Cyprien,” *Revue d’ascétique et de la mystique* 2 (1921): 256–68; O. Perler, “L’évêque, représentant du Christ selon les documents des premiers siècles: L’Épiscopat et l’Église universelle,” *Unam Sanctam* 39 (1962): 49–53; cf. G.W. Clarke, “The Epistles of Cyprian,” in *Auckland Classical Essays Presented to E.M. Blaiklock* (ed. B.F. Harris; Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1970), 219–21.

³⁰ *praeter nocturnas uisiones per dies quoque impletur apud nos spiritu sancto puerorum innocens aetas, quae in ecstasi uidet oculis et audit et loquitur ea quibus nos Dominus monere et instruere dignatur. et audietis omnia quando me ad uos reducem fecerit Dominus, qui ut secederem iussit* (3.1:520.6–10 Hartel); cf. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian*, 1:20, 288 n. 27. Cyprian often relied upon occult phenomena like signs, omens, revelations, dreams, visions, and visitations (see, e.g., *Epp.* 7.1; 11.3; 15.3.2; 16.4.1; 39.1.2; 40.1.1), and this reliance inevitably left him open to attacks like those levelled by Florentius Puppianus (*Ep.* 60.10); see Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian*, 3:218; see further J. Hanson, “Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity,” *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980): 1396–1427.

³¹ Both Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 4.10.5) and Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res gest.* 15.7.8) report that Athanasius was known to be a skilled ornithomancer. Sozomen provides the more detailed account of Athanasius’ reputed abilities: “It is reported, that once, as he was passing through the city, a crow was heard to caw, and that a number of pagans who happened to be on the spot, asked him in derision what the crow was saying. He replied, smiling, ‘It utters the sound *cras*, the meaning of which in the Latin language is, “tomorrow” and it has hereby announced to you that the morrow will not be propitious to you; for it indicates that you will be forbidden by the Roman emperor to celebrate your festival tomorrow.’ Although this prediction of Athanasius appeared to be absurd, it was fulfilled” (*NPNF* 2:306).

up charges, namely that he practiced some form of necromancy by means of the severed arm (βραχίον, so Sozomen) or severed hand (χείρ, so Socrates) of the allegedly murdered Melitian bishop Arsenius and that he raped a woman after seducing her with gifts, but the Arians learned a valuable lesson from their botched attempt to convict him using courtroom antics (e.g., they submitted an actual severed arm to the court as evidence but were taken by surprise when Arsenius showed up not only alive but with both of his arms) and based their renewed charges of sorcery on firmer ground, i.e., on Athanasius' reputation as a clairvoyant.³² Accusations of magical practice were a frequently-used means of eliminating one's theological rivals,³³ and the Arians and Semi-Arians seem to have been particularly fond of this tactic, having successfully deposed the bishop Paulinus at the Council of Serdica in 343 on grounds that he, too, practiced magic.³⁴ Such theological polemics and disputations were obviously of no concern to the author of the *Conversion*, but Cyprian's reliance on visionary dreams and divine prognostications could have contributed to the author's choice of the name Κυπριανός for his fictional magician-cum-bishop. In reality, Cyprian of Carthage was a much a "magician" as George of Cappadocia was a "soldier."

Cyprian of Carthage was not a well-known ecclesiastical figure in East, but the collection of his letters had entered into circulation in the eastern provinces around the middle of the fourth century, at least two decades before the *Conversion* had been composed. Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339/340) remarks briefly on the arrival of Cyprian's Latin epistles in Antioch (*Hist. eccl.* 6.43; cf. 7.3), and Augustine (354–430) was apparently aware of various translations, noting that by his day the Carthaginian's letters had travelled *ad alia loca per alienas linguas* (*Serm.* 310.4). More significantly, both Basil of Caesarea (d. 379) and Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390), neither of whom knew Latin, show familiarity with some of Cyprian's writings. Rufinus of Aquileia reported that toward the end of the fourth century the Pneumatomachians (Semi-Arians or Macedonians) began circulating throughout Constantinople a "special edition" of the

³² See Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 2.25; 4.10; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.27–35. The alleged rape is reported only by Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 2.25.8); cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 15.7.7–10. On the various charges of magic brought against Athanasius, see G. Marasco, "Pagani e cristiani di fronte alle arti magiche nel IV secolo d.C.: Il caso di Atanasio," *Quaderni Catanesi di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 3 (1995): 111–24; M. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2003), 265–66.

³³ See further, e.g., D. Liebs, "Strafprozesse wegen Zauberei: Magie und politisches Kalkül in der römischen Geschichte," in *Grosse Prozesse der römischen Antike* (ed. A. Manthe and J. von Ungern-Sternberg; Munich: Beck, 1997), 146–58; A. Acerbi, "Acusaciones de magia contra obispos: El caso de Sofronio de Tella," in *Profecía, magia y adivinación en las religiones antiguas* (ed. R. Teja; Aguilar de Campo 2001), 131–42; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, 264–71.

³⁴ See Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, 266–67.

collection of Cyprian's epistles, into which they surreptitiously inserted a treatise by Tertullian on the Trinity and which they produced in bulk and sold on the cheap, "in order that people, attracted by the smallness of the price, might the more readily buy their unknown and latent snares, that by this means the heretic might be able to gain belief for their misbelief from the authority of so great a man" (*De adulteratione librorum Origenis* 12). Jerome had knowledge of the same letter collection and corrected Rufinus' misattribution of the interpolated treatise to Tertullian, which he claimed, and no doubt rightly, to be Novatian's *De Trinitate* (*Ruf.* 2.19). Although neither Rufinus nor Jerome say whether the collection had circulated in Greek translation, this is often assumed to be the case, and no doubt the Greek version of the letter collection predated the Pneumatomachian edition.³⁵

Zahn and Reitzenstein each posited the existence of lost sources, Zahn a lost primitive version of the legend and Reitzenstein a lost biography, in order to explain simultaneously (a) the discrepancies between the narratives of the *Conversion* and *Confession*, (b) the uncertainty surrounding which of the three *Acts* were known to Prudentius and Gregory of Nazianzus,³⁶ and (c) how the historical bishop of Carthage came to be confused with a legendary magician of Antioch. Zahn thought that Gregory could not have known the *Conversion* in its present form because it concludes with Cyprian's ascension to the bishopric of Antioch and, as a result, he proposed that Gregory knew a primitive version resembling the *Confession*, but with a lost introduction in which the figure of Cyprian of Carthage had been confused

³⁵ See further H. von Soden, *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung: Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Überlieferung* (TUGAL, Neue Folge, 10; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1904), 181–82; G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne* (Études de théologie historique; Paris: Beauchesne, 1948), 131–38; E. Dekkers, "Les traductions grecques des écrits patristiques latins," *Sacris erudiri* 5 (1953): 197–99; E.A. Fisher, "Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the Fourth Century A.D.," *YCS* 28 (1982): 210–11; J.D. North, "Did Athanasius (Letter 49, to Dracontius) Know and Correct Cyprian (Letter 5, Hartel)?" in *StPat* 17.3 (1982): 1024–29; Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian*, 1:11 and 122 n. 46; C. Sogno, B.K. Storin, and E.J. Watts, *Late Antique Letter Collections: A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 27–29. A few Greek fragments from two letters and from Cyprian's treatise *On Works and Alms* still survive: (1) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 5.40, ff. 136v–143v, saec. XIV (*Epistula ad Fidomen*); (2) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 45, f. 89v (fr.), saec. XIV–XV (*De opere et eleemosynis*); (3) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 115, f. 215v (fr.), saec. XVI (*Epistula ad Iouianum*).

³⁶ The repeated claims that Macarius Magnes also knew Cyprian of Carthage as a wonder-worker or thaumaturge, that this is representative of the eastern reception of Cyprian in the latter half of the fourth century, and that this reception is also due to conflation with Cyprian of Antioch are not convincing (see, e.g., Zahn, *Cyprian*, 94–95; cf. Reitzenstein, 48 and n. 2). After reporting on certain weather miracles attributed to Polycarp, Macarius asks the rhetorical question, τί γάρ σοι μέλλω φράζειν Εἰρηναίου τοῦ Λουγδουνησίου τὰ ἀνδραγαθήματα ἢ Φαβιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἢ Κυπριανοῦ τοῦ Καρθαγιναίου; (109.29–30 Blondel). He follows this question with a discussion of his contemporaries who sit in similar seats and focuses on their ability to heal diseases through prayer and the laying on of hands (*Apocrit.* 3.24.3). Clearly Macarius knows very little about Irenaeus, Cyprian, and Fabian.

with a local legend about a penitent magus of Antioch and upon which the *Conversion* was later based.³⁷ Reitzenstein, on the other hand, thought that the *Conversion* was composed first, around the year 350, and that sometime thereafter a barebones biography containing only a passing reference to Cyprian's magical past, i.e., a biography in which the Carthaginian Cyprian had been conflated with the Antiochene Cyprian of the *Conversion* began to circulate in Constantinople as a preface to the edition of the epistles of Cyprian of Carthage mentioned by Rufinus and Jerome. According to Reitzenstein, Prudentius had access only to this lost biography, whereas Gregory supplemented it with additional sources (i.e., the *Conversion* and *Confession*).³⁸ As for Zahn's proposal, no historical Antiochene magus, with or without the name Cyprian, is needed to account for the peculiarities of the legend. Furthermore, the *Confession* obviously assumes a background story similar to that found in the *Conversion*, and so it must postdate the *Conversion* (discrepancies between these two *Acts* are explained more aptly through literary-critical analysis, see § 2.1). As for Reitzenstein's proposal, which has found support among Delehaye and others, Prudentius' verses concerning Cyprian's wayward youth (*Perist.* 13.21–24) clearly do not come from any written source, and so there is no need to create one. Furthermore, it would be odd indeed for Rufinus and Jerome to comment on an interpolated treatise but to refrain from any mention of a biographical preface alluding, however briefly, to Cyprian's magical past.

Both Zahn and Reitzenstein posited these hypothetical source documents primarily, it seems, to absolve Gregory of the sin of “confusion.” On 3 October 379, presumably, one day after the traditional feast day of Cyprian (of Antioch) in the eastern calendar,³⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus delivered a panegyric on Cyprian in which he is said to have “confused” the historical bishop of Carthage with the legendary magus of Antioch.⁴⁰ Gregory was, and still is, widely regarded as the most accomplished rhetorical stylist

³⁷ See Zahn, *Cyprian*, 87–90.

³⁸ Reitzenstein, “Cyprian,” 58–59; cf. Delehaye, “Cyprien,” 326–32; A. Krestan and A. Hermann, “Cyprianus II (Magier),” *RAC* 3 (1957): 472.

³⁹ See, e.g., J.M. Szymusiak, “Pour une chronologie des discours de S. Grégoire de Nazianze,” *VC* 20 (1966): 183–84 n. 3. The dating of the panegyric to October 3rd—the same date given in manuscript titles, e.g., BnF gr. 510, f. 333r: εἰς Κυπριανὸν ἐξ ἄγρου ἐπανήκων μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν τῆς μνείας (cf. Mossay's siglum B in app. crit.)—seems to explain Gregory's opening exclamation, μικροῦ Κυπριανὸς διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς (40.1 Mossay; *PG* 35:1169a); see further note 45 below. The feast day of Cyprian of Carthage, which falls on September 26th in the western calendar, was not celebrated in the East.

⁴⁰ Gregory's panegyric on Cyprian is invariably framed as a product of “confusion.” J. Bernardi claimed that “c'est la preuve qu'ignorance et confusions n'ont été relevées par personne autour de lui. L'ignorance de l'histoire et de la géographie pourrait bien constituer un trait caractéristique du milieu qu'il représente” (*La prédication des Pères cappadociens: Le prédicateur et son auditoire* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Montpellier

of the patristic age. He studied rhetoric and philosophy in Caesarea and Alexandria, and then advanced rhetoric in Athens, together with Julian, under the famous rhetoricians Himerius and Proaeresius. The worn-out argument that Gregory did not have ample time to prepare and had to improvise, jumbling up his sources as a result, is clearly insufficient, although it is still made repeatedly.⁴¹ It is very hard to imagine that as strong an intellect as Gregory's was incapable of distinguishing the historical Cyprian, about whom he seems relatively well informed, from the legendary Cyprian of the fictional *Acts*, the first two of which he had surely read, especially since the figure of Cyprian of Antioch is, even according to Reitzenstein's early dating of the *Conversion*, still quite young by the year 379. Gregory was too smart not to recognize that the legendary magician of the *Acts* was at best a fictional shadow of the historical bishop.

All of the details presented in the panegyric can be aligned either with the life and writings of the historical bishop of Carthage or with the legendary magician of Antioch as portrayed in the *Acts* in their present forms.⁴² After some lengthy introductory remarks, Gregory first introduces Cyprian, "once the great name of the Carthaginians, now of the whole world," in terms unequivocally attributable to the Carthaginian bishop (*Or.* 24.6). The story of the legendary Antiochene magus, the "worshipper of demons" who had a "voracious appetite for carnal pleasure," emerges shortly thereafter in an abridged form that unquestionably derives from the *Acts* (*Or.* 24.8). Gregory's transition from one Cyprian to the other is perhaps the most telling passage of the panegyric:

The many brilliant works that he authored for us stand as testament to his erudition [. . .]. This is why I am at a loss how to proceed with my sermon and what to do next. If I enumerate all of Cyprian's achievements, my talk will inevitably be drawn out to an inordinate degree and I shall most certainly run out of time. On the other hand, if I omit anything, I shall inevitably do a very great disservice to the present company. *So, in order to steer a middle course between the limitations of time* [= Cyprian of Carthage] *and the wishes of my audience* [= Cyprian of Antioch],

30; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969], 163). This opinion has held sway among scholars for so long that C.A. Beeley felt comfortable describing the panegyric as "an amusing hagiographical blunder" (*Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light* [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008], 36).

⁴¹ See, e.g., Zahn, *Cyprian*, 86–87; Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 41–42; Delehay, "Cyprien," 323; P. Gallay, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyon: Vitte, 1943), 151; J. Mossay, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 24–26: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (SC 284; Paris: Cerf, 1981), 12.

⁴² For discussions of Gregory's reliance upon the *Confession* and the relationship between his panegyric and the *Martyrdom*, see §§ 2.1 and 3.1.

here is what I propose to do: leave everything else for those who are familiar with it, instruct those who are not, if indeed there are any, [. . .] and briefly recall one or two of his achievements in all essential details, that is, the facts one could not leave out *even if one were inclined to do so*. (Or. 24.7)⁴³

Gregory's audience knows and expects to hear about the legendary Cyprian and thus Gregory cannot avoid "mentioning the sorrier side of his life" (Or. 24.8). One can only wonder whether Gregory held the same low opinion of hagiographical fiction as his schoolmate Julian and other pagan literati held of Greek fiction,⁴⁴ but, of course, to say as much in a panegyric, never mind to point out the fictionality of the Antiochene magician about whom his audience was so eager to hear, would have been to exhibit exceptionally bad form. And why was Gregory late in delivering the panegyric?⁴⁵ Was it perhaps because

⁴³ τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων καὶ οἱ λόγοι μάρτυρες, οὓς πολλοὺς καὶ λαμπροὺς ἐκεῖνος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεβάλετο [. . .]. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τίς γένωμαι· πῶς μὲν μὴ μακρὸν ἀποτείνω λόγον καὶ παντελῶς ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ, πάντων τῶν Κυπριανοῦ μεμνημένους· πῶς δὲ μὴ τὰ μέγιστα ζημιώσω τοὺς παρόντας τοῖς σιωπωμένοις. ἴν' οὖν μέσσην βαδίσω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ πόθου ἀκουόντων, οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ποιητέον εἶναι· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρῆναι τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας, εἴπερ εἰσὶ τινες [. . .]. ἐνὸς δὲ ἢ δύο τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ βραχέων ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ τούτων ὅσα μὴδὲ βουλομένῳ παρελθεῖν δυνατὸν (50.15–52.18 Mossay; PG 35:1176c–1177a). The translation is Vinson's, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 145–46 (the italics are mine).

⁴⁴ In his *Letter to a Priest* (Bidez-Cumont's *Ep.* 89) Julian advises that "it would be fitting for us to make acquaintance with those histories which are written about deeds actually done in the past, but we must deprecate those fictions put forth by previous writers in the form of history (ἐν ἱστορίας εἶδει), that is, love stories (ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις) and all that sort of stuff" (301b); cf. Philostratus, *Ep.* 66 (concerning the Greek novelist Chariton) and Lucian's satirical remarks concerning his authorship of *A True Story* (*Ver. hist.* 1.1–4).

⁴⁵ It seems clear from Gregory's introductory remarks that he had been away for some time (Or. 24.2), but he never gives reasons for his absence or for the speech's delay. The Byzantine scholiasts Basilus Minimus and Nicetas of Heraclea offer explanations for the panegyric's delay and for Gregory's absence, but their prolegomena seem to be little more than mere speculation. For example, Basilus Minimus introduces the oration as follows: "The premise is clear, for it is a panegyric about Cyprian who was famous for his martyrdom. The speech was not uttered on the same day as his day of remembrance and feast day, but rather one day later. And for this reason Gregory says in his defense, 'We nearly forgot Cyprian!' If the speech had been given one day later as a 'late payment,' how then could Cyprian have been forgotten? One will suppose that Gregory put it off for a little while, either for the very reason he gives, that even he had forgotten about it for a short time, or because he was in high demand for panegyrics. Cyprian was not forgotten, but since one day had passed by, he was forgotten 'for a little while' (μικροῦ) instead of 'within a short period of time' (παρὰ μικρόν), for if, he says, we had not come now in hurry, we would have caused [him] the loss of due honor" (ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις δῆλη· ἐγκώμιον γάρ ἐστι Κυπριανοῦ τοῦ ἐν μάρτυσιν αἰοῦμένου. οὐ κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐκπεφώνηται τὴν τῆς μνείας καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἡμέραν, μετὰ μίαν δέ. διὸ καὶ ἀπολογεῖται· μικροῦ Κυπριανὸς διέφυγεν. εἰ ὑπερήμερος καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἐκδέδοται ὁ λόγος, ἐκπέφυγε πῶς Κυπριανός; καὶ δόξει παρέλκειν τὸ μικροῦ ἢ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτό φησι καὶ διαπεφευγῆναι μικρὸν χρόνον διαλιπὼν ἢ ὅτι ὅλως οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῶν ἐγκωμίων. οὐ διέφυγε μὲν, μίαν δὲ παρελκυσθείσης ἡμέρας, μικροῦ δὲ διέφυγεν ἀντὶ τοῦ παρὰ μικρόν. εἰ μὴ γὰρ σπεύσαντές, φησι, νῦν ἤκομεν, ἐζημιώθημεν ἂν τὴν εὐφημίαν [Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 573, f. 120r, saec. XI]). Nicetas of Heraclea on the other hand presents a very different scenario: "Above Nazianzus there is a mountain (i.e., Mount Athar) with high cliffs and many chasms, and warm waters gush forth at the foot of the mountain. The theologian was tarrying there, partly on account of the silence and partly on account of the consolation the warm waters provided, since he was weak from cold of the kidneys. For this reason, he was not present at the festival of Saint Cyprian, whose shrine was not very far from Nazianzus. At any rate, arriving after one day of the martyr's remembrance, he addressed to

he was initially not “inclined to do so”? Circumstances necessitated the panegyric’s legendary content. Cyprian of Carthage remained a poorly known figure in the eastern provinces despite the proliferation and probable translation of his epistles. In the latter half of the fourth century he was known in the East only to well-read patristic authors, not to the public at large. October 2nd was the feast day of Cyprian of Antioch, whose cult seems to have materialized with incredible speed.

On my reading, Gregory knew the legendary Cyprian to be a hagiographer’s fiction, but due to the popularity of the *Acts* he could not avoid mentioning the story of the converted magus. Rather than relegate the content of his oration to the legendary Cyprian alone, Gregory used the opportunity of his celebratory feast to introduce his audience to the much lesser-known, historical Cyprian. Gregory likely delivered the panegyric at the church of the Anastasia, his cousin Theodosia’s villa-cum-ecclesia—not long after taking up his post in Constantinople, then the chief stronghold of the Arians—from which he spearheaded a pro-Nicene theological campaign at the behest of bishop Melitius and the Antiochene Synod. After a lengthy apology for the Carthaginian bishop’s controversial flight from the persecutions of Decius and a very brief description of his martyrdom,⁴⁶ Gregory declares to his audience, “What we

him the present panegyric” (ἀνωτέρω Ναζιανζοῦ ὅρος ἐστὶ βαθύκρημον καὶ πολυφάραγγον· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑπώρειαν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐστὶν ἔκβλυσις. ἐκεῖ ἦν διάγων ὁ θεολόγος, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων πανηγορίαν, τῆς ἐκ ψύχους τῶν νεφρῶν ἀσθενείας· οὐ παρὴν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Κυπριανοῦ, οὐ ναὸς οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχει Ναζιανζοῦ· μετὰ γοῦν μίαν ἡμέραν τῆς μνήμης τοῦ μάρτυρος παραγενόμενος τὸ παρὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκώμιον προσεφώησεν [Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 7.13, f. 140v, saec. XI]). The panegyric, however, was likely delivered shortly after Gregory’s arrival in Constantinople and not in Nazianzus; see B.E. Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 16; Szymusiak, “Pour une chronologie,” 183. Both collections of scholia on Gregory’s *Or.* 24 remain unpublished; see further R. Cantarella, “Basilio Minimo: I. Scolii inediti con introduzione e note,” *BZ* 25 (1925): 292–309; idem, “Basilio Minimo. II. Scolii inediti con introduzione e note,” *BZ* 26 (1926): 1–34; T.S. Schmidt, “Les commentaires de Basile le Minime: Liste révisée des manuscrits et des éditions,” *Byz* 70 (2000): 155–81; idem, *Basilii Minimi in Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationem XXXVIII commentarii* (CCSG 46, Corpus Nazianzenum 13; Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), x–xv; A. Tovar, “Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine,” in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (ed. B.A. Milligan and J.R. Frey; Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 58; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969) 223–35; B. Roosen, “The Works of Nicetas Heracleensis (ὁ) τοῦ Σεργῶν,” *Byz* 69 (1999): 119–44. At times Nicetas’ commentary relies heavily on that of his predecessor Basilus, and both scholiasts seem to incorporate marginal scholia of a much earlier date, possibly from sixth-century Alexandria; see J.N. Smith, “The Early Scholia on the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus,” in *Studia Nazianzenica* (ed. B. Coulie and A.B. Schmidt; 2 vols.; CCSG 41, Corpus Nazianzenum 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 1:69–146.

⁴⁶ It is sometimes claimed that Gregory erred in placing Cyprian’s martyrdom under Decius instead of under Valerian, e.g., Delehaye (“Cyprien,” 325, 332) thought the error was due to Gregory’s cursory reading of the “lost biography” (as opposed to the careful reading of Prudentius, who correctly relays the details of Cyprian’s martyrdom), but this is a misreading of the text. Rather, Gregory focuses on and defends Cyprian’s flight from the Decian persecution, which in Cyprian’s day was the cause of much consternation and controversy: How could one who preached the virtues of martyrdom have fled from martyrdom himself? Gregory is only mistaken in suggesting that the Decian exile was not a voluntary one (*Or.* 24.14).

have recounted is only the minimum needed to pay him the honor that is his due. The rest you should supply yourselves by exorcising demons, eradicating sickness, prophesying what is to come" (*Or.* 24.18). "Or rather," Gregory adds, "present gifts that are greater than these," supplying his audience with a litany of Cyprianic virtues which very likely stem from the Carthaginian bishop's collection of epistles, e.g., "mortification of the flesh," "young women: the rejection of sensuality," "young men: manly suppression of the passions," "civil authorities: sound government," "priests: the conscientious performance of your sacred duties," "laity: ready obedience," "the rich: generosity; the poor: gratitude."⁴⁷ Gregory's *fusion* of two Cyprians into one "Cyprian," whom he lauds for his great trinitarian faith (*Or.* 24.19), represents a clever rhetorical strategy designed to promote Nicene doctrine, which Gregory could not have done had he restricted himself to the legendary and theologically barren *Acts* alone.⁴⁸

Unlike the lines of Prudentius' poem (*Perist.* 13.21–24),⁴⁹ certain particulars in Gregory's oration on Cyprian could only have come from the text of the *Conversion*. Most notably, when speaking of Justa,

His arguments in defense of Cyprian's actions are remarkably similar to Cyprian's own self-defense against the charge of cowardice, i.e., he argues that Cyprian had fled so as not to leave his flock shepherdless during the persecution (*Or.* 24.15).

⁴⁷ Trans. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 154–55.

⁴⁸ To his credit J. Coman went against the hermeneutical grain and argued that Gregory deliberately fused the two Cyprians together, but his argument relies on some extremely unlikely scenarios, e.g., the historicity of Cyprian the magician of Antioch; see "Le deux Cyprien de S. Gregoire de Nazianze," in *Studia Patristica Vol. IV: Papers Presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959* (ed. F.L. Cross; TUGAL 79; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 363–72.

⁴⁹ Prudentius' brief description of the Carthaginian's youthful forays into magic and necromancy cannot be explained through recourse to the hagiographical legend of Cyprian of Antioch; cf., e.g., M.A. Malamud, *A Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology* (CSCP 49; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 115–48; M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 109–29. Whether or not Prudentius knew Greek remains unclear, but even if the Latin translation of the *Acts* had been made by the late fourth or early fifth century (which is highly unlikely) when Prudentius composed the *Peristephanon*—Prudentius probably composed *Perist.* 11–14 in the year 404 after he returned from Rome to his home in Spain; see M.C. Eagan, *The Poems of Prudentius* (2 vols.; Fathers of the Church 43, 52; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1962–1965), 1xiv—neither the Greek nor the Latin *Acts*, nor, for that matter, Gregory's panegyric, can account for Prudentius' portrayal in *Perist.* 13.21–24: "He was preeminent among young men for skill in perverse arts, would violate modesty by a trick, count nothing holy, and often practice a magic spell amid the tombs to raise passion in a wife and break the law of wedlock" (*unus erat iuvenum doctissimus artibus sinistris, / fraude pudicitiam perfringere, nil sacrum putare, / saepe etiam magicum cantamen inire per sepulcra, / quo geniale tori ius solveret aestuante nupta*); trans. H.J. Thompson, *Prudentius II* (LCL 398; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 328–31. On the question of Prudentius' knowledge of Greek, see C. Rapisarda, "Prudenzio e la lingua greca," *Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica* 2 (1948): 1–39; K.E. Henriksson, *Griechische Büchertitel in der römischen Literatur* (Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia 102.1; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1957), 88–89; R. Henke, "Der Romanushymnus des Prudentius und die griechische Prosapassio," *JAC* 29 (1986): 59–60. Some scholars have rightly pointed out that Prudentius' "source" cannot have been literary, but each understandably runs rampant with speculation when trying to explain how exactly Prudentius came to hear about Cyprian's magical past; see, e.g., S. Costanza, "La

who remains nameless throughout the oration, Gregory remarks, “In utter desperation she seeks refuge with God and takes as champion the one who [. . .] saved Thecla from a tyrant suitor and even more tyrannical mother” (*Or.* 24.10).⁵⁰ The claim that Thecla served as Justa’s model (cf. *Or.* 24.11) is made only in the *Conversion*, after Justa beats Aglaïdas black and blue (3.7). When discussing Cyprian’s conversion, Gregory embellishes the account of the bishop Anthimus’ doubts about Cyprian’s true intentions: “For a long time his change of heart is considered suspect, and he is turned away because it seemed a thing in the realm of the odd and incredible that Cyprian of all people should ever be counted a Christian” (*Or.* 24.12).⁵¹ This detail, too, is present only in the *Conversion* (cf. 11.2–5). Without question Gregory had read the text of the *Conversion*, and therefore the year 379 serves as a reliable *terminus ante quem*.

Recourse to prosopography is often helpful in dating hagiographies, but unlike the *Martyrdom of Saint George*, the *Conversion* contains no characters named after near contemporary political figures. The historical setting of the *Conversion* is indeterminate; only in the *Martyrdom* is Cyprian of Antioch

Conversione di Cipriano nell’Inno XIII del *Peristephanon* di Prudenziò,” *Giornale italiano di filologia* 30 (1978): 174–82; J. Petruccione, “Prudentius’ Portrait of St. Cyprian: An Idealized Bibliography,” *REAug* 36 (1990): 227–30. Costanza (“Conversione,” 177) takes his cue from the translation of Cyprian’s relics to Rome at the conclusion of the *Martyrdom* and suggests that Prudentius could have heard about Cyprian’s magical past at the local shrine during his visit to Rome (between 401 and 403), but in this scenario the story told by shrinelight would derive from the *Acts*, which is to say, it would be a story about Cyprian of Antioch, and Prudentius was well aware that Cyprian of Carthage had been buried in Africa. The connections between the *Acts* and Prudentius’ lines are tenuous at best. In the *Confession* Cyprian is adept in certain necromantic practices, but his proficiency in the sounds of “the dead in their tombs” (2.2) and his sacrifices of “suckling babes” in necromantic pits (14.2) are never connected with erotic magic. Cyprian also confesses that he “caused wives to be chased from the arms of their husbands into the hands of adulterers” (18.11), but it would be odd indeed if Prudentius had singled out such passing misdeeds so peripheral to the main plot. Petruccione (“Prudentius’ Portrait,” 230) suggests that Prudentius may have had at his disposal a Latin translation of Gregory’s oration—Rufinus translated at least eight of Gregory’s orations into Latin, but *Or.* 24 was not one of them (see A.C. Way, “Gregorius Nazianzenus,” in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* [ed. P.O. Kristeller et al.; 10 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1960–2011], 2:127–34, 3:420)—or that he may have heard word of Cyprian’s magical past from Rufinus himself, but Gregory’s panegyric, whether in Greek or in Latin translation, still cannot account for the details Prudentius relates, e.g., Gregory, unlike Prudentius, obviously knows about the virgin Just(in)a, although he does not name her. Of course, after Gregory delivered his panegyric the potential for confusion of Cyprians was much greater, but if Prudentius had known about one or more of the *Acts* of Cyprian of Antioch or Gregory’s panegyric, he clearly had not read them.

⁵⁰ πάντων ἀπογνοῦσα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καταφεύγει, καὶ προστάτην ποιεῖται κατὰ τοῦ μισητοῦ πόθου τὸν ἑαυτῆς νυμφίον, ὃς [. . .] Θέκλαν διέσωσεν [. . .] τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τυράννου μνηστήρος καὶ τυραννικωτέρου μητρός (corr. Maur. : πατρός codd.) (58.13–16 Mossay; *PG* 35:1180c–d); trans. M. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Select Orations* (Fathers of the Church 107; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 148.

⁵¹ μετατίθεται τὸν πόθον ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἀπιστούμενος καὶ ἀποπεμπόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα τῶν ἀπίστων εἶναι καὶ θαυμασίων, Κυπριανὸν ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἀριθμηθῆναί ποτε, εἰ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι (64.7–66.10 Mossay; *PG* 35:1184a); trans. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 149–50.

situated under the reign of Diocletian. The only name derived from a near contemporary is that of the Neoplatonic philosopher Aedesius (d. 355). Many have accepted Reitzenstein's dating of the *Conversion* to around the year 350, but this date seems a decade too early. The subtle polemic against Neoplatonic theurgy is also apparent both in the postconversion shaving of Aedesius' beard and through Justa's and Cyprian's preconversion use of the appellation "Galileans." Both details point quite clearly to Julian the Apostate (d. 363), who consistently employed the appellation Γαλιλαῖοι in his own writings to denigrate Christians by highlighting their backwater origins and whose long philosopher's beard was lampooned with such unrelenting fervor in Antioch.⁵² The *Conversion* is therefore more likely to have been written in the early 360s, possibly even while Julian was still alive.⁵³

The localization of Cyprian Magus in Antioch is also not likely a mere matter of coincidence. As to the question of provenance, a strong case can be made for Antioch.⁵⁴ First, not only is the *Conversion* set in "Antioch near Daphne," but a few narrative details are suggestive of an Antiochene provenance: (1) the author modelled Justa's encounter with Aglaïdas on Thecla's encounter with Alexander upon her entry into the city of Antioch (see § 1.2); (2) the postconversion shaving of Aedesius' beard and (3) the use of the appellation Galileans are obvious allusions to Julian's period of residency in Antioch from 18 July 362 to 5 March 363, during which time he drafted the satirically titled Ἀντιοχικός ἢ Μισοπάγων—*Antiochikos* or *Discourse on Antioch* was a title appropriate for panegyric, and *Misopogon* or *Beard-Hater* was Julian's cheeky moniker for the eastern metropolis of clean-shaven dandies—and his anti-Christian *tour de force* Κατὰ Γαλιλαίων, which was published shortly after he departed in 363. In addition to these few narrative clues, (4) the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Conversion* is also suggestive of Antioch. John Chrysostom repeatedly and severely railed against Antiochene Christians for dabbling in pagan and Jewish magical practices, for wearing magical charms and amulets (*Catech. illum.* 2.5; *Hom. 1 Cor.* 2.7; 4.11; 12.10; *Hom. Col.* 8), including "Christian amulets" in the form of rolled-up strips of papyrus inscribed with passages

⁵² See further notes 2, 8, and 14 to the translation.

⁵³ Only Zahn seems to have recognized the author's use of the appellation "Galileans," which led him to suggest that the *Confession* and "the corresponding original" of the *Conversion* were composed ca. 360–370 (*Cyprian*, 105–6). The author of the *Martyrdom of Saint George* similarly has his pagan characters use the appellation "Galileans" (see F. Cumont, "La plus ancienne légende de saint Georges," *RHR* 114 [1936]: 8), which led Woods to suggest that the work postdates Julian ("The Origin of the Cult of St George," 144).

⁵⁴ That is to say, Antioch in Syria. As for the rather desperate attempts to connect the Cyprian of legend to Antioch in Pisidia, for which there is no evidence whatsoever, see § 3.1.

from the Gospels (e.g., *Stat.* 19.14; *Hom.* 1 *Cor.* 43.7), for reciting magical incantations and abracadabras to ward off disease (e.g., *Adv. Jud.* 8.8.4), and for preferring these practices over the Christian gesture of the sign of the cross, which Chrysostom viewed as an act of faith (e.g. *Hom. Col.* 8). But Chrysostom's "stern, uncompromising religious theory" appears to have fallen on deaf ears.⁵⁵ Beyond sheer entertainment, the purpose of the *Conversion* as an Antiochene composition from the latter half of the fourth century would be to enlighten those superstitiously inclined Antiochene Christians who seemed incapable of distinguishing the rigmaroles of pagan and Jewish sorcerers from the Christian gesture of the sign of the cross and to demonstrate the powerlessness of the demons of magic against the spirit of Christianity.

1.2. Sources, Influences, and Genre

Early on scholars recognized a few instances of direct literary borrowing from the Apocryphal Acts. The author based the stories of Justa's conversion and her encounter with Aglaïdas on the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. Just as Thecla listens to Paul's preaching ἐπὶ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος, so Justa listens to Praÿlius' preaching ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος (1.3), and after eavesdropping on the Christian preachers the παρθένοι are overwhelmed by a desire to meet them face to face (1.4).⁵⁶ The attempted abduction of Justa by Aglaïdas is modelled on Alexander's attempted abduction of Thecla upon her arrival with Paul in Antioch. The παρθένοι both repel their assailants in a similar fashion: Thecla tears Alexander's cloak, removes the wreath from his head, and ἔστησεν αὐτὸν θρίαμβον, and Justa, who is more pugnacious than her literary model, beats Aglaïdas black and blue, tears off his garment, and θρίαμβον αὐτὸν κατέστησεν (3.7).⁵⁷ The figure of Aglaïdas appears to be a hybrid of Thecla's dejected suitor Thamyras and the randy

⁵⁵ R.L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century* (Transformation of the Classical Heritage 4; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 84, quoting A.A. Barb, "The Survival of the Magical Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (ed. A. Momigliano; Oxford-Warburg Studies; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 106.

⁵⁶ *Acts Paul Thec.* 7: καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, Θέκλα τις παρθένος Θεοκλείας μητρὸς μεμνηστευμένη ἀνδρὶ Θαμύριδι, καθεσθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος τοῦ οἴκου ἤκουσεν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τὸν περὶ ἀγνείας λόγον λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου· καὶ οὐκ ἀπένευσεν ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, ἀλλὰ τῇ πίστει ἐπήγγετο ὑπερευφραϊνομένη. ἔτι δὲ καὶ βλέπουσα πολλὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους εἰς εἰσπορευομένας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ἐπεπόθει καὶ αὐτὴ καταξιωθῆναι κατὰ πρόσωπον στήναι Παύλου καὶ ἀκοῦειν τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον· οὐδέπω γὰρ τὸν χαρακτήρα Παύλου ἐώρακει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου ἤκουεν μόνον (1:240.6–241.6 Lipsius-Bonnet); cf. *Conv.* 1.3–4.

⁵⁷ *Acts Paul Thec.* 26: καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν Παῦλος τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον πανοικί εἰς Ἰκόνιον, καὶ οὕτως λαβόμενος τὴν Θέκλαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσήλθεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ εἰσερχεσθαι αὐτοῦς, συριάρχης τις Ἀλέξανδρος ὀνόματι ἰδὼν τὴν Θέκλαν ἠράσθη αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξελιπάρει τὸν Παῦλον χρήμασι καὶ δώροις. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν Οὐκ οἶδα τὴν γυναῖκα ἣν λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐμῇ. ὁ δὲ πολὺ δυνάμενος, αὐτὸς αὐτῇ

Antiochene Alexander.⁵⁸ To these examples one may add the first demon's résumé in 4.7, portions of which derive wholesale from the speeches of δράκοντες in *Acts of Thomas* 32 and *Acts of Philip* 11.3, Justa's first prayer in 5.2, which in recensions A and B begins much like Paul's prayer in *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 24, and Justa's second prayer in 7.3, portions of which (in recension A especially) parallel John's final prayer at *Acts of John* 112.⁵⁹

On the basis of such obvious literary dependencies and Reitzenstein's thesis that the author of the *Conversion* culled the names of his characters from literary precursors, Radermacher suggested that the author's lack of originality extended not only to names, subplots, and prayers, but also to what he described as the "eigentliche Kern" of the *Conversion*, i.e., Cyprian's three attempts to seduce Justa with magic on behalf of Aglaïdas.⁶⁰ Radermacher posited the existence of a common source, a barebones tale about a lovesick young man who at wit's end employs a wizard to win over the beloved, underpinning both Cleodemus' account of Glaucias, Chrysis, and the Hyperborean magician in Lucian's *Philopseudes* and the *Conversion*'s simplistic narrative about the trio Aglaïdas, Justa, and Cyprian.⁶¹ In Lucian's satire,

περιεπλάκη εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον· ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ Παῦλον ἐζήτει. καὶ ἀνέκραγεν πικρῶς λέγουσα Μὴ βιάσῃ τὴν ξένην, μὴ βιάσῃ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δούλην. Ἰκονιέων εἰμὶ πρώτη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλῃν με γαμηθῆναι Θαμύριδι, ἐκβέβλημαι τῆς πόλεως. καὶ λαβομένη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου περιέσχισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀφείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν θρίαμβον (1:253.10–254.8 Lipsius-Bonnet); cf. *Conv.* 3.1–7.

⁵⁸ So, rightly, B. Sowers, "Thecla Desexualized: The Saint Justina Legend and the Reception of the Christian Apocrypha in Late Antiquity," in *"Non-canonical" Religious Texts in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. L.M. McDonald and J.H. Charlesworth; JTCRS 14; London: T&T Clark, 2012), 229–31. It is to be noted, however, that the linguistic parallels are much stronger in the original *Act* than in Eudocia's later hexameter rendition, which Sowers chooses to translate instead. See further Zahn, *Cyprian*, 110–15; Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 71–72; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage: Der Zauberer Cyprianus, die Erzählung des Helladius, Theophilus* (SAWW 206.4; Leipzig: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1927), 16–17; and note 17 to the translation.

⁵⁹ On the parallels between *Conv.* 4.7 and *Acts Thom.* 32, see Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 47; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 27–29. On the parallels between *Conv.* 5.2 and *Acts Paul Thecl.* 24, see Zahn, *Cyprian*, 111 and n. 4; Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 47 and n. 2. For other parallels with the Apocryphal Acts, see notes 21, 24, and 32 to the translation.

⁶⁰ L. Radermacher, "Cyprian der Magier," *AR* 21 (1922): 233–34. Radermacher subsequently fleshed out this hypothesis in *Griechische Quellen*, 5–41.

⁶¹ According to Radermacher, "Man hat den Eindruck, daß Lukian zwei Quellen besessen hat, aus denen er seine Erzählungen schöpfte. Die eine ist anscheinend ein Buch des Herakleides Pontikos, in dem Geschichten von Gespenstern und zurückkehrenden Toten gesammelt waren. Die andere war vermutlich ein Buch, das Geschichten von Zauberern in der Kapitelfolge Babylon, Hyperboreerland, Syrien, Ägypten behandelte. [...] Von diesem Buch vermuten wir nun weiter, daß es entweder selbst oder ein Ausläufer von ihm dem Christen vorlag, der die erbauliche Erzählung vom Heldenentum der Justina erfand. [...] Aber daß ein Christ die Zauberbücher unmittelbar benützt haben sollte, ist schon darum unwahrscheinlich, weil deren Kenntnis als schwere Versündigung gelten mußte. Schwerlich zufällig ist außerdem, daß bei Lukian und in der Legende die Person des liebenden Jünglings von der des Zauberers abgespalten erscheint, während die Zauberpapyri nur eine einzige handelnde Person kennen. Der Verfasser der Justinalgende gibt jedoch den alten Stoff im Grunde viel geschlossener, folgerichtiger und somit wohl auch treuer wieder als Lukian" (*Griechische Quellen*, 14–15).

the Peripatetic Cleodemus, a former skeptic, offers an eye-witness account of the feats of a Hyperborean magician in order to persuade the doubting Tychiades that not all tall tales are mendacious lies (*Philops.* 14). Shortly after the death of his father, so the story goes, Cleodemus' pupil Glaucias inherits his father's property and falls in love with a married woman named Chrysis. In a moment of desperation Glaucias tells Cleodemus his tale of woe, and Cleodemus ("as was natural," Lucian quips) introduces him to the Hyperborean magician, whom he had previously seen fly through the air and walk on water (*Philops.* 13). For a fee of four minas as a down payment and another sixteen upon the magical rite's success, the Hyperborean first summons Glaucia's father Alexicles, who reluctantly assents to the affair, and then Hecate, who draws down the moon. Then "the Hyperborean made a little Cupid out of clay⁶² and said, 'Go and fetch Chrysis.' The clay took wing, and before long Chrysis stood on the threshold knocking at the door, came in and embraced Glaucias as if she loved him furiously, and remained with him until we heard the cocks crowing" (*Philops.* 14).⁶³

Radermacher's juxtaposition of the two tales is justified since they both contain the same basic components, e.g., wealthy young men (Glaucias/Aglaidas) who fall desperately in love with unavailable women (Chrysis is married and Justa is "betrothed to Christ") and as a result agree to pay (Glaucias 20 minas, Aglaïdas 2 talents of gold) a magician (Cyprian/the Hyperborean) to acquire the object of their desire with magic. Radermacher rightly recognized that each author adopted the same basic story and developed it in their own unique fashion, Lucian to lampoon "how hairbrained men must be who set heaven and hell into motion"⁶⁴ merely to obtain a loose woman who, as Tychiades maintains, could have been had for a meager 20 drachmas (i.e., one hundredth of the actual sum), or, in other words, to demonstrate the "efficacy" of fraudulent magic, and the author of the *Conversion* to reveal the inefficacy of authentic (and very dangerous) magic against the power of the cross, but recourse to a hypothetical common source is not necessary to explain these narrative intersections. Rather, both authors made use

⁶² Cf., e.g., *PGM* IV. 1716–1870 and XII. 14–95.

⁶³ τέλος δ' οὖν ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος ἐκ πηλυ ἐρώτιον τι ἀναπλάσας, Ἄπιθι, ἔφη, καὶ ἄγε Χρυσίδα. καὶ ὁ μὲν πηλὸς ἐξέπτματο, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἐπέστη κόπτουσα τὴν θύραν ἐκείνη καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα περιβάλλει τὸν Γλαυκίαν ὡς ἂν ἐκμανέστατα ἐρώσα καὶ συνῆν ἄχρι δὴ ἀλεκτρύνων ἠκούσαμεν ἁδόντων. The translation is A.M. Harmon's, *Lucian III* (LCL 130; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), 343.

⁶⁴ The phrase is Radermacher's, *Griechische Quellen*, 10.

of a common literary trope, “the routine motif of enticing a lover by magic,” a “typical *plasma*”⁶⁵ which each author embellished with noticeably dissimilar *agōgē* spells to drastically different ends.⁶⁶

Gilles Quispel made similar source-critical claims about the *Conversion*, but with respect to the *Acts of Andrew*. The Coptic version (P.Utrecht. 1) preserves a short pericope about a magician’s assault upon a Christian virgin with demonic magic.⁶⁷ The magician, who studied the magical τέχνη under his master for twenty-five years, catches sight of the maiden one evening as she is praying on her rooftop and says to himself, “If I do not prevail upon this virgin, I shall not be able to do any work.” The magician conjures up demons and dispatches them to the virgin’s home. The demonic shapeshifters assume the form of the virgin’s brother and knock at her door, but before heeding their call the virgin offers a prayer to God, which causes the demons to flee. Quispel claimed that “the actual ‘plot’ of the story of Cyprian and Justina is borrowed from the *Acts of Andrew*: the magician, the demon, the virgin, the protective power of prayer.”⁶⁸ The surviving fragments do not state explicitly whether the young wizard had fallen in love with the virgin, but one may surmise that his magical τέχνη was of the erotic variety on the basis of subsequent references to virginity and the preservation of chastity and the author’s use of the same “routine motif.” In any case, Quispel’s claims are even less convincing than Radermacher’s.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ G. Anderson, *Studies in Lucian’s Comic Fiction* (MBCBSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 25 and 51, respectively.

⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that the Byzantine artist responsible for the illuminations accompanying Gregory’s *Or.* 24 in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 510 (saec. IX), chose to supplement his depiction of Cyprian’s magical operation (in the upper register on f. 332v) with details that are not found in the *Conversion*. Cyprian sits before a large brass bowl, which is half-filled with water and in the middle of which stand two clay voodoo dolls, one male and one female, joined at the hip; see I. Spatharakis, “The Portraits and the Date of Codex Par. gr. 510,” *Cahier archéologiques* 23 (1974): 97–105; L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), fig. 33; and esp. H. Maguire, “Magic and Sorcery in Ninth-Century Manuscript Illumination,” in *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance* (ed. V. Dasen and J.-M. Spieser; Florence: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 397–408.

⁶⁷ See G. Quispel, “An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew (Pap. Copt. Utrecht N. 1),” *VC* 10 (1956): 129–48; cf. R. van den Broek’s improved edition in J.-M. Prieur, *Acta Andreae: Textus* (CCSA 6; Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 653–71; E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (rev. ed.; trans. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991–1992), 2:124–25.

⁶⁸ G. Quispel, “Faust: Symbol of Western Man,” in *Gnostic Studies* (2 vols.; Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 34; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1974–1975), 2:297.

⁶⁹ For example, with respect to Just(in)a’s refusal to marry, Quispel claims, “The author of the legend accepts this attitude of Justina without question only because he is so faithfully following his source. The *Acts of Andrew* was written by a sexual teetotaler who rejected marriage. The author of *Cyprian and Justina* simply took over this idea from his source” (“Faust,” 2:298). But as I have already demonstrated, this motif derives from the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, not the *Acts of Andrew*.

The differences between the pericope in the *Acts of Andrew* and the *Conversion* are far too great to suggest that the latter had been based on the former. It is abundantly clear that neither the *Acts of Andrew* nor Radermacher's hypothetical "common source" served as the basis for the "eigentliche Kern" of the *Conversion*. It is somewhat surprising that no commentator has ever compared the core story of the *Conversion* with Josephus' story about the son of the Jewish patriarch Ellel (Hillel?) in Epiphanius' exposé of the Ebionite heresy (*Pan.* 1.30).⁷⁰ Not only are the parallels to the *Conversion* much stronger than those in any other source, real or imagined, but the story also functions as part of a conversion narrative. The Josephus in question, Epiphanius explains, is "not the ancient Josephus, the author and chronicler, but Josephus of Tiberias, <born> during the old age of Emperor Constantine" (1.30.4.1). Epiphanius claims that he heard the story from Josephus himself (1.30.5.1–3), a former attendant to the patriarch Ellel—who is said to descend from Gamaliel⁷¹ (1.30.4.2)—and that he reports the story of Ellel's degenerate offspring "in the words [Josephus] used to me" (1.30.6.1). The story is one among a series of events that eventually lead Josephus to convert from Judaism to Christianity, much like the story of Glaucias played a role in Cleodemus' "conversion" from philosophy to superstition:

7. While all [Josephus'] time was occupied with these things, the boy Ellel had left to be reared as patriarch was growing up. [. . .] (3) His young contemporaries got him into many evil practices, seductions of women and unholy sexual unions. They undertook to help him in his licentious <activities> with certain magic devices—making certain love-philtres and compelling free women with incantations to be brought under duress for his seduction. [. . .]

(6) There happened to be a free woman of unusual beauty in the bath. Lured by the habit of his licentiousness the young man rubbed his side against the woman's as he strolled about in the hot-air room. (7) But being Christian, she naturally made the sign of the cross. [. . .] (8) Still, that God might make his wonders manifest, the youngster, I mean the patriarch, failed in his enterprise. For he sent emissaries to the woman and promised her gifts; but she insulted his messengers and did not yield to the pampered youth's futile efforts.

8. Then, when his helpers learned of the boy's pain which he betrayed for the girl, they undertook to prepare more powerful magic for him, as Josephus himself described it to me in full. (2) After sunset they took the unfortunate lad to the neighboring cemetery. (In my country there are places of assembly of this kind, called "caverns," made by hewing them out of cliff

⁷⁰ See F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (Sects 1–46)* (2nd rev. ed.; NHMS 63; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 131–65.

⁷¹ See further A. Sivertsev, *Private Households and Public Politics in 3rd–5th Century Jewish Palestine* (TSAJ 90; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 74–76.

sides.) (3) Taking him there the cheats who accompanied him recited certain incantations and spells, and did very impious things to him and in the name of the woman.

(4) By God's will this came to the attention of the other elder, Josephus' partner, and on realizing what was happening, he told Josephus. And he began by bemoaning his lot, and said, "Brother, we are wretched men and vessels of destruction! What sort of person are we attending?" (5) And when Josephus asked the reason, no sooner were the words out of his mouth than the elder seized his hand and took Josephus to the place where the persons doomed to die, with the youth, were holding their assembly in the cemetery for magic. (6) Standing outside the door they listened to what the others were doing, but withdrew when they came out. (It was not dark yet; it was just about sundown, and one could still see dimly.) (7) After the monsters of impiety had left the tomb Josephus went in and saw certain <vessels> and other implements of jugglery thrown on the ground. They made water on them and covered them with a heap of dust, he said, and left.

(8) But they knew the sort of woman on whose account they had plotted these wicked things, and he watched to see whether they would win. (9) When the sorcerers had not prevailed—the woman had the aid of the sign and faith of Christ—he learned that the youngster had waited for the girl's arrival on three nights, and later quarreled with the persons who had performed the jugglery because he had not succeeded. (10) This made Josephus' third lesson—where Christ's name was, and the sign of his cross, the power of sorcery did not prevail. But at this point he was by no means convinced that he should become a Christian.⁷²

One may note the following similarities: (1) the protagonists, Aglaïdas and Ellel's son, are both affluent young men prone to licentious behavior who become enamored with Christian maidens (*Conv.* 3.2; *Pan.* 30.7.3, 6); (2) both protagonists send emissaries to the maidens, who rebuff the messengers with insults (*Conv.* 3.2–3; *Pan.* 30.7.8); (3) both consult sorcerers—Aglaïdas approaches Cyprian the magician and Ellel's son, it seems, his acquaintances who dabble in magic—who attempt to seduce the maidens with erotic magical spells, and love potions in particular, in three successive stages (*Conv.* 4.1–8; 6.1–8; 8.1–7; *Pan.* 30.7.3, 8.1–9); and (4) both maidens repel the physical and magical harassments with the sign of the cross (*Conv.* 3.7; 5.2, 5; 9.6; *Pan.* 30.7.7, 8.8).⁷³ As to whether Ellel's son converted to Christianity like Cyprian (or like Josephus) or remained a deviant miscreant like the ἄθλιος Aglaïdas, who converts to

⁷² Trans. Williams, *Panarion*, 136–37.

⁷³ There are some further parallels between Cyprian's public confession of past misdeeds in the *Confession* and Josephus' account of the patriarch Ellel's son, e.g., the seduction and abduction of free women (*Conf.* 14.2; *Pan.* 30.7.3), the practice of necromancy (*Conf.* 2.2; 14.2; *Pan.* 30.8.1–7), and disputations after the magicians fail to seduce the maiden (*Conf.* 9.1–6; *Pan.* 30.8.9).

Christianity in the *Confession* but not in the *Conversion*,⁷⁴ Epiphanius does not say, but the latter seems the more likely scenario.

The authenticity of Epiphanius' eye-witness and first-hand accounts are continually a matter of debate among scholars,⁷⁵ but even though Epiphanius may well have embellished Josephus' account in certain places with his characteristically perverse imagination, there is no need to conjure a common source for the stories of the magical misadventures of Ellet's son and Cyprian's attempts to seduce Justa on behalf of Aglaïdas, nor, for that matter, to suggest that Epiphanius, who wrote the *Panarion* between the years 374 and 377, concocted Josephus' story about Ellet's son from the narrative of the *Conversion*. Such *agōgē* narratives, and especially those of the Christian variety, were quite popular in late antiquity and enjoyed a wide circulation in the fourth century in particular.⁷⁶ The *Conversion* represents just one variation of what was a common, perhaps even overdone, literary trope.

⁷⁴ See *Conf.* 28.3.

⁷⁵ This is especially true of Epiphanius' eye-witness account of the Egyptian gnostic sect of Borborites or Phibionites (*Pan.* 26). See, e.g., J. Dümmer, "Die Angaben über die gnostische Literatur bei Epiphanius, *Pan.* haer. 26," in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR: Zusammengefasst und herausgegeben vom Institut für Byzantinistik* (ed. J. Irmscher; Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1965), 191–219; S. Benko, "The Libertine Gnostic Sect of the Phibionites according to Epiphanius," *VC* 21 (1967): 103–119; F. Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche und das Problem der gnostischen Ethik," in *Zum Hellenismus in den Schriften von Nag Hammadi* (ed. A. Böhlig and F. Wisse; Göttinger Orientforschungen 6.2; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 55–86; M. Tardieu, "Epiphane contre les gnostiques," *Tel Quel* 88 (1981): 64–91; S. Gero, "With Walter Bauer on the Tigris: Encratite Orthodoxy and Libertine Heresy in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity," in *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (ed. C.W. Hedrick and R. Hodgson Jr.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1983), 287–307; M.A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 179–84.

⁷⁶ The same stock characters also appear in the *agōgē* narrative in Jerome's *Life of Saint Hilarion*, which contains some interesting variations, e.g., the lovesick youth consults the magician in order to learn the art of erotic magic for himself: "There was a youth in the neighborhood of the same market-town of Gaza who was desperately in love with one of God's virgins. After he had tried again and again those touches, jests, nods, and whispers which so commonly lead to the destruction of virginity, but had made no progress by these means, he went to a magician at Memphis to whom he proposed to make known his wretched state, and then, fortified with his arts, to return to his assault upon the virgin. Accordingly after a year's instruction by the priest of Asclepius, who does not heal souls but destroys them, he came full of the lust which he had previously allowed his mind to entertain, and buried beneath the threshold of the girl's house certain magical formulae and revolting figures engraven on a plate of Cyprian brass. Thereupon the maid began to show signs of insanity, to throw away the covering of her head, tear her hair, gnash her teeth, and loudly call the youth by name. Her intense affection had become a frenzy. Her parents therefore brought her to the monastery and delivered her to the aged saint. No sooner was this done than the devil began to howl and confess. 'I was compelled, I was carried off against my will. How happy I was when I used to beguile the men of Memphis in their dreams! What crosses, what torture I suffer! You force me to go out, and I am kept bound under the threshold. I cannot go out unless the young man who keeps me there lets me go'" (*Vit. Hil.* 21, *ANF* 6:307–8). For further examples, see S. Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth Century Syria* (London: Routledge, 2007), 81–100.

The obvious variation of the lover-maiden-magician literary trope, the reworking of preexisting episodes from Apocryphal Acts, and the naming of characters all show the *Conversion* to be a work of pure fiction, but even though scholars have long recognized the fictionality of the Cyprianic legend, the rapid rise of the cult of Cyprian in the East in the latter half of the fourth century clearly demonstrates that the fictional narrative was presented to and received by Christian audiences as the authentic *Act* of historical converts, and surely it was this presentation that necessitated the subsequent production of the *Martyrdom*, since the *Conversion* does not narrate the deaths of the “saints.” The *Conversion* is a simple narrative, generically akin to the Apocryphal Acts and other novelistic conversion narratives like *Joseph and Aseneth*. The commonly used title is not original but derives from the Latin translation, which supplied the title *Conversio*. In the vast majority of Greek manuscripts, however, the piece bears the title *πρᾶξις*, which may be the result of a later scribe who recognized that the narrative is really an unfinished hagiographical fragment (and perhaps came into being only when the text began to circulate together with the *Confession* and *Martyrdom*). Manuscript P, however, is alone in preserving the title *ὁμολογία τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Ἰουστίνης*, which could well be the original title. It is notable that the text begins with Justa’s conversion and concludes with her ecclesiastical promotion. Justa converts of her own volition, without requiring proofs like Cyprian; Justa conquers each of the demons through prayer and the sign of the cross and incites Cyprian’s own conversion. Just(in)a is the hero of the narrative, not Cyprian. Nevertheless, audiences must have been more interested in the figure of Cyprian Magus. In subsequent *Acts* Justina becomes a submerged character and plays a much less prominent role. The *Confession* is concerned predominantly with Cyprian’s past participations in occult traditions of magic and theurgy, and in the *Martyrdom* Justina even has doubts about suffering persecution, whereas Cyprian does not.⁷⁷

1.3. Repetition and Compositional Technique

Although Radermacher attempted to prove that the author of the *Conversion* directly borrowed the narrative core of the *Conversion* from an earlier source text, he nonetheless recognized the narrative core’s incremental, tripartite structure to be of the author’s own design and handiwork.⁷⁸ Nevertheless,

⁷⁷ See *Mart.* 4.4.

⁷⁸ Radermacher, “Cyprian,” 233.

no commentator seems to have noticed the author's glaring use of repetition in crafting these narrative sequences. The author employs a number of keywords and repeats several nearly verbatim phrases in order to build suspense and drive home his point that the demons of magic are powerless against the cross of Christ. These repetitive patterns are present to varying degrees in all Greek recensions, but they are most conspicuous in recension C (see § 1.4).

Each of the three episodes concerning Cyprian's encounters with the demons follows the same basic pattern: (1) Cyprian summons a demon; (2) the demon, confident in its abilities, agrees to proceed with the magical operation; (3) the magical operation fails; (4) the demon, now defeated and ashamed, appears once more before Cyprian; (5) Cyprian interrogates the demon. Within these three sequences the author employs various *Leitworte*, e.g., (1) καλέω, each time indicating Cyprian's conjuration of the demon; (2) θαρρέω, each time indicating Cyprian's confidence in the demons; (3) ὁ πάτηρ μου, a phrase used by the demons in the first two sequences, foreshadowing Cyprian's conjuration of the "father of demons" in the third and final sequence; and (4) ἀδρανής or ἀδρανεία, indicating the "impotence" of the demons, which the first demon presents to Cyprian as an extremely unlikely scenario, and then becomes an insult levelled by the second demon against its predecessor's performance, and then an accusation about all demons made by Cyprian himself.

4.2, 6–7	6.4–6	8.4, 6
ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς [...] ἐκάλεσεν ἐν ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ δαίμονα. [...] καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Κυπριανός· εἰπέ μοι τὰ ἔργα σου, ἵν' οὕτως πεισθῇς θαρρήσω σοι. ἔφη ὁ δαίμων· ἀποστάτης ἐγενόμην θεοῦ· πειθόμενος τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί [...]. ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας πῶς δύναμαι ταύτης ἀδρανῆς φανῆναι;	ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς κατεγέλασεν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀδρανείας καὶ θαρρῶν ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσεν ἰσχυρότερον δαίμονα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καυχώμενος ἔλεγε τῷ Κυπριανῷ· ἔγνω καὶ τὴν σὴν κέλ-ευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀδρανείαν. διὸ ἀπέστειλén με ὁ πατήρ μου διορθώσασθαί σου τὴν λύπην.	ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς καλέσας τὸν νομιζόμενον εἶναι πάντων ἰσχυρότερον, αὐτόν φημι τὸν πατέρα τῶν δαιμόνων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· τίς ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ ἀδρανεία; νενίκηταί σου πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις; [...] καὶ ὁ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς νίκης σου, ἵν' οὕτως πιστεύσας θαρρήσω σοι;

The author uses a slight incrementalism throughout each of the episodes. The second demon is "stronger" (ἰσχυρότερον) than the first, the third "stronger" (ἰσχυρότερον) than the second and in fact the strongest of them all (cf. 8.4). The author's use of repetition and incrementalism both gives the narrative suspense and foreshadows the inevitable outcomes of subsequent *agōgē* spells. Cyprian receives nearly

identical magical recipes (φάρμακον) and ritual instructions (ῥᾶνον) from the first two demons, both of which are dismal failures and necessitate the third demon's new and improved tactics.

4.8

δέξαι οὖν τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾶνον αὐτὸ ἔξωθεν
τοῦ οἴκου τῆς παρθένου καγὼ ἐλθὼν τὸν πορνικὸν
αὐτῇ ἐπάγω νοῦν καὶ εὐθέως ὑπακούσεται σου.

6.7

δέξαι οὖν τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾶνον αὐτὸ κύκλω
τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς καγὼ παραγενάμενος πείσω αὐτήν.

In both Eudocia's hexameter rendition and in the Syriac version it is the demon that gives Cyprian the magical φάρμακον and directs him to sprinkle it outside and around the virgin's apartment, not the other way around as the three Greek recensions have it.⁷⁹ The text of the Greek recensions, however, is much more sensible and much more in keeping with ancient magical practices and the surviving *agōgē* spells preserved in the Greek magical papyri.⁸⁰ In fact, the role reversals attested in both Eudocia's exemplar and the Greek exemplar used by the Syriac translator simply cannot represent the original text due to the narrative discontinuities they create. If it is the demon, and not Cyprian, that sprinkles the φάρμακον outside (4.8) and around (6.7) Justa's home, then it never enters into her apartment and hence cannot

⁷⁹ At *Conv.* 4.8 Eudocia's rendition reads Κυπριανὸς δ' ἔνεπεν κακοτερπέι δαίμονι λυγρῷ / τῇνδε λαβὼν βοτάνην κύκλω θάλαμον κατὰδουσεν / κούρης Αἰδουσίδος, ἀτὰρ ὕστατος ἵξομαι αὐτὸς / καὶ νόον ἐνήσω κραδίη πατρώιον αὐτῇ (*De S. Cypr.* 1.52–55) and at 6.7 similarly ὁ δ' αἰψά μάγος κεχαρηῶς / ἔνεπε· τῇ τόδε, δαίμον· ὄλον δὴ παρθένου ἀγνῆς / φαρμάκῳ ἐγκατὰδουσεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὀπίθεν σέο βαίνω· / πείσειν δ' αἰψ' ὀίω μιν (*De S. Cypr.* 1.106–109). For the same role reversals in the Syriac version in London, British Library, Add. 12124, see A.S. Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest* (2 vols.; Studia Sinaitica 9–10; London: Clay, 1900), 2:188–89 (f. 76a) and 190 (f. 77a). Both Eudocia's text and the Syriac version also reverse the order of the ritual prescriptions ἔξωθεν and κύκλω, an inversion which also occurs in manuscript Y of recension C (see further note 28 to the translation). The relationships between Eudocia's hexameters and the Syriac version remain to be fully explored. It is also noteworthy that Eudocia's βοτάνην at *De S. Cypr.* 1.53 seems to be closer to the Syriac version's "root" than to the Greek recensions' φάρμακον.

⁸⁰ That is to say, the magician Cyprian must execute the ritual prescriptions necessary for the demon's arrival. To note just one example, the love spell at *PGM* XXXVI. 69–101, which is said to be able to make "virgins rush out of their homes," directs the magician as follows: "Take a pure papyrus and with blood of an ass write the following names and figure, and put in the magical material from the woman you desire. Smear the strip of papyrus with moistened vinegar gum and glue it to the dry vaulted vapor room of a bath. The writing is this: 'Come, Typhon, who sit on top of the gate, IΩ ERBETH IΩ PAKERBETH IΩ BALCHOSETH IΩ APOMPS IΩ SESENRO IΩ BIMAT IAKOUMBIAI ABERRAMENTH OULERTHEXANAXETHRELUOOTHNEMAREBA TOU SETH, as you are in flames and on fire, so also the soul, the heart of her, NN, whom NN bore, until she comes loving me, NN, and glues her female pudenda to my male one, immediately, immediately; quickly, quickly'" (trans. E.N. O'Neil [slightly altered] in H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986], 270; see further J.J. Winkler's chapter "The Constraints of Desire: Erotic Magical Spells," in *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New Ancient World; New York: Routledge, 1990), 71–98; repr. in *Magika hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 216–45.

be dispelled by Justa's exorcistic puff at 5.5 (cf. 10.6).⁸¹ In both passages Cyprian becomes the subject of the first-person verbs ἐπάγω and πείσω, two actions which in both Eudocia's metaphrasis and the Syriac translation are never even given the narrative chance to fail.

The same incrementalism occurs throughout Cyprian's interrogations of the demons. Again the author employs verbatim opening clauses in the first two sequences and introduces variation into the third sequence:

6.1	8.1	10.1
ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος καὶ ἔστη ἀπέναντι τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ.	ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος καὶ ἔστη ἀπέναντι τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ.	ὁ δὲ δαίμων μετ' αἰσχύνης πολλῆς ἐνεφάνισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Κυπριανῷ.

The variation in 10.1 is occasioned by the third demon's choice of different magical tactics. The first two verbatim clauses also anticipate Cyprian's own discovery of the power of the sign of the cross and the demons' shameful flight away from (rather than back to) him in 10.15 (ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος).

6.2	8.2	10.2
καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Κυπριανός· ποῦ ἔστιν ἐφ' ἣν σε ἔπεμψα; πῶς καὶ γὰρ ἡγρύπνησα καὶ σὺ ἡστόχησας;	ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· ποῦ ἔστιν, ἐφ' ἣν σε ἔπεμψα;	ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ σὺ ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐνικῆθης ὑπὸ μιᾶς παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων; τίς οὖν ἡ δύναμις τῆς νίκης αὐτῆς, εἰπέ μοι.

The variation introduced at 10.2 brings the demonic assault round full circle to Cyprian's initial request in 4.4 (ἐρώμαι παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων, εἰ δύνασάι μοι ταύτην παρασχεῖν), although only manuscript Y of recension C preserves the words τῶν Γαλιλαίων at 10.2.

⁸¹ Unlike the Syriac translator Eudocia seems to have recognized the problem, and this may be why at *De S. Cypr.* 1.53 she has Cyprian direct the demon to sprinkle Justa's *room* (θάλαμος), whereas in the Syriac he directs the demon to "sprinkle [the root] around the house" (cf. Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:188), and why at *De S. Cypr.* 1.107 she has Cyprian direct the demon to bind her *entire home* (ὅλον δῶ), whereas in the Syriac he directs the demon to "throw [the root] outside the house" (Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:190). In order for the role reversals to make narrative sense, the demon needs to enter Justa's apartment, as in Eudocia's hexameters. These alterations appear to be Eudocia's, since they are not paralleled in any Greek manuscript. In any case, the Syriac version still has Justa blow an exorcistic puff at the first demon. The verb ἐνεφύσησε at 5.5 is to be taken literally, i.e., Justa blew directly upon the demon, which is confirmed by the repetition in 9.6 (see further note 26 to the translation).

6.3	8.3	10.3
ὁ δὲ δαίμων λέγει· μή με ἐρώτα. εἰπεῖν σοι οὐ δύναμαι· εἶδον γάρ τι σημεῖον καὶ ἔφριξα.	ὁ δὲ δαίμων λέγει· μή με ἐρώτα. εἰπεῖν σοι οὐ δύναμαι· εἶδον γάρ τι σημεῖον καὶ ἔφριξα.	ὁ δὲ δαίμων λέγει· μή με ἐρωτᾷς; εἰπεῖν σοι οὐ δύναμαι· εἶδον γάρ τι σημεῖον καὶ φρίξας ἀνεχώρησα.

Again, only manuscript Y of recension C preserves the words μή με ἐρώτα at 8.3, but the repetitions are still easily discernable in recensions A and B. The slight variations in the third demon's response signals that Cyprian's interrogations of the boastful and cantankerous demons will at long last produce fruitful results, and after the "father of demons" induces Cyprian to swear an oath of allegiance, it gains enough confidence (θαρρήσας) to identify the sign of the cross and articulates an expanded form of the demonic refrain: εἶδον τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου καὶ ἔφριξα (10.9).⁸²

The three sequences in which Justa encounters and defeats the demons also follow a noticeable pattern: (1) Justa awakes during the night; (2) she senses the onset of the demon; (3) she offers a prayer to God; (4) she "blows upon" or "rebukes" the demon and sends it away ἄτιμος. Once again, the author uses nearly verbatim clauses to introduce first two sequences:

5.1	7.1
ἡ δὲ ἁγία παρθένος τὴν τρίτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστᾶσα τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῷ θεῷ.	ἡ δὲ ἁγία παρθένος τὴν ἕκτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστᾶσα τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῷ θεῷ.

Repetition of ἀναστᾶσα in 7.1 is lacking in recension B and only recension C avoids the hiatus in ἀναστᾶσα ἀπεδίδου (so recensions A and B). The author uses verbatim repetition and slight incrementalism—only the hour of the demon's arrival has changed⁸³—and introduces variation into the third sequence: the third demon will agitate Justa with diverse fevers for six days (8.7). The rapidity with which the narrative progresses caused some problems among subsequent scribes or redactors, who mistakenly assumed all three episodes to have taken place over the course of a single night.⁸⁴

⁸² Cyprian's interrogations resemble Solomon's interrogations of demons in the *Testament of Solomon*; see further note 27 to the translation.

⁸³ Both Zahn (*Cyprian*, 144) and Radermacher (*Griechische Quellen*, 88–89) begin a new section at 5.1, but neither begins a new section at the nearly verbatim repetition, now 7.1 (cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 146; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 92–93), which somewhat obscures the tripartite contour of the narrative core.

⁸⁴ See 11.3 and note 48 to the translation.

5.2	αἰσθομένη δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ τὴν πύρωσιν τῶν νεφρῶν, τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κατασφραγισαμένη φωνῇ μεγάλη λέγει· κτλ.	7.2	καὶ αἰσθομένη τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος λέγει οὕτως· κτλ.	9.6	ἡ δὲ σύννους γεναμένη καὶ ταρᾶχθεῖσα σφοδρῶς καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπατῶν αὐτὴν σπεύδει ἐπὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ κατασφραγισαμένη τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνεφύσησε τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἄτιμον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσε.
5.5	καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, κατασφραγισαμένη πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδι ἐνεφύσησε τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἄτιμον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσε.	7.5	καὶ ταῦτα εὐξαμένη ἐπιτίμησε τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἄτιμον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσε.		

The narrative parallelism is again preserved primarily in manuscript Y of recension C, which is alone in reading καὶ αἰσθομένη τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος in 7.2, and without this clause Justa would never take notice of the demon's presence. The three episodes pave the way for Cyprian's own rebuke of the third demon, which parallels Justa's use of prayer, the sign of the cross, and exorcistic blasting (ἐνεφύσησε) or rebuke: σοὺ καταπτύω καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σου οὐ πτοοῦμαι· διὰ γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης πέπεισμαι ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ δεήσεσι τῆς παρθένου καὶ τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει ἀσθενῇ σε ὄντα, δι' ἧς καὶ γὰρ σφραγίζω ἐμαυτὸν ἀποταξάμενός σοι. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεσφραγίσατο καὶ εἶπεν· δόξα σοι, Χριστέ. πορεύου, δαίμων· ζητῶ γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν (10.13–14). Cyprian's final words, ζητῶ γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν, parallel Justa's final words to her mother prior to her conversion—ἐγὼ τὸν Χριστὸν ζητῶ (1.6)—and thus foreshadow his own imminent conversion.

The author binds together the entire narrative with descriptions of Christ as Illuminator, each time using the *Leitwort* φωτίζω (and once the cognate φωταγωγός). The *Conversion* opens with Christ's illumination of “all the earth under heaven” (1.1), which comes to include the magician Cyprian after he receives illumination as an imperious catechumen (13.7), and it closes as Cyprian begins to illuminate others “with the Word” (13.13), mirroring the opening lines. In addition, each of Justa's apotropaic prayers includes a description of Christ as Illuminator, and in this manner the author underscores the necessity of conversion in combatting demonic powers:

- 1.1 opening: πᾶσα ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐφωτίσθη τῷ λόγῳ
- 5.2 Justina's first prayer: δι' οὗ κόσμος πεφώτισται
- 7.3 Justina's second prayer: ὁ τὰ πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένα φωτίσας
- 9.8 Justina's third prayer: ὁ . . . φωταγωγῶν τοὺς σοὺς δούλους πρὸς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ σοῦ πατρός

- 13.7 Cyprian's illumination: ὁ ἐπίσκοπος . . . ἐφώτισεν αὐτόν
 13.13 closing: πολλοὺς δὲ <ἦν> φωτίζων τῷ λόγῳ

The author crafted the narrative of the *Conversion* through repetition and variation according to standard rules of composition: “We shall not repeat the same thing precisely—for that, to be sure, would weary the hearer and not refine the idea—but with changes” (*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.42.54).⁸⁵ Whether the author should receive an A grade for execution, however, is open for debate. It is difficult to know whether the verbatim or near verbatim repetitions of entire phrases or sentences in recension C are all original, but if in fact they are original, such a compositional technique could well be the source of the *Conversion*'s multiplicity of recensions. Excessive or verbatim repetition was often frowned upon and considered unsophisticated, since it could “weary the hearer,” but whereas the hearer's hands were tied, the scribe's most certainly were not, and any alterations from bored or unimpressed scribes would have tended more toward variation, dissimilarity, or omission than verbatim repetition, parallelism, or interpolations to this effect.

1.4. The Greek Manuscript Tradition (*BHG* 452)

The *Conversion* stands alone as the only text of the *Acts* available to scholars in a critical edition. Theodor Zahn published the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of the *Conversion* in 1882 from two Parisian codices, BnF gr. 1468 (siglum **P**) and BnF gr. 1454 (siglum **R**).⁸⁶ Zahn's meager manuscript evidence led him to collate these two manuscript copies with the two published Latin versions⁸⁷ and both Eudocia's and Symeon Metaphrastes' later adaptations, which pepper his apparatus criticus, but nonetheless he relied heavily on the text of **P** and followed **R** primarily in places where **P** is lacunose or decidedly corrupt.⁸⁸ One decade after the publication of Zahn's edition, Margaret Dunlop Gibson published an

⁸⁵ See further N.R. Leroux, “Repetition, Progression, and Persuasion in Scripture,” *Neot* 29 (1995): 1–25.

⁸⁶ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 136–53.

⁸⁷ Zahn used the editions of the Latin versions compiled by E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (5 vols.; Paris: F. Delaulne, 1717) 3:1621–28 (Zahn's siglum **L**² or “die jüngere lat. Recension”) and J. Klee, “Acta interpolata auctore anonymo ex MSS. collata cum editis a Martenio tom. 3 Thes. Anec.,” *AASS* Sept. VII (1760): 217–19; repr. *AASS* Sept. VII (1867): 200–202 (Zahn's siglum **L**¹ or “die ältere lat. Recension”).

⁸⁸ There are several haplographic errors and other lacunae (some conjectural) in **P** and in such cases Zahn usually supplies the text from **R**. With respect to haplographic errors one may note **P**'s omission of αὐτὸν ἱασάμενος after ἀνεκαλέσω in 5.2 (cf. 145.7 Zahn), the omission of ἦτοι ἀγγέλου in 10.10 (which Zahn does not report in his apparatus, cf. 150.1 Zahn), and

edition of the *Conversion* from a single codex housed in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, gr. 497 (siglum S).⁸⁹ Two decades later, Ludwig Radermacher discovered further manuscript evidence, which he divided into three recensions or "Fassungen" and published a synoptic edition based on a total of seven Greek manuscripts.⁹⁰ Radermacher's more comprehensive edition has superseded Zahn's as the go-to source for scholars, but his edition represented a mere steppingstone to an authoritative text and was never intended as a full-scale replacement.

Recension A (BHG 452a): Radermacher's "Fassung I"

The text of recension A is often considered to be the earliest version of the text, a determination no doubt influenced by Zahn's heavy reliance on P and Radermacher's classification of the text under the label "Fassung I."⁹¹ However, in a series of publications Claudio Bevegni has amply demonstrated that Eudocia's exemplar, from which she composed her metaphrasis in epic hexameters in the middle of the fifth century, only one century after publication of the original composition, must have exhibited readings from all three of Radermacher's recensions.⁹² All three recensions must then be considered descendants of the original text. This is not to say, however, that the original text can be reconstructed

the omission of the 12.5 καὶ πάλιν ὁ Δαβὶδ — τὰ λόγιά σου (152.1–3 Zahn). There is also a large lacuna from εἶδον τὸ σημείον in 10.6 to πάντων μείζων ἐστὶν in 10.10 (cf. 149.12–15 Zahn). Radermacher in his diplomatic edition in *Griechische Quellen* also suggests possible lacuna in 1.1 (76.I.3 Radermacher), 2.2 (80.I.6 Radermacher), 4.4 (86.I.4 Radermacher), but only in 2.2 does Zahn have recourse to R's text (cf. 141.9–10 Zahn).

⁸⁹ M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (Studia Sinaitica 8; London: Clay, 1901), xiii–xiv, 64–71.

⁹⁰ Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 73–113.

⁹¹ For example, P.M. Palmer and R.P. More chose to translate this recension despite the numerous lacunae (*The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1936], 41–52).

⁹² For specific examples, see esp. C. Bevegni, "Il *De Sancto Cypriano* dell'imperatrice Eudocia: Questioni aperte," *Koinonia* 30–31 (2006–2007): 155–168; idem, "Sui modelli del *De Sancto Cypriano* dell'imperatrice Eudocia," in *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique: Hommages à Jacques Schamp* (ed. E. Amato; Collection Latomus 296; Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 2006), 389–405; cf. idem, "Note a Eudocia, 'De Sancto Cypriano' I 5 e I 32," *Sandalion* 4 (1981): 183–89; idem, "Due note testuali ad Eudocia, *De Sancto Cypriano* I 275 e II 43," *Sandalion* 5 (1982): 277–82. The first 99 lines of Eudocia's poetic rendition of the *Conversion* were discovered in an eleventh-century codex in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPG 95) by K.A. de Meyer (*Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Graeci* [Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices manuscripti 8; Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1965], 93–94), but remained unedited until 1982. The Leiden fragment once belonged to the one known copy of Eudocia's poem in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 7.10; see C. Bevegni, "Eudociae Augustae Martyrium S. Cypriani I 1–99," *Prometheus* 8 (1982): 249–62; cf. idem, "Per una nuova edizione del *De Sancto Cypriano* dell'imperatrice Eudocia: Primi passi," *FuturAntico* 1 (2003): 29–46; idem, "Per una nuova edizione del *De Sancto Cypriano* dell'imperatrice Eudocia: Note e esegetiche," *Nea Rhome* 1 (2004): 35–44. The Florentine codex preserves only 479 hexameters from Eudocia's rendition of the second *Act*, the *Confession* (cf. 13.3), but unfortunately no verses from her rendition of the third *Act*, the *Martyrdom*, have survived.

through retroversion of Eudocia's exemplar (cf. § 1.3), only that recension A as preserved in manuscript P is not necessarily the earliest version of the text.

P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1468, ff. 84v–88r (saec. XI).⁹³

Radermacher's edition revealed that Zahn's Greek manuscripts, P and R, belonged to different recensions and that Zahn's edition was therefore eclectic. However, none of Radermacher's additional witnesses belonged to recension A, and as a result he published a diplomatic edition of BnF gr. 1468. I have collated a total of twenty⁹⁴ Greek manuscripts and so far no manuscript can be classified together with P, with the exception of a small segment of two contaminated manuscript copies of recension B which follow the text of P from roughly 11.6 to the end. The texts of the *Conversion* and *Martyrdom* in P are both *recensiones singulares*, but the text of the *Martyrdom* appears to be a mixed recension that has undergone revision, and the same may well be true of the text of its copy of the *Conversion* (but the text nonetheless still preserves unique readings supported by Eudocia's metaphrasis).

Manuscripts ΓQ of family α of recension B follow the text of manuscript P from 11.6 to 13.14 and in several places they attest readings from recension A that are not preserved in any other manuscript of recension B. Some examples:

⁹³ P (f. 84v) tit. ὁμολογία τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νώθεν ἐπὶ γῆς γενομένης κτλ., olim Regius 1833, saec. XI, membran., mm. 366 × 262, ff. 405, coll. 2, linn. 37; see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (4 vols.; Paris: Picard, 1886–1898), 2:53–54; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae nationalis parisiensis* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1896), 142–47; A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (3 vols.; TUGAL 50–52; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937–1952), 1:372–75; F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* (Subsidia hagiographica 44; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1968), 170–72; *editio princeps*: Zahn, *Cyprian*, 139–53 (edited together with manuscript R from recension B); cf. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–112 (a more or less diplomatic edition of P, s.v. “Fassung I”).

⁹⁴ Three additional manuscripts still remain to be collated. These are (1) Mount Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 275 (Lambros 4395), saec. XII; see S.P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895–1900), 2:69 (no. 4395); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:159–60; (2) Mezzojuso, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Andrea Reres, 2 (Mioni 95), saec. XIV; see M. Petta, “Tre codici greci superstiti nel monastero di Mezzojuso,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 13 (1959): 12–16; E. Mioni, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane* (2 vols.; Indici e cataloghi 20; Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1964), no. 95; and (3) Mount Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 519, saec. X; cf. A.A. Vasiliev, “Заметки о некоторых греческих рукописях житий святых на Синае,” *Византийский временник* 14 (1909): 277–84.

- 12.1 τοῦ θεοῦ ante οἶκον **FPQ** (151.17 Zahn//106.I.8 Radermacher): deest in rec. B (cf. 106.II.8 Radermacher)
- 12.2 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ηὔξατο **FPQ** (151.17 Z.//106.I.9 R.): ηὔξατο (προσηύξατο cett.) ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ rec. B (cf. 106.II.9 R.)
- 13.4 γέγονας τέλειος **FPQ** (152.14 Z.//108.I.12 R.): τέλειος εἶ rec. B (cf. 108.II.12–110.II.1 R.)
- 13.5 οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι οὕτως **FPQ** (152.16 Z.//110.I.2 R.): οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθων οὕτως rec. B (cf. 110.II.2 R.)
- 13.7 ἐλθεῖν ante ὁ ἐπίσκοπος **FPQ** (152.17 Z.//110.I.3 R.): deest in rec. B (cf. 110.II.3 R.)
- 13.7 μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας post νόμον desunt **FPQ** (152.18 Z.//110.I.4–5 R.; cf. 110.II.4 R.)
- 13.8 καὶ ἀναγνώστης ante ἱεροκήρυξ desunt **FPQ** (153.2 Z.//110.I.5 R.; cf. 110.II.6 R.)
- 13.8 καὶ θυρωρὸς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων τῆς ἀγίας αὐλῆς **FPQ** (153.4 Z.//110.I.7 R.): τῶν θείων μυστηρίων **KORTU** om. cett. rec. B (cf. 110.II.6 R.)
- 13.9 δαιμόνων **FPQ** (153.6 Z.//110.I.9 R.) sic etiam rec. C: πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων cett. rec. B (cf. 110.II.9 R.)
- 13.9 εἰδώλων μανίας **FPQ** (153.7 Z.//110.I.9 R.): Ἑλλήνων μανίας cett. rec. B (cf. 110.II.9–10 R.)
- 13.11 περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας **FQ**: περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ **P** (153.11–12 Z.//112.I.1–2 R.) om. cett. rec. B (cf. 112.II.1 R.)
- 13.12 δὲ post παρέθετο **FPQ** (153.14 Z.//112.I.4 R.): deest in cett. rec. B (cf. 112.II.3 R.)

In addition, as is evident from the example in 13.11 where **FQ**'s genitive τῆς ἐκκλησίας (so manuscript Z of recension C) seems preferable to **P**'s dative τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (although both cases may be used with the neuter substantive συμφέρον and possess the same meaning), **P**'s text could arguably be improved by consulting readings preserved in **FQ**. A few examples:

- 12.4 Ἡσαΐου **FQ**: Ὡσηέ **P** sic etiam Zahn (p. 152.1)
- 12.5 καὶ πάλιν ὁ Δαβίδ . . . πρὸς ὄρθρον **FQ**: καὶ πάλιν ὁ Δαβίδ . . . πρὸς ὄρθρον τοῦ μελετᾶν τὰ λόγια σου suppl. Zahn (p. 152.1–3) ex codice **R** om. per hapl. **P**
- 13.8 τοῦ Χριστοῦ **FQ** (cett. rec. B, cf. 110.II.7 Radermacher): Χριστοῦ **P** sic etiam Zahn (p. 153.3)

Zahn described **R**'s Ἡσαΐου, which precedes the quotation of Isa 52:13 in 12.4, as “sachlich richtig,”⁹⁵ but he took the error Ὡσηέ (so also manuscript Y of recension C) to be original on the basis of Eudocia's αὐτὶς δὲ προφάτωρ Ὡσηέ μέγας τάδ' ἔειπεν (*De S. Cypr.* 1.262). The whole of 12.5 is missing from **P** due to a scribal error occasioned by homoeoteleuton, which Zahn corrected through recourse to **R**'s text, but **FQ** preserves only a partial quotation of Ps 119:48 [118:48 LXX], which is comparable to the incomplete quotation of Gal 3:13 in both manuscripts of recension C at 12.7 (but cf. Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 1.264–266).

⁹⁵ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 152 (in app. crit.).

Both quotations may well have been fleshed out by later scribes. In other places, however, P clearly preserves the better text, e.g., ΓQ omits the phrase ἕως τοσούτου ὥστε κινηθῆναι τὴν κτίσιν in 13.7 (153.1 Zahn), which Eudocia had most certainly read in her exemplar.⁹⁶

Furthermore, collation of the bulk of the manuscript evidence reveals several variants in P that do not appear in any other manuscript and could be later interpolations:

- 3.1 Ἰουστίνη post παρθένος add. P (Ἰουστίνα corr. 142.7 Zahn prob. 82.I.8 Radermacher)
- 5.2 μόνος post τανύσας (144.22 Z./88.I.10 R.)
- 5.2 δυνάμεώς σου P (145.6–7 Z./90.I.3 R.) : δυνάμεως rec. B (cf. 90.II.3 R.)
- 7.3 τὴν δούλην σου post μὴ παρίδης με add. P (146.19 Z./94.I.7 R.)
- 7.3 ἄσπιλα post τὰ μέλη add. P (146.20 Z./94.I.8 R.)
- 7.4 τὴν σάρκα μου post ἀποδώσω add. P (147.2 Z./94.I.10 R.)
- 9.4 πῶς οὖν ante Εὐα add. P (148.4 Z./98.I.3 R.)

None of these variant readings appear to have been present in Eudocia's exemplar⁹⁷ with the possible exceptions of ἄσπιλα in 7.3 and πῶς οὖν in 9.4, which only recension A and Eudocia have in the form of a question.⁹⁸

Recension B (BHG 452b): Radermacher's "Fassung II"

The vast majority of the surviving manuscripts belong to recension B, Radermacher's "Fassung II." Radermacher used a total of five manuscript copies in his critical edition of recension B (ORTV and S),⁹⁹ two of which had been edited previously, namely manuscript R, which Zahn edited together with P, and manuscript S, which Margaret Dunlop Gibson published together with an Arabic version in 1901.¹⁰⁰ The manuscript evidence falls into two distinct text types, family α (manuscripts ΓHANQS) and family β (manuscripts KOERTUVX), although manuscripts KEO are somewhat difficult to classify since they show traces of contamination with manuscripts of family α.

⁹⁶ ἀτὰρ τόσον εὐχόμενός γε / ἔργα θεοῖο δόνησεν, ὅσα περὶ κόσμον ἔτευξε (Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 1.293–294); cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 137 and 152–53 (in app. crit.).

⁹⁷ Cf. Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 1.15, 77, 126, 127, and 161, respectively.

⁹⁸ ἀλλὰ γ' ἐμεῖο φύλαξον, ἄναξ, δέμας αἰὲν ἀπῆμον (Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 1.127).

⁹⁹ I have altered Radermacher's sigla V¹ and V² to V and T in order to avoid confusion, since superscripted numerals are now standard notation for indicating different scribal hands.

¹⁰⁰ Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, xiii–xiv, 64–71.

familia α (codices ΓΗΑΝQS):

- [Γ] Mount Athos, Μονή Βατοπεδίου 431, ff. 105v–112r (saec. XI).¹⁰¹
- H Mount Athos, Μονή Σταυρονικήτα 10 (Lambros 875), ff. 333r–338r (saec. XI).¹⁰²
- Λ Mount Athos, Μονή Μεγίστης Λαύρας, Δ 50 (Eustratiades 426), ff. 114r–119r (A.D. 1040).¹⁰³
- N Ohrid, Народен музеј 4 (Mošin 76), pp. 175–200 (saec. X).¹⁰⁴
- [Q] Mount Athos, Μονή Παντοκράτορος 40 (Lambros 1075), ff. 51v–56r (saec. XIII).¹⁰⁵
- S Sinai, Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, gr. 497 (Benešević 333), ff. 107v–112v (saec. X–XI).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Γ (f. 105v) tit. πρᾶξις τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης +, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI, membran., mm. 310 × 230, ff. 199, coll. 2, linn. 28; see S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (HTS 9; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), 84.

¹⁰² H (f. 333r) tit. τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Εἰλουστήνας τῆς παρθένου, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI, membran., mm. 350 × 260, ff. I + 356, coll. 2, linn. 34; cf. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:75 (no. 875); A. Wenger, “La tradition des oeuvres de saint Jean Chrysostome: I. Catéchèses inconnues et homélies peu connues,” *REB* 14 (1956): 5 n. 1; M. Aubineau, “Neuf manuscrits chrysostomiens: Athos, Stavronikita, 4, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 22, 31, 32,” *OCP* 42 (1976): 79; A. Piédagnel, *Panegyriques de S. Paul* (SC 300; Paris: Cerf, 1982), 61 n. 9, 325.

¹⁰³ Λ (f. 114r) tit. πρᾶξις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτυρῶν Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI (A.D. 1040), membran., mm. 310 × 240, ff. 407, coll. 3, linn. 37; see S. Eustratiades and Spyridon, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (HTS 12; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925), 60–61. Λ shares several unique variants with S. The copy of the *Martyrdom* that follows is a gemellus of S, but the copy of the *Conversion* appears to be a contamination of H and S.

¹⁰⁴ N (p. 175) tit. πρᾶξις τῶν ἁγίων μ(αρτύρων) Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. X, membran., mm. 380 × 225, pp. 518, coll. 2, linn. 38. Vladimir Mošin originally dated the codex to the thirteenth century, but Paul Canart subsequently dated it more accurately to the tenth century on the basis of similarities with the scribal hand in Athens, Εθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος, 2641 (copied in 913–914). See V. Mošin, “Раконици на Народниот музеј во Охрид,” *Зборник на трудови (посебно издание)* (1961): 231; F. Halkin, “Manuscrits byzantins d’Ochrida en Macédonie Yougoslave,” *AnBoll* 80 (1962): 7–9; P. Canart, “Apothegmes et récits monastiques dans le ms. 33 d’Ochrida,” *AnBoll* 80 (1962): 25 and n. 2; G. Garitte, “La vie grecque inédite de sainte Grégoire d’Arménie (Ms. 4 d’Ochrida),” *AnBoll* 83 (1965): 233–90; cf. M. Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”* (Littera Antiqua 9.2; Vatican City: Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 1992), tav. 66–67; A. Džurova and P. Canart, *Le rayonnement de Byzance: Les manuscrits grecs enluminés des Balkans (VI^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, *Catalogue d’exposition (XXII^e Congrès International d’Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22–27 août 2011)* (Sofia: Galerie Nationale d’Art étranger, 2011), 10, 12, 14, 145, 153–54, 162–63, 182; A. Džurova, “À propos de l’ornementation des manuscrits transcrits en minuscule bouletée: Le tétraévangile de Tirana, Korçë 92, écrit à l’encre rouge. Notes préliminaires,” in *Storie di cultura scritta: Studi per Francesco Magistrale* (ed. P. Fioretti; Collectanea 28; Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 2012), 366 and n. 24.

¹⁰⁵ Q (f. 51v) tit. + πρᾶξις τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI, membran., ff. 243 (ff. 242–243 chartac.), col. 1, linn. 32; see S.P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:97 (no. 1075); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:385–88; G. Lafontaine, “Deux vies grecques abrégées de saint Sabas,” *Le Muséon* 86 (1973): 306–8. Lambros originally dated the codex to the thirteenth century, but Ehrhard’s dating to the eleventh (so Lafontaine) is more convincing.

¹⁰⁶ S (f. 107v) tit. πρᾶξις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. X–XI, membran., mm. 310 × 250, ff. 398, coll. 2, linn. 37; see V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886), 121 (no. 497); V.N. Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur: Codices manuscripti notabiliores bibliothecae monasterii Sinaitici ejusque metochii Cahirensis* (2 vols. [= I and III.1]; Saint Petersburg: V.F.

familia β (codices KEORTUVX)

- K** Mount Athos, Μονή Καρακάλλου 8 (Lambros 1521), ff. 34v–38r (saec. X–XI).¹⁰⁷
- Ξ** Istanbul, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Μονή της Αγίας Τριάδας 102 (Tsakopoulos 94), ff. 119v/118r, 119r/118v, 125r/124v, 125v/124r, 126r–v, 268v/271r, 268r/271v *scriptura inferior* (saec. XI).¹⁰⁸
- O** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud gr. 68, ff. 45v–50r (saec. XI).¹⁰⁹
- R** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1454, ff. 95r–99v (saec. X).¹¹⁰
- T** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 68, ff. 76v–81r (saec. XIII).¹¹¹
- U** Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1238, ff. 176r^b–v, 177r–v, 38r–v, 182r–v, 143v^a *scriptura inferior* (saec. XI).¹¹²

Kiršbauma, 1911–1917), 1:178–82 (no. 497); *editio princeps*: Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, xiii–xiv, 64–71; ed. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–112 (“Fassung II,” siglum S).

¹⁰⁷ **K** (f. 34v) tit. πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰούστνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. X–XI, membran., ff. 208, coll. 2, linn. 36; see Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:130 (no. 1521); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:239–45. Another manuscript, which to date I have not seen, may also belong in this same category: Sinai, Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, gr. 519, ff. 48v–51v (saec. X); cf. Vasiliev, “Заметки о некоторых греческих рукописях,” 279 (tit. Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐρανóθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν). According to Ehrhard, “sie als weitere Exemplare derselben Sammlung betrachtet werden können” (*Überlieferung*, 1:239–40).

¹⁰⁸ See, for now, H. Delehay, “Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Scholae Theologicae in Chalcae insula,” *AnBoll* 44 (1926): 36–37. I would like to thank André Binggeli of the Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes, la Section grecque, for supplying me with photographs of the relevant folia from this codex. Binggeli plans to publish a detailed description of this codex in a forthcoming article.

¹⁰⁹ **O** (f. 45v) tit. πράξις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI, membran., mm. 240 × 180, ff. 433, coll. 2, linn. 37; see C. Van de Vorst and H. Delehay, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae* (Subsidia hagiographica 13; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1913), 333–36 (no. 415); H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensioem codicum Graecorum continens* (repr. with corrections from the edition of 1853; Bodleian Library, Quarto Catalogues 1. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1969), coll. 548–52; ed. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–112 (“Fassung II,” siglum O).

¹¹⁰ **R** (f. 95r) tit. πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., olim Colbertinus 427 deinde Regius 2014², saec. X, membran., mm. 360 × 250, ff. 180, coll. 2, linn. 36; see H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2:48; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 125–27; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:234–36, 238–40; Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris*, 164; *editio princeps*: Zahn, *Cyprian*, 139–53 (edited together with manuscript P from recension A); ed. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–112 (“Fassung II,” siglum R).

¹¹¹ **T** (f. 76v) tit. πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XIII, membran., mm. 210 × 154, ff. 118; see H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti praeside I. B. Cardinali Pitra* (Rome: Ex Typographico Vaticano, 1885), 33–34; P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1899), 213–14; cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3:758; ed. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–112 (“Fassung II,” siglum V²).

¹¹² **U** (f. 176r^b) tit. πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Ἰουστίν(ης) +, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI (scriptura superior: A.D. 1195), partes III, membran., mm. 311 × 201, ff. 381, scriptura inferior: coll. 2; see F.C. Conybeare, “The Testament of Job and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs,

- V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 866, ff. 123r–125v (saec. XII).¹¹³
- X Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека, греч. 213 (Granstrem 283), ff. 114v–119r (saec. XI–XII).¹¹⁴

Radermacher's edition of recension B is still serviceable and therefore I shall refrain from reporting minor variants in the new witnesses.

Recension B shows some clear signs of secondary redaction of readings preserved in recensions A and C, e.g., the alteration of the name Aedesius to Praylius in 2.7, and the most conspicuous example in 4.4 where Cyprian's initial request ἐρώμαι παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων, εἰ δύνασαί μοι ταύτην παρασχεῖν (cf. recc. AC) for obvious reasons has been altered to read ἐρᾷ παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας, καὶ εἰ δύνασαι αὐτὴν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἀπάγγελτον (85.II.4–5 Radermacher).¹¹⁵ Eudocia's hexameter metaphrasis clearly supports the text of recensions A and C, but she puts these words in the mouth of Aglaïdas rather than Cyprian (*De S. Cypr.* 1.25–27). It is tempting to suggest that the text preserved in recensions A and C, in which Cyprian takes the role of interlocutor, inspired the passage in *Conf.* 9.1 concerning Cyprian's personal infatuation with the virgin Justina.

according to the Text of Cod. Vatican. Graecus, 1238," *JQR* 13 (1901): 111–27, 258–74; S. de Ricci, review of P. Franchi de' Cavalieri cum Hagiographis Bollandianis, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, *RAr* 3 (1904): 288–92; R.H. Charles, *The Greek Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Edited from Nine MSS. together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), x–xi; A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* (3 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1904–1911), 3:35–43; idem, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 11; Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 261–62; K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200: VIII. Manuscripts in Rome, Part II* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1937), 15 n. 329; G. Garitte, "Deux manuscrits italogrecs (Vat. gr. 1238 et Barber. gr. 475)," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III* (Studi e testi 123; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), 16–30; A. Jacob, "Le Vat. gr. 1238 et le diocèse de Paléocastro," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 25 (1971): 516–23. Garitte first identified, described, and pieced together the hagiographical texts from the scriptura inferior of this recycled premetaphrastic menologion, which on the scriptura superior contains an important witness to the text of the Septuagint and two pseudepigraphical works.

¹¹³ V (f. 123r) tit. ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρί)ου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐρανόθεν γενεαμένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XII, membran., mm. 375 × 290, ff. 414, coll. 2, linn. 43; see Franchi de' Cavalieri (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 83–93; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:338–46; R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci: Tomus III. Codices 604–866* (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti; Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1950), 434–40; ed. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–112 ("Fassung II," siglum V).

¹¹⁴ X (f. 114v) tit. πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρί)ου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρ)ανόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI–XII, membran., mm. 235 × 190, ff. 309, coll. 2, linn. 32–35; see E.E. Granstrem, "Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ: Выпуск 3. Рукописи XI в.," *Византийский временник* 19 (1961): 234–35.

¹¹⁵ See further Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 229–30.

Recension C (BHG 452c): Radermacher's "Fassung III"

Recension C is by far the most interesting of the Greek recensions in terms of repetition and compositional technique (see § 1.3). Radermacher's edition of "Fassung III" is a diplomatic edition; like his edition of "Fassung I," it is based upon a single codex, Barb. gr. 517 (siglum Y, Radermacher's siglum B). I came upon a second copy belonging to this same recension but more closely related to recension A, which predates the Vatican manuscript by two centuries, in codex 9 of the Philotheou Monastery on Mount Athos. Since no further copies of recension A are known at present and Radermacher's edition of recension B is still serviceable, I offer here a new edition of recension C.

- Y Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 517, ff. 24r–27r (saec. XIII).¹¹⁶
 Z Mount Athos, Μονή Φιλοθέου 9 (Lambros 1772), ff. 265r–269r (saec. XI).¹¹⁷

There is possibly an additional copy of this recension in a fourteenth-century codex now housed in the Biblioteca dell'Istituto Andrea Reres in Mezzojuso, Sicily, one of three Greek codices formerly held in the Chiesa di S. Maria delle Grazie,¹¹⁸ but I suspect that this copy is in fact closer to the exemplar of the *Conversion* used by the scribe of manuscript Δ (see below).

In numerous places Z's text is closer to recension A than manuscript Y's, which in addition to some obvious interpolations suggests that Radermacher's only witness at some stage underwent further redaction. Some examples of agreements between Z and recension A (often recension A and B) against Y¹¹⁹:

¹¹⁶ Y (f. 24r) tit. πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰούστης παρθένου, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν εἰς γῆν γεναμένης κτλ., saec. XIII, membran., mm. 290 × 210, ff. 225; see H. Delehay, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Barberinianae de Urbe," *AnBoll* 19 (1900): 92–97 (no. V. 13); ed. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 77–113 ("Fassung III," siglum B).

¹¹⁷ Z (f. 265r) tit. βίος τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰούστης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γενομένης ἐπὶ γῆς κτλ., saec. XI, membran., ff. 368, coll. 2, linn. 36; see Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:151 (no. 1772); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:353–55.

¹¹⁸ Mezzojuso, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Andrea Reres, 2 (Mioni 95), ff. 66v–70v (saec. XIV); see M. Petta, "Tre codici greci," 12–16; Mioni, *Catalogo*, no. 95. Petta reports the *incipit* as follows: "τῆς μακαρίας ἐλεύσεως καὶ ἐπιφανείας, cet. ut in BHG, 452 . . . ἐν δὲ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ προσετέθη παρθένος τις ὀνόματι Ἰούστα, des. πολλοὺς δὲ διδάσκων ὁ μακάριος Κυπριανὸς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ φωτίζων . . . προσετέθη cet. ut. BHG, 452" ("Tre codici greci," 12–13). However, even though this copy preserves the name Ἰούστα, the recension may well be mixed (cf. S's variant προσετέθη δὲ καὶ τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ἰουστίνα [76.II.6 Radermacher in app. crit.]) or may not fit into either category, as the manuscripts described below.

¹¹⁹ Occasionally the opposite occurs and Y agrees with recension A against Z, e.g., at 11.2 (ἄγιος ἐπίσκοπος Y sic etiam rec. A : μακάριος Z sic etiam rec. B).

- 1.1 γενομένης ἐπὶ γῆς Z : ἐπὶ γῆς γενομένης rec. A εἰς γῆν γεναμένης Y γενομένης (γεναμένης V)
εἰς γῆν rec. B
- 1.3 δύνανται Z sic etiam recc. AB : οἰκονομίαν Y
- 1.3 ἀκατάληπτον Z sic etiam rec. A : ἀκατάλυτον Y sic etiam rec. B
- 1.3 ἔφερε Z sic etiam recc. AB : ὑπέφερε Y
- 1.4 ἤθελε Z sic etiam rec. A : ἐπόθει Y
- 3.2 ὁρῶν Z sic etiam rec. AB : θεωρῶν Y
- 4.4 ταύτην Z sic etiam rec. A : αὐτὴν Y sic etiam rec. B
- 5.2 πᾶν Z sic etiam recc. AB : ἅπαν Y
- 6.1 ὁ δὲ δαίμων Z sic etiam recc. AB : καὶ Y
- 8.5 ἐτοιμάσω Z sic etiam recc. AB : ἐτοιμάζω Y
- 9.1 ἀγία Z sic etiam recc. AB : δούλη Y
- 10.2 τίς οὖν Z sic etiam recc. AB : τί σου νῦν ἐστὶν Y
- 10.11 οὐκοῦν καὶ γὰρ Z sic etiam recc. AB : καὶ γὰρ οὖν Y
- 11.1 στρατεύσασθαι Z sic etiam recc. AB : σταυρωθῆναι Y
- 12.3 εἰσιόντι . . . αὐτῷ sic etiam recc. AB : εἰσιόντος . . . αὐτοῦ Y
- 13.9 ἐπηκολούθησε sic etiam recc. AB : παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐδόθη Y

While it remains a possibility that Z's text is a product of manuscript contamination, collation of the majority of the surviving manuscript witnesses reveals clear cases of redaction in Y. There are, for example, several minor interpolations that appear only in Y:

- 1.1 θείῳ ante λόγῳ add. Y (77.III.5 Radermacher)
- 1.3 καὶ κυρίου post σωτῆρος add. Y (77.III.10 R.)
- 4.3 τῷ Κυπριανῷ post λέγει add. Y (87.III.2–3 R.)
- 9.6 καὶ ἀπῆι κατησχυμμένος post ἀπέλυσε add. Y (99.III.9 R.)
- 10.4 τοῦ μὴ ἀναχωρήσαί μου post μοι add. Y (101.III.8 R.)
- 10.6 μὴ ante παραμενούσας add. Y (101.III.10 R.)
- 10.10 ἀμαρτήσαντος post ἀγγέλου add. Y (103.III.2 R.)
- 11.1 τέσσαρσιν post νεανίσκοις add. Y (105.III.2 R.)
- 12.9 εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μ<οι> (Matt 19:21) post εὐαγγελίου add. Y (109.III.7–9 R.)

Furthermore, clear evidence of redaction beyond mere interpolation occurs towards the end of Y's text. Some notable examples are ἵνα σὺν σοὶ παρθενεύω τῷ σωτῆρι in 9.1 and κολαστηρίων πυρουμένων in 10.10,¹²⁰

¹²⁰ On the latter variant, see note 43 to the translation.

but the most conspicuous instance of redaction is the expansion of Cyprian's period of lamentation from one night to one week¹²¹:

- 11.7 ἕως ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ post σιγῆς add. Y (107.III.7 Radermacher)
 12.1 ὁρθρου δὲ γεναμένου Z (sic etiam recc. AB) : μετὰ δὲ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁρθρου
 γεναμένου Y (107.III.8 R.)

Nevertheless, I have not always accepted such agreements between Z and the other recensions, e.g., Z's ἦλθεν before εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον in 2.3, for the reason that the clause ἀπῆει εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον occurs repeatedly in recension C (3.1, 7; 11.1; 12.1) and Z's τὸν πατρικὸν νοῦν ἐπάγω in 4.8 (cf. rec. A), where Y preserves the intriguing and more sensible variant τὸν πορνικὸν αὐτῇ ἐπάγω νοῦν.¹²²

Other Manuscripts and Recensions

A few manuscripts present unwieldy texts that cannot be classified under recension A, B, or C due to conflation with Metaphrastes' revision, subsequent redaction, or apparent contamination:

- I Istanbul, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Αγίας Τριάδας 100 (Tsakopoulos 92), ff. 17v–18v [9v–10v Delehaye] (saec. XI).¹²³
 II Mount Athos, Βιβλιοθήκη του Πρωτάτου, 2 (Lambros 2), ff. 61r–64r (saec. XI).¹²⁴
 W Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hist. gr. 73, ff. 188r–189v scriptura inferior (saec. XI).¹²⁵

¹²¹ See note 50 to the translation.

¹²² See further § 1.3 and note 22 to the translation.

¹²³ I (f. 17v) tit. + μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθένου, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐρανόθεν γενομένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., des. mutil., καὶ αἰσθημένη τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπιστάντο[ς] αὐτῇ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν φρενῶν αὐτῆς διαπορουμέν[ων] σφοδρῶς, πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτ[ῆς] δεσπότην ἀτενίσασα τοῦ[ς] ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας | (cf. *Conv.* 5.2); saec. XI, membran., mm. 380 × 290, ff. 271, coll. 2; cf. Delehaye, “Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Scholae Theologicae,” 31–35. The codex has suffered greatly since Delehaye catalogued it in 1926. At least one folium from the text of the *Conversion*, it seems, has been lost to rats, but even in Delehaye's day the text was incomplete. Delehaye reported the foliation as 9v–11v and the des. mutil. as ὅτι περ θύραν οὐκ ἔχει ἀλλὰ πάντα | (*Conv.* 8.7?). I would like to thank André Binggeli of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, la Section grecque, who is presently cataloguing the hagiographic materials in the collection, for supplying me with the correct foliation.

¹²⁴ II (f. 61r) tit. βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κ(υρί)οῦ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γεναμένης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κτλ., saec. XI, membran., mm. 380 × 290, ff. 284, coll. 2, linn. 43; see Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 111–2 (no. 2); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3.1132–35.

¹²⁵ W (f. 188r), sine titulo, inc. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) οὐ(ρα)νόθεν γεναμένης εἰς γῆν κτλ., saec. XI, membran., mm. 245 × 170, ff. I + 196; see H. Hunger and O. Kresten. *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (3 vols.; Wien: Prachner/Hollinek, 1961–1992), 1:82–83; F. Halkin, “Manuscripts grecs des

François Halkin's classification of Π under the *BGH* 455p is somewhat misleading.¹²⁶ The item number *BHG* 455 designates a particular recension of the *Martyrdom* (see § 3.4), but codex Π contains a copy of the *Conversion* (so rightly Halkin's note on the *incipit*) that has been conflated with Symeon Metaphrastes' revision, i.e., *BHG* 456 (so rightly Halkin's note on the *desinit*). The copy of the *Martyrdom* that follows on ff. 64r–67r, however, is not conflated in the same manner and preserves only the text of Metaphrastes. Why exactly the scribe chose to conflate the original *Act* with Metaphrastes' revision is something of a mystery since no pattern emerges in the seemingly random choice of one text over the other.¹²⁷ In several places the portions from the *Conversion* in Π parallel the text of recension C, and these are occasionally useful in reconstructing problematic passages (see 11.3 and 13.14 in app. crit.). In other places, however, the text of Π 's exemplar resembles the copies in manuscript I, an otherwise unknown recension with often bewildering deviations, omissions, and additions, e.g., after 4.8 I alone continues the narrative with the phrase καὶ λαβὼν ὁ Κυπριανὸς τὸ [φαρ]μακὸν ἐποίησε καθὼς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ δαίμων (a nearly verbatim clause from 6.8), or manuscript W, which preserves readings from all three recensions, although all of its variants cannot be explained as products of contamination. Each of

Fonds 'Hist.' et 'Phil.' à Vienne et du Fonds 'Holkham' à Oxford," *AnBoll* 79 (1961): 393; ed. J. Grusková, *Untersuchungen zu den Griechischen Palimpsesten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Denkschriften Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 401; Wein: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 48–49, cf. 179 pl. VII.

¹²⁶ *BHG* 455p: "3p. Vita et passio. Inc. (fere ut 1c) Τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου — Des. fere ut 4. [= *BHG* 456]"; F. Halkin, *Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica 47; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1969), 54; idem, *Novum auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica 65; Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1984), 57.

¹²⁷ The contents of Π are as follows: *Conv.* 1.1–2; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 2 (Πραϋλιός τις — οὕτω καθεξῆς [cf. *PG* 115:849c]); *Conv.* 1.3–2.5; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 5 (ἐπειτα βαθμοῦ — τὴν πείραν ἐπήνεγκεν [cf. *PG* 115:853a–b]); 3.2–5; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 8 (Ἀγλαΐδας δὲ — ἡ αὐτῆς ἀποστῆναι [cf. *PG* 115:856a]); *Conv.* 3.7 (partially conflated with *Vit. S. Cypr.* 8); *Vit. S. Cypr.* 8–11 (ὁ δὲ Ἀγλαΐδας — τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐπιδοῦναι [cf. *PG* 115:856b–857a]); 4.1; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 11 (ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς συνέθετο — θήσω προέχειν [cf. *PG* 115:857b]); *Conv.* 4.5; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 11 (καὶ τί γὰρ φησιν — ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταῦτα [cf. *PG* 115:857b–c]); *Conv.* 5.1–6.4 (partially conflated with *Vit. S. Cypr.* 13); *Conv.* 7.1–8.5 (partially conflated with *Vit. S. Cypr.* 13); *Conv.* 8.6–9.2 (partially conflated with *Vit. S. Cypr.* 14); *Vit. S. Cypr.* 14 (πολλῶν μὲν δεῖται — τοιούτου καλοῦ. [cf. *PG* 115:860d–861a]); *Conv.* 9.4; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 14–15 (εἰ οὖν διέμεινε παρθενεύουσα — ἡ παρθένος Ἰοῦσα ἀκούσασα [cf. *PG* 115:861a]); *Vit. S. Cypr.* 15–16 (τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπατῶν αὐτὴν — συναγαγὼν τε αὐτὰς καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν [cf. *PG* 115:861b–864a]); *Conv.* 11.1–7; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 17 (καὶ αἰτῶν τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔλεος — ἐπορεύθη [cf. *PG* 115:864b–c]); *Conv.* 12.2; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 17 (πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιστροφῆς σκοπὸν — γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρρα [cf. *PG* 115:864c–d]); *Conv.* 12.3–4; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 17 (ὁ ἀγαπητὸς δὲ ἡρέτησα — πληγείς τὴν καρδίαν ὁ Κυπριανὸς λέγει [cf. *PG* 115:865a–b]); *Conv.* 13.5; *Vit. S. Cypr.* 17–18 (καταπλαγείς δὲ ὁ διάκονος — καταπαθὼν ὁμοῦ καὶ δαιμόνων [cf. *PG* 115:865b–c]); *Conv.* 13.10 conflated with *Vit. S. Cypr.* 19 (ὅθεν καὶ δεκαεὶς χρόνους — κατέστη ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Καρχηδόνι [cf. *PG* 115:865d–868a]); *Conv.* 13.12–13, 14 conflated with *Vit. S. Cypr.* 19 (οὕτως αὐτῷ ἔχοντι — θύση ταῦτα καὶ ἀπολέση [cf. *PG* 115:868b]). The text then continues with Metaphrastes' revision at *Vit. S. Cypr.* 20 (*PG* 115:868b).

these copies seem to stem from another, otherwise unidentified recension. Codex **Π** is the byproduct of a Byzantine scribe who seems to have preferred on the one hand the *Conversion*'s "original dialogue" and on the other Symeon's narration. But the origin of this Cyprianic "diadeuteron" seems to lie in the scribe's desire to resolve the conflicting reports pertaining to Cyprian's bishopric, i.e., in the original *Act* Cyprian becomes bishop of Antioch, but in Metaphrastes' rendition he becomes bishop of Carthage (*Vit. S. Cypr.* 19), a datum which Symeon no doubt took from Gregory's panegyric.

In 1903 Victor Ryssel proposed that the *Conversion* was originally written in Syriac and that the Greek recensions are translations made from the Syriac text, but Reitzenstein in an appendix to his 1917 study argued persuasively against Ryssel's thesis.¹²⁸ For example, after Justa beats Aglaïdas and tears off his clothes, instead of θρίαμβον αὐτὸν κατέστησεν (3.7) the Syriac text reads "she left him stupefied."¹²⁹ But the Greek phrase θρίαμβον αὐτὸν κατέστησεν unquestionably derives from ἔστησεν αὐτὸν θρίαμβον in *Acts Paul Thec.* 26 (see § 1.2), and the connection to this source is made even more explicit in the Syriac's interpolated text "just as her sister Thecla had done *to the insolent Alexander*." The Syriac translator has no doubt mistaken θρίαμβον for ἔκθαμβον.¹³⁰ Moreover, several unique variants, omissions, and additions in the Syriac version are explicable as translations from the Greek, as evidenced by numerous parallels with Eudocia's hexameter verses (see § 1.3) and manuscripts of recension C, manuscript Y in particular (unedited in Ryssel's time), e.g., the variant διὰ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων in 1.4, the addition of τέσσαρσιν after νεανίσκοις in 11.1, the interpolation concerning Cyprian's seven day period of lamentation in 11.7–12.1, and the omission of the two clauses in 13.13 concerning Justa's name change and her ecclesiastical promotion (see § 1.1).

I offer here only an improved edition of recension C. The section numbers in parentheses in the left-hand margins are Zahn's and those in brackets in the right-hand margins are Klee's section numbers to the Latin version in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition.

¹²⁸ V. Ryssel, "Der Urtext der Cyprianuslegende," *ASNSL* 110 (1903): 273–311; cf. Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 71–79.

¹²⁹ Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:187 (f. 75b).

¹³⁰ So Radermacher, "Cyprian," 72.

ACT 2

THE *CONFESSION OF SAINT CYPRIAN*

The *Confession* is narrated in the first person, in Cyprian's own words. Cyprian's confessional autobiography begins with a detailed account of his religious history. As an infant Cyprian is dedicated to Apollo and initiated into the "dramaturgy of the dragon." As a young child he enters into the mysteries of Mithras, participates in the processions of Eleusis, and serves the snake of Pallas on the Acropolis. As an adolescent he spends an initiatory period on Mount Olympus and enters into the mysteries of Hera in Argos and those of Artemis in Sparta. When he is twenty years of age he travels to Memphis and gains experience in the Egyptian adyta, in which he is privileged to visions of the variegated forms of demonic grotesquerie. At thirty years of age he journeys to Chaldaea and there he learns the motion of the aether. When he is presumably around forty years of age, Cyprian's truly impressive *curriculum vitae* culminates in an encounter with the devil himself. Cyprian then sets up his magical shop in Antioch in Syria, where, while offering his services to the populace, he meets the young man Aglaïdas who has fallen desperately in love with the virgin Justina. Cyprian tells the story of his attempts to seduce Justina by means of erotic and demonic magic, at first on behalf of Aglaïdas, but soon Cyprian, too, falls in love with the beautiful virgin. At one point Cyprian transforms Aglaïdas into a sparrow, but when Justina peeps her head out her apartment window he loses his sparrowness and nearly falls from her rooftop to his death. Neither the phalanx of demons that Cyprian sends to her door nor the dragon or devil is able to penetrate even her vestibule. Justina conquers them all with the sign of the cross. When Cyprian realizes that his magic is powerless against the sign of the cross, he renounces the devil and seeks solace among the Christians. Cyprian stands before a Christian audience in Antioch and delivers a lengthy and lurid confession. His past misdeeds include cutting open pregnant women and sacrificing their unborn children, pederasty, rape, sexual enslavement, decapitations of foreigners, sinking ships, toppling over churches and tearing churchgoers to pieces, and cracking wise about prayer. Cyprian laments over the prospect that God will not forgive him because he surpassed in impiety even the Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres who

battled against Moses. The church member Eusebius then responds to Cyprian's public confession. He accepts Cyprian's confession and tells him that Christ will forgive him because he not only acted out of ignorance but was acted upon by the devil. Eusebius provides Cyprian with several examples of biblical figures who were received by God after they turned from their evil ways. After Eusebius explains to him the true nature of Christian education and worship, Cyprian joins the Christian community in Antioch, burns his magical books, and receives baptism.

2.1. Author, Date, and Provenance

At an early stage in the Greek manuscript tradition the *Confession* was sandwiched between the *Conversion* and *Martyrdom*, where it sticks out like a sore and gore-soaked thumb.¹ The change in Greek style from *Conversion* to *Confession* is immediately noticeable and extends far beyond the *Confession*'s first-person narrative framework. The narrative is highly imaginative, at times alarmingly gruesome and graphic, and brims throughout with esoteric lore. The author commands a considerably wider range of vocabulary, which consists of rare terminologies, technical jargon, and the occasional *hapax legomenon*,² and his prose is replete with colorful metaphors (e.g., the description of the demon of πορνεία in 4.1 and the diabolical metaphor concerning the pretentious cripple and his battle-proven warhorse in 9.5) and grammatically and syntactically much more complex and sophisticated. The author is to be lauded for his cleverness in crafting isolated scenes like the “sparrow incident” in 10.3, which brilliantly combines the erotic symbolism of the sparrow with scriptural exegesis of Ps 102:7 (101:8 LXX) through the lens of Matt 10:29,³ and for his inventiveness in drafting a magician's occult *curriculum vitae*, which permeates with cryptic mythological and antiquarian allusions (e.g., in phrases like μετεωρισμούς λοξῶν καὶ ἄκρων

¹ The three *Acts* circulated together as a unit at least as early as the middle of the fifth century when Eudocia drafted her poetic rendition. Since it is highly unlikely that Eudocia pooled the *Acts* together herself, it is reasonable to suggest that the *Acts* were disseminating as a trilogy by around the turn of the fifth century. Two of the surviving manuscripts of the *Acts*, namely codices HN, preserve all three texts in the sequence: (1) *Conversion*, (2) *Confession*, (3) *Martyrdom*. Zahn's claim to the contrary was based on insufficient manuscript evidence (*Cyprian*, 79); on the distribution of the *Acts* in Greek manuscripts, see further Table 2 on page 87.

² Some examples of the author's peculiar vocabulary: φασματικός (2.3; 3.4); μαγγανικός (2.4; 19.14); ἐνδολος (3.2; 15.1); σηπώδης (4.1); παραμηνύω (5.3); συμμορφάζομαι (7.8); ἐκνευρώ (8.5); κουρόκομος (24.5).

³ See further note 80 to the translation.

διηγήσεων in 2.2 and διὰ τὴν Ἑκάτην ξένων ἀνδρῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέτεμον in 14.2) and subtle references to contemporary Greco-Roman religions (e.g., ἄνθος χρυσοῦ in 6.10 and ἐκθηλύνοντα in 26.4).⁴

The claim that the author's presentation, or rather a subsequent redactor's bowdlerized version of that original presentation, falls short as a continuous narrative is unfounded. What many scholars have classified as narrative discrepancies or narrative discontinuities caused by subsequent redaction or epitomization⁵ are better understood as narrative idiosyncrasies occasioned by the author's unique mode of presentation. To be sure, some of the author's characters seem to materialize from thin air and are either unannounced (e.g., Justina in 8.2) or underdeveloped (e.g., Timothy in 13.3, 12–13), and some of the author's transitions from one scene to another seem markedly abrupt. For example, after Cyprian renounces the devil (11.1–15) and fights off his attack with the sign of the cross (12.1–5), Cyprian appears without transition before a Christian audience in Antioch (his first appearance): "Upon hearing these words I was sorely afraid, for the devil had answered me cleverly. *For this reason, I said to those of you who were present* (διὸ ὑμῖν τοῖς παροῦσι λέγω), 'Have pity on my youthful folly...'" (13.1–2). This "awkward narrative transition," in addition to sporadic cues like the introductory address to pagan despisers of the Christian mysteries in 1.1 and the vocative address ὦ ἄνδρες at 10.1, which parallels the vocative address (ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀντιοχεῖς) to the Christian audience in Antioch at 14.1 (Cyprian's second appearance), leaves the reader with the distinct impression that the entirety of the *Confession* from start to finish intends (or rather pretends) to be an authentic transcript of a public *postconversion* speech delivered, presumably, to a mixed Antiochene audience of both pagans and Christians as testimony of Cyprian's religious conversion—and not (or rather, not only) the public *preconversion* speech delivered, as the responses of Timothy (13.3–11) and Eusebius (21.1–22.21 and 24.1–26.9) clearly indicate, to an exclusively Christian audience in Antioch (14.1–20.3), in which Cyprian outlines his past crimes as a pagan sorcerer.

⁴ See further notes 17–18, 56–57, 99, and 168 to the translation.

⁵ E.g., Delehaye's characterization of the *Confession*, which was heavily influenced by the speculative theories of Zahn and Reitzenstein (described below and in § 1.1), runs as follows: "Pourtant la Confession serait bien difficile à comprendre si nous n'avions pas la Conversion. Elle débute ex abrupto par un long monologue, et ne porte pas en elle-même les éléments nécessaires pour éclairer la situation. La difficulté ne tient pas seulement à des maladresses de rédaction. On ne sait pas à quel auditoire s'adresse ce discours, et bien des allusions rapides supposent un récit plus détaillé, de même les interventions de certains personnages, qui ne sont nulle part annoncés. N'acceptons donc pas la Confession comme un morceau complet. Elle suppose au moins une introduction qui mette chaque chose à sa place. Comme l'auteur n'a pas pu prendre pour point de départ la Conversion sous sa forme actuelle, Zahn a raison de postuler un récit perdu, auquel la Confession faisait suite" ("Cyprien," 321).

The *Confession* is from start to finish really an exercise in ethopoeia, “character-making,” or prosopoeia, “person-making,” which accounts for both the internal narrative discontinuities and external narrative discrepancies.

In order to explain the narrative discrepancies between the *Conversion* and the *Confession* Zahn and Reitzenstein each proposed elaborate composition histories, in which hypothetical lost versions take center stage. Zahn thought the *Confession* was composed first but posited a lost introduction upon which the *Conversion* was later based; Reitzenstein thought the *Conversion* came first but posited a lost original of the *Confession* from which the narrative in its present form developed.⁶ These narrative discrepancies are difficult to ignore, but they are more easily explained through literary criticism than through some imagined *Ur-text*. To note some of the more jarring discrepancies: (1) in the *Conversion* each of the three demons successfully enters into Just(in)a’s apartment, but in the *Confession* the three demonic aggressors are transformed into an entire phalanx of demons, commanded by the dragon or devil,⁷ but not a single one is able even to break through one “weak board” on Justina’s door (8.5); (2) in the *Conversion* Cyprian’s attempt to seduce Just(in)a with magic is strictly for the benefit of his client Aglaïdas, but in the *Confession* Cyprian, too, falls in love with Justina and wants her for himself (9.1); (3) the *Conversion* says nothing about the fate of Aglaïdas, but in the *Confession* Aglaïdas renounces the devil and converts to Christianity (28.3); (4) the *Conversion* concludes with Cyprian’s ascension to the bishopric of Antioch, but in the *Confession* Cyprian never achieves any ecclesiastical position (cf. 28.4).⁸ Furthermore, none of the *Conversion*’s supporting cast members (Aedesius, Cledonia, Praëlius, Optatus, Anthimus, and Asterius) appear in the *Confession*, with the exception of the passing reference to Justina’s parents, who remain nameless (10.8). Instead, two new supporting characters are introduced, namely

⁶ Cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 87–90; Reitzenstein, “Cyprian,” 58–59.

⁷ At times the dragon (in 3.6; 8.1, 3, 4; 9.2, 6, 7; 10.1; 14.2; 22.7, 13) and the devil (6.4; 7.7; 8.7; 9.1 [bis], 2, 5; 10.4, 10; 11.1; 13.4, 5; 14.2; 19.13; 21.1, 7, 9; 22.16, 18; 28.1, 3) appear to be two distinct characters, but it is clear from passages like 9.1–2 that they are in fact one and the same. The author most likely based the figure of the dragon or serpent (δράκων) on episodes from the Apocryphal Acts, in which dragons or serpents are often symbolic of sexual desire; see T. Adamik, “The Serpent in the Acts of Thomas,” in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (ed. J.N. Bremmer; Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 6; Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 115–24; cf. D. Ogden, *Dragons, Serpents, and Slayers in the Classical and Early Christian Worlds: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 196–206.

⁸ These are the four main narrative discrepancies outlined in Delehay’s analysis (“Cyprien,” 320–21); cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 73–76.

Timothy (13.13) and Eusebius (21.1; 23.2; 24.1; 28.1, 2, 4).⁹ But despite these differences the *Confession* still involves the same main characters (Cyprian, Justina, and Aglaïdas), and its plot is identical to the plot of the *Conversion*.

Of the four main narrative units in the *Confession* (chs. 1–7; 8–13; 14–20; 21–28) only the second (chs. 8–13), with one notable exception, parallels the *Conversion*'s narrative. It is clear from the manner in which the author transitions (8.1–7) from his presentation of Cyprian's occult *curriculum vitae* (1.1–7.10) to the narrative portions (9.1–12.5) paralleling but diverging from the *Conversion* that the author assumes his audience is already familiar with the background story of Cyprian, Justina, and Aglaïdas as narrated in the *Conversion*. The transitional section does not progressively build up to the conclusion that all demons, however strong, can be rendered powerless before a single Christian virgin, but rather it begins with a rapid succession of rhetorical declamations to that effect (8.3–5). That the audience already knows Just(in)a's backstory, of which there is absolutely no trace in the *Confession*, is apparent from the manner in which she is introduced: she is ἡ παρθένος Ἰουστῖνα (cf. *Conf.* 8.2) as opposed to τις παρθένος Ἰουστῖνα (cf. *Conv.* 1.2). The narrative discrepancies, moreover, are not so much contradictions as they are entertaining and ribald embellishments. In the first narrative unit (chs. 1–7) the author goes to great lengths to develop the figure of Cyprian the magician and to demonstrate his vast knowledge of unseen demonic realms: Cyprian sees “bands of demons” (1.8) and describes in detail sixteen forms of demonic grotesquerie from his initiatory escapades in Egypt (4.1–2), but he admits that these are only “a few from the many” (4.6), a few from hundreds (4.4–5; 5.3). It would be anticlimactic, to say the least, if the author were to then rehash the *Conversion*'s short story about three measly and quickly defeated demons.¹⁰ Furthermore, some episodes are similar enough to suggest that the author has taken scenes

⁹ These are most likely *literary names*, Τιμοθέος from Paul's disciple and coworker Timothy (Acts 16:1, etc.) and Εὐσέβιος either from Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260/265–339/340) or from Eusebius of Nicomedia (d. 341), who was a distant relative of and early tutor in Scripture (after 337) to Julian the Apostate. If the name is not merely an homage to the influential “son of Pamphilus,” then it would create an interesting scenario in which a pagan theurgist is converted by a churchman named Eusebius, reversing the trajectory of Julian's life. On the identity of the character Eusebius in the *Julian Romance*, see J.W. Drijvers, “Julian the Apostate and the City of Rome: Pagan-Christian Polemics in the Syriac *Julian Romance*,” in *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink* (ed. W. Jac van Beekum et al.; OLA 170; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 14–15.

¹⁰ In the *Conversion* the demons both succeed in penetrating Just(in)a's apartment and manage to get her juices flowing; she feels pangs of desire (5.2) and pleads for divine assistance in resisting the temptation to break her vow of chastity (5.4). The change introduced in the *Confession* is no doubt deliberate: the author turns the demons' inability to penetrate Justina's apartment into a metaphor for the preservation of her virginity. In addition to the expansion of the demonic

from the *Conversion* as his starting points, e.g., the devil's transformation of the demon of prostitution (πορνεία), an amorphous but malleable mephitic dross (4.1), into the shape of Justina (9.8), the devil's attempt to strangle Cyprian (12.1–5), and possibly even Cyprian's personal obsession with Justina (9.1).¹¹ Others, however, are completely new and novelistic, like Aglaïdas' suicidal tendencies (9.4), Cyprian's magical transformation of Aglaïdas into a tiny sparrow (10.3), and the devil's oracle (10.10). Clearly the author's intention was not to rewrite an existing story but rather to supplement and enhance it.¹² In fact, the basic story of Cyprian, Justina, and Aglaïdas takes up less than one quarter of the narrative, and its literary function is merely to segue from Cyprian's occult initiations in Athens, Memphis, and Chaldaea (chs. 1–7) to his lurid public confession before a Christian audience in Antioch (chs. 14–20). The author must have seen the *Conversion* narrative, and the figure of Cyprian Magus especially, as a perfect vehicle for showcasing his knowledge of occult and esoteric lore. What was a very subtle and hardly discernable polemic against Neoplatonic theurgists in the *Conversion* becomes a full-blown exposé in the *Confession* (see § 2.3). Moreover, the seed for the author's primary focus, Cyprian's confession, had already been planted in the *Conversion*: “But Cyprian went away to his own house and smashed all the idols, and the whole night long he beat his breast, saying, ‘How shall I find the courage to appear before Christ when I committed such atrocities? How shall I praise him with my mouth, with which I cursed holy men, when I have invoked the unclean demons?’” (11.6).

In sum, the author deliberately embellished some details from the *Conversion* to suit his own literary designs. Other details like Just(in)a's conversion and Cyprian's ecclesiastical ascension are left

hoard from three to phalanx, the author also expands the duration of the assault on Justina. In the *Conversion* the three demonic assaults last little more than one week: the first two occur over the course of a single night (cf. 5.1 and 7.1) and the third takes place at midnight, after the “father of demons” has inflicted Justina with fevers for six days (cf. 8.7). In the *Confession*, however, the assault on Justina becomes a non-stop siege lasting (at least) seventy days (cf. 9.1). The end result is that the sign of the cross becomes a much more powerful symbolic gesture.

¹¹ The devil's fashioning of the demon of prostitution may well have been inspired by the third demon's appearance to Just(in)a “in the form of a virgin” (*Conv.* 9.1) and the devil's attempt to strangle Cyprian by the scene in which the third demon accuses Cyprian of breaking his oath (*Conv.* 10.12). As for Cyprian's erotic feelings for Justina (*Conf.* 9.1, cf. 10.2), it could conceivably derive from the wording of Cyprian's request to the first demon (*Conv.* 4.4).

¹² E.g., the author is careful not to describe the characters Timothy and Eusebius as deacons or bishops like the *Conversion*'s Praylius, Asterius, and Anthimus (or, if the author was intelligent enough to know that no bishop of Antioch ever bore the name Cyprian, he may well have swept these characters under the rug intentionally). Timothy (13.13) and Eusebius (21.1) are both called ἐπίσκοπος, and although Cyprian calls the latter πατήρ (23.2; 27.1; 28.1, 4), Eusebius is clearly not a bishop, because Eusebius himself tells Cyprian that they will go to see the πάπα together (25.8), an early Christian colloquialism for “bishop,” and the text's conclusion states that Eusebius became πρεσβύτερος (28.4).

unparalleled in the *Confession* because the author's intention was not to replace the *Conversion* but to supplement it. Many of the unique narrative details, moreover, certainly have their origins in questions left unanswered in the simplistic and repetitive *Conversion* narrative: Who was Cyprian and where did he acquire expertise in the art of magic? What other atrocities and crimes against humanity did Cyprian commit? What ever became of Cyprian's rich client Aglaïdas? In this respect the *Confession* so resembles the varieties of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and New Testament Apocrypha, a great number of which had their origins in the same "need to know" and which with equal deliberation diverge from and build upon preexisting narratives.

The *Confession* then must postdate the *Conversion*, which was probably composed in the early 360s (see § 1.1). In addition to the *Conversion* Gregory of Nazianzus had also consulted the *Confession* in preparation for his panegyric, and he relied more heavily upon the latter account for his portrayal of "the sorrier side" of Cyprian. To note only the clearest cases of Gregory's reliance upon the *Confession*: (1) Gregory claims that Cyprian "publicizes at length and in severe terms the depravity of his former life so that he might bring forth this very gift, his public confession (τὴν ἐξαγόρευσιν), as fruit for God" (*Or.* 24.8),¹³ which can only be a reference to Cyprian's lengthy and lurid confession at 14.1–20.3; (2) Gregory describes Cyprian as "a persecutor of the most vicious sort" (διώκτης πικρότατος), i.e., as a persecutor of Christians (cf. *Or.* 24.8), and it is only in the public confession that Cyprian admits to past crimes like torturing Christians, tearing churchgoers to pieces, and cracking wise about prayer (15.1); (3) Gregory does not mention the figure of Aglaïdas, but reports instead, "It was with this thoroughly irreproachable and virtuous maiden [sc. Justina] that the great Cyprian was somehow taken [. . .]. Well, Cyprian was not merely taken with her, but he actually made an attempt on her virtue" (*Or.* 24.9).¹⁴ Again, only in the *Confession* does Cyprian express his erotic feelings for Justina (9.1), a source-critical datum to which the Byzantine scholiasts Basilus Minimus and Nicetas of Heraclea drew the reader's attention in the

¹³ ὁ δὲ μακρῶ λόγῳ στηλιτεύων τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο θεῷ καρποφορήσῃ, τὴν ἐξαγόρευσιν (54.11–13 Mossay; *PG* 35:1177b); trans. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 146.

¹⁴ ταύτης ὁ μέγας ἦλω Κυπριανός, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως, τῆς πάντα ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ κοσμίας. ψαύουσι γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ λίχνοι καὶ τῶν ἀψαύστων, τὸ προχειρότατον ὀργάνων καὶ ἀπληστότατον. καὶ οὐκ ἦλω μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπείρα (56.18–21 Mossay; *PG* 35:1180a); trans. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 146.

tenth and eleventh centuries¹⁵; (4) finally, Gregory reports yet another episode unique to the *Confession* in which the devil attempts to strangle Cyprian (12.1–5): “[the Tempter (ὁ πειραστής)] wrestles with the one who had sent him, miraculously rallying against his attacker and choking him like a latter-day Saul” (*Or.* 24.11).¹⁶

The *Confession*, therefore, must also predate Gregory’s panegyric on Cyprian, delivered in the year 379 CE. A date somewhere in the late 360s or early 370s seems perfectly reasonable. Although the *Confession*’s provenance is difficult to pinpoint, Antioch is again a logical candidate, not only because of the tenacious polemic against Iamblichan theurgy and the *Chaldaean Oracles*,¹⁷ but also the peculiar description of an ostensibly bilingual ecclesiastical service in 27.2 is suggestive of a Syrian provenance. In addition, the magic trials under Valens had come from Rome to Antioch in the early 370s after the poisoner Palladius revealed under questioning that a small cabal of theurgists had divined the name of Valens’ successor on a ouija tripod of laurel twigs and were conspiring to overthrow the emperor.¹⁸ The magic trials in Antioch were much more severe than those held in Rome; the city was gripped with fear, both fear of magic and fear of being accused of practicing magic, even the most innocuous dabbling in charms, and books of magic were being burned *en masse* before the tribunal.¹⁹ It is certainly possible that the *Confession* was composed during the hysteria of the Antioch witch trials or shortly thereafter.

¹⁵ Basilios Minimus, for example, provided the following scholium on Gregory’s mention of Cyprian’s “voracious appetite for carnal pleasure” (*Or.* 24.8): ἀπληστία σώματος (54.21–22 Mossay; *PG* 35:1177c)] ἐν μὲν τῷ μαρτυρολογίῳ ἕτερον λέγει λυτῆσαι κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου, κάκείνω τοὺς δαίμονας ἐπικεκλημέναι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰρημένων αὐτὸν τοῦτον κινήθηναι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ἀπλήστως ἢ τῷ τῆς ἁγίας ἀπλήστως ἔχειν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐξομολογήσεως εἰληπται τοῦτο· οὐ μόνον Ἀγλαΐδος ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς Κυπριανὸς ἐρωτικῶς διετέθη πρὸς τὴν παρθένον. “In the martyrology it says that another [sc. Aglaïdas] was enraged against the holy virgin and that he [sc. Cyprian] had summoned the demons on the other’s behalf; but according to the things mentioned here, (it says) that he himself had been stirred by his own insatiate body, or that he had lust for the holy (virgin). But in that *Confession* of his, he admitted to this: not only Aglaïdas but even Cyprian himself was erotically disposed to the virgin [paraphrasing *Conf.* 9.1].” Basilios uses the title ἐξομολόγησις, which appears only in manuscripts of family q (μετάνοια ἤτοι ἐξομολόγησις).

¹⁶ See further note 88 to the translation.

¹⁷ See R. Smith’s excellent discussion of Julian’s reception of Iamblichan theology in *Julian’s Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (London: Routledge, 1995), 91–113.

¹⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 29.1.29–33; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.35.3; Zosimus, *Hist.* 4.13.3–4. See further, F.J. Wiebe, *Kaiser Valens und die heidnische Opposition* (Antiquitas 44; Bonn: Habelt, 1995), 86–186; N. Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 211–34; D. Sarefield, “Burning Knowledge: Studies of Bookburning in Ancient Rome” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 74–80.

¹⁹ John Chrysostom, for example, reports having discovered a discarded book of magic along the banks of the Orontes (*Hom.* 38.5; *PG* 60:274–276]); cf. Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural*, 72.

2.2. Sources, Influences, and Genre

The author of the *Confession* was no doubt well-educated and well-read. Although scholarly claims that the author modelled his account on preexisting narratives other than the *Conversion* are flimsy at best and easily dismissed, the author's/Cyprian's theoretical position that demons draw their power specifically from the *κλίσα* of pagan sacrifices is not just whimsical Christian polemic, but comes directly from pagan sources.²⁰ It is virtually assured that the author relied upon one source in particular for his presentation on the mechanics of demonic magic: Porphyry's *De abstinence*. Cyprian confesses to performing human sacrifices in order to satiate the bloodlust of demons and draw near to the devil: "I would sacrifice boys who had just attained puberty, others who approached manhood I buried for Pluto, and I would cut off heads of foreign men for Hecate. I poured out the blood of women who were still virgins as drink-offerings to Pallas (Athena), but to Ares and Kronos that of men already full-grown" (14.2). Porphyry enumerated sixteen instances of ancient human sacrifice in order to demonstrate that the contemporary practice of eating the flesh of sacrificed animals was without precedent, i.e., in ancient times the flesh of sacrificed humans was never consumed (*Abst.* 2.53–56). Within Porphyry's catalogue of human sacrifices the following exempla appear: "Apollodorus says that the Lacedaemonians would sacrifice a human being to Ares. The Phoenicians, in the great misfortune of war or plague or drought, would sacrifice someone of their most beloved, whom they selected by vote, to Kronos. [...] For also in Laodicea in Syria a virgin was sacrificed each year to Athena, but now a deer is sacrificed" (*Abst.* 2.55–56).²¹ Porphyry's reference to Athena in the last example is most certainly an error for Artemis,²² and the *Confession*'s attribution of Cyprian's sacrifices of virgins to Pallas Athena appears to come straight from Porphyry's misguided statement. To be sure, the author's modernization of Porphyry's exempla is both disingenuous and anachronistic, but it is important to note that he has not fabricated these details from thin air, nor, for that matter, any of the other materials pertaining to Cyprian's occult initiations, however

²⁰ The persistent polemic against pagan sacrifice suggests that the *Confession* is post-Julianic. One of the first acts of Julian as Augustus in 362 was to rescind Constantius' prohibition of 341 against pagan cult sacrifice (Smith, *Julian's Gods*, 4); see further S. Bradbury, "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice," *Phoenix* 49 (1995): 331–56.

²¹ D.D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London: Routledge, 1991), 124; see further note 100 to the translation.

²² See, e.g., L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (5 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1896–1909), 2:441–42.

farfetched and obscure (see § 2.3). The author often couches Cyprian's occult wisdom in deliberately obscure terms, but Cyprian's theoretical exposition on the true nature of demons and their relationship to pagan sacrifice (7.3–10) is both straightforward and easy to understand, and it is probable, moreover, that this presentation was also influenced by Porphyry's discussion of evil daemons and their connection to sacrificial vapors and savors, which immediately precedes his catalogue of ancient human sacrifices (*Abst.* 2.42–47).²³

There are no other easily discernable sources beyond the *Conversion* (see § 2.1), Porphyry's *De abstinentia*, and possibly the *Chaldaean Oracles* (see § 2.3). The *Confession* appears among the *libri non recipiendi* itemized in the sixth-century *Decretum Gelasianum* as *liber qui appellatur Poenitentia sancti Cypriani* (5.6.6), one of four books in the *Decretum* that bear the title *Poenitentia*.²⁴ The following entry, *liber qui appellatur Poenitentia Iamne et Mambre* (5.6.7), is an undisputable reference to the fragmentary pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres*,²⁵ a novelistic narrative about the Egyptian magicians who battled

²³ See further note 61 to the translation.

²⁴ E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischem Text* (TU 38.4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912), 12, 54, ll. 303–4 (cf. the parallel passage in the *Collectio Herovalliana* on p. 84, ll. 99–100).

²⁵ Surviving witnesses to the text of *Jannes and Jambres* range from third- and fourth-century papyrus fragments to eleventh- and twelfth-century excerpts in parchment codices: (1) P.Chester Beatty XVI consists of one hundred fragments from a Greek codex, securely dated to the first half of the fourth century (G. Turner apud A. Pietersma, "Greek and Coptic Inedita of the Chester Betty Library," *BIOSCS* 7 [1974]: 17), which amount to approximately twenty-two pages or eleven folia (mounted on eight frames); ed. A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians: P. Chester Beatty XVI (with New Editions of Papyrus Vindobonensis Greek inv. 29456 + 29828 verso and British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v. f. 87)* (RGRW 119; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 93–261; (2) P.Vindob. inv. G 29456 (↓) and 29828 (↓), two fragments from an opisthographic roll of the early third century (see J.-P. Mahé, "Fragments hermétiques dans les Papyri Vindobonenses Graecae 29456 r° et 29828 r°," in *Mémorial Andre-Jean Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne* [ed. E. Lucchesi and H.D. Saffrey; Cahiers d'orientalisme 10. Geneva: P. Kramer, 1984], 51–64), first edited by H. Oellacher, "Papyrus- und Pergamentfragmente aus Wiener und Münchner Beständen," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* (3 vols.; Fontes Ambrosiani 25–27; Milan: Hoepli, 1951), 2:182–88 and subsequently reedited by P. Maraval, "Fragments grecs du Livre de Jannès et Jambré (Pap. Vindob. 29456 et 29828 Verso)," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 199–207 and Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 265–74. Since then two additional fragments from the same roll, inv. G 00180 (↓) and G 28249 (↓) have been published by A. Pietersma, "Two More Fragments of the Vienna *Jannes and Jambres*," *BASP* 49 (2012): 21–29; (3) P.Michigan inv. 4295 verso (↓), a small fourth-century fragment from an opisthographic roll (see Ludwig Koenen, "Notes on Papyri," *BASP* 16 [1979]: 114) containing ten lines of what appears to be a genealogy of Jannes and Jambres; ed. G. Schmelz, "Zwei neue Fragmente des Apokryphons über die Zauberer Jannes und Jambres," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998* (ed. Isabella Andorlini et al.; Florence: Istituto papyrologico G. Vitelli, 2001), 1202–7 with Tafel XLVIA; cf. Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 49; (4) P.Heidelberg inv. G 1016, another small fourth-century fragment corresponding on the recto to P.Chester Beatty XVI. 2h3g→ and on the verso to 2h3g↓; ed. Schmelz, "Zwei neue Fragmente," 1207–12 with Tafeln XLVIB, c; (5) British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, f. 87r (saec XI), containing an excerpt from a Latin translation, followed by an Old English translation; ed. T.O. Cockayne, *Narratiunculae Anglice conscriptae: De pergamenis exscribat notis illustrabat eruditiss copiam* (London: J.R. Smith, 1861), 50–67 (for his edition of the Old English translation, see p. 50; for the Latin text, see p. 67). The fragment remained virtually unknown to biblical scholars until its republication by M.R. James, "A

against Moses. Due to the proximity of the two apocryphal books in the *Decretum*, the commonality of the *Poenitentia* titles, the similarity of subject matter (deviant magicians defeated by divine power), and two clear references to the Egyptian brothers in the *Confession* (6.6; 17.3), M.R. James thought it “far from unlikely” that *Jannes and Jambres* “furnished a model” for the *Confession* and attempted to flesh out the pseudepigraphon’s fragmentary ending on the basis of this conjectural dependency.²⁶ James suggested that Jambres, at the narrative’s dramatic conclusion, after he consults a necromantic tome and conjures up from Hades the shade (εἰδωλον/*idolum*) of his dead brother Jannes, must have heeded his brother’s words of warning and repented, becoming a penitent, just like Cyprian. According to James, “This is the only *dénouement* that we are warranted in imagining by the title *Poenitentia Ianne et Mambre*.”²⁷

Albert Pietersma rightly backed away from James’ thesis but nonetheless thought that both of the *Confession*’s references betrayed direct knowledge of the pseudepigraphon. In the first reference the devil seems to praise Cyprian by addressing him as a “new Jambres”: εὐφυῇ με, μαιράκιον προσεῖπε, νέον Ἰαμβρῆν, εὖτονον εἰς λειτουργίαν, ἄξιον τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνου (6.6). Among the vast number of references to the tradition in secondary sources, this is the only passage in which Jambres is mentioned by himself, without his alliterative brother Jannes.²⁸ According to Pietersma, the devil’s ovation demonstrates the author’s awareness that Jambres enjoyed “a status distinct from that of his brother” and an “independent career in magic.”²⁹ But the devil’s address is not quite so flattering as Pietersma and others have supposed.

Fragment of the ‘Penitence of Jannes and Jambres’, *JTS* 2 (1901): 572–77 (Latin and Old English texts on pp. 573–74), which was soon followed by the improved edition of M. Förster, “Das lateinisch-altenglische Fragment der Apokryphe von Jannes und Mambres,” *ASNSL* 108 (1902): 15–28 (Latin and Old English texts on pp. 19–20); cf. Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 277–81; and (6) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 614, ff. 47v–48r (saec. XII), an apograph of the Latin excerpt from Cotton Tiberius B. v (without the Old English translation); see F.M. Biggs and T.N. Hall, “Jannes and Mambres in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 73–74.

²⁶ James, “A Fragment,” 575.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 576.

²⁸ See esp. the extensive collection of secondary sources compiled by S. Gero, “Parerga to ‘The Book of Jannes and Jambres,’” *JSP* 9 [1991]: 67–85; cf. A. Barges, “Tradition musulmane sur les magiciens de pharaon,” *Journal asiatique* 4 (1843): 73–84; S. Weinstock, “The Author of Ps.-Galen’s *Prognostica de decubitu*,” *CQ* 42 (1948): 41–43; C.C. Torrey, “The Magic of ‘Lotapes,’” *JBL* 68 (1949): 325–27; G.B. Bronzini, “La leggenda di s. Caterina d’Alessandria: Passioni greche e latine,” *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 9 (1960): 260–73; L.L. Grabbe, “The Jannes/Jambres Tradition in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan and Its Date,” *JBL* 98 (1979): 393–401; Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 24–35; S. Gero, “Jannes and Jambres in the *Vita Stephani iuniores* (BHG 1666),” *AnBoll* 113 (1995): 281–92; *idem*, “The Enigma of the Magician Lotapes (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXX, 11),” *JSJ* 27 (1996): 304–23; Biggs and Hall, “Traditions concerning Jannes and Mambres,” 69–89.

²⁹ Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 50 and 61, respectively, and not as a penitent (so James), but as “Jannes’ successor.” According to Pietersma, “Satan is represented as hailing Cyprian as ‘a clever lad,’”—here Pietersma is translating Maran’s εὐφυές . . . μαιράκιον—“a new Jambres, ready for service [and] worthy of fellowship with him [Satan]” (p. 63), but since it is the

In his 1726 *editio princeps* Prudentius Maran corrected the original reading εὐφυῆ to εὐφυές to agree with μείρακιον, but the correction is both unwarranted—the author uses a similar construction at 19.14—and lessens the force of μείρακιον. The term μείρακιον is normally used to refer to persons around or under twenty years of age, but when used in reference to adults like Cyprian, who was thirty years old when he set out for Chaldaea (5.1) and is probably around forty years of age by the time he encounters the devil, the term has a contemptuous sense.³⁰ The author clearly understood this usage since elsewhere he uses the term in its more common, non-derogatory sense, as it is regularly used in the Greek novels,³¹ to refer to the lovesick young man Aglaïdas (8.6). The devil is essentially telling Cyprian that although he is well-grown, he is still a mere lad, and it is only in this context that the devil's imperative “Be a man!” (ἀνδρίζου) in 6.7 makes any sense. The author references only Jambres not because he was aware of a tradition in which Jambres enjoyed some “measure of independence,”³² but rather because Jambres was the lesser of the two magicians.

Moreover, the devil's address, especially if it is thought to refer directly to the pseudepigraphon, renders James' thesis of a penitent Jambres untenable on a priori grounds: Why would the devil, who is so upset when Cyprian rebukes him that he tries to strangle him (cf. 12.1–5), call Cyprian at the height of his magical career after a penitent magician? The *Confession's* second allusion to the tradition of the Egyptian magicians is no less damning to James' thesis. During his public confession Cyprian laments over the prospect that God will not forgive him, this time evoking the names of both magicians: “I outdid the famous magicians Jannes and Jambres. They acknowledged the finger of God while performing their magic, but I was wholly convinced that God did not exist. If God did not pardon them, even though they recognized him in part, how could he pardon me, who did not recognize him at all?” (17.3–4). Among

devil—the author uses διάβολος (or δράκων) throughout and never Satan (Σατανᾶς)—who addresses these words to Cyprian, ἐκείνου in the final clause must refer to Jambres, i.e., “worthy of association with *that magician* [sc. Jambres].”

³⁰ LSJ 1093b s.v. μείρακιον.

³¹ E.g., Xenophon of Ephesus uses the term μείρακιον over twenty times in the *Ephesiaca* (1.1.3–4, 2.1; 5.5; 7.3; 14.7; 15.3; 16.3; 2.6.2; 10.2; 14.2; 3.2.2 [bis], 3, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13; 5.9.3; 10.10; 13.6), the earliest and shortest of the Greek novels, although the sole surviving manuscript copy (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 627, ff. 70v–79r, saec. XIII) could well be an epitome (so K. Bürger, “Zu Xenophon von Ephesus,” *Hermes* 27 [1892]: 36–67); against this view, see T. Hägg, “Die *Ephesiaka* des Xenophon Ephesius: Original oder Epitome?” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27 (1966): 118–61; repr. “The *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesus: Original or Epitome?” in *Parthenope: Selected Studies in Ancient Greek Fiction* (ed. L.B. Mortensen and T. Eide; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004), 159–98.

³² Again, the phrase is Pietersma's (*Apocryphon*, 63).

the vast number of references to the Egyptian magicians in secondary sources, this is only passage to state explicitly that Jannes and Jambres were not forgiven. Pietersma admits that Cyprian's lamentation could merely be an inference based on tradition, but nonetheless he connects this passage with Jannes' postmortem lamentation from Hades: "But now (νῦν?) there is for us no forgiveness" (P.Chester Beatty XVI. 6abcefgi↓.24 [6f↓.6]).³³ But Jannes' ἡμῶν more likely refers all of the people in Hades rather than only to himself and to his brother Jambres. Whether the author of the *Confession* had in fact read *Jannes and Jambres* is debatable, but in either case James' hypothesis is groundless.

James was misled by the mutual *Poenitentia* titles in the *Decretum*, but it is highly probable that *Jannes and Jambres* did not originally bear this title. Wilhelm Schneemelcher rightly cautioned scholars that "[i]n any classification of an apocryphal text in terms of *Gattung*, we may not start out from the title of the work."³⁴ Examples abound of ancient book titles which have been taken over for works that belong to different literary genres than those described by their titles: the *Testament of Solomon* is not a Testament; the *Gospel of Truth* is not a Gospel. Origen stresses in his commentary on Matthew, which survives only in Latin translation, that the reference to Jannes and Jambres in 2 Tim 3:8 has its source not in any public (i.e., canonical) book, *sed in libro secreto qui suprascribitur liber Iamnes et Mambres* (*Comm. Matth.* 117).³⁵ It is unnecessary, if not incorrect, to read too much into the use of the nominative case in the Latin names *Iamnes* and *Mambres* in order to suggest, as Pietersma does, sidestepping *liber* in the process, that the ancient title was originally *Jannes and Jambres*,³⁶ since the nominatives *Iamnes* and *Mambres* regularly substitute for the genitives *Iamne* and *Mambre* in Latin sources.³⁷ The title of the *liber secretus* (i.e., ἀπόκρυφον) to which Origen refers is *The Book of Jannes and Jambres*.

³³ Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 232–34, 237

³⁴ Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 1:52.

³⁵ The full passage runs as follows: *item quod ait: "sicut Iamnes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi" non invenitur in publicis libris, sed in libro secreto qui suprascribitur liber Iamnes et Mambres* (ed. E. Klostermann, *Origenes, Werke: Band n. Matthäus-erklärung II. Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum Series* [GCS 38; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933], 250.7–9). On the reference in 2 Tim 3:8, see further H.D.F. Sparks, "On the Form *Mambres* in the Latin Versions of 2 Timothy iii 8," *JTS* 40 (1939): 257–58; J. Tromp, "Jannes and Jambres (2 Timothy 3,8–9)," in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* (ed. A. Graupner and M. Wolter; BZAW 372. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 211–26.

³⁶ Pietersma translates the passage from Origen (see the Latin text in the preceding note) as follows: "The statement 'As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses' is not based on canonical books but on an apocryphal one entitled *Jannes and Jambres*." He claims that "the book's title should no doubt be read as simply *Jannes and Jambres*" (*Apocryphon*, 43).

³⁷ See Gero, "Parerga," 69 n. 5; cf. the Latin fragment preserved in Cotton Tiberius B. v fol. 87r in the edition of Förster, "Das lateinisch-altenglische Fragment," 19 (ll. 1, 3, and 4).

Greek poetic and prose literature was originally intended for oral recitation and had no need for book titles.³⁸ Even as late as Galen and Plotinus authors were reluctant to supply titles for their own writings. Greek book titles had their origins in the author's need to specify the source of a quoted work; in other words, after works had begun to circulate in manuscript form it became the task of those who cited them to create proper designations for them. Initially authors quoted from other works without adequate citations under the assumption that readers would be capable of ascertaining their references or reminiscences,³⁹ but eventually it became commonplace for works, especially philosophical treatises, to don stereotyped titles like *περὶ φύσεως*, which functioned more as a descriptions of content than as book titles proper. It was much more common, however, for an author to cite a work by the initial words of its *incipit*, sometimes preceded by formulaic expressions like “in the poem which begins. . .,” but in most cases such formulae are lacking.⁴⁰ An excellent example of a citation of this type is Irenaeus' citation of the *Gospel of Truth* (NHC I,3 and XII,2) as *Evangelium Veritatis* (*Haer.* 3.11.9). The work is a Valentinian homily and has no relationship to the Gospel genre, but its *incipit* begins with the words “The gospel of truth is a joy. . .,” indicating that the homily originally lacked a proper title and that the heresiologist supplied one following the standard ancient practice.⁴¹

The title provided by Origen is remarkably close to the pseudepigraphon's actual *incipit*: αὕτη ἡ [βίβλ[ος] λόγων Ἰάν[νου] καὶ Ἰάμβ[ρου] (P.Chester Beatty XVI. 1ab→.1). Pietersma admits that αὕτη ἡ is only *exempli gratia*, noting the possibility that an initial letter could have been enlarged or indented.⁴² The collocation βίβλος λόγων is a common Semitism used repeatedly in Septuagint Greek (e.g., 3 Kgdms 15:7, 23, 31; 1 Chr 27:24; 2 Chr 36:8; 2 Esd 7:11; cf. Luke 3:4), and it serves precisely the same function in Tobit 1:1 (βίβλος λόγων Τωβιτ). Origen's additional references to the pseudepigraphon as *ἱστορία* in *Cels.* 4.15 and *historia* in *Comm. Matt.* 28 equally point to the *incipit*'s redundant βίβλος λόγων, both *ἱστορία*

³⁸ See, e.g., E. Nachmanson, *Der griechische Buchtitel: Einige Beobachtungen* (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 47; Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1941); E. Schmalzriedt, *Περὶ φύσεως: Zur Frühgeschichte der Buchtitel* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970).

³⁹ Nachmanson, *Der griechische Buchtitel*, 34–35.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 37–49.

⁴¹ See esp. J. Munck, “*Evangelium Veritatis* and Greek Usage as to Book Titles,” *ST* 17 (1963): 133–38.

⁴² Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 97.

and the plural of λόγος being virtually synonymous.⁴³ Origen's citation of the pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres* is no different from Irenaeus' citation of the *Gospel of Truth*. The pseudepigraphon's title attested in the *Decretum* is clearly secondary. In fact, any work containing a prolonged speech on the theme of μετάνοια/*poenitentia*, either as an expression of remorse, regret, or contrition or an admission of wrongdoings, or as repentance which leads to God or forgiveness or as a pronouncement of a new found faith,⁴⁴ could assume this conventional book title in the manuscript tradition, which is supported by the *Decretum*'s titles *Poenitentia Adae* (5.6.2), a probable a reference to the *Life of Adam and Eve*, and *Poenitentia Origenis* (5.6.5), a reference to the *Lamentatio* (or *Planctus*) *Origenis*, a spurious first-person confession attributed to Origen,⁴⁵ and even works like *Joseph and Aseneth*, which in some manuscripts bears the title μετάνοια.⁴⁶ The *Confession*'s μετάνοια title, on the other hand, appears to be original, and Stephen Gero's suggestion that the Coptic preserves the original title μετάνοια ἡκγπριανος πμδγορ or "Repentance (μετάνοια) of Cyprian the Magician (μάγος)," may well be correct.⁴⁷ But even though the *Confession* contains many easily discernable novelistic elements just like *Jannes and Jambres* and *Joseph and Aseneth*,⁴⁸ as a first-person confessional autobiography it is significantly closer generically to works

⁴³ Origen, *Cels.* 4.51, in reference to Numenius: ἐκτίθεται καὶ τὴν περὶ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰαννοῦ καὶ Ἰαμβροῦ ἱστορίαν (Numenius fr. 10a Des Places); cf. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.8.1–2 (Numenius fr. 9 Des Places); M.J. Edwards, "Atticizing Moses?: Numenius, the Fathers and the Jews," *VC* 44 [1990]: 67–68. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 28, again in reference to 2 Tim 3:8: *aut quomodo abdicet illud ad Timotheum Paulus protulit dicens: "sicut Iannes et Mambres restiterunt Moysi, sic et isti resistunt veritati"? nec enim scimus in libris canonizatis historiam de Ianne et Mambre resistentibus Moysi* (11:51.2–5 Klostermann). ἱστορία and λόγος (in the singular or plural) are virtual synonyms, meaning "narrative," "story," or "history."

⁴⁴ See BADG s.v. μετάνοια.

⁴⁵ P.A. Custodio Vega, "La 'Lamentatio Origenis' y el 'Lamentum Paenitentiae' del Ps. Isidoro," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia de Patrologia Española* 168 (1971): 29–39.

⁴⁶ See C. Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph and Aseneth* (WUNT 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1965), 50–54.

⁴⁷ Gero, "Parerga," 78 n. 30.

⁴⁸ On the relationship between *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Greek novels, see esp. S. West, "Joseph and Asenath: A Neglected Greek Romance," *CQ* 24 (1974): 70–81; C. Henzer, "Joseph and Aseneth in the Context of Ancient Greek Erotic Novels," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 24 (1997): 1–40. No scholar has made the same claims about *Jannes and Jambres*, perhaps due to its fragmentary state, but this pseudepigraphon also has great affinities with the novelistic genre. To mention just one example, the name Ἰαμβρῆς itself appears to be a *significant name*. Horapollo mentions a book called ἀμβρῆς used by Egyptian ἱερογραμματεῖα in curative magic: "There is among the sacred scribes a sacred book called *Ambres* by means of which they decide the fate of a sick man lying down, whether he is likely to survive or not. This they determine from the position of the sick man" (*Hieroglyphica* 1.38). In the pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres* are called μάγοι, but Numenius knew them as ἱερογραμματεῖα (fr. 9 Des Places apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.8.1). *Jannes* is unquestionably a name of Semitic origin, which scholars trace back to the passage in the *Damascus Document* mentioning Yoḥanah and his brother (CD 5, 17b–19), but all Semitic renderings of the name Ἰαμβρῆς, which first appears in *Jannes and Jambres*, derive from the Greek name. The term ἀμβρῆς is Egyptian *ḥm.t-r3*, lit. "craft of the mouth," a term which could either mean simply "etc." or "magical spell"; see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* [Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago

like Augustine's *Confessiones* (composed ca. 397–400), a title which is undeniably Augustine's own (cf. *Retract.* 32.1).⁴⁹

The forged autobiographical confession of Cyprian is, like Augustine's later masterpiece, best categorized as a λόγος προτρεπτικός or “speech of exhortation,” which David E. Aune aptly defines as “a lecture intended to win converts and attract young people to a particular way of life . . . by exposing the errors of alternative ways of living by demonstrating the truth claims of a particular philosophical tradition over its competitors.”⁵⁰ But the purpose of the λόγος προτρεπτικός was not only to motivate the unconverted to espouse a particular ideology, path, or profession, but also “to encourage students to progress further in their chosen disciplines.”⁵¹ Although the Manichaeans, the not-yet-converted, would appear to constitute the intended audience of Augustine's *Confessions*, numerous studies, as Annemaré Kotzé rightly points out, “simply take for granted that the intended audience is primarily the already-converted, Augustine's fellow-Christians.”⁵² The same is true of Cyprian's autobiographical confession. Even though the *Confession* opens with an address to pagan despisers of the Christian mysteries,⁵³ it is

University, 1993], 43 with n. 195). Although ἀμβρῆς is a *hapax legomenon*, Hesychius defines the otherwise unattested Greek verb ἀμβρίζειν as θεραπεύειν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς (*Lex.* α 3520). The temptation to consider the magic book entrusted to Ἰαμβρῆς by his brother Jannes as an ἀμβρῆς is irresistible. If, moreover, Ἰαμβρῆς is an alliterative pun on ἀμβρῆς, an Egyptian medico-magical prognosticon, it would create a highly satirical scenario in which an Egyptian ἱερογραμματεὺς (Jannes) succumbs to a fatal illness. The thesis is in fact nothing new; see already P. Lacour, *Essai sur les hiéroglyphes égyptiens* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie d'A. Brossier, 1821), 1–40; cf. H.J. Thissen, “Ambres und Amenches,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 95 (1987): 79–84; F. Crevatin, “Questioni di lingua e cultura egiziana,” *Aeg* 75 (1995): 3–15. Pietersma dismisses the Egyptian derivation outright without due consideration (*Apocryphon*, 37), but given the novelistic elements in *Jannes and Jambres* (e.g., the use of dream oracles) and the clear polemic against Greco-Egyptian religion (e.g., the cult of Serapis), the ἀμβρῆς-Ἰαμβρῆς equation is worthy of serious consideration.

⁴⁹ For a rudimentary comparison of the two works, see P. Courcelle, “Antécédents autobiographiques des ‘Confessions’ de saint Augustin,” *RevPhil* 31 (1957): 27–28; idem, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1963), 101–3.

⁵⁰ D.E. Aune, “Romans as a Logos Protrepikos in the Context of Ancient Religious and Philosophical Propaganda,” in *Paulus: Missionar und Theologie und das antike Judentum* (ed. M. Hengel and U. Heckel; WUNT 58; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 91.

⁵¹ J.A. Guerra, *Romans and the Apologetic Tradition: The Purpose, Genre and Audience of Paul's Letter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3.

⁵² A. Kotzé *Augustine's Confessions: Communicative Purpose and Audience* (VCSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 58. Much of what Kotzé says in her chapter on “The *Confessions* and its First Readers: Genre and Audience” (pp. 45–94) also applies to the *Confession*.

⁵³ There can be no doubt that Cyprian's introductory words ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίοις προσκόπτετε (“all you who take offence at the mysteries of Christ”) are an ostensible address to pagan despisers of the Christian mysteries. Reitzenstein (“Cyprian,” 50–51 n. 3) and Delehay (“Cyprien,” 316–17 n. 1) both supported Maran's conjecture προκόπτετε (i.e., “all you who are advancing in the mysteries of Christ”) based on the reading *proficitis* in the Latin translations. But even though this then hypothetical Greek variant is now an actual variant preserved in three Greek manuscripts (C and NS), and

difficult to imagine that any pagan audience would have seriously entertained the author's outlandish portrayal of Cyprian. The *Confession* goes beyond the *Conversion* in demonstrating the disastrous effects of dabbling in magic (e.g., the dabbler Aglaïdas nearly commits suicide) by giving its Christian audience an "insider's perspective." As a supplement to the *Conversion*, the *Confession* must also be pure fiction, but just like the *Conversion* it would have been presented to Christian audiences as the authentic *Act* of an historical convert, and no doubt the grisly and outrageous sado-erotic characterization of the pagan magician's past crimes satisfied the late-antique Christian's insatiable thirst and penchant for vicarious sex and violence.⁵⁴

The *Confession* does not fit easily into any one generic category, nor was it modelled on any discernable source. In truth the *Confession* presents a *mélange* of different genres: the first narrative unit concerning Cyprian's occult studies abroad (chs. 1–7) is a pseudepigraphic autobiography which incorporates the routine travel motif in which a naturally gifted young man, like Philostratus' Apollonius of Tyana, Lucian's Eucrates and Menippus, Pseudo-Thessalus,⁵⁵ or even Julian (in the exordium to his *Hymn to King Helios*), seeks far and wide to discover real "magical" wisdom.⁵⁶ The second narrative unit, which takes up the *Conversion*'s story of Cyprian, Justina, and Aglaïdas (chs. 8–13 with 27–28), is both novelistic, exploiting common themes in the Greek novels and Apocryphal Acts like travel, marriage,

Eudocia's rendition ὅσοις δὴ Χριστοῦ πολυμνήτοιο μέμλε / πίσις μυστιπόλος (*De S. Cypr.* 2.1–2) suggests that she had read it in her exemplar as well, it is abundantly clear from the parallel ὅσοι-clauses in the initial address that the subject of the clause ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίοις προσκόπτετε/προκόπτετε must also be the subject of ὅσοι τοῖς δαιμονικοῖς ἐπιτέρπεσθε τρόποις ("all you who delight in customs that come from demons"). Furthermore, I tend to agree with Zahn's position that if *προκόπτετε* is to be retained, it would also require supplementing the preposition ἐν before τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίοις (so Zahn, *Cyprian*, 30–31 n. 4), which all Greek manuscripts lack.

⁵⁴ See further esp. D. Frankfurter, "Martyrology and the Prurient Gaze," *J ECS* 17 (2009): 215–45.

⁵⁵ There are numerous parallels beyond generic affinity between the *Confession* and the autobiography of "Thessalus" (see, e.g., notes 55 and 59 to the translation); see further J.Z. Smith's chapter "Temple and Magician," in *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (SJLA 23; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 172–89; I. Moyer, "Thessalos of Tralles and Cultural Exchange," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (ed. S.B. Noegel et al.; Magic in History; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 39–56; P.A. Harland, "Journeys in Pursuit of Divine Wisdom: Thessalos and Other Seekers," in *Travel and Religion in Antiquity* (SCJ 21; Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011), 123–40.

⁵⁶ To these examples one may add, among numerous others, Apulieus' professed initiations into "many mystery-cults in Greece" (*Apol.* 55); the magician's journey to Memphis in Jerome's *Vit. Hil.* 21 and the magician in the *Acts of Andrew* who spends twenty-five years learning the art of magic; cf. J.N. Bremmer, "Man, Magic, and Martyrdom in the Acts of Andrew," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew* (ed. J.N. Bremmer; Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 5; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 24–25. See further G. Anderson, *Sage, Saint and Sophist: Holy Men and Their Associates in the Early Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1994), 167–97.

love, obsession, suicide, oracles, and magic,⁵⁷ and derivative, like many Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and New Testament Apocrypha (see § 1.1). The third narrative section consisting of Cyprian's public speech before a Christian audience in Antioch (chs. 14–20) is both autobiographical and confessional like Augustine's *Confessions* and integrates the literary-historical trope of the “magician at trial,” having features reminiscent of Apuleius of Madauros' *Apologia* and Apollonius' trial in absentia (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.7).⁵⁸ Finally, the fourth narrative unit consisting primarily of Eusebius' response (chs. 21–26) most resembles a Chrysostomesque homily on the nature of God's forgiveness.

2.3. The *Confession* and Late-Antique *Religionsgeschichte*

The German philologist Ludwig Preller first called the attention of scholars to the importance of the *Confession* for the study of late-antique *Religionsgeschichte* and made its contents more widely available by reprinting the Greek text of its initial chapters (1.3–2.4).⁵⁹ However, for German scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries interest in the *Acts* was generated primarily by the fact that the tale of Cyprian in the *Conversion*, through the intermediation of medieval adaptations like the *Legenda aurea*, had been a principal contributor to the development of the German Faust legend.⁶⁰ Studies of the type suggested by Preller gradually appeared, but each was limited only to the first two chapters of the *Confession* (i.e., Preller's brief excerpt), in which Cyprian recounts his initiations into a

⁵⁷ See further J.N. Bremmer, “Magic in the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*,” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (ed. J.N. Bremmer and J.R. Veenstra; Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 51–70.

⁵⁸ It is important to note, however, that Cyprian states on more than one occasion that his crimes are so insidious, atrocious, and voluminous that he is incapable of delivering a speech in his defense: “If my reckoning concerned one or two souls, I would have some hope for a defense (πρὸς ἀπολογίαν)” (14.10); “The rest of my life would not be enough time for me to make an apology (πρὸς ἀπολογίαν)” (15.3); “I have become aware of God and I am at a loss as to how I shall defend myself (ἀπολογήσομαι) before him” (16.4). Cyprian's public confession is no *apologia*, and for this reason I have rejected P's singular addition of μου after ἀπολογίαν in 14.10 and A's singular (and sublinear) addition of τὴν before ἀπολογίαν in 15.3, both of which equate Cyprian's confessional speech with an *apologia*. Cyprian's defense, in fact, comes not from Cyprian but from his respondent Eusebius: “Cyprian, do not despair, for there is hope for deliverance from all these crimes because you committed them in ignorance, for you considered devoting yourself to godly works after you quit the devil. Your ignorance gives you room for a defense (ἡ ἄγνοια τόπον σοι διδωσιν ἀπολογίας)” (22.1). Eusebius then continues by presenting to Cyprian an elaborate “the devil made you do it” defense.

⁵⁹ L. Preller, “Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Alterthums,” *Phil* 1 (1846): 349–51.

⁶⁰ See esp. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 1–20, 110–35.

battery of Greco-Roman mystery-cults.⁶¹ But these chapters comprise only a small fragment of Cyprian's occult studies abroad. Preller's plea for a more penetrating analysis has been echoed time and again,⁶² but scholars have yet to reach any consensus on the *Confession's* proper place in late-antique history-of-religions research.

As to the historicity of Cyprian's initiatory escapades, scholarly opinion has run the gamut from wholesale acceptance to outright rejection. A.B. Cook, for example, uncritically took Cyprian's initiatory period on Mount Olympus to be evidence for authentic ancient mysteries, but A.D. Nock was no doubt correct in his assessment that the author fabricated the "Mount Olympus mysteries" from varieties of mysteriosophic literature.⁶³ Most scholars have ingenuously treated the *Confession's* initial chapters as though they amounted to a genuine first-hand account of various mystery-religions and either scold the author for relaying misinformation or hold up one detail or another as corroborative evidence for rarely attested historical data. To be sure, as an immigrant Cyprian would not have been allowed to serve as δαδοῦχος in the Eleusinian mysteries,⁶⁴ nor as a ten-year old to participate in the "white sorrow of Korē" (1.4).⁶⁵ Perhaps the author knew this, perhaps he did not. In any case, the author's intention in padding Cyprian's occult *curriculum vitae* with one prestigious badge of initiation after another was to portray Cyprian as the pagan holy man *par excellence*, and Cyprian's childhood participations in the mysteries

⁶¹ A.B. Cook, *Zeus, a Study in Ancient Religion* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–1940), 1:110–11; A.D. Nock, "Hagiographica II. Cyprian of Antioch," *JTS* 28 (1927): 411–15; M.P. Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries in the Confession of St. Cyprian of Antioch," *HTR* 40 (1947): 167–76; A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste: I. L'astrologie et les sciences occultes* (2nd ed.; Paris: Lecoffre, 1950), 37–40; C. Picard, "Mantique et mystères antiques d'après la Confession de Saint Cyprien," *RAR* 35 (1950): 205–7.

⁶² See, e.g., Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 176; Krestan and Hermann, "Cyprianus II," 472; H.M. Jackson, "A Contribution toward an Edition of the *Confession* of Cyprian of Antioch," *Le Muséon* 101 (1988): 36–37; J. Aronen, "Dragon Cults and ΝΥΜΦΗ ΔΡΑΚΑΙΝΑ in IGUR 974," *ZPE* 111 (1996): 126 n. 12.

⁶³ See Cook, *Zeus*, 1:111; cf. Nock, "Cyprian," 412–13; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 171; Picard, "Mantique," 206–7. See further note 9 to the translation.

⁶⁴ Nock, "Cyprian," 411; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 170. Concerning Eudocia's rendition of this passage, Alan Cameron in the revised version of his original essay "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982): 217–89 has rightly pointed out that "Eudocia reproduces this detail exactly (Δηοῖ δαδᾶς ἀνῆψα, 2.19), and while it may be that she was content simply to follow her source, if she had really been brought up an informed pagan in Athens we might have expected her to substitute something that would seem less embarrassingly false to any Athenian pagan or indeed any educated Christian reader" ("The Empress and the Poet," in *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2015], 76). On Eudocia's versification of the mysteries, which usually succeeds only in making what is already obscure even more obscure, see G. Agosti, "Versificare i riti pagani: Per uno studio del catalogo delle iniziazioni nel *San Cipriano* di Eudocia," *Il calamo della memoria* 5 (2012): 199–220.

⁶⁵ Nock, "Cyprian," 411 and n. 4; cf. Preller, "Beiträge," 350. See further note 7 to the translation.

of Eleusis as a “foreigner in Athens” were perhaps meant to convey that Cyprian was an exception to the rule. Certainly Cyprian’s initiation as a seven-year old into the mysteries of Mithras serves the same function, even though there is an historical precedent for the initiation of a child, the son of a Mithraic *pater*, into the initial grade of Raven/*corax* (*CIMRM* 403).⁶⁶ The author’s use of Porphyry’s *De abstinencia* suggests that his primary sources of information on Greco-Roman, Egyptian, and Chaldaean mysteries were literary, which is to say that his presentation is not based on personal experience. For example, Cyprian’s professed Lacedaemonian specialization in “the mixture and division of matter” (2.2) is not meaningful as a reference the ancient cult of Artemis Tauropolis or Artemis Orthia, but as a reference to Neoplatonic speculations about Artemis it makes a great deal of sense.⁶⁷ The visions of winds and seasons and gods, goddesses, and demons that constitute the “Mount Olympus mysteries” (1.5–9), then, are not so much “invented” as they are imagined from esoteric texts like the *Chaldaean Oracles*: “A sweet desire takes hold of all (souls) to dwell forever on Olympus as companions of the immortal gods. But not all are permitted to set foot in these halls” (fr. 217*).⁶⁸

Zahn prefaced his German translation with the unsettling admission that in Cyprian’s occult *curriculum vitae*, “ist Manches dunkel, vielleicht auch sinnlos.”⁶⁹ No doubt Zahn had in mind primarily the Egyptian and Chaldaean chapters, about which Martin P. Nilsson had very little to say, except, “This section contains many strange things.”⁷⁰ Little has been written on Cyprian’s initiatory experiences in Egypt (3.1–4.6) and virtually nothing about those in Chaldaea (5.1–6.10). In 1984 László Kákosy devoted a short article to Cyprian’s stint in Memphis, but focused his attention almost exclusively on the variants

⁶⁶ See further note 5 to the translation. Recognition of the *Confession* as a supplement to the *Conversion* may explain another of the author’s presumed anachronisms. If Cyprian was a “foreigner in Athens” and the *Confession* is a supplement to the *Conversion*, it is reasonable to assume that Cyprian was born in Antioch and that his voyage to Antioch was a return trip back to his place of birth, which would explain Cyprian’s childhood dedication to Apollo as a reference to the temple of Apollo at Daphne, to which Apollonius of Tyana made pilgrimage in his youth (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.16), and Cyprian’s initiation into the “dramaturgy of the dragon” as a reference not to the ancient Septerion festival, but to the cult of Glycon founded by Alexander of Abonoteichus. See further notes 3 and 4 to the translation.

⁶⁷ See further note 17 to the translation. The same reliance upon Neoplatonic speculations is also apparent in the author’s representation of the mysteries of Hera; see note 16 to the translation.

⁶⁸ Trans. R. Majercik, *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (SGRR 5; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 133. Subsequent citations from the *Chaldaean Oracles* follow Majercik’s edition and translation.

⁶⁹ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 30 n. 3.

⁷⁰ Nilsson, “Greek Mysteries,” 176.

in a single lacunose Coptic version (BnF copt. 129¹⁵).⁷¹ Comparison with the Greek recensions, however, clearly demonstrates that the Coptic translator was in the habit of Egyptianizing the Greek text, e.g., the form of Commerce (Ἐμπορία) becomes a dwarf (κολοβός) and is made to display the flaming sun disk (ερε ουδικωδς ἡκωχτ).⁷² The author's sources for the Egyptian section were, again, literary sources. The Rulers of Darkness (ἄρχοντες σκοτους), who frequently appear in the *Pistis Sophia*, are said to have communion "with the bodies of irrational animals" like the theriocephalic archons of Egyptian gnostic sects and to bestow upon the practitioner of magic the same powers described in papyri and *defixiones* like "swiftness in racing" and instantaneous amnesia in a desired paramour (3.2). Moreover, the bizarre descriptions of demonic personifications of vices appear to be inspired by imagery from Greco-Egyptian magical papyri and gems, e.g., the forms of Hatred (Μίσος), Greediness (Ἀπληστία), and Folly (Μωρία) may well be variations on (or confused interpretations of) that most peculiar of Egyptian deities, the Akephalos daemon.⁷³ Cyprian's stint in Memphis has remained incomprehensible to scholars because it has been viewed exclusively through the lens of ancient Egyptian iconography rather than alongside the spells and imagery of Greco-Egyptian magical papyri and gemstones and contemporaneous esoteric texts with demonic or archontic abstractions like the *Testament of Solomon* and NHC II,5 *On the Origin of the World*.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Kákosy's suggestion that the author may have visited Egypt still remains a distinct possibility.⁷⁵

The Chaldaean section, which has so far defied interpretation, relies heavily upon Iamblichan theurgy and texts like the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The author shows an awareness of the Chaldaean triad of concentric world circles, the empyrian, the aetherial, and the material (5.1),⁷⁶ and also the theurgist's use of *voces magicae* and *nomina barbara* in magical prayers and rituals of ascent to achieve union with

⁷¹ L. Kákosy, "Cyprien' en Egypte," in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Orientalia Monspeliensia 2; Montpellier: Editions de l'Université de Montpellier, 1984), 109–14. For a similarly misguided approach to the Egyptian section, see V. Rebrik, "Confessio Cypriani und ägyptische Mysterien," in *Ägyptische Mysterien?* (ed. J. Assmann and M. Bommas; Reihe Kulte/Kulturen; Munich: Fink, 2002), 143–47.

⁷² Kákosy, "Cyprien'," 110. For further information on the Coptic versions, see § 2.4.

⁷³ See notes 38 and 41 to the translation.

⁷⁴ Cf. H.M. Jackson, "Notes on the *Testament of Solomon*," *JSJ* 19 (1988): 52; D. Frankfurter, "Amentes Demons and Christian Syncretism," *ARG* 14 (2013): 83–101, esp. 89 n. 30.

⁷⁵ Kákosy, "Cyprien'," 110–11; cf. note 33 to the translation.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (rev. ed. M. Tardieu; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1978), 137–57; R. Majerick, "Chaldean Triads in Neoplatonic Exegesis: Some Reconsiderations," *CQ* 51 (2001). 265–96; see further notes 45 and 49 to the translation.

the godhead (5.3).⁷⁷ He shows an awareness of various intermediary beings described in the *Chaldaean Oracles*, the Iynges, the Synocheis, and the demons, but predictably he characterizes them in extremely ambiguous terms and disingenuously collapses the entire Chaldaean hierarchy into a single category: all are mere εἰδωλα, which for the author represent the variegated shapes through which demons seduce humankind (5.3–5). The most fascinating example of the author's use of theurgic materials, however, is the description of the εἶδος of the devil: "His form was like a golden flower (ἄνθος χρυσοῦ), adorned with precious stones and crowned on its head with intertwined stones whose energies (ἐνέργειαι) illuminated that fertile plain, and its garment was not unlike its crown, and when it spun around upon the ground there was an earthquake (ἔσειεν <ἐν> τῷ χώρῳ περιστρεφόμενος)" (6.10). The author's illustration of the devil's form is an ingenious adaptation of the theurgic πυρὸς ἄνθος and an unmistakable reference to the *lynx*-top or magic wheel (στροφάλος) of Hecate used in rites of theurgy. Michael Psellus described the στροφάλος as a "golden sphere" embedded with a sapphire in the center and inscribed all over with magical *charaktēres* (= "intertwined stones"?), which was spun by means of a cow-hide leather thong.⁷⁸ Cyprian's encounter with the devil occurs at the height of his magical career. To be sure, for the author the obscure doctrines of the *Chaldaean Oracles* and their Neoplatonic champions represented the most insidious form of pagan religion. But even still, one is left with the sneaking suspicion that the author himself may have dabbled formerly in magic and theurgy. At the very least, he entertained what many of his fellow Christians would have regarded as a very unhealthy obsession with occult literature. One wonders, too, whether the author, given his use of Porphyry's *De abstinence*, may not have had access to Porphyry's lost commentary on the *Chaldaean Oracles*.

Finally, although the vast majority of scholarly contributions have concentrated on the Greco-Roman mysteries in the *Confession*, none have recognized what is quite obviously a protracted polemic against the mysteries of Cybele at the text's conclusion. The churchman Eusebius describes for Cyprian certain types of behavior and practices that he will not witness in a Christian church: "You will see there

⁷⁷ See further, e.g., G. Shaw, "Theurgy Rituals of Unification in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus," *Traditio* 41 (1985): 1–28; S.I. Johnston, "Rising to the Occasion: Theurgic Ascent in Its Cultural Milieu," in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (ed. P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg; SHR 75. Leiden: Brill, 1997), 165–94; I. Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Theurgy in Late Antiquity: The Invention of a Ritual Tradition* (Beiträge zur europäischen Religionsgeschichte 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 21–44.

⁷⁸ See further notes 56–57 to the translation.

an honorable service celebrated without cymbals (κυμβάλοις) and instruments, without rattling noises that effeminate the hearing (οὐ κρότον ἀκοήν ἐκθηλύοντα), without flutes that sound unbounded songs of joy (οὐ αὐλοὺς ἡχοῦντας λελυμένας ᾠδὰς), without kettledrums (τύμπανα) that frustrate a desire for self-control, without a troop of dancers (χορὸν) who pay heed to a musical din rather than good order, without exclamations of unintelligible words that disturb the understanding, . . . without priests dressed in full armor as if for some unexpected battle, without temple wardens who put the strength of bulls to rout (οὐ νεωκόροι τὰύρων τροποῦντας ἰσχύν) (26.4). These are all palpable references to the mysteries of Cybele. The author accurately describes not only the instrumentation (κύμβαλον, κρόταλον, αὐλός, and τύμπανον) of the mysteries but also the frenzied dance of the effeminate priests, the Galli, and possibly even the taurobolium.⁷⁹ Scholars have long suspected the mysteries of Cybele to be one of Christianity's strongest competitors, as adherents of each religious movement accused the other of plagiarism.⁸⁰ The author's protracted juxtaposition of the mind-numbing mysteries of the Phrygian goddess over against the well-ordered worship of an ecclesiastical service (26.5–6) is perhaps intended to demonstrate the fallacy of false analogy in such arguments of plagiarism.

I shall discuss in detail the author's representations of Greco-Roman, Egyptian, and Chaldaean mysteries in separate articles in the future. For now it is sufficient to note here only that the author was neither completely ignorant of nor an expert on pagan religions and that the greater part of his obscure expositions derive from contemporary, already recondite and predominantly Neoplatonic speculations on the gods and their respective mysteries.

2.4. The Greek Manuscript Tradition (BHG 453)

In 1726 Prudentius Maran first edited the Greek text of the *Confession* from a single Parisian manuscript, BnF gr. 1506 (siglum P), for the collection of the works of Cyprian of Carthage begun by

⁷⁹ See further notes 168–174 to the translation.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., F. Cumont, "La polémique de l'Ambrosiaster contre les païens," *RHLR* 8 (1903): 417–44; J.B. Rutter, "The Three Phases of the Taurobolium," *Phoenix* 22 (1968): 226–49; A.T. Fear, "Cybele and Christ," in *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren* (ed. E.N. Lane; RGRW 131; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 37–50. But whatever one makes of the presumed ritualistic parallels, as A. Cameron observes, "this need not imply that Cybele would save everyone who turned to her, the lowly as well as the rich and powerful. Even if many or all the unknown members participated in initiations, this can hardly be seen as a proselytizing cult, trying to compete with Christianity" (*The Last Pagans of Rome* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2011], 151).

Étienne Baluze.⁸¹ In 1760 Johannes Klee revised Maran's *editio princeps* for publication in the *Acta Sanctorum* series.⁸² Maran's edition is for the most part diplomatic, and Klee's editorial work consisted primarily in accepting or rejecting the corrections and emendations recommended by Maran in the form of annotations, although Klee occasionally offered his own conjectures (e.g., Klee was the first to suggest the correction Ἡλιδι in 2.2 for P's ἱλιάδι). But Klee did not consult the Parisian codex himself. Had he done so, he likely would have noticed that a folium is missing from BnF gr. 1506 and that Maran disingenuously sidestepped an obvious lacuna in the text without leaving the slightest indication that the text might not be complete. As a result, Maran's editorial slips made their way into Klee's text.

Many of these editorial mistakes are minor and forgivable (e.g., Maran's omission of τὴν before μαντικὴν in 2.2), but Maran's failure to indicate the lacuna in BnF gr. 1506 between ff. 187 and 188 is particularly egregious. The lacuna occurs in the middle of Eusebius' reply to Cyprian's public confession: [f. 187v] (22.3) λοιπὸν οὖν κατὰστα, Κυπριανέ, σύνες ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶ, νόησον τὴν πλάνην, τὴν ἄγνοιαν, [f. 188r] -λεσεν· (22.19) εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνοὺς Χριστοῦ τὴν δύναμιν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ ἐπέμεινας, τάχα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνελπιστίαν σου ἀπεδέξατο. Maran pretended as though the -λεσεν that begins f. 188r did not exist and edited the text to read τὴν ἄγνοιαν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνοὺς κτλ., and both Klee's text and all modern translations have naturally followed suit.⁸³

Nor is this the only folium missing from BnF gr. 1506. In his study of the Greek manuscript tradition of the text that precedes the *Confession*, namely Agathangelos' life of Gregory the Illuminator

⁸¹ P. Maran, "Confessio Sancti Cypriani," in *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani episcopi Carthaginensis et martyris opera omnia* (ed. É. Baluze; Paris: Typographia Regia, 1726), ccxcv–cccxxx; repr. Venice: Hieronymus Dorigonus, 1758, coll. 1105–1140. I have consulted the Venetian edition of 1758.

⁸² J. Klee, "Confessio seu Poenitentia S. Cypriani, editore et interprete Prudentio Marano Benedictino, cum aliis editis collata," AASS Sept. VII (1760): 222–241; repr. AASS 47 [Sept. VII] (1867): 204–24 (with annotations on pp. 208–10, 214–15, 218–20, 223–24). I have consulted the edition of 1867.

⁸³ See Maran, "Confessio," col. 1134.4; Klee, "Confessio," 220.39. The *Confession* has been translated into German, French, and Italian: Zahn, *Cyprian*, 30–63; P. Grimal, *Romans grecs et latins* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 134; Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 1385–1413 (with notes on pp. 1535–37); S. Fumagalli, *Cipriano di Antiochia, Confessione: La prima versione del mito di Faust nella letteratura antica* (Milan: Associazione Culturale Mimesis, 1994), 35–75 (partly abridged). The first translation into a modern language, however, belongs to the French Spiritualist and medium Jules Eudes de Mirville, *Des Esprits: De l'Esprit-Saint et du miracle dans les six premiers et les six derniers siècles de notre ère, spécialement des résurrections des morts, des exorcismes, apparitions, transports, etc. Extraits des Bollandistes et des Procès de canonisation* (Paris: F. Wattelier, 1868), 172–83 (partly abridged), portions of which were later translated into English and published by the Theosophist H.P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy* (4 vols.; London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1897), 3:160–163. Blavatsky (*The Secret Doctrine*, 162) humorously scolds the Marquis de Mirville for translating τοὺς μεσίτας in 5.5 as "médiuims" (*Des Esprits*, 176 and n. a).

(on ff. 90v–170r), Gérard Garitte drew attention to three missing folia: one between ff. 94 and 95 in quire ιβ' (ff. 88–94); one between ff. 133 and 134 in quire ιζ' (ff. 128–134); and another between ff. 141 and 142 in quire [ιη'] (ff. 135–141).⁸⁴ Each of these quires consists of seven folia. Originally they were quaternions, but a folium from each was lost during binding process (a not uncommon occurrence). The quires of the *Confession* were originally made up of one ternion (quire κε')⁸⁵ and two quaternions (κγ' and κδ'): κγ' = ff. 171–178; κδ' = ff. 179–186; κε' = ff. 187–192. The missing folium between ff. 187 and 188 belonged to quire κε', which now contains only seven folia (just like those described by Garitte), but unlike the missing folia of quires ιβ', ιζ', and [ιη'], the missing folium of quire κε' of the *Confession* is not the seventh (as in ιζ') or eighth folium (as in ιβ' and [ιη']) of the quire, but the second.⁸⁶

Unbeknownst to the majority of the *Confession*'s commentators, Michael Gitlbauer published an edition of the tachygraphic materials in Vat. gr. 1809 (now siglum A, Gitlbauer's siglum V), a tenth-century Italo-Greek codex which contains a shorter recension of the *Confession* (ff. 217r^b–218r^c).⁸⁷ The tachygraphic script is so small and efficient in this portion of the codex (with three columns of between 60 and 88 lines per column) that the entire text (1.1–22.10) takes up just over one folium or six columns. Compare that to a manuscript penned during the same century like Vat. gr. 797 (siglum S), in which the same materials take up 18 folia or 72 columns.⁸⁸ Vat. gr. 1809 contains a portion (approximately one half) of the text from the missing folium of BnF gr. 1506, but the text ends abruptly at 22.10, at which point

⁸⁴ G. Garitte, "La tradition manuscrite de l'Agathange' grec," *RHE* 37 (1941): 200–201.

⁸⁵ The preceding quire and the final two quires of the codex are also ternions: κβ' = ff. 165–170; κζ' = ff. 193–198; κξ' = ff. 199–204.

⁸⁶ A Byzantine reader appears to have noticed the problem and supplied two marginal scholia in a majuscule script to help the reader identify the two interlocutors on f. 188r: + ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝ(ός) appears in the right-hand margin adjacent to καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἔφη (23.1) and ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ ∴ (quite unnecessarily) adjacent to καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἔφη (24.1).

⁸⁷ M. Gitlbauer, *Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie in Codex Vaticanus graecus 1809* (2 vols.; DKA 28.2, 34.2; Vienna: Gerold, 1878–1884), 1:61–82 (diplomatic transcription), 1:95–109 (edition), with Tafeln 1:XII–XIV. See further R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale (histoire, classement, paléographie)* (Studi e testi 183; Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1955), 31, 35; S. Lilla, *Il testo tachigrafico del De divinis nominibus (Vat. gr. 1809)* (Studi e testi 263; Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1970), 5–20.

⁸⁸ On Greek systems of tachygraphy, see further M. Gitlbauer, *Die drei Systeme der griechischen Tachygraphie* (DKA 44.2; Vienna: Gerold, 1894), 1–50; idem, "Studien zur griechischen Tachygraphie," *Archiv für Stenographie* 54 (1902): 193–204; C. Wessely, *Ein System altgriechischer Tachygraphie* (DKA 44.4; Vienna: Gerold, 1896), 1–44; F.W.G. Foat, "On Old Greek Tachygraphy," *JHS* 21 (1901): 238–67; V.E. Gardthausen, "Geschichte der griechischen Tachygraphie," *Archiv für Stenographie* 57 (1906): 1–10; idem, *Griechische Paläographie* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Veit, 1911–1913), 2:270–98; A. Mentz, "Geschichte und Systeme der griechischen Tachygraphie," *Archiv für Stenographie* 58 (1907): 97–107, 129–45, 161–71, 204–6, 225–39. Lilla (*Il testo tachigrafico*, 21–31) provides some useful charts to the copy of Dionysius the Areopagite's *De divinis nominibus* in Vat. gr. 1809.

the scribe mysteriously stopped copying and left nearly an entire column (218r^c) blank after inscribing only six lines of text. Gitlbauer did not speculate as to why the scribe stopped copying. Certainly it is possible that his exemplar was missing the final pages or quire, much like the Leiden codex Voss. gr. F 13 (siglum L), which ends abruptly at 25.13.

Due to another lacuna, these materials are also absent from the Milan codex F 144 sup. (siglum C), which also preserves the shorter text (there is unfortunately no complete manuscript of the shorter text). In the first column of the final folium (56r) there is a large lacuna extending from the middle of 14.8 to the end of 27.3. Where all other codices read οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅσας μοιχείας (καὶ πορνείας add. q) καὶ παιδοφθορίας (παιδεραστίας PLNS) ἔδρασα ἐμοὶ καὶ ἑτέροις πολλοῖς παρατρέπων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ μὴ θελούσας (14.8), C preserves only οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πόσας μοιχείας ἔδρασα. If not the result of the innocent loss of a quire from an earlier exemplar, the lacuna may well be the result of censorship. The scribe's omission of Cyprian's crime of pederasty (καὶ παιδοφθορίας) is glaring and conspicuous, and doubtless Cyprian's subsequent mention of sexual deviance and rape would have caused the scribe a similar disquiet. It may also be no accident that the text resumes precisely at 27.4, which in some manuscripts, e.g., in the acephalous copy in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1485 (siglum F), begins the final section of the text (on f. 37v). This would suggest that the scribe of C, put off by the unrelenting lurid details of Cyprian's public confession, decided for the sake of modesty to cut down Cyprian's crime to multiple accounts of adultery and skipped to the final section of his exemplar to spare posterity.⁸⁹

Oddly enough, codex 4 of the National Museum of Ohrid (siglum N), which preserves a copy of the longer text, may shed light on the problem of A's abrupt ending. After προσλαμβάνεται in 22.10, the very point where the scribe of A stopped copying, N as an obvious member of family q (codices FHLNS) should go on to describe the demise of Perdiccas "at the hands of a double love" in 22.11, but instead the

⁸⁹ The scribe's use of τότε οὖν in the place of καὶ δὴ to begin 27.4 is also anomalous and seems intended to smooth over the rather awkward transition from 14.8 to 27.4. Such prudish censorship could also be responsible for other codicological mutilations. One may note, for example, that the only surviving copy of Eudocia's hexameter versification of the *Acts* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 7.10) ends in the middle of 13.3 with ὁψὲ δέ μοί τις ἔειπε διαπρύσιόν γε βοήσας (*De S. Cypr.* 2.479) on f. 180v, and that Cyprian's public confession would have begun on the following folium. In addition, one of the Coptic manuscripts contains a lacuna of two folia (ff. 9 and 10, according to Lemm's foliation) from 14.2, after ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχούσας τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀνέτεμνον (at the very beginning of Cyprian's public confession) up through 22.20; see O. von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke der Legende von Cyprian von Antiochien* (Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences, VIII^e Série, Classe historico-philologique 4.6; Saint Petersburg: Académie impériale des sciences, 1899), 16–17.

manuscript offers a drastically different reading, which has been derived nearly *in toto* from a previous passage in 22.6:

22.6 in A q (HLNS)

εἰπέ σου τῇ συνειδήσει ὅτι ἀγνοίας γέγονα παίγνιον
καὶ πολέμιος ἐαυτῷ κατέστην μὴ βουλόμενος· πείσόν
σου τὴν γνώμην ὅτι κακὰ ἐποίησας ὑπὸ κακίας
ἐνεργούμενος ὡς ὑπὸ πυρὸς ὕλη πολλοὺς καὶ ἄνδρας
καὶ πόλεις καὶ δῆμους συμφλέξασα.

post 22.10 in N

ἢ ὅτι ἀγνοίας παίγνιον γέγονας, πείσόν σου τὴν
καρδίαν ὅτι ἄκον ἐποίησας ὑπὸ κακίας ἐνεργούμενος.

After this brief repetition the text jumps suddenly (without καὶ γὰρ ἔφην or the like) to Cyprian's dialogue in 23.2 (παρακαλῶ, πάτερ Εὐσέβιε, κτλ.). At this point the readings become wildly erratic and N no longer agrees with manuscripts of family q (nor any other manuscript); sentences are abridged or expanded seemingly at random and the contents of chapters 25 and 26 are considerably truncated and hardly recognizable. One is left with the distinct impression that a scribe attempted to reconstruct the final chapters from a mutilated exemplar with a few severely damaged or spoiled folia. For this reason I no longer report readings from N in the apparatus criticus after προσλαμβάνεται (22.10).⁹⁰ François Halkin

⁹⁰ [p. 197] . . . ὅτι ἐαυτῷ ἐπίβουλον προσλαμβάνεται. ἢ ὅτι ἀγνοίας παίγνιον γέγονας· πείσόν σου τὴ(ν) καρδίαν ὅτι ἄκον ἐποίησας ὑπὸ κακίας ἐνεργούμενος·

(23.2) παρακαλῶ π(άτ)ερ εὐσέβιε φράσο<ν> μοι ποθοῦ(ν)τι ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶ(ν) τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ· εἴ τινα τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὁ θ(εὸς) ἐγκλημάτων ἀπήλλαξεν· (24.1) καὶ ὁ εὐσέβ(ε)ιος πρὸς με· παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰ καὶ μὴ γόης γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ βλάσφημος τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ διώκτης τῶν ἁγίων· τὸν μακάριο(ν) στέφανον αὐτὸς διὰ πλειόνων ἐλίθασεν· καὶ πέτρος ὁ κλ<ε>ῖδοφύλαξ τῶν ἐπ' οὐ(ράν)ιον· καὶ αὐτὸς τρίτον ἠρνήσατο τὸν Χ(ριστό)ν· ἀλλὰ μετανόησαντες, ὁ μὲν παῦλος σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς ἐχρημάτισεν (sic)· ὁ δὲ πέτρος, τῶν ἐπουρανίων τὰς κλεῖς ἐπιστεύθη· τί γὰρ φησιν ὁ παῦλος· ἡλεήθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα· (cf. 1 Tim 1:13) (24.2) ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων(ν)· ἱκανοὶ τῶν τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων· ἐμπρίσα(ν)τες (sic) τὰς μαγικὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν προσεδέχθησαν τῷ φωτίσματι· τοῦ ἁγί<ου> πν(εύματος) τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν καθάρισαντες· (24.3) βλέπε καὶ τὸν βαβυλώνιον ναβουχοδονόσορ (sic) τὸν βασιλέα· τῇ ἐν τρισὶν παισὶν διὰ πυρὸς εἰληφεν†· ὅτι ἐμβληθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγκαμίνω (sic) πυρὸς οὐκ ὠλοθρεύθησαν ἐπὶ ἐνστάσι θεοσεβείας· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτὸν ἡ πρόνοια· λόγῳ φύσει κολάζεσθαι ψηφισαμένη ἐπὶ χρόνους ἐπτά· καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰς θ(εὸ)ν ἐπίγνωσιν· (24.4) ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλεία(ν) μανασσῆς τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰ(σρα)ήλ· καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ἰδιῶται μετὰ θεογνωσίαν τὰ δ<ε>ῖνα ἐπραξαν· θ(εὸ)ν ἐν εἰδώλοις παρόργησαν· καὶ προφῆτας ἀπέκτεινα(ν) καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱέρω εἰδωλωστήσαντες προσεκύνησαν· καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐλάτρευσαν· καὶ πολλὰ αἵματα ἀθῶως ἐξέχεαν· καὶ τῷ λαῷ μετὰ ἐπηρημένης ἀπειλῆς· σέβην παρεσκεύασεν· καὶ προφῆτας πρίωσιν ἀναλώσαντες, μετανόησαντες ἡ θεία δίκη προσεδέξατο· (24.5) ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τὸν ἰ(σρα)ήλ συνεχῶς ἀσεβοῦντα· καὶ συνεχῶς μετανοοῦντα, ἄχρη (sic) τῆς παρου[p. 198]σίας τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· πελάγει ἀσεβειῶν συγχωρήσας προσεδέξατο· ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρη (sic) σήμερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἡ κατὰ θ(εὸ)ν μετάνοια ἰσχύει πολλά· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐξασθενοῦντας τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ· ὡς νοσοκόμος ὑγίει θ(ε)ῶ ἀποκαθίστησιν· (24.6) ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον· πάντα τρόπον τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ λαμβάνουσα· κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δόρων περιέχουσα· (24.7) λέγει γὰρ ὁ κ(ύριος) τῷ πέτρῳ· οὐ μόνον(ν) ἐπτάκις ἀφίσεις τῷ μετανοοῦντι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά· μὴ ἀπογνῶς τοῖνον Κυπριανέ· τὸςυτο (sic) πελάγει οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ ἐλέους καὶ χάριτος Χ(ριστο)ῦ·

(?) ἅπαν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔλεος· ἐξέχεεν πλουσίως ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ θάνατον καταδεξάμενος, καθὼς φησί(ν) ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης περὶ χ(ριστο)ῦ προφητεύων ἔλεγεν· ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσεβειῶ(ν) τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἦρθη εἰς θάνατον (cf. Isa 53:8)· (25.13) καὶ ἄρ

is mistaken in claiming that a page has been torn out between 198 (a verso page) and 199 (a recto page).⁹¹ There is no discontinuity in the text at this point: [p. 198] οὕτως ἀποσυλήσεις τὸν διάβολον καὶ πολλὰς [p. 199] ψυχὰς προσαγάγῃς τῷ Χ(ριστῷ) (cf. 26.9). Without question the text of the final chapters is corrupt, but this problem has not been caused by a detached page (although a folium may well have dropped out of N's exemplar, since the text of chapters 25 and 26 are underrepresented).

It is very difficult to determine how, if not by sheer coincidence, two manuscripts representing two different recensions, one short and one long, have come to end in exactly the same place. The scribe of A may have possessed more than one copy of the *Confession*, as evinced by his use of cancellation points. The scribe makes use of cancellation points⁹² in sixteen different places:

φησιν ὁ κ(ύριος) οὐκ ἤλθον κάλεσαι δικαίους· ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι(ν) χρειαὶν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἱατροῦ· ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες· (cf. Mark 2:17 par.) (25.7) δι' ὃ καταλείπων τὰ ἐν<ν>εμήκοντα ἐννέα, ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ τὸ πεπλανημένον· (25.12) καὶ ὅτι χαρὰ γήνεται (sic) ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων· ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι· Κυπριανέ· κράτει τὴν ἄγκυραν τῆς πίστεως τὴν ὀρκομωσίαν (sic) τοῦ κ(υρίου) τῷ (sic) (25.4) ζῷ ἐγὼ λέγει ἀδωναί· ὁ κ(ύριος) οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ὥς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν (cf. Ezek 33:11).

(26.7) ἀναστὰς οὖν ἀπονήστησαι· τρίτην ταύτη(ν) ἡμέραν ἄσιτος μένων· (26.8) καὶ κοινωτέρως ἀπίεμεν (sic) ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγιωτάτη(ν) ἐκκλησίαν πρὸς τοὺς π(ατέ)ρας· ἀκοῦσαι παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεοπνεύστων τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγῳ(ν)· καὶ γὰρ ἀφθόνως μετὰ διδῶσιν καὶ σπουδαίως χειραγωγοῦσιν· κ(αί) μετὰ τοῦτο, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσελευσώμεθα· (26.9) ἐν ἐαυτῷ γενοῦ Κυπριανέ· τάχα γὰρ ἀποσώσῃ σου τὴν δικίαν· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐσύλησας ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) ἐκκλησίας τοῦ χ(ριστοῦ)· καὶ παρέπεμψες τῷ διαβόλῳ· οὕτως ἀποσυλήσεις τὸν διάβολον· καὶ πολλὰς [p. 199] ψυχὰς προσαγάγῃς τῷ χ(ριστῷ)· φωτίζων αὐτοὺς τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας· οἶδα ὅτι μακάριος εἶ καὶ ἀληθινὸς δοῦλος χ(ριστοῦ)· ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ κάμῳ μνήσθητι διὰ παντὸς πρὸς κ(ύριον).

(27.1) κἀγὼ δὲ συνειχόμεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφ<αλ>ῆς καὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῖς ἐμοῖς προσθέμενος· π(ατέ)ρα ἐκάλουν· ἦν γὰρ συνφυτή(ς) (sic) μου· εὐσεβὴς δὲ τῷ φρονήματι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποπλάνῃ μου παρένεσάς (sic) μοι τὰ κρείττονα· (27.2) καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς, ἔτι νύκτωρ ἀπίεμεν (sic) ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ χ(ριστοῦ) ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ ὁρῶ ἐκεῖ οὐ(ρ)ανὸν ἐπὶ γῆς χωρεῦντα· καὶ ὑμνοῦντα τὸν θ(εὸ)ν ἐν δοξολογίᾳ πολλῇ· καὶ ἐβραϊκῇ λέξει· ἐκάστῳ στίχῳ ἐπάγων ἐρμηνίαν ὡς δακεῖν με μίαν εἶναι τὴν πάντων φωνὴν οὐκ ἀν(θρώπων)· οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλουν θανόντες σώματι διὰ τῶν ζώντων. (27.3) οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὡς ζῶντες ἐφθέγγοντο· οὐ χρειαὶν ἔχοντες ἐρμηνείας· τοῦ ἀγίου πν(εύματος) τὰ λεγόμενα ἐρμηνεύοντες· ἀπλούστατοι οἱ λόγοι τὰς διανοίας [corr. ex διανοίαις] συντιθέμενοι· (27.4) καὶ δὴ πολλὰ θαυμασάντων [. . .] ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἐπιστροφῇ καὶ ταπεινώσει· ταῦτα βλέποντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν θ(εὸ)ν λέγοντες· ὄντως μέγας ὁ θ(εὸς) τῶν χριστιανῶ(ν), ὁ ἐπιστρέψας κυπριανόν(ν).

(28.1) κἀγὼ εἶπον· π(ά)τερ εὐσέβ(ε)· διατί μὴ καίομεν (sic) τὰς βήβλους (sic) τοῦ διαβόλου· καὶ ἀποθέμεθα (sic) τὸ βαρὺ φορτίον τῆς ἀσεβείας· καὶ ἔσοθεν (sic) ποιήσαντες τοῦτο πᾶσαν τῇ[ν] νομοθεσίαν τοῦ διαβόλου ἐνεμπρήσαμεν (sic). (28.2) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνετύχαμεν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· καὶ πάντα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν, καθὼς μοι διηγῆσατο ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγγελός μοι γεγόμενος πρὸς σωτηρίαν εὐσέβ(ε)· (28.3) ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἡ τοῦ χ(ριστοῦ) δοῦλη ἰουστίνη τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιστροφὴν· λύχνους ἀψαμένη· καὶ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ τὰς χοὰς κειρομένη τὸν θάλαμον· ὃν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῆς ἀφιέρωσαν καὶ τὰ κόσμια· σὺν τῇ πρυκὶ πολήσασα τοῖς πένησιν διένειμεν εὐχαριστήρια τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας δρώσα· διόπερ καὶ τῷ ὁμοιοτρόπως αὐτῇ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν μου ἀποδόμενος· (28.4) ὡσαύτως τὴν ἐκ[. . .] [p. 200] καὶ μεθ' οὗ πολλὸν (sic)· καταξιωθεὶς τῆς ἐν χ(ριστῷ) σφραγίδος· πρεσβυτέρου γενομένου (sic) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) εὐσεβ(ε)ίου· καὶ πάνυ τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντος· τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρθένῳ συνόλη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· (28.5) ἔκτοτε δὲ ἐγὼ πολλοὺς ἐπέιθον· καὶ ἐπίστευον πληθύν· προστιθέμενα τῷ χ(ριστῷ)· πᾶσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκτιθέμενος τῆς πλάνης τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπέστρεφον· ὅπως ἐστὶν γλυκία καὶ πικρά ἡ πηγὴ (sic) αὐτῆς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν σχεδὸν ἐκπιῶν· καὶ οὕτως κηρύττον διηλθόν(ν) σὺν τῷ π(ατ)ρί Εὐσεβίῳ· ἡ πολλὴ χάρις καὶ μισθὸς παρὰ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ ὅτι ἐμὲ ἐρύσατο τοῦ αἰωνίου θανάτου ἐν χ(ριστῷ) ἰησοῦ τῷ κ(υρίῳ) ἡμ(ῶν), ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν ἀγίῳ πν(εύματι) εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

⁹¹ Halkin, "Manuscripts byzantins," 7 ("un feuillet arraché entre les p. 198 et 199").

⁹² See, e.g., E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 16.

- 2.3 ἄκους (expunctum) post ὅρκους add. A
 8.6 τῆς ante σαρκικῆς expunctum in A
 9.6 ἐγὼ δ' ἤμην A^{ac} : ἐγὼ A^{pc(δ' ἤμην expuncta)} C ἐγὼ δὲ P om. q
 9.7 εἰ (expunctum) ante τινὰ add. A
 10.1 ἐγὼ παρήμην . . . τούτων C P q : ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤμην . . . παρῶν (expunctum) τούτων A
 13.4 ἔφην A^{ac} (cf. 23.1) : expunctum in A εἶπον C om. P q
 18.4 ἔδειξα A^{pc} (cf. 18.10) : ἐδίδαξα A^{ac(litt. δα expunctae)} q om. P
 18.8 πλεῦσαι ὡς ἵπταμένους A^{ac} : πλεῦσαι ἵπταμένους A^{pc(ὡς expunctum)} PS εἰς τὸ πλεῦσαι ἵπταμένους
 HLN
 18.9 ἐποίησα A^{ac} HLN : expunctum in A om. PS
 18.12 μοι A^{ac} : expunctum in A μοι θαυμάζοντες, ὅθεν q θαυμάζοντες P
 19.4 ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν P q : ἔτι om. et τοῦ ζῆν (expuncta) post περιήρηται transp. A
 21.8 ὅτι A^{ac} P q : expunctum in A
 21.8 συνήλθέ σοι PLN : συνεισῆλθέ σοι H σοι (expunctum), φησί, συνήλθεν A
 22.4 οὐκ ἔστι σε (σοι S) q : οὐκέτι σε δεῖ (expunctum) A
 22.6 καὶ ante πόλεις expunctum in A
 22.9 ξίφος q : ξίφους ἔργον A^{ac(φους ἔργον expuncta)}

Whereas some instances are mere deletions of obvious errors (e.g., 2.3, 9.7) or of what the scribe assumes to be errors (e.g., 8.6, 22.6), other deletions coincide with readings from the longer recension to which manuscript N belongs (e.g., 13.4; cf. 18.4). One may note that in no instance where the expunged text causes a problem that requires further correction (e.g., in 9.6, 10.1, 18.8, 22.4, and 22.9) does the scribe offer corrections immediately after the expunged text or in the margins (indicating that some of the cancellation points were not added as the scribe copied but afterwards as the scribe or a corrector proofed the text).⁹³ This would suggest that the scribe had access to another codex and was apparently only crosschecking his fresh copy against it, and the examples in 10.1, 22.4, and 22.9 suggest that this second codex contained some version of the longer recension. For example, A's reading ξί·φους ἔρ·γον· (which requires further correction) seems to imply the reading ξίφος (so HLNS). If the scribe of A had access to another codex, he clearly did not consult it often, but if this second codex was at all similar to

⁹³ One may compare, for example, the collection of excerpts from the *Cyranides* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1603 (saec XVI). On f. 279r the excerpt from *Cyranides* 2.11 (περὶ ἐλάφου) reads ἐάν τις ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ ἐλάφου ῥίνισμα ὅσον κοχλιάριον ἄ· δῶ τινὶ πιεῖν μεθ' ὑδρομέλιτος ἐπὶ ἡμέρας : μ' : ζ' τῷ ἔχοντι κωλυκ(όν) τελείως ἀπαλάξει τοῦ πάθους (134.11–13 Kaimakis//1:60.17, cf. 2:257, 289 Ruelle). Here the mistake is surrounded by cancellation dots and the corrected text immediately follows (indicating that the deletion and the correction were made as the scribe copied his exemplar); cf. M. Delcourt's appendix "Libri Koeranidum," in *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs: I. Les Parisini* (ed. H. Lebègue; Brussels: Lamertin, 1924), 217.

manuscript N, then the scribe of A may possibly have stopped copying after προσλαμβάνεται in 22.10 because his exemplars were so drastically different at this point as to be wholly irreconcilable. In any case, the text from the missing folium in P is preserved in its entirety only in three manuscripts of the longer recension represented by family q, i.e., the aforementioned codex in Leiden (L) and two others, which remain the only complete copies of the *Confession*: Μονή Σταυρονικήτα 10 (siglum H) and Vat. gr. 797 (siglum S).

The manuscript evidence divides easily into two main groups: a shorter text (in two recensions) and a longer text (in two recensions).

recensiones breviores

- A Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1809, ff. 217r^b–218r^c (saec. X).⁹⁴
 C Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 144 sup. (Martini-Bassi 377), ff. 51v–56r (saec. XII).⁹⁵

recensiones longiores

- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1506, ff. 171r–192v (saec. X).⁹⁶
 q Codices FHLNS.

⁹⁴ A (f. 217v^b) tit. μ(ε)τ(ά) νοι α τοῦ (ἀγίου) Κυ πρι α νοῦ (ἐπι) σκόπ(ου) ἄν τι ο χεῖ ας, κ(υρί)ε εὐλό(όγησον), inc. ὁ σοι τῶν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μυστηρίων προσκόπτετε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν (ἐπι) βλέψατε, κ(αί) γνώσεσθε τῶν ἐν (αὐ)τοῖς ἐμφορομένων (ων) λόγων) τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, (f. 218r^c) des. mutil. οὐ κῆ δει ὁ πάρις ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐλένην τὸ ἱλιν ἄλίσκεται, οὐ δὲ ἄγα μένων αἰγισθον προσοικεῖ οὐ μ(εν)(ος) ὅτι ἐ(αυ)τοῦ (ἐπί) βουλον προσλαμβάνεται (§ 22.10). Saec. X, membran., mm. 248 × 190, ff. III + 271 (ff. 217r–218r: coll. 3, linn. 60–88); see P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962* (2 vols.; Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti recensiti; Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1970), 1:173–77, 2:XXXVII; *editio princeps*: Gittlbauer, *Die Ueberreste*, 1:61–82 (transcription), 1:95–109 (edition) with pls. 1:XII–XIV.

⁹⁵ C (f. 51v) tit. μετάνοια Κυπριανού ἐπισκόπ(ου) ἐν Νικομηδία μαρτυρίσαντος σὺν Ἰουστίνῃ ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανῶ, κ(ύρι)ε εὐλό(όγησον), inc. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μυστηρίοις προκόπτετε τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ γνώσεσθε τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφορομένων λόγων τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, (f. 56r) deficit in ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐτέροις πολλοῖς παρατρέπων (§ 14.8) — οἱ λόγοι ἐν διανοαῖς συγχείμενοι (§ 27.3) fort. per lacunam in exemplari. Saec. XII, membran., mm. 330 × 247, ff. II (chartac.) + 171, coll. 2, linn. 46; cf. E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (2 vols.; Milano: Hoepli, 1906), 1:444–48 no. 377; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:346–49; C. Pasini, *Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana* (Subsidia hagiographica 84; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2003), 101. The text is preceded by a copy of the *Martyrdom* on ff. 50r–51v.

⁹⁶ P (f. 171r) tit. + μετάνοια τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανῶ, inc. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μυστηρίοις προσκόπτετε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ γνῶτε πάντων τῶν ἐμφορομένων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν, post f. 187 deest folium, deficit in τὴν νεότητα τῆς φύσεως (§ 22.3) — ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς διὰ σοῦ ἀπώ- (§ 22.18). Olim Colbertinus 1931 deinde Regius 2447³, saec. X, membran., mm. 278 × 198, ff. 204, col. 1, linn. 24–26; see Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2:71; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 195; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:405–7; G. Garitte, “La tradition manuscrite,” 200–201; F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (3rd ed.; 3 vols.; Subsidia hagiographica 8a; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957), 1:38 (*BHG* 453); Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris*, 189; *editio princeps*: Maran, “Confessio,” coll. 1105–1140; rev. ed. Klee, “Confessio,” 204–24.

Scholars have suggested that the Coptic and Slavonic versions evince an even longer text, i.e., longer than the long recension represented by manuscript P,⁹⁷ but these “longer” materials, with the exception of some minor interpolations, turn out to be nothing more than the text from the missing folium in BnF gr. 1506. The Latin version, on the other hand, is severely truncated, and this obvious abridgement may well be due to the *Confession*’s presence among the *libri non recipiendi* in the *Decretum Gelasianum*.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ See Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, xii; cf. H.M. Jackson, “A Contribution,” 36. The Coptic version exists in two more or less complete manuscript copies and in three fragments: (1) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, copt. 129¹⁵, ff. 1r–8v, 11r–16v, according to von Lemm’s foliation [deficit in 1.1–5a, 5.3b–6.2a, 7.2b–11.10a, 14.2–22.20 et 27.2b–28.5], ed. Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 1–32; cf. J.-B. Chabot, “Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Revue des bibliothèques* 16 (1906): 364–65; (2) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M609, ff. 53r–93r, ed. F. Bilabel, “Studien zu Kyprian der Magier,” in *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* (ed. F. Bilabel and A. Grohmann; Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen 5; Heidelberg: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1934), 65–143; cf. L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (2 vols.; Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, Oriental Series 1–2; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 1:338–41 no. 167, 2:pls. 161–62; (3) London, British Museum, Or. 3581B(39), pp. 16–17 [= 7.2b–8.2a], pp. 18–19 [= 15.1–16.2], ed. W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905), 151–52 no. 331; cf. Bilabel, “Studien,” 43–47; (4) Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, I. B. 14 [Museo Borgiano, copt. 294], fasc. 466, p. 18 [= 24.3 ἀσεβήσας followed by a unique interpolation, apparently incited by Nebuchadnezzar’s claim to be God (cf. Judith 2:4–5, 6:2, etc.)], ed. Bilabel, “Studien,” 47–48; cf. G. Zoëga, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano velitis adservantur* (Rome: Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, 1810), 635 no. 294; (5) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 9514, 16–17 [= 28.3–4], ed. F. Bilabel, “Nachtrag Nr. 167: Wiener Fragment der Kyprianlegende,” in Bilabel and Grohmann, eds., *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte*, 448–51. As for the Slavonic version, which appears to be a translation made from a Greek manuscript of family q (see below), see the edition of S. Palauzov, *Великие Минеи Четьи, собранные всероссийским митрополитом Макарием: Октябрь, дни 1–3* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1870), coll. 56–80. It is to be noted, however, that the Slavonic text exists in several more manuscript copies; see T. Helland, “The Church Slavonic Reading Menologia Covering October as Indirect Witnesses to the Pre-Metaphrastic Byzantine October Menologion,” *Byz* 78 (2008): 243.

⁹⁸ For example, the text of 2.9b–4.6 is entirely lacking: *Esca autem mea erant summa tenera de arboribus (roborebus cett.) post occasum solis. Cum autem XXX annorum factus suissem, de Aegypto intravi in terram Chaldaeorum, volens discere coeli virtutem, quam ipsi super ignem esse dicunt* (cf. Fell, “Confessio,” 199; Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, 3:1629). Only four Latin manuscripts of BHL 2049 have been used by scholars, but there are many more copies in existence (too many to list here). Fell (*Caecilii Cypriani opera*, 198–206) edited the Latin text of the *Confession* from three manuscripts, but provided scant information regarding his manuscripts (p. 196). As far as I can ascertain, Fell’s manuscript witnesses must have been (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 30, ff. 29r–46r, saec. XV (see R.W. Hunt and A.G. Watson, *Digby Manuscripts* [2 vols.; Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues 9; Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1999], 1:28 [W.D. Macray’s 1883 catalogue] and 2:19); (2) Cambridge, Trinity College, B. I. 23 (279), ff. 95r–106r, saec. XIII (see M.R. James, *Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue* [4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900–1904], 1:26 no. 22); and (3) Dublin, Trinity College, B. 4. 1, saec. XV (see M.L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* [2 vols.; Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1991], 1:373; cf. T.K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* [Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1980], 26 no. 191, item 5). Martène and Durand (*Thesaurus*, 3:1629–46) edited the Latin text of the *Acts* from a single manuscript in Rouen, U. 35, ff. 108r–111v, saec. XII (see H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Tome premier. Rouen* [Paris: Plon, 1886], 370 no. 1389. Jackson’s correction (“A Contribution,” 35 n. 4) of Picard’s mistaken assertion (“Mantique,” 205 n. 6) of the existence of Syriac and Arabic versions of the *Confession* still rings true.

A strong case can be made for priority of the shorter text. The vast majority of readings from the shorter text are decidedly superior, e.g., AC's ἀλόγων in 3.2 where Pq reads ἐαυτῶν and AC's προϊέμενον in 4.2 where Pq reads προσιέμενον. The redactor who produced the longer text simplified the shorter text with more conventional lexical forms, more rudimentary grammatical and syntactical constructions, and additions or omissions of words or phrases to remove ambiguities. Some examples:

- 1.8 ἐκ βασιλείων ἐξαποστέλλονται AC : ἐκ βασιλείων τινῶν ἀποστέλλονται Pq
- 2.2 οἰωνῶν κρούσματα AC : οἰωνισμὸν Pq
- 8.3 ἐπιδεικνύμενον AC : ἔχοντα Pq
- 8.4 γυναικὸς τῇ θύρᾳ προσήδρευε μὴ τολμῶν ὑπείσελθεῖν AC : παρέμενε τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς παιδὸς εἰσελθεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος Pq
- 8.5 γυναικὸς AC : τῆς θύρας αὐτῆς (αὐτοῦ sic P) Pq
- 8.5 ὁ πάντων κρατεῖν οἰόμενος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἐξενευροῦτο AC : ὁ νομίζων πάντων κρατεῖν ὑπὸ κόρης ἐπαίζετο (παίζεται H ἐρραπίζετο L) Pq
- 10.7 τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ AC : ἐποίει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Pq
- 13.7 κατάστασιν AC : ἐπίγνωσιν Pq

Other changes, in addition to simplifying the text, were perhaps intended to draw further parallels with scriptural passages, e.g., the reduction of Cyprian's initiatory period on "Mount Olympus" from forty-eight days (ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἄλλων ὀκτώ AC), which Eudocia had read in her exemplar,⁹⁹ to forty days (ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα Pq), a probable allusion to the Wilderness Temptation (Matt 4:2//Luke 4:2) and the addition of ἐν (τῇ) νυκτὶ after πρὸ τοῦ φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα in 21.7.¹⁰⁰ Still other changes, however, are byproducts of misunderstanding and misinterpretation. For example, Cyprian's digression on how the devil manipulates the subtle matter that comes from pagan sacrifices to manufacture false realities in 7.6–7 continues with the statement, which also seems to be inspired by the Wilderness Temptation (Matt 4:8//Luke 4:5): "For from the rest of the materials he simultaneously fashions (συμμορφάζομενος) a city and manifests houses and fields and mountains and countrysides" (7.8).¹⁰¹ The shorter and longer texts then follow this with markedly different statements:

⁹⁹ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔμμενον ἔγωγε / ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι δέ τ' ὀκτώ (*De S. Cypr.* 2.34–35).

¹⁰⁰ See further note 129 to the translation.

¹⁰¹ I have translated the rare verb *συμμορφάζομαι* as "to fashion simultaneously" (following *LBG* 2.7:1651a s.v.), but since it is probable that the passage was inspired by the Wilderness Temptation, and particularly Luke's rendering καὶ ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου ("Then the devil led him up and showed him in an instant all the kingdoms of the world"), the better translation here might be "to fashion instantaneously."

7.9 (AC)

ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀερίνων τοῖς εἰδώλοις
 ποιοῦσι στολῶν ἐνδύματα χρωτῶν σκιώδεσιν, οὐδὲν
 ἢ τῶν ὀνείρων ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπόστασιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
 ὕπνοις οὕτω φαντάζει τὰς ψυχάς.

7.9 (Pq)

ὡσαύτως καὶ πόαν καὶ ἄνθη καὶ ἔρια καὶ ἄνθινα
 ἀπλώματα καὶ ὀνείρων ὑπόστασιν δείκνυσι· καὶ γὰρ
 αὐτὸς ἐν νυκτὶ φαντάζει τὰς ψυχάς.

According to the short text, “So it is as well for the shadowy eidola, who from the aerial flowerings make garments of skin-colored robes, which are nothing more than the substance of dreams; for in fact this is how they [sc. the eidola] deceive souls in dreams.” The redactor who drafted the longer text obviously misunderstood the shorter text and made the devil the subject of the sentence: “In like manner he [sc. the devil] displays grass and flowers and wools and blooming expanses and the substance of dreams; for in fact he himself deceives souls during the night.”¹⁰² Here too Eudocia’s metaphrasis follows the shorter text.¹⁰³

There are two main quantitative differences between the short text (AC) and the long text (Pq). The first is an interpolation after 8.1, which appears to have been occasioned by accidental omission of the negative μή in 8.1. After Cyprian finishes his digression on the mechanics of pagan sacrifice, he says, “But what good was all this to me, who did not wish to draw near to God even when I came to know (τί δὲ πρὸς με τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον θεῷ προσελθεῖν καὶ γνῶντα) the malfeasance of the dragon . . . because I was buried in the darkness of ungodliness?” That Cyprian recognized the devil’s weakness but still followed him regardless is clear from narrative segments in 9.1–10.11. Omission of μή occurs in one manuscript of the shorter text, namely C, and the notion that Cyprian at this point “wished to draw near to God,” which contradicts confessional statements like 17.3–4, likely prompted the redactor who produced the longer text to add, “Then I made trial of his falsehood, since I knew that he only deceives and makes nothing real.” Interestingly enough, Eudocia’s exemplar, like C, both lacked μή and the subsequent interpolation its accidental omission incited.¹⁰⁴ The second difference is the most distinguishing feature of the longer text, which consists of a lengthy expansion of the short text of 8.6–7. The interpolated materials portray

¹⁰² For similar instances of the redactor’s tendency to simplify the shorter text, see, e.g., 9.7–8 and 10.5.

¹⁰³ See further note 65 to the translation.

¹⁰⁴ Eudocia renders 8.1–2 as follows: ἀλλὰ γε τίποτε πάθω, ὅτι βουλόμενος τρομέεσθαι / οὐρανίωνα θεόν, δεδαῶς κρυεροῖο δράκοντος / ἰσχὺν νεκροτάτην καὶ ἀγνηγορίας κενότητας, / κεύθομαι ἐς ζοφερόν γύαλον; κούρης ἀγίης γὰρ / ἔγνων παρβενικῆς ἀπὸ σεπτοτάτης κεν Ἰούστης / δαίμονας, ὡς μάλα πάγχυ ἀνάλκιδες ᾧδε πέλουσι (*De S. Cypr.* 2.275–280). See further note 66 to the translation.

Cyprian as a famous and well-established Antiochene magus, who delights the public with supernatural spectacles like Alexander of Abonoteichus, but this section is an obvious expansion of the shorter text, which Eudocia's reworking again supports.¹⁰⁵

The text of A, however, is throughout vastly superior to C's.¹⁰⁶ For example, A alone preserves the indispensable clause δι' ὧν τὰ εἶδωλα ἐνεργεῖν παρεσκεύασεν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν in 5.3.¹⁰⁷ In addition, only A's rendering of Cyprian's cosmological vision of the earth being weighed down by a wind can account for the transposition of ἦν — ἐπετήδευσεν attested in all manuscripts.

3.6 (A)

εἶδον γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ πνεύματος καὶ μὴ
χαλινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος διὰ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν
ἀντιστηριγμάτων αὐτῆς τῶν φυσικῶν, κτλ.

3.6 (C Pq)

εἶδον καὶ γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ πνεύματος καὶ μὴ
χαλωμένην ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος διὰ τὴν ἐπαναφορὰν τῶν
στηριγμάτων αὐτῆς τῶν φυσικῶν, κτλ.

In A Cyprian sees the earth “unanchored (μὴ χαλινουμένην) beneath the waters (ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος) because of the attack (ἐπιφορὰν) upon its natural supports (ἀντιστηριγμάτων),” but in C Pq the earth is “not let loose (μὴ χαλωμένην) upon the waters (ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος) on account of its relation (ἐπαναφορὰν) to its natural supports (στηριγμάτων).” Already Maran realized that the clause ἦν ὁ δράκων ἀντιδιατασσόμενος τῇ διατυπώσει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πλάνης παράταξιν ἐπετήδευσεν, which in all manuscripts follows ἦλθον ἐν χώρῳ ὅπου αἱ εἰδέαι τῶν μεταμορφώσεων τοῖς δαίμοσι γίνονται in 3.7 (so also Eudocia and the versions), was out of place and suggested either transposing the clause after φυσικῶν in 3.7 or emending ἦν to ἄς (which happens to be the solution favored by the scribe of L),¹⁰⁸ but without A's ἐπιφορὰν (cf. the “attack” already described in 3.5) Maran's conjectural transposition is much less sensible (in this case ἦν would seem to refer to γῆν). It would appear that at an early stage in the manuscript tradition a scribe took issue with the notion that the diabolic dragon could have had such an impact upon the earth's foundations and transposed the clause to another place. But this transposition does not really succeed in resolving the problematic theological implications of Cyprian's vision, since A's ἐπιφορὰ still seems to be the activity

¹⁰⁵ Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 2.296–308. See further notes 71–72 to the translation.

¹⁰⁶ A is not, however, in all places unassailable. Since Gitlbauer produced an edition of the tachygraphic materials in a single codex (Vat. gr. 1809), he used the text of P only for control in places where the text of A (Gitlbauer's V) is decidedly corrupt (*Die Ueberreste*, 1:34).

¹⁰⁷ See further notes 44 and 47 to the translation.

¹⁰⁸ Maran, “Confessio,” 1109 n. a.

of the “dragons and demons” in 3.5, and this must have prompted the more drastic alterations attested in C **Pq**. That A represents the author’s original text, however, is supported by the description of the dragon as ὁ τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν σείειν βρενθυρόμενος in 8.5, a clear echo of Prov 8:29’s description of Yahweh as ὁ σείων τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν ἐκ θεμελίων.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, the numerous variants in C which agree with **Pq** against A suggests that C, which exhibits a similar scribal tendency towards simplification (but to a lesser extent than the longer text) is a later redaction of A and that the longer text was constructed from the archetype of C. Some examples:

- 3.1 ἐπίγεια A : περίγεια C **Pq**
- 3.4 δυσβάστακτον A : βαρύτατον C **Pq**
- 3.5 προηγμένην κακίαν A : προϊεμένην πικρίαν C **Pq**
- 3.7 συμπόνις A : συσπόνδοις C **Pq**
- 7.8 διαδείκνυσι A : δείκνυσι C **Pq**
- 9.1 ἄλλοις A : πρώτοις ἄρχουσιν C **Pq**
- 12.3 αὐτόν A : Χριστόν C **Pq**
- 12.5 ἐστι A : ποιεῖ C **Pq**
- 13.2 νεότητα A : ἀθλιότητα C **Pq**
- 13.6 θεῶ A : Χριστῷ C **Pq**
- 13.11 εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον A : πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἡμῶν C **Pq**

Bevegni has amply demonstrated that Eudocia’s metaphrasis in some places follows the shorter text (in BAV Vat. gr. 1809) and in others the longer text (in BnF gr. 1506). But since Eudocia’s exemplar lacked the distinctive characteristics of the longer text, i.e., the aforementioned interpolations, her exemplar must have resembled the archetype of the intermediary short text represented by manuscript C.¹¹⁰

Codices **FHLNS**, which I have grouped together under siglum **q**, collectively represent the final stage of redaction. This recension presents a contaminated text, i.e., a slightly expanded version of the longer text of **P**, which is certainly earlier, but mixed with readings from the shorter text (**AC**).

¹⁰⁹ See further notes 35 and 68 to the translation; cf. esp. *T. Sol.* 24:2.

¹¹⁰ Manuscript C, of course, is not precisely the same as the exemplar used by the redactor of the longer text. The manuscript exhibits several peculiar errors which can only be results of later scribal hands. For example, C renders the phrase ἀνθέων ἀερίνων in 7.9 (cited above) as Ἀθηνῶν ἀερίων (!), apparently in reference to the devil’s fabrication of a πόλις in 7.8. A similar error occurs at 10.10–11, where a scribe has misunderstood the use of ὦν, which begins 10.11, and emends the text to read πόλεως Αἰγῶν (!), even though the events clearly take place in the city of Antioch. Although C contains many worthless variants (e.g., καταστάσεως for καταστάς in 1.4; ὁρέων for θεῶν in 1.6, etc.), occasionally it preserves unique readings which are superior to A’s, e.g., μορφοῖ in 9.8 where A reads μορφῶν.

familia q

- F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1485, ff. 36r–37v (saec. X).¹¹¹
 H Mount Athos, Μονή Σταυρονικήτα 10 (Lambros 875), ff. 338r–353v (saec. XI).¹¹²
 L Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. gr. F 13, ff. 362r–367v (saec. XIV).¹¹³
 N Ohrid, Народен музеј 4 (Mošin 76), pp. 175–200 (saec. X).¹¹⁴
 S Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 797, ff. 116v–139v (saec. X).¹¹⁵

Family **q** exhibits several unique variants (e.g., ὀργίους for μυστηρίους in 1.4), which are occasionally of text-critical value (e.g., εἶδεσι τῶν παθῶν τὰ εἶδωλα in 4.5) but more often than not are easily discarded. The most conspicuous characteristic of manuscripts of family **q** is the great number of interpolations which have been scattered throughout the text. Some examples:

¹¹¹ F (36r) acephalus, inc. mutil. (25.3), [λέγει τῷ ἡλία· ἴδες πῶς κατενύγη Ἀχάαβ ἀπὸ προσώ]που μου; [οὐ μὴ ἐπάξω ἐν ταῖς] ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ κα[κά, καίπερ] διὰ τοῦ ἡλία ὠρίσας αὐτῷ θάνατον περὶ τινος ναβουθέ, κτλ. Olim Colbertinus 505 deinde Regius 2017³⁻³, saec. X, membran., mm. 330 × 230, ff. 183, coll. 2, linn. 35; see Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2:61–62; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 166–68; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:377–80; G. Garitte, “La tradition manuscrite,” 198–200; Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris*, 179; cf. idem, *Auctarium*, 54 (BHG 453c); idem, *Novum auctarium*, 57 (BHG 453c). F has suffered damage from moisture and as a result the initial lines of these folia (and those of the *Martyrdom* that follow) have blackened to the point of becoming illegible.

¹¹² H (338r) tit. + μετάνοια ἦτοι ἐξομολόγησις τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ, inc. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) μυστηρίους προσκοπτετε τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ γνῶτε πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφορομένοις λόγων τὴν δύναμιν. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 102) for codicological information; cf. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:75 no. 875; Wenger, “La tradition,” 5 n. 1; Aubineau, “Neuf manuscrits chrysostomiens,” 79; Piédagnel, *Panegyriques*, 61 n. 9, 325.

¹¹³ L (362r) tit. μετάνοια ἦτοι ἐξομολόγησις τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ (iterum in rubr.), inc. ὅσοι τ(οῖς) τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) μυστηρί(οις) προσκόπτετε, τ(οῖς) ἐμ(οῖς) δάκρυσ(ιν) ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ γνῶτε πάντ(ων) τ(ῶν) ἐν αὐτ(οῖς) ἐμφορομ(έν)(ων) λόγ(ων) τὴν δύναμιν, (f. 367v) des. mutil. μό(ν)(ον) σὺ μ(ε)τ(α)νόησ(ον) ὡς χρῆ καί(αι) ὅψει αὐτ(όν) περιπτυσσόμ(εν)(όν) σε (25.13). Saec. XIV, chartac. bombyc., mm. 255 × 345, ff. 367, col. 1, linn. 41–44; see K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani graeci et miscellanei* (Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices manuscripti 6; Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1955), 16–17.

¹¹⁴ N (p. 175) tit. μετάνοια ἦτοι ἐξομολόγησις τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ, κ(ύρι)ε εὐλό(γησον), inc. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) μυστηρίους προκόπτετε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ γνῶτε πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφορομένων λόγων τὴν δύναμιν, (p. 197) post προσλαμβάνεται (§ 22.11) imperfectum et mutilum opus in hoc codice. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 104) for codicological information; cf. Mošin, “Ракописи,” 231 (no. 76); Halkin, “Manuscrits byzantins,” 7–9; Canart, “Apothegmes,” 25 and n. 2; Garitte, “La vie grecque,” 233–90; Halkin, *Auctarium*, 54 (BHG 453b); idem, *Novum auctarium*, 57 (BHG 453b); Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, tav. 66–67; Džurova and Canart, *Le rayonnement de Byzance*, 10, 12, 14, 145, 153–54, 162–63, 182; Džurova, “À propos de l’ornementation des manuscrits,” 366 and n. 24.

¹¹⁵ S (116v) tit. πρᾶξις τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγίας Ἰούστης, inc. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) μυστηρίους προκόπτετε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε, καὶ γνῶτε πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφορομένων τὴν δύναμιν. Saec. X, membran., mm. 360 × 260, ff. 380, coll. 2, linn. 25–27; see Franchi de’ Cavalieri (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 33–35; Devreesse, *Codices*, 323–25. S’s title is nearly identical to that of recension C of the *Conversion* (cf. Y’s πρᾶξις τοῦ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰούστης παρθένου). Most likely the exemplar of S also contained a copy of this recension of the *Conversion*, in which Justina bears the name Ἰουστᾶ (the spelling of Justina’s name throughout S is always Ἰουστῖνα and never Ἰουστᾶ), and the scribe has here copied the title from the *Conversion*, perhaps because a title to the *Confession* was lacking. See further my comments in the introduction to the *Conversion* (§ 1.1).

- 1.1 λόγοις καὶ ante τρόποις add. **q**
 13.1 ὀργιζόμενός μοι καὶ ἀγριούμενος post ἀπεκρίνατο add. **q**
 18.2 ἀδωροδόκητος ἄμισθος post γέγονα add. **q**
 19.10 οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις εἰς Χριστὸν παροινήσας post ὑπερέβαλον add. **q**
 19.12 καὶ μείζονα αὐτοῦ θαῦματα ποιοῦντα post ἀποκαλῶν add. **q**
 24.1 τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος post Στεφάνου add. **q**
 25.7 τουτ' ἔστι τὸν ἄνθρωπον post ἀπολωλὸς add. **q**

That **q** is a product of manuscript contamination is attested by the numerous agreements between **AC** and **q** against **P**. Some examples:

- 1.4 Μίθρα **AC q** : Μίθρου **P**
 1.9 ἐτύπωσεν **AC q** : ἐνετύπωσεν **P**
 2.3 ἀναστάσεις **AC q** : ἀνατάσεις **P**¹¹⁶
 6.2 φύσεως **AC q** : πίστεως **P**
 7.3 τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν **AC q** : αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν **P**
 10.8 ἔπειθεν **AC q** : ἐπῆλθεν **P**
 13.6 γνησιότης **AC q** : δικαιοσύνη **P**
 14.7 συναλλάκτας **AC q** : συναλλάττοντας **P**

Although these unique variants in **P** may only be indicative of minor editorial changes to the longer text introduced at some later date or even by the scribe of manuscript **P**, the further agreements between **A** and **q** against **C P** confirm that **q** is a product of manuscript contamination. Some examples:

- 4.2 εὐστροφον **A q** : εὐτροφον **C P**
 4.2 ὑψηλοπετὲς **A q** : ὑψιπετὲς **C P**
 9.2 πειραθεῖς **A q** : πειρασθεῖς **C P**
 10.11 θεὸν **A q** : Χριστὸν **C P**
 11.14 ἄψασθαι **A q** : ἀφάψασθαι **C** ἐφάψασθαι **P**
 13.2 δέξεται **A q** : δέχεται **C P**
 13.4 μοι **C P** : με **A q**
 13.13 ἑτέροις με λόγοις **A q** : λόγοις με ἑτέροις **C P**
 16.2 εὐλάβειαν **A q** : εὐσέβειαν **P**
 16.4 ἀπολογήσομαι **A q** : ἀπολογίσασθαι **P**
 17.7 ἐμετρήθησαν **A q** : ἐχώρησαν **P**
 18.6 πλείστους ἀπέκτεινα **A q** : πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσα **P**

¹¹⁶ See further note 20 to the translation.

Each manuscript of **q**, however, agrees with the text of **AC** to varying degrees, such that construction of a *stemma codicum* is virtually impossible.¹¹⁷ The text from the missing folium in **P**, which is only partially preserved in **A**, is preserved *in toto* only in manuscripts of family **q**, but only in codices **LNS** because the acephalous excerpt in manuscript **F** begins at 25.3 and because **N** presents a corrupt form of text after προσλαμβάνεται in 22.10, where the text of **A** abruptly ends. Despite the lacunose and fragmentary nature of the surviving manuscript tradition, the redactional trajectory from **A** to **C**, from **C** to **P**, and from **AC** and **P** to **q** remains clear.

Because only two of the eight manuscripts are complete, rather than present editions of each recension separately, which would be overly cumbersome, I have edited them all together. At present, 22.11–27.3 exist only in manuscripts of the longer recension (and then only partially in **P FL**) due to the lacunose nature of **A** and **C** (see further **Table 1** on page 86 for a synopsis of the contents of the Greek manuscript evidence). I have grouped together the short (**AC**) and long (**Pq**) recensions in the apparatus, but sigla **C**, **P**, and **q** each represent a unique stage of redaction in the manuscript tradition, and sigla **A**, **C**, and **P** each represent a single manuscript. In sum, **A** is demonstrably the earliest and best witness and is closest to the original text. **C** represents a simplified redaction of **A** (but without interpolations). **P** represents an expanded redaction (the longer text) made from the archetype of **C**, and the manuscripts of family **q** represent a contaminated version of **P**'s longer text with variant readings from the shorter recensions (**AC**), although each manuscript copy (**FHLNS**) shows varying degrees of affinity with the shorter text.

I have also renumbered the chapters because Maran, Klee, and Zahn all disagree. Although the section divisions in the Bollandist edition are those most often cited in modern scholarship (Zahn on the other hand followed Maran's section divisions, but introduced his own unique adjustments), many

¹¹⁷ Manuscript **L**, for example, contains the largest number of agreements with **A** against **q**: κοινωνίαν in 3.5; ὑπὸ in 3.6; ἀνέμων in 4.2; καὶ ante σκιῶν in 7.3; deest μόνον in 9.1; καὶ in 11.11; θαρσαλέος in 12.3; γῆς in 14.2; deest τάχα in 16.8; ἐπιγράφει in 22.7; ὁ Πάρις ὅτι in 22.10. For this reason, more often than not I tend favor the text of **L** in the portion preserved only in **HLS** (22.11–18). But an editorial hand nonetheless is very visible in **L**, which contains a number of singular corrections (some worthwhile, others not): (1) word-for-word corrections: καμπὰς for καμπτάς in 2.2; πρὸς for εἰς in 3.2; ἄς for ἦν in 3.6/7; ὅλου for ἄλλου in 4.2; καρύου for καρίου in 4.2; οἶκον for οἶκους in 5.3; ἐπαρκέσει for ἐπαρκεί in 15.3; οὐδενὰ for οὐδενός in 18.5; ἕκαστα for ἐσχάτου in 19.2; ἐποίησα for ἔπεισα in 22.2; διώκεται for ἰδιώται in 24.4; (2) additions or omissions of definite articles: τὴν κεφαλὴν in 4.2; λίθους in 4.2; ὁλέθρῳ in 12.4; τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 13.2; and (3) changes in word order: βαρύτατον φορτίον in 3.4; πλανᾶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους in 7.2; ὁ διάβολος ἡδυνήθη in 9.2; χυλὸς ἢ κυλλὸς in 9.5; οἱ πολῖται λαβόντες in 10.1; τῶν προσευχῶν τὴν χλεύην in 15.1; αὐτοῦ ὁρῶν in 17.1; τοῦ αἰτεῖν εἶναι κρεῖσσον in 20.3; ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατέλειπε πρόβατα in 25.6.

of these section divisions are unsuitable and even misleading.¹¹⁸ Maran's section divisions appear in the left-hand margins in parentheses and Klee's in the right-hand margins in square brackets.

¹¹⁸ For example, Klee begins a new section at 1.9, while Cyprian is still on "Mount Olympus." Klee's section divisions seem driven by the desire to create small textual units of equal length, which appears to have been standard editorial practice among the Bollandists. Klee further divided the text into four main "chapters": I = 1.1–7.10; II. = 8.1–13.13; III. = 14.1–20.6; IV. = 21.1–28.5 (this remains a useful division of the text as a whole: I. Cyprian's religious history; II. Cyprian's assault against Justina and renunciation of the devil; III. Cyprian's public confession; IV. Eusebius' response and Cyprian's conversion). Section divisions in this edition are partly based on repetitive patterns that seem to introduce new themes, e.g., imperative and vocative constructions like ὦ ἄνδρες (10.1), ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀντιοχεῖς (14.1), εἴπατε μοι, ὦ φίλοι (16.1, 17.1, and 19.1), temporal markers like τέλος (11.1), τότε (14.1), and τότε δὴ τότε (21.1), repetitions of formulaic questions (15.1, 18.1, and 20.1), changes of speakers (23.1 and 24.1), etc.

Table 1.
Synopsis of the Greek Manuscript Tradition of the Confession of Saint Cyprian of Antioch

§§	Recensiones breviares		Recensiones longiores					
	A	C	P	q				
	Vatican	Milan	Paris	Athos	Leiden	Ohrid	Vatican	
1.1–8.5	A	C	P		L	N	S	
8.6–7	A –	C –	P +	H +	L +	N +	S +	
9.1–14a	A	C	P	H	L	N	S	
14.8b–22.3a	A	lacuna	P	H	L	N	S	
22.3b–10	A		deest folium	H	L	N	S	
22.11–18				H	L		S	
22.19–25.2				P	H	L		S
25.3–13	des. mutil.		P	H	L	des. mutil.	S	
25.14–27.3		P	H		S			
27.4–28.5		C	P	H	des. mutil.		S	

Table 2.
Order and Distribution of the Acts of Saint Cyprian of Antioch in Greek Manuscripts

Greek Manuscripts: <i>City, Library, Shelfmark (Century)</i>		Act I. Πρᾶξις/ <i>Conversio</i>	Act II. Μετάνοια/ <i>Confessio</i>	Act III. Μαρτύριον/ <i>Passio</i>
1	Athos, Πρωτάτου 2 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 61r–64r	–	–
2	Athos, Βατοπεδίου 431 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 105v–112r	–	–
3	Athos, Ιβήρων 275 (s. XII)	(1) ? (item 10)	–	–
4	Athos, Καρακάλλου 8 (s. X–XI)	(1) ff. 34v–38r	–	(2) ff. 38r–40v
5	Athos, Μεγίστης Λαύρας Δ 50 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 114r–119r	–	(2) 119r–121v
6	Athos, Παντοκράτορος 40 (s. XIII)	(1) ff. 51v–56r	–	(2) ff. 56r–59r
7	Athos, Σταυρονικήτα 10 (s. X)	(1) ff. 333r–338r	(2) ff. 338r–353v	(3) ff. 354r–356r
8	Athos, Φιλοθεου 9 (s. XI)	(1) f. 265r–269r	–	(2) ff. 269r–271v
9	Istanbul, Αγίας Τριάδας 100 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 17v–18v	–	–
10	Istanbul, Αγίας Τριάδας 102 (s. XI)* * = <i>scriptura inferior</i>	(1) ff. 119v/118r, 119r/ 118v, 125r/124v, 125v /124r, 126r–v, 268v /271r, 268r/271v	–	–
11	Jerusalem, Παναγίου Τάφου 38 (s. XI)	–	–	(1) ff. 106v–111r
12	Krakow, Jagiellonska, gr. 1 ^o .43.I (s. X)	–	–	(1) ff. 26v–29v
13	Leiden, Voss. gr. F 13 (s. XIV)	–	(1) ff. 362r–367v	–
14	Mezsojuso, Andrea Reres 2 (s. XIV)	(1) ff. 66v–70v	–	–
15	Milan, BA D 92 sup. (s. X–XI)	–	–	(1) ff. 256r–258v
16	Milan, BA F 144 sup. (s. XII)	–	(2) ff. 51–56r	(1) ff. 50r–51v
17	Ohrid, Народен музеј 4 (s. X)	(1) pp. 167–175	(2) pp. 175–200	(3) pp. 200r–205r
18	Oxford, Laud gr. 68 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 45v–50r	–	(2) ff. 50r–52v
19	Paris, BnF gr. 520 (s. X–XI)	–	–	(1) ff. 62r–65r
20	Paris, BnF gr. 1454 (s. X)	(1) ff. 95r–99v	–	–
21	Paris, BnF gr. 1468 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 84v–88r	–	(2) ff. 88v–90v
22	Paris, BnF gr. 1485 (s. X)	–	(1) ff. 36r–37v	(2) ff. 38r–40r
23	Paris, BnF gr. 1506 (s. X)	–	(1) ff. 171r–192v	–
24	Saint Petersburg, RNB rp. 94 (s. XII)	–	–	(1) ff. 19v–22r
25	Saint Petersburg, RNB rp. 213 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 114v–119r	–	(2) ff. 119r–121r
26	Sinai, Αικατερίνης gr. 497 (s. XI)	(1) ff. 107v–112v	–	(2) ff. 112v–115v
27	Sinai, Αικατερίνης gr. 519 (s. X)	(2) ff. 48v–51v	–	(1) ff. 47v–48v
28	Vatican, BAV Barb. gr. 517 (s. XIII)	(1) ff. 24r–27r	–	–
29	Vatican, BAV Pal. gr. 68 (s. XIII)	(1) ff. 76v–81r	–	–
30	Vatican, BAV Vat. gr. 797 (s. X)	–	(1) ff. 116v–139v	–
31	Vatican, BAV Vat. gr. 866 (s. XII)	(1) ff. 123r–125v	–	(2) ff. 125v–126v
32	Vatican, BAV Vat. gr. 1190 (s. XVI)	–	–	(1) ff. 89r–91r
33	Vatican, BAV Vat. gr. 1238 (s. XI)*	(1) ff. 176r–177v, 38r–v, 182r–v, 143v	–	(2) ff. 143v, 196r–v, 32r–v, 162r
34	Vatican, BAV Vat. gr. 1809 (s. X)	–	(1) ff. 217r–218v	–
35	Vienna, ÖNB Hist. gr. 73 (s. XI)*	(1) ff. 188r–189v	–	–

ACT 3

THE *MARTYRDOM OF SAINTS CYPRIAN AND JUSTINA*

The *Martyrdom* takes up the story of Cyprian and Justina where the *Conversion* left off. Cyprian's letters begin causing a stir throughout the East and the whole Roman Empire. When word of the saints' activities reaches Eutolmius, the *comes Orientis*, he orders that Cyprian and Justina present themselves in Damascus. Cyprian recounts for Eutolmius the story of his conversion and implores him to depart from the madness of the idols. Wroth with anger, the Count orders that Cyprian and Justina be flogged with coarse leather whips, but the saints survive these tortures unscathed. He next orders that Cyprian and Justina be thrown into a boiling cauldron filled with pitch, wax, and fat, but still the saints remain impervious to all pain. As the saints soak calmly in the cauldron, Eutolmius arranges a contest to prove that the same miraculous feat can be achieved by the craft of magic. The magician Athanasius invokes Heracles and Asclepius, but as soon as he approaches the boiling cauldron his belly bursts open and his guts spill out. Unsure what to do next, Eutolmius writes a letter to Diocletian and sends Cyprian and Justina to Nicomedia. Diocletian sentences them to death for choosing the heresy of the Christians. The saints are taken to the river Gallus, where Justina is beheaded first. A man named Theoctistus passes by from abroad just before Cyprian is about to be executed and salutes him, for which he, too, is beheaded. The bodies of the three martyrs are thrown to bloodthirsty dogs, but some faithful Roman sailors, after hearing about the death of their Roman compatriot, collect the remaining body parts and take them back to Rome. The sailors give the relics to a pious matron named Rufina, who places them in a notable place near the "Forum of Claudius" on the "middle hill" of Rome.

3.1. Author, Date, and Provenance

Zahn maintained that the author of the *Martyrdom* had revised an earlier (now lost) version of the *Conversion* and united the two *Acts* together, but his thesis was based on the text of a single Greek manuscript (BnF gr. 1468), which turns out to be the product of manuscript contamination of two wildly

divergent recensions (see § 3.4), and on the conspicuous absence of the *Confession* in the Syriac tradition and in Symeon Metaphrastes' revision.¹ Others have even gone so far as to suggest that the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom* might share the same author.² While it is certainly true that there are similarities in Greek style between the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom*, e.g., the repetitive use of τε in the introductions (*Conv.* 1.3; *Mart.* 1.1) and the use of similar vocabulary,³ these distinctive features are probably due the fact that the author was consciously writing a continuation of the *Conversion*, which says nothing about the deaths of Cyprian and Justina, and for this reason intentionally chose to mimic its simplistic Greek style. However, some irreconcilable differences between the two narratives make it highly unlikely that the author of the *Martyrdom* could have been either the redactor or the author of the *Conversion*. For example, the author of the *Conversion* has both Justa and Cyprian refer to Christians as “Galileans” prior to their conversions, whereas the author of the *Martyrdom* has the pagan characters Eutolmius (2.1; 6.3), Terentius (6.2), and Diocletian (6.4) repeatedly use the designation “Christians.” Moreover, the author supplements the story of Cyprian, Just(in)a, and Aglaïdas with a few peculiar details unparalleled in the *Conversion*, e.g., Aglaïdas is said to be a member of the *gens Claudia* (2.3), the third demon interrogated by Cyprian reveals the power of the sign of the cross not because of a falsely sworn oath (*Conv.* 10.3–8) but because “it was being flogged by angels” (2.5),⁴ and one would certainly expect a greater measure of

¹ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 82–85.

² See, e.g., T.A. Sabbatini, “S. Cipriano nella tradizione agiografica,” *RSC* 21 (1973): 191.

³ One may note a significant overlap in vocabulary between the recensions edited here: (a) *Verbs*: αἰτέω, ἀκούω, ἀναχωρέω, ἀξιόω, ἀπαλλάσσω, ἀπατάω, ἀποκτείνω, ἄπτω, βάλλω, γίνομαι, γινώσκω, διορθόω, εἰμί, ἐκλέγω, ἐκτελέω, ἐμπίμπρημι, ἔραμαι, ἔρχομαι, ἐρωτάω, εὐχαριστέω, ζάω, ζωγρέω, θαρρέω, θέλημα, θέλω, ἴστημι, καλέω, καταξιόω, λαμβάνω, λέγω, μαρθάνω, νικάω, νομίζω, ὀργίζω, παραμένω, παρέχω, παύω, πείθω, πέμπω, πλανάω, πληρόω, ποθέω, ποιέω, πράσσω, προσάγω, προσέρχομαι, προσεύχομαι, πυρόω, ῥίπτω, σκοτίζω, σπουδάζω, σταυρόω, συλλαμβάνω, συναθροίζω, σφάζω, τίθημι, τολμάω, τροπόω, ὑποβάλλω, φωτίζω; (b) *Nouns*: ἄγγελος, αἵρεσις, αἰών, ἀλήθεια, ἀμήν, ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάτη, ἀποστάτης, βασιλεία, βασιλεύς, βίβλος, γάμος, γένος, γῆ, δαίμων, δεσπότης, διάβολος, διδάσκαλος, δόξα, δύναμις, εἰδωλον, εἰρήνη, ἐκκλησία, ἔλεος, ἐπίσκοπος, ἡμέρα, θεός, ἱερεὺς, κόμπος, κόσμος, κράτος, κύριος, λαός, λόγος, μαγεία, νόμος, νύξ, οἰκία, οἶκος, ὄνομα, οὐρανός, ὄφης, παρθένος, πατήρ, ποιμήν, πόλις, πύρ, σημεῖον, σταυρός, συγκάθεδρος, σφραγίς, σῶμα, τόπος, ὑγεία, φίλος, χάρις; (c) *Adjectives*: ἅγιος, ἀλλότριος, ἀνίκητος, δεξιός, ἕξ, μαγικός, μακάριος, μέγας, μικρός, μόνος, ὀλίγος, ὅλος, οὐδαίς, πᾶς, πιστός, πολὺς, προφητικός, σταυροφόρος, σύννους, τοιοῦτος, τοσοῦτος, τρίτος. For further correspondences, one may consult the Greek indices.

⁴ Here one of the Coptic translations of the *Martyrdom* (P.Stras. Inv. Kopt. 251) presents a version that is much closer to the text of the *Conversion*: “(… to) know the power of that sign. I adjured the archon (ἄρχων) of the demons (δαίμων) to inform me about it. And the demon (δαίμων) examined it and informed me about the power of that sign”; see E. Fiano, “A New Witness to the Sahidic *Passio Cypriani et Justinae*,” in *Coptica Argentoratensia: Textes et documents de la troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte (Strasbourg, 18–25 juillet 2010)* (ed. A. Bouvarel-Boud'hors et al.; Études d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 19; Paris: Bocard, 2014), 91–98. The text of Pierpont Morgan M609 is lacunose at this point, but on f. 95r col. i.1 it reads ϣητῷ ἀγγελος, which suggests a reading closer to the surviving Greek text (see Bilabel, “Studien,” 149).

consistency between the *Conversion* and *Martyrdom* if in fact the author of the *Martyrdom* had redacted the *Conversion*, and all the more so if both *Acts* had been composed by the same author. Certainly the notion that a demon could have provoked Justina's cowardice in the face of potential martyrdom (4.4) would have been unimaginable to the author of the *Conversion*.

The authors of the *Confession* and *Martyrdom* composed their *Acts* with full knowledge of their literary precursor(s): the author of the *Confession* composed a supplement to the *Conversion*; the author of the *Martyrdom* composed a sequel to the *Conversion* and *Confession*. When Cyprian tells Eutolmius about his encounter with Justina and his subsequent conversion (2.3–6), the author relies primarily on the *Conversion*'s version of the story, e.g., Cyprian claims to have sent three “archontic” demons to fetch the virgin Justina. However, Cyprian's statement πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πορνεύειν ἐποίησα (2.3) can only come from the *Confession* for the reason that the *Conversion* makes no mention of murder or sexual enslavement,⁵ and therefore the *Martyrdom* must postdate the *Confession*, which was authored in the late 360s or early 370s (see § 2.1). It is, however, difficult to date the *Martyrdom* precisely. Most scholars suppose only that it was composed after Gregory's panegyric but before Eudocia's versification and offer a wide range for the date of composition, from 379 (*terminus post quem*) to ca. 440 (*terminus ante quem*).⁶

The author names two characters after well-known political and military figures in the East during the 370s. The author unquestionably modelled his character Εὐτόλμιος (1.2) on Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus (fl. 357–392), who served concurrently as *consularis Syriae* and *comes Orientis* from 370–374 and who had earned a reputation for flogging criminals to death (cf. Libanius, *Or.* 46.8).⁷ It is certainly

⁵ Possibly Cyprian's preceding statement, “For previously I had been held captive and blinded by the wisdom of the Greeks” (2.3), also has its origin in the *Confession*, when Cyprian describes the various forms “in which the demons lead the Greek philosophers astray” (4.4).

⁶ Sabbatini, “S. Cipriano,” 181.

⁷ The history of Eutolmius Tatianus' career is well-documented; see *PLRE* 1:876–78 s.v. Tatianus 5 and the corrections noted by J.R. Martindale, “Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Addenda et Corrigenda to Volume I,” *HZAG* 23 (1974): 251; cf. H. Grégoire, “Le préfet du prétoire Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus,” in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (ed. W.H. Buckler and W.M. Calder; Publications of the University of Manchester 160; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923), 151–54; C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989), 50–52 and 64–66; R. Scharf, “Die Familie des Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus,” *ZPE* 85 (1991): 223–31; P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Curti Lectures, 1988; Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 57; C.W. Hedrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 128–29.

no coincidence that Eutolmius both serves as *comes Orientis* (1.2) and first subjects Cyprian and Justina to the cruel practice of flogging (cf. 3.1–7). The character Τερέντιος appears to be based on Terentius, the famous general under Valens best known for his military campaigns in Armenia and Iberia, who served as *dux et comes Armeniae* from 369–374. Terentius was a Christian who enjoyed a correspondence with Basil of Caesarea and had retired to Antioch in the year 375 (only to be called back into military service). It is again probably no coincidence that the character Terentius in the *Martyrdom* appears to be a closet Christian. Terentius witnesses his entire home fill with light when Justina enters (3.9), and he later pleads with Eutolmius, “Have nothing to do with these holy people. Do not neglect the truth, for the God of the Christians is unconquerable” (6.2). Glanville Downey asserted that the name Eutolmius “must be a later addition since the office of *comes Orientis* had not yet been instituted at this time,”⁸ but that the author would anachronistically set the characters he based on near contemporary political and military figures under the reign of Diocletian (284–305) should not be cause for alarm, since the era of the Great Persecution (303–313) was the default historical setting for a great number of martyrologies.⁹ To cite just one example, later versions of the *Martyrdom of Saint George* also set its characters, who are clearly based on fourth-century political figures (e.g., Datianus, Athanasius, Magnentius, Anatolius, etc.), under the reign of Diocletian.¹⁰

⁸ G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 329 n. 51.

⁹ See T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 59.

¹⁰ Zahn (*Cyprian*, 69 n. 5) considered the name Diocletian in 6.3 to be a later interpolation on the basis of one of the Latin translations (Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 3:1647) and Symeon Metaphrastes’ revision (*Vit. S. Cypr.* 29; *PG* 115:877a) and took 7.6 to be the original ending in order to bypass the additional reference to Diocletian in 7.7. Although Zahn was right to point out the “undenkbare Stellung” of Διοκλητιανῶ in the letter’s muddled address, which in all manuscripts of *BHG* 455a and Zahn’s manuscript P takes the form Κλαυδίῳ καίσαρι τῷ (μεγίστῳ add. P) (τῇς add. G) γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότη Διοκλητιανῶ χαιρεῖν (A P), it is all the more unthinkable to conclude that the historical setting of the *Martyrdom* falls under the reign of Emperor Claudius (41–54). On basis of this supposition Zahn presumed the same historical setting for the *Conversion*: “Gemeint ist aber sicherlich nicht der Kaiser der Jahre 268–270, sondern der berühmtere der Jahre 41–54. Denn durch B. I, 1 werden wir in die Zeit versetzt, wo zuerst das Christenthum in Antiochien festen Fuß saßte und größere Verbreitung fand, was eben zur Zeit des ersten Kaisers Claudius geschehen ist (Apostelg. 11, 19–28)” (*Cyprian*, 83). But there is nothing in the *Conversion* to support this claim; to the contrary, the various ecclesiastical offices presuppose a later period in history. Furthermore, neither the versional evidence (Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic) for the *Martyrdom* nor Photius’ summary of Eudocia’s versification (*Bibliotheca*, “codex” 184 [198.14 Henry (Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ); 199.39 Henry (πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν)]) supports either the reading Κλαυδίῳ, which has somehow crept into the Greek text and perhaps displaced an original address (which I have corrected to read Διοκλητιανῶ καίσαρι), or Zahn’s proposal that the text originally ended at 7.6. See further note 25 to the translation.

The parallel between the *Martyrdom*'s conclusion and Gregory's panegyric poses a particularly vexing problem. Did Gregory also consult the text of the *Martyrdom* or was the author of the *Martyrdom* familiar with Gregory's panegyric? The *Martyrdom* concludes with the translation of Cyprian's remains to Rome and into the hands of a pious matron named Rufina, and Gregory describes "the final episode" of Cyprian's "glorious career" as follows:

Cyprian's name was known to everyone, and not only to Christians but even to those who raged against us, since virtue is something that everyone alike can respect; but his body vanished. The treasure was kept for quite some time by a fervently devout woman. I do not know whether she had custody of the martyr because God was rewarding her piety or because he was testing our own devotion to see whether we could endure the forfeiture and loss of his holy remains. But once the God of martyrs chose not to make the blessing for all mankind the private preserve of a single person or to penalize the common good by showing favor to her, he reveals the location of the body. This honor too he bestows upon a worthy woman. His purpose was that woman-kind be sanctified also. Just as it was womankind who gave birth to Christ and who announced his resurrection from the dead to his disciples, so too now with Cyprian: a woman brought him to light and another surrendered him to the common benefit of all. (*Or.* 24.17)¹¹

Gregory's account obviously cannot stem from any tradition concerning Cyprian of Carthage. Cyprian was beheaded during the persecution under Valerian outside the city of Carthage on 14 September 258 on the orders of the newly appointed proconsul Galerius Maximus. According to the tradition, Cyprian's body was immediately secreted away at night and interred in a cemetery belonging to the procurator Macrobius Candidianus on the Via Mappaliensis (cf. *Acta proconsularia* 5). His followers subsequently gathered at the place of his burial, and a shrine known as the *Mensa Cypriani*, where Augustine would later deliver sermons (e.g., *Serm.* 308; *Enarrat. Ps.* 32), was erected on the place of his execution.¹² The

¹¹ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα πολὺ παρὰ πᾶσι Κυπριανοῦ καὶ οὐ Χριστιανοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τὴν ἐναντίαν ἡμῖν τεταγμένοις· πᾶσι γὰρ τὸ καλὸν ὁμοίως αἰδέσιμον· τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἀφανὲς ἦν καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς παρὰ τινι γυναικί τῶν θερμῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ μακρόν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε τιμῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ φιλόθεον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιεχομένην τοῦ μάρτυρος, εἴτε τὸν πόθον ἡμῶν γυμνάζοντος εἰ μὴ φέροιμεν ζημιούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἀγίων λειψάνων ἀποστερούμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἡνέσχετο τὸ πάντων ἀγαθὸν ἴδιον ποιῆσαι τινος ὁ τῶν μαρτύρων θεὸς οὐδὲ τὸ κοινὸν ζημιῶσαι τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνην χάριτι, δημοσιεύει τὸ σῶμα δι' ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ ταύτην γυναικί τινι τῶν ἀξίων τὴν τιμὴν καταθέμενος ἵν' ἁγιασθῶσι καὶ γυναῖκες, ὥσπερ Χριστὸν καὶ τεκοῦσαι πρότερον καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀπαγγεῖλαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν οὕτω καὶ νῦν Κυπριανόν, ἡ μὲν παραδείξασα, ἡ δὲ παραδοῦσα τὸ κοινὸν ὄφελος (76.8–78.24 Mossay; *PG* 1189b–d); trans. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 153–54.

¹² See R.M. Jensen, "Dining with the Dead: From the *Mensa* to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity," in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context, Studies of Roman, Jewish, and Christian Burials* (ed. L. Brink, D. Green, and R. Saller; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 137–40.

Martyrdom on the other hand reports that Cyprian of Antioch was beheaded, together with Justina and a random passerby named Theoctistus,¹³ along the banks of the river Gallus in Nicomedia during the persecutions under Diocletian. The bodies of the martyrs lay exposed to bloodthirsty dogs for several days until some “faithful Roman sailors” secreted away the remaining pieces and delivered them to a pious woman named Rufina, “a matron of the house of Claudius” in Rome (7.1–6). Although the tradition reported in the *Martyrdom* is significantly closer to Gregory’s version, it still cannot account for the two anonymous women, the one a hoarder and the other a benefactor, in Gregory’s oration. It is nonetheless apparent that Gregory is speaking about the loss of Cyprian’s remains from some place relatively close by, whether Nicomedia or Asia Minor at large.¹⁴ In all probability, Gregory’s version rests on some local, oral tradition concerning the whereabouts of Cyprian the magician’s remains. It is also possible that the author of the *Martyrdom* has loosely based the translation of Cyprian’s remains on Gregory’s testimony. It is notable that the relationship between the historical bishop of Carthage and the legendary magician of Antioch is considerably more pronounced in the *Martyrdom* than in the preceding *Acts*. The author introduces Cyprian as a prolific author of letters, which stir up “the entire East and the whole Roman Empire” (1.1–2), and this portrayal is remarkably similar to Gregory’s presentation of Cyprian as one who “does not preside merely over the church of the Carthaginians and of Africa which, thanks to him and his efforts, is famous to this day, but also over the entire western region and in effect even over the East itself, and the South, and the North, everywhere that he came to be admired.” (*Or.* 24.12).¹⁵

The *Martyrdom* therefore likely postdates Gregory’s panegyric on Cyprian. Furthermore, since there is a conceivable relationship between the *Martyrdom*’s conclusion and the martyrdom frescoes in the late fourth-century *confessio* beneath the Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Rome (see § 3.3),

¹³ Theoctistus (Θεόκτιστος) means “created by God.” The name was likely chosen for its etymological significance and does not appear to derive from any historical or literary precursor. All Greek manuscripts have Θεόκτιστος, so also the Latin translation (see Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 3:1648), but in some Latin manuscripts the Roman passerby’s name appears as Theognitus, from Θεόγνητος, “born of God” (see Klee, “Martyrium,” 228 n. 1).

¹⁴ When Gregory says that God may have been putting he and his Constantinopolitan audience to the test, “to see whether we could endure the forfeiture and loss of his holy remains,” the subject is the same “we” of the exclamatory exordium (“We nearly forgot Cyprian!”), which seems to indicate that members of Gregory’s audience thought Cyprian’s (i.e., the legendary magician’s) remains were at some point in the past “among them,” if not Constantinople or nearby Nicomedia, then at least somewhere in the East.

¹⁵ οὐ γὰρ τῆς Καρχηδονίων προκαθέζεται μόνον ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δι’ ἐκείνον περιβοήτου μέχρι νῦν Ἀφρικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐσπερίου, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐώας αὐτῆς, νοτίου τε καὶ βορείου λήξεως, ἐφ’ ὅσα ἐκείνος ἦλθε τῷ θαύματι (66.22–26 Mossay; *PG* 35:1184b); trans. Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, 150.

but one which suggests that the author had actually visited the shrine and imagined it to be the location that Gregory described in such ambiguous terms, it is reasonable to set the date of composition around the turn of the fifth century, perhaps even in the mid-late 390s after Eutolmius Tatianus fell from power. Eutolmius had served as *praefectura praetorio Orientis* from 388–392 in Constantinople until he and his son Proculus, who served as *praefectus urbi*, were ruthlessly deposed by Flavius Rufinus. Eutolmius' son Proculus was executed in Constantinople in 393 (before his father's eyes), and Eutolmius was banished to Lycia (a commutation of his original death sentence). Shortly thereafter both Eutolmius and his son began to suffer *damnatio memoriae*. It is highly unlikely that the *Martyrdom* had been composed before these events took place.¹⁶ In addition to Eutolmius' demise, the probable connection between Gregory's panegyric and the *Martyrdom* further suggests a Constantinopolitan provenance. The priest-magician Athanasius' acclamation to Zeus-Asclepius (5.3), whose cult center was located in nearby Pergamum, also confirms the *Martyrdom's* eastern provenance. In any case, a Roman provenance is unthinkable. The author was obviously an Easterner who was completely ignorant of Roman topography, which the toponyms "middle hill" and "Forum of Claudius" confirm (see § 3.3). Finally, it is important to note that the location of Cyprian's martyrdom in the eastern capital of the Roman Empire does not necessitate the oft-repeated assumption that the figure of the converted magus was from Antioch in Pisidia rather than from Antioch in Syria. There is no evidence to support this contention, which ultimately has its origin in the historical fact that no bishop of Syrian Antioch ever bore the name Cyprian.¹⁷

3.2. Sources, Influences, and Genre

The *Martyrdom* is pure fiction just like the *Conversion* and *Confession*. It has all the trappings of a late-antique martyrology: the saints are arrested and imprisoned for promulgating the Christian faith,

¹⁶ Note that Libanius composed his pamphlet (*Or.* 46) against Florentius (see *PLRE* 1:364–65 s.v. Florentius 9), in which he also denounced Eutolmius, only after he (and Eutolmius) had fallen from power. See further note 13 to the translation.

¹⁷ E.g., Mossay (*Discours* 24–26, 16) identifies Cyprian the magician by the extended form "Cyprien d'Antioche de Pisidie," but surely when Eutolmius orders Cyprian to appear in Damascus (1.3)—which itself is rather strange since the *comes Orientis* was based at Antioch (see further note 4 to the translation)—the assumption is that Cyprian arrived there from Antioch in Syria and not from Antioch in Pisidia; so too when Diocletian describes Cyprian as "the teacher of Antioch" (6.4) the Antioch in question must be Antioch on the Orontes. The author of the *Martyrdom* is writing a continuation of the *Conversion* and *Confession*: the *Conversion* is explicitly set in Syrian Antioch (1.2), and Zahn (*Cyprian*, 84–85) was no doubt correct to assume that the *Confession's* Antioch is also Antioch in Syria given the fame of the other cities to which Cyprian voyages (Athens, Memphis, and probably Babylon).

tortured to renounce “the foolish heresy of the Christians” (6.4), and when all methods of torture fail to produce the desired result a Roman emperor sentences them to death by decapitation. The postmortem translation of the saints’ remains into the hands of a pious matron also belongs to the standard literary topoi of late-antique martyrology.¹⁸

The author had most likely read a number of late-antique martyrologies, but even though his account follows the standard trajectory from imprisonment to martyrdom he does not appear to have borrowed and recycled any one episode directly from a source text. Certainly the author had read the *Conversion* and *Confession* and made use of both sources in Cyprian’s answer to Eutolmius (2.2–6). The author’s account of the “magical contest” in 5.1–5, however, may well have been inspired in part by the “magical contest” in the *Martyrdom of Saint George*.¹⁹ When Cyprian and Justina survive the torture by flogging unscathed, Eutolmius orders that they be thrown into a boiling cauldron of pitch, wax, and fat, and when they soak in the boiling cauldron “as though they were lying in a pool of dew” (4.6) he arranges a “magical contest” between them and a sorcerer named Athanasius. But the contest ends before it can even begin. No sooner does Athanasius approach the boiling cauldron than his belly bursts open and his guts spill out (5.4). A similar “magical contest” occurs in the *Martyrdom of Saint George*, in which the sorcerer, who also bears the name Athanasius, invokes the names of powerful demons over a drinking cup and gives the toxic concoction to George to drink. Each time George feels nothing, just like Cyprian and Justina, but unlike the Athanasius who battles against Cyprian, the Athanasius who battles against George converts.²⁰ But since there is no meaningful reason why the magician in the *Martyrdom of Saints Cyprian and Justina* should bear the name Athanasius, as there clearly is in the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (see § 1.1), it is more likely that the author has named his sorcerer after the sorcerer who battled against George than that he has independently named his sorcerer after the patriarch of Alexandria.²¹

¹⁸ See, e.g., K. Cooper, “The Martyr, the *Matrona* and the Bishop: The Matron Lucina and the Politics of Martyr Cult in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Rome,” *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999): 297–317.

¹⁹ There are few other minor points of contact with the *Martyrdom of Saint George*, e.g., the μέγας acclamation to Heracles in 5.3 (see further note 19 to the translation) and the pseudepigraphic letter from Diocletian in the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (31.10–22 and 42.1–13 Krumbacher) could well be the θεσμός to which Eutolmius refers in his letter to Diocletian in 6.3; see further note 25 to the translation.

²⁰ See further K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in griechischen Überlieferung* (ABAW 25.3; Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), 21.30–22.4, cf. 2.III, 5.5–16, 28.26–33.

²¹ See further notes 18–22 to the translation.

3.3. The Martyrdom Frescoes beneath the Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Rome

According to prevailing scholarly opinion, the present-day Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelian hill in Rome was originally a palace owned by Pammachius (d. 409), the friend of Jerome and Paulinus of Nola, which he donated to the church.²² The titular church is identified in inscriptions and documentary sources as *titulus Byzantis* or *titulus Pammachii* (and as *titulus Iohannis et Pauli* in the sixth century).²³ The excavations begun by Germano di San Stanislao in 1887 beneath the basilica, which lies along the ancient Clivus Scauri, unearthed a complex of decorated shops and rooms belonging to at least five different building phases dating from the beginning of the second century to the end of the fourth century.²⁴ Many features of the site remain highly contested, but all scholars agree that the small shrine or *confessio* built on the mezzanine landing of a private residence dates to the late fourth century, and its frescoes more precisely to the last two decades of the fourth century.²⁵ The identities of the three anonymous martyrs depicted on the *confessio*'s walls, however, are lost in a series of secondary sources as complex and layered as the site itself. The *confessio*'s frescoes are often considered to be the earliest graphic representation of a Christian martyrdom.

The two scenes of martyrdom appear in the upper registers of the *confessio* on the left and right walls flanking the central *fenestella*, which was cut above the standing orant and has destroyed a central

²² For modern overviews of the site, see, e.g., M. Trinci Cecchelli, "Osservazioni sul complesso della 'domus' celimontana dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," in *Atti del IX congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Roma 21–27 Sett. 1975* (2 vols.; Studi di antichità cristiana 32; Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1978), 1:551–62; A. Karivieri, "SS. Giovanni e Paolo: La casa celimontana," in *Roma, magistra mundi—Itineraria culturae mediaevalis: Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire* (3 vols.; ed. J. Hamesse; Textes et études du moyen âge 10.1–3; Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 1998), 3:201–14; C. Leyser, "A Church in the House of the Saints: Property and Power in the *Passion of John and Paul*," in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (ed. K. Cooper and J. Hillner; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 140–62. Others have argued that the Pammachius who paid for the construction of the basilica was not the homonymous friend of Jerome; see, e.g., B. Brenk, "Microstoria sotto la Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo: La cristianizzazione di una casa privata," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* 18 (1992): 169–206.

²³ See C. Leyser, "A Church in the House of the Saints," 143. On the term *titulus*, see further J. Hillner, "Families, Patronage, and the Titular Churches of Rome, c. 300–600," in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (ed. K. Cooper and J. Hillner; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 225–61.

²⁴ G. di San Stanislao, *La casa celimontana dei SS. martiri Giovanni e Paolo* (Rome: Pace di F. Cuggiani, 1894).

²⁵ See, e.g., J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Malereien und Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1916), 638–39; J. de Wit, *Spätrömische Bildnismalerei, Stilkritische Untersuchungen zur Wandmalerei der Katakomben und verwandter Monumente* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), 58.

upper register (possibly a third register depicting the three martyrs). The upper register on the left wall (i.e., on the orant's right) shows the three martyrs, one female and two male, being escorted to their deaths by two Roman soldiers, both of whom wear the Pannonian military cap (*pileus Pannonicus*). The female martyr stands in the center and wears the stola and palla; her uncovered head identifies her as a virgin or *innupta*. The male martyrs on her right and left wear the tunic and pallium, and both direct their gaze at the female in between them. In the lower left-hand corner, on the martyrs' right, an animal, perhaps a small doe, sniffs at the ground. In the upper right-hand corner the artist added a bluish-green moon and another bluish-green blotch that may depict a tree or river. The upper register on the right wall (i.e., on the orant's left) shows the three anonymous martyrs in the moments just before their beheading. The martyrs are blindfolded and kneel with their hands bound behind their backs. Only the lower legs of the two Roman soldiers, who stand directly behind the martyrs, are still preserved, but there can be no doubt that the original fresco portrayed them brandishing swords. The female martyr remains in the central position and is about to receive the first deathblow.

Germano di San Stanislao originally identified the group of martyrs as Crispus, Crispinianus, and Benedicta, who appear in some versions of the legend of the eponymous saints John and Paul, the palace attendants of Constantina, daughter of the emperor Constantine.²⁶ According to bewilderingly divergent hagiographical sources, when Julian became emperor he soon discovered that John and Paul were using their wealth, which Constantina had left to them, to feed the poor and ordered them to make sacrifices to the gods. John and Paul refused and as a result were beheaded and later buried in their *domus* on the Caelian by Julian's *campiductor* Terentianus on 26 June 361 or 362. In later versions of the legend the two priests Crispus and Crispinianus and a noblewoman named Benedicta were executed on 3 January 364 for frequenting the burial place of John and Paul (and they, too, were subsequently buried in the *domus*). However, not only is the tale of Crispus, Crispinianus, and Benedicta is an obvious interpolation,²⁷ and one which seems to have been crafted for the express purpose of identifying the three unknown martyrs

²⁶ See San Stanislao, *La casa celimontana*, 236–67.

²⁷ Many art historians still uncritically identify the anonymous martyrs as Crispus, Crispinianus, and Benedicta; see, e.g., A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Bollingen Series 35; A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 10; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), fig. 147; J. Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (Ancient Peoples and Places 91; London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 37; C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California

in the *confessio*'s frescoes, but the entire *Passio Iohannis et Pauli* has been shown to be a work of fiction modelled on the martyrdom of two Antiochene martyrs, Iuventius and Maximianus, as recounted by John Chrysostom.²⁸

Dissatisfied with this explanation, Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri put forth a new and bold proposal identifying the anonymous martyrs as Cyprian, Justina, and Theoctistus.²⁹ According to the *Martyrdom*, a group of Roman sailors secreted the relics of these three martyrs aboard their ship and brought them to a woman named Rufina, "a matron of the house of Claudius, who received the bodies of the martyrs and put them in a notable place near the Forum of Claudius on Rome's middle hill" (7.5–6). Franchi de' Cavalieri drew attention to three details which seem to point precisely to the location of the present-day Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo. First, the peculiar toponym "Forum of Claudius" (φόρος Κλαυδίου) appears to describe the grand portico area outside the temple of Divus Claudius, the southern corner of which lies immediately adjacent to the basilica. Of course, there was no *forum Claudii* in ancient Rome, but the meaning of the term *forum*/φόρος degenerated in later periods and could refer "to any area or square adorned with porticoes and statues and even to the lobbies of private mansions."³⁰ Although the surviving manuscripts offer a variety of incomprehensible variants, Eudocia had certainly read this in her exemplar, as Photius' summary mentions a ναὸς . . . ἐγγίζων τῷ Κλαυδίου φόρῳ (*Bibliotheca*, "codex" 184). On the basis of his identification of the "Forum of Claudius" with the portico area of the *templum divi Claudii*, Franchi de' Cavalieri further suggested that the author's equally peculiar toponym "middle hill" denoted the Caelian hill (even though the Palatine is certainly more "middle"). No hill in Rome was ever called Μεσόλοφος (the majority reading) like the fourth or central hill in Constantinople, another seven-hilled city. Finally, Franchi de Cavalieri noted the curious correspondence between the "matron Rufina" and the graffito *Rufina* inscribed on the lower panel of the left wall of the *confessio*.³¹ The graffito may well refer to Rufina, the daughter of Paula and Iulius Toxotius and sister-in-law of Pammachius who

Press, 2001), 17 and 353 n. 51; F. Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide* (trans. J.J. Clauss and D.P. Harmon; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 223.

²⁸ See H. Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romain: Les saints de novembre et décembre* (Subsidia hagiographica 23; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1936), 124–36.

²⁹ P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Dove furono sepolti i SS. Cypriano, Giustina e Teoctisto?" in *Note agiografiche 8* (Studi e testi 65; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 333–54.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 339.

³¹ See San Stanislao, *La casa celimontana*, 334, fig. 45; cf. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Dove furono sepolti?" 337–38, 342, 344–45.

died at a young age but was apparently still alive and of age to marry in 385 or 386 (Jerome, *Ep.* 108.4, 6),³² but the graffito, of course, is not original to the structure and could be of a much later date. Furthermore, if Franchi de' Cavalieri's equation is to be upheld, the *Martyrdom's* ahistorical identification of Rufina as ματρώνα (Lat. *matrona*) must then be explained as a deliberate modification, perhaps prompted by Gregory's panegyric, in conformity with the common late-antique literary trope in which aristocratic *matronae* receive the relics of martyrs and bury them on their own property.³³ Even so, the art historian Joseph Wilpert quickly took up Franchi de' Cavalieri's thesis and ran with it. Wilpert went so far as to suggest that the frescoes offer an "almost literal interpretation" of the *Martyrdom* and took the animal in the upper register on the left wall to be one of the bloodthirsty dogs to which the bodies of Cyprian, Justina, and Theoctistus were thrown after their beheading (7.5), and the bluish-green blotch in the upper right-hand corner of the same panel he interpreted as the river Gallus (7.1).³⁴

But do the *confessio's* frescoes really offer an "almost literal interpretation" of the *Martyrdom*, or does the *Martyrdom* rather offer an "almost literal interpretation" of the *confessio's* frescoes? Wilpert and others evade the obvious problem of the fictionality of Cyprian and associates with recourse to the historical dishonesties of the late-antique relics trade.³⁵ Certain details in the *Martyrdom's* conclusion, however, are suspiciously convenient. The author of the *Martyrdom* clearly knew both the *Conversion* and *Confession* and chose to write a continuation of the (demonstrably fictional) *Conversion* narrative. For the first time in the *Acts*, at the close of the *Martyrdom*, the reader learns that Cyprian is of Roman descent. Although the authors of the *Conversion* and *Confession* provide no clues as to Cyprian's place of birth or citizenship (except that Cyprian was not an Athenian citizen), there is also nothing to suggest

³² See *PLRE* 1:773 s.v. Rufina 2; C. Pietri and L. Pietri, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire: 2. Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)* (2 vols.; Rome: École française de Rome, 1990–2000), 2:1923 s.v. Rufina 2; on the identification with the sister-in-law of Pammachius, see Brenk, "Microstoria," 202.

³³ Cf. Cooper, "The Martyr, the *Matrona* and the Bishop," 297–317.

³⁴ J. Wilpert, "Le pitture della 'Confessio' dei SS Giovanni e Paolo," in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara, raccolti in occasione del suo LXX anno* (ed. R. Paribeni; Vatican City: Giovanni Bardi, 1937), 517–23 with tav. LXXVI, esp. 520–22.

³⁵ According to Wilpert, "La questione se i tre martiri siano autentici o no, è per la spiegazione delle pitture del tutto secondaria. Chi li acquistò, era naturalmente in buona fede, il che non possiamo affermare con altrettanta sicurezza di chi li vendette, perchè siamo nel colmo del commercio delle reliquie, coi noti eccessi che sonsigliarono Teodosio il Grande ad intervenire con la legge del 26 febbraio 387, vietante ogni commercio di corpi di martiri: 'nemo martyrem mercetur'" ("Le pitture," 522). L. Grig similarly makes a similar claim: "The 'historical' status of a group of martyrs including Cyprian of Antioch is clearly laughable; whether or not the owners of the relics thought they belonged to these putative martyrs must ultimately remain an open question" (*Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* [London: Duckworth, 2004], 122).

that he was from Rome. The author appears to have added the detail of Cyprian's Roman heritage for the express purpose of translating Cyprian's remains to Rome: the group of "faithful Roman sailors" hears about the death of their Roman compatriot (ὁμόφυλος) and carry his remains "along with their memory of what had transpired" to Rome (7.5). Moreover, the figure of Theoctistus, who is presumably but not clearly identified as a member of the crew of sailors (at least not in *BHG* 455), serves no literary function: no sooner does Theoctistus pass by "from abroad" and salute Cyprian than he is immediately beheaded along with Cyprian. The introduction and immediate execution of Theoctistus seems designed only for the purpose of creating a trio of martyrs. If there is any connection at all between the *Martyrdom* and the *confessio*'s frescoes, i.e., if Franchi de' Cavalieri's identification of the *forum Claudii* as the portico area outside the *templum divi Claudii* is correct (and no better alternatives have been or are likely to be proposed), then the *Martyrdom*'s conclusion could suggest only that the author had visited the shrine in Rome now beneath the Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo and that he had based the Nicomedian execution scene upon the shrine's two registers depicting the beheading of three unnamed martyrs. This is further supported by the most reasonable dating of the text of the *Martyrdom* to around the turn of the fifth century (see § 3.1), i.e., after the construction of the *confessio* had been completed.

3.4. The Greek Manuscript Tradition (*BHG* 454–455)

The *Martyrdom* exists in four different recensions, only two of which have been published. In 1760 Johannes Klee compiled an edition from two Parisian codices, BnF gr. 520 (siglum G) and BnF gr. 1485 (siglum F), to which Halkin later assigned the item number *BHG* 455,³⁶ but Klee's edition is deficient in places due to the tattered bottom ends of the folia in BnF gr. 520 and the soiled upper portions of the folia in BnF gr. 1485 (e.g., at 7.4 Klee's text reads Φουλεανός δὲ ὁ συγκάθεδρος . . . ἐκέλευσεν κτλ.). In 1901 Margaret Dunlop Gibson published an edition of a different recension of the *Martyrdom* from a single Greek manuscript in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, gr. 497 (siglum S), the same codex

³⁶ J. Klee, "Martyrium Sanctorum martyrum Cypriani et Justinæ a auctore anonymo ex bibliothecae regiae Parisinae codice 520 collato cum cod. 1485," *AASS* Sept. VII (1760): 242–45; repr. *AASS* 47 [Sept. VII] (1867): 224–28 (I have consulted the edition of 1867); cf. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 1:138 (no. 3b = *BHG* 455). The copy of the *Martyrdom* identified by Van de Vorst and Delehay as "ex BnF gr. 520 collato cum BnF 1485" (*Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum*, 242–43, no. 289) in Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 200, ff. 1v–2v (saec. XVII, XVIII, XIX) is probably Klee's personal copy, from which the print edition was made.

from which she edited the text of recension B of the *Conversion* (see § 1.4). Halkin apparently took this to be an earlier version and catalogued it under the item number *BHG* 454.³⁷ It is, however, extremely difficult to determine which recension of the *Martyrdom* represents the earliest form of the text.

The surviving manuscript evidence for *BHG* 454 may be divided into two recensions, recension A and recension B:

recensio A (= BHG 454a)

- K Mount Athos, Μονή Καρακάλλου 8 (Lambros 1521), ff. 38r–40v (saec. X–XI).³⁸
- Λ Mount Athos, Μονή Μεγίστης Λαύρας, Δ 50 (Eustratiades 426), ff. 119r–121v (A.D. 1040).³⁹
- O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud gr. 68, ff. 50r–52v (saec. XI).⁴⁰
- Q Mount Athos, Μονή Παντοκράτορος 40 (Lambros 1075), ff. 56r–59r (saec. XIII).⁴¹
- R Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека, греч. 94 (Granstrom 334), ff. 19v–22r (saec. XII).⁴²
- S Sinai, Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, gr. 497 (Benešević 333), ff. 112v–115v (saec. XI).⁴³

³⁷ Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, 72–78; cf. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 1138 (no. 3a = *BHG* 454).

³⁸ K (f. 38r) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων εἰς τὰ περὶ τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) καὶ ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνεφύει ζηζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 107) for codicological information; cf. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1130 (no. 1521); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:239–45. The copy of the *Martyrdom* in K is a gemellus of Q.

³⁹ Λ (f. 119r) tit. μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης αἰὶ παρθένου, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν οὖν λόγων πληρουμένων τὰ περὶ τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) καὶ ὅτι ἐμμέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἂν ἐφύει ζηζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 103) for codicological information; cf. Eustratiades and Spyridon, *Catalogue*, 60–61. The copy of the *Martyrdom* in Λ is a gemellus of S.

⁴⁰ O (f. 50r) tit. μαρτύριον Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἰουστίνης αἰὶ παρθένου, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων εἰς τὰ περὶ τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) καὶ ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνεφύει ζηζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 109) for codicological information; cf. Van de Vorst and Delehay, *Catalogus*, 333–36 (no. 415); Coxe, *Catalogi*, coll. 548–52.

⁴¹ Q (f. 56r) tit. μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων εἰς τὰ περὶ τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) καὶ ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνεφύει ζηζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 105) for codicological information; cf. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:97 (no. 1075); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:385–88; G. Lafontaine, “Deux vies grecques,” 306–8. The copy of the *Martyrdom* in Q is a gemellus of K.

⁴² R (f. 19v) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) καὶ ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀναφύει ζηζάνια κτλ., saec. XII, membran., mm. 300 × 220, ff. 121, coll. 2, linn. 33; see E.E. Granstrom, “Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ: Выпуск 4. Рукописи XII века,” *Византийский временник* 23 (1963): 179–81 (no. 334).

⁴³ S (f. 112v) tit. μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης αἰὶ παρθένου, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν οὖν λόγων πληρουμένων τὰ περὶ τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) καὶ ὅτι ἐμμέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἂν ἐφύει ζηζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 106) for codicological information; cf. Gardthausen, *Catalogus*, 121 (no. 497); Benešević, *Catalogus*, 1:178–82 (no. 497); *editio princeps*: Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, xiii–xiv, 72–78. The copy of the *Martyrdom* in S is a gemellus of Λ.

- U Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1238, ff. 143v^a, 196r–v, 32r–v, 162r^a scriptura inferior (saec. XI).⁴⁴

recensio B (= *BHG* 454b)

- C Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 144 sup. (Martini-Bassi 377), ff. 50r–51v (saec. XII).⁴⁵
 D Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 92 sup. (Martini-Bassi 259), ff. 256r–258v (saec. X–XI).⁴⁶

Although *BHG* 454b contains many alterations that are of intrinsic interest, it is demonstrably a later redaction of *BHG* 454a. The most surprising alteration occurs at 7.3–4. Evidently uncomfortable with the abruptness of the episode, the redactor not only imagines Theoctistus to be the *magister navis*, using a rare Greek compound προναύκληρος attested only in a scholium to Homer, *Od.* 8.163, but he also gives him the opportunity to speak, for however very brief a moment: “Now, when a certain shipmaster Theoctistus came by he saluted the holy Cyprian and said, ‘Remember me, Cyprian, in your holy prayer to Christ,’ but the public executioners took him and brought him to the emperor, and when the emperor heard he ordered his head cut off” (Θεόκτιστος δέ τις προναύκληρος ἐλθὼν ἡσπάσατο τὸν ἅγιον Κυπριανὸν καὶ λέγει· μνήσθητί μου, Κυπριανέ, ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου προσευχῇ πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν. οἱ δὲ δῆμιοι προσελάβοντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι). Not only has the συγκάθεδρος, who is nameless in *BHG* 454a, morphed into οἱ . . . δῆμιοι, but the matron who receives the martyrs’ relics is no longer named Rufina (7.6), but instead she is merely γυνή . . . τις

⁴⁴ U (f. 143v^a), sine titulo, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων εἰς τὰ περὶ τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σίτου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνεφύη ζιζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 112) for codicological information; cf. S. de Ricci, review of P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri cum Hagiographis Bollandis, 288–92; A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 3:35–43; idem, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, 261–62; K. Lake et S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 15 n. 329; G. Garitte, “Deux manuscrits italogrecs,” 26.

⁴⁵ C (f. 51r) tit. μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθ(έν)ου, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων περὶ τοῦ κ(υρί)ου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ σχεδὸν πάντα ἢ ὑπ’ οὐ(ρα)νὸν ἐφωτίσθη τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνεφύησαν ζιζάνια κτλ. See the introduction to the *Confession* (note 95) for codicological information; cf. Martini and Bassi, *Catalogus*, 1:444–48 (no. 377); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:346–49; Pasini, *Inventario*, 101. This is the only codex in which the text of the *Martyrdom* precedes another *Act* (the *Confession*); see further Table 2 on page 87.

⁴⁶ D (f. 256r) tit. μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰούστας τῆς παρθένου, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λογίων (sic) πληρουμένων παρὰ (sic) τοῦ κ(υρί)ου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ σχεδὸν πάντα ἢ ὑπ’ οὐ(ρα)νὸν ἐφωτίσθη τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐφύησαν ζιζάνια κτλ., saec. X–XI, membran., mm. 315 × 248, ff. III (chart.) + 274; see Martini and Bassi, *Catalogus*, 1:284–91 (no. 259); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:522 n. 7, 681 n. 5, and 3:783–83; cf. Pasini, *Inventario*, 233.

ματρῶνα θεοσεβής. The vast majority of revisions in *BHG* 454b, however, are of the cosmetic variety, and more often than not the redactor succeeds in cleaning up his predecessor's text.

The surviving manuscript evidence for *BHG* 455, may be divided as well into two recensions, recension A and recension B:

recensio A (= BHG 455a)

- F** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1485, ff. 38r–40r (saec. X).⁴⁷
G Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 520, ff. 62r–65r (saec. X–XI).⁴⁸
H Mount Athos, Μονή Σταυρονικήτα 10 (Lambros 875), ff. 354r–356r (saec. XI).⁴⁹
N Ohrid, Народен музеј 4 (Mošin 76), pp. 200–205 (saec. X).⁵⁰
V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 866, ff. 125v–126v (saec. XI–XII).⁵¹
X Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека, греч. 213 (Granstrem 283), ff. 119r–121r (saec. XI–XII).⁵²

⁴⁷ F (f. 38r), tit. corrumpitur, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων νῦν πληρουμένων τῶν [τε λόγων] τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) [περὶ τῆς] σποράς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων κτλ. See the introduction to the *Confession* (note 111) for codicological information; cf. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2:61–62; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 166–68; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:377–80; G. Garitte, “La tradition manuscrite,” 198–200; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris*, 179; first edited together with G by Klee, “Martyrium,” 224–26.

⁴⁸ G (f. 62r) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης +, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων νῦν πληρουμένων τῶν τε λόγων τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) περὶ τῆς σποράς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων κτλ., saec. X–XI, membran., mm. 330 × 250, ff. 440, coll. 2, linn. 40; see Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 1:71–72; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 12–14; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris*, 24–25; first edited together with F by Klee, “Martyrium,” 224–26.

⁴⁹ H (f. 354r), sine titulo, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων νῦν πληρουμένων τῶν τε λόγων τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) περὶ τῆς σποράς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 102) for codicological information; cf. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:75 (no. 875); Wenger, “La tradition,” 5 n. 1; Aubineau, “Neuf manuscrits chrysostomiens,” 79; Piédagnel, *Panegyriques*, 61 n. 9, 325.

⁵⁰ N (p. 200) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθ(ένου), inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων τῶν τε λόγων τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) περὶ τῆς σποράς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 104) for codicological information; cf. Mošin, “Ракониси,” 231 (no. 76); Halkin, “Manuscripts byzantins,” 7–9; Canart, “Apothegmes,” 25 and n. 2; Garitte, “La vie grecque,” 233–90; Halkin, *Auctarium*, 54 (*BHG* 453b); idem, *Novum auctarium*, 57 (*BHG* 453b); Agati, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, tav. 66–67; Džurova and Canart, *Le rayonnement de Byzance*, 10, 12, 14, 145, 153–54, 162–63, 182; Džurova, “À propos de l’ornementation des manuscrits,” 366 and n. 24.

⁵¹ V (f. 125v) tit. μαρτυρίων τῶν ἀγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰούστνης, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων τῶν τε λόγων τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) περὶ τῆς πωρας (sic) τοῦ σίτου τῶν ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 113) for codicological information; cf. Franchi de’ Cavalieri (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 83–93; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:338–46; Devreesse, *Codices*, 434–40.

⁵² X (f. 119r) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἀγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων τῶν τε λόγον (sic) τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) X(ριστοῦ) περὶ τῆς σποράς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 114) for codicological information; cf. Granstrem, “Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ: Выпуск 3. Рукописи XI в.,” 234–35 (no. 283).

recensio B (= *BHG* 455b)

T Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1190, ff. 89r–91r (saec. XVI).⁵³

Z Mount Athos, Μονή Φιλοθεου 9 (Lambros 1772), ff. 269r–271v (saec. XI).⁵⁴

Once again it is probable that *BHG* 455b represents a later redaction of *BHG* 455a. The text of *BHG* 455b is thoroughly revised and occasionally interpolated, e.g., the clause τοῦ τε Ναυάτου ἀστοχήσαντος περὶ τὴν πίστιν has been added after πλῆθυνομένων in 1.1. This clause also appears in BnF gr. 1468 (siglum **P**), but it is not likely to be original, as Zahn maintained,⁵⁵ because not only does it create a bogus temporal marker, “when Novatian (ca. 200–258) was missing the mark concerning the faith,” which conflicts with the story’s (fictional) historical setting under the reign of Emperor Diocletian (284–305), but it draws a remarkably explicit connection between Cyprian of Carthage and Cyprian of Antioch, which occurs nowhere else in the *Acts*.⁵⁶ Manuscript **P**, from which Zahn made his German translation, is a mixed recension of *BHG* 455a and *BHG* 455b:

P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1468, ff. 88v–90v (saec. XI).⁵⁷

When **P** diverges from the manuscripts of *BHG* 455a, more often than not it agrees with manuscripts **TZ** (*BHG* 455b), but when **P** agrees with manuscripts of *BHG* 455a, manuscripts **TZ** (*BHG* 455b) usually go their way. Moreover, Cyprian is never characterized as a bishop in any manuscript of *BHG* 455, recension A or recension B, with the sole exception of **P**’s title (μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθένου), which makes it all the more likely that the clause concerning Novatian

⁵³ **T** (f. 89r) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῶν τοίνυν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων καὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ κ(υρίου) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ περὶ τῆς σποράς τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῆς ἐπισποράς τῶν ζιζανίων πλῆθυνωμένων τοῦ τε Ναυάτου ἀστοχήσαντος περὶ τὴν πίστιν κτλ., saec. XVI, partes III, chartac., ff. 1387, mm. 305 × 205, col. 1, linn. 33; see Franchi de’ Cavalieri (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 102–15.

⁵⁴ **Z** (f. 269r) tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων ἐπισποράς τῶν ζιζανίων τοῦ τε Ναυάτου ἀστοχήσαντος περὶ τὴν πίστιν κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 117) for codicological information; cf. Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:151 (no. 1772); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:353–55.

⁵⁵ Zahn, *Cyprian*, 63 and n. 4.

⁵⁶ See further note 2 to the translation.

⁵⁷ **P** (f. 88v) tit. μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθένου, inc. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων καὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ κ(υρίου) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ περὶ τῆς σποράς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πλῆθυνωμένων τοῦ τε Ναυάτου ἀστοχήσαντος περὶ τὴν πίστιν κτλ. See the introduction to the *Conversion* (note 93) for codicological information; cf. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2:53–54; idem (cum Hagiographis Bollandianis), *Catalogus*, 142–47; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:372–75; F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris*, 170–72.

represents a later interpolation, but manuscripts of *BHG* 454a occasionally describe him as ἐπίσκοπος (e.g., at 1.2: ὁ δὲ ἀρχέκακος ὄφεις καὶ βάσκανος θεασάμενος τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου σπουδὴν τῆς πίστεως, κτλ. [so 72.8–10 Gibson]).

I offer here only an improved edition of *BHG* 455a (codices *FGHNVX*),⁵⁸ which is the simplest form of the text, and unlike manuscripts of *BHG* 454a it preserves the name of the *comes Orientis*. I have included the variant readings from manuscript *P* in the apparatus criticus, which it admittedly bloats to cumbersome proportions, for readers who may wish to consult Zahn's German translation, which he made from the (previously unedited) text of *P* under the assumption that it represented an earlier form of text than the Bollandists' lacunose edition of *BHG* 455a, and also because the Greek text of *BHG* 455a is often quite poor and at times it has been necessary to resort to variant readings from *P* to correct erroneous readings present in all manuscripts of *BHG* 455a, e.g., at 2.1, where all manuscripts of *BHG* 455a more or less read προελθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡρώτα ὁ κόμης, *P* preserves προσαχθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν ὁ κόμης, which is much more sensible (Eutolmius orders both Cyprian and Justina to Damascus, but he directs his query only to Cyprian⁵⁹).

⁵⁸ There remain three manuscript copies of *BHG* 454 which to date I have not seen: (1) Krakow, Bibliotheka Jagiellonska, gr. 1^o.43.I (279) [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Preussischer Kulturbesitz)], ff. 26v–29v (saec. XI–XII); cf. C. de Boor, *Verzeichniss griechischen Handschriften Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin II* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1897), 149–52 (no. 279); (2) Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Παναγίου Τάφου 38, ff. 106v–111r (saec. XI); and (3) Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 519, ff. 47v–48v (saec. X); cf. Vasiliev, “Заметки о некоторых греческих рукописях,” 279 (tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης).

⁵⁹ Cf. 4.1 (ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κόμης προσαχθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγει τῷ μακαρίῳ Κυπριανῷ).

PART TWO

**CRITICAL EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS,
AND COMMENTARY**

SIGLA
(BHG 452)

Recensio C

- Y Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 517, ff. 24r–27r (saec. XIII).
Z Mount Athos, Μονή Φιλοθέου 9 (Lambros 1772), ff. 265r–269r (saec. XI).

Correctiones, emendationes, etc.

- Radermacher Radermacher, L. *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage: Der Zauberer Cyprianus, die Erzählung des Helladius, Theophilus*. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philologisch-historische Klasse 206.4. Leipzig, 1927.

< ΠΡΑΞΙΣ Α΄ >
ΠΡΑΞΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΣΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ

- (1) 1. τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐρανόθεν γενομένης ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ [1]
τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων πᾶσα ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐφωτίσθη τῷ λόγῳ <καὶ οἱ>
πιστεύοντες εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. ² ἦν δέ τις παρθένος ὀνόματι Ἰούστα Αἰδεσίου πατρός
5 καὶ Κληδονίας μητρὸς ἐν πόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Δάφνην. ³ αὕτη ἤκουε Πραῦλίου τινὸς

YZ tit. πρᾶξις — παρθένου Y : βίος τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰούστης Z || 1 σωτῆρος Y : κυρίου Z || γενομένης ἐπὶ γῆς Z : εἰς γῆν γεναμένης Y || 2 πληρουμένων Y : πληρωθέντων Z || πᾶσα Y : ἅπασα Z || θείῳ ante λόγῳ add. Y || καὶ οἱ supplevi (e rec. B) || 3 πιστεύοντες scripsi : πιστεύοντες καὶ βαπτιζόμενοι Y πιστευόντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Z || πατέρα παντοκράτορα Y : παντοκράτορα ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς Z || 4 ἐβαπτίζοντο scripsi (e rec. B) : βαπτιζομένων Z καὶ βαπτιζόμενοι post πιστεύοντες transp. Y (vide ante) || ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ Z : καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Y || Αἰδεσίου πατρός scripsi : Ἐδεσίου (ut semper) πατρός Z πατρός Αἰδεσίου ὀνόματι Y || 5 Κληδονίας scripsi (e recc. AB) : Κληδόνης codd. || ἐν πόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ ante Αἰδεσίου transp. Z || τῇ πρὸς Δάφνην om. Z || αὕτη ἤκουε Y : ἥτις ἀκούσασα Z.

ACT I.
THE CONVERSION OF CYPRIAN AND JUSTA

1. When our savior Jesus Christ appeared¹ on earth from heaven and the prophetic words were being fulfilled, all the earth under heaven was illuminated by the Word and those who believed in one God the Father Almighty and in our Lord Jesus Christ were being baptized in the Holy Spirit. (2) Now, there was in the city of Antioch near Daphne² a certain maiden named Justa, the daughter of Aedesius and Cledonia.³ (3) From her nearby window she heard⁴ a certain deacon named Praylius speaking about

¹ In the Deutero-Pauline and Pastoral Epistles the term *ἐπιφανεῖα* consistently refers (as here) to the appearance or advent of Jesus. See esp. 2 Tim 1:10 (φανερωθεῖσαν δὲ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον φωτίσαντος δὲ ζώην καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου); cf. 2 Thess 2:8; 1 Tim 6:14; 2 Tim 4:1, 8; Tit 2:13.

² The wealthy and chic suburb of Daphne was located approximately five miles south of Antioch on a lush plateau (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.6; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 5.19); cf. Libanius' *Antiochikos* for the classic ancient description (*Or.* 11.234–243). Julian resided in Antioch from 18 July 362–5 March 363. He had chosen Antioch as a home base from which to plan his military campaign against the Persians and to spearhead his religious crusade; see G. Downey, “Julian the Apostate at Antioch,” *CH* (1939): 303–15. Julian complained of the Antiochenes' fondness for pleasure and licentiousness (e.g., *Mis.* 346c, 355d, 356d), and his hopes of reinvigorating pagan religion in Antioch were quickly dashed. Prior to his arrival he ordered the restoration of the celebrated temple of Apollo at Daphne, and shortly after his arrival he ordered the relics of Saint Babylas removed from the nearby martyrion on suspicions that the oracle of Apollo had become silent because the site had been polluted by the Christian dead. The Christians of Antioch were outraged, and Julian blamed them for starting the fire that destroyed the temple of Apollo shortly thereafter (*Mis.* 346b); see further Downey, *A History of Antioch*, 380–97; E.D. Digeser, “An Oracle of Apollo at Daphne and the Great Persecution,” *CP* 99 (2004): 65–67. Cyprian's childhood dedication to Apollo at *Conf.* 1.3 could well be an allusion to the temple of Apollo at Daphne.

³ The famous Neoplatonic philosopher Aedesius of Cappadocia, a pupil of Iamblichus of Chalcis and Julian's first instructor in Neoplatonism, most likely inspired the author's choice of the name Aedesius (so Reitzenstein, “Cyprian,” 48; idem, “Zu Cyprian,” 237). Although the feminine form Cledonia is otherwise unattested, the masculine form Cledonius is attested in the fourth century. The presbyter Cledonius in Iconium was one of the signators of Gregory of Nazianzus' will, and it is probably the same Cledonius to whom Gregory addressed *Ep.* 101 and 102; see R. Van Dam, “Self-Representation in the Will of Gregory of Nazianzus,” *JTS* 46 (1995): 148 and n. 114; cf. W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg, 1911), 678b s.v. Κληδόνιος; *PLRE* 1:213 s.v. Cledonius 2. If the legend of Saint Marina of Antioch (in Pisidia) indeed dates back to the seventh century, then the figure of the pagan priest Aedesius (the maiden Marina's father) was most likely modelled on Justa's father in the *Conversion* (Marina similarly refuses the marriage proposal of a *praeses Orientis* named Olybrius); cf. P. Boulhoul, “Hagiographique antique et démonologie: Notes sur quelques Passions grecques (*BHG*, 962x, 964, et 1165–6),” *AnBoll* 112 (1994): 255–303. The author likely chose the name because of its etymological implications. Κληδόνιος, “giving an omen,” was originally a divine epithet of Zeus, equivalent to Πανομφαῖος, “sender of ominous voices” or “author of divination” (schol. ad Homer, *Il.* 2.41 and 8.250a; Aristonicus, *De signis Iliadis* 8.250). If in fact Aedesius of Cappadocia inspired the character of Aedesius in the *Conversion*, then Κληδόνια (“Omen-giver” or “Divinatrix”) would be a fitting name for his wife. It is not known whether Aedesius ever married, but Eunapius reports that another of Iamblichus' pupils, Eustathius of Cappadocia, married a woman named Sosipatra, a philosopher in her own right (cf. 1.5) who reputedly rivalled Aedesius himself and who on the eve of her marriage delivered accurate prophecies concerning the lives of her children and the death of her husband (*Vit. soph.* 6.6.5–10.5 [466–471]).

⁴ Both Y's αὐτὴ ἤκουε and Z's ἥτις ἀκούσασα appear to be scribal corrections of recension A's problematic ἀκούσασα αὐτῇ. I suspect the original text to be ἥν ἀκούσασα αὐτῇ on the basis of recension B's αὐτῇ ἥν ἀκούσασα, although this, too, may be a later scribal correction since haplography of ἥν is defensible only after Δάφνην. The omission is likely to be quite

διακόνου λαλούντος ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν τε ἐνανθρώπησιν
 τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν τε τῶν προφητῶν κήρυξιν τὴν τε ἐκ Μαρίας γέννησιν
 τὴν τε τῶν μάγων προσκύνησιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος φανέρωσιν τὴν <τε> τῶν σημείων καὶ
 τεράτων ἐνεργείαν τὴν τε τοῦ σταυροῦ δύναμιν τὴν <τε> ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν τὴν τε τοῖς
 5 μαθηταῖς ἐμφάνισιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαθήκην τὴν τε εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον καὶ
 τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδραν καὶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· ταῦτα ἀκούσασα, μᾶλλον
 δὲ διὰ τῆς πίστεως ὀρώσα, ἡ ἀγία παρθένος οὐκέτι ἔφερε τὴν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος πύρωσιν.
⁴ ἐπόθει δὲ καὶ αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν ὀφθῆναι τῷ διακόνῳ, καὶ μὴ δυναμένη λέγει πρὸς τὴν μητέρα
 αὐτῆς· μήτερ, ἄκουσον τῆς σῆς θυγατρὸς. οὐδὲν εἰσιν οἷς καθ' ἡμέραν προσκυνοῦμεν
 10 εἰδώλοις ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου διὰ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡρμοσμένοις οἷς

YZ 1 λαλούντος deest Z || 2 καὶ κυρίου post σωτῆρος add. Y || τὴν τε prius Y : καὶ τὴν Z || καὶ post κήρυξιν add.
 Y || 3 τε prius om. Z || καὶ prius om. Z || τε alterum supplevi || 3–4 τὴν τε τῶν σημείων — ἐνεργείαν scripsi
 (e rec. B) : τὴν τῶν σημείων καὶ τεράτων δύναμιν Y om. Z || 4 τὴν τε prius Z : καὶ τὴν Y || δύναμιν Z : οἰκονομίαν Y
 || τε supplevi || 4–5 τὴν τε τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμφάνισιν scripsi (e rec. B) : τὴν τε ἐμφάνισιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς μαθηταῖς Z καὶ
 τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν Y || 5 τὴν — διαθήκην Z : τὴν διδαχὴν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς Y || τε om. Y ||
 5–6 καὶ τὴν om. Z || 6 τοῦ πατρὸς post δεξιῶν add. Z || ἀκατάληπτον Z : ἀκατάλυτον Y || 7 παρὰ τοῦ διακόνου
 λεγόμενα post παρθένος add. Z || ἔφερε Z : ὑπέφερε Y || 8 ἐπόθει Y : ἤθελε Z || αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν om. Y || τῷ διακόνῳ
 Y : αὐτῷ Z || πρὸς τὴν μητέρα Z : τῇ μητρὶ Y || 10 εἰδώλοις Y : θεοῖς Z || διὰ — ἡρμοσμένοις om. Z || ἡρμοσμένοις
 corr. Radermacher (p. 79.III.9) : ἡρμοσμένων Y.

God's mighty deeds, the incarnation of our savior Jesus Christ, the heralding of the prophets,⁵ the birth from Mary, the adoration of the Magi and the manifestation of the star and the laudation of the angels,⁶ the working of signs and wonders, the power of the cross, Christ's resurrection from the dead, his bodily appearance to the disciples and his last will and testament to them,⁷ his ascension into heaven and his seat at the right hand and his immeasurable kingdom. When she had heard these things, or rather when she had perceived them through faith, the holy maiden could no longer bear her burning desire for the Holy Spirit. (4) She also wished to appear before the deacon face to face, and since she could not, she said to her mother, "Mother, hear your daughter. There is nothing to the idols that we worship daily, which are fitly made by human hands out of stone and wood and gold and silver. If one of the Galileans⁸

ancient and probably occurred while the text was still circulating in majuscule script: ΔΑΦΗΝΗΝΑΚΟΥCΑCΑ. Without ἦν the text of 1.3a in recension A is a mere sentence fragment (see Zahn, *Cyprian*, 142.1–10; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76.I.7–78.I.3) and the following clause in 1.3b, ταῦτα ὁρώσα . . . καὶ ἀκούουσα (rec. A) or ταῦτα ἀκούσασα (recc. BC), becomes extremely awkward and unnecessarily redundant.

⁵ τὴν τε τῶν προφητῶν κήρυξιν (so recc. B) likely refers to Matthew's birth narrative (see, e.g., Matt 1:23; 2:6, 15, 18), and in particular to the preaching of John the Baptist. Recension A reads ἐνδειξιν for κήρυξιν and Eudocia has μεγάλων τε φάτιν ἐσθλῶν ὑποφητῶν (*De S. Cypri.* 1.24*). Justin Martyr describes John the Baptist as κήρυξ; cf. *Dial.* 49.3 (ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὗ καὶ τῆς πρώτης φανερώσεως κήρυξ προήλθε τὸ ἐν Ἡλίᾳ γενόμενον πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν Ἰωάννῃ, τῷ γενομένῳ ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν προφήτῃ) and *Dial.* 88.2 (μέχρις οὗ προελήλυθεν Ἰωάννης κήρυξ αὐτοῦ τῆς παρουσίας).

⁶ On the Magi and the star, see Matt 2:1–12; on the "laudation of the angels," see Luke 2:13–14.

⁷ The position of this clause after τὴν τε τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐμφάνισιν would seem to suggest that τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαθήκην refers to the Commissioning of the Disciples (Matt 28:16–20; Mark 16:14–18; Luke 24:36–49; cf. Acts 1:6–8), but the clause more probably refers to the Institution of the Lord's Supper (Matt 26:26–30; Mark 14:22–26; Luke 22:14–23; cf. 1 Cor 11:23–25).

⁸ Prior to their conversions both Justa and Cyprian (4.4 and 10.2) call Christians by the appellation "Galileans"; the author uses the designation Χριστιανοί only after Cyprian has fully converted (cf. 13.9). In the New Testament (e.g., in Acts 1:11 and 2:7) the appellation does not seem intended to designate Christians as a group, but merely to indicate the geographical region from which the earliest Christians came (see P. Trebilco, *Self-Designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012], 295). By the middle of the fourth century, however, the appellation had become a pejorative used to highlight the backwater origins of Christianity, but the only author to refer consistently to Christians as "Galileans" was Julian, who in the winter of 362/3 composed his polemical treatise *Κατὰ Γαλιλαίων*, a work which apparently remained unpublished until after he had left Antioch in March of 363 (so W.C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian* [3 vols.; London: W. Heinemann, 1913–1923], 3:314). Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 4.76) claimed that Julian "immediately instituted a change in our appellation, naming us Galileans instead of Christians and making it law that we should so be styled" (εὐθὺς καινοτομεῖ περὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν, Γαλιλαίους ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν ὀνομάσας τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι νομοθετήσας), but that there was ever a law requiring that Christians be called Galileans is unlikely. This datum appears to be a rhetorical exaggeration, much like Gregory's following explanation that Julian had instituted the change because he feared the name Χριστιανοί. Julian, however, except where he distinguishes Christians as "atheists," the "depraved," "rustics," or the like, employed the appellation Γαλιλαῖοι rigorously in his own writings; in fact, the only time he uses the designation Χριστιανοί is in a quotation from the letter of Titus of Bostra (*Ep.* 52.437d). Julian need not have been inspired by Epictetus (as scholars often claim), who first used the appellation "Galileans" as a derogatory name for Christians (Arrian, *Diss.* 4.7.6), since it was not uncommon to insult or marginalize groups originating from remote regions in such a manner (e.g., heresiologists frequently designated Montanists as "Phrygians"); see further A. von Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (2 vols.; trans. J. Moffatt; Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 1996), 2:5–6 n. 1.

ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ εἰς τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ἄνευ χειρῶν λόγῳ καὶ εὐχῇ τοὺς πάντας τροπώσεται. ⁵ ἡ δὲ τῷ κόμπῳ τῆς μωρᾶς φιλοσοφίας περικεχυμένη λέγει· μὴ ὁ πατήρ σου γινῶ ταύτην τὴν ἐνθύμησιν, τέκνον. ⁶ ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν· γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, μήτερ, καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί, ὅτι ἐγὼ τὸν Χριστὸν ζητῶ, ὃν διὰ Πραῦλίου ἔμαθον, ἐν πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἀκροωμένη τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ·
 5 καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἕτερος ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς. ⁷ καὶ ταῦτα εἰπούσα ἀπήει καθ' ἑαυτὴν τὰς εὐχὰς ἐκτελοῦσα τῷ Χριστῷ.

- (2) 2. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Αἰδεσίῳ ταῦτα διεσάφησε. ² πολλοῦ [2]
 δὲ καὶ ἡδέος αὐτοῖς ἐπελθόντος ὕπνου τε ἀγγελικῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστάσης στρατιᾶς ὁρώσι λαμπαδηφόρους πλείους ἑκατὸν ἐν τῷ ὀχυρώματι καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν Χριστὸν λέγοντα
 10 αὐτοῖς· δεῦτε πρὸς με, καὶ γὰρ βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ὑμῖν χαρίσομαι. ³ καὶ ταῦτα ἰδὼν ὁ Αἰδέσιος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁραθείσιν ἔκθαμβος, γενόμενος ὀρθροῦ βαθέος, ἀναστὰς καὶ λαβὼν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἀπήει εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον ἅμα τῷ Πραῦλίῳ, ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν ὅπως
 προσαγάγῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ὁπτάτῳ, ὃ καὶ πεποίκε πεισθεὶς ὁ διάκονος. ⁴ καὶ
 προσπεσόντες τοῖς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ποσὶν ἤξιον λαβεῖν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα· ὁ δὲ οὐκ [3]
 15 ἠέσχετο αὐτῶν ἕως οὗ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὀπτασίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς παρθένου ἐπιθυμίαν. ⁵ ὁ δὲ Αἰδέσιος ἀπεθρίξατο τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος· ἦν γὰρ

YZ 1 ἀνθρωπίνων post χειρῶν add. Z || τοὺς πάντας Y : μόνη Z || 2 λέγει Y : φησὶν Z || 2–3 μὴ — τέκνον Y : μὴ γινῶ, τέκνον, ὁ πατήρ σου τὴν βούλησίν σου ταύτην Z || 3 αὐτήν scripsi (cf. §§ 4.4, 8.2 et 10.2) : αὐτήν εἶπεν Y αὐτήν ἀπεκρίνατο Z || μήτερ scripsi : μήτηρ codd. || 4 ὃν... ἔμαθον Y : τὸν... τοῦ διακόνου κηρυττόμενον Z || 5 καὶ οὐκ Y : οὐ γὰρ Z || ἑαυτὴν Y : ἐκάστην Z || 5–6 ἐκτελοῦσα τὰς εὐχὰς Z || 7–8 πολλοῦ δὲ Y : ἀγρυπνησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλὰ Z || 8 αὐτοῖς prius om. Y || τε om. Y || αὐτοῖς alterum Z : αὐτῷ Y || ὁρώσι scripsi (e rec. B) : ὁρᾷ Y (sic etiam rec. A) ὁρᾷ ὁ Αἰδέσιος Z || 9 ἐστῶτας post ὀχυρώματι add. Y || αὐτῶν om. Y || 10 καὶ om. Z || 11 αὐτοῦ post γυναῖκα add. Z || 12 ἀπήει Y : ἦλθεν Z || τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον Y : τὸ κυριακὸν Z || τῷ Πραῦλίῳ Y : Πραῦλίῳ Z || ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν scripsi : ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ Z ἀξιούντες αὐτὸν Y || 12–13 ὅπως προσαγάγῃ Y : ὥστε προσαγαγεῖν Z || 13 αὐτοὺς Y : αὐτοῖς Z || ὀνόματι post Ὁπτάτῳ add. Z || 13–14 καὶ προσπεσόντες Y : προσπεσόντες δὲ Z || 15 αὐτῶν om. Z || 16 τὴν κόμην — τοῦ πώγωνος Z : τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πώγωνα Y.

were to come upon them, he would defeat them all through word and prayer, without lifting a finger.”

(5) But her mother who had been engulfed in the subtleties of blind philosophy⁹ said, “Don’t let your father get wind of this thought, child.” (6) Justa replied, “Let it be known to you, mother, and to my father, that I seek the Christ whom I came to know through Praylius, as I have heard much about him over the past several days. And there is no other god by whom one needs to be saved.” (7) And having spoken these words, she went away to offer prayers to Christ by herself.

2. That night in bed her mother reported the day’s events in detail to her husband Aedesius. (2) But when a long and deep sleep fell upon them and an angelic host came to visit them they saw several hundred torchbearers in a fortress and in their midst Christ, who said to them,¹⁰ “Come to me and I will give you the kingdom of heaven.”¹¹ (3) After witnessing these things and being astounded by what he had seen, Aedesius arose at dawn, took his wife and the maiden, and walked to the house of the Lord with Praylius,¹² all the while asking him to introduce them to the bishop Optatus,¹³ which the deacon had done after being persuaded. (4) And they fell down at the feet of the bishop and begged to receive the seal of Christ, but Optatus held them up until the moment when Aedesius told him of their vision of Christ and of the maiden’s desire. (5) Aedesius then cut off the hair of his head and beard, for he was

⁹ Here some manuscripts of recension B give a very different impression of Cledonia, reading instead ἡ δὲ τῷ κόμπῳ τῆς φιλοκοσμίας κεκαλυμμένη. Eudocia has ἡ δὲ χολωσαμένη, φίλα δαίμοσιν ὁρμαίνουσα (*De S. Cypr.* 1.50*), which is certainly closer to recc. AC’s ἡ δὲ τῷ κόμπῳ τῆς φιλοσοφίας περιεκελυσμένη/περικεχυμένη (cf. note 3).

¹⁰ I adopt the plural verb ὁρώσι from recension B in 2.2 because of the final clause τὸν Χριστὸν λέγοντα αὐτοῖς (codd., recc. ABC). Had Aedesius been the only one privileged the angelic vision (so recc. AC), then one would expect at least to find the variant λέγοντα αὐτῷ. A change to the singular ὁρᾷ could have been caused by the genitive absolute in all manuscripts but Y (ἀγρυπνησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν κτλ.), which is probably secondary, or by the following passage in 2.3, where Aedesius is clearly the subject (and for which reason I adopt Z’s ἀξιῶν over Y’s ἀξιοῦντες); cf. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 226–27.

¹¹ Cf. Matt 16:19 and Luke 12:32.

¹² Praylius appears to be a *realistic name*. The name, like Aglaïdas, was common in the third and fourth centuries, see, e.g., *SEG* XXXIV 1135; LVII 1010; *TAM* V.1 757; V.2 1135; V.3 1785b; 1882; 1884; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 1.1).

¹³ The name Optatus could have been chosen for its etymological significance (Lat. “wished for”), but more likely the name derives from the homonymous bishop of the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* (so Zahn, *Cyprian*, 84–85 and n. 4; Reitzenstein, “Cyprian,” 48; idem, “Zu Cyprian,” 237); this seems to be supported by the narrative detail that Optatus held up the conversion until Aedesius gave a report of his vision of Christ and the angelic host (compare the vision of Aedesius and Cledonia in 2.2 with that of Saturus in *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* 11–14, ed. J.R. Harris and S.K. Gifford, *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas: The Original Greek Text* [London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1890], 54–59 [Latin and Greek texts]). Optatus is probably a strictly *literary name*, i.e., in this case the name is not based on a historical precursor or contemporary since the anti-Donatist writings of Optatus, bishop of Milevis, which were composed under Valens and Valentinian (so Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 10) and published after the death of Julian (*Contra Parmen. Donat.* 1.13), seem too late for knowledge of them to have made their way East in time to influence the author of the *Conversion*.

ἱερεὺς τῶν εἰδώλων. ⁶ καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ποσὶν ἔλαβον οἱ τρεῖς τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα. ⁷ καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀξιωθείς τοῦ πρεσβυτερικοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἀνέλυσεν ἐν Χριστῷ μετ' εἰρήνης.

- (3) 3. ἡ δὲ ἁγία παρθένος συνεχῶς ἀπῆει εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον. ² Ἀγλαΐδας δέ τις
 5 σχολαστικός, εὐγενεῖ τῷ γένει, πλούσιος σφόδρα, λοιμὸς τοῖς τρόποις, ἐπτοημένος δὲ πρὸς
 τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνην, ὁρῶν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον ἀπιούσαν εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον καὶ
 ταύτης ἐρασθεὶς προσεπέμψατο αὐτῇ διὰ πλειόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν αἰτούμενος
 αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμον. ³ ἡ δὲ πάντας καὶ πάσας κακηγορήσασα ἀπέλυσε λέγουσα· μεμνήστευμαι
 τῷ Χριστῷ. ⁴ ὁ δὲ συναθροίσας ὄχλον ἐπιτηρήσας τε αὐτὴν ἀπιούσαν εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον
 10 ἐβούλετο βιάσασθαι. ⁵ οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτῆς ὄντες μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκάλουν τοὺς
 ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες ξιφήρεις ἀφάντους αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν. ⁶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔρωτι
 σφοδρῶ κατεχόμενος περιπλακεῖς τε τῇ παρθένῳ ἐγκρατὴς <αὐτῆς> ἐγένετο. ⁷ ἡ δὲ νεᾶνις
 τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα ποιησαμένη ὕπτιον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔρριψε, καὶ πυγμαῖς τὴν ὄψιν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἠφάνισε καὶ περιρρήξασα τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον αὐτὸν
 15 κατέστησεν, ἀκόλουθα πράξασα τῇ διδασκάλῳ Θέκλῃ· καὶ οὕτως ἀπῆει εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν
 οἶκον.

YZ 1 ἔλαβον οἱ τρεῖς Y: ἔλαβεν ἅμα τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τῇ παρθένῳ Z || 2 μὲν om. Y || 2–3 ἐπὶ . . . ἀνέλυσεν Y: ἔμεινεν . . . ἀναλύσας Z || 4 ἀπῆει συνεχῶς Z || Ἀγλαΐδας Z: Ἀγλαΐδος Y || προσηγορίαν post τις add. Z || 5 εὐγενεῖ τῷ γένει om. Y || 6 ὁρῶν Z: θεωρῶν Y || πυκνότερον post παρθένον add. Z || εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν om. Y || καὶ om. Z || 7 προσεπέμψατο αὐτῇ Y: διεπέμψατο αὐτὴν Z || αἰτούμενος Y: αἰτῶν Z || 8 αὐτὴν om. Y || κοινωνίαν post γάμον add. Z || μὲν post πάντας add. Z || κακηγορήσασα Y^{pc}: κατηγορήσασα Y^{ac} om. Z || ἀπέλυσε Y: ἀπέπεμπε Z || οὕτως post λέγουσα add. Z || 9 ἐπιτηρήσας Y: συντηρήσας Z || 10 ὄντες — ἀναβοήσαντες Y: κραυγὴν μεγάλην ποιησάμενοι Z || 11 ἐξελθόντες Y: ἀκούσαντες ἐξήλθον Z || ἀφάντους Z: ἀφανεῖς Y || κατέστησεν corr. Radermacher (p. 85.III.5): κατέστησεν codd. || 12 τε om. Y || αὐτῆς suppl. Radermacher (p. 85.III.6) || 13 ποιησαμένη Y: ποιήσασα Z || 14 αὐτοῦ post πλευρὰς add. Z || 15 κατέστησεν Y: ἐποίησεν Z.

a priest of the idols.¹⁴ (6) They fell down at the feet of the bishop once more and the three of them received the seal in Christ. (7) And after Aedesius¹⁵ had been deemed worthy of the presbyter's office for a year and six months, he died peacefully in Christ.

3. Now, the holy maiden began to frequent the house of the Lord. (2) But a certain learned man of noble birth named Aglaïdas, who was extremely rich and a public menace in his ways of life, and one who was passionately excited by the error of the idols, saw the holy maiden as she frequented the house of the Lord and fell in love with her, and through several men and women he sent her messages asking for her hand in marriage.¹⁶ (3) But she maligned every male and female messenger and dismissed them, saying, "I am betrothed to Christ." (4) So Aglaïdas assembled a mob to keep a close eye on her, and as she was going to the house of the Lord one day he tried to take her by force. (5) But those who were with her cried out in a loud voice and summoned the members of her household, and they came out sword in hand and scattered the mob. (6) Nonetheless, Aglaïdas was able to violently restrain the object of his desire, and he embraced the maiden and overpowered her. (7) But the young girl managed to make the seal in Christ and threw him to the ground upon his back, and with her fists she beat his face and ribs black and blue, and she tore off his garment and made him an object of derision, having done these things like unto her model Thecla.¹⁷ And so she proceeded to the house of the Lord.

¹⁴ This passage further corroborates the view that the author has based the character of Aedesius on the Neoplatonic philosopher (see note 3). Julian conceived of himself as a pagan philosopher and wore an old-fashioned beard reminiscent of Marcus Aurelius, whom he took as his imperial prototype. The Antiochenes, who were known for their "customary insolence" (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.58.1), relentlessly mocked Julian's long philosopher's beard and his religious austerity (see note 2)—one imagines that Macrinus endured comparable verbal abuse in Antioch in the third century for sporting a philosopher's beard (cf. Herodian, *Hist.* 5.2.3). Julian responded with his famous satire *Misopogon* in late January or early February of 363. For example, he fired back at the Antiochenes' quips, "But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do" (*Mis.* 339a–b). That Cyprian also cut his hair short as a sign of his repentance is implied at *Conf.* 28.3 (cf. *Acts Paul Thec.* 25); see esp. *Conf.* 24.5 and the accompanying note. See further G. Bagnani, "Misopogon, the Beard Hater," *CNV* 12 (1968): 73–79; B. Baldwin, "Some Roman Hairs Apparent," *CNV* 15 (1969): 26–27; M.W. Gleason, "Festive Satire: Julian's *Misopogon* and the New Year at Antioch," *JRS* 76 (1986): 106–19; Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 58–60.

¹⁵ οὗτος surely refers to Aedesius. The redactor of recension B apparently thought it improbable that a pagan priest could become presbyter so quickly after his conversion and corrected recension A's οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Αἰδέσιος (cf. Eudocia, *De S. Cypri.* 1.88*) to οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Πραῦλιος. Radermacher rightly brackets both A's ὁ Αἰδέσιος and B's ὁ Πραῦλιος (*Griechische Quellen*, 82.I.6 and II.7), but if the name is to be retained (cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 142.5), then one should perhaps read οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Αἰδέσιος.

¹⁶ Cf. *Conf.* 10.9.

¹⁷ The story of Justa's conversion was clearly inspired by the conversion of Thecla in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. The parallels between the two accounts are numerous: (1) Thecla and Justa are both παρθένοι, although Thecla is engaged; (2) both

- (4) 4. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς προσήλθε Κυπριανῷ τῷ μάγῳ καὶ τάσσεται αὐτῷ δύο τάλαντα χρυσίου
ὡς διὰ τῆς μαγείας αὐτοῦ δυναμένῳ ἀγρεῦσαι τὴν ἀγίαν παρθένον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ ἄθλιος
ἀνίκητον εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.² ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς συμπαθήσας τῷ νέῳ ἐκάλεσεν ἐν
ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ δαίμονα.³ ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἐλθὼν λέγει· τί με κέκληκας;⁴ ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· [4]
5 ἐρῶμαι παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων, εἰ δύνασαι μοι ταύτην παρασχεῖν.⁵ ὁ δὲ ἄθλιος δαίμων ὁ
οὐκ εἶχεν ὡς ἔχων ἐπηγγείλατο.⁶ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Κυπριανός· εἰπέ μοι τὰ ἔργα σου,
ἵν' οὕτως πεισθεὶς θαρρήσω σοι.⁷ ἔφη ὁ δαίμων· ἀποστάτης ἐγενόμην θεοῦ πειθόμενος τῷ
ἐμῷ πατρί, οὐρανούς ἐτάραξα, ἀγγέλους ἐξ ὕψους κατέσυρα, Εὐὰν ἠπάτησα, τὸν Ἀδὰμ
παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἐστέρησα, Κάϊν φονοκτονεῖν ἐδίδαξα, τὴν γῆν αἵματι ἐμίαναι, ἀκάνθας
10 καὶ τριβόλους δι' ἐμέ ἢ γῆ ἀνέτειλε, θέατρα συνήθροισα, μοιχείας ἡτοίμασα, πομπὰς

YZ 1 Ἀγλαΐδης post δὲ add. Z || προσήλθε Z : προσέρχεται Y || χρυσίου Z : ἀργυρίου Y || 2 ὡς . . . δυναμένῳ
ἀγρεῦσαι Z : ἵνα . . . ἀγρεύσῃ Y || ὡς post ἄθλιος add. Y || 3 νέῳ Y : νεωτέρῳ Z || ἐκάλεσεν ἐν Z : ἐκάλεσε Y ||
4 τῷ Κυπριανῷ post λέγει add. Y || 5 τῶν Γαλιλαίων Z : τῷ τῶν Γαλιλαίων Χριστῷ sic Y || εἰ om. Y ||
ταύτην Z : αὐτήν Y || ἄθλιος Y : δόλιος Z || ὁ Y : ἅπερ Z || 6 ἐπηγγείλατο Y : ἐπηγγέλλετο Z || καὶ λέγει —
ὁ Κυπριανός Y : λέγει δὲ ὁ Κυπριανὸς πρὸς αὐτόν Z || 7 ἵν' Y : ἵνα Z || ἔφη ὁ δαίμων Y : ἔφη δὲ αὐτῷ Z || 10 δι'
ἐμέ Y : δι' ἐμοῦ Z || ἀνέτειλε Y : ἀνατέλλει Z.

4. Enraged, Aglaïdas went to Cyprian the magician and offered to pay him two talents of gold¹⁸ to abduct the virgin through his magic by whatever means possible,¹⁹ not knowing, poor wretch, that the power of Christ is unconquerable. (2) Cyprian sympathized with the young man and summoned a demon with his magical incantations. (3) The demon came and said, “Why have you summoned me?” (4) Cyprian replied, “I desire a maiden of the Galileans, if you are able to procure her for me.” (5) And the wretched demon gave its promise as though it had what it did not have. (6) And Cyprian said to it, “Tell me of your deeds, so that in this manner I may be persuaded and have confidence in you.” (7) The demon replied, “I became an apostate from God in obedience to my father, I stirred up the heavens, I cast angels down from on high, I deceived Eve, I robbed her partner Adam of the splendor of paradise, I taught Cain how to murder,²⁰ I stained the earth with blood, because of me the earth produced thorns and thistles, I assembled theatres, I incited adulteries, I created solemn processions, I contrived idolatry,

listen to a Christian preacher (Paul/Praÿlius) ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος (*Conv.* 1.3; *Acts Paul Thec.* 7); (3) both desire to stand before the preacher (*Conv.* 1.4; *Acts Paul Thec.* 7); (4) both of the mothers (Theocleia/Cledonia) are disappointed by their daughters’ infatuation with Christianity (*Conv.* 1.5; *Acts Paul Thec.* 8); (5) both παρθένοι refuse marriage proposals as a result of their recent conversions (*Conv.* 3.2–3; *Acts Paul Thec.* 10–12); (6) both of the dissatisfied lovers (Thamyris/Aglaïdas) become enraged and assemble mobs (*Conv.* 4.1, 5; *Acts Paul Thec.* 15); cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 110–15; Reitzenstein, “Cyprian,” 71–72; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 16–17. The figure of Aglaïdas appears to be an amalgam modelled on both Thecla’s fiancé Thamyris and the Antiochene named Alexander. The episode of the attempted rape (3.4–7) clearly derives from *Acts Paul Thec.* 26 (which the author practically cites in the final clause): “But immediately as [Paul and Thecla] entered [the city of Antioch] a Syrian by the name of Alexander, one of the first of the Antiochenes, seeing Thecla fell in love with her, and sought to win over Paul with money and gifts. But Paul said, ‘I do not know the woman of whom you speak, nor is she mine.’ But he, being a powerful man, embraced her on the open street (ὁ δὲ πολὺ δυνάμενος, αὐτὸς αὐτῇ περιεπλάκη εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον); she however would not endure it, but looked about for Paul and cried out bitterly, saying: ‘Force not the stranger, force not the handmaid of God! Among the Iconians I am one of the first, and because I did not wish to marry Thamyris I have been cast out of the city.’ And taking hold of Alexander she ripped his cloak, took of the crown from his head, and made him a laughingstock (καὶ λαβομένη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου περιέχισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀφείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν θρίαμβον).” See further Sowers, “Thecla Desexualized,” 222–34.

¹⁸ Manuscripts of recension B read δύο τάλαντα χρυσίου καὶ δύο ἀργυρίου (so Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 1.18–19). The lack of καὶ δύο ἀργυρίου in recensions A and C may be due to a haplographic error (so, apparently, Zahn, *Cyprian*, 143.12), but the Syriac version translates only δύο τάλαντα ἀργυρίου (cf. Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:188 [f. 75b]). See further my comments in the introduction (§ 1.2).

¹⁹ Recension A’s awkward reading ὡς διὰ τῆς μαγείας αὐτοῦ δυνάμενου αὐτοῦ ἀγρεῦσαι τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον (so Zahn, *Cyprian*, 143.12–13; cf. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 84.I.11), which Palmer and Moore translate “as if the latter were able by his magic to capture the holy virgin” (*Sources*, 45), may well derive from Z’s ὡς . . . δυνάμενῳ ἀγρεῦσαι. Y’s ἵνα . . . ἀγρεύσῃ evades the difficulty and is most likely secondary, and the same may also be said of Eudocia’s οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν (cf. *De S. Cypr.* 1.19–20). The meaning of δυνάμενῳ, however, is difficult to determine; possibly the construction is similar to Mark 12:13’s ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ and the dative δυνάμενῳ means something like “by a powerful spell (or demon).”

²⁰ Zahn (*Cyprian*, 144.6) corrected P’s φονοκτονεῖν (recc. AC) to ἀδελφοκτονεῖν on the basis of R’s ἀδελφοκτόνον (rec. B); cf. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 86.I.8, 231. Eudocia’s rendering with γνωτοκτόνον (*De S. Cypr.* 1.39), however, attests the variant in recension B. The Septuagint uses the verb ἀποκτείνω to describe Cain’s fratricide in Gen 4:8; for φονοκτονέω, “pollute with murder or blood,” see Num 35:33 and Ps 106:38 LXX.

ἐποίησα, εἰδωλολατρείαν παρεσκεύασα, μοσχοποιεῖν λαὸν ἐδίδαξα, σταυρωθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπέβαλον, πόλεις συνέσεισα, τείχη κατέρρηξα, οἴκους ἐδίχασα· ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας πῶς δύναμαι ταύτης ἀδρανῆς φανῆναι;⁸ δέξαι οὖν τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο καὶ ῥάνον αὐτὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ οἴκου τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐλθὼν τὸν πορνικὸν αὐτῇ ἐπάγω νοῦν καὶ εὐθέως
 5 ὑπακούσεταιί σου.

- (5) 5. ἡ δὲ ἁγία παρθένος τὴν τρίτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστᾶσα τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῷ θεῷ.² αἰσθομένη δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ τὴν πύρωσιν τῶν νεφρῶν, τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κατασφραγισαμένη φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει· ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ

YZ 1 εἰδωλολατρείαν Y : εἰδωλολατρεῖν λαόν Z || λαὸν Y : τε αὐτὸν τὸν λαόν Z || 2 ὑπέβαλον Z : ὑπέβαλα Y || καὶ ante ταῦτα add. Z || 3 πῶς — φανῆναι Z : ταύτης περιγενέσθαι οὐ δύναμαι Y || τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον Y (sed cf. § 6.7) || 4 αὐτὸ ἔξωθεν . . . τῆς παρθένου Z : κύκλῳ . . . αὐτῆς Y || πορνικὸν — νοῦν Y : πατρικὸν νοῦν ἐπάγω Z || 6 τὴν prius om. Y (cf. § 7.1) || τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου Y (cf. § 7.1) : ἀπεδίδου τὰς εὐχὰς Z || 8 πᾶν Z : ἅπαν Y || κύριε post λέγει add. Z.

I taught people to fashion a golden calf, I provoked the crucifixion of Christ, I made cities tremble, I tore down walls, I divided houses.²¹ How can I appear impotent against her when I have done all these things? (8) Therefore, take this magic potion and sprinkle it outside the maiden's house and I will come and instill in her a harlot's frame of mind,²² and immediately she will submit to you."

5. The holy maiden arose at the third hour of the night²³ and was about to offer up a prayer to God. (2) But when she had perceived the onset of the demon and felt a burning in her loins she sealed up her entire body with the crossbearing power and said in a loud voice, "God Almighty, father of your

²¹ The author appears to have compiled the demon's résumé from the Apocryphal Acts, in particular from the serpent's (δράκων) boast of past accomplishments in *Acts of Thomas* 32: ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ διὰ τοῦ πραγμοῦ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ μετὰ Εὐᾶς λαλήσας ὅσα ὁ πατήρ μου ἐνετείλατό μοι λαλήσαι αὐτῇ· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐξάψας καὶ πυρώσας Κάϊν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, καὶ δι' ἐμέ ἀκανθαι καὶ τρίβολοι ἐφύησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ· ἐγὼ εἰμι τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἄνωθεν κάτω ῥίψας καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτοὺς καταδήσας [. . .]· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πλανήσας, ὅτε τὸν μόσχον ἐποίησαν· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ τὸν Ἡρώδην πυρώσας καὶ τὸν Καϊάφαν ἐξάψας ἐν τῇ ψευδηγορίᾳ τοῦ ψείδους ἐπὶ Πιλάτου· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔπρεπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐξάψας καὶ ἐξαγοράσας, ἵνα τὸν Χριστὸν θανάτῳ παραδῶ (2.2:149.3–18 Lipsius-Bonnet); cf. Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 47; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 27–29. There are, however, further parallels with the boast of past accomplishments uttered by the dragon (δράκων) in *Acts of Philip* 11.3: ἐκεῖθεν ἐμοὶ φύσις, ἣ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐπιβουλῇ, κάκει κατηράσατό μοι ὁ νῦν διὰ σοῦ ὀλέσαι με θέλων. τότε γὰρ ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ παμφύτου κήπου εὗρον ἐμφωλεῦσαι τῷ Κάϊν διὰ τὸν Ἀβελ· εἶτα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐπιτειχίσας τὸ γυναικεῖον κάλλος ἐξ ὕψους αὐτοὺς κατέρραξα.

²² Only manuscript Y preserves the reading τὸν πορνικὸν αὐτῇ ἐπάγω νοῦν, which seems to me to be the most sensible text. Eudocia's exemplar evidently followed recension A's τὸν πατρικὸν ἐπάγω νοῦν (so also Z, but with νοῦν ἐπάγω), but she apparently understood τὸν πατρικὸν as a reference Justa's father Aedesius: τῇδε λαβὼν βοτάνην κύκλω θάλαμον κατάδευσον / κούρης Αἰδесиδοῦ (αιδεσίμου corr. Ludwig), ἀτὰρ ὕστατος ἴξομαι αὐτὸς / καὶ νόον ἐνθήσω κραδίῃ πατρῶιον αὐτῇ (*De S. Cypri.* 1.53–55). Ludwig's emendation is reasonable enough but not likely to be correct; see E. Salvaneschi, "Eudocia: *De Sancto Cypriano*," *Σύγχριστις: Testi e studi di storia e filosofia del linguaggio religioso* (ed. C. Angelino and E. Salvaneschi; Genova: Il melangolo, 1982), 69; cf. Bevengi, "Sui modelli," 395 n. 18. That τὸν πατρικὸν in recension A, however, could refer to Aedesius is implausible given the fact that Aedesius converted to Christianity (2.5–6) and died a Christian (2.7). Recension B's τὸν πατρικὸν μου ἐπάγω (or ἐπάγω μου) νοῦν identifies τὸν πατρικὸν as the third demon, i.e., the "father of demons" (τὸν πατέρα τῶν δαιμόνων) in 8.4 (the second demon also mentions ὁ πατήρ μου in 6.6). The author's tripartite repetition is not lost by accepting Y's text, since the demon has already mentioned its father at the beginning of 4.7 (τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί). The Syriac version is much closer to Y's text: "I will take her mind away from her" (Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:188–89). In any case, recension C is more in keeping with the actual fiction of ancient *agōgē* magic, i.e., to bring about temporary insanity or short-term memory loss in the object of desire; cf. Jerome, *Vit. S. Hil.* 21, quoted in note 81 of the introduction (§ 1.2).

²³ Cyprian performs his magical operations under the cover of night (cf. 5.1; 6.2; 7.1–2; 8.7; 9.8; 10.13; 11.3). For nighttime spells of erotic magic, see, e.g., *PGM* IV. 1424–1427 (ἐξεγείρατε τὴν δεῖνα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφέλεσθε αὐτῆς τὸν ἡδὺν ὕπνον ἀπὸ τῶν βλεφάρων), 1852–1871 (καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁψέ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἥς βούλει, κροῦε τὴν θύραν αὐτῆς κτλ.), 2088–2092 (πορεύου, ὅπου κατοικεῖ ἡδε . . . καὶ ἄξον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμέ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ διὰ μέσης νυκτὸς ἢ διὰ τάχους); VII. 374–376, 407–410, 862–918, 981–993; XI. 376–396; CXVII. fr. 7; cf. esp. *PGM* XXXVI. 134–160, which similarly includes a magic potion and is to be performed at the "third hour of the night" (Ἀγωγή θαυμαστή, ἥς μεῖζον οὐδέν. λαβὼν ζμύρναν καὶ λίβανον ἀρσενικὸν βάλει εἰς ποτήριον καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔξους, καὶ τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς βαλὼν εἰς τὸν στροφέαν σου τῆς θύρας λέγει τὸν λόγον ζ'). Apollonius of Tyana defended himself against the charge of sorcery by stating that he had met with figures like Vespasian in public sanctuaries during the daytime, whereas a sorcerer would have cloaked his art under the cover of night (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.7.7; cf. Eusebius, *Hier.* 29.1 on *Vit. Apoll.* 4.16); see further H.D. Betz, "Secrecy in the Greek Magical Papyri," in *Secrecy and Concealment: Studies in the History of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Religions* (ed. H.G. Kippenbert and G.G. Stroumsa; SHR 65; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 153–76.

μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ, ὁ τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν ταρτάρῳ πυρὸς βυθίσας
 καὶ τοὺς ἐζωγρημένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διασώσας, ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν τάνυσας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδράσας,
 ὁ τὸν ἥλιον δαδουχήσας καὶ τὴν σελήνην λαμπρύνας, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα
 τῆς σῆς αἰδιότητος καὶ θέμενος αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἵνα ἀπολαύσῃ τῶν ὑπὸ
 5 σοῦ γενομένων κτισμάτων, ἀπάτη δὲ ὄφως τοῦτον ἐξορισθέντα οὐκ ἀφήκας, φιλόανθρωπε,
 ἀλλὰ τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει ἀνεκαλέσω τὸ τούτου τραῦμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς
 ὑγείαν ἀπειργάσω, δι’ οὗ κόσμος πεφώτισται, οὐρανὸς τετάνυσται, γῆ ἠδρασται, ὕδατα
 ἐταμειύθησαν, καὶ τὰ πάντα γνωρίζουσί σε τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν. ³ θέλησον οὖν, δέσποτα, [5]
 δι’ αὐτοῦ σῶσαι τὴν δούλην σου καὶ μὴ ἀψάσθω μου πειρασμός· σοὶ γὰρ συνεταξάμην
 10 παρθενεύειν καὶ τῷ μονογενῇ σου υἱῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὅτι σε ἠγάπησα καὶ σε ἐπόθησα ἐξ
 ὅλης τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου. ⁴ διὸ δέομαί σου μὴ παραδῶς με εἰς χεῖρας
 λυμεῶνος, μηδὲ συγχωρήσῃς παραβῆναί με τὰς πρὸς σὲ συνθήκας, ἀλλ’ ἀποδίωξον ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ
 τὸν τῆς παραβάσεως σύμβουλον. ⁵ καὶ ταῦτα εἰπούσα, κατασφραγισαμένη πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τῇ
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδι ἐνεφύσησε τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἄτιμον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν.

YZ 8 [p. 120]–1 ὁ τοῦ μονογενοῦς — ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διασώσας om. per hapl. Y || 2 τάνυσας Y: τείνας Z || 4 τῆς σῆς
 αἰδιότητος Y: ἑαυτοῦ Z || τῇ τρυφῇ Y: τρυφῇ Z || ἀπολαύσῃ Y: ἀπολαύη Z || 5 κτισμάτων Y: ἀγαθῶν Z || οὐκ
 ἀφήκας Y: μὴ ἔασας Z || 6 ἀνεκαλέσω — τραῦμα Y: ἀνακαλεσάμενος τούτου τὸ πτῶμα Z || τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου Y:
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Z || εἰς om. Z || 7 ἀπειργάσω Y: ἐργασάμενος Z || 8 δέσποτα om. Z || 9 δι’ αὐτοῦ Y: δι’ ἑαυτοῦ
 Z || σοὶ Y: σὺ Z || 10 σου Z (cf. § 5.2): σῷ Y || Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ om. Y || ἐπόθησα Y: ἐπεπόθησα Z || 11 τῆς σῆς
 ἀγαθότητος — διὸ δέομαί σου Y: τῆς καρδίας μου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς μου καὶ καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος μου, Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστέ Z || 12 με παραβῆναι Z || ἀλλ’ Y: ἀλλὰ Z || 13 καὶ ante κατασφραγισαμένη add. Z (sed cf. § 5.2) ||
 πᾶν Z: ἅπαν Y || 14 Χριστοῦ Y: κυρίου Z.

only-begotten son Jesus Christ,²⁴ it was you who cast the murderous serpent into a netherworld of fire and rescued those who were held captive by it, who spread out the heavens and established the earth, who lifted up the torch of the sun and made the moon bright, who formed man in the image of your eternity and placed him in the splendor of paradise so that he might enjoy the creatures you made, and yet, friend of humanity, you did not abandon him when he was banished because of the serpent's deception, but you healed his wound through the crossbearing power and restored him to perfect health through Christ your son, through whom the world was illuminated,²⁵ the heavens spread out, the earth established, the waters stored up, and through whom all things recognize you as the God who rules over all. (3) May it therefore be your will to save your servant through him, and let not temptation take hold of me. For I have arranged to live my life as a virgin with you and your only-begotten son Jesus Christ, because I love you and I long for you with every bit of your goodness in my soul. (4) Therefore, I beg you, do not deliver me into the hands a seducer, nor allow me to break the promises I made to you, but chase away from me the counsellor of this transgression." (5) And having spoken these words while sealing her entire body with the seal of Christ, she blew upon²⁶ the demon and sent it away dishonored.

²⁴ The beginning of Justa's prayer in recensions A and B (ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ) more closely resembles a portion of Paul's prayer in *Acts Paul Thec.* 24: πᾶτερ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ (1:252.6–7 Lipsius-Bonnet); cf. Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 47 and n. 2.

²⁵ Each of Justa's three prayers contain similar expressions concerning Christ as Illuminator (cf. 1.1): δι' οὗ κόσμος πεφώτισται in 5.2 (Justa's first prayer); ὁ τὰ πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένα φωτίσας in 7.3 (Justa's second prayer); ὁ . . . φωταγωγῶν τοὺς σοὺς δούλους πρὸς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ σου πατρός in 9.8 (Justa's third prayer); see further my comments in the introduction (§ 1.3).

²⁶ The verb ἐμφυσάω is used at the climax of a syncretistic Jewish spell titled "A tested charm of Pibechis for those possessed by demons" (*PGM* IV. 3083–3084): "Blow once, blowing air from the tips of the feet up to the face" (φύσα α' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν ποδῶν ἀφαίρων τὸ φύσημα ἕως τοῦ προσώπου); cf. D. Ogden, *Night's Black Agents: Witches, Wizards and the Dead in the Ancient World* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2008), 89. The same verb is used in John 20:22 to describe the manner in which Jesus imparted the Holy Spirit to the disciples. Jesus is also said to have cured James of snakebite by breathing upon the wound (*Inf. Gos. Thom.* 16.2); cf. Thomas' prayer to Christ in *Acts Thom.* 81 (ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐμπνέων ἡμῖν . . . δέομαί σου, ιαθεῖσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀναστήτωσαν καὶ γενέσθωσαν οἶαι ἦσαν πρὸ τοῦ πληγῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων). Celsus (apud Origen, *Cels.* 1.68) likened the exorcisms and miracles performed by Jesus to the accomplishments of sorcerers who had been trained in Egypt, "who for a few obols make known their sacred lore in the middle of the market-place and drive demons out of men and blow away diseases" (ἐν μέσαις ἀγοραῖς ὀλίγων ὀβολῶν ἀποδομένων τὰ σεμνὰ μαθήματα καὶ δαίμονας ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐξελαυνόντων καὶ νόσους ἀποφυσώντων). And Porphyry (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 4.23), too, avers that Egyptian and Phoenician priests would drive away demons "by giving them the breath or blood of animals and by the beating of the air" (ἐξελαυνόντων τῶν ἱερέων τούτους διὰ τοῦ δοῦναι πνεῦμα ἢ αἷμα ζώων καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος πληγῆς). Cledomus, on the other hand, claims he saw a Babylonian magician, "one of the so-called Chaldaeans," explode a throng of snakes and amphibians ὑπὸ τῷ φουσήματι (Lucian, *Philops.* 12). See further S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament* (2nd ed.; Symbolae Osloenses, Fasciculi suppletorii 20; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966), 47–49; cf. W.L. Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," *HTR* 31 (1938): 191–203; D.C. Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42–49," *HTR* 78 (1985): 1–25.

- (6) 6. ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος καὶ ἔστη ἀπέναντι <τοῦ> Κυπριανοῦ. ² καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Κυπριανός· ποῦ ἔστιν ἐφ' ἣν σε ἔπεμψα; πῶς καγὼ ἡγγρύπνησα καὶ σὺ ἡστόχησας; ³ ὁ δὲ δαίμων λέγει· μὴ με ἐρώτα. εἰπεῖν σοι οὐ δύναμαι· εἶδον γάρ τι σημεῖον καὶ ἔφριξα. ⁴ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανός κατεγέλασεν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀδρανείας καὶ θαρρῶν ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσεν
 5 ἰσχυρότερον δαίμονα. ⁵ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καυχώμενος ἔλεγε τῷ Κυπριανῷ· ἔγνων καὶ τὴν σὴν κέλευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀδρανείαν. ⁶ διὸ ἀπέστειλén με ὁ πατήρ μου διορθώσασθαί σου τὴν λύπην. ⁷ δέξαι οὖν τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο καὶ ῥάνον <αὐτὸ> κύκλω τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς καγὼ παραγενάμενος πείσω αὐτήν. ⁸ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανός λαβὼν τὸ φάρμακον ἀπῆει καὶ ἐποίησε καθὼς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ δαίμων· καὶ ὁ δαίμων παρεγένετο πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν παρθένον.
- 10 7. ἡ δὲ ἀγία παρθένος τὴν ἕκτην ὥραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστᾶσα τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπεδίδου τῷ θεῷ. ² καὶ αἰσθομένη τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος λέγει οὕτως· μεσονύκτιον ἐξεγειρόμην τοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαί σοι ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου. ³ θεὲ τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους, ὁ τῶν ἀερίων νόμος καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων φύλαξ, ὁ τὸν διάβολον καταισχύνας καὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ

YZ 1 ὁ δὲ δαίμων Z : καὶ Y || ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος καὶ scripsi (cf. § 8.1) : ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος καὶ ἀπελθὼν Y ἀπελθὼν κατησχυμμένος Z || ἀπέναντι Y : κατέναντι Z || τοῦ supplevi || 2 ὁ om. Y || 3 ὁ δὲ Y : καὶ ὁ Z || γὰρ post εἰπεῖν add. Y || ἔφριξα Z : φρίξας ἀνεχώρησα Y || 4 τῆς ἀδρανείας — ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ om. per hapl. Z || 5 ἰσχυρότερον Z : ἰσχυρώτην Y || 6 μου om. Z || 7 αὐτὸ supplevi (cf. § 4.8) || κύκλω τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς Z : ἔξωθεν τοῦ οἴκου τῆς παρθένου Y || 8 ἀπῆει καὶ Y : ἀπελθὼν Z || 9 καὶ ὁ Z : ὁ δὲ Y || 10 τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναστᾶσα τὴν εὐχὴν om. Z || 11 καὶ αἰσθομένη — τοῦ δαίμονος deest Z || λέγει Y : λέγουσα Z || 12 τοῦ ἐλέους Y : τῶν κυριευόντων Z || 13 ὁ τῶν ἀερίων — φύλαξ deest Y.

6. The demon went away in disgrace and stood before Cyprian. (2) Cyprian said to it, “Where is she for whom I sent you? And how did I stay up all night while you missed the mark?” (3) But the demon replied, “Do not ask me. I cannot tell you, for I saw a certain sign and I trembled in fear.”²⁷ (4) Cyprian ridiculed the demon’s impotence, and still being confident in his magical incantations he summoned a stronger demon. (5) And this demon also boasted in a similar manner and said to Cyprian, “I knew all about your command and the impotence of that demon. (6) For this reason my father sent me to allay your grievance. (7) Therefore, take this magic potion and sprinkle it in a circle around her house and I will come and persuade her.”²⁸ (8) Taking the magic potion Cyprian went off and did just what the demon ordered, and the demon came to the holy maiden.

7. The holy maiden arose at the sixth hour of the night and was about to offer up a prayer to God.²⁹ (2) But when she perceived the onset of the demon³⁰ she said, “I arose at midnight to praise you for the judgments of your righteousness.”³¹ (3) God of all creation and lord of mercy, the law of those in the air and the guardian of those upon the earth,³² who put the devil to shame³³ and exalted the sacrifice

²⁷ Cf. 8.3 and 10.3. The dialogues between Cyprian and the demons are similar to Solomon’s interrogations of demons in the *Testament of Solomon*. For example, Cyprian’s demand for the first demon’s résumé is akin to Solomon’s query “What is your activity?” (*T. Sol.* 7:5; 10:5; 25:1). The demons in the *Testament* are just as stubborn in their replies as those Cyprian interrogates (e.g., Asmodeus responds πολλά δὲ μή με ἐρώτα in 5:5 and Beelzebul μή με ἐρωτᾷς in 6:6), and they similarly shudder before signs of divinity (e.g., Solomon sees the demon Orniās φρίσσοντα καὶ τρέμοντα in 2:1, and Beelzebul confesses that he is thwarted by Ἐμμανουήλ, οὗ δέδοικα τρέμων in 6:8).

²⁸ The second demon’s magical prescription (ῥᾶνον <αὐτὸ> κύκλῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς) is more precise than the first demon’s in 4.8 (ῥᾶνον αὐτὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ οἴκου τῆς παρθένου). These directions are reversed in Y (so Eudocia and the Syriac version) but the more specific directive to sprinkle the magic potion in a circle *around* rather than merely at some indeterminate point *outside* Justa’s apartment not only works better with the following statement that this time Cyprian did *exactly* as the demon ordered (6.8) but is characteristic of the author’s use of narrative incrementalism in parallel sequences (see § 1.3).

²⁹ Cf. 5.1 (the only difference between 7.1 and 5.1 is the temporal marker ἔκτην in the place of τρίτην). Clearly a new section is required here; cf. Zahn, *Cyprian*, 146.7; Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 92.I.9, 92.II.9, 93.III.9.

³⁰ The phrase καὶ αἰσθομένη τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ δαίμονος (cf. 5.1) is missing from all manuscripts except Y, including Eudocia’s exemplar (cf. *De S. Cypr.* 1.109–111). Without this clause, however, Justa takes no notice of the demon’s presence. Quite possibly a portion of text containing something more risqué than τὴν πύρωσιν τῶν νεφρῶν in 5.2 has been censored; since this is a “stronger demon,” one would expect Justa to feel something stronger than a “burning in her loins.” Justa’s plea ἄσβεστόν μου τὴν λαμπάδα διατήρησον τῆς παρθενίας in 7.4 could indicate that the demon had begun to violate her in her sleep and that this ὁρμή caused her to awake; cf. esp. note 40 below on the use of σιλέω in 9.8 (in Justa’s third prayer).

³¹ Ps 119:62 [118:62 LXX].

³² The clause ὁ τῶν ἀερίων νόμος καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων (ὑπαίθριων rec. A αἰθερίων rec. B) φύλαξ, which is lacking in Y and several manuscripts of recension B (family α and manuscript V) and which both recension A and other manuscripts of recension B (RTU) extend with καὶ τῶν ὑπογείων (ἐπιγείων rec. B) φόβος, may well derive from *Acts of John* 112: ὁ τῶν αἰθερίων νόμος καὶ τῶν ἀερίων δρόμος· ὁ τῶν ἐπιγείων φύλαξ καὶ τῶν ὑπογείων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χάρις (2.1:212.2–4 Lipsius-Bonnet).

³³ Here Eudocia’s text presents the interesting metaphrasis καὶ ἀντιθέου ὁλοοῖο / ὅς μένος αἰσχίστως ὀλέσας (*De S. Cypr.* 1.117–118). Although the authors of the *Acts of Saint Cyprian of Antioch* never use the term ἀντίθεος, Eudocia makes use of it on

Ἀβραάμ μεγαλύνας, ὁ τὸν Βῆλ καταστρέψας καὶ τὸν δράκοντα ἀποκτείνας καὶ διὰ τοῦ πιστοῦ σου Δανιήλ τὴν γνώσιν τῆς θεότητός σου τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις γνωρίσας, ὁ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ πάντα οἰκονομήσας, ὁ τὰ πρὶν ἐσκοτισμένα φωτίσας καὶ τὰ νενεκρωμένα ζωοποιήσας <καὶ> τὰ πτωχὰ πλουτίσας, μὴ παρίδῃς με, 5 φιλάνθρωπε πανάγιε βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ τήρησόν μου τὰ μέλη πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀγνείαν. ⁴ ἄσβεστόν μου τὴν λαμπάδα διατήρησον τῆς παρθενίας, ἵνα συνεισέλθω τῷ νυμφίῳ μου Χριστῷ καὶ ἀγνὴν ἀποδώσω, ἣν παρέθου μοι παραθήκην, ὅτι σὺν αὐτῷ σοι δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. ⁵ καὶ ταῦτα εὐξαμένη ἐπιτίμησε τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἄτιμον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. [6]

(7) 8. ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος καὶ ἔστη ἀπέναντι τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ. ² ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· ποῦ ἐστίν, ἐφ' ἣν σε ἔπεμψα; ³ ὁ δὲ δαίμων λέγει· μή με ἐρώτα. εἰπεῖν σοι οὐ δύναμαι· εἶδον γάρ τι σημεῖον καὶ ἔφριξα. ⁴ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς καλέσας τὸν νομιζόμενον εἶναι πάντων ἰσχυρότερον, αὐτόν φημι τὸν πατέρα τῶν δαιμόνων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· τίς ἐστίν αὕτη ἡ ἀδρανεία; νενίκηταί σου πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις; ⁵ ὁ δὲ δαίμων λέγει· ἐγὼ σοι αὐτὴν ἄρτι ἐτοιμάσω· μόνον ἕτοιμος γενοῦ. ⁶ καὶ ὁ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς νίκης σου, ἵν' οὕτως 15 πιστεύσας θαρρήσω σοι; ⁷ καὶ ὁ δαίμων λέγει· ταράξω αὐτὴν πυρετοῖς διαφόροις καὶ ἐπιστὰς αὐτὴ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἕξ ἐν μεσονυκτίῳ ἐτοιμάσω σοι αὐτήν.

YZ 2 παιδὸς ante Δανιήλ add. Z || 4 τὰ νενεκρωμένα ζωοποιήσας om. per hapl. Y || καὶ supplevi || τὰ πτωχὰ πλουτίσας om. per hapl. Z || 5 ἀλλὰ om. Y || 6 διατήρησον τῆς παρθενίας Y : τῆς παρθενίας φυλάττων Z || 7 ἀποδώσω Z : παραδώσω σοι Y || ἣν om. Z || παραθήκην Y : παρέλαβον ἐν Χριστῷ Z || σὺν αὐτῷ om. Z || 8 εὐξαμένη Z : προσευξαμένη Y || 9–10 ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν Y : ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει Z || 10 δὲ om. Z || μή με ἐρώτα deest Z || γάρ post εἰπεῖν add. Y || 11 ἔφριξα Z : φρίξας ἀνεχώρησα Y || καλέσας Y : ἐκάλεσεν Z || πάντων Z : αὐτῷ Y || 12 αὐτόν om. Y || τὸν πατέρα om. Y || λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν Y : καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Κυπριανός Z || 12–13 αὕτη ἡ ἀδρανεία scripsi : ἡ αὕτη ἡ ἀδρανεία Z ἡ ἀνανδρία Y || 13 ἐτοιμάσω Z : ἐτοιμάζω Y || 14 καὶ ὁ Κυπριανὸς λέγει Y : ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς φησι πρὸς αὐτόν Z || 14–15 ἵν' οὕτως — σοι deest Z || 15 καὶ prius om. Y || 15–16 ἐπιστὰς αὐτῇ Y : ἐφίσταμαι αὐτήν Z || 16 καὶ ante ἐτοιμάσω add. Z.

of Abraham, who overturned Bel and killed the dragon and revealed to the Babylonians knowledge of your divinity through your faithful servant Daniel, who ordered all things through your only-begotten son Jesus Christ, who illuminated those things which were formerly held in darkness and endowed the dead with life and made the poor rich, do not overlook me, all-holy philanthropic king, but preserve my limbs with your chastity. (4) Keep my torch of virginity inextinguishable that I may enter with Christ my bridegroom and give back my flesh undefiled, which you entrusted to me as a pledge, for thine is the glory with Christ, forever, amen.” (5) And after praying these words she rebuked³⁴ the demon and sent it away dishonored.

8. The demon went away in disgrace and stood before Cyprian. (2) Cyprian said, “Where is she for whom I sent you?” (3) The demon replied, “Do not ask me.”³⁵ I cannot tell you, for I saw a certain sign and I trembled in fear.” (4) So Cyprian summoned a demon that was thought to be stronger than them all, which is to say that it was the father of all demons, and he said to it, “What is this impotence? Has all your power been overcome?” (5) The demon replied, “I will prepare her for you at once. Just be ready.” (6) And Cyprian said, “What is the token of your victory, so that in this manner I may believe and have confidence in you?” (7) And the demon replied, “I will agitate her with diverse fevers and after six days I will appear to her at midnight and make her ready for you.”³⁶

several occasions (*De S. Cypri.* 1.53*, 14, 90, 233, 302; 2.91, 273). See further P. Lerza, “Dio e anti-Dio: Il demone-demiurgo nel S. Cipriano di Eudocia,” in *Σύγχρονοι: Testi e studi di storia e filosofia del linguaggio religioso* (ed. C. Angelino and E. Salvaneschi; Genova: Il melangolo, 1982), 81–99.

³⁴ All manuscripts here read ἐπετίμησε instead of ἐνεφύσησε (cf. the parallel passages in 5.5 and 9.6). The use of ἐπιτιμάω in the place of ἐμφυσάω, however, confirms ἐμφυσάω’s connection with exorcistic activity (see note 26). No doubt the author has taken his cue from Jesus’ exorcistic activities in the Gospels (e.g., Mark 1:25 and 9:25). The verb ἐπιτιμᾶν (as well as its equivalent גער) is often understood to be a terminus technicus meaning “to be exorcized (i.e., ‘driven out by rebuke’)”; see, e.g., H.C. Kee, “The Terminology of Mark’s Exorcism Stories,” *NTS* 14 (1967–1968): 232–46; D.E. Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980): 1530–31.

³⁵ Only manuscript Y has μή με ἐρώτα in this place (cf. 6.3 and 10.3). The author’s tripartite parallelismus is lost in recensions A and B, which read νενίκημαι καὶ εἰπεῖν οὐ δύναμαι (or οὐ δύναμαι εἰπεῖν); cf. Cyprian’s interrogation of the third demon in 8.4 (νενίκηται πάντα ἢ δύναμις σου;). It is probable that the repetitive nature of the author’s original text was viewed as too rudimentary and unsophisticated and that this gave rise to the multiplicity of variants and recensions; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 1.3).

³⁶ The second (7.1) and third demons both appear to Justina at midnight; cf. the “Wondrous Spell for Binding a Lover” at *PGM* IV. 296–466, esp. 445–451: “And even now I beg you, blessed one, / Unfailing one, the master of the world, / If you go to the depths of earth and search / The regions of the dead, send this daimon (πέμψον δαίμονα τοῦτον) / to her, NN, at midnight hours (τῇ δεῖνα μεσάταισι ὥραις) / From whose body I hold this remnant in my hands, / to move by night to orders ‘neath your force (νυκτός, ἐλευσόμενον προστάγμασι σῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης), / That all I want within my heart he may / Perform for me” (trans. E.N. O’Neil [slightly altered] in Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, 46).

- (8) 9. ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπελθὼν ἐνεφάνισε τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρθένῳ ἐν σχήματι παρθένου καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης λέγει τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ κόρη· θέλω κάγω ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ· ἐπέμφθην γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρθενεύειν. ² τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄθλον τῆς παρθενίας, εἰπέ μοι, ἢ τίς ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς; πολὺ γὰρ ὁρῶ σε καταπεπονημένην ἐν τῇ ἀσκήσει. ³ ἡ δὲ ἀγία παρθένος λέγει· ὁ μὲν μισθὸς πολὺς, τὸ δὲ ἄθλον ὀλίγον. ⁴ καὶ ὁ δαίμων λέγει· Εὖα ἐν παραδείσῳ [7] παρθένος ἦν συνοῦσα τῷ Ἀδάμ, ἔπειτα δὲ πεισθεῖσα ἐτεκνοποίησε καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν καλῶν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ὁ κόσμος τετέκνωται. ⁵ ἡ δὲ ἀγία παρθένος ἀνέστη ἐπειγομένη ἐξελθεῖν τὴν θύραν· ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀναπηδήσας θάττον αὐτῆς προέδραμεν. ⁶ ἡ δὲ σύννους γεναμένη καὶ ταραχθεῖσα σφοδρῶς καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπατῶν αὐτὴν σπεύδει ἐπὶ τὰς
- 10 εὐχὰς καὶ κατασφραγισαμένη τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνεφύσησε τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἄτιμον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσε. ⁷ καὶ μίκρον ἑαυτὴν συλλαβομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ ταραχῶς ἡὐχαρίστει τῷ θεῷ· παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπαύσατο αὐτῆς ὁ πυρετός. ⁸ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσα ἔλεγεν οὕτως· δόξα σοι, Χριστέ, ὁ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁλλοτρίου καταδυναστευομένους σφάζων καὶ φωταγωγῶν τοὺς σοὺς δούλους πρὸς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ὁ ταῖς ἀκτίσι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀποσοβῶν τοὺς
- 15 ἐν ἁωρίᾳ συλοῦντας. ⁹ μὴ συγχωρήσης, δέσποτα, νικηθῆναί με ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁλλοτρίου, ἀλλὰ καθήλωσον ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου καὶ τῷ νόμῳ σου ἐλέησόν με καὶ δὸς δόξαν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, κύριε.

YZ 1 ὁ — ἐνεφάνισε Y : καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ δαίμων ἐνεφάνισθη Z || ἀγία Z : δούλη Y || 2 κάγω εἶναι θέλω μετὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον Z || 3 θεοῦ Z : Χριστοῦ Y || παρθενεύειν Z : ἵνα σὺν σοὶ παρθενεύω τῷ σωτήρι Y || 5 λέγει Y : εἶπεν Z || ὁ μὲν μισθὸς — ὁ δαίμων λέγει· om. per hapl. Y || 6 ἔπειτα Y : ἐπειδὴ Z || 7 ὑπεδέξατο Y : ἐδέξατο Z || 7–8 ἐπειγομένη ἐξελθεῖν τὴν θύραν Z : τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν Y || 8 ἀναπηδήσας om. Z || προέδραμεν Y : προεξήλθεν Z || 9 σφοδρῶς Z : σφόδρα Y || 10 κατασφραγισαμένη — τοῦ Χριστοῦ Y : σφραγισαμένη τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ Z || 11 καὶ ἀπῆει κατησχυμμένος post ἀπέλυσε add. Y || μίκρον ἑαυτὴν συλλαβομένη . . . ἡὐχαρίστει Z : εἰς ἑαυτὴν . . . γεναμένη εὐχαρίστει Y || 12 καὶ post αὐτῆς transp. Z || εὐχαριστοῦσα ἔλεγεν οὕτως Y : εὐχομένη δὲ ἔλεγεν Z || 12–13 δόξα σοι, Χριστέ om. Z || 13 σφάζων corr. Radermacher (p. 99.III.12) : σφάζειν codd. || 14 τοῦ σοῦ πατρός om. Z || 15 μὴ συγχωρήσης — ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁλλοτρίου Y : μηδαμῶς με νικηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁλλοτρίου, δέσποτα Z || ἀλλὰ om. Y || 17 κύριε om. Z.

9. Then demon went away and appeared to the holy maiden in the form of a virgin,³⁷ and when “she” had seated “herself” on the couch, “she” said to the holy maiden of God, “I wish to be with you from this day forth, for I have been sent from God to live the life of a virgin. (2) So, tell me, what is the struggle of virginity, or what is its reward? For I see that you are completely exhausted from the ascetic way of life.” (3) The holy maiden said, “The reward is great, the struggle small.” (4) And the demon replied, “Eve was living as a virgin with her partner Adam in paradise, but then, after being persuaded, she bore children and received the knowledge of so many good things,³⁸ and through her the world was stocked with children.” (5) The holy maiden in eager haste stood up to exit the door, and the demon lept up in greater haste and ran ahead of her. (6) But Justa became suspicious and was deeply troubled, and when she perceived the true identity of the one who was tempting her she hastened to her prayers, and after sealing herself with the sign of Christ she blew upon the demon and sent it away dishonored. (7) Shortly thereafter she recovered herself from the commotion and gave thanks to God, and the fever dissipated immediately.³⁹ (8) And when she gave thanks she said the following prayer: “Glory be to you, Christ, who rescues those who are oppressed by the enemy and guides your servants in the light according to the will of your Father, who with rays of justice drives away the demons that pillage⁴⁰ in the dead of night. (9) Master, do not let me be conquered by the enemy, but ‘nail down my flesh with fear of you,’⁴¹ show me mercy through your law, and give glory to your name, Lord.”

³⁷ Cf. *Conf.* 9.7–8 and the accompanying note. Quispel draws attention to the parallel episode in a Coptic fragment of the *Acts of Andrew*: “And the young magician conjured up great powers against the virgin and sent them after her. But when the demons came to tempt her or (even) to persuade her, they took the form of her brother and knocked at the door. And she arose and went down to open the door, since she thought that it was her brother. But first she prayed earnestly, so that the demons became like [. . .] and fled away [. . .]” (trans. Hennecke-Schneemelcher-Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2:125; cf. Quispel, “An Unknown Fragment,” 132 [10.28–38]). The demons are indeed shapeshifters like the third demon in the *Conversion*, but Quispel (“Faust,” 2:297) goes too far in suggesting that the plot of the *Conversion* derives from the *Acts of Andrew*. The differences are quite striking, e.g., in the Coptic fragment the stock characters of lovesick youth and magician are merged together; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 1.2).

³⁸ The “father of demons” presents a clever and subtle perversion of God’s injunction to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, using *καλός* in the plural and omitting any mention of *πονηρός*; cf. Gen 2:17 LXX (ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ).

³⁹ Cf. *Conf.* 10.5–7.

⁴⁰ *συλέω*, here for *συλάω*, literally means “to strip and rob a dead person” (see LSJ 1671b s.vv.), or, in this case, to strip and rob (the virginity of) a sleeping person, and seems to refer to the violent activity (*ὀρμή*) of the first two demons, evidently incubi of some kind or other (cf. 5.2 and 7.2).

⁴¹ Ps 119:120 [118:120 LXX]. The Septuagint’s use of the verb *καθηλόω* (“nail down”) is apparently a mistranslation of *מַסַּח* (“shudder, bristle”), as though it were *מַסַּח* (“nail in place”); see G.A. Chamberlain, *Greek of the Septuagint: A Supplemental Lexicon* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2011), 87.

- (9) 10. ὁ δὲ δαίμων μετ' αἰσχύνῃς πολλῆς ἐνεφάνισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Κυπριανῷ. ² ὁ δὲ πρὸς [8]
αὐτόν· καὶ σὺ ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐνίκηθης ὑπὸ μιᾶς παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων· τίς οὖν ἡ
δύναμις τῆς νίκης αὐτῆς, εἰπέ μοι. ³ ὁ <δὲ> δαίμων λέγει· μὴ με ἐρωτᾷς; εἰπεῖν σοι οὐ δύναμαι·
εἶδον γάρ τι σημεῖον καὶ φρίξας ἀνεχώρησα. ⁴ εἰ οὖν βούλῃ μαθεῖν, ὁμοσόν μοι, καὶ λέγω
5 σοι. ⁵ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· τί σοι ὁμόσω; ⁶ ὁ δαίμων λέγει· τὰς δυνάμεις μου τὰς μεγάλας
τὰς παραμενούσας μοι. ⁷ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· μὰ τὰς δυνάμεις σου τὰς μεγάλας οὐκ
ἀπαλλάσσομαί σου. ⁸ ὁ δὲ δαίμων θαρρήσας λέγει· εἶδον τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου καὶ
ἔφριξα. ⁹ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· οὐκοῦν ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος μείζων σου ἐστίν; ¹⁰ ὁ δαίμων λέγει·
ἀκουσον καὶ λέγω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὅσα δ' ἂν ὧδε πλανήσωμεν καὶ δράσωμεν συγχωρεῖται
10 ἡμῖν, ἐκεῖ δὲ φοῦρκελλὸς ἐστὶν χαλκοῦς καὶ πυρούμενος τίθενται εἰς τὸν τένοντα τοῦ
ἀμαρτήσαντος εἴτε ἀγγέλου εἴτε ἀνθρώπου· καὶ οὕτως ἐν ῥοιζήματι πυρὸς πρὸς τὸ βῆμα τοῦ
ἐσταυρωμένου οἱ ἀγγέλοι ἀπάγουσιν. ¹¹ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· οὐκοῦν κἀγὼ σπουδάσω φίλος
γενέσθαι τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τοιαύτην ὑποβληθῶ κρίσιν. ¹² ὁ δαίμων λέγει· ὥμοσάς
μοι τὰς δυνάμεις μου τὰς μεγάλας, καὶ ἐπιорκεῖς; ¹³ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· σοὺ καταπτύω καὶ
15 τὰς δυνάμεις σου οὐ πτοοῦμαι· διὰ γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης πέπεισμαι ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ δεήσεσι

YZ 1–2 ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν scripsi (cf. §§ 1.6, 4.4 et 8.2) : ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν ἔφη Y ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς πρὸς αὐτόν Z ||
2 ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Y : ὅλως Z || τῶν Γαλιλαίων deest Z || τίς οὖν Z : τί σου νῦν ἐστὶν Y || 3 εἰπέ μοι deest Z ||
δὲ supplevi (cf. §§ 6.3 et 8.3) || 4 βούλῃ Y : βούλει Z || τοῦ μὴ ἀναχωρήσαί μου post μοι add. Y || 5 ὁ δὲ
Κυπριανὸς λέγει Y : εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Κυπριανός Z || τί Z : εἰς τίνα Y || λέγει ὁ δαίμων Y || εἰς ante τὰς δυνάμεις add. Y
|| 6 μὴ ante παραμενούσας add. Y || μοι scripsi : μου Y με Z || ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει Y : λέγει ὁ Κυπριανός Z ||
9 δ' ἂν corr. Radermacher (p. 101.III.14) : δὲ ἂν Y ἂν Z || καὶ δράσωμεν om. per hapl. Z || 10 φοῦρκελλὸς scripsi
(e rec. B) : φρούρκελλός Z (vide post) || φοῦρκελλός — πυρούμενος Z (vide ante) : κολαστηρίων πυρουμένων Y ||
10–11 τοῦ ἀμαρτήσαντος om. hoc loco Z (vide post) || 11 ἀμαρτήσαντος post ἀγγέλου add. Y || πυρὸς Y : τοῦ
πυρὸς Z || 12 οὐκοῦν κἀγὼ Z : κἀγὼ οὖν Y || 13 καὶ ante ὁ add. Z || 14 τὰς δυνάμεις — καὶ ἐπιорκεῖς scripsi :
εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις μου τὰς μεγάλας καὶ πῶς ἀπαρνή με Y καὶ ἐπιорκεῖς Z (vide post) || ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει Y :
Κυπριανὸς λέγει· εἰς τίνα ὥμωσα; ὁ δαίμων λέγει· εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις μου τὰς μεγάλας. Κυπριανὸς λέγει Z || 15 οὐ
πτοοῦμαι Z : φοβείσθαι μέλλω Y || διὰ γὰρ — πέπεισμαι Z : πέπεισμαι γοῦν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης Y.

10. Greatly ashamed, the demon appeared before Cyprian in its natural form. (2) Cyprian said to it, “Have you also been conquered, just like the others, by a single maiden of the Galileans?”⁴² What then was the powersource of her victory, tell me. (3) The demon said, “You’re not asking me, are you? I cannot tell you, for I saw a certain sign and departed in fear. (4) If you really wish to learn, swear to me, and I shall tell you.” (5) Cyprian replied, “By what shall I swear to you?” (6) The demon said, “By my great powers that remain with me.” (7) And Cyprian replied, “By your great powers I shall not depart from you.” (8) The demon then became confident and said, “I saw the sign of the one who was crucified and I trembled in fear.” (9) And Cyprian replied, “So then the one who was crucified is greater than you?” (10) The demon said, “Listen, and I shall tell you the truth. Whatever errors we provoke and whatever wicked rites we perform are permitted us here, but elsewhere there is a forked frame⁴³ of bronze and it is placed red-hot upon the neck of the sinner, whether angel or human, and in this manner in a whirl of fire the angels lead the sinner away to the judgement seat of the one who was crucified.” (11) And Cyprian replied, “So then I too shall hasten to become a friend of the one who was crucified, so that I am not subjected to such judgement.” (12) The demon said, “You swore to me by my great powers. Have you sworn falsely?” (13) And Cyprian said, “I spit⁴⁴ upon you and I have no fear of your powers, for during

⁴² Cyprian’s question ἐνικήθης ὑπὸ μιᾶς παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων; (cf. 8.4) is reminiscent of the apocryphal last words of Julian: νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαίε (Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 3.20 [205.1 Parmentier-Scheidweiler]).

⁴³ φοῦρκελλος is a *hapax legomenon*. Zahn (*Cyprian*, 149.16 in app. crit.) is correct to suggest that φοῦρκελλος is equivalent to φοῦρκα, Lat. *furca*, generally “a two-pronged instrument or fork,” but also, like the *patibulum*, “a forked frame put on a man’s neck as punishment, his arms being fastened to the projecting ends” (*OLD* 748c s.v. *furca* 3; LSJSup 309a s.v. φοῦρκα; cf. *GLRBP* 1150b s.v. φοῦρκα). The *furca* and *patibulum* were carried torture devices often connected (as here) with the shameful punishment of being forced to walk in disgrace while bound in a pillory-like device; see G. Samuelsson, *Crucifixion in Antiquity: An Inquiry into the Background and Significance of the New Testament Terminology of Crucifixion* (WUNT 2.310; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 202. But surely φοῦρκελλος cannot be a diminutive as one of the Latin translators has it (see Klee, “Acta interpolata,” 202a.17 [*furcella*]; cf. Martène-Durand, “Conversio,” 1627.4 [*furiella*]). The *hapax*, however, appears to be modelled on words like μάκελλα (μόνος + κέλλω), “pick-axe,” which is occasionally written μάκελλος, and δίκελλα (δύο + κέλλω), “mattock”; see E.R. Wharton, *Etyma Graeca: An Etymological Lexicon of Classical Greek* (London: Rivingtons, 1882), 43, 83; but cf. R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2 vols.; Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 10.1–2; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1:334 and 2:894. Manuscript Y’s ἐκεῖ δὲ κολαστηρίων πυρουμένων may derive from Z’s ghost word φρούρκελλος, which if taken to be comprised of the components φρουρός (“guard”) and κέλλα (Lat., *cella*, “chamber”), i.e., φρουρόκελλος, could have been understood to function like the substantive κολαστήριον, which in addition to “house of correction” also means “instrument of torture.” Eudocia, however, has γναμπτόν χαλκοτυπὲς πέλαι ὄργανον (*De S. Cypr.* 1.198) and apparently perceived the final element to be σκελλός (“crook-legged”), which would suggest something more like the bident, Pluto’s weapon of choice (n.b. the whirrings of fire evoke Hades-like imagery), or perhaps even something akin to the modern vaudeville hook. Cf. the demon Ornias’ admission at *T. Sol.* 22:15–17.

⁴⁴ The magical act of spitting was both apotropaic and exorcistic. Prior to their descent into the underworld the Chaldaean magician Mithrobarzanes would spit three times in Menippus’ face at the conclusion of preparatory rites of purification:

τῆς παρθένου καὶ τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει ἀσθενῇ σε ὄντα, δι' ἧς καὶ γὰρ σφραγίζω ἑμαυτὸν ἀποταξάμενός σοι.¹⁴ καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεσφραγίσατο καὶ εἶπεν· δόξα σοι, Χριστέ. πορεύου, δαίμων· ζητῶ γὰρ τὸν Χριστόν.¹⁵ ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἀπήει κατησχυμμένος.

- (10) 11. ὁ οὖν Κυπριανὸς λαβὼν τὰς μαγικὰς βίβλους ἐπέθηκε νεανίσκοις καὶ οὕτως ἀπήει εἰς
 5 τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον καὶ προσπεσὼν τοῖς τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου ποσὶ λέγει· δοῦλε τοῦ
 εὐλογημένου, βούλομαι καὶ γὰρ στρατεύσασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ ταγῆναι εἰς τὴν μάτρικα τῆς
 στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ.² ὁ δὲ ἅγιος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀνθίμος νομίσας ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ θηρεύσαι ἀπήει [9]
 λέγει αὐτῷ· ἄρκοῦ, Κυπριανέ, τοῖς ἔξω. φείδου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀνίκητος γὰρ ἐστὶν
 ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ.³ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· πέπεισμαι καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἀνίκητός ἐστι· διὰ γὰρ
 10 τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης ἔπεμψα δαίμονα τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρθένῳ Ἰούστῃ <πρὸς> τὸ ἀπατῆσαι αὐτὴν

YZ 15 [p. 130]–1 ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ δεήσεσι . . . τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει Y : διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν καὶ δεήσεων . . . τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου Z || καὶ ἀνερέγγητον post ὄντα add. Z || 2 σοι scripsi : σου codd. || καὶ om. Z || εἰπὼν ταῦτα Y (sed cf. §§ 1.7 et 5.5) || κατεσφραγίσατο Y : κατεσημήνατο ἑαυτὸν Z || 4 λαβὼν — βίβλους Y : ἐπιθήσας τὰς μαγικὰς αὐτοῦ βίβλους Z || ἐπέθηκε νεανίσκοις codd. : ἐπέθηκεν ὀνίσκοις conl. Radermacher (p. 104.I.1 in app. crit.) || τέσσαρσιν post νεανίσκοις add. Y || καὶ οὕτως ἀπήει Y : ἤγαγεν Z || 5 τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον Y : τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Z || μακαρίου Z : ἀγίου Y || Ἀνθίμου post ἐπισκόπου add. Z || οὕτως post λέγει add. Z || 6 εὐλογημένου Y : Χριστοῦ Z || στρατεύσασθαι Z : σταυρωθῆναι Y || τὴν μάτρικα scripsi : τὴν μάτρικαν Z μάτρικαν Y || 7 ἅγιος ἐπίσκοπος Y : μακάριος Z || τοὺς Z : τὰς Y || θηρεύσαι ἀπήει Z : ἀπατῆσαι ἀπῆλθεν Y || 8 τοῦ θεοῦ om. Z (cf. § 13.13) || 10 δαίμονα Y : δαίμονας Z || Ἰούστῃ Y : Ἰουστίνῃ Z || πρὸς supplevi (e codice Π) : εἰς suppl. Radermacher (p. 105.III.9) || τὸ ἀπατῆσαι αὐτὴν om. Z.

this night I have been persuaded that you were weakened by the virgin's prayers and supplications and by the crossbearing power, with which I now seal myself and renounce you." (14) And after he spoke these words he sealed himself and said, "Glory be to you, Christ. Demon, take the hindmost, for I seek Christ." (15) And the demon went away in disgrace.

11. Cyprian then took his books of magic and loaded them up on servants,⁴⁵ and in this manner he went off to the house of the Lord. He fell down at the feet of the blessed bishop and said, "Servant of the blessed one, I too wish to serve in Christ's army and to be enrolled in the registry of his army."⁴⁶ (2) But the holy bishop Anthimus⁴⁷ thought that he was coming to prey upon those who were inside and said to him, "Be content, Cyprian, with those who are outside. Spare God's church, for the power of Christ is unconquerable." (3) Cyprian said, "I too have been persuaded that it is unconquerable, for last night I sent a demon against the holy maiden Justa in order to deceive her and I learned of her prayers,

μετὰ δ' οὖν τὴν ἐπιδὴν τρεῖς ἄν μου πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποπτύσας (Lucian, *Men.* 7). After spending twenty-five years alone in his cell, Macarius of Egypt received the power to spit upon demons: χαρίσματος ἡξιώθη καταπτύειν δαιμόνων (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 15.2 [rec. G]). Solomon, too, haulted the attack of the wind demon Lix Tetrax by spitting upon the ground and sealing the demon with his ring: καὶ ἀναστάντος μου ἔπτυσσα χαμαὶ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον καὶ ἐσφράγισα τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ (*T. Sol.* 7.3). The Greek expression εἰς κόλπον πτύειν meant "to avert an evil omen" or "to disarm a magic spell" (see, e.g., Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.15; Theocritus, *Idyll.* 6.39; 20.11; Lucian, *Nav.* 15), and I tend to agree with S. Mason that the Essene prohibition against τὸ πτύσαι εἰς μέσους ἢ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος (Josephus, *BJ* 2.8.9) was a prohibition against superstitious spitting to ward off bad luck and illness (*Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary. Volume 1B. Judean War 2* [Leiden: Brill, 2008], 117–18 n. 901; cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 38.35–39; *PGM* III. 420–423. Magicians and holy men (pagan and Christian) also used spittle in various remedies and healings, e.g., both Jesus (Mark 8:23; John 9:6) and Vespasian (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81) are said to have used spittle to heal blind men. See further Eitrem, *Some Notes*, 56–59; J. Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 164–66; G. Luck, *Arcana mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds, a Collection of Ancient Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 102–27; Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, 105–6.

⁴⁵ Radermacher's conjecture ἐπέθηκεν ὀνίσκοις is clever but completely unnecessary (*Griechische Quellen*, 104.I.1 in app. crit.). The author no doubt has in mind an assortment of philosopher's wallets and satchels. In reference to the offspring of the Neoplatonic philosophers Eustathius and Sosipatra (see note 3), Eunapius (*Vit. soph.* 6.10.3 [471]) writes that in addition to donning philosopher's cloaks they carried "big wallets so crammed with books that they would have laden several camels" (τα . . . σακκία τε ἄδρὰ καὶ ὑπόμιστα βιβλιδίων, καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἂν ἄχθος εἶναι καμήλων πολλῶν). Philostratus' account of the school of Megistias of Smyrna includes a scene remarkably similar to the one envisioned here: ἀκολουθοῦς τε παῖδας ἄχθῃ βιβλίων ἐν πῆραις ἀνημμένους (*Vit. soph.* 2.5 [619]). Y's addition of τέσσαρσιν is also attested in the Syriac version.

⁴⁶ Recension A's variant εἰς τὴν βίβλον τῶν ζώντων in the place of εἰς τὴν μάτρικα τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ (recc. BC) is probably secondary (but a clear allusion to Ps 69:28 and Rev 3:5; 20:12–15, and quite appropriate given the contents of 10.10). Likely the alteration was incited by the redundancy of the two clauses στρατεῦσασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ and ταγῆναι εἰς τὴν μάτρικα τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ, but the rarity of the Latin loanword μάτριξ ("register, roll, list," cf. LSJSup 204a s.v.) and the author's prior use of the Latin-based word φούρκελλος in 10.10 (see note 43) favor this reading, as does Eudocia's rendering with βύβλος: στρατιῇ Χριστοῦ προβέβουλα / βύβλω [τ'] ἐγκαταλέξει ἐμὸν κέαρ (*De S. Cyp.* 1.224–225). Latin loanwords (μάτρων and φόρος) are also found at the end of the text of the *Martyrdom* (7.6).

⁴⁷ The name Anthimus likely derives from the homonymous bishop of Nicomedia, beheaded during the Great Persecution under Diocletian in the year 303 (so Reitzenstein, "Cyprian," 48; idem, "Zu Cyprian," 237; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.6.6).

καὶ ἡσθόμην τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτῆς· τῇ γὰρ εὐχῇ καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνίκησεν αὐτόν.

⁴ διὸ δέξαι τὰς βίβλους ταύτας δι' ὧν τὰ κακὰ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔμψησον αὐτὰς καμὲ ἐλέησον.

⁵ ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τὰς μὲν βίβλους αὐτοῦ ἐνέπρησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ εὐλογήσας ἀπέλυσεν εἰπών·

σπεῦδε, τέκνον, καὶ παράμενε ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τόπῳ. ⁶ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν

5 αὐτοῦ πάντα μὲν τὰ εἰδῶλα συνέτριψε, δι' ὅλης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκόπτετο λέγων· πῶς

τολμήσω ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ Χριστῷ τοσαῦτα δράσας κακὰ ἢ πῶς εὐλογήσω αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ

στόματί μου δι' οὗ κατηρασάμην ἀνθρώπους ἁγίους ἐπικαλούμενος τοὺς ἀκαθάρτους

δαίμονας; ⁷ θεὶς οὖν τέφραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ σιγῆς, αἰτούμενος

παρὰ θεοῦ ἔλεος.

(11) 10 12. ὄρθρου δὲ γεναμένου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ ἀπήει εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν οἶκον.

² ἀπὼν δὲ προσηύχετο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λέγων· κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ἀληθείᾳ [10]

βοηθός, εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι δοῦλός σου κληθῆναι τέλειος, καταξίωσόν με εἰσιόντα εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου

ἀκοῦσαι κληδονισμόν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν. ³ εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ὑμνολόγος Δαβὶδ ἔλεγεν·

εἶδες, κύριε, μὴ παρασιωπήσης, κύριε, μὴ ἀποστῇς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ⁴ εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου· ἰδοὺ

15 συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου. ⁵ εἶτα ὁ ὑμνολόγος Δαβὶδ· προέφθασαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου πρὸς ὄρθρον

YZ 1 τῶν εὐχῶν Y : τὰς εὐχὰς Z || τῇ . . . εὐχῇ Y : ταῖς . . . εὐχαῖς Z || αὐτόν scripsi : αὐτοῦ codd. || 2 διὸ om. Y || ἔπραττον Z : διεπραξάμην Y || καμὲ Y : καὶ ἐμὲ Z || 4 ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τόπῳ scripsi : ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίου τόπῳ Y ἐν τῷ <τοῦ> εὐκτηρίου τόπῳ Radermacher (p. 107.III.2) τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Z || τὴν οἰκίαν Y : τὸν οἶκον Z || 5 αὐτοῦ scripsi : αὐτοῦ codd. || μὲν om. Y (cf. § 11.5) || 5 ὥσπερ εἶχε post εἰδῶλα add. Z || συνέτριψε Z : συντρίψας Y || δὲ om. Y || ἑαυτὸν post ἐκόπτετο add. Z || 6 τολμήσω Y : δυνήσομαι Z || τῷ Χριστῷ Z : σοι, Χριστέ Y || ἢ πῶς Z : πῶς δὲ Y || αὐτὸν Z : σε Y || 7 ἁγίους om. Z || 8 θεὶς Y : ἐπιθεὶς Z || ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς om. Z || ἕως ἡμερῶν ἐπτά post σιγῆς add. Y || 8–9 αἰτούμενος παρὰ θεοῦ ἔλεος Y : αἰτῶν τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔλεος Z || 10 ὄρθρου δὲ γεναμένου Z : μετὰ δὲ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐπτά ἡμερῶν ὄρθρου γεναμένου Y || ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ Y : ἥν ἡμέρα σαββάτου μεγάλου καὶ Z || ὁ Κυπριανὸς post ἀπήει add. Y || 11 προσηύχετο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λέγων Y : ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἤρξατο λέγειν Z || 11–12 ὁ τῶν — βοηθός deest Z || 12 τέλειος Y : τελείως Z || καταξίωσόν με εἰσιόντα Y : δός μοι εἰσιόντι Z || 13 κληδονισμόν scripsi (e recc. AB) : εὐαγγελισμόν Z εὐαγγελισμόν <ἀγα>θὸν Y || ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν Y : τῶν θείων σου γραφῶν Z || εἰσιόντι . . . αὐτῷ Z : εἰσιόντος . . . αὐτοῦ Y || 14 εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου scripsi : εἶτα ἐκ τοῦ Ὡσηέ Y καὶ ὁ Ἡσαΐας Z || 15 εἶτα ὁ ὑμνολόγος Y : καὶ πάλιν ὁ Z || προέφθασαν Z : προῦφθασαν Y.

for she conquered it through prayer and the seal of Christ.⁴⁸ (4) Therefore, take these books with which I used to practice evil and burn them and have mercy on me.” (5) And after being persuaded Anthimus burned Cyprian’s books, and he blessed him and dismissed him, saying, “Hasten, child, and remain in the place of prayer.” (6) But Cyprian went away to his own house and smashed all the idols, and the whole night long he beat his breast, saying, “How shall I find the courage to appear before Christ when I have committed such atrocities? How shall I praise him with my mouth, with which I cursed holy men, when I have invoked the unclean demons?” (7) Then he covered his head with ashes and lay outstretched upon the ground in silence asking for mercy from God.⁴⁹

12. When morning came he went to the house of the Lord on the day of the Great Sabbath.⁵⁰ (2) And as he went along he began to pray in the road, saying, “Lord God, helper of those who have invoked you in truth, if I am worthy to be called your perfect servant, grant that I may hear an oracular word from the divine Scriptures as I enter your house.”⁵¹ (3) And the psalmist David said to him as he entered, “You have seen, O Lord; do not be silent! O Lord, do not be far from me!”⁵² (4) And then from Isaiah: “Behold, my servant shall understand.”⁵³ (5) And then the psalmist David: “My eyes prevented the dawn,

⁴⁸ Recensions A and B and manuscript Z of recension C read δαίμονας and ἐνίκησεν αὐτούς, which leaves the reader with the impression that all three demons were sent to Justa’s apartment over the course of a single night, the first at 9:00pm (5.1), the second at 12:00am (7.1). It is clear from 8.7, however, that the third demon did not appear to Justa on the same night as the others, but rather one week later, at midnight (like the second demon), i.e., after afflicting her with fevers for six days (μεθ’ ἡμέρας ἕξ ἐν μεσονυκτίῳ). Furthermore, it is clear from 9.7 that Justa had been suffering from a fever (παραχρήμα δὲ ἐπαύσατο αὐτῆς ὁ πυρετός).

⁴⁹ Cf. *Conf.* 20.6.

⁵⁰ The “Great Sabbath” is the Sabbath before Easter. According to manuscript Y, which interpolates ἕως ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ before αἰτούμενος in 11.7 and μετὰ δὲ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν before ὄρθρου in 12.1, Cyprian stayed in a state of lamentation for a period of seven days, but this would seem to contradict the statement in 11.6 that Cyprian beat his breast δι’ ὅλης δὲ (om. Y) τῆς νυκτός, suggesting that he went to the church the next morning. The Syriac version also refers to a seven-day period of lamentation; cf. Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:195 (f. 80b).

⁵¹ The author’s choices of ἐπικαλέω and κληδονισμός are both subtle and clever. These words seem intended as indicators of postconversion vestiges of magic, which is to say that Cyprian, who has yet to be initiated into the Christian mysteries, or “to be made perfect” (cf. 13.1–7), is still viewing Christianity through the lens of his former magic-based understanding. For this reason, I understand ἐπικαλέω in the magical sense of invocation, as Cyprian has used the term in 11.6 with respect to “the unclean demons” (ἐπικαλούμενος τοὺς ἀκαθάρτους δαίμονας); cf. *Conf.* 12.3 and 21.9. And it is primarily for this reason that in the place of recension C’s εὐαγγελισμόν I adopt κληδονισμόν from recensions A and B and, certainly, Eudocia’s exemplar, which she paraphrased δός με τοῖς μεγάρουσιν ἰόντα γε μῦθον ἀκοῦσαι / ἐκ γραφικῶν βιβλίων εἰς κληδὸνα εὖ μάλα ἐσθλήν (*De S. Cypr.* 1.257–258). Furthermore, were εὐαγγελισμόν the original text, one would expect to find at least one Gospel passage quoted as *Cyprian enters* the church (cf. 12.3–8). The “illumination of the Gospel,” after which manuscript Y interpolates Matt 19:21, only comes later (cf. 12.9). For a similar literary device, see *Mart.* 4.9 and the accompanying note.

⁵² Ps 35:22 [34:22 LXX].

⁵³ Isa 52:13.

τοῦ μελετᾶν τὰ λόγια σου. ⁶ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἡσαΐου· μὴ φοβοῦ, ὁ παῖς μου Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ
 ἡγαπημένος Ἰσραήλ, ὃν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην. ⁷ ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος· Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου. ⁸ εἴτα ὁ ὕμνολόγος Δαβίδ· τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας
 τοῦ κυρίου, ἀκουστάς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ; ⁹ εἴτα ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,
 5 εἴτα ἡ διδαχὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, εἴτα ὁ τῶν κατηχουμένων λόγος.

(12) 13. πορεύεσθε, τοῖς κατηχουμένοις ὁ διάκονος ἐπεφώνει. ² ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς ἐκαθέζετο.
 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ διάκονος Ἀστέριος· πορεύου ἔξω. ³ ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· δοῦλος γέγονα
 τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου, καὶ ἔξω με βάλλεις; ⁴ ὁ δὲ διάκονος λέγει· οὐπω τέλειος γέγονας. ⁵ ὁ δὲ
 Κυπριανὸς λέγει· ζῇ μοι ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοὺς δαίμονας κατασχύνας καὶ τὴν παρθένον σώσας
 10 κάμῃ ἐλεήσας· οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι οὕτως, ἐὰν μὴ τέλειος γένωμαι. ⁶ ὁ δὲ διάκονος Ἀστέριος
 ἀπήγγειλε ταῦτα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. ⁷ καλέσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἀνετάσας κατὰ νόμον
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προσευξάμενος ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κτίσιν σαλευθῆναι, λαβὼν ἐφώτισεν αὐτόν.
⁸ τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἱεροκῆρυξ καὶ ἐξηγητὴς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἐγένετο, τῇ δὲ εἰκοστῇ
 πέμπτῃ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ θυρωρὸς τῆς ἀγίας αὐλῆς, τῇ δὲ πεντηκοστῇ διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 15 ⁹ χάρις δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησε κατὰ δαιμόνων, καὶ πᾶν πάθος ἴατο· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς
 τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνης ἀποσπᾶσας ἔπεισε Χριστιανοὺς γενέσθαι. ¹⁰ συμπληρουμένου δὲ τοῦ
 ἐνιαυτοῦ συγκάθεδρος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐγένετο καὶ δέκα ἔξ ἔτη τὸν θρόνον τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου

YZ 3 ὁ ὕμνολόγος Y : πάλιν Z || 4 εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ
 ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολουθεῖ μ<οι> (Matt 19:21) post εὐαγγελίου add. Y || 5 εἴτα alterum
 om. Y || 6 πορεύεσθε Y : ἐν ᾧ πορεύεσθαι Z || τοῖς κατηχουμένοις Z : οἱ κατηχούμενοι Y || 7 ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς
 λέγει Y : λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Κυπριανός Z || 8 ὁ δὲ διάκονος λέγει Y : λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ διάκονος Z || 9 μοι Y : μου Z ||
 κατασχύνας Y : καταργήσας Z || 10 κάμῃ Y : καὶ ἐμέ Z || οὕτως om. Y || 11 καλέσας οὖν Y : καὶ καλέσας Z || αὐτὸν
 post ἀνετάσας add. Z || κατὰ νόμον scripsi : κατὰ νόμους Y κατὰ τὸν νόμον Z || 12 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προσευξάμενος Y :
 εὐξάμενος ἕως τοσοῦτου Z || ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν . . . σαλευθῆναι Y : ὥστε καὶ . . . κινήθῃναι Z || 13 ἐγένετο post ἐξηγητῆς
 transp. Z || τοῦ Χριστοῦ post μυστηρίων add. Z || 14 πέμπτῃ Y : ἡμέρᾳ Z || τοῦ Χριστοῦ Y : Χριστοῦ Z ||
 15 ἐπηκολούθησε Z : παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐδόθη Y || 16 εἰδώλων πλάνης Y (cf. § 3.2) : Ἑλλήνων μανίας Z || δὲ Y :
 οὖν Z.

that I might meditate upon your oracles.”⁵⁴ (6) So also Isaiah: “Fear not, my servant Jacob and beloved Israel, whom I have chosen.”⁵⁵ (7) So also Paul the apostle: “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law.”⁵⁶ (8) And then the psalmist David: “Who shall speak of the mighty acts of the Lord? Who shall cause all his praises to be heard?”⁵⁷ (9) Next came the illumination of the Gospel, and then the teaching of the bishop, and then the instruction of the catechumens.

13. “Depart,” the deacon called out to the catechumens. (2) But Cyprian remained behind, and the deacon Asterius⁵⁸ said to him, “Go outside.” (3) Cyprian replied, “I have become a servant of the one who was crucified, and you’re throwing me outside?” (4) The deacon said, “You have not yet become perfect.”⁵⁹ (5) Cyprian replied, “Christ who put the demons to shame and saved the virgin and showed me mercy lives within me. I shall not go out like this unless I have been made perfect.” (6) Asterius then went to report these words to the bishop. (7) Thereafter the bishop called upon him and examined him in the customary manner, and when he had prayed to such an extent that creation itself had shaken, he received him and illuminated him. (8) On the eighth day Cyprian became a herald and expositor of the divine mysteries, and on the twenty-fifth day a subdeacon and gatekeeper of the holy atrium, and on the fiftieth day a deacon of Christ. (9) Grace over demons accompanied him, and he cured all suffering. He also pulled many away from the error of the idols⁶⁰ and persuaded them to become Christians. (10) By the end of the year he became the bishop’s advisor, and for sixteen years he occupied the seat of the

⁵⁴ Ps 119:148 [118:148 LXX].

⁵⁵ Isa 44:2.

⁵⁶ Gal 3:13.

⁵⁷ Ps 106:2 [105:2 LXX].

⁵⁸ Reitzenstein (“Cyprian,” 46) does not speculate on the source of the author’s choice of the name Asterius. One possibility is Asterius the Sophist, the Arian Christian theologian from Cappadocia who offered pagan sacrifice during the Great Persecution and as a result could not be ordained; cf. M. DelCogliano, “Eusebius of Caesarea on Asterius of Cappadocia in the Anti-Marcellan Writings: A Case Study of Mutual Defense within the Eusebian Alliance,” in *Eusebius of Caesarea: Tradition and Innovations* (ed. A.P. Johnson and J. Schott; Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies Press, 2013), 263–87. But Asterius is more probably a *realistic name*; see esp. the fourth-century inscription mentioning a deacon named Asterius from Daldis in Asia Minor: [† ε]ὐγγ[η] (lege εὐχή?) Ἀστερίου τοῦ [εὐλα]βεστάτου διακόν[ου . . . κ] ἐ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [ὕ] Ἐπιφ[ανείας] διακονέσης [. . . κ] ἐ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀστε[ρίου κ] ἐ παντὸς {τος} τοῦ οἴχ[ου αὐ]τοῦ. ἐτελιώθη [— —] (*TAM* V.1 643); cf. J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, ausgeführt 1906 im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (DAW 53.2; Vienna: A. Hölder, 1908), 1:66–67 no. 142.

⁵⁹ The author likely means to say that Cyprian has not yet been baptized (so Reitzenstein, “Cyprian,” 46). Clement of Alexandria, for example, explained that “When we are baptized (βαπτιζόμενοι), we are enlightened (φωτιζόμεθα); being enlightened, we become adopted sons (υἱοποιούμεθα); becoming adopted sons, we are made perfect (τελειούμεθα); and becoming perfect, we are made immortal (ἀπαθανατιζόμεθα)” (*Paed.* 1.26.1); cf. the author’s use of φωτίζω in 1.1 and 13.7.

⁶⁰ Cf. the author’s description of Aglaïdas in 3.2 (ἐπτοημένος δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνην).

κατέσχευεν.¹¹ ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ἀνθιμος συγκαλεσάμενος ἐπισκόπους τῶν πέριξ πόλεων καὶ ἀνακοινωσάμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔτι ζῶν παρεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς.¹² μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνθιμος ἀναλύσας ἐν Χριστῷ παρέθετο αὐτῷ τὴν ποίμνην.¹³ πολλὴν τε κατάστασιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ
 5 ποιήσας ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Ἰουστὰν εἰς διάκονον προήγαγεν, <ὠνόμασέ
 τε αὐτὴν Ἰουστίναν> μητέρα τε αὐτὴν τοῦ ἀσκητηρίου ἐποίησε.¹⁴ πολλοὺς δὲ <ἦν> φωτίζων
 τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως ἀποσπῶν καὶ προστιθεὶς τῇ ποίμνῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα
 καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

YZ 1 ὁ δὲ μακάριος Z : μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἅγιος Y || κατὰ θεοῦ ἀποκάλυψιν ante συγκαλεσάμενος add. Y ||
 2 τοῦ συμφέροντος om. Y || 2–3 ἔτι — ἐπισκοπῆς Z : ζῶν ἔτι τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῷ παρεχείρισε Y ||
 4 παρέθετο αὐτῷ τὴν ποίμνην Z : μετὰ εἰρήνης ἀνεπάη Y || τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ Y : ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Z || 5 ἅγιος
 om. Z || Ἰουστὰν om. Z || προήγαγεν Y : προεβάλετο Z || 5–6 ὠνόμασέ τε αὐτὴν Ἰουστίναν supplevi (e rec. B) ||
 6 μητέρα τε — ἐποίησε om. Y || καὶ πάντων τῶν περιεχομένων ὑπὸ τὴν τοιαύτην παροικίαν ἐπισκεπτήτρια post
 ἐποίησε add. Z || πολλοὺς δὲ Y : καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους Z || ἦν supplevi (e recc. AB et codice Π) || 7 τῷ λόγῳ scripsi
 (e rec. B et codice Π, cf. § 1.1) : τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου Y τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως ὁ ἅγιος
 Κυπριανὸς Z || ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως ἀποσπῶν Z : ἀποσπῶν ἀπὸ πασῶν αἱρέσεων καὶ πλάνης τοῦ σατανᾶ Y || τῇ ποίμνῃ
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ Z : ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λίαν εὐφραίνετο Y || 7–8 ᾧ
 ἡ δόξα — τὸ κράτος Y : ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ
 πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ Z.

presbytery. (11) While he was still alive the blessed Anthimus gathered together the bishops from all the neighboring cities and consulted with them over matters pertaining to the good of the church, and he decided to concede the bishop's seat to Cyprian.⁶¹ (12) A few days later the holy Anthimus died in Christ and commended the flock to him. (13) And when it came time to make a great appointment in God's church the holy Cyprian promoted the holy maiden Justa to deacon, gave her the name Justina,⁶² and made her mother of the hermitage. (14) And Cyprian went on illuminating many with the Word⁶³ and pulling them away from every heresy and increasing the flock of Christ, to whom be the glory and the kingdom and the power, forever and ever, amen.

⁶¹ This is the only point in the *Acts* in which Cyprian is described as bishop, but there are no bishops named Cyprian in the well-known lists of bishops of Antioch; see Zahn, *Cyprian*, 84–85; Delehaye, “Cyprien,” 322; Krestan-Hermann, “Cyprianus II,” 467.

⁶² I have supplied the clause *ὠνόμασέ τε αὐτὴν Ἰουστίναν* from recensions A and B (*ὠνόμασέ τε* OTU : *ὠνόμασε δὲ* P GQR *ἐπὶ ὠνόμασε δὲ* V *ὀνομάσας* HNS). This clause is missing from both manuscripts of recension C (cf. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 112–13) and from the Syriac version (see, e.g., Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:197), but it was clearly present in Eudocia's exemplar in the middle of the fifth century: οὐ δ' ἔτι μιν καλέεσκεν Ἰούσταν, ἀλλ' ὀνόμηνεν / Ἰουστίναν ἄμωμον (*De S. Cypri.* 1.317–318). If the clause is original, then the omission is perhaps due to an ancient haplographic error. It is equally possible, however, that a redactor, prompted by the use of the name Justina in the subsequent *Acts*, added the clause for the sake of continuity (the Syriac version of the *Martyrdom*, on the other hand, continues to name the virgin Justa throughout the text). There is, however, scriptural precedent for name change as a sign of religious conversion, a custom which was in vogue particularly during the fourth century (although clearly many years have passed since Justa's conversion); cf. G.H.R. Horsley, “Name Change as an Indicator of Religious Conversion in Antiquity,” *Numen* 34 (1987): 1–17; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 1.1).

⁶³ Cf. 1.1 (ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐφωτίσθη τῷ λόγῳ).

SIGLA
(BHG 453)

Recensiones breuiores

- A Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1809, ff. 217r^b–218r^c (saec. X).
C Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 144 sup. (Martini-Bassi 377), ff. 51v–56r (saec. XII).

Recensiones longiores

- F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1485, ff. 36r–37v (saec. X).
H Mount Athos, Μονή Σταυρονικήτα 10 (Lambros 875), ff. 338r–353v (saec. XI).
L Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. gr. F 13, ff. 362r–367v (saec. XIV).
N Ohrid, Народен музеј 4 (Mošin 76), pp. 175–200 (saec. X).
P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1506, ff. 171r–192v (saec. X).
q Codices FHLNS.
S Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 797, ff. 116v–139v (saec. X).

Correctiones, emendationes, etc.

- Bevegni Bevegni, C. “Il viaggio di instruzione al male del mago Cipriano: Due note.” *Itineraria* 3–4 (2004–2005): 51–56.
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Nock¹ Nock, A.D. “Studies in the Greco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire.” *JHS* 45 (1925): 84–101.
Nock² Nock, A.D. “Hagiographica II. Cyprian of Antioch.” *JTS* 28 (1927): 411–15.
Preller Preller, L. “Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Alterthums.” *Phil* 1 (1846): 349–51.
Reitzenstein Reitzenstein, R. “Cyprian der Magier.” *NGWG* (1917) 38–79.
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< ΠΡΑΞΙΣ Β΄ >
ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ

- (1) 1. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίοις προσκόπτετε, τοῖς ἑμοῖς δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε [1]
καὶ γνῶσεσθε τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφερομένων λόγων τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· ὅσοι τοῖς δαιμονικοῖς
ἐπιτέρπεσθε τρόποις, παρ' ἑμοῦ μάθετε τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς χλευασμάτων. ² οὔτε
γάρ τις ὑμῶν δεισιδαιμονέστερος ἑμοῦ γενέσθαι δυνήσεται οὔτε διερευνήσασθαι τι περὶ θεῶν
5 τῶν λεγομένων οὔτε ἐφικέσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ³ ἐγὼ εἰμι Κυπριανὸς ὁ ἐξ
ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι κειμήλιον, μνηθεὶς ἔτι νήπιος τὴν τοῦ δράκοντος
δραματουργίαν. ⁴ ἑπτὰ οὐπω ὅλων ἡμῶν ἐτῶν ὅτε καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα προσήλθον μυστηρίοις
καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος ἐπήλυτος ὢν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γεννησάντων διὰ σπουδῆς πολίτης γενόμενος ἔτι

A C P q (HLNS) tit. μετάνοια τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ **P** : μετάνοια τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας **A**
μετάνοια Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ μαρτυρήσαντος σὺν Ἰουστίνῃ ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ **C** μετάνοια ἥτοι
ἐξομολόγησις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ **HLN** πράξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰούστης **S** || 1 προσκόπτετε **A**
PHL : προκόπτετε **C NS** conl. Maran (col. 1105 n. a) prob. Reitzenstein (pp. 50–51 n. 3) et Delehay (p. 317 n. 1)
sed cf. Zahn (pp. 30–31 n. 4) || 2 γνῶσεσθε **AC** : γνῶτε **Pq** || πάντων ante τῶν add. **Pq** || τῶν ἐμφερομένων
ἐν αὐτοῖς **P** || λόγων om. **PS** || ἀκρίβειαν **AC** : δύναμιν **Pq** || 3 λόγοις καὶ ante τρόποις add. **q** || οὔτε **A P** : οὐδὲ **C q**
|| 4 τις neglexerunt Maran (col. 1105 n. c) et Klee (p. 204b.5) ut οὐδεὶς ante δεισιδαιμονέστερος suppleverit
Nock¹ (p. 87 n. 27) || δεισιδαιμονέστερος ἑμοῦ **A** : δεισιδαιμονέστερός μου **C** ἑμοῦ δεισιδαιμονέστερος **L** ἑμοῦ
δεισιδαιμονέστερός ποτε **PNS** δεισιδαιμονέστερός ποτε **H** || οὔτε **AC PS** : οὐδὲ **HLN** || διερευνῆσαι emend. Nock¹
(p. 87 n. 27) || τι **A** : τὰ **C Pq** || 4–5 τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν **q** || 5 οὔτε ἐφικέσθαι — αὐτῶν om. per hapl. **A** || οὔτε
C PHNS : οὐδὲ **L** || τὴν ὑπόθεσιν — αὐτῶν **C** : τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν (δύναμιν **S**) **q** τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν
ἐνεργείας **P** || ὁ ἄθλιος ante Κυπριανὸς add. **C** || 6 ἀνατεθεὶς **C Pq** : ἀνατιθεὶς **A** || 7 δραματουργίαν **AC PHLN** :
θαυματουργίαν **S** || οὐπω ὅλων ἡμῶν **A** : οὐπω ἡμῶν ὅλων **C** οὐπω ἡμῶν **PHNS** ἡμῶν οὐπω **L** || Μίθρα **AC q** : Μίθρου **P**
|| μυστηρίοις **AC P** : ὀργίοις **q** || 8 ἐπήλυτος (scriptum ἐπίλυτος) **AC PHLS** : ἑπῆλυς **N** || με post γεννησάντων add.
PHLN || ἔτι **A** : ἔτι ὢν **Pq** ὅτε δὲ ὢν **C**.

ACT II.
THE CONFESSION OF SAINT CYPRIAN

1. All you who take offense at the mysteries of Christ, look upon my tears and you will know the accuracy of the words contained within them. All you who delight in customs that come from demons, learn from me the vanity of the mockeries within them. (2) For neither will any of you be able to become more superstitious¹ than I, nor to investigate so thoroughly anything concerning the so-called gods, nor to discover the foundation of their operation.² (3) I am Cyprian, who from childhood³ was dedicated to Apollo as a precious gift and still as an infant was initiated into the dramaturgy of the dragon.⁴ (4) I was not yet entirely seven years of age when I entered the mysteries of Mithras,⁵ and as a foreigner in Athens,

¹ δεισιδαίμων, “fearing of the gods or daemons,” was used almost exclusively in a pejorative sense to mean “superstitious” (W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985], 273; cf. *PGL* 335b s.v.). Pagans often applied the term and its cognates to Christians; see, e.g., Origen, *Cels.* 3.79 (ἐγκαλῇ ὡς δεισιδαίμονας ποιοῦντι τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν) and Julian, *Ep.* 39 (τῇ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἔδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς δεισιδαίμονιαι).

² The final clause is missing from A, but this is likely the result of an unintentional scribal omission, i.e., haplography occasioned by homoeoarcton of οὔτε (in which case a scribe thought that the line omitted was the line that he had already copied) or by homoeoteleuton of the genitive plural ending -ων (an error that could only have occurred with the variant provided by C):

οὔτε διερευνήσασθαι τι περὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων
οὔτε ἐφικέσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν

³ ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων, lit. “from tender talons” (cf. *LSJ* 1234a s.v. ὄνυξ). Philostratus uses a similar expression when he remarks that Apollonius of Tyana in his boyhood was ὥσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἀετῶν ἐν ἀπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερῷ (*Vit. Apoll.* 1.7.3); cf. Julian’s description of his childhood fascination (ἐκ παίδων) with the rays of Helios (*Or.* 4.130c). Note, too, that Apollonius in his early years is said to have visited the temple of Apollo at Daphne in Antioch (*Vit. Apoll.* 1.16).

⁴ Most scholars since Preller (“Beiträge,” 350) have understood the phrase τὴν τοῦ δράκοντος δραματουργίαν to refer to the Delphic Septerion festival (so, e.g., T. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos: Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Religions- und Kunstgeschichte* [Leipzig: W. Engelman, 1879], 66 n. 44), which according to later mythographic tradition symbolized Apollo’s killing of the dragon Python (Ephorus, *FGH* 70 F 31b apud Strabo, *Geogr.* 9.3.10–11; Plutarch, *Quaest. graec.* 12.293b–c; *Def. orac.* 15.417e–418d; Pausanias, *Descr.* 10.6.5–7; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 3.1), but J. Aronen (“Dragon Cults,” 126 and n. 12) finds the connection tenuous and suggests instead a possible allusion to the cult of Glycon (cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 12). However, given the prominence of a young boy (but one of noble birth) in the rituals of the Septerion, that the author intends to refer to these rituals here should not be excluded merely because the reference is both ambiguous and late (so M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, mit Ausschluss der attischen* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1906], 152 n. 2). The identity of the “dragon cult” depends on where in the world Cyprian is at this point in the narrative, i.e., if Cyprian was born in Antioch—he does not move (back?) to Antioch until 8.6—and has not yet moved to Athens (cf. 1.4), then certainly the Septerion festival is out of the question.

⁵ Membership in the mysteries of Mithras was almost exclusively reserved for adult males (R. Gordon, “Who Worshipped Mithras?” *JRA* 7 [1994]: 464–65, 468–69), but an inscription from Rome dated 376 CE (*CIMRM* 403) attests the initiation of a boy, Aemilianus Corfo Olympius, into the grade of raven (*hierocoracica*) by his father Aurelius Victor Augustus, a Mithraic *pater* known from four other inscriptions (*CIMRM* 400–402, 404–405). F. Cumont (“The Dura Mithraeum,” in *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells [2 vols.; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975], 1:159) and E. Will (“Nouveaux monuments sacrés de la Syrie romaine,” *Syria* 29 [1952]: 69) associate this passage with the mysteries of Mithras in Antioch, but it is not entirely clear whether Cyprian is in Antioch at this point (see note 4); for evidence of the mysteries of Mithras in Greece, see *CIMRM* 2346–2353.

δέκα ἐτῶν ἐδαδούχησα τῇ Δημήτρᾳ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὸ λευκὸν πένθος ὑπέμεινα καὶ τῆς ἐν
 τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Παλλάδος τῷ δράκοντι ἐλειτούργησα εἰς προκοπὴν νεωκόρου καταστάς.
⁵ ἐγενόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ὄρει θεῶν, ὡς λέγουσιν· ἐμυήθην ἡχοῦς ὁμιλίαν καὶ ψόφων
 διήγησιν. ⁶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ φαντάζοντα πρέμνα καὶ πόας ἐνεργεῖν δοκούσας θεῶν ἐπισκοπαῖς.
⁷ εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὡρῶν διαδοχὰς πνευμάτων ὑπαλλασσόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα ὑπὸ τινων
 ἐνεργειῶν ἐναντίων συνισταμένην. ⁸ εἶδον ἐκεῖ χοροὺς δαιμόνων ὑμνούντων καὶ ἄλλων
 πολεμούντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐνεδρευόντων, ἀπατώντων, συγχεόντων καὶ ἐκάστου θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς

A C P q (HLNS) 1 λευκὸν πένθος *damn.* et Ἐλευσίνιον seu Ἐλευσῖνι *coni.* Preller (p. 349 n. *b*) sed cf. Nock² (p. 411) || 2 νεωκόρου *codd.* : νεωκόρον *falso scripsit* Gitlbauer (p. 98.3, cf. p. 62.8) || καταστάς **A P q** : καταστάσεως **C** || 3 Ὀλύμπῳ **AC** *coni.* Ludwich (p. 48.20 in *app. crit.*) : Ὀλυμπίῳ **P q** || θεῶν **AC q** : τῶν θεῶν **P** || οἰκητήριον *post* λέγουσιν *add.* **P** *prob.* Nock² (p. 412 n. 1) sed *ad locum* οἰκητηρίῳ **q** *corr.* Maran (col. 1106 n. *h*) *prob.* Klee (p. 205a.7 et p. 208 *adnot. g*) || καὶ *ante* ἐμυήθην *add.* **C P q** (sed cf. § 2.1) || ἡχοῦς ὁμιλίαν *corr.* Gitlbauer (p. 98.4) et Festugière (p. 38 n. 2) : ἡχους ὁμιλίαν **AC** *corr.* Preller (p. 350 n. *c*) ἡχους ὁμιλιῶν **P q** || καὶ *alterum om.* **q** || θεῶν *post* ψόφων *add.* **A** || 4 διήγησιν **AC PNS** : διηγῆμασιν **HL** || πρέμνα **C P q** : πνεύματα **A** || θεῶν **A P q** : ὀρέων **C** || 5 εἶδον ἐκεῖ — ἡμερῶν *om.* et *ante* δρακόντων κοινωνίαν in § 3.5 (p. 154.5) *transp.* (cum διαφορότητα iterum) **L** || καὶ *ante* πνευμάτων *add.* **C** || 6 συνισταμένην **q** *coni.* Maran (col. 1106 n. *i*) *prob.* Zahn (p. 31 n. 3) et Nock² (p. 412 n. 1) : συνισταμένων **AC P** || 6–7 ὑμνούντων — πολεμούντων **A P** : ὑμνούντων *per hapl.* **C** πολεμούντων καὶ ἄλλων ὑμνούντων **q** || 7 συγχεόντων *om.* **C**.

but through the zeal of my parents having become a citizen, still at ten years of age I bore the torches for Demeter⁶ and submitted to the white sorrow of Korē,⁷ and I served the snake of Pallas on the Acropolis, having been promoted to temple warden.⁸ (5) I came also to Olympus,⁹ the mountain of the gods, as they say, and I was initiated into the intercourse of the echo and the interpretation of noises.¹⁰ (6) I saw there trees that produced visions¹¹ and herbs that appeared to operate by divine intervention. (7) I saw there the successions of seasons under the change of the winds and the variation of days brought about by certain opposing energies. (8) I saw there bands of demons¹² chanting, others at war, and others lying in ambush, deceiving and confounding, and I beheld there the phalanx of each god and goddess, having

⁶ As an immigrant Cyprian could not have served as δαδούχος in the Eleusinian mysteries (Nock, "Cyprian," 411; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 170; Cameron, "The Empress," 76). This position was reserved exclusively for members of two of the noblest Athenian families, the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes (W. Burkert, *Homo necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983], 282); see further A. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (TAPS 64; Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 47–68.

⁷ Preller ("Beiträge," 350) considered λευκὸν πένθος to be a corruption because the ephebes traditionally wore black in the procession to Eleusis, but a reform implemented in the latter half of the second century through the benefaction of Herodes Atticus (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 2.550; *IG II²* 3606) enabled the ephebes to wear white cloaks (cf. *IG II²* 2090; P. Roussel, "Les chlamydes noires des éphèbes athéniens," *REA* 43 [1941]: 163–65; P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Remarks on the Black Coats of the Ephebes," *PCPS*, n.s. 16 [1970]: 113–16). However, at ten years of age Cyprian would not have been qualified to participate in this procession (Nock, "Cyprian," 411 and n. 4).

⁸ The "snake of Pallas" is the οἰκουρὸς ὄφις (Aristophanes, *Lys.* 759; Phylarchus, *FGH* 81 F 72 apud Photius, *Lex.* ο 103; Hesychius, *Lex.* ο 270) that guarded a temple on the Athenian Acropolis, probably the Erechtheum. If Nock ("Cyprian," 411) is correct that in referring to Cyprian as νεωκόρος the author means to say that Cyprian was responsible for the monthly offerings of honey-cakes to the sacred snake (cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.41), then the author has created another historically implausible scenario, since this task was the duty of a priestess (D. Ogden, *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 203–4, 349; cf. N.-M. Paillet, "La vierge et le serpent: De la trivalence à l'ambiguïté," *MEFRA* 109 [1997]: 535–49).

⁹ A.B. Cook uncritically took Cyprian's initiatory period on Mount Olympus to be evidence for authentic mysteries, which he construed as "puberty-rites, Corybantic or Cabiric in character" (*Zeus*, 111). Such mysteries never existed (so Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 171; Picard, "Mantique," 206–7). Nock ("Cyprian," 412–13) appropriately connects the details of these imagined mysteries with theosophic revelations in Hermetic literature (see, e.g., *Corp. Herm.* 9.20). The visions of 1.7–8 suggest that the author has the heavenly Olympus in mind (see, e.g., *Chald. Or.* 217); cf. Eudocia, *De S. Cypr.* 2.238–239.

¹⁰ Pq's variant ἤχους ὁμιλιῶν puzzled Nock ("Cyprian," 411, n. 1) and Nilsson ("Greek Mysteries," 171), but since the author has apparently concocted the Mount Olympus mysteries from varieties of mysteriosophic literature, it seems reasonable to suggest that the phrase ἤχους ὁμιλίαν derives from traditions in which demons (cf. 1.8) are born from the echo of a heavenly voice, e.g., *T. Sol.* 4.8, *L.A.B.* 53.3–4, 60.3, and the "Eighth Book of Moses" at *PGM* XIII. 192–204, 522–546; see esp. H.M. Jackson, "Notes," 32–37; idem, "Echoes and Demons in the Pseudo-Philonian *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *JSJ* 27 (1996): 1–20; M. Smith, "P Leid J 395 (*PGM* XIII) and its Creation Legend," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. A. Caquot et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 491–98. As for ψόφων δῆγησιν, cf. *PGM* VII. 765–779.

¹¹ Rather than "trees performing miracles" (so Nock, "Cyprian," 412; Nilsson "Greek Mysteries," 168) the peculiar phrase φαντάζοντα πρέμνα more likely refers to the use of psychoactive drugs to produce theophanic visions (see Luck, *Arcana mundi*, 479–92); cf. the theophanic spell in *PGM* XIII. 102–105, 659–660 (ἐκ ρίζης δάφνης) and esp. *Hist. Alex. Mag.* [α] 1.5.1, where Nectanebo "gathers the herbs best suited for sending dreams" (τίλλει βοτάνας τὰς πρὸς ὄνειροπομπίαν ἀρμοζούσας).

¹² Cf. the δαιμόνων χοροὶ in *Corp. Herm.* 16.10.13–14; cf. 10.7.10–13.

ἐθεασάμην ἐκεῖ τὴν φάλαγγα μείνας αὐτόθι ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἄλλων ὀκτώ· ὁπόθεν
ὡς ἐκ βασιλείων ἐξαποστέλλονται τὰ πνεύματα ἐνεργεῖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν
πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι.⁹ καὶ ἐσιτούμην ἀκρόδρυα μόνον μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου καὶ δὴ ὦν πεντεκαίδεκα [2]
ἐτῶν μυούμενος τὴν πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν πνευμάτων ἐνεργεῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν· λίαν
5 γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ γονεῖς ἔσπευδόν με ἐπιγινῶναι τὰ γῆς, ἀέρος καὶ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ
φύσιν καὶ φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως ποῶν καὶ πρέμνων καὶ σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν πᾶσιν
αὐτοῖς ἐνεργείας ἃς ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύπωσεν ἐναντιούμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
διατύπωσιν.

- (2) 2. ἦλθον καὶ ἐν Ἄργει ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἥρας τελετῇ· ἐμυήθην ἐκεῖ βουλᾶς ἐνότητος ἀέρος
10 πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ γῆς πρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς ἀέρα.² ἔφθασα καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι καὶ τὴν
Ταυροπόλιν Ἀρτεμιν κατέλαβον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἵνα μάθω ὕλης σύγχυσιν καὶ διαίρεσιν καὶ

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ἐγὼ ante ἐθεασάμην add. **C** || ἡμερῶν **AC** : ἡμέρας **Pq** || καὶ ἄλλων ὀκτώ om. **Pq** || 2 τινῶν
post βασιλείων add. **q** || ἐξαποστέλλονται **AC** : ἀποστέλλονται **Pq** || 3 δὴ **AC P** : μὴ **q** || 3–4 πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν
A : ἔτι ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα **C Pq** || 4 μυούμενος — ἐνεργεῖαν **AC** : ἐμυούμεν τὴν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖαν **Pq** ||
καὶ post λίαν add. **C** || 5 γῆς **AC PS** : τῆς γῆς **HLN** || 6 καὶ prius om. **C Pq** || τὰς om. **P** sed suppl. Preller
(p. 349) || 7 αὐτοῖς **AC PNS** : τούτοις **HL** || ἐτύπωσεν **AC q** : ἐνετύπωσεν **P** || 9 τῇ om. **C** || δ' ante ἐκεῖ suppl.
Ludwich (p. 50.52 in app. crit.) sed cf. § 1.5 || 10 καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀέρα, ἅμα δὲ post αἰθέρα add. **Pq** || Ἥλιδι
C LN corr. Klee (p. 209 adnot. *m*) prob. Preller (p. 351 n. *e*), Gitlbauer (p. 98.18), Zahn (p. 32 n. 4) et Festugière
(p. 39 n. 2) : ἡλιάδι **HS** ἱλιάδι **P** ἐλλάδι **A** || 11 ταυροπόλιν **AC PHL** : ταυροπόλον corr. Maran (col. 1107 n. *b*)
var. err. **NS** || Λακεδαίμονι **AC PL** : Λακεδαιμονίᾳ **HNS**.

stayed forty days and another eight in that place from which they send forth the winds, like armies from a royal palace, for each to do its work upon the earth and among all nations. (9) And I fed only on nuts after sunset,¹³ and when I turned fifteen years of age I was initiated by the seven hierophants into the energies of each of the winds,¹⁴ for my parents were very eager that I discover the secrets of earth, air, and sea, not only what relates to the nature of the destruction and generation of herbs and trees and bodies, but also the energies which the archon of this age¹⁵ imprinted on all of them in opposition to the molding of God.

2. I came also to Argos at the time of the mysteries of Hera and there I was initiated into the counsels of the unity of air with aether and of earth with water and of water with air.¹⁶ (2) I also arrived in Elis and I caught up with Artemis Tauropolis¹⁷ in Lacedaemon in order to learn the mixture and division

¹³ The Chaldaean magician Mithrobarzanes puts Menippus on a strict regimen of nuts (ἀκρόδρυα), milk, honey-milk, and the water of the Choaspes for a period of twenty-nine days (Lucian, *Men.* 7).

¹⁴ Nilsson's renderings ("Greek Mysteries," 168, 173) of Pq's τὴν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν as "in the energies of (p. 168)/in (p. 173) each of them," a phrase which Nock ("Cyprian," 412) left untranslated, may in part be due to Klee's creation of a new section at 1.9 ("Confessio," 205a). Cyprian, however, is still on "Mount Olympus" at this point, so that the referent of Pq's αὐτῶν may be conceivably ἐκάστου θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς or τὰ πνεύματα in 1.8 (but certainly not the following τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱεροφαντῶν, as Nilsson has it, which he takes to be the seven planets). AC's text lacks the difficulties of Pq and may be another antiquarian anachronism in reference to weather-magic surrounding Zeus Ikmaios, e.g., the mountain-top ritual performed by Aristaeus and Arcadian priests (Theophrastus, *De ventis* 14; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 2.516–27 [cum schol. 498]; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.3.29), in which case ψόφων διήγησιν in 1.5 likely refers to brontology. On the four winds, cf. *PGM* III. 273–274, 497; IV. 1605–1606, 3066–3067; XII. 239–240; XIII. 761–762. As for the "seven hierophants," Festugière (*La révélation*, 39 n. 1) draws an interesting parallel to the *septe(m) pii sacerdotes* depicted in the tomb of a Roman priest of Sabazius; cf. M.P. Nilsson, "A propos du tombeau de Vincentius," *RAr* 31–32 (1948): 764–69.

¹⁵ ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, cf. *1 Jeu* 2 [40.21–22], 3 [42.15–16], 2a [45.18] (ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ἡΠΕΙΔΩΝ); John 12:31, 16:11 (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου); 14:30 (ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων); 2 Cor 4:4 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου).

¹⁶ According to Pausanias (*Descr.* 2.38.3), the ineffable secret of the τέλετη of Hera concerned her annual parthenogenesis by bathing in the Canathus spring at Nauplia (cf. schol. g ad Pindar, *Ol.* 6.149; Hesychius, *Lex.* η 757; *Etym. magn.* s.v. ἡρεσιδες; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 36.56). The βουλαί allude to the physical allegory of the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera (Preller, "Beiträge," 350; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 174–75). Zeus was regularly associated with the element aether (see Cook, *Zeus*, 1:25–33) and Hera with the element air (e.g., Heraclitus, *Quaest. Hom.* 15 [ad *Il.* 1.55]), esp. among Stoics (e.g., Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. phil.* 7.147 [SVF II 1021]), who adopted Plato's "etymological" interpretation of Ἥρα as ἄήρ (*Crat.* 404c); cf. M. Domaradzki, "Chrysippus on the Hierogamy of Zeus and Hera," *Studia Philosophica Wratislaviensia* 3 (2014): 7–12. For the Zeus-aether/Hera-air equation in Neoplatonic speculation, see esp. A.D.R. Sheppard, *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic* (Hypomnemata 61; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 72–74.

¹⁷ Nilsson's claim ("Greek Mysteries," 175) that the nondescript mention of Elis is mere par for the course due to the fame of the Olympian games is not convincing. The author seems to know of a deeper connection between Elis and Sparta. A commemorative epigram from the middle of the third century CE attests a connection between the cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and the oracular lineage of the celebrated Iamid seer Tisamenus of Elis (*IG* V.1 599: [ἡ πόλις] τὴν σεμνοτάτην καὶ φιλοσοφωτάτην καὶ εὐγενεστάτην Ἡράκλειαν Τεισαμενοῦ παρὰ τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ Ὀρθίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἰδρύσατο); cf. A.J.S. Spawforth, "Spartan Cults under the Roman Empire: Some Notes," in *Philolokōn: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (ed. J.M. Sanders; London: British School at Athens, 1992), 234. Pausanias, in fact, learned of the history of Tisamenus at the

μετεωρισμούς λοξῶν καὶ ἄκρων διηγήσεων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν κατείληφα καὶ παρὰ Φρυγῶν ἔθνεσιν ἡπατοσκοπίαν καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις οἰωνῶν κρούσματα καὶ τετραπόδων καμπὰς καὶ γνωστικῶν κληδονισμούς καὶ φωνὴν τρισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς ξύλου καὶ λίθου καὶ νεκρῶν ἐν τάφοις καὶ θυρῶν ψόφους καὶ παλμούς μελῶν.³ ἔγνω καὶ αἱμάτων φορὰς ἐν τοῖς

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ἄκρων **A** : ἀλλοτρίων **C** ἀγρίων **P** ἀργῶν **q** γραικῶν seu γράωδων conl. Zahn (p. 32 n. 6) || τὰ ante κατὰ add. **C PHLN** || τὴν falso om. Maran (col. 1107.18) sed suppl. Festugière (p. 40 n. 4) || 1–2 καὶ παρὰ Φρυγῶν ἔθνεσιν transp. Gitlbauer (p. 98.20) : παρὰ Φρυγῶν ἔθνεσι (ἔθνεσιν **C**) καὶ **AC** παρὰ Φρυγῶν καὶ **Pq** || 2 ἔμαθον post ἡπατοσκοπίαν add. **C Pq** || ἐν βαρβάροις **C P** : βαρβάροις **A** ἐν βαρβάρῳ **q** || οἰωνῶν κρούσματα **AC** : οἰωνισμὸν **Pq** || 3 καμπὰς **L** corr. Maran (col. 1107 n. c) : καμπτὰς (sic) **AC PHNS** || τρισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς **A** : τρισμοῦ παντὸς **C PH** παντὸς τρισμοῦ **LNS** || 4 μελῶν ἔγνω, καὶ interp. Maran (col. 1107.23) cum **P** || φορὰς **C Pq** : φθορὰς **A**.

of matter and the mutability of ambiguous and lofty pronouncements.¹⁸ And concerning the various methods of divination I acquired expertise from Phrygians in inspecting the liver for nations and among barbarians in the peckings of birds and the movements of fourfooted animals and the observation of signs containing secret knowledge and the sound of the shrill cry of each wood and stone and of the dead in their tombs and the creakings of doors and the twitchings of limbs.¹⁹ (3) I came to know also

marketplace of Sparta, which abounded in images of Apollo Pythaeus, Artemis, and Leto: Tisamenus received an oracle that he would win five famous contests and as a result trained for the pentathlon, but after loosing a wrestling match, he realized that the oracle augured victory in five contests of war by divination. When the Spartans heard news of the oracle, they persuaded Tisamenus to migrate from Elis and to become state-diviner at Sparta (*Descr.* 3.11.6–10). Adherents of the cult at Sparta allegedly practiced human sacrifice and later the ritual flagellation of young boys before the xoanon of Artemis—Orestes and Iphigeneia stole the xoanon from the Tauric land (ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς), hence Ταυρόπολιν is preferable to Maran's correction Ταυροπόλος ("Confessio," 1107 n. b), both seemingly interchangeable epithets for Artemis—because an oracle pronounced that they should stain the altar with human blood (Pausanias, *Descr.* 3.16.7–11; cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 6.20; Libanius, *Or.* 1.23 cum schol.). Nilsson ("Greek Mysteries," 176) further suggested that the "mixture and division of matter" represented a "bold explanation" of the xoanon of Artemis, and that ὕλη therefore denoted both "matter" and "wood," but surely this phrase must derive from Neoplatonic conceptions of Artemis as τὸ αὐτοτελές τῆς ὕλης τελειοῦσα (Proclus, *Plat. theol.* 7.22 [99.3–13]; cf. *In Remp.* 1.95.2–7; *In Tim.* 1.78.27–79.6; cf. S. Rangos, "Proclus and Artemis: On the Relevance of Neoplatonism to the Modern Study of Ancient Religion," *Kernos* 13 [2000]: 47–84, esp. 61–63). That such Neoplatonic speculations played some role in the cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta in the third/fourth century CE is perhaps corroborated by the description of Herakleia, whose commemorative statue was installed next to the xoanon of Artemis, as φιλοσοφωπάτη and by Julian's praise of Sparta as a last bastion of philosophy (*Or.* 3.119b–c).

¹⁸ The phrase μετεωρισμὸς λοξῶν καὶ ἄκρων διηγήσεων (but with P's ἀγρίων for A's ἄκρων) admittedly perplexed Nilsson, who sheepishly offered "the overdoing of enigmatic and barbaric [ἀγρίων] myths" ("Greek Mysteries," 176). Other translations are either not much better or much worse—"den hohen Flug dunkler und schrecklicher [ἀγρίων] Sagen" (Zahn, *Cyprian*, 33); "la signification la plus haute d'histoires obscures et terribles [ἀγρίων]" (Grimal, *Romans grecs*, 1390); "l'esaltazione provocata da narrazioni atroci [ἀγρίων] e dal significato ambiguo" (Fumagalli, *Cipriano*, 37); "the sublimity of the ambiguous and wild [ἀγρίων] doctrines" (J. Lindsay, *Origins of Astrology* [New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971], 397)—and Eudocia is of no help, who has Cyprian learn instead ψήφους τε γραφίδας τε χαρακτήρας δέ τε κόσμου / γραϊώδεις μύθους τε (*De S. Cypri.* 2.61–62). But the phrase, with or without P's ἀγρίων, doubtless has to do with oracular responses. The adjective λοξός was frequently used to describe oracles (LSJ 1061a s.v.); note, e.g., Lucian's depiction of Cocconas as διττοῦς τινὰς καὶ ἀμφιβόλους καὶ λοξοὺς χρησμοὺς συγγράφων (*Alex.* 10). P's ἀγρίων, then, suggests *nomina barbara* and *vores magicae*, which Lucian lampoons in an oracular context (*Alex.* 51–52). The troublesome term μετεωρισμός is used here in the same sense as in Metrodorus' fragmentary treatise on "fickleness" (so R. Philippon, "Papyrus Herculanensis 831," *AJP* 64 [1943]: 148–62), which is certainly preferable to "vain imagining" (so LSJ 1120b s.v.). This fits the oracular context perfectly and aptly illustrates the story of Tisamenus and the "fickle" Pythian oracle (Pausanias, *Descr.* 3.11.6); cf. Apollonius of Tyana's prediction at *Vit. Apoll.* 4.43.1 and the scholium by Arethas of Caesarea upbraiding Philostratus for failing to notice that the oracular statement is so ambiguous that it would have proved true no matter what transpired (R. Bailey, "Arethas of Caesarea and the Scholia on Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* in *Codex Laurentianus Pluteus* 69.33," *Byz* 86 [2016]: 79–80, 88).

¹⁹ AC's ἔθνεσιν seems to refer to the use of hepatoscopy to predict the outcomes of battles (see W.K. Pritchett's excellent chapter "The Military Mantike" in *The Greek State at War: Part III. Religion* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 47–90). In the middle of the fourth century Julian reinstated the Etruscan haruspices and brought them along on military campaigns, although he apparently ignored their prognostications (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 23.5.10–14; 25.2.5–8). According to Clement of Alexandria, the Phrygians were the first to practice ornithomancy (*Strom.* 1.16.4). AC's οἰωνῶν χροῦσματα refers to alectryomancy (cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* [4 vols.; Paris: Leroux,

σώμασι κατ' ἐνέργειαν καὶ μυρμηκισμῶν συστάσεις καὶ ἀναστάσεις καὶ βολὰς λόγων καὶ
 ἀριθμῶν, <ἀριθμῶν> εἰς λόγους καὶ λόγων εἰς ἀριθμούς, καὶ ἐπιπολαίους κακώσεις σωμάτων
 ὡς φυσικὰς καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς ὡς ἐπιπλάστους καὶ ὄρκους ἀκουομένους καὶ μὴ ἀκουομένους
 καὶ συμφωνίας εἰς ἐναντίωσιν. ⁴ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν γῇ καὶ ἀέρι καὶ θαλάττῃ με ἔλαθεν, οὔτε
 5 φασματικόν, οὔτε γνωστικόν, οὐ πολύτροπον, οὐ μηχανικόν, οὐκ ἔντεχνον, ἄχρι καὶ τῆς τῶν
 γραῶν μεταφορᾶς μαγγανικῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων.

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ἀναστάσεις **AC q** : ἀνατάσεις **P** || βολὰς **C PHS** : βολλὰς **A** βολὰν **L** βουλὰς **N** || 2 ἀριθμῶν
 suppl. Gitlbauer (p. 98.24) || λόγων **Pq** : λόγους **AC** || κακώσεις **AC PH** : κολάσεις **LNS** || 3 τὰς φυσικὰς om. **A** ||
 ἀκους (expunctum) post ὄρκους add. **A** || μὴ ἀκουομένους καὶ om. per hapl. **q** || 4 εἰς ἐναντίωσιν **ACP** : ἐναντίων
q || ἀέρι καὶ θαλάττῃ **AC** : ἐν ἀέρι καὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ **HNS** ἐν θαλάττῃ (θαλάσση **L**) καὶ ἐν ἀέρι **PL** || ἔλαθεν **A Pq** :
 λέληθεν **C** || 4–5 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὐ **C P** : οὔτε . . . οὐ . . . οὐ **A** οὐ . . . οὐ . . . οὐ **q** οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε **Maran**
 (col. 1107.32) || 5 πολύτροπον, οὐ γνωστικόν **N** || καὶ om. **P** || 6 γραῶν **Cq** : γραφῶν **AP** || μεταφορᾶς μαγγανικῆς
ACP : μαγγανικῆς μεταφορᾶς **q** (ἀμφορᾶς in **S** error ex compendio praepositionis μετα- ortus esse videtur).

the motion of the blood in bodies in relation to energy and the formation and removal of warts²⁰ and the conversions of words and numbers, of numbers into words and of words into numbers,²¹ and the superficial effects of the diseases of bodies as though natural, and the natural as though feigned, and oaths both well-known and never before heard-of, and agreements in contrarieties. (4) And nothing on the earth nor in the air nor in the sea was unknown to me, neither what pertains to apparitions, nor what pertains to knowledge, not what is changeful, not what is mechanical,²² not what is artificial, and not even the magical metaphor of old wives' tales,²³ and all these kinds of things.

1879–1882], 1:144–45) and *παλμοὺς μελῶν* to palmomancy (see esp. the manuals of Μέλამπος ἱερογραμματεὺς, alias Pseudo-Melampus, edited by H. Diels, *Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients* [2 vols.; APAW 4; Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1907–1908], 1:1–42, 2:3–16). I am unaware of any other ancient references to divinations made by the sounds of creaking doors.

²⁰ For various late-antique remedies for the removal (*ἀναστάσεις* AC q) of warts, see *Cyranides* 1.1 [23.45 Kaimakis]//1.α.13 [1:7.31 Mély-Ruelle]; 2.14 [139.15 Kaimakis]; 2.25 [156.14 Kaimakis]//2.μ.4 (περὶ μύρμηκος) [1:68.17 Mély-Ruelle]; 2.33 [166.4 Kaimakis]; 2.36 [170.12 Kaimakis]//2.σ.12 [1:72.16 Mély-Ruelle]; 3.34 [220.5, 221.19 Kaimakis]//3.ο.7 [1:93.18 Mély-Ruelle]; 4.30 [266.6 Kaimakis]; 4.41 [275.6 Kaimakis]. Likely it is to such folk-remedies that Deinomachus refers when he praises the skill of old women (γῤῥᾶες) in curing “swellings” (βουβῶνων) of various kinds (Lucian, *Philops.* 9). P’s *ἀνατάσεις* (“extensions”), if it is not a scribal error, might suggest a kind of moleosophy (cf. the Pseudo-Melampian treatise *Περὶ ἐλαίων τοῦ σώματος* edited by J.G.F. Franz, *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres* [Altenburg: Richter, 1780], 501–8).

²¹ For examples of the use of isopsephy in the rigmarole of late-antique magic, see *PGM* I. 325; I. 455; II. 126–131; IV. 330–332; IV. 1985; VIII. 49; XIII. 156; LXII. 47–51; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.15.2; *T. Sol.* 6:8; Jerome, *Comm. Am.* 5.9–10 (for the spelling *Μεῖθρας* [= 365], cf. the obsidian gemstone in the British Museum, G 485 [EA 56485]); Hippolytus, *Haer.* 4.14; F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Stoicheia 7; Leipzig: Teubner, 1922), 98–104; C. Bonner, “The Numerical Value of a Magical Formula,” *JEA* 16 (1930): 6–9; W. Brashear, “Βανχωωωχ = 3663: No Palindrome,” *ZPE* 78 (1989): 123–24. The final clause *συμφωνίας εἰς ἐναντίωσιν* may allude to isopsephy of non-magical ilk; see, e.g., T.C. Skeat, “A Table of Isopsephisms (P. Oxy. XLV. 3239),” *ZPE* 31 (1978): 45–54; J. Lougovaya, “Isopsephisms in P.Jena II 15a–b,” *ZPE* 176 (2011): 200–204.

²² Magicians in late-antiquity were known to use various mechanical devices, esp. Alexander of Abonoteichus (Lucian, *Alex.* 12, 16–17, 26), who by means of horsehairs and windpipes manufactured a mechanical Glycon that appeared to move on its own and deliver oracles. Hippolytus (*Haer.* 4.28.9 and 4.41.2) describes similar mechanical shenanigans, and Eusebius (*Hier.* 44.2) mentions certain “magical devices” (μηχανάς) attributed to Apollonius of Tyana; cf. J. Miller, “Zur Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Apollonius von Tyana,” *Phil* 51 (1892): 581–84; W. Speyer, “Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen,” *JAC* 17 (1974): 47–63; W.L. Dulière, “Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane,” *ByzZ* 63 (1970): 247–77.

²³ Translators have struggled to wrest meaning from the phrase ἄχρι καὶ τῆς τῶν γράφων (A P) μεταφορᾶς μαγγανικῆς, which Festugière (*La révélation*, 39 n. 3) took to be a reference to invisible inks. Zahn’s “bis zur zauberhaften Verwandlung der Schriftzüge” (*Cyprian*, 33) and Grimal’s “jusqu’aux transferts magiques d’écriture” (*Romans grecs*, 1390) are ambiguous but certainly preferable to Nilsson’s “not even legerdemain with the text of Scripture” (“Greek Mysteries,” 169) and Fumagalli’s “alla pratica del sortilegio avvalendomi del testo delle Scritture” (*Cipriano*, 38). I have adopted the variant τῶν γράων (C q), which I take to mean τῶν (μύθων) γράων or “old wives’ tales” (cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 9; *Dial. meretr.* 4) because ἄχρι καὶ elsewhere anticipates something mundane and unexpected (cf. ἄχρι καὶ μύρμηκος in 7.6). Eudocia’s text diverges at this point with εἰως ἡπεδανῆς ἀπάτης καὶ αἰσυλοεργῶν (*De S. Cyp.* 2.80), but prior to this she mentions γραιώδεις μύθους (2.62). Note Galen’s censorship of the physician Pamphilus because “he resorted to certain old wives’ tales (μύθους γραιῶν τινας) and some silly Egyptian sorceries together with those incantations people like to recite while they pick plants” (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 7 [11:792.11–14 Kühn]). Note also how Apuleius introduces the tale of Cupid and Psyche: *Sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo* (*Metam.* 4.27.8).

- (3) 3. μετὰ ταῦτα εἴκοσι ἐτῶν γενόμενος παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς Μέμφιν ἦλθον ἀκεῖ τῶν [3]
 ἀδύτων λαμβάνω πείραν ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια ἐνοῦνται καὶ κατὰ ποῖον ἀποτρόπαιοί εἰσι
 τρόπον καὶ τίσιν ἐπιτέρπονται ἄστροις καὶ θεσμοῖς καὶ πράγμασι καὶ ἐν τίσι φυγαδεύονται
 καὶ πῶς σκότος τηροῦσι καὶ τίσι πνεύμασιν ἄλλοις τὴν ἀντίστασιν ἔχουσιν. ² ἔγνων ἐκεῖ
 5 πόσοι ἄρχοντες σκότους εἰσὶ καὶ πῶς ἐν ψυχαῖς κατορθοῦσι καὶ σώμασιν ἀλόγων κοινωνίαν
 ἔχουσι καὶ ποῖα ἐνέργεια δι' αὐτῶν κατορθοῦται, δρόμος, γνῶσις, μνήμη, φόβος, τέχνη

A C P q (HLNS) 1 μετὰ ταῦτα AC H : μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα LNS μετὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα P || ἐτῶν γενόμενος A : γενόμενος
 ἐτῶν C Pq || 2 λαμβάνω AC P : λαμβάνων q || ἐπίγεια A : περίγεια C Pq || ἐνοῦνται A Pq : ἐναντιοῦνται C ||
 ἀποτρόπαιοί Pq : ἀποτρόπαιόν AC || 3 τρόπον AC : τόπον Pq || 4 καὶ prius om. Pq || σκότος Pq : κότων in A
 fort. <σ>κότον pot. qu. κότον corr. Gitlbauer (p. 99.1) σκόπον C || τίσι πνεύμασιν AC : ἐν τίσι πράγμασιν Pq ||
 ἐκεῖ ἔγνων q || 5 κατορθοῦσι Pq : καὶ ἰχθύσι AC || ἀλόγων AC : ἐαυτῶν Pq || 6 ποῖα ἐνέργεια . . . κατορθοῦται A
 Pq : ποῖαι ἐνέργειαι . . . κατορθοῦνται C || δρόμος AC PHLN : νόμος S.

3. After these accomplishments, when I turned twenty years of age, I came to Memphis among the Egyptians,²⁴ and there I gained experience in the innermost sanctuaries²⁵ in which they unite themselves with terrestrial spirits, and I learned in what manner they avert evil and in which stars and laws and actions they delight and by which they are put to flight and how they keep watch over the darkness and to which other spirits they show resistance. (2) There I came to know how many archons of darkness²⁶ there are and how they prosper in souls and have communion with the bodies of irrational animals²⁷ and what kinds of energies can be erected through them: swiftness in racing,²⁸ knowledge,

²⁴ Here the Coptic version contains an interpolated text: “Then I went on to Memphis (ΜΗΒΒΕ) and Heliopolis (ΩΝ) in the land of Egypt and I studied in order to become more skilled than Jannes and Jambres” (ΔΙΠΩΤ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΜΗΒΒΕ ΜΗ ΩΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΔΙΧΙΣΩ ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΙΕΡΣΑΖ ΕΞΟΥΕ ΕΙΔΑΝΝΗΣ ΜΗ ΙΑΜΒΡΗΣ [BnF copt. 129¹⁵ fol. 2v, col. ii.9–18; von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 4; cf. Bilabel, “Studien,” 71]); cf. Gero, “Parerga,” 78 n. 30. The pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres* is also set in this renowned capital of magic (P.Chester Beatty XVI. 1ab→.2; 4abdefi→.20//P.Vindob. 29456v fr. a.11; cf. Philo, *Mos.* 1.118; Artapanus, fr. 3 apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.27.23–25). For further descriptions of magic in Memphis, see Lucian, *Philops.* 34–36; Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* 12; cf. F. Graf, “How to Cope with a Difficult Life: A View of Ancient Magic,” in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (ed. P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg; SHR 75; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 93–96.

²⁵ Zahn (*Cyprian*, 33 and n. 4) translated τῶν ἀδύτων as “die verborgensten Geheimnisse” because he thought (rightly) that if the author had intended to refer to underground adyta like those mentioned by Lucian and Gregory of Nazianzus then περίγεια (C Pq) should be ἐπίγεια (A). According to Lucian, the sacred scribe Pancrates—ἀνὴρ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων or ἱερογραμματέων (coni. Fichte), cf. Numenius’ description of Jannes and Jambres as ἱερογραμματέα (fr. 9 des Places apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.8.1)—spent twenty-three years in Memphis learning magic ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑπόγειος (*Philops.* 34). Gregory claimed that Julian descended εἰς τι τῶν ἀδύτων τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀβάτων καὶ φοβερῶν (*Or.* 4.55). The underground sanctuary (note the subsequent reference to the pious who are ὑπὲρ γῆς) is often taken erroneously to be a mithraeum, but given Gregory’s allusions to Maximus of Ephesus and Hades, it is likely that Gregory means to describe the theurgic rites of Hecate into which Maximus initiated Julian (so Smith, *Julian’s Gods*, 130; cf. Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.* 7.2.7–10 [475]). According to Gregory, these rites were designed to confer ζόφῳ τινὶ καὶ ὑποχθονίοις δαίμοσι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, and they so terrified Julian that he resorted by habit to making the sign of the cross (cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 5.2.5–6 [191.3–13 Bidez-Hansen]; Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 3.1 [178.5–18 Parmentier-Scheidweiler]). It is certainly possible that Gregory’s polemical fiction was inspired by the legend of Cyprian of Antioch, with which he was well-acquainted. Cf. Arnobius’ refutation (*Adv. nat.* 43) of the pagan allegation that Jesus stole the names of powerful angels while learning magic in Egyptian adyta.

²⁶ For ἄρχοντες σκότους, see the “archons of the darkness” (ἸΑΡΧΩΝ ἸΠΚΑΚΕ) in *Pistis Sophia* 1.55 [105.26–27], 2.88 [201.23–24], 3.102 [259.12], 4.143 [373.16–17]; cf. *T. Sol.* 8:2 and 18:2 (κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους).

²⁷ AC’s σώμασιν ἀλόγων κοινωνίαν (much more sensible than Pq’s σώμασιν ἑαυτῶν κοινωνίαν) refers either generally to the well-known zoomorphic pure-breds or anthropomorphic-theriomorphic hybrids in depictions of Egyptian deities or, more specifically, to the theriocephalic archons (cf. the preceding note) of Egyptian gnostic sects; see, e.g., NHC II, *Apoc. John* 11.26–35//NHC III, *Apoc. John* 17.20–18.7//BG, *Apoc. John* 41.16–42.9 (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.5; Origen, *Cels.* 6.32–33); NHC II, *Hyp. Arch.* 87.29; *Pistis Sophia* 3.126 [317.13–319.23]; see also C. Bonner, “An Amulet of the Ophite Gnostics,” in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (Hesperia Supplement 8; Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1949), 43–46 with pl. 8.1; idem, *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 135–38, 284 (no. 188) with pl. IX.188. Cf. esp. Origen, *Cels.* 4.93 (in the context of Moses and Egyptian wisdom): ἔοικεν οὖν τις εἶναι ἐκάστῳ δαιμόνων εἶδει κοινωνία πρὸς ἕκαστον εἶδος ζώων.

²⁸ For chariot-racing spells, see esp. *PGM* III. 1–164, which invokes the “cat-faced god” (cf. the preceding note) or Helios-Re (so C. Harrauer, *Meliouchos: Studien zur Entwicklung religiöser Vorstellungen in griechischen synkretistischen Zaubertexten* [AARG 1; Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987], 12–15, 19–25), and *Sefer ha-razim* 3 [94.35–43 Margalioth]; cf. J.G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992),

ἔνδολος, ἀθρύλλητος λήθη καὶ ὄχλου πλήγματα καὶ τὰ τοιουτότροπα.³ ἐκεῖ ἔγνων σεισμῶν καὶ ὑετῶν ὁμοιότητα καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐπιτετηδευμένην ὁρμήν, ὅσα πρὸς ἐναντίωσιν τῆς ἐποπτικῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κινήσεως.⁴ ἐκεῖ εἶδον γιγάντων ψυχὰς ὑπὸ σκότους κρατούμενας καὶ φασματικῶς ὀρθούσας γῆν, ὡς ἂν τις ἐπ' ὤμων ἄρη φορτίον δυσβάστακτον.⁵ ἐκεῖ εἶδον
 5 δρακόντων κοινωνίαν μετὰ δαιμόνων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν προηγμένην κακίαν εἰς ὄλεθρον τῶν ἐπιγείων, ὅθεν μετέχοντα τὰ ἀέρια πνεύματα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ πάνδεινα διατίθεσθαι ὡς βοηθείας ὑλικῆς ἀπολαύοντα.⁶ εἶδον γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ πνεύματος καὶ μὴ χαλινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος διὰ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν ἀντιστηριγμάτων αὐτῆς τῶν φυσικῶν, ἣν ὁ δράκων

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ὁρμή post ἀθρύλλητος add. **C P q** || πλήγματα **A** : παίγματα **C P** παίγνια **q** || τὰ τοιουτότροπα **A P q** : τα τοιοῦτω τροπῶν **A^{mss}** τὰ τούτων τρόπαια **C** || 2 ὁμοιότητα **A P q** : ὁμοιώματα **C** || θαλάττης **A** : θαλάσσης **C P q** || ὅσα **A** : ὡς ἂν **C P q** || πρὸς **AC PHNS** : εἰς **L** legit Maran (col. 1107.52) quia praepositio πρὸς in **P** evanida est || 3 κινήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ **P** || κρατούμενας codd. : τηρουμένης legit Maran (col. 1107.54) quia litterae κρ in **P** evanidae sunt || 4 ἄρη **A** : φέρη **PHN** φέρει **C S** φέροι **L** || φορτίον δυσβάστακτον **A** : φορτίον βαρύτατον **C PHNS** βαρύτατον φορτίον **L** || ἐκεῖ εἶδον **AC PHNS** : εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὡρῶν διαδοχὰς πνευμάτων ὑπαλλασσόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα transp. **L** ex § 1.8 || 5 κοινωνίαν **A L** : κοινωνίας **C PHNS** || τὴν ante ἐξ αὐτῶν add. **C P q** || προηγμένην κακίαν **A** : προῖεμένην πικρίαν **C P q** || 6 μετέχοντα **C P q** : μετέχονται **A** || τοὺς ἀνθρώπους **AC PH** : τοῖς ἀνθρώποις **LNS** || διατίθεσθαι **A** (cf. Krüger § 55.4.9) : διατίθενται **C P q** || 7 καὶ post εἶδον add. **C P q** || χαλινουμένην **A** : χαλωμένην **C P q** || 8 ὑπὸ **A¹ L** : ἐπὶ **A² C PHNS** || ἐπιφορὰν **A** : ἐπαναφορὰν **C P q** || τῶν — αὐτῆς om. per hapl. **C** || ἀντιστηριγμάτων **A** : στηριγμάτων **P q**.

memory,²⁹ fear, skill in cunning,³⁰ unexpected forgetfulness,³¹ and mob violence,³² and things of this sort. (3) There I came to know the semblance of earthquakes and torrential rains and the violent motion of earth and sea manufactured artificially so as to oppose the providential motion of God. (4) I saw there the souls of giants detained under darkness, and they appeared to be holding up the earth as though one were lifting up a burden difficult to bear.³³ (5) I saw there a fellowship of dragons with demons and an evil that emanated from them to the detriment of the inhabitants of the earth and that this is how the aerial spirits receive their share and wreak havoc upon humanity, as they enjoy the benefit of material assistance.³⁴ (6) I saw the earth being weighed down by a wind and it was unanchored beneath the waters because of the attack upon its natural supports,³⁵ which the dragon who is opposed

42–77; M. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, 282–87. Note, too, the inscription on the bevelled edge of Brooklyn Museum inv. 16.1755E, a red jasper depicting a leontocephaline (σὺ εἶ ὁ ταχυεργός).

²⁹ Cf., e.g., the memory spells in *PGM* I. 232–247; III. 424–466, 476–478.

³⁰ On the rare term ἔνδολος (cf. 15.1), see *LBG* 1.3:508b s.v.; cf. *PGM* XII. 176 (ὁ δολο<ποιῶν>).

³¹ The adjective ἀθρόλλητος, variously defined as “non jactabundus, non aucupans famam” (*TGL* 1.1:867a s.v.) and “nicht ausposaunt” (*LBG* 1.1:30b s.v.), is attested elsewhere only in the commentary on Ps 76:4 attributed to John Chrysostom (τὴν φιλίαν ἀθρόλλητον [*PG* 61:698]). A preserves the *lectio difficilior* ἀθρόλλητος λήθη, which is supported by Eudocia’s κρυπταδίη λήθη (*De S. Cypri.* 2.96). I translate the phrase as “unexpected forgetfulness” in light of the “Sword of Dardanos” (*PGM* IV. 1716–1870), an elaborate erotic magic spell to be cast by a man against a woman. The spell, a “magical roofie,” so to speak, contains a hymn invoking Eros as a primordial and all-powerful deity, whom it addresses as “dispenser of forgetfulness” (ταμία λήθης, 1779); see further A.D. Nock, “Magical Notes,” *JEA* 11 [1925]: 154–58. The addition of ὁρμή in C Pq, although it changes the meaning somewhat, confirms the erotic magical context.

³² If not “mob violence” A’s ὄχλου πλῆγματα could mean something like “irksome plagues,” with πλῆγμα for πλῆγη (see LSJ 1417b s.vv.), a term occasionally used in reference to the ten plagues of Egypt (e.g., Josephus, *B.J.* 5.9.4), and ὄχος in the secondary sense of “annoyance” (see LSJ 1281b s.v.). This would be very fitting given the Egyptian setting (see note 24; cf. 6.6; 17.3). The “irksome plagues” would be plagues like those that Pharaoh’s magicians (nameless in Exodus) reduplicated by means of magic, i.e., the plague of water turned to blood (Exod 7:22) and the plague of frogs (Exod 8:3).

³³ The biblical and extra-biblical traditions (Gen 6:4; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6; 1 *Enoch*) referenced by Zahn (*Cyprian*, 34 n. 2) and Rebrük (“*Confessio*,” 146) have no real source-critical bearing on γυγάντων ψυχάς. The author appears to be describing an uranographic image that he has actually seen in Egypt, although clearly he has interpreted the image through the lens of Greek myth, namely that of Atlas and the Titans. Kákosy (“‘Cyprien’,” 110–12 and pl. III) has drawn attention to the eight falcon-headed beings (which he takes to be the “souls of Buto”) depicted in the zodiac of Denderah who with upraised arms support a zodiacal sphere at the outer rim of which stand the thirty-six decans.

³⁴ The author of the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis* first posited a scale of living beings in the order earth, water, air, aether, and fire (984b–d). The aetherial beings are δαίμονες, and the aerial beings (ἀέριον γένος) are similar but subject to feelings of pleasure and pain (985a); see esp. L. Tarán, *Academica: Plato, Philip of Opus, and the Pseudo-Platonic Epinomis* (MAPS 107; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975), 42–47. The aerial spirits are intermediary beings between gods and humans (cf. 5.5), but due to their subtle, aerial corporeality they are not easily visible and because of the passionate aspect of their nature they delight in sacrifices; see esp. Apuleius, *De deo Socr.* 144–150; cf. F.E. Brenk, “In the Light of the Moon: Demonology in the Early Imperial Period,” *ANRW* II.16.3 (1986): 2068–2145. The author explains in detail what he means by “material assistance” in 7.4–10.

³⁵ The ἀντιστηρίγματα are the pillars (στῦλοι) or foundations (θεμέλια) of the earth set up (Ps 74:3 LXX; Prov 8:29) and sometimes shaken (Ps 81:5 LXX; Job 9:6; cf. Job 26:11) by God. Given the mythological context of 3.4, the author apparently

ἀντιδιατασσόμενος τῇ διατυπώσει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πλάνης παράταξιν ἐπετήδευσεν.⁷ ἦλθον ἐν
χώρῳ ὅπου αἱ εἰδέαι τῶν μεταμορφώσεων τοῖς δαίμοσι γίνονται, δι' ὧν τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα
λειτουργοῦσι τοῖς συμπόνοις αὐτῶν ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ ἀνθρώποις.⁸ ἐκεῖ εἶδον πῶς ἀνθίσταται
ἀσεβῆς εὐσέβεια καὶ ἄλογος γνῶσις καὶ ἄδικος δικαιοσύνη καὶ συγκεχυμένη κατάστασις.

- 5 4. ἐκεῖ εἶδον εἶδος τοῦ Ψεύδους μορφήν ἔχον παμποίκιλον καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς Πορνείας [4]
τρίμορφον, αἱματῶδες, ἀφρώδες, σηπῶδες· εἶδος Ὀργῆς πετρῶδες, ἔρημον καὶ τραχὺ καὶ
θηριωδέστατον· εἶδος Δόλου πυκνόν, σύμφυτον πολλαῖς γλώσσαις, κατάκομον· εἶδος Μίσους
τυφλὸν ἔχον τέσσαρας ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοκρανίῳ ὀφθαλμοὺς φεύγοντας ἀεὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ πόδας

A C P q (HLNS) 8 [p. 154]–1 ἦν — ἐπετήδευσεν post φυσικῶν transp. Giltbauer (p. 99.11–12) praeunte Maran (col. 1109 n. a) : haec verba post γίνονται in linea 2 (§ 3.7) habent AC PHNS sic etiam L sed cum ἄς pro ἦν et suo loco teneri posse haec verba mutato ἦν in ἄς (prout corr. L) defendit Klee (p. 209 adnot. r) || 1 τῇ διατυπώσει A : τῇ θείᾳ διατυπώσει C PHNS : τῇ διατυπώσει τῇ θείᾳ L || 2 εἰδέαι AC HNS : ἰδέαι PL || αἰσchrῶν ante μεταμορφώσεων add. C || δαίμοσι C Pq : δαιμονίοις A || 3 συμπόνοις A : συσπόνδοις C Pq || ἀνθίσταται AC : συνίσταται Pq || 4 εὐσέβεια C Pq : εὐσεβῆ A || ἄλογος γνῶσις C P : γνῶσις ἄλογος q διάλογος γνῶσει A || καὶ συγκεχυμένη κατάστασις om. C || 5 εἶδον — Ψεύδους Pq : εἶδον μορφήν τοῦ ψεύδους A εἶδος τοῦ ψεύδους emend. Giltbauer (p. 99.16) εἶδον τὸ ψεύδος C || 6 παμποίκιλον καὶ ante τρίμορφον add. L || ἀφρώδες, σηπῶδες om. C q || σηπῶδες A : σιπῶδες P σηπιῶδες corr. Giltbauer (p. 99.17) et λιπῶδες coni. Maran (col. 1109 n. b) prob. Klee (p. 206b.12) || 7 σύμφυτον, πολλαῖς γλώσσαις κατάκομον interp. Maran (col. 1110.21) cum P || κατάκομον A Pq : κατακοπτόμενον C || 8 τῷ ὀπισθοκρανίῳ Pq : ὀπισθοκράνῳ A τῷ ὀπίσω κρανίῳ C.

to full and perfect shape pursued for the marshalling of error. (7) I came to a place where the forms of metamorphoses are fashioned for the demons, through which the evil spirits render service to men who are their fellow workers in impiety. (8) I saw there how impious piety is set against itself and knowledge without reason and unjust justice and disordered order.

4. I saw there the form of Falsehood, having an all-variegated shape, and the trimorphic form of Prostitution, bloody, foamy, shitty³⁶; the form of Anger, like a stone, desolate and rough and most savage; the form of Cunning, shrewd, covered with many tongues, with long falling hair³⁷; the form of Hatred, blind, having four eyes in the back of its skull that always shunned the light and many feet that

equiparates these with the with the pillars (κίονες) that Atlas bears upon his shoulders (Homer, *Od.* 1.52–54), which are presumably four in number (*Orphic Hymns* proem 39). At an early stage in the manuscript tradition a redactor took issue with Cyprian's cosmological vision, either because of its theological implications or because of its misrepresentation of the dragon's true power (cf. 8.3–5, esp. the description of the dragon in 8.5, which is a clear echo of the description of Yahweh in Prov 8:29) and changed the text accordingly so that the earth, although still weighed down by a wind, “was not let loose upon (μὴ χαλωμένην ἐπὶ) the waters on account of its relation (ἐπαναφορὰν) to its natural supports (στηρίγματα).” On the redaction of this passage and the transposition of the following phrase, see my comments in the introduction (§ 2.4). The four pillars (στυλίσκοι) or supports (ἐδράσματα) or foundations (θεμέλια or θεμελῖα = θέμεθλα) of the earth are a recurring theme in doxological discourses of Greek magical papyri, see *PGM* IV. 669, 1153, 3073; VII. 553; XII. 59, 68.

³⁶ The adjective σηπώδης, defined as “faulig, modrig, verwest” in *LBG* 2.7:1545a s.v., derives from σήπω and appears to signify bodily waste in a general sense (cf. *TGL* 7:193a s.v. σηπεδονώδης). Alexander of Tralles provides a medical cure for dysentery said to dry up τοὺς μοχθηροὺς ἰχώρας καὶ σηπώδεις (*Therap.* 9.2 [2:409.18 Puschmann]). Nicephorus' description of the demon of prostitution that Saint Andrew the Fool sees standing in the midst of a group of whores (τὸν τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα μέσον τῶν ἐταιριδῶν) must derive from Cyprian's vision: “It had the appearance of an Ethiopian, but instead of hair on its head it had feces (κόπρον) mixed with ashes. . . . And a threefold odor and foul smell, putrid, miry, and filthy (ἀποφορὰ δὲ καὶ δυσωδία ἐξήρχετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τρίλογος· σηπώδης, βορβορώδης καὶ κοπρώδης), issued from it” (*Vita S. Andreae Sali* 3.21 [*PG* 100:653b; 34.315–321 Rydén]). Nicephorus Uranus (*Ep.* 50) also uses the term to mean the opposite of “sweet-smelling” (οὐκ εὐώδης, ἀλλὰ σηπώδης). Surely σηπώδης must mean “like feces” or, quite literally, “shitty.” The “form” of πορνεία, then, is an agglomeration of three types of excretory waste (αἱματῶδης = menstrual blood; ἀφρώδης = urine; σηπώδης = feces), an amorphous, but malleable (cf. 9.8), mephitic froth inspired, it seems, by the “foam-born” (ἀφρογενής) love-goddess Aphrodite (see, e.g., Hesiod, *Theog.* 196), although the epithet τρίμορφος is usually reserved for Hecate (see, e.g., *PGM* XXXVI. 190), who as a chthonian goddess was also known by the appellation Βορβοροφόρβα (*PGM* IV. 1402). Aristophanes described the underworld as a place where “you'll see lots of mud (βόρβορον), and ever-flowing shit (σκάωρ)” (*Ran.* 145–146) and elsewhere mentions a “river of diarrhoea” (fr. 146.13 Kassel-Austin); cf. the three rivers described by Lucian, *Ver. hist.* 2.30: ὁ μὲν βορβόρου, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος αἵματος, ὁ δὲ ἔνδον πυρός. The author, however, may well have intended these adjectives as metaphors for three different sex acts, which would surely befit a demonic personification of πορνεία; cf. the led tablet (from Oxyrhynchus?) with a love-charm addressed to Aphrodite, Hecate, and Artemis, among other chthonian deities, designed to seduce a woman named Matrōna, ὅπως μὴ βινηθῇ, μὴ πυγισθῇ, μὴ λαικασθῇ[ῇ], μήτε ἀφρο<δι>σιακὸν ἐπιτελέσῃ μεθ' ἑτέρου κτλ. (P.Colon. inv. T.1, ll. 21–22; see D. Jordan, “A Love Charm with Verses,” *ZPE* 72 [1988]: 245–59). Crude descriptions of demons and their sexual proclivities are not uncommon in magical literature of the period, e.g., in the *Testament of Solomon* the demon Orniast lusts after the bodies of young boys (2:3) and Pterodrakōn prefers intercourse διὰ γλουτῶν (Conybeare's emendation) with shapely women (14:4). The emendations λιπώδης, “fatty” (Maran, “Confessio,” 1109 n. b), and σηπιώδης, “like a cuttle fish” or “inky” (Gitlbauer, *Die Ueberreste*, 1:99.17), are therefore unsustainable.

³⁷ Note also that the demon Obyzouth is described as having long, dishevelled hair (*T. Sol.* 13.1, 5): τὴν δὲ μορφήν κατέχουσα ἅμα τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτῆς λυσίτριχος· ταῖς θριξίν (43*.2–3 McCown; cf. Jackson, “Notes,” 51). In *Pistis Sophia* 4.139 [359.17–19]

ἔχον πολλοὺς εὐθύς ἡρτημένους ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ μὴ ἔχον κοιλίαν διὰ τὴν ἄσπλαγχον
 ὁρμήν· εἶδος Φθόνου ὅποιον τῷ Ζήλῳ, διαφερόμενον δέ, ὅτι τὴν γλῶσσαν προφέρει ὡς
 δρέπανον.² εἶδος Πονηρίας εἶδον ἐκεῖ λεπτόν, ὁστῶδες, πολυόφθαλμον, ἀντὶ κόρων βέλη
 ἔχον πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ὁρμήν κεκτημένον· εἶδος Ἀπληστίας κεφαλὴν ἔχον στενὴν καὶ
 5 μακράν, στόμα δὲ εἶχεν ὀπισθε καὶ πρὸς τῷ θώρακι τὴν γῆν ἀνιμώμενον καὶ τοὺς λίθους
 καὶ λεπτότερον ἐγένετο μηδὲν προϊέμενον· εἶδος Γρυπότητος ὁξὺ ὄλον ἔχον τὸ σῶμα κατὰ
 τὴν ἀρπάγην καὶ τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχον συνδυνούσας εἰς ἔκλειψιν· εἶδος Ἐμπορίας
 κονδόν, γοργόν, γρυπόν, ἔχον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου δεσμὸν περιέχοντα αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν·
 εἶδος Ματαιιότητος εὐστροφον, εὐσαρκον, μὴ ἔχον ὅστ᾽ αὐτὸ σύνολον· εἶδος Εἰδωλολατρείας
 10 ὑψηλοπετεὺς πτερὰ ἔχον ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ πάντας σκέπειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον μηδὲ ἐν μέλος
 ἔχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν σκιαζόμενον· εἶδος Ὑποκρίσεως ὄλον πεπονημένον καὶ ἔχον στέρνα μεγάλα,

A C P q (HLNS) 2 ὅποιον **A** : ὅμοιον **C P q** || Ζήλῳ **A^{Pc} PHL^{Pc}** : ζήλους **C** ἤλῳ **L^aNS** || προφέρει **C** corr. Gitlbauer (p. 99.21) : προσφέρει **A P** φέρει **q** || 3 εἶδος — ἐκεῖ **A P** : εἶδος πονηρίας ἐκεῖ εἶδον transp. Gitlbauer (p. 99.21) εἶδον εἶδος πονηρίας ἐκεῖ **q** εἶδος πονηρίας εἶδος **C** || λεπτόν, ὁστῶδες **NLS** : λεπτόνωντον **A** [λεπ]των ὁ τὸ **A^{mg}** ὁστῶν **C** λεπτὸν ὡς τὸ δὲ **H** λεπτῶδες τὸ **P** || κόρων **A** : τῶν κόρων **C P q** || 4 ἐπιβουλὴν **AC PH** : ἐπιβὴν (sic) **N** ἐπιβῆναι **LS** || κεκτημένον **q** corr. Maran (col. 110.34) : κεκτημένην **P** ἔχον **A** om. **C** || κεφαλὴν **AC PHNS** : τὴν κεφαλὴν **L** || 5 εἶχεν **A** : εἶχε καὶ **P q** ἔχον καὶ **C** || πρὸς τῷ θώρακι καὶ ὀπισθε **q** || 5–6 τοὺς λίθους καὶ **C PHNS** : λίθους καὶ **L** om. per hapl. **A** || 6 ἐγένετο **A** : ἐγίνετο **C P q** || προϊέμενον **AC** : προσιέμενον **P q** || τὸ σῶμα ἔχον **C P q** || 7 ἀρπάγην scripsi : ἀρπαγὴν **A** ἄρπην **C P q** || συνδυνούσας **AC P** : δυνούσας **q** || 8 γρυπόν **A** : ῥυ[πὸν] **A^{mg}** ῥυποῦν **C P q** || ἐπὶ — πᾶσαν τὴν om. **H** || περιέχοντα **A PNS** : περιέχον **C L** || πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ **C PLNS** || 9 εὐστροφον **A q** : εὐτροφον **C P** || δὲ post ἔχον add. **C P q** || 10 ὑψηλοπετεὺς **A q** : ὑψιπετεὺς **C P** || πτερὰ **A** : τὰ πτερὰ **C P q** || πάντας **A** : πάντα **C P q** || μηδὲ ἐν **PL** : μὴ δὲ ἐν **A** μηδὲν ἐν **HNS** μηδὲν δὲ **C** || 11 ἔχον om. **C** || αὐτῶν **A^{mg}** corr. Maran (col. 110.45) : αὐτὸν **AC P** αὐτῷ **q** || ὄλον codd. : ὅλως in **P** falso legit Gitlbauer (p. 100.1 in app. crit.) || πεπονημένον **AC HLN** : πεπονηρευμένον **PS**.

hung directly from its head, and it did not have a stomach because of its heartless rage³⁸; the form of Envy, which was like Jealousy's, but it differed in that it stuck out its tongue like a scythe. (2) I saw there the form of Wickedness, thin, bony, many-eyed, having arrows for pupils because it possessed a desire for scheming; the form of Greediness, which had a narrow and long head, but it had mouths in the front and back of its chest that drew up earth and stones and it was growing weaker because it would let go of nothing; the form of Hookedness,³⁹ having an extremely sharp-pointed body like a grappling-iron and pupils that plunged into ocular eclipses; the form of Commerce, short, fierce, acquiline, having a halter upon its back that was lassoed around all its wealth; the form of Vanity, well-twisted, plump, having no bones whatsoever; the form of Idolatry, high-flying, which had wings on its head, but while it claimed to shelter everyone, not even one of its own limbs was shaded by them⁴⁰; the form of Hypocrisy, completely worn out and having a large chest that was imperceptibly wasting away as though it were being whirled

the archon Madness (παρὰ πλῆξ) is said to have the form of a woman with hair that reached her feet (cf. 2 *Jeu fr.* C [140.19]) and Epiphanius (*Pan.* 1.26.10.11) notes that the Phibionites thought the archon Sabaoth had hair like a woman's. Lucian's Arignotus describes an Egyptian demon similarly as αὐχμηρὸς καὶ κομήτης καὶ μελάντερος τοῦ ζόφου (*Philops.* 31).

³⁸ The form of Hatred (Μῖσος) appears to be a variation on (or a confused interpretation of) that most peculiar of Egyptian deities, the Akephalos daemon, which is usually described as having a head on its feet and/or having its sight in its feet (e.g., ὁ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχων κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν ὄρασιν, cf. *PGM* II. 11; V. 98, 125, 145; VII. 233, 243, 442; VIII. 91; CII. fr. D [P.Oxy. XXXVI. 2753]) and which is depicted in papyri and on gemstones with many upside-down feet in the place of its head; see A. Delatte, "Études sur la magie grecque: V. ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ," *BCH* 38 (1914): 189–249; K. Preisendanz, *Akephalos: Der kopflose Gott* (BAO 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926); idem, "Akephalos," *RAC* 1 (1950): 211–16; Bonner, *Studies*, 58, 110–11, 164–66; K. Abel, "Akephalos," *RE Supplement* 12 (1970): 9–14; A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1964), 42–54 nos. 42–51; S. Michel, *Die magischen Gemmen: Zu Bildern und Zaubersformeln auf geschnittenen Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit* (SWH 7; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 172–74, 429 Tafel 59.2; cf. the image in *PGM* XXXVI. The Akephalos daemon is further described as ὁ μισῶν ἀδικήματα γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ in *PGM* V. 149–150, and in *T. Sol.* 9.1–7 it appears as a demon named Murder (Φόνος), which Solomon blinds by pressing his magic ring against its chest (9.3–4). The form of Hatred as described is the epitome of the μισοφάξ/*lucifugi* or "light-hating" demons according to the Pseudo-Plutarchian classification of demons (*De daemonibus* 11 [PG 122.2:845a]; 291–294 Gautier).

³⁹ γρυπότης or "hookedness of the nose" was often considered an admirable or "kingly" facial feature (e.g., Plato, *Rep.* 5.19 [474d]), but this certainly cannot be the case here. Dwarfs, satyrs, and comically ugly men were commonly depicted with disproportionately large hooked noses and large misshapen phalluses, both of which were taken to be a sign of ugliness (see H.A. Shapiro, "Notes on Greek Dwarfs," *AJA* 88 [1984]: 391–92; K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* [London: Duckworth, 1978], 71; cf. C. Grandjourn, *The Athenian Agora 6: Terracottas and Plastic Lamps* [Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1961], pl. 29 no. 1036). In fact, the subsequent form of Commerce (Ἐμπορία) is identified specifically as a dwarf (κόλοβος/κωλωβος) in both Coptic manuscripts (Pierpont Morgan Library, M609 fol. 58v, col. i.8–9 [Bilabel, "Studien," 76]; BnF copt. 129¹⁵ fol. 4v, col. i.1–2 [von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 8]; cf. Kákosy, "'Cyprien,'" 110). Note, too, that the body of the form of Hookedness is phallic-shaped; it is "like a hook" (κατὰ τὴν ἀρπάγην), and it is upon its own "hook" that the form focuses all of its attention, directing its gaze downward. The three-headed dragon of *T. Sol.* 12.2 is similarly described as a caltrop (τρίβολος), a four-pronged implement thrown to the ground to lame an enemy's horses.

⁴⁰ Kákosy ("Cyprien," 110) connects the description of the form of Idolatry in BnF copt. 129¹⁵ (see von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 8–9), which lacks any mention of Idolatry's unshaded ἡμελος (cf. Pierpont Morgan Library, M609 fol. 58v, col. ii.9; cf. Bilabel, "Studien," 76), with the Egyptian image of the winged solar disk.

- ἀλλὰ λεληθότως διαρρέομενα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνέμων εἰς μυρία περιστρεφόμενα· εἶδος Ἀνοίας ἀρρενόθηλυ, γυμνόν, ἀναιδές, ἀπερίστατον· εἶδος Προπετείας γλώσσαν ἔχον μακροτέραν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος· εἶδος Μωρίας κεφαλὴν ἔχον καρύου, καρδίαν ἔχον χαύνην διαχαιομένην καὶ μηδὲν βαστάζει ἰσχύουσιν.³ καὶ ἐκάστου ἐλαττώματος εἶδον ἐκεῖ μορφὴν ἣν ἕκαστος
- (4) 5 δαίμων ἐνδύόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἵεται.⁴ τριακόσια ἐξηκονταπέντε εἶδη παθῶν εἶδον ἐκεῖ [5] καὶ τῆς κενῆς σοφίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης καὶ κενῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ κενῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐν οἷς πλανῶσι τοὺς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφους.⁵ ὅλα γὰρ ἐστολισμένα ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὑπόστασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, τὰ

A C P q (HLNS) 1 διαρρέομενα **A** : διαρρέοντα **C P q** || ἀνέμων **A L** : ἀνεμίων **C PHNS** || περιστρεφόμενα **A HNS** : περιστρεφόμενον **C PL** || 2 νέον ante ἀρρενόθηλυ add. **C P q** || ἀναιδές om. **C** || μακροτέραν **AC q** : μακράν **P** || 3 ἄλλου **AC PHNS** : ὅλου **L** || ἔχον prius om. **C** || καρύου **L** corr. Gitlbauer (p. 100.4) : καροίου **AC PHNS** || ἔχον alterum om. **C P q** || καὶ post χαύνην add. **HLN** || 4 βαστάζει **AC** : βαστάσαι **P q** || καὶ alterum **A P q** : εἶδον ἐκεῖ εἶδος **C** || 5 ἵεται **AC q** : προΐεται **P** || εἶδη παθῶν **AC LNS** : παθῶν εἶδη **P** εἴ η παθῆ **A^{ms}** παθῶν **H** || 6 κενῆς σοφίας — δικαιοσύνης **A** : κενῆς δόξης (κενοδοξίας **P**) καὶ κενῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ (καὶ om. **L**) κενῆς σοφίας καὶ κενῆς δικαιοσύνης **C PLNS** κενῆς δικαιοσύνης per hapl. **H** || 7 φιλοσόφους **AC PNS** : σόφους **HL** || ὅλα **AC LN** : ὅλως **PS** || αὐτῷ ante ἐστολισμένα add. **H**.

about upon the winds in myriad directions; the form of Foolishness, hermaphroditic, naked, shameless, solitary; the form of Rashness, having a tongue that was longer than the rest of its body; the form of Folly, having a head the size of a nut and a spongy heart that would evaporate and was capable of retaining nothing.⁴¹ (3) And I saw there the shape of each defect that each demon that wears them hurls upon the world. (4) I saw there the 365 forms of passions⁴² and empty wisdom and empty glory and empty virtue and empty justice in which the demons lead the Greek philosophers astray.⁴³ (5) For these forms are elaborately adorned, but they do not have any actual existence because they dissipate quickly,

⁴¹ The forms of Greediness (Ἀπληστία) and Folly (Μωρία) seem also to be variations on the Akephalos daemon (see note 38). The former has a foot-shaped head and the latter virtually no head at all, and both appear to consume excessive quantities through their chests (cf. *T. Sol.* 9:2, 6; *PGMV.* 154; VIII. 93–94). At *PGMV.* 155 the name of the Akephalos daemon is said to be “a heart encircled by a serpent.” The form of Folly’s “spongy heart” may well allude to the magical practice of writing *voces magicae* and *nomina barbara* (within or without an ouroboros) as “heart-shaped” (καρδιακῶς, καρδιοειδῶς, ὡς καρδία) *Schwindschemata*, i.e., abracadabras written “like a bunch of grapes” (βοτρυδόν, βοτρυοειδής, ὡς βότρυς) that vanish (or “evaporate”) line by line one letter at a time (see, e.g., *PGM* III. 70–71; IV. 407–434; LXII. 82; cf. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet*, 63–67; C. Lenz, “Carmina figurata,” *RAC* 2 [1954]: 910–912; F. Maltomini and R.W. Daniel, “Una gemma magica contro l’inflammatione dell’ uola,” *ZPE* 78 [1989]: 93–94); see further C.A. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts on Ancient Greek Amulets: From Oral Performance to Visual Design* (BICSSup 115; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2012).

⁴² The “365 forms of passions” (cf. 4.5 and 5.2) are the hegemonic spirits of darkness or the astrological and quite possibly monomoiraic rulers of the Heimarmenē. In contemporaneous literature they often appear as personifications of vices or archontic abstractions, e.g., the Pleides or the seven στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους in *T. Sol.* 8:2–11 named Deception (Ἀπάτη), Strife (Ἔρις), Fate (Κλωθώ), Jealousy (Ζήλη), Error (Πλάνη), Power (Δύναμις), and Worst of All (Κακίστη), all of which appear under the rubric περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ μοίρων τῶν καλουμένων Ἐννοιῶν in Vat. gr. 1871, fol. 142v (cf. Gal 4:3, 9; Col 2:8, 20). In the *Apocryphon of John* Yaltabaoth (or Ialdabaoth) copulates with Madness (Ἀπνοία in BG,2 39.5, but Ἄνοια in NHC III,1 16.7 and *Authadia* in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.29.4) to produce (although the scribe’s math is incorrect) 360 angelic beings (BG,2 39.6–40), which the scribe of NHC II,1 unsuccessfully attempts to correct in order to produce 365 angelic beings (30.9–12). In Irenaeus’ parallel account (*Haer.* 1.29.4) these beings are named Wickedness (*Kakia*), Jealousy (*Zelos*), Envy (*Phthonos*), Fury (*Erinnys*), and Lust (*Epithymia*)—each Greek term is transliterated in the Latin translation, but the surviving Greek abridges the series to τὴν Κακίαν ἀπογεννῆσαι καὶ τὰ ταύτης μόρια [1:226.3–4 Harvey]. Similarly, Death in NHC II,5 *On the Origin of the World* generates seven male offspring, Jealousy (ἰκωρ), Wrath (ἰωωντ), Weeping (ἰριμε), Sighing (ἰαω εζομ), Suffering (ἰπενθοο), Lamentation (ἰωω λογλαει), and Bitter Weeping (ἰριμε ἡωτβο), and seven female offspring, Wrath (τοργη), Pain (τλγπη), Lust (θηλονη), Sighing (ἰαω εζομ), Curse (ἰκαρογε), Bitterness (τιπκρια), Quarrelsomeness (τῆν<τ>† των), and these beings couple with each other to produce 49 androgynous demons, which according to the author are all named and described in a “Book of Solomon” (106.19–107.1); cf. NHC II,1 *Apoc. John* 19.2–14 (365 angelic creators of Adam’s psychic body); *Pistis Sophia* 4.137 [356.8–9], 4.139 [359.11–16] (360 archons and 5 ruling archons); Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.26.9.6–9 (365 archons worshiped by the Egyptian gnostic Borborites or Phibionites); *PGM* XII. 138–139; XIII. 98, 654; *PDM* XIV. 1224 (365 gods, evidently the rulers of each day of the year).

⁴³ The δαιμόνιον of Socrates (Plato, *Apol.* 31c–d) was often understood to be a personal or guardian δαίμων (see, e.g., Apuleius, *De deo Socr.* 155–156), especially in Neoplatonic thought; see further C. Addey, “The Daimonion of Socrates: Daimones and Divination in Neoplatonism,” in *The Neoplatonic Socrates* (ed. D.A. Layne and H. Tarrant; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 51–72. Note esp. Porphyry’s description (*Vit. Plot.* 10) of the conjuration of Plotinus’ οἰκεῖος δαίμων (cf. *Enn.* 3.4.3) by an Egyptian priest in a Roman temple of Isis. Given the Egyptian (and subsequent Chaldaean) context and the astrological character of the 365 forms (see the preceding note), it is likely that the author has in mind the Neoplatonic οἰκεῖος δαίμων, which Iamblichus (*Myst.* 9.5) places within the context of genethliacal astrology (see esp. J. Dillon, “Iamblichus on the Personal Daemon,” *AncW* 32 [2001]: 3–9).

μὲν ὡς κονιορτός, τὰ δὲ ὡς σκιά θάπτον διαρρέοντα· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἑξηκονταπέντε εἶδεσι τῶν παθῶν τὰ εἶδωλα ἐνεργεῖν παρασκευάζουσιν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν. ⁶ καὶ ἵνα μὴ τὰ πάντα λέγων πολλὰς βίβλους καταγράψωμαι, βραχέα εἰπὼν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας μου ὑμῖν παραινίττομαι.

- 5 5. τριάκοντα ἐτῶν γεγονώς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου στέλλομαι πρὸς Χαλδαίους, ἵνα μάθω τοῦ αἰθέρος τὴν ὁρμὴν, ἣν αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀκριβεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ φωτός. ² παρ' αὐτῶν ἔγνων ὡς ἐπὶ βοτανῶν διαφορὰς καὶ χοροὺς ἄστρον ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμων διαταγὰς. ³ οὗτοί μοι κατέλεξαν οἴκους ἐνὸς ἐκάστου καὶ κοινωνίας καὶ τροφὰς καὶ πόματα καὶ συνουσίας νοερὰς ἐπὶ φωτὸς ἀνθρώποις τελειουμένας· οὗτοί μοι διεῖλαντο αἰθέρα τρόποις τριακοσίοις

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ὡς σκιά **PL** : ὡσκιὰ (sic) **C** om. **A** ὡς σκιᾶς **N** ὡς σκιάν **HS** || 2 εἶδεσι τῶν παθῶν **q** : πάθεσι **P** εἰδῶλοις **AC** || εἶδωλα **C q** (cf. § 5.3) : δαιμόνια **A P** || 3 καταγράψωμαι **C Pq** : καταλείψωμαι **A** καταλείψωμαι corr. Gitlbauer (p. 100.11 sed in app. crit. ad codicem **P** falso attribuitur haec lectio) || ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν **C P** : καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν **A** ἐκ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν **HN** ἐξ αὐτῶν **L** δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν **S** || 4 ὑμῖν om. **C** || παραινίττομαι **C P** : παραινείττομαι **A** παραινίσσομαι **HNS** παραινίζομαι **L** || 5 τριάκοντα ἐτῶν om. **C** || ἤδη ante γεγονώς add. **P** || ἀπ' **AC P** : ἐξ **q** παρ' corr. Maran (col. 111.9) || Χαλδαίους **AC** : τοὺς Χαλδαίους **Pq** || 6 οὗτοι post αὐτοὶ add. **C Pq** || ὑπὸ **A** : ἐπὶ **C Pq** || 7 ἀστέρων post ἔγνων add. **C Pq** || ἄστρον **AC P** : ἀστέρων **q** || διαταγὰς **A** : διαταγαῖς **Pq** διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα **C** || 7-8 οὗτοί μοι κατέλεξαν **A Pq** : κατέλεξάν μοι **C** || 8 οἴκους **AC PHNS** : οἶκον **L** || πόματα **AC PNS** : πτώματα **HL** || 9 τελειουμένας **AC q** : τελουμένας **P** || διεῖλαντο **A P** : διεῖλαν **C q**.

some like clouds of dust, others like shadows, for it is in these 365 forms of passions that the eidola contrive to bring about the seduction of humankind.⁴⁴ (6) And so that I do not fill many books with writing by describing them all, I hint at the gravity of my ungodliness for you by mentioning a few from the many.

5. When I became thirty years of age I set out from Egypt to the Chaldaeans in order to learn the motion of the aether, which these men say exists below fire, but which the more austere among them say exists in light.⁴⁵ (2) From them I came to know the differentia of the stars and their dances as one might learn species of plants and the manoevers of battles. (3) These men described to me in detail the houses of each star and their conjunctions and foods and drinks and noeric unions with humans which are consummated in light.⁴⁶ These men divided the aether for me into 365 zones through which

⁴⁴ εἰδῶλα (C q) is preferable to δαιμόνια (A P) here because the author consistently uses the term δαίμων and never δαιμόνιον (cf. 1.8; 3.5, 7; 4.3; 6.7; 7.3; 8.2, 4; 9.4, 6, 8 [bis]; 10.7; 14.2 [bis], 6; 18.2, 5; 19.10; 22.2) and because a nearly identical phrase (δι' ὧν τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐνεργεῖν παρεσκεύασεν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν) occurs at 5.3 (see further note 47). For the author the term εἰδῶλα has a double meaning: they are both “images,” i.e., thought-images, dream-images, etc. (cf. 7.7, 9) according to philosophical tradition (see W. Burkert, “Air-Imprints or Eidola: Democritus’ Aetiology of Vision,” *ICS* 2 [1977]: 97–109) and “idols” or cult-images, which were commonly equated with demons in early Christian polemic (e.g., Rev 9:20). Plutarch conflated the εἰδῶλα of Democritus with the δαίμονες of Empedocles, Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus (*Def. orac.* 17.419a), but more pertinent here is Athenagoras’ understanding of εἰδῶλα as the byproducts of “irrational and fantastic movements of the soul,” which the aerial demons that hover over matter latch onto (cf. 7.9), enabling them to take possession of human thought and cause εἰδωλομανεῖς (*Leg.* 27.1–2). On the choice of this term, see further note 48.

⁴⁵ On the “motion of the aether,” cf. *Chald. Or.* 61 (αἰθέριός τε δρόμος). The *Chaldaean Oracles* distinguish a triad of concentric world-circles: (1) the empyrean or intelligible world, composed of pure fire and described variously with both πῦρ and φῶς, e.g., the “Fiery Cosmos” (fr. 33), the “Solar Cosmos and the Whole Light” (fr. 59), etc.; (2) the aetherial world, comprised of the zone of the fixed stars and the planets (cf. 5.2); and (3) the hylic or material world, the sublunar region including the earth (see Majercik, *Chaldean Oracles*, 16–19). The prepositional phrase ὑπὸ πυρὸς places the motion of the aether in the aetherial world (i.e., below the empyrean), but the “more precise” ἐπὶ φωτός places it in the empyrean realm. On the interpenetration of the empyrean, aetherial, and material spheres, see esp. Simplicius, *In Phys.* 616.23–617.2 (esp. 616.25–26: εἴπερ καὶ τὸ ἐμπύριον διὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα φησὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐνύλου χωρεῖν). Confusion over the Chaldaean world-divisions is common in Neoplatonic speculation, see W. Kroll, *De Oraculis Chaldaicis* (Wrocław: G. Koebner, 1894), 31–39; H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 137–57, 218 n. 270, 376–77, 430–31.

⁴⁶ The stars are the visible gods, who are likenesses (εἰκόνες) of the invisible and intelligible gods (Julian, *Gal.* 65a–b); cf. esp. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 1.19 (λέγω δὴ οὖν ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν νοητῶν θεῶν παραδειγμάτων καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ ἀπογεννᾶται τὰ ἐμφανῆ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἀνήκουσαν ἔχει τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν εἰκόνα). The “noeric unions” (συνουσίας νοεράς) of gods and humans refer to theurgic rituals of ascent during which the soul raises to the intelligible realm upon rays of light (ἐπὶ φωτός). More specifically, given the context of sacrifice (τροφάς καὶ πόματα), noeric union signifies the *telos* of theurgic prayer. Such prayers would have resembled the formulae of *voces magicae* and *nomina barbara* in magical papyri (cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.5; *Chald. Or.* 150), which the author describes explicitly with the subsequent phrase λόγοις πραγματικοῖς ἐκ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν (cf. *PGM* IV. 2432, where τὸ πραγματικόν describes the magical formula Ἀρπονκνουφι). Iamblichus considered theurgic prayer to be the essential ingredient of efficacious sacrifice (*Myst.* 5.26), and Proclus interpreted *Chald. Or.* 121 (“For the mortal who has approached the fire will possess the light of God”) as the fourth degree of theurgic prayer, which precedes the fifth and final degree of ἐνωσις: “The ‘approaching’ (ἐμπέλαισις) allows us a greater

ἐξηκονταπέντε δι' ὧν τὰ εἶδωλα ἐνεργεῖν παρεσκεύασεν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν καὶ φύσιν ἕκαστον
 ἔχοντα κοινωνὸν ἐνεργείας ὑλικῆς καὶ συμβουλία χρωμένα τῇ τοῦ ἄρχοντος διαταγῇ καὶ
 παραμηνύοντα τὴν βουλήν, τοῖς κινήμασι κρύπτοντα μυστικὴν ἐντολήν, καὶ πειθόμενα
 λόγοις πραγματικοῖς ἐκ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν· τινὰ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενα, ἀλλὰ διάθεσιν τηροῦντα
 5 πρὸς τὴν βουλήν τοῦ φωτός. ⁴ ἔδειξαν δέ μοι πῶς ἐπείσθησαν μετέχειν σκοτεινῆς βουλῆς
 καὶ ἀντιπαρασχεῖν βουλήν τοῦ φωτός εἰς ἐπικράτησιν. ⁵ εἶδον τοὺς μεσίτας καὶ ἐθαύμασα

A C P q (HLNS) **1** εἰδώλοις post ἐξηκονταπέντε add. **A** || δι' ὧν — ἀποπλάνησιν om. **C P q** sed sequentem
 καὶ item omitti in codice **P** falso adnotavit Gitlbauer (p. 100.17–18 in app. crit.) || **2** χρωμένα **A** : χρωμένους
C P q sed neglexit Gitlbauer (p. 100.19 in app. crit.) || **3** παραμηνύοντα **C P q** : παραμηνύων **A** || βουλήν, τοῖς —
 κρύπτοντα **A** : βουλήν τοῖς κινήμασι καὶ κρύπτοντα **C P q** || **3–4** πειθόμενα — τινὰ δὲ μὴ om. per hapl. **C** ||
 πειθόμενα λόγοις πραγματικοῖς **P q** : πείθων (πειθώμενα **A'**) ἐν ἀλογία πραγματικῆς **A** || **4** τοῖς ante ἐκ θυσιῶν add.
P q sed neglexit Gitlbauer (p. 100.20 in app. crit.) || μὴ **A PL** : μὴδὲ **HNS** || **6** τοῦ om. **C P q**.

the eidola have contrived to bring about the seduction of humankind,⁴⁷ and each eidolon according to its nature has a communion with material energy, and they consult the command of the archon for advice and disclose his will, concealing a mysterious injunction by their movements, and they obey the magical formulae that accompany sacrifices and drink-offerings; some, however, do not obey, but still preserve a disposition towards the will of the light.⁴⁸ (4) They showed me how they are persuaded to partake of a dark will and to cause in return the predominance of the will of the light.⁴⁹ (5) I saw the

communion (κοινωνίαν) and a more distinct participation (μετουσίαν) in the light of the gods" (*In Tim.* 1.211.19–24); see esp. J. Dillon, "The Platonic Philosopher at Prayer," in *Metaphysik und Religion: Zur Signatur des spätantiken Denkens. Akten des internationalen Kongresses vom 13.–17. März 2001 in Würzburg* (ed. T. Kobusch et al.; BAlt 160; München: Saur, 2002), 279–95. Note also that members of the Phibionite *sperma* cult would invoke the names of 365 archons in their theurgic-sexual rituals of ascent and descent (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.26.9.6–9).

⁴⁷ The phrase δι' ὧν τὰ εἰδωλα ἐνεργεῖν παρεσκεύασεν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν is found only in A (cf. Bevegner, "Sui modelli," 399). Zahn (*Cyprian*, 37) rightly placed a lacuna after τρόποις τριακοσίοις ἐξήκονταπέντε in his German translation of Maran's edition of P ("Confessio," 111.19). The omission of this clause doubtless gave rise to the variant χρωμένους in C Pq. The 365 aetherial zones or degrees (τρόποις)—Eudocia has αὐτοὶ μοίρας δεῖξαν ἐμοὶ πόλου ἀργυρόεντος / πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἄλλας τρεῖς ἑκατόν γε (*De S. Cyp.* 2.191–192)—could possibly relate to the Chaldaean Kronos as ζωναῖος (*Chald. Or.* 195; cf. fr. 188) and κυκλοέλικτος (fr. 199; cf. Proclus, *In Tim.* 3.20.25; *Orphic Hymn* 8.11, where κυκλοέλικτε is descriptive of the sun). In his commentary on fr. 195 Proclus reports that the theurgists posited five time-gods to rule over the planetary orbits, three aetherial heavens, and the empyrean heaven (*In Tim.* 3.43.9–20). The enumeration of aetherial zones to 365 is likely not "Chaldaean," but surely it is intended to refer to the solar year and to reiterate the concept of astrological determinism as governed by demonic beings (cf. 4.4–5); for discussions of Basilides' 365 heavens, whose chief archon is the isopsephic All-Gott of the magical papyri and gemstones, Abrasax ($\alpha = 1 + \beta = 2 + \rho = 100 + \alpha = 1 + \sigma = 200 + \alpha = 1 + \xi = 60 = 365$), see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3, 7; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.26.6; and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.24.1.2–2.1, 7.1–8.4.

⁴⁸ Here the εἰδωλα are both the Iynges (the Ideas of the Father, a class of ministering angels, couriers between the empyrean and material realms) and the Synocheis (the Connectors, who hold the various parts of the universe together in harmony) of the *Chaldaean Oracles*: e.g., "The (Iynges) which are thought by the Father also think themselves, since they are moved by his unspeakable counsels (βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοις κινούμεναι) so as to think" (fr. 77); "But also, all those things which serve the Material Connectors (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑλαίοις ὅσα δουλεύει συνοχεύσιν)" (fr. 80); "All things yield to the intellectual Lightningbolts of the intellectual Fire, serving the persuasive will of the Father (δουλεύοντα πατὴρ πειθηνίδι βουλῇ)" (fr. 81); cf. fr. 37, 78–79, 82–84. In the Chaldaean system these beings are distinct from the demons, which are described as "bestial" and "shameless" (fr. 89) and decried as "dogs" (fr. 90, 91) that roam the hylic realm, to which the term εἰδωλοχάρης is applied in fr. 163 apud Damascinus, *In Parm.* 317.1–7, a term defined by Nicephorus Gregoras as χαίρων τοῖς εἰδώλοις, ἐνθα οἰκοῦσι καὶ ἐνδαισιτῶνται οἱ ὑλικώτεροι δαίμονες· καὶ τὸ φανταστικὸν φησι πνεῦμα παχυνθέν (schol. ad Synesius, *Insomn.* 138c–d [PG 149:575b]); cf. Synesius, *Hymn* 1.90–94). Nonetheless, the author appears to refer to the Chaldaean demons in the obscure final clause of 5.3 (τινὰ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενα κτλ.), and perhaps also in 5.4, collapsing the entire Chaldaean hierarchy of intermediary beings into a single term, εἰδωλα, which again has a dual meaning (see note 44), just as the Iynges are both divine messengers and the divine messages themselves (Majercik, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 8–14); cf. Proclus' discussion of the Chaldaean σύμβολα at *Plat. theol.* 2.56.16–25.

⁴⁹ σκοτεινός appropriately characterizes the material realm (cf. μελαναυγής κόσμος, ἀμφικνεφής [*Chald. Or.* 163]) as opposed to φῶς, the empyrean (cf. ἀμφιφάης [fr. 1]). ἐπικράτησις, however, is not a Chaldaean but a Stoic term; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 40.37: "The predominance of the aether (ἐπικράτησις αἰθέρος) of which the wise men speak—the aether wherein the ruling and supreme element of its spiritual power they often do not shrink from calling fire—taking place as it does with limitation and gentleness within certain appointed cycles, occurs no doubt with entire friendship and concord. On the other hand, the greed and strife of all else, manifesting itself in violation of law, contains the utmost risk of ruin, a ruin destined never to engulf the entire universe for the reason that complete peace and righteousness are present in it and

ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀερίοις τοῦ σκότους πνεύμασιν ὁ βίος κατακερματίζεται. ⁶ ἔγνω τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαθήκας καὶ ἐξεπλάγην ὅτι ὄρκοις ἰδίοις κεκράτηνται.

6. ἐκεῖ διαθέσεις, ἐκεῖ ἐντολαί, ἐκεῖ σπουδὴ καὶ εὐνοία, ἵνα τῆς μετουσίᾳς ἐαυτῶν [6]
ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἣν ὁ ἄρχων σοφίᾳ δεινῇ κατεσκεύασεν. ² ἐκ γὰρ ἀέρος τὸν νοῦν ἐπλήρωσε
5 συνέσεως, ἐκ δὲ γῆς τὴν γλῶσσαν δολιότητος, ἐκ δὲ καταχθονίων τὴν προαίρεσιν πανούργου
πράξεως καὶ οὕτως ἀπησχόλησε τοῦτον κόσμον ἀποστήναι φύσεως καὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς
εὐσεβείας αὐτοῦ. ³ πάντα ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ ἐνεπορεύσατο, πάντα συνέχεε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ γῇ
(5) ματαιιότητος βασιλεύει καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας. ⁴ ἔμοι πιστεύσατε, ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον ἐθεασάμην
θυσίαις ἐξιλεωσάμενος. ⁵ ἔμοι πείσθητε, ὅτι καὶ ἡσπασάμην αὐτὸν καὶ συνελάλησα καὶ τῶν
10 παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἐχόντων ἐνομίσθην. ⁶ εὐφυῆ με, μειράκιον προσεῖπε, νέον Ἰαμβρῆν,
εὐτονον εἰς λειτουργίαν, ἄξιον τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνου· ἐπηγγείλατό με ἄρχοντα ποιήσειν

A C P q (HLNS) 1 πνεύμασιν τοῦ σκότους **C** || 2 ἀλλήλους **C PHNS** : ἄλλους **A** ἄλληλα **L** || 3 σπουδὴ καὶ εὐνοία
AC P : σπουδαί εἰ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ὁμόνοια **q** || ἐαυτῶν **AC** : αὐτῶν **Pq** || 4 ἀπολαύσωσιν **AC PHS** :
ἀπολαύωσιν **NL** || ἣν . . . κατεσκεύασεν **A** : ἣν . . . ἐξεύρεν **Pq** εἰ ὁ ἄρχων σοφίαν διηγείται **C** || 5 καταχθονίων **AC q** :
τῶν καταχθονίων **P** || πανούργου **AC** : κακούργου **Pq** || 6 τοῦτον κόσμον **A** : τὸν πάντα τὸν κόσμον **C** τὸν πάντα
χρόνον **P** τὸν πάντα τοῦτον κόσμον **q** || φύσεως **AC q** : πίστεως **P** || ἐκ ante θεοῦ add. **L** || 7 ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ — πάντα
om. per hapl. **H** || ἐν τῇ γῇ **A HL** : ἐν πηγῇ **C PS** ἐν τῇ γῇ post βασιλεύει transp. **N** || ματαιιότητος **AC P** : om. **q**
|| 8 βασιλεύει καὶ transp. Gitlbauer (p. 100.30) : καὶ βασιλεύει **A** βασιλεύειν **C** βασιλεύει **Pq** || ἀνοίας **A** : ἀνομίας
C PS ἀμαρτίας **HLN** || ἔμοι **AC PN** : εἴ μοι **HLS** || πιστεύσατε **A** : πιστεύετε **C Pq** || 9 θυσίαις ἐξιλεωσάμενος om. **P**
|| αὐτὸν ante ἐξιλεωσάμενος add. **q** || πείσθητε **A** : πείθεσθαι **C Pq** πείθεσθε Maran (col. 111.46) || ὅτι om. **C Pq** ||
αὐτῷ post συνελάλησα add. **q** || 9–10 τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ **C Pq** : τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν **A** || 10 εὐφυῆ **AC PHS** : εὐφυῆς
LN corr. Maran (col. 111.2) || μειράκιόν με **q** || πρὸς post προσεῖπε add. **A** || Ἰαμβρῆν **LNS** : Ἰαμβρῆν **C PH**
Ἰάμβριον **A** || 11 ποιήσειν **PHNS** : ποιήσεν **AC** ποιήσαι **L**.

mediators and I was amazed that this world is chopped up as well by the aerial spirits of darkness.⁵⁰ (6) I came to know the treaties they had with each other and I was astounded that they were bound by their own peculiar oaths.⁵¹

6. The arrangements there, the injunctions there, the eagerness and willingness there were all so that they might have the benefit of their own partnership,⁵² which the archon furnished with his terrible wisdom. (2) For from the air he filled the mind with quick-thinking, from the earth he filled the tongue with deceit, from the underworld he filled purpose with cunning action,⁵³ and in this manner he left this world no leisure in order to keep it far from nature and far from God and the veneration of him. (3) He cheated everything into error, confounded everything, and he himself rules over purposelessness and ignorance upon the earth. (4) Believe me, because I saw the devil himself after I had appeased him with sacrifices. (5) Trust me, because I even received him with joy and conversed with him, and I was acknowledged among those who held the foremost positions beside him. (6) He addressed me as well-grown, a lad,⁵⁴ a new Jambres, well-strung for service, and worthy of association with that magician. He

all things everywhere serve and attend upon the law of reason, obeying and yielding to it (πανταχοῦ πάντα δουλεύειν καὶ ξυνακολουθεῖν εὐγνώμονι νόμῳ πειθόμενα καὶ εἴκοντα). Elsewhere Dio reinforces this same Stoic doctrine (*Or.* 36.29–31) with Zoroastrian tradition, see the “myth of the Magi” described at *Or.* 36.39–60.

⁵⁰ Cf. notes 34 and 48. According to Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 46.369e), the Persians gave Mithras the name μεσίτης because he was midway between the god of light and the god of darkness. Julian similarly described Helios as μέσον ἐκ μέσων τῶν νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν αἰτιῶν (*Or.* 4.132d); for Julian’s concept of “middleness” (μεσότης), see *Or.* 4.138d (cf. note 56). Here the aerial spirits (cf. 3.7 and note 34) are associated with the κλιματάρχαι, an order of divine beings who rule over apportioned terrestrial regions; see Proclus, *In Crat.* 57.8; *In Tim.* 1.106.11; Olympiodorus, *In Alc.* 20.1.

⁵¹ The ὅρκοι ἰδίοι are perhaps the ὅρκοι μὴ ἀκούμενοι of 2.3. Mitra as the sun-god was still invoked by the Persians to witness their oaths (see, e.g., Xenophon, *Oec.* 4.24; *Cyr.* 7.5; Plutarch, *Art.* 4.174a; *Alex.* 30.682c) at the end of the fourth century CE (Claudian, *Laud. Stil.* 1.58–63), but the author may have been inspired by the “Persian” mysteries of Mithras (cf. 1.4), in which oaths also appear to have played an important role (see, e.g., the oath-ritual described by Tertullian, *Cor.* 15).

⁵² μετουσία is another clear reference to theurgy; cf. note 46, citing *Chald. Or.* 121 apud Proclus, *In Tim.* 1.211.19–24, where the same term is used. Here μετουσία is more or less equivalent to σύστασις in fr. 208; cf. esp. S. Eitrem, “Die σύστασις und der Lichtzauber in der Magie,” *SO* 8 (1929): 49–53; idem, “La théurgie chez les Néoplatoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques,” *SO* 22 (1942): 49–79.

⁵³ Cf. Proclus, *Hymn* 1.5–7 (εἰς ἥλιον): “Hearken: for you, being above the middlemost seat of aether (μεσσατίνην γὰρ ἐὼν ὑπὲρ αἰθέρος ἔδρην) / and in possession of the very brilliant disk, the heart of the cosmos, / have filled everything with your intellect-awakening providence (πάντα τῆς ἐπλησας ἐγερσινόοιο προνοίης).” See further R.M. van den Berg, *Proclus’ Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary* (PA 90; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 157–59.

⁵⁴ Maran (“Confessio,” 1114.2) corrected εὐφῶν in P (so AC HS) to εὐφῶς (so LN) to agree with μεράκιον, but this is both unwarranted (for a similar construction, see 19.14) and lessens the force of μεράκιον. The term μεράκιον is normally used to refer to persons around or under twenty years of age, but when used in reference to adults like Cyprian, who was thirty years old when he set out for Chaldaea (cf. 5.1), the term has a contemptuous sense (see LSJ 1093b s.v.). It is certain that the author understood this usage since elsewhere he uses the term μεράκιον in its more common, non-derogatory sense (as it is regularly used in Greek novels) to refer to the lovesick young man Aglaïdas (cf. 8.6). The devil is essentially telling

μετὰ τὰ ἐν βίῳ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον συνεργεῖν. ⁷ διὸ ὡς τιμὴν ἔχοντι παρ' αὐτῷ
καὶ φάλαγγά μοι δαιμόνων ἐνεπίστευσεν. ⁸ ἀνδρίζου, μοι ἐξιόντι ἀνεβόησε, σπουδαιότατε
Κυπριανέ, καὶ προέπεμψέ με ἀναστάς, ὅπερ καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμασαν. ⁹ διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ
ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ ὑπήκουόν μοι ἰδόντες τὴν τιμὴν μου τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ. ¹⁰ ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος
5 αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνθος χρυσίου λίθοις κεκοσμημένον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστεφανωμένον λίθοις
συμπεπλεγμένοις, ὧν αἱ ἐνέργειαι τὸ πεδῖον ἐκεῖνο κατηύγαζον καὶ ἡ στολὴ οὐκ ἀνόμοιος
καὶ ἔσειεν <ἐν> τῷ χώρῳ περιστρεφόμενος.

A C P q (HLNS) 1 τὰ ἐν βίῳ καὶ **AC HS** : τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ **LN** τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν **P** || παρ' αὐτῷ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 101.3) : παρ' αὐτῷ **PS** παρ' αὐτῷ **AC L** Maran (col. 1114.7) παρ' αὐτοῦ **H** || 2 καὶ om. **L** || μοι prius post ἔχοντι (in linea 1) transp. **Pq** || μοι post ἐπεπίστευσεν add. **q** || μοι ἐξιόντι **P** : μοι εἰμοντι (sic) **A** ἐξιόντι μοι **LS** μοι **C** ἄξιόν τι **H** ἄξιοῦντί μοι **N** || 3 με **AC P** : μοι **H** om. **LNS** || καὶ alterum om. **C** || πάντες alterum om. **C** || 4 ὑπήκουόν μοι **A PHNS** : ἐμοὶ ὑπήκουον **C** ὑπήκουόν μου **L** || ἰδόντες **AC** : εἰδότες **Pq** || τὴν τιμὴν μου τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ **AC P** : τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ τιμὴν μοι **q** || τῆς φαντασίας post εἶδος add. **q** || 5 ὡς om. **C** || τιμίῳ ante λίθοις add. **C Pq** ("post λίθοις" falso scripsit Gitlbauer [p. 101.6 in app. crit.]) || κεκοσμημένον — λίθοις om. per hapl. **LNS** (add. **L**^{2mg} sed omnes praeter λίθοις corrumpuntur) || εἰς ante τὴν κεφαλὴν add. **H** || ἐστεφανωμένον corr. Gitlbauer (p. 101.7) : ἐστεφανωμένην **A** ἐστεφάνωτο **C PH** || 6 συμπεπλεγμένοις **A HL** : συμπλεκόμενοις **C PNS** || ἐνέργειαι **A Pq** : εἰδέαι **C** || τὸ πεδῖον **AC q** (τὸ παιδίον **HL**) : τοπαδίον **P** sic etiam Maran (col. 1114.16) et Klee (p. 207a.27) || ἅπαν post ἐκεῖνο add. **q** || 7 ἔσειεν ἐν scripsi : ἔσειεν codd. || τῷ χώρῳ scripsi : τῷ χωρῷ (sic) **A** τῷ χορῷ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 101.8) τὸν χώρον **q** τὸν χόρτον **PN**^{pc} τὸν τόπον **C**.

promised to make me an archon in the afterlife and to assist me in this life.⁵⁵ (7) Therefore, since I held a place of honor at his own house, he entrusted me with a phalanx of demons. (8) “Be a man,” he shouted to me as I was going out, “most excellent Cyprian,” and rising up, he escorted me out, at which all then marveled. (9) Therefore, all of his archons also submitted to me, because they saw the honor which I had held beside him. (10) His form was like a golden flower,⁵⁶ adorned with precious stones and crowned on its head with intertwined stones whose energies illuminated that fertile plain, and its garment was not unlike its crown, and when it spun around upon the ground there was an earthquake.⁵⁷

Cyprian that he is well-grown, but still a mere lad, and it is only in this context that the devil’s imperative “Be a man!” (ἀνδρίζου) in 6.7 makes any sense. The author references only Jambres not because he was aware of a tradition in which Jambres enjoyed a status distinct from his brother Jannes (so Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 56–57, 60, 63), but rather because Jambres was the lesser of the two magicians (both of whom he eventually surpassed, cf. 17.3). On the relationship between the *Confession* and the pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres*, see my comments in the introduction (§ 2.2).

⁵⁵ Cf. Pseudo-Thessalus of Tralles, *Virt. herb.* proem 25, where Asclepius similarly addresses Thessalus, who like Cyprian (6.7, 9) had attained honor beside a god (ὦ μακάριε παρὰ θεῶν τυχὼν τιμῆς Θεσσαλέ, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ γνωσθέντων τῶν σῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων ὡς θεὸν ἀνθρωποὶ σε θρησκεύουσιν). The Brahmins similarly promised Apollonius of Tyana that he would be esteemed as a god, not merely after death, but during his own lifetime (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.50.1).

⁵⁶ ἄνθος χρυσοῦ derives from the terminology of the *Chaldaean Oracles*. Hecate as the girdling “flower of fire” (πυρὸς ἄνθος, fr. 34, 35, 37; cf. 42, where the idiom is applied to Eros) is the cosmic equivalent of the Chaldaean “flower of mind” (νόου ἄνθος, fr. 1, 49; cf. 130), “that discreet, fiery organ or faculty (the highest power of the soul and akin to the fiery essence of the First God) which permits apprehension [of] and/or union with the Highest God” or the One (Majercik, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 138). Julian applied this Chaldaean parlance to the incorporeal light of the sun’s rays (αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος ἀσωμάτου ἀκρότης ἂν εἴη τις καὶ ὥσπερ ἄνθος ἀκτίνες [*Or.* 4.134a]) upon which the soul of the theurgist ascends and descends (see fr. 66, 110, 111, 115, 194; cf. the esp. the “Mithras Liturgy,” *PGM IV* 425–829). Julian also incorporated the triadic structure of the *Chaldaean Oracles* into his *Hymn to King Helios* and posited three suns or guises of Helios; his transmundane Helios is commensurate with the Chaldaean Aion (cf. fr. 49, quoted in the following note). The stones that adorn the “golden flower” may refer to Chaldaean συνθήματα and σύμβολα, material objects such as plants or stones (or even immaterial “objects” like *voces magicae*) in sympathy with the cosmic deities (see fr. 108, 109; cf. Synesius, *Insomn.* 2.132d; Proclus, *Plat. theol.* 2.56.16–25; *In Tim.* 1.139.27–29; *In Alc.* 69.3–5). According to Proclus, theurgists made statues become like the gods by adorning them with such tokens and symbols (see *In Crat.* 51.19.12–17; *In Tim.* 3.155.18–22). Proclus lists as σύμβολα heliotropes like the lotus (cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 7.2) and various stones: “One can also see that stones inhale the influences of the luminaries, as we see the sunstone with its golden rays imitating the rays of the Sun (ὡς τὸν μὲν ἡλίτην ταῖς χρυσοειδέσιν ἀκτῖσιν ὁρώμεν τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτίνας μιμούμενον), and the stone called ‘Bel’s Eye,’ which they say should be called ‘Sun’s Eye,’ resembling the pupil of the eye and emitting a glittering light from the center of its pupil” (*Sacr.* 149.12–15). *Chald. Or.* 224 describes a σύμβολα-adorned statue of Hecate; it was perhaps by such methods that Maximus animated the statue of Hecate during Julian’s subterranean initiation (see note 25). In describing alchemy as theurgy, Zosimos of Panopolis, like Julian, associates the Chaldaean “flower of fire” with (noeric) Helios: “For those who liberate and purify the divine soul from its elemental bindings and, above all, separate the divine spirit from its fusion with flesh, the symbol of alchemy is born from the creation of the cosmos (χημείας σύμβολον φέρεται <ἐκ> κοσμοποιΐας). Just as the sun is a flower of fire and celestial sun (ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἄνθος πυρὸς καὶ ἥλιος οὐράνιος) and the right eye of the cosmos, so too can copper become a flower (of fire) [i.e., gold] through purification, becoming a terrestrial sun, a king upon the earth as the Sun is king in heaven” (*Βίβλος ἀληθῆς Σοφῆ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ Θείου Ἑβραίων κυρίον τῶν δυνάμεων Σαβαώθ*, ed. M. Berthelot and C.É. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* [3 vols.; Paris: Steinheil, 1887–1888] 2:213.15–21 [text 3.42]).

⁵⁷ Gitlbauer corrected Α’ τω χωρῶ to τῷ χορῶ, which he equated with the adverbial usage of κύκλῳ (cf. Hesychius, *Lex.* χ 645), but the definite article and the impersonal usage of ἔσειεν favor <ἐν> τῷ χώρῳ; his correction somewhat obscures

7. πολλή δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἢ παράστασις διαφόρων ταγμάτων κεκλικότων [7]
 πρὸς ὑποταγὴν αὐτῷ τὰς εἰδέας καὶ ἐνεργείας.² ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο ὡς τὸν τόπον φωτίζειν
 καὶ ἐφάνταζεν οὐ μετρίως καταπλήττων ἅπαντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐν πάσιν ἄστροις καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ
 τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κτίσμασιν ὁμοιότητος ἐαυτῷ παρέπλεξε πρὸς πόλεμον θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων
 5 αὐτοῦ παρατασσόμενος, δι' ὧν ἐδόκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανᾶν ὡς θεός, μηδὲν ἔχων ἐν
 ὑποστάσει, τὰ δὲ πάντα ζωγραφήσας σκιώδη, οἰόμενος ὑφιστᾶν καὶ προβάλλεσθαι.³ ὅθεν,
 ὅταν φαίνονται ἐν μορφαῖς οἱ δαίμονες, διαλύονται· σπουδάζουσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ τῶν εἰκόνων

AC P q (HLNS) 1 τῶν... αὐτοῦ ἢ παράστασις **A** : ἢ... αὐτοῦ παράστασις **C q** ἢ... αὐτῷ παράστασις **P** || κεκλικότων **P q** : κεκληκότων **AC** || 2 αὐτῷ **A P q** : αὐτοῦ **C** || ὡς **om. C** || φωτίζειν **AC q** : φωτίζει **P** || 3 καταπλήττων **AC P** : καταπλήσσω **q** || γὰρ **om. q** || φυτοῖς καὶ **AC q** : ἐν φυτοῖς καὶ ἐν **P** || 4 θεοῦ **AC** : κυρίου **P q** || 5 παρατασσόμενος **AC q** : παραταττόμενος **P** || πλανᾶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους **L** || 5–6 ἐν ὑποστάσει **A P** : ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ **q** ἐνυπόστατον **C** || 6 ζωγραφήσας σκιώδη **A** : ζωγραφίᾳ σκιώδη **C** ζωγραφίᾳ σκιώδει **P** ἐν ζωγραφίᾳ μόνον σκιώδει **q** || καὶ προβάλλεσθαι **om. q** || 7 ἐν μορφαῖς **C P q** : εὐμορφεῖς **A** || εὐθέως ante διαλύονται **add. C** || γὰρ **A P q** : δὲ **C** || καὶ **P q** : καὶ **AC**.

7. Now, there was a great display around his throne of various ranks that inclined their forms and energies in subordination to him.⁵⁸ (2) But he was also displaying himself so as to illuminate the place, and gradually he became visible, terrifying them all tremendously.⁵⁹ For he wove likenesses of himself among all the stars and plants and creatures of God, having drawn them up for battle with God and his angels, and through these likenesses he thought he could lead men astray as a god, although he possesses nothing in reality, but having painted everything dark, he supposed he could capture all things and ostentatiously exhibit them.⁶⁰ (3) This is why the demons dissolve whenever they appear in forms,

real source behind the author's description of the devil's form (which was completely lost on subsequent redactors). The image of a "golden flower adorned with precious stones" being spun around (περιστρεφόμενος) "on the ground" (<έν> τῷ χώρῳ) is a perfect description of the *inyx*-top or magic wheel used in Chaldaean rites of theurgy. Commenting on *Chald. Or.* 206 (ἐνέργει περὶ τὸν Ἑκατικὸν στρόφαλον), Psellus writes: "A magic wheel of Hecate is a golden sphere embedded with a sapphire in the center (ὁ Ἑκατικὸς στρόφαλος σφαῖρά ἐστι χρυσεή, μέσον σάπφειρον περικλείουσα) and inscribed all over with magical characters, which is spun (στρεφομένη) by means of a cow-hide leather thong. [Theurgists] spin the sphere while they make invocations (ἦν δὴ στρέφοντες ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπικλήσεις). Such things they also call charms (ἰγγας), whether they be spherical or triangular or some other shape. And while wheeling them about (δονοῦντες) they cry out unintelligible or beast-like sounds, laughing and flailing the air. Therefore [the oracle] teaches that the motion of such a magic wheel energizes the initiatory rite, because it has ineffable power" (translating ed. D.J. O'Meara, *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora* [2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1989], 2:133.16–24, a much better text than *PG* 122:1133a–b). The στρόφαλος was the Chaldaean version of the *rhombos* commonly used in Dionysian rites (see, e.g., Orphic fr. 34 Kern apud Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2.18) and esp. in erotic magic rituals to attract wayward lovers (see, e.g., Theocritus, *Idyllia* 2.17 et al. [ἱγγξ, ἔλκε τὸ τήνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα] and esp. 2.30–31 [χῶς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χάλκεος ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας / ὥς τήνος δινοῖτο ποθ' ἀμετέραισι θύραισιν]; cf. Lucian, *Dial. meretr.* 4.5); see further E. Tavenner, "Iynx and Rhombus," *TAPA* 64 (1933): 109–27; A.S.F. Gow, "ΙΥΤΕ, ΠΟΜΒΟΣ, Rhombus, Turbo," *JHS* 54 (1934): 1–13; S.I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Role in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature* (ACS 21; Atlanta: Scholars Press), 90–110. The spinning of the magic wheel (στρόφαλος) mimicked the whirling (στροφάλιγξ) of the celestial spheres and attracted *per analogiam* the celestial Iynxes (Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 250); cf. *Chald. Or.* 49: "For [Aion] alone, copiously plucking the flower of mind (νόου ἄνθος) from the strength of the Father, has the power to perceive the Paternal Intellect <and> to impart <Intellect> to all Sources and Principles, and to whirl them about and keep them forever in ceaseless motion (καὶ δινεῖν αἰεὶ τε μένειν ἀόκνω στροφάλιγγι)." Note also that the epithet χρυσοστεφά ("golden-crowned") at *PGM* IV. 2266–2267 likely refers to Hecate.

⁵⁸ κεκλιότων is preferable to κεκληκότων, adopted by Gitlbauer (*Die Ueberreste*, 1:101.9), although the latter may well be a simple case of iotacism. The verb κλίνω is used in a similar manner in the "Sword of Dardanos," where it means "to make subservient" (LSJ 961a s.v.): πρᾶξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος, ἥς οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἴσον διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· κλίνει γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἄντικρυς, οὗ ἂν θέλῃς, λέγων τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι· κλίνω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα (*PGM* IV. 1715–1720). There is a similar scene in *Acts Pet. Paul* 16, where in a dream Paul sees one who can only be the devil sitting upon a golden throne (εἶδέν τινα καθήμενον εἰς καθέδραν χρυσήν) and surrounded by a multitude of shadowy demons (πλήθος μαύρων).

⁵⁹ Such details are typical in descriptions of theophanic experiences; cf., e.g., Pseudo-Thessalus' description of his vision of the god Asclepius: ἐγὼ δὲ μόλις μὲν ἦκουσα· κατεπεπλήγμην γὰρ καὶ ἐπεπληρώμην τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βλέπων μορφήν (*Virt. herb.* proem 26).

⁶⁰ Cf. esp. *Chald. Or.* 108: "For the Paternal Intellect has sown symbols throughout the cosmos" (σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρεν κατὰ κόσμον). The author characterizes the devil in terms traditionally applied to the Platonic demiurge; for representations of the demiurge as a weaver, see *Tim.* 41d (ἀθανάτω θνητὸν προσυφαίνοντες) and 78b (πλέγμα ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς συνυφηνάμενος), and as a painter, see *Tim.* 55c, but contrast the author's τὰ δὲ πάντα ζωγραφήσας σκιώδη with Plato's use of διαζωγραφέω ("paint in diverse colors," LSJ 394a s.v.). Cf. 1.9, where the demiurgical tampering (ἐτύπωσεν) of the devil (ὁ ἄρχων, cf. 5.3, 6.1) is juxtaposed with God's perfect creation (διατύπωσιν), but the author does not fully elaborate

- (6) δεικνύναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν. ⁴ πῶς δὲ ἔχει τῶν σκιῶν τούτων τὴν ὕλην, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν
 θυσιῶν; ⁵ ἡ γὰρ ἀναθυμίασις ἐκ τῶν κνισῶν ἐκείνων γίνονται αὐτοῖς ὡς ἔριον καὶ λίνον καὶ
 ἰστῶνες καὶ βάμματα, τέχνη τε ναοῦ καὶ ὄργανα καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἀμφιέννυσι ταῖς
 σκιαῖς αὐτῶν ἀντὶ μορφῶν χρώμενοι. ⁶ διὰ τοῦτο αἰτεῖ θυσίαν ἄχρι καὶ μύρμηκος καὶ ὕδατα
 5 ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ ἔρια καὶ καρπούς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν φαντασιωδῶν
 καὶ σκιῶν τὴν ἀπόχρησιν. ⁷ ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν θανόντων τὰς μνήμας ἐμμόρφους ἔχομεν ἐν διανοίᾳ
 καὶ ὀρώμεν αὐτοὺς μὴ φαινομένους καὶ μὴ ὁμιλοῦσι συνομιλοῦμεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος τῶν
 ἀφιερωμένων αὐτῷ τὰς μορφὰς ἀνατυπούμενος ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ περιτίθησιν·
 ὑετὸν διδούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕδωρ, ποιῶν πῦρ, ἀλλὰ μὴ καῖον, διδούς ἰχθύν, ἀλλ' οὐ τροφήν,
 10 χρυσὸν δωρούμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνύπαρκτον. ⁸ καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συμμορφαζόμενος πόλιν
 διαδείκνυσι καὶ οἴκους καὶ χώρας ὅρη τε καὶ πατρίδας. ⁹ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀερίνων

A C P q (HLNS) 1 τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν **AC q** : αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν **P** || καὶ δύναμιν post ἐξουσίαν add. **q** ||
 τούτων om. **S** || τὴν codd. : τὴν in **P^{mg}** neglexit Maran (col. 1114.33) || ἐρῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλοθεν post ὕλην add. **Pq** ||
 ἀλλ' **A** : ἀλλ' ἢ **C Pq** || 2 ἡ γὰρ ἀναθυμίασις **A** : αἱ γὰρ ἀναθυμιάσεις **C P** αἱ γὰρ ἀναθυμιάσεις αἱ **q** || κνισῶν **AC** :
 κνισσῶν **q** κνισῶν (sic) **P** || αὐτοῖς **AC q** : αὐτῷ **P** || 3 ἰστῶνες **C Pq** (corr. **L^{2mg}**) : ἰστός τε **L¹** χιτῶνες **A** || τέχνη τε
 ναοῦ **AC P** : καὶ τέχνη **q** || 4 ἄχρι καὶ **C Pq** (cf. § 2.4) : ἀντὶ **A** || μύρμηκος **AC** : τοῦ μύρμηκος **P** μύρμηκος καὶ
 κόπρου **q** || ὕδατα **AC PH** : ὕδατος **LNS** || 5 καὶ alterum incuria om. Klee (p. 207a.48) || τῆς om. **C P** || 6 καὶ
 σκιῶν **A** : σκιῶν **C PHNS** καὶ σκιωδῶν **L** || τῶν θανόντων om. **C** || διανοίᾳ **AC P** : τῇ διανοίᾳ **HLS** || 6–7 ἐν διανοίᾳ
 καὶ ὀρώμεν om. per hapl. **N** || 7 μὴ alterum om. **NS** (add. **L^{ss}**) || 9 πῦρ ποιῶν **q** || οὐ τροφήν **AC P** : οὐκ εἰς
 τροφήν **q** || 10 καὶ ante χρυσὸν add. **C Pq** || ὕλῶν post ἄλλων add. **C Pq** || πόλιν **AC P** : πόλεις **q** || 11 διαδείκνυσι
A : δείκνυσι **C Pq** || ἀνθέων ἀερίνων **A** : ἀνθῶν ἀερίνων Gitlbauer (p. 101.26) Ἀθηνῶν ἀερίων **C**.

for they are eager, if only through their images, to exhibit their own authority. (4) How else could he obtain the material for these shadows except through sacrifices? (5) For the rising vapor from the savor of those burnt-offerings are favorable to the demons, as are wool and linen and weaving-sheds and the dyed fringes of garments and the decorations and instruments of a temple, and they dress themselves in them, making use of their shadows for forms.⁶¹ (6) This is why he demands sacrifice—even sacrifices of ants!—and why he demands back water and wools and fruits and all the things of the earth, so that through them he might increase consumption of his fantastic images and shades. (7) Therefore, just as in our thought we have memories endued with the forms of those who have died and we see them even though they do not appear and we converse with them even though they do not speak, so also the devil forms images in the shapes of things that are sacred to him and places them around both himself and his companions. He gives rain, but not water. He makes fire, but it does not burn. He provides fish, but not nourishment. He presents one with gold, but it is not real.⁶² (8) For from the rest of the materials he simultaneously fashions⁶³ a city and manifests houses and fields and mountains and countrysides. (9) So it is as well for the shadowy eidola, who from the aerial flowerings⁶⁴ make garments of skin-colored

the devil's "demiurgical" power until 7.7 and 9.3–5. On this passage, together with 6.2 and 7.1–2, cf. esp. Proclus' statement concerning Helios: "For the sun, as the king of all things visible and the one that imitates the demiurgic powers through its rays of light, has all the cosmic rulers as his bodyguards, while he generates, fills with life, and renovates the generations" (*In Remp.* 2.220.25–221.1, trans. van den Berg, *Proclus' Hymns*, 158; cf. *In Remp.* 2.59.1–2).

⁶¹ κνίσα is the sweet-smelling savor (steam and odor) of a burnt-offering, which was thought to ascend up into the heavens and please the gods (a common motif in Greek literature, e.g., Homer, *Il.* 1.317; 4.48–49; 9.500; cf. Lucian, *Sacr.* 9, 13). That this is how the demons in particular achieve corporeal formation, however, is not mere Christian polemic but derives from pagan authors. Porphyry maintained that fire was the only appropriate sacrifice for the highest gods and that animal sacrifices should be reserved only for daemons, whether beneficent or depraved (*Abst.* 2.36.5). The evil daemons "rejoice in drink-offerings and the savor of sacrifices (λοιβὴ τε κνίσση τε, citing Homer, *Il.* 9.500), through which their pneumatic vehicle is fattened (δι' ὧν αὐτῶν τὸ πνευματικὸν καὶ σωματικὸν παίνεται); for this vehicle lives on vapors and exhalations (ἀτμοῖς καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεσιν), and it draws power from the savor that rises from blood and flesh" (*Abst.* 2.42.3). Celsus warned his readers to abstain from associations with such beings because "the earthly daemons are absorbed with created things, and are riveted to blood and burnt-offering and magical enchantments" (τῶν μὲν περιγείων δαιμόνων τὸ πλείστον γενέσει συντετηκὸς καὶ προσηλωμένον αἵματι καὶ κνίσσῃ καὶ μελωδίαις) and thus might cause one to become absorbed in corporeal concerns and slip into magic (apud Origen, *Cels.* 8.60). It is hardly surprising that Christian apologists latched onto such statements and used them to their advantage; see, e.g., Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 4.22.12–14, citing Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.42.3. Origen, too, claimed that "the character of the daemons is also made clear by the fact that their bodies are nourished by the smoke from sacrifices and by the portions taken from the blood and burnt-offerings (ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀναθυμιάσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἱμάτων καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἀποφοραῖς τρεφόμενα αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα) in which they delight" (*Cels.* 7.5).

⁶² Cf. Cyprian's disappearing gold trick at 14.7.

⁶³ On the rare verb συμμορφάζομαι, see *LBG* 2.7:1651a s.v.

⁶⁴ Here ἄνθος appears to mean both the aerial "fragrance" (or "eruption") of the savor of sacrifices (cf. 7.5) and the Chaldaean "flowering of mind" (see note 56).

τοῖς εἰδώλοις ποιοῦσι στολῶν ἐνδύματα χρωτῶν σκιώδεσιν, οὐδὲν ἢ τῶν ὀνείρων ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπόστασιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις οὕτω φαντάζει τὰς ψυχάς.¹⁰ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνοις φαντάζει, οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς ἄνθρωποι θεραπεύοντες παρασκευάζουσιν.

8. τί δὲ πρὸς με τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον θεῷ προσελθεῖν καὶ γνῶντα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ δράκοντος [8]
 5 καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, ὅτι κατάρυγμα ἐν σκότει τῆς ἀσεβείας;² ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων ἐκ τῆς παρθένου Ἰουστίνης τοὺς δαίμονας ὅτι καπνοὶ εἰσι καὶ οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν.³ εἶδον ἐν τῇ κόρῃ τῇ Χριστιανῇ τὸν τοσαῦτα φουσῶντα δράκοντα μήτε κώνωπος ἰσχὺν ἐπιδεικνύμενον· ἐπείσθην ἐκ τῆς θηλείας τῆς εὐλαβοῦς τὸν τηλικαῦτα ἐπαγγελλόμενον βασιλέα τοῦ σκότους, ὅτι ἐψεύδετο.⁴ ὁ δράκων ὡς σκώληξ πρὸς τῆς Ἰουστίνης κατεπατήθη·
 10 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δαιμόνων γυναικὸς τῇ θύρᾳ προσήδρευε μὴ τολμῶν ὑπείσελθεῖν.⁵ ὁ τοῖς ἀπείροις πνεύμασι δορυφορούμενος σάνιδιον γυναικὸς διαρρήξαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν· ὁ πάντων κρατεῖν οἰόμενος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἐξευροῦτο· ὁ τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν σείειν βρενθυόμενος κόρης τὴν φύσιν πάρεργος ἐγένετο· ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος ἐν πανουργίᾳ γυναικὸς οὐκ ἡλλοίωσε

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ποιοῦσι — χρωτῶν **A** : ποιοῦσιν ἐνδύμασιν χρώντα **C** || ἢ τῶν **A** : ἦττον **C** || 11 [p. 172]–2 ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων — ὑπόστασιν **A** : πόαν καὶ ἄνθη καὶ ἔρια (ἱερεῖα **q**) καὶ ἄνθηνα ἀπλώματα καὶ ὀνείρων ὑπόστασιν (ὑποστάσεις **q**) δείκνυσιν **Pq** || 2 ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις οὕτω **AC** : αὐτὸς ἐν νυκτὶ **Pq** || φαντάζει **AC PHS** : βασιλεύει **LN** || 3 αὐτὸν (καὶ **PS**) ταῦτα ποιεῖν post παρασκευάζουσιν add. **Pq** || 4 με **A** : ἐμέ **C Pq** || τὸν μὴ **A** : τὸν **C om.** **Pq** || καὶ γνῶντα **AC HNS** : ἐπιγνῶντα **L** καὶ γνῶναι **P** || αἰτίαν **AC** : ἀτονίαν **Pq** || 5 καὶ πᾶσαν — ἀλαζονείαν **om. q** || ἀλαζονείαν **A** : ἀλαζονία **C P** || κατάρυγμα **AC PH** : κατορώρυγμα **LNS** || σκότει **AC PHL** : σκότῳ **NS** || ἐπείρασά γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος, εἰδὼς, ὅτι φαντάζει μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ποιεῖ ἀληθές (ἀληθῶς **H**) post ἀσεβείας add. **Pq** || 5–6 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων **A** : ἔγνων γὰρ **C** ἔγνων **Pq** || 6 καπνοὶ **A** : καπνός **C Pq** || 6–7 οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν **AC** : οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν **PHLS** οὐκ ἐνισχύουσιν **N** || 8 ἐπιδεικνύμενον **AC** : ἔχοντα **Pq** || τῆς θηλείας τῆς εὐλαβοῦς **AC** : τῆς εὐσεβοῦς παρθένου **Pq** || τηλικαῦτα **ACP** : τηλικαῦτα (τοιαῦτα **L**) καὶ τοσαῦτα **q** || 9 γὰρ ante δράκων add. **P** || καὶ post δράκων add. **NLS** || πρὸς (πρὸ **A^{ms}** ὑπὸ **C**) τῆς (**om. C**) Ἰουστίνης κατεπατήθη **AC** : κατεπατήθη ὑπὸ Ἰουστίνης τῆς κόρης **Pq** || 10 γυναικὸς — ὑπείσελθεῖν **AC** : παρέμενε τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς παιδὸς εἰσελθεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος **Pq** || 10–11 τοῖς ἀπείροις πνεύμασι **AC** : μυρίαις φάλαγξι **Pq** || 11 γυναικὸς **AC** : τῆς θύρας αὐτῆς (αὐτοῦ **P**) **Pq** || ἴσχυσεν **AC q** : ἡδύνατο **P** || 11–12 ὁ πάντων κρατεῖν οἰόμενος **AC** : ὁ νομίζων πάντων κρατεῖν **Pq** || 12 γυναικὸς **AC** : κόρης **Pq** || ἐξευροῦτο **AC** : ἐπαίζετο **PNS** πέζεται (*lege παίζεται*) **H** ἐρραπίζετο **L** || βρενθυόμενος **A Pq** : ἐναβρυόμενος **C** βρενθυόμενος **Klee** (p. 211a.13).

robes, which are nothing more than the substance of dreams; for in fact this is how they deceive souls in dreams.⁶⁵ (10) And while it is they who make these images visible to dreamers, it is the impious men who make this possible by rendering such services.

8. But what good was all this to me, who did not wish to draw near to God even when I came to know the malfeasance of the dragon and all his power and imposture because I was buried in the darkness of ungodliness?⁶⁶ (2) For I truly came to know the demons from the maiden Justina, that they are smoke and have no power. (3) Beside the Christian virgin I saw the dragon so greatly extinguished, without mustering even the strength of a mosquito. From the reverent female I became persuaded that he who proclaims his greatness is really a king of darkness, because he deceives by lies. (4) The dragon was trampled down like a worm before Justina. The king of demons crouched at a woman's door without even daring to sneak in. (5) He who is attended by countless spirits was not strong enough to break through a weak board on a woman's door. He who thinks he rules over all was sapped of his strength⁶⁷ by a woman. He who boasts that he shakes the earth below heaven⁶⁸ was made subordinate in nature by a girl. He who is such a great expert in villany could not alter a woman's calculations. He who thinks

⁶⁵ The redactor of the longer recension has greatly simplified this passage: "In like manner he [sc. the devil] shows grass and flowers and blooming expanses and the substance of dreams, for in fact he himself deceives souls in the night" (Pq). The redactor likely altered and abridged the passage concerning the demons because he mistakenly assumed the devil to be the subject of φαντάζει (so also in 7.10), but τὰ εἰδωλα elsewhere (5.3) takes a singular verb (although not consistently, cf. 4.5). Eudocia's δαίμοσιν αἰμοβόροις σκιοειδέα πάντα φέροντα (*De S. Cypri.* 2.271) attests the text of the short recensions.

⁶⁶ The omission of μή appears to have caused the redactor of the long recension to interpolate the following sentence: "For I made trial of his falsehood, since I knew that he only deceives and makes nothing real" (Pq). The negative μή is required by context, otherwise Cyprian claims that he wanted to draw near to God for some indeterminate period of time prior to his encounter with Justina, which contradicts his statement in 17.6. Here Eudocia's manuscript must have resembled C (cf. *De S. Cypri.* 2.275–278), which lacks both A's μή and Pq's interpolation. Bevegni ("Sui modelli," 401) correctly notes the absence of this passage in both Eudocia's metaphrasis and in the short recension (BAV, Vat. gr. 1809), but he neglects to indicate the absence of μή in both Eudocia's text and in the long recension (BnF gr. 1506). The author has concluded his outline of Cyprian's occult *curriculum vitae* and here transitions to the story of Cyprian's encounters with Aglaïdas and Justina. This section epitomizes and foreshadows the events described in 9.1–11.15, which are substantially different and more grandiose than the events narrated in the *Conversion*; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 2.1).

⁶⁷ The rare verb form ἐκνευρώω, lit. "to cut the sinews" (= ἐκνευρίζω), attested only in manuscript A occurs repeatedly in a number of chariot-racing *defixiones* from Carthage; see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904), 308–22 (nos. 234.15, 18, 43; 235.12; 236.21; 237.11, 33–34; 238.10, 28; 239.10, 25; 240.10, 28). The author's usage, however, reflects contemporaneous usage among Christian authors; cf., e.g., Athanasius: ἐξενεύρωσεν ὑμᾶς [sc. τοὺς δαίμονας] ὁ κύριος (*Vit. Ant.* 9.9); Gregory of Nyssa: ἕως ἂν αὐτῶν ἐκνευρώσῃ τὴν δύναμιν (*Inscr. Ps.* 15 [164.4 McDonough]); and John Chrysostom: τοῦ διαβόλου τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐξενεύρωσε (*PG* 51:35); μή ἡ κολακεία ἐκνευρώσῃ τὸν νέον (*PG* 56:588); and ἐξενεύρωσε τὸν διάβολον (*PG* 60:694).

⁶⁸ ὁ τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν σεΐειν βρενθινόμενος is a clear echo of Prov 8:29, where Yahweh is described as ὁ σεΐων τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐκ θεμελίων (cf. note 35).

- λογισμούς· ὁ δοκῶν ὠρύεσθαι ὡς λέων καὶ καταπλήττειν ὡς κώνωψ ἐν τῷ προαυλίῳ αὐτῆς
 (7) κατεπαίζετο. ⁶ ὡς γὰρ παρείην ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν θαυματουργῶν [9]
 καὶ πολλὰ φαντάζων τέχνη τῇ μαγικῇ καὶ πολλοῖς παρεχόμενος <ἄκεα> ἔρωτος καὶ φθόνου
 ζήλου τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πονηρίας τῆς σαρκικῆς, Ἀγλαΐδας τις, κομψὸν μειράκιον, μεταξὺ
 5 τῶν ἄλλων μοι προσέρχεται ἀξιῶν περὶ παρθένου τινὸς τοῦνομα Ἰουστίνης αἰτῶν χάριν,
 ὅπως αὐτῆς περιγένηται. ⁷ τότε δήλη μοι γέγονεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου ἀδρανίας καὶ
 φαντασίας· καὶ γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ δεδομένη μοι πρὸς λειτουργίαν εἰσήλασεν ἐν τῇ

A C P q (HLNS) 13 [p. 174]–1 ὁ τοιοῦτος — λογισμούς **AC** : οὐ γὰρ ἡδύνατο τοὺς λογισμοὺς αὐτῆς ἀλλοιωῶσαι ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγων περιτρέπειν (περιτρέπειν λέγων τὸν οὐρανὸν **L**) **Pq** || **1** ὠρύεσθαι Gitlbauer (p. 102.10) : ὠρυεῖσθαι **A** ὠρυᾶσθαι **C** || ὁ δοκῶν — καταπλήττειν (καὶ καταπλήττειν om. **C**) **AC** : ὁ ὡς λέων (**PHNS**) κατὰ παντῶν ὠρυόμενος (ὡσεὶ λέων transp. **L**) **Pq** || **2** κατεπαίζετο **A** : ἐπαίζετο **C** παρεκαθέζετο (ἐκαθέζετο **L**), μηδὲν ἐπιχειρήσαι τολμῶν καὶ ὁ δοκῶν πάντας ἐκφοβεῖν εἰς δειλίαν οὐκ ἐνέβαλε τὴν κόρην **Pq** || Χαλδαίων **AC P** : τῶν Χαλδαίων **L** Χαλδαίας **HNS** || ἐπὶ **A** : ὑπὸ **C** || **3** ἄκεα *supplevi ex Eudocia* (cf. *De S. Cypr.* 2.299) : fort. φαρμάκια seu φαρμακείας e copt. translatione || **4** ζήλου **C** corr. Bevegni (p. 53) : ζήλόν **A** || τῆς ante σαρκικῆς expunctum in **A** || Ἀγλαΐδας **A** : Ἀγλαΐδος **C** || τις **A** : τι **C** || **6** δήλη **A** : δὴ **C** || γέγονεν **A** : προσγέγονεν **C** || 2–7 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν — φαντασίας (vide ante) : τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέλαβον καὶ θαυματουργῶν ἡμῃν ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρχαίων, καὶ πείραν ἐδίδουν τῆς γοητείας (μου add. **q**) καὶ ὀνομαστός ἡμῃν μάγος (ἐπ' αἰοιδὸς add. **HLN**) φιλόσοφος (ἐπ' αἰοιδὸς μάγος φιλόσοφος **S**), πολλὴν (πλὴν **P**) τῶν ἀοράτων (καὶ ὁράτων add. **LN** ὁράτων καὶ ἀοράτων **H**) ἔχων κατάληψιν (τὴν κατάληψιν ἔχων **q**). πολλοὺς τε (καὶ add. **q**) εὐεργετεῖν ἐδόκουν καὶ μυρίοι ἦσαν οἱ ταῖς φαντασίαις μου προσεδρεύοντες· οἱ μὲν διὰ λογίότητα, οἱ δὲ διὰ τέχνης ἀσεβοὺς ἀπόρειαν (οἱ δὲ διὰ τέχνης ἀσεβοὺς ἀπόρειαν add. per ditt. **L**), οἱ δὲ διὰ πάθη φιληδονίας, φθόνω, ζήλῳ, κακίᾳ λεηλατούμενοι· καὶ πᾶσι συνηρχόμεν, τοῖς μὲν τὴν (τὴν om. Maran [col. 115.40]) ἡδονὴν ῥάστην ποιῶν, τοῖς δὲ τὸν ζῆλον τρέπων εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους ὑποτάσσων ἢ φιλονεικούντας (φιλονεικίων **P**) ἀναιρῶν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θυγατέρων πατέρες ἐπρέσβευον συμβιωταῖς (συμβιώσαι **LNS**) κακοῖς λεηλατουμένας ὀρώντες· καὶ ὑπὲρ δουλίδων ἕτεροι καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπὲρ μητέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπετύγχανε διὰ τῶν προσόντων μοι δαιμόνων. ὅθεν ἐπειθόμην μὴ εἶναι θεὸν ἄλλον ἢ (εἰ μὴ **q**) τὸν διάβολον, διότι πάντων κρατεῖ καὶ περιγίνεται. οὐκ ἤδριν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ (ἐμοὶ post ὁμοίοις transp. **N** om. **HL**) ὁμοίοις (ὁμοίοις **P**) ἰσχύει (ἐνεργεῖ **H**)· οὐκ ἐνενόουν (ἐνόουν **HS**) ὅτι ἀδυνατεῖ πρὸς τινὰς, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἡγνόουν (ὅτι ἡδυνατεῖ καὶ ὅτι ἡγνόουν add. **H**) εἶναι ἐτέραν (ἐτέραν εἶναι **HL**) δύναμιν μεῖζονα. εἰ καὶ (καὶ om. **H**) τὰ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐνυττόμην, ὅτι ἀδίκως παρέχει πολλά, λοιμούς (Maran [col. 115.54] et Gitlbauer [p. 102.12–16 in app. crit.] : λιμούς **Pq**), φθοράς, ἀγχόνας καὶ ὅτι (ὅτε **HS**) ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἀδίκοις συντρέχει καὶ ἀνελεήμοσι καὶ φονεῦσι καὶ ἄρπαξιν (ἄρπαξι καὶ φονεῦσιν **q**). (ὅπερ θείας φύσεως ἀλλότριον add. **q**) πλὴν διὰ τὸ πάντα αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἢ πλανῶντα ἢ βιαζόμενον ἔπαυόν μου τὴν συνείδησιν πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ· ἐλθόντος δὲ σὺν τοῖς πολλοῖς (καὶ add. **L**) Ἀγλαΐδου τινὸς κομψοῦ μειρακίου (μειρακίου om. **L'** νεανίσκου add. **L**^{2mg}) καὶ περὶ ἔρωτος ἀναθεμένου μοι Ἰουστίνης τινὸς παρθένου, ἐν καθέξει γίνομαι τῆς τοῦ δράκοντος ἀσθενείας **Pq** || **7** λειτουργίαν **AC** : βοήθειαν **Pq**.

he roars like a lion and causes terror was lampooned in her vestibule. (6) For when I passed on from the land of the Chaldaeans up to Antioch, while I was working wonders and creating many illusions by means of the magical arts and offering to many people remedies for love and envy and jealousy and every kind of fleshly depravity,⁶⁹ a certain Aglaïdas, a refined lad, among others of like refinement, approached me regarding a certain maiden named Justina to ask for a love-charm⁷⁰ so that he could take advantage of her.⁷¹ (7) Then the origin of the devil's inefficiency and pageantry became clear to me, for in fact the entire phalanx which had been handed over in service to me marched in upon the

⁶⁹ τε καί favors C's variant ζήλου. A's ζήλόν appears to be a scribal correction of C's text, in which the object of παρεχόμενος has dropped out; cf. C. Bevegni, "Il viaggio di istruzione al male del mago Cipriano: Due note," *Itineraria* 3–4 (2004–2005): 53. The parallel text in the long recensions (see note 71) also favors this reading, but it appears that the object of παρεχόμενος was also lacking in the redactor's exemplar: "others who were enslaved to envy, jealousy, and depravity [attended Cyprian's spectacles] because of their passions for pleasure-seeking" (οἱ δὲ διὰ πάθη φιληδονίας, φθόνου, ζήλου, κακίας λεηλατούμενοι). I supply the object ἄκεα from Eudocia's metaphrasis, which closely follows the short recensions: τοῖς μὲν ἔρωτος ἄκος παρέχων, τοῖς δὲ φθόνου αὐτὸς / καὶ ζήλου στυγεροῦ, κακίης δ', ἣ σαρκὶ μέμνηεν (*De S. Cypr.* 2.299–300). The Greek exemplar of the Coptic translation appears to have read φαρμακεία: "I gave to numerous people the remedy (φαρμακεία) of love (ἔρωτος), of desire (ἐπιθυμία), and of the energy (ἐνέργεια) that fights against envy (φθόνος) and jealousy" (εἰς τὸ νοσηνῆσαι ἐναρῶν· εὖολ γὰρ τε φαρμακεία· ἡ περὸς ἡγεμενῆσαι μὴ τενεργία ἐπ' οὐβε ἐπεφθονος· μὴ πικρῶς); Pierpont Morgan Library, M609 fol. 63v, col. ii.14–24; Bilabel, "Studien," 86. A plural object (φάρμακα, φαρμάκια, or φαρμακείας) is preferable to the singular φαρμακεία (so also Eudocia's ἄκος), but the plural ἄκεα would have been much more susceptible to scribal omission, and φαρμακεία itself may well evince a scribal correction of ἄκεα. See further 14.5 and note 102.

⁷⁰ Lucian also uses χάρις with the meaning "love-charm" or "philtre"; see *Alex.* 5 and *Merc. cond.* 40 (both passages contain the identical phrase χάριτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς καὶ ἐπαγωγὰς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς).

⁷¹ The text of the long recensions (Pq) contains an expansion of 8.6 that details Cyprian's activities in Antioch (italicized passages parallel the short recensions [AC]): "(6) *For when I passed on from the land of Chaldea, I arrived in Antioch and began working wonders* like one of the ancients, and I gave proof of my sorcery and was a famous philosopher-magician, possessing a great understanding of the invisible realms. *And I had a reputation for providing good services to many* and countless were those who regularly attended my spectacles. Some attended for the argumentation, others for the experimentation with the ungodly art, and still others *who were enslaved to envy, jealousy, and depravity because of their passions for pleasure-seeking*. And I would assemble with everyone, providing the easiest of enjoyment for some, for others directing jealousy against their opponents, either subjecting those who opposed them or destroying those engaged in rivalry with them. For fathers would also intercede on behalf of their daughters when they saw them enslaved to wicked companions, and others interceded on behalf of their female slaves, and still others on behalf of their mothers and sisters. And through the demons that belonged to me, no one lost out. Therefore, I was persuaded that there was no other god than the devil, because he rules and prevails over all. But, men, I did not know how powerful he was among men like me. I did not consider that he could be powerless against some because I did not perceive that there was another, greater power. And when I would be greatly stung by my conscience because he unjustly causes many atrocities like plagues, abortions, and stranglings, and because he runs together with the ungodly and the unjust and the merciless, as well as with murderers and robbers, I would stop my conscience for his service, only because he is able to do all things either by deceiving or using force. However, when *a certain rich young man named Aglaïdas came to me, as did many others before him, and told me of his love for a certain maiden named Justina*, (7) *I apprehended the weakness of the dragon*." The text then resumes with the rest of 8.7. Eudocia's metaphrasis attests the short recension (*De S. Cypr.* 2.296–306); cf. Bevegni, "Il viaggio," 53; idem, "Sui modelli," 400–401. See further my comments in the introduction (§ 2.4). For an example of a father consulting a magician on behalf of his daughter, cf. the Greek novel fragment P.Mich. inv. 5 (see notes 116 and 121).

παρθένω καὶ ἀνέκαμπτον, ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸν ἀποσταλέντα εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ Ἀγλαΐδου συνεργεῖν
δοκοῦντα ἢ τῆς κόρης πίστις ἡφίει καὶ ἐν ποσῷ ἐνεργήσαι.

9. καὶ δὴ μετὰ πολλὰς τοῦ νεανίσκου ἀγρυπνίας καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου φιλονεικίας ἐν [10]
ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέραις συμβεβλημένος αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτῇ παρατάσσεται·
5 οὐκέτι γὰρ ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας εἶχετο τῆς κόρης ἐρωτικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ. ² καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τοσαύτας
δυνάμεις σὺν τῷ δράκοντι καταργουμένας ὑπὸ τῆς κόρης καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι· ἀλλ' οὔτε τὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν ἡμῶν τρέψαι ἠδυνήθη ὁ διάβολος καί περ πολλὰ πειραθεὶς ἐπιτηδεύσαι. ³ εἶπον
γὰρ αὐτῷ· εἰ οὐδ' ὅλως σοι τὸ τῆς φύσεως σύγκριμα ὑποτάσσεται, καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡμῶν
ἀμβλυνον, ἵνα μὴ γελασθῶμεν ἐπιμένοντες καὶ μηδὲν ἐξανύοντες. ⁴ διὸ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ καλέσας τὸν
10 τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα πάμπολλα αὐτῷ ἐπετίμησε κελεύσας ποιεῖν ὃ προεῖπον λέγων· εἰ μὴ
χαυνωθῇ ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, τὰ πάνδεια διαθήσεται. ⁵ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δράσας οὐκ
ἠδυνήθη οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεργήσαι ἐν ἡμῖν δεικνύντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ δύναται πρὸς τὴν φύσιν
ὁ διάβολος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς φύσεως μέγала φρονεῖ, ὥς ὅτε τις κυλλὸς ἢ χωλὸς ἴππῳ πολεμεῖν
εἰδότι χρησάμενος δοκοῖ τὰ κατορθώματα εἰς οἰκεῖον πρόσωπον ἀποφάρεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ἄπρακτοι post ἀνέκαμπτον add. C P q || οὔτε AC : οὐδὲ P q || τὸν omitti in codice P falso
adnotavit Gitlbauer (p. 103.1 in app. crit.) || εἰς A P q : πρὸς C || 1–2 συνεργεῖν δοκοῦντα AC : συνεργοῦντα δαίμονα
HLN συνεργεῖν δοκοῦντα δαιμόνια P δαιμόνια S || 2 πίστις ἡφίει A : πίστις ἀφίησι C q ἀφίησιν εὐχῇ P || 3 νεανίσκου
AC PLNS : νεωτέρου H || καὶ ποικίλας (ποικιλίας C πολλὰς P) μου (ἐμοῦ q om. P) περιεργίας (περιεργασίας LN)
post ἀγρυπνίας add. C P q || 4 συμβεβλημένος A : συμβεβλημένος C P συμβεβλημέναις q || ἄλλοις A : πρώτοις
ἄρχουσιν C P q || παρατάσσεται AC P : παραστάς HNS ἐπιστάς L || 5 ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας scripsi (cf. § 8.6) : ὁ Ἀγλαΐδης P
ὁ Ἀγλαΐδος C q Ἀγλαΐδος A Ἀγλαΐδης Gitlbauer (p. 103.5) || εἶχετο AC L' : μόνον (add. L^{2mg}) εἶχετο q εἶχετο μόνος
P || ἐρωτικῶς τῆς κόρης PS || δρᾶν ἐτόλμα τὰ πάντα post καὶ γὰρ add. L || τοσαύτας A : τὰς τοσαύτας C P q ||
6 καταργουμένας ὑπὸ τῆς κόρης A : ὑπὸ τῆς κόρης καταργουμένας C ὑπὸ τῆς μιᾶς κόρης (κόρης μιᾶς HLN)
καταργουμένας P q || καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι om. q || οὔτε A : οὐδὲ C P q || 7 αὐτῶν post ἐπιθυμίαν add. L || ὁ διάβολος
ἠδυνήθη L || πειραθεὶς A q : πειρασθεὶς C P || 8 οὐδ' om. C P q || ὅλως A PLS : ὅλον C HN || 9 ἐπ' C P : ἐπὶ A q ||
10 πάμπολλα C P q : παμποίικια A || αὐτῷ AC q : αὐτὸν P || αὐτῷ post λέγων add. q || 11 Ἀγλαΐδας scripsi
(cf. § 8.6) : Ἀγλαΐδης A P Ἀγλαΐδος C q || τῆς ἐπιθυμίας om. P || τὰ πάνδεια A P q : ἅπαν δῖνον (lege δεινόν) C ||
διαθήσεται A : διαθήσεται C ὑποστήσεται P q ὑποστήσετε Maran (col. 1117 n. b) || καὶ ἄλλα A : ἀλλὰ C P q || 12 ἐν
prius AC PH : ἐπὶ LNS || ἐνεργήσαι ἐν AC P : συνεργήσαι q || 13 μετὰ C P q : κατὰ A || μέγала φρονεῖ A' C PNS :
μέγα φρονεῖ H μεγαλοφρονεῖ L || χωλὸς ἢ κυλλὸς L || 14 ἀποφάρεσθαι A : ἀναφάρεσθαι C P q.

virgin and retreated, but not even the girl's faith could get rid of the one who came to the aid of Aglaïdas and who appeared to help him, if only to a certain extent.⁷²

9. Moreover, after the young man suffered many sleepless nights and the devil grew highly competitive over the course of seventy days, the devil himself drew up for battle against her alongside the rest of us,⁷³ for it was no longer only⁷⁴ Aglaïdas who was in love with the maiden, but I as well. (2) And it was possible to see so many powers together with the dragon made powerless by the girl and to be struck with admiration. But the devil could not even mitigate our desire, although he tried many times to do so. (3) For I said to him, "If the structure of nature is not wholly obedient to you, then at least dull our desire, so we are not laughed at for continuing as we are and accomplishing nothing." (4) Then I summoned the demon of prostitution and I rebuked it a great deal and ordered it to do what I just said, saying, "If Aglaïdas is not relieved of his desire, he is bound to do something terrible to himself!"⁷⁵ (5) And although it tried many other things, it was not able to produce even the slightest effect in him, since God revealed among us that the devil has no power over nature, but is merely presumptuous in the midst of nature, as when a certain crippled or lame person who makes use of horse that knows how to do battle would think to attribute its successes to his own person, for the condition

⁷² τὸν ἀποσταλέντα must refer to Cyprian himself (cf. τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον in 8.1) since the devil has not yet joined in the assault on Justina (cf. 9.1). The phrases συνεργεῖν δοκοῦντα and καὶ ἐν ποσῷ ἐνεργῆσαι may also be explained with reference to 9.1. Cyprian only *seems* to be working together with Aglaïdas, but in fact he wants Justina for himself. This nuance appears to have been lost on Eudocia, who wrote ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀγλαΐδου ἐπαμύντορα δείξεν ἅιστον / πίστις παρθενικῆς ἥδ' ἀδρανέα μιν ἔθηκε. (*De S. Cypri.* 2.307–308), but her ἐπαμύντορα very nicely translates τὸν ἀποσταλέντα εἰς βοήθειαν and more clearly identifies Cyprian as Aglaïdas' "helper."

⁷³ The phrase καὶ ποικιλίας μου περιεργίας (and variants) in C Pq must be an interpolation; a case for haplography in A cannot be made, even though this reading was clearly present in the exemplars of Eudocia (cf. *De S. Cypri.* 2.309–313) and the Coptic translator (see Pierpont Morgan Library, M609, f. 63v, ii.11–19; Bilabel, "Studien," 87). The alteration from ἅλλοις (i.e., "the devil drew himself up for battle against her *along with the rest of us*") to πρῶτοις ἄρχουσιν (i.e., "the devil drew himself up for battle against her *beside his foremost archons*") removed Cyprian from the equation, which apparently necessitated the addition of καὶ ποικιλίας μου περιεργίας ("and a variety of my magic tricks") or the like after ἀγρυπνίας. Furthermore, were this the original text, one would expect a third adjective or at least τὰς before τοῦ διαβόλου.

⁷⁴ For omission of μόνον, see LSJ 1145b s.v. μόνος (B.II.2); cf. 17.8. The Byzantine scholiasts Basilus Minimus and Nicetas of Heraclea both cite this passage to explain Gregory's statement that Cyprian καὶ οὐκ ἦλθω μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπέιρα (*Or.* 24.9 [56.21 Mossay; PG 35:1180a]). Cyprian's personal infatuation with Justina in the *Confession* may have been inspired by Cyprian's initial request to the first demon in the *Conversion*: ἐρᾶμαι παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων (4.4), which recension B corrects to read ἐρᾷ παρθένου τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας (cf. Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 86–87); see further my comments in the introduction (§§ 1.2, 1.3, and 2.1).

⁷⁵ A curtailed suicide attempt is mentioned at 28.3 (although the passage is hopelessly corrupt). The motif of attempted or intended suicide is quite common in the Greek novels; see further S. MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire* (London: Routledge, 1996), 53–70, 165–79.

μελέτη τοῦ νέου σώματος ἐξάπτει τὸν πόθον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πλέον ἐγείρει εἰς ὄρεξιν. ⁶ ἦν οὖν πολλή ζυγομαχία τῶν δαιμόνων πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἠπειλουν· ἐγὼ δ' ἤμην τὴν διαίρεσιν τῷ δράκοντι ἐπιφερόμενος καὶ κατεβόων, ὁ δὲ οὔτε ἔγρυζε συνορῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν

(8) ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἔφερε δεδιῶς τὴν ἀναχώρησίν μου. ⁷ καὶ δὴ ἐν τινι καιρῷ ἐπειράθη πλανήσαι

5 τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν καὶ τινὰ κόρην μεταμορφώσασθαι θέλων οὐκ ἴσχυσεν· ὡς γὰρ ἦγε τὴν κόρην, οὐδὲν ἦν ἰδεῖν τῆς Ἰουστίνης παραπλήσιον ἐν αὐτῇ· ἔγνω οὖν τὸν δόλον καὶ προσεκτώμην ἔτι τοῦ δράκοντος τὴν κατάγνωσιν. ⁸ τέλος αὐτὸν τὸν δαίμονα τῆς πορνείας μορφοῖ πρὸς [11]

τὸ τῆς Ἰουστίνης πρόσωπον· ὡς δὲ ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν περιχαρῇ τε γενόμενον καὶ προσφωνήσαντα· καλῶς ἦλθες, Ἰουστίνα, ἡ ὁλόκαλος· πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου ὁ δαίμων

10 ὡς καπνὸς διεχύθη καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράπη, ὥστε τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπὸ τοῦ δάσους διαφωνῆσαι.

A C P q (HLNS) 1 τοῦ νέου σώματος **AC P** : τοῦ σώματος τοῦ νέου **q** || οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος δοκεῖ κεχρησθῆαι κυλλῶς καὶ παρασῆμως τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων τυραννικῶς ἐπεμβαίνων post ὄρεξιν add. **q** || 1–2 ἦν — τῶν δαιμόνων **A** : ἦν οὖν πολλή (ἢ add. **L**) ζυγομαχία ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ (καὶ om. **S**) τῶν δαιμόνων **C P q** || 2–3 πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ — ἐπιφερόμενος corr. Gitlbauer (p. 103.15–16) : καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἠπειλουν· ἐγὼ δ' ἤμην (δ' ἤμην expuncta) τὴν διαίρεσιν τῷ δράκοντι ἐπιφερόμενος **A** πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους ἠπειλουν· ἐγὼ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῷ δράκοντι ἐπιφυόμενος **C** καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους ἠπειλουν, ἀπεδυσπέτουν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῷ δράκοντι ἐπιφυόμενος **P** πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπεδυσπέτουν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῷ δράκοντι ἠπειλουν ἐπιφυόμενος conl. Maran (coll. 1117–1118 n. c) prob. Klee (p. 212b.6–8) πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ἀπεδυσπέτουν· ἠπειλουν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῷ δράκοντι ἐπιφυόμενος **q** || 3 καὶ κατεβόων post ἐπιφερόμενος transp. Gitlbauer (p. 103.16) : haec verba (καὶ κατεβόων **A** κατεβόουν **C** κατεβόων ἐγὼ **HLN** κατεβόουν τε αὐτοῦ **P** κατεβόουν ἐγὼ **S**) post τὴν ἀσθένειαν (in linea 4) habent codd. || ἔγρυζε **AC LN** : ἔγρυξεν **HS** ἔβρυξε **P** || ἑαυτοῦ **AC P** : αὐτοῦ **q** || 4 δεδιῶς **A P q** : δεδοικῶς **C** || μου τὴν ἀναχώρησιν **C P q** || 5 Ἀγλαΐδαν **A** : Ἀγλαΐδην **C** || εἰ (expunctum) post καὶ add. **A** || 6 ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς Ἰουστίνης παραπλήσιον **C** || 7 μορφοῖ **C** : μορφῶν **A** || 4–8 καὶ δὴ — πρόσωπον (vide ante) : ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ ἠβουλήθη πλανῆσαι τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν (Ἀγλαΐδον **HN**) εἰς νεανίδα (νεάνιν **S**) τινὰ, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, οὔτε τῆς σκιάς (τῇ σκιᾷ **LN**) τῆς Ἰουστίνης περιγενέσθαι (προσεγγίσει **q**), καίπερ μεταμορφωθείσαν τὴν κόρην, οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν (εἰδέναι **P**) αὐτῆς (αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν **L**) ὁμοίον τι. ἐπέγνω οὖν αὐτῷ (**PS**) τὴν πλάνην (αὐτῶν **HLN**) καὶ προσετίθουν τὴν κατάγνωσιν. τέλος (τελείως **S**) οὖν τὸν τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα κατασκευάζει (παρασκευάζει **HLN**) ὁ διάβολος μορφήν Ἰουστίνης δεῖξει τῷ νεανίσκῳ καὶ τὴν μὲν μορφήν ἐδόκει δεικνύειν **P q** || 8 ὡς δὲ **A** : ὥδε **C** || ἦκε **A** : ἦγεν **C** ἐπλησίασε **PHNS** ἐπλησίαζε **L** || 8–9 πρὸς τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν — προσφωνήσαντα **AC** : τῷ Ἀγλαΐδᾳ (Ἀγλαΐδῳ **q**) περιχαρεῖ γεγονένῳ καὶ προσφωνήσαντι **P q** || 9 ἦλθες **AC** : ἦλθεν **P q** || πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα **AC** : πρὸς (γούν add. **q**) τὴν ὀνομασίαν **P q** || εὐθύς ἢ μορφή ἡλλοιώθη (ἄφαιρεῖτο **P** sic etiam Maran [col. 1118.54], lege ἀφηρεῖτο) καὶ post παρθένου add. **P q** || 10 διεχύθη **A** : διελύθη **C PHLN** (διελύθη καὶ πρὸς om. per hapl. **S**) || ὥστε **A** : ὡς **C** || δάσους **A** : δέους **C** || ὥστε — διαφωνῆσαι (vide ante) : οὕτως ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου (κόρης **q**) βαρὺ ἦν τοῖς δαίμοσιν (τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἦν **q**) **P q**.

of the young body inflames desire and it arouses its nature especially to sexual desire. (6) Then a great internecine strife broke out among the demons, and they were making threats against each other, and I was threatening to separate from the dragon and began shouting at him, but he didn't even grumble because he could see his own weakness, and in shock he led my retreat.⁷⁶ (7) Moreover, after some time he tried to mislead Aglaïdas, and when he wanted to disguise a certain girl, he was not able, for when he fetched the girl, it was not possible to see in her any resemblance to Justina. Therefore, Aglaïdas recognized the bait, and I extended further my contemptuous opinion of the dragon. (8) At last he⁷⁷ shaped the demon of prostitution with the face of Justina. But when "she" approached Aglaïdas, who became exceedingly glad and called "her" by name, "How nice of you to come! Justina, you are so beautif...", the demon vanished in a puff of smoke at the sound of the maiden's name and was put to flight, so that as a result the young man neglected to answer its lascivious calls from the nearby thicket.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ I reluctantly adopt Gitlbauer's reconstruction of this sentence (*Die Ueberreste*, 1:103.15–16), but I am doubtful that this can be the original text. A's reading ἦν οὖν πολλή ζυγομαχία τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἡπειλοῦν κτλ. is already corrupt. The addition of ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ after ζυγομαχία may well have been incited by A's corrupt text ("the quarreling of the demons was great, even against each other"), in which one may presume Cyprian's involvement, and A's κατ' ἀλλήλων may well be a marginal gloss on πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς (κατ' ἀλλήλων being a stronger form of πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς) that has crept *in textu*. Confusion over the subject of ἡπειλοῦν has caused further problems (it can be either the demons as in AC P or Cyprian as in q), and Maran's transposition of ἡπειλοῦν ("Confessio," 1117–1118 n. c) is only sensible if ἐπιφυόμενος is retained over A's ἐπιφερόμενος. Furthermore, A's δ' ἡμην is marked with cancellation points, and with the exception of θαυματουργῶν ἡμην κτλ. in the expansion of 8.6 in the long recensions and A's variant ἡμην . . . παρῶν in 10.1 (which has παρῶν similarly marked with cancellation points), the author nowhere else makes use of periphrastic constructions. If Eudocia's text is a faithful reproduction of her exemplar, then the problems in all surviving manuscripts may well be due to an ancient lacuna: ἦν δ' αὖ μευ μέσατον καὶ ἀντιβίων μέγα νεῖκος, / αὐτοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἐπὶ δηρὸν πολέμιζον. / καὶ τότε ἀταρτηροῖσιν ἐγὼν ἐπέεσσι δράκοντα / ἔννεπον, ὅττι γε θασσὸν ἐὼν ἀπολεῖ μέγα κύδος / ὃς δέ τ' ἀναυδος ἔμινεν ἐὼν ὁρώων κακότητα. / πολλὰ δέ μιν κλονέων μεγάλ' ἤπυσον· ὃς δὲ ἔκχλος / ἦγε, γινώσκων μείον σθένος, ἡδ' ἀμενηνός. — (*De S. Cypri.* 2.337–343). "There was between me and the demons, a great battle / and they fought with one another for some time. / At last I addressed the serpent with baneful words / and said that his honor had suddenly fallen. / The one who perceived his inadequacy remained silent. / Routing him, I shouted many great things, and he went quickly / since he knew that his power was inferior and that he was ineffectual" (trans. B. Sowers, "Eudocia: The Making of a Homeric Christian" [Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2008], 259).

⁷⁷ C's μορφοί, with the devil as the subject, works much better with τέλος (cf. 9.7). A's μορφῶν has Cyprian performing the magical transformation of the demon of prostitution (see Gitlbauer, *Die Ueberreste*, 1:103.20–21), but this would appear to contradict Cyprian's statement in 10.1 that he was merely an observer.

⁷⁸ The episodes of shapeshifting in 9.7–8 and 10.1 (Cyprian transforms himself into a woman) were probably inspired by the third *agōgē* sequence of the *Conversion*, where the demon summoned by Cyprian, i.e., the devil or the "father of demons" (*Conv.* 8.4), appears to Justa in the form of a virgin and is permitted entry into her apartment (9.1–6); cf. *Vit. Ant.* 9.5–7, where various demons transform into beasts and reptiles and the episode of the young magician and the Christian virgin in the Coptic version of the *Acts of Andrew* (Quispel, "An Unknown Fragment," 132), in which the demons appear to the virgin in the form of her brother; see further my comments in the introduction (§§ 1.2 and 2.2).

10. ἐγὼ παρήμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, τούτων σκευαζομένων· ἐγὼ τὴν πείραν ἔσχον τῆς πίστεως
αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δράκοντος εὐτελείᾳ συνεχυνόμην. ² ἡγρύπνουν, παρήδρευον, εἰς γυναῖκα
μετεμορφούμενη, πετεινὸν ἐγενόμην, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἔφθانون τοῦ προαυλίου τὴν θύραν
ἀναχωρούσης τῆς φαντασίας· Κυπριανὸς ἤμην τῆς τέχνης κατηργημένης. ³ ἐποίησά ποτε
5 στρουθίον τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος τῆς Ἰουστίνης· ὡς δὲ προέκυψεν
ἡ ἄγια, ἀπολήγει τοῦ εἶναι στρουθίον καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐξ ἄκρου ἐστηκώς ὁ ἄθλιος,
εἰ μὴ ἐλέει τῆς παρθένου εὐφυῶς κατηνέχθη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσθενεστάτης ἐξοχῆς τοῦ δώματος·
παραινέσας· αὐτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν ἐκβάλλει τοῦ προαυλίου. ⁴ οὐ νόσος, οὐ
βάσανος, οὐκ αἰκισμός τις ἄλλος αὐτῆς περιγέγονεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις
10 κατέτεινεν αὐτὴν ὁ διάβολος. ⁵ πολλάκις οὖν αὐτὴν ἀπαγορευομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ
γονεῖς ἔκλαιον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς· οὐ τεθνήξομαι, φησὶν, οὔτε γὰρ ἄθυμῶ οὔτε ἀσθενεῖας
αἰσθομαι· περικείται δέ μοι ἔκ τινος ἀέρος λαβρότατος καύσων σφοδροτάτην δύναμιν ἔχων.

A C P q (HLNS) 1 παρήμην . . . τούτων **C P q** : γὰρ ἤμην . . . παρὼν (expunctum) τούτων **A** || ἔσχον **AC q** : ἔχον **P**
ἔχων **Maran** (col. 118.58) || 2 αὐτῆς **AC PHS** : ταύτης **LN** || τῇ . . . εὐτελείᾳ **A** : τῆς . . . εὐτελείας **C P q** ||
τῇ . . . εὐτελείᾳ συνεχυνόμην· interp. **Gitlbauer** (p. 104.4) cum **A** : τῆς . . . εὐτελείας· συνεχυνόμην interp. **Maran**
(col. 118.59) cum **P** || 3 εἰς ante πετεινὸν add. **H** || ἐγενόμην **AC q** : ἐγινόμην **P** || καὶ post θύραν add. **q** ||
τοῦ προαυλίου **A** : τῆς προαυλίου **C P q** ut semper || 4 αὐτῆς post φαντασίας add. **L** || ὁ αὐτὸς ante Κυπριανὸς
add. **q** || κατηργημένης **AC P** : καταργουμένης **q** || 5 τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν **P** : τὸν Ἀγλαΐδον **A HNS** τὸν Ἀγλαΐδην **C**
om. **L** || ἀπελθὼν **AC** : ἀναπετάσας **P q** ἀναπτάσας imprimuerunt **Maran** (col. 119.6) et **Klee** (p. 212b.30)
quem errorem pro ἀναπτὰς, ut videtur, esse credidit **Gitlbauer** (p. 104.7 in app. crit.) || ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος **AC** :
ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δώματος **P** ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα **q** || μόνον ante προέκυψεν add. **q** || 6 ἀπολήγει scripsi e ἀπολλήγει corr.
Gitlbauer (p. 104.8) : ἀπόλλυσι **A** ἀπόλλει **A^m C P** ἀπολώλει corr. **Maran** (col. 119.7–8) ἀπώλεσε **q** || τοῦ εἶναι **A**
PH : τὸ εἶναι **C L** τὸ εἶναι τὸ **N** τῷ εἶναι **S** || ἔμελλεν **A** corr. **Maran** (col. 119.8) : ἤμελλεν **C P q** || ὁ ἄθλιος post
ἀπόλλυσθαι transp. **q** || τοῦ δώματος post ἐστηκώς add. **q** || 7 ἀσθενεστάτης om. **q** || δώματος **A P q** : δωματίου **C**
|| 8 παραινέσας· αὐτὸν corr. **Gitlbauer** (p. 104.9–10) : καὶ παραινέσας αὐτὸν **A** παραινέσας αὐτῷ **C** παραινέσας οὖν
αὐτὸν **PH** παραινέσασα οὖν αὐτὸν corr. **Maran** (col. 119.11–12) παραινέσασα οὖν αὐτῷ **LNS** || καὶ om. hoc loco **A**
(vide ante) || 9 τις ἄλλος **AC** : ἄλλ’ ὅστις **P** ἄλλος τις corr. **Maran** (col. 119.14) οὐ πειρασμός τις **q** || αὐτῆς **A² C**
P q : αὐτῇ **A¹** **Gitlbauer** (p. 104.11) || περιγέγονεν **AC P** : περιεγένετο **q** || ἐν ante τοῖς add. **C** || 10 αὐτὴν κατέτεινεν
C PHLN || ὑπὸ **C P q** : ἀπὸ **A** || 11 ἔκλαιον οἱ γονεῖς **P q** || ἔφη· μὴ κλαίετε, ὅτι post αὐτοὺς add. **P q** || οὐ τεθνήξομαι
C q : οὔτε θνήξομαι **A P** || οὔτε prius **AC** : οὐδὲ **P q** || οὔτε ἀσθενεῖας αἰσθομαι **A** : οὔτε ἀθυμίας αἰσθομαι **C** οὔτε ἀλγῶ
τι (τι om. **H**) οὔτε (οὐδὲ **S**) αἰσθάνομαι ἀσθενεῖας **P q** || 12 περικείται — ἔχων **A** : περικείται δέ μοι ὡς ἔκ τινος ἀέρος
πυρετὸς καύσωνος σφοδροτάτου δύναμιν ἔχοντος **C** ἢ μόνον ἐπιπολαίου τινὸς καύματος (κύματος **HLN** ῥήματος **S**) ὡς
ἐξ ἀέρος μοι περιχυνομένου (περιχεομένου **H**) **P q**.

10. I was present, men, when these mirages were being prepared. I had experience of her faith and was troubled by the cheapness of the dragon. (2) I was suffering from insomnia, I became assiduous, I transformed myself into a woman, I acquired the ability to fly,⁷⁹ but I would merely reach the door of her vestibule when my illusion would fade. I would become Cyprian again when the magic art stopped working. (3) At one point I turned Aglaïdas into a tiny sparrow, and he flew up and perched on Justina's rooftop, but as soon as the holy maiden peeped her head out the window, he ceased being a sparrow, and the struggling young man who had perched on the highest point of her rooftop probably would have been killed had he not been brought down gracefully from weakest extremity of the house by the maiden's compassion.⁸⁰ She suggested that he be at peace and serve God, then she threw him out of her vestibule.⁸¹ (4) Neither sickness, nor torture, nor any other discomfort prevailed over her, for the devil also tormented her with such things as these. (5) Her parents wept for her often because the doctors had given up on her. But she said to them, "I shall not die, for neither am I disheartened nor can I perceive any disease, but there lies about me a burning heat born from some tempestuous air and

⁷⁹ Cf. 18.8.

⁸⁰ In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (3.21) the witch Pamphile transforms herself into an owl (*bubo*) and flies off to meet her lover; cf. Pseudo-Lucian, *Asin.* 12 (νυκτιγόραξ). Such transformations are common among Latin authors; cf. Ovid, *Amores* 1.8.13–14; *Fasti* 6.141–142; *Metam.* 15.356–360; Petronius, *Sat.* 63; Festus, *Verb. sign.* 414.23–31 Lindsay; Statius, *Theb.* 3.511–512. The sparrow was thought to be an especially lecherous creature (see, e.g., Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 10.36; Hesychius, *Lex.* σ 2023) and was commonly associated with Aphrodite. In Sappho's "Hymn to Aphrodite" a flock of sparrows power the goddess' chariot (fr. 1.9–12 Lobel-Page); see further J.C.B. Petropoulos, "Sappho the Sorceress: Another Look at fr. 1 (LP)," *ZPE* 97 (1993): 43–56. In the bridal chamber of Habrocomes and Anthia the coverlet is decorated with images of Erotes, some attending Aphrodite, others riding on sparrows (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Eph.* 1.8.2). Festus reports that the term *strutheum* was slang for *membrum virile* (*Verb. sign.* 411.4–5 Lindsay), a vulgar curiosum that has led many readers of Catullus' poems (since the Renaissance) to interpret the sparrow (*passer*) in *Carm.* 2 and 3 as a metaphor for the poet's penis; see esp. R.W. Hooper, "In Defence of Catullus' Dirty Sparrow," *GR* 32 (1985): 162–78; cf. F.E. Brenk, "Non primus pipiabat: Echoes of Sappho in Catullus' *passer* Poems," *Latomus* 39 (1980): 702–16. One of the sex-crazed women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (723) attempts to fly off "sparrow-backed" (ἐπὶ στρούθου) to the adulterer Orisarchus; cf. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (2nd ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 50, 128–29. In crafting this episode the author relies not only on the erotic symbolism of the sparrow, but also on Scripture, brilliantly showcasing his exegetical prowess by conflating a verse from the "prayer of the afflicted"—i.e., Ps 102:7 [101:8 LXX]: "I lie awake and am like a sparrow alone on the rooftop" (ἡγρούνησα [cf. the description of Aglaïdas in 9.1] καὶ ἐγενήθην ὥσει στρουθίον μονάζον ἐπὶ δώματι)—with Jesus' saying in Matt 10:29: "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? Yet not one of them will fall to the ground apart from your Father" (οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία ἀσσαρίου πωλεῖται; καὶ ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν).

⁸¹ Gitlbauer's correction ἀπολήγει (from A's ἀπόλλυσι) not only works much better with the articular infinitive τοῦ εἶναι (A PH) but also avoids unnecessary repetition of ἀπόλλυμι (the correction is made on the basis of suspected iotacism and tachygraphic confusion of σ for γ; see *Die Ueberreste*, 1104.8 in app. crit.). It is unlikely, however, that the author would use an epic form here (for ἀπολήγει) and nowhere else, but one may note the subsequent elision of the feminine aorist participle (which is especially common in epic and Attic poetry) of παραινέω.

- ⁶ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐποιήσαμεν, τί δὲ οὐκ ἐδράσαμεν τῇ παρθένῳ; ⁷ ἡ δὲ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπήλανε τῶν δαιμόνων τὰς ἐνεργείας. ⁸ ἐκάκωσα αὐτῆς τοὺς γονεῖς, ποιμένας αὐτῶν ἀνείλον καὶ βόας καὶ ὑποζύγια· ἡ δὲ παρῇνει μὴ ἄθυμειν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἔπειθεν λήψεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ [12] εὐλογηθῆναι τὰ περιλειπόμενα. ⁹ ἤδεισαν τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτῇ ὀργὴν καὶ πάντες κατεβόων ἐπιδούναι τῷ νεανίᾳ, οὐ πρὸς φθοράν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γάμον ἔννομον· ἀλλ' Ἰουστίνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰάτο αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσθενείας καὶ ἔπαυε τῆς ὀχλήσεως. ¹⁰ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ λοιμὸν ἐπήγαγεν ὁ διάβολος καὶ χρησμὸν δίδωσιν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι, ἐὰν Ἰουστίνα συναφθῇ τῷ Ἀγλαΐδᾳ, ἀλλὰ καταβοῶντα τὸν δῆμον ἡ εὐχὴ αὐτῆς κατέστελλεν, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν ἀποδιωξαμένη τῆς πόλεως. ¹¹ ὧν αἴσθησιν λαβόντες οἱ πολῖται μεταβαλλόμενοι τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἐδόξαζον, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ἐπίβουλον τῆς πόλεως ἐλοιδόρουν σφοδρῶς, ὥστε με λεληθότως προΐεναι καὶ ἐκτρέπεσθαι προσυπαντᾶν τοῖς γνωρίμοις μου.
- (9) 11. τέλος ὡς εἶδον ὅτι οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδος περιγίνεται, ἐν ἑμαυτῷ γενόμενος εἶπον πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον· ὀλέθριε καὶ πάσης πλάνης χορηγέ καὶ θησαυρὲ ἀσεβείας, τί μου τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπεβούλευσας; ² συνείδων σου τὴν ἀσθένειαν· εἰ γὰρ ἡ σκιά τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιγίνεται σου, τί δράσεις, ἐὰν αὐτὸς παραγένηται; ³ εἰ μόνον ὀνομάζεται Χριστὸς καὶ τρέμεις, τί ποιήσεις, ἐὰν θελήσῃ σοι ἐπιθέσθαι; ⁴ εἰ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ ἀσθενῇ

A C P q (HLNS) 1 τί δὲ οὐκ ἐδράσαμεν om. per hapl. C || τί δὲ A' : τί γὰρ A^{ms} ἢ τί Pq || τῇ παρθένῳ AC : αὐτῇ Pq || τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ AC : ἐποίει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Pq || 2 τὰς ἐνεργείας τῶν δαιμόνων Pq || οὖν post ἐκάκωσα add. P || ποιμένας P : ποιμένας AC τὰ ποιμνία q || αὐτῶν C q corr. Maran (col. 1119.25) : αὐτῆς A αὐτὸν P || 3 καὶ prius om. C Pq || καὶ alterum om. P || καὶ μὴ (μηδὲ q) ἀπελπίζειν post ἄθυμειν add. Pq || δι' αὐτῆς AC : διὰ τῆς νοουθεσίας αὐτῆς Pq || ἔπειθεν AC q : ἐπῆλθεν P || λήψεσθαι ὑπὸ emend. Gittlbauer (p. 104.17) : ἀπολήψεσθαι AC ἀπολήψεσθαι πολυπλάσια Pq || 4 εὐλογηθῆναι A : εὐλογούντος C Pq || ὀργὴν αὐτῇ q || κατεβόων A PLN : κατεβόουν C HS || 5 ἐαυτήν (αὐτήν L) post νεανίᾳ add. Pq || ἄνομον post φθοράν add. q || ἀλλ' N : ἀλλὰ AC PHLS || σταυρῷ A Pq : λόγῳ C || 6 ἔπαυε AC PS : κατέπαυε HN || δὲ παντὶ post δήμῳ add. q || 7 ἐπήγαγεν AC : προσήγαγεν P προσήγεν q || μὴ ante ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι et post ἐὰν add. C HL^{ss} P || 8 Ἀγλαΐδᾳ A : Ἀγλαΐδῃ C Ἀγλαΐδῳ Pq || καταβοῶντα τὸν δῆμον AC P : καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταβοῶντα q || κατέστελλεν A : κατέστειλεν C Pq || 9 ἀποδιωξαμένη AC : ἀποδιώξασα Pq || πόλεως. ὧν A Pq : πόλεως Αἰγῶν C || οὖν post αἴσθησιν add. C || οἱ πολῖται λαβόντες L || μὲν om. Pq || 10 θεὸν A q : Χριστὸν C P || τῆς πόλεως ἐπίβουλον C Pq || 12 οὖν post τέλος add. L || τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδος περιγίνεται A Pq : γίνεται τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδι C || 13 αὐτὸν om. q || καὶ ἀπάτης post πλάνης add. q || 14 ἐπεβούλευσας; συνείδων σου τὴν ἀσθένειαν AC : ἐπεβούλευσας, συνειδῶς σου τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ; P ἐπεβούλευσας, συνειδῶς τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν; q || 15 Χριστοῦ A Pq : κυρίου C || ἐὰν AC PH : ἂν LNS || σοι post παραγένηται add. C || εἰ AC : καὶ εἰ P εἰ γὰρ q || 16 σοι om. hoc loco C.

its power is most violent.”⁸² (6) For what did we not do! What wicked rites did we not perform against the maiden!⁸³ (7) No matter what we did, she kept driving away the demonic energies with the sign of Christ. (8) I injured her parents and killed their flocks, cows, and beasts of burden, but she advised them not to be disheartened and by herself she persuaded them to understand that what was left over had been blessed by God. (9) They knew the wrath which had been placed upon her, and everyone cried out for her to give herself up to the young man, not for corruption, but for lawful marriage, but Justina remedied their lack of strength with the cross of Christ and calmed the disturbance. (10) Then the devil brought a plague upon the people and delivered an oracle that they would be set free if Justina wedded Aglaïdas, but her prayer pacified the people who cried out and immediately she chased the plague away from the city.⁸⁴ (11) The citizens, when they realized what had happened, changed their minds and praised God, but they abused me vehemently as an enemy of the city, so that I had to send messages secretly and was hesitant to meet openly with my acquaintances.

11. In the end, when I saw that nothing could prevail over the seal of Christ, I got control of myself and said to the devil, “Destroyer, choirmaster of all error, storehouse of impiety, why did you plot against my soul? (2) I am now conscious of your weakness. For if the shadow of Christ prevails over you, what would you do if he himself were standing next to you? (3) If Christ is merely spoken of by name and you tremble in fear, what would you do if he wanted to attack you? (4) If the sign of his passion

⁸² The redaction of Justina’s statement in the long recension (Pq) makes her appear more saint-like and impervious to the airborne pathogen: “Do not lament, because I shall not die, for neither am I disheartened nor do I feel any pain, nor do I perceive any disease other than a kind of superficial fever that has spread over me as though from the air.” The fever-motif, too, likely derives from the *Conversion*, where the devil or the “father of all demons” informs Cyprian that he will agitate Justina with diverse fevers for six days (*Conv.* 8.7).

⁸³ Cf. 23.1 and note 140.

⁸⁴ The use of oracles and dream-oracles as plot devices is especially common among Greek novelists; see esp. S. Bartsch’s chapter “Dreams, Oracles, and Oracular Dreams: Misinterpretation and Motivation,” in *Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 80–108. The most comparable example is perhaps the oracle of Apollo at Colophon in Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca*, which incites the worried parents of Habrocomes and Anthia to marry their lovesick offspring (1.6.2); cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 2.14.1; Longus, *Daph. Chl.* 1.7.2; 4.34.1; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.35.5; 4.14.2. However, differently from the Greek novels, and not surprisingly, the oracle is completely ignored and proven false (and hence of no real significance to the plot). On the literary trope of the city befallen by plague and the urgency of its citizens to heed an oracle’s directive for its eradication, see further Libanius’ rhetorical exercise *Against the Lying Mage* (*Decl.* 41); cf. D. Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 290–99.

σε ποιεί, τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ αὐτοῦ ποῦ ἂν εὐρεθῇσῃ; ⁵ εἰ σφραγίζει, καὶ οὐ τολμᾷς ἐπιβῆναι τῷ ὄρω
αὐτοῦ, τίνας δύνῃ ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ; ⁶ οὐδὲν εἴ οὐδὲ ἔχεις ὑπόστασιν πρὸς ἄμυναν
οὐδὲ ἰσχύεις οὐδὲ πάρεστί σοι δύναιμι εἰς ἐκδίκησιν. ⁷ ἐπέστην ταῖς φαντασίαις σου, ἐπέγων
σου τὴν ἀσθένειαν· οὔτε γὰρ παρέχεις τι ἐν ὑποστάσει, ἀλλὰ ματαιὰς καὶ προσκαίρου ῥοπῆς
5 ἀπολαύεις· οὔτε οἱ τρόποι σου οὔτε οἱ θεσμοὶ σου οὓς ἀντέθηκας τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ ἀληθεῖς εἰσι.
⁸ διέφθειράς μου τὴν διάνοιαν, τὰς ἐλπίδας μου διέρρηξας, πᾶσάν μου τὴν λογικὴν κατάστασιν [13]
εἰς χάος κατέσπασας, ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν σωτηρίαν, τὴν ζωὴν μου τῇ κακίᾳ κατεδαπάνησας
καὶ πᾶσάν μου τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς φύσεως διώλεσας. ⁹ μεγάλως ἐπλανήθην πιστεύσας
σοι, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἡσέβησα, ἀφρόνως ἠνέχθην ἐπιδούς σοι ἑμαυτόν. ¹⁰ ἐματαιώθην ἐπὶ
10 γράμμασι, τῇ παιδείᾳ μου ἐπιβλαβῶς ἐχρησάμην ὑπακούσας σου· ἀπώλεσα χρήματα καὶ
πράγματα ἐξακολουθήσας σου τῇ ἀπάτῃ· μετὰ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν με
προσεζημίωσας. ¹¹ εἰ διένειμον χρήζουσι τὰ ἐν σοὶ ἀπολόμενα, εἶχον κἂν βραχείαν σωτηρίας
ἐλπίδα. ¹² οὐαὶ μοι, τί πεπόνθα; ¹³ δεινῶς ἐφθάρην, ἀνίατα ἐτραυματίσθην, νεκρὸς ὢν ζῆν
ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐλάνθανον πολλῷ χρήματι τάφον ὠνησάμενος ἀντὶ ζωῆς, ἐπικινδύνως σοι

A C P q (HLNS) 1 τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ codd. : τὴν ἐνεργείαν A^{mg} || ἂν om. q || σφραγίζει C P q : σφραγίζει A || 2 τὸν τύπον
τῆς σφραγίδος post αὐτοῦ add. q || οὖν post τίνας add. C P q || δύνῃ AC q : δυνήσῃ P || οὐδὲν εἰ P q : οὐδενὶ A
οὐδένα C || 3 οὐδὲ prius AC : οὐδὲν P q || οὐδὲ alterum A : οὔτε P q οὐ C || νῦν ἔγνω σου τὴν πλάνην ante ἐπέστην
add. C P q || ἐπέστην AC : ἐπίσθην P q || σου om. q || ἐπέγων AC q : ἔγνω P || 4 οὔτε AC : οὐδὲ P οὐδὲν q ||
παρέχεις C : παρέχει A παρέχῃ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 105.13) ἔχεις P q || τι ἐν ὑποστάσει A : τι ἐνυπόστατον C P
ἐνυπόστατον q || 5 ἀπολαύεις A : ἀπόλαυσιν C S τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν HLN ἀπολαύσεις P || τρόποι C (cf. 1.1, 3.1 et 5.3) :
τόποι A τύποι P q || οὔτε οἱ θεσμοὶ σου om. per hapl. C || ἀντέθηκας A N : ἀντέθεικας C HLS ἀνατέθεικας P
ἀντιτέθεικας conl. Maran (col. 1121 n. a) || εὐσεβείᾳ AC P : ἀσεβείᾳ q || ἀλλὰ (καὶ add. L) πλάνη καὶ φαντασία
post εἰσι add. C P q || 6 μου prius om. L || ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν ψυχὴν post διάνοιαν add. C P q || 7 μου τὴν σωτηρίαν
om. P q (vide ante) || καὶ post μου alterum add. P q || 9–10 ἐπὶ γράμμασι om. C || 10 τῇ παιδείᾳ C P q :
παιδείας A παιδείᾳ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 105.19) || σου A PL : σοι C HNS || μου ante χρήματα add. P q || 10–11 καὶ
πράγματα A PL^{ac}N^{pc} : καὶ γράμματα HL^{pc}N^{ac}S om. C || 11 ἀπάτῃ A P q : πλάνη C || γὰρ post μετὰ add. PH ||
μου post οὐσίας add. C || με A : μου C P om. q || 12 προσεζημίωσας A P q : προσεζημιώθην C || διένειμον AC q :
δένειμον P δ' ἔνειμα corr. Maran (col. 1122.18) || χρήζουσι AC P : τοῖς χρήζουσι q || ἀπολόμενα C q : ἀπολλόμενα A P
|| κἂν A L : κἂν γούν PHNS κἀγὼ C || 13 ἐφθάρην A : κατεφθάρην C P q || ἀνίατα A : ἀνιάτως P q ἀνιάταν C ||
13–14 νεκρὸς — ἐλάνθανον A P q : ἐνέκρωμαι ἐνόμιζον λανθάνειν C || 14 ὠνησάμενος A P q : ὠνησα C || ἀντὶ
(expunctum) A^{mg} : deest in C P q || ζωῆς A : ζῶν P q om. C.

makes you weak, where will you be found within its circle of power? (5) If she makes the sign and you are not brave enough to force your way past its boundary, whom are you able to remove from its reach? (6) You are nothing, nor do you have the means to defend yourself. You are neither strong nor have the power to avenge yourself. (7) I have kept an eye on your illusions⁸⁵; I have witnessed your weakness. For you do not produce anything in reality but merely have the benefit of a vain and transient turning of the scale. Neither the zones⁸⁶ nor the laws which you pit against godliness are real. (8) You have corrupted my thoughts, shattered my hopes, pulled my entire intellectual constitution down into chaos, destroyed my salvation, squandered my life with evil, and completely annihilated my entire natural condition. (9) I was greatly led astray because I believed in you, I acted with unconscionable impiety, I was senselessly swept away because I gave myself to you. (10) I became foolish in learning, I used my education for harm in obedience to you, I lost my money and fortune because I was duped by your deceit, and along with my inherited wealth you have also caused me the loss of my soul. (11) If I had apportioned all the things I lost on you to those who had need of them, at least then I would have a little hope for salvation. (12) Woe is me! What has become of me? (13) I was destroyed terribly, I was wounded incurably, I thought I was alive when I was dead, and I was unaware of this when I bought a tomb with

⁸⁵ νῦν ἔγνω σοὺ τὴν πλάνην in C Pq appears to be a later interpolation (rather than a haplographic omission in A); cf. the similar phrase ἐπέγνω οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν πλάνην in the longer text's revision of 8.7.

⁸⁶ Here τρόποι can mean either "customs" as in 1.1 and 3.1 or, more likely, "zones" as in 5.3 (cf. note 47), which is similar in meaning to A's τόποι ("zodiacal regions").

προσεδρεύσας.¹⁴ δει με Χριστιανούς παρακαλέσαι· ἵνα με ἐλεήσωσι· χρή με ὑποπεσεῖν τοῖς
 εὐσεβέσιν ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα με οἰκτειρήσωσι· δει με καὶ τῆς Ἰουστίνης τῶν ποδῶν ἄψασθαι, ἵνα
 μου προνοήσῃ τῆς σωτηρίας.¹⁵ ἄπελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἄνομε, βέβηλε, ἀποστάτα, ἀποχώρει μου,
 ἐχθρὲ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐναντίε.

- 5 12. καὶ ἐπιδραμῶν ὥρμησε τοῦ ἀνελεῖν με καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν μοι πνίγειν με ἐπειράτο.² ὥς
 δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἰσχὺν λεαινόμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ βίᾳ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐλπίς μου περιηρεῖτο τοῦ ζῆν,
 ὑπεμνήσθην τοῦ σημείου οὗ ἡ παρθένος ἐχράτο, καὶ λέγω· ὁ θεὸς Ἰουστίνης βοήθησόν μοι,
 καὶ μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς εὐθὺς ἐνισχύθην καὶ τὴν χεῖρα κινήσας κατασφραγίζομαι.³ ὁ δὲ ὥς
 οἷστός ἀπέστη μου καὶ στὰς ἐπειράτο ἀπειλεῖν ξίφος κατ' ἐμοῦ σπασάμενος· καὶ δὴ πείραν
 10 λαβὼν Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοῦ θαρσαλέος γίνομαι πλείον ἔτι καὶ συχνῶς αὐτὸν
 ἐπικαλούμενος.⁴ τότε γοῦν ἀπῆει ἀπειλῶν μοι καὶ λέγων· οὐ μὴ σε σώσῃ ὁ Χριστός· καὶ
 γὰρ βδελύσσεται ἀσεβεῖς καὶ δόλῳ νῦν σοι βοηθεῖ, ἵνα σε τῷ ὀλέθρῳ παραδῷ.⁵ ὅτε γοῦν
 σε ἀπώσεται, ἐγὼ σοι δείξω τί ἐστὶ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ κράτους μου, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστός σου
 οὐ προσίεται τοὺς ἐμούς· ἐστερήθης γοῦν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διαθέσεως κάκεῖνος οὐδὲν σε
 15 ὠφελήσειεν.

A C P q (HLNS) 1 παρακαλέσαι Χριστιανούς **C PLNS** || 1–2 δει με — οἰκτειρήσωσι om. per hapl. **H** || τοῖς
 εὐσεβέσιν **AC Pq** τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς corr. **A^{ms}** (vide post) || ἀνδράσιν **AC** : ἀνδρας **A^{ms}** om. **Pq** || 2 ἄψασθαι **A q** :
 ἀφάψασθαι **C** ἐφάψασθαι **P** || 3 προνοήσῃ **A P** : προνοήσεται **C q** || οὖν post ἄπελθε add. **L** || ἀποστάτα **AC P** :
 ἀπόστα **q** || 4 τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ om. per hapl. **H** || 5 καὶ ἐπιδραμῶν **AC** : ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας (ταῦτα add. **q**) καὶ ἐπιδραμῶν
 μοι **Pq** || 6 αἰσχατιζόμενος post ἰσχὺν add. **H** || αὐτοῦ om. **S** || δὴ post καὶ add. **q** || ἡ ἐλπίς μου περιηρεῖτο **A** : ἐλπίς
 μου περιηρεῖτο **C** ἐλπίς μοι περιήρετο **P** μοι περιήρητο ἐλπίς **q** || 7 οὗ **A Pq** : ᾧ **C L^{ss}** || ἐχράτο **A P** : ἐχράτο μοι **C**
 ἐχρήσατο **q** || λέγω **AC P** : ἀνέκραξα **q** || 8 μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς **AC P** : σὺν τῇ φωνῇ **q** || εὐθὺς **A HLN** : εὐθέως **C PS** ||
 καὶ alterum om. **C N** || τὴν χεῖρα . . . κατασφραγίζομαι **A PS** : τῇ χειρὶ κατασφραγισάμενος **C** τὴν χεῖρα . . .
 κατασφραγίζομένην **HLN** || 8–9 ὥς οἷστός scripsi : ὥς ἰστός **A** ὥσκια (sic) **C** ὥς βέλος ἀπορριφεῖς **Pq** || ἀπέστη **C**
Pq : ἀνέστη **A** || 9 μου **A^c PLNS** : μοι **A^{ms}** **H** || σπασάμενος **AC LNS** : ἀσπασάμενος **H** χρησάμενος **P** χρησόμενος
 conl. Maran (col. 1122 n. c) prob. Klee (p. 213a.40) || 10 Χριστοῦ — αὐτοῦ **AC q** : διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος Χριστοῦ ||
 θαρσαλέος **AC L** : θαρσαλέως **HNS** θαρσαλεώτερος **P** || γίνομαι **AC q** : γέγονα **P** || πλείον **A** : πλέον **C Pq** || ἔτι om. **C**
 || συχνῶς **A q** : συχνὸν **P** πυκνῶς **C** || αὐτὸν **A** : Χριστὸν **C Pq** || 11 ἐπικαλούμενος **A** : ἐπιβοώμενος **C P** ἐπιβοώμενος
 ὠνόμαζον **q** || γοῦν **AC q** : οὖν **P** || ἀπῆει ἀπειλῶν **A Pq** : ἀπειλῇ ἠπειλεῖ **C** || καὶ prius om. **C** || ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου post
 σώσῃ add. **C Pq** || σου post Χριστός add. **HNS** || 12 ἀσεβεῖς **A P** : τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς **C q** || νὺν δόλῳ **C** || σε post ὀλέθρῳ
 transp. **P** || τῷ ὀλέθρῳ **AC PHNS** : ὀλέθρῳ **L** || ἢ ante ὅτε add. **C** || γοῦν **AC q** : οὖν **P** || 13 δείξω **A Pq** : ἐπιδείξω **C**
 || ἐστὶ **A** : ποιεῖ **C Pq** || καταφρονεῖν **AC** : τὸ καταφρονεῖν **Pq** || καὶ om. **C** || σου om. **C Pq** || 14 προσίεται **A Pq** :
 προῖεται **C** || καὶ om. **C**.

a great sum at the price of life, because I was in such danger when I served as your apprentice. (14) I must appeal to the Christians so that they show me mercy. I must submit to men who are pious so that they have compassion on me. I must grasp the feet of Justina so that she provides for my salvation. (15) Go away from me, outlaw, scoundrel, apostate, and stay away from me, enemy of truth and opponent of piety.”

12. The devil then ran at me and set out to kill me, and he fell upon me and tried to strangle me. (2) But just as my strength was waning from being crushed by his brute force and every will to live was being stripped from me, I remembered the sign that the maiden employed and said, “Help me, God of Justina!” and immediately after I cried out for help I regained my strength and set my hand in motion, sealing myself. (3) The devil then shot away from me like an arrow,⁸⁷ and when he stood back up he tried to threaten me by drawing a sword against me. Moreover, after I made proof of Christ through his seal, I became even more confident and kept calling upon him. (4) By then the devil was standing far away from me and he threatened me, saying, “Christ will surely not save you, for he abhors impiety and he helps you now only as a trick to hand you over to destruction. (5) When he rejects you, I will show you what happens when someone looks down upon my power, because not even your Christ accepts those who are mine. At any rate, now you are also deprived of my affection, and he may not help you at all.”⁸⁸

⁸⁷ A’s variant ἀνέστη μου/μοι appears to be secondary. Not only would ἀνέστη μου/μοι make for an atypical reaction to the action of sealing with the sign of the cross, but it is clear from 12.4 that by this action Cyprian “made proof of Christ” and that, as a result of this action, the devil was standing far away and making threats at a distance (cf. 21.7). I offer the emendation ὀϊστός (“arrow”), which satisfactorily explains the otherwise inexplicable variation between ἰστός (“mast, beam, rod, etc.”) and βέλος (“arrow, dart, missile”). A’s ἰστός, if not a scribal error (i.e., a scribe may have mistaken the initial omicron of ὀϊστός for the definite article ὁ and removed it), could be an attempt to correct C’s garbled text. In any case, the erroneous reading ἰστός adequately accounts for the alteration of ἀπέστη to ἀνέστη, and Pq’s βέλος (“arrow, dart”) is easily explained as yet another example of simplification on the part of the redactor who drafted the longer text; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 2.4). This emendation is also supported by Eudocia’s metaphor: αὐτὰρ ὁ φεῦγεν ὀπισθεν ἅτ’ ἐκθρόσκων τις ὀϊστός (*De S. Cypr.* 2.457).

⁸⁸ The devil’s attack is one of the episodes from the *Confession* that Gregory of Nazianzus incorporated into his panegyric at *Or.* 24.11 (64.24–26 Mossay; *PG* 35:1181c): “he [sc. the Tempter (ὁ πειραστής)] wrestles with the one who had sent him, miraculously rallying against his attacker and choking him like a latter-day Saul” (τῷ πέμψαντι δὲ προσπαλαίει, — ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! — πρὸς τὸν βαλόντα πάλιν ἀναστραφεὶς καὶ συμπνίγων, ὥσπερ τινὰ Σαοῦλ δεύτερον).

13. ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐφοβήθην σφοδρῶς, δεινῶς μοι γὰρ ἀπεκρίνατο. ² διὸ ὑμῖν [14]
 τοῖς παροῦσι λέγω· ἐλεήσατέ μου τὴν νεότητά· εἴπατέ μοι περὶ Χριστοῦ, εἰ δύναμαι αὐτὸν
 ἐξιλεώσασθαι, εἰ μετανοοῦντά με δέξεται, εἰ ἐπιδίδωσί μοι βοήθειαν τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἀσεβείας
 (10) ἀπαλλαγῆναι. ³ ὥς δὲ οἱ πλείονες ἡσύχασαν, εἰς τις διάρας τὸ στόμα λέγει μοι· θάρσει,
 5 Κυπριανέ, ὅτι δέξεται σε ὁ Χριστός· ἀγνοῶν γὰρ ἐποίησας. ⁴ καὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφην· μὴ ἄρα,
 ὥς εἶπεν ὁ διάβολος, οὕτω ποιήσῃ μοι ὁ Χριστὸς ἔσχατόν με ἀπωθούμενος; ⁵ ὁ δὲ εἶπε πρὸς
 με· ἔγνωσ ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶν ὁ διάβολος καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις πιστεύεις; ⁶ οὐκ ἔστι δόλος
 παρὰ θεῷ, Κυπριανέ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· οὐκ ἔστι ψεῦδος παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 πηγάζει ἡ γνησιότης. ⁷ ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς ὅτι πηγὴ ἐστὶ χρηστότητος, θεὸς πάντων ὧν καὶ πάντων
 10 δημιουργὸς ἄνθρωπος γέγονε δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο ἀποθανεῖν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς
 θανάτου ἁμαρτιῶν ὑπεράνω γενώμεθα δι' αὐτόν· καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς κατηλλάγη ἡμῖν,
 καὶ ἐλπίδα ζωῆς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς παρεσκεύασε τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἡμῖν διὰ Χριστοῦ παρασχόμενος,
 ὅπως βιώσωμεν εἰς κατάστασιν ἀναστάσεως· εἰ οὖν διὰ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὁ
 Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε, θάρσει, Κυπριανέ, ὅτι σὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποβαλεῖται· εἰς εἰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πάντως

A C P q (HLNS) 1 οὖν post τούτοις add. **q** || ἐγὼ post ἐφοβήθην add. **q** || σφοδρῶς **AC P** : σφόδρα **q** || μοι γὰρ
A : γὰρ μοι **C P** γὰρ μοι καὶ ἀπεινῶς **H** γὰρ (γὰρ μοι **L^{ss}**) καὶ ἀπεινῶς μοι **LNS** || ὀργιζόμενός μοι καὶ ἀγριούμενος
 post ἀπεκρίνατο add. **q** || 2 δεόμενος post λέγω add. **q** || ἀδελφοὶ post μου add. **q** || νεότητα **A** : ἀθλιότητα **C Pq** ||
 Χριστοῦ **AC PHNS** : τοῦ Χριστοῦ **L** || 3 με om. **N** || δέξεται **A q** : δέχεται **C P** || τῆς ἔμπροσθεν **A P** : τῆς πρώτης **C**
 καὶ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν **q** εἰς τῆς ἔμπροσθεν **Maran** (col. 1122.57) sic etiam **Klee** (p. 213a.54) || ἀσεβείας **AC PH** :
 γοητείας **L^{ec}** βοηθείας **NS** || 4 ἀπαλλαγῆναι **AC** : ἀπαλλαγῆναι **Pq** || ἡσύχασαν **AC P** : ἡσύχαζον **q** || εἰς τις διάρας **P** :
 εἰς δὲ τις ἄρας **A** εἰς τις ἄρας **C** εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν διάρας **q** || μοι om. **C PL** || 5 σε om. **S** || ἔφην **A^{ac}** (cf. § 23.1) : expunctum
 in **A** εἶπον **C** om. **Pq** || 6 εἶπεν **AC q** : εἶπέ μοι **P** || ποιήσῃ μοι ὁ Χριστὸς **A** : μοι ὁ Χριστὸς ποιήσῃ **C PHNS** μοι
 ποιήσῃ **L** || μοι **C P** : με **A q** μου **Maran** (col. 1122.63) || ἀπωθούμενος **LS** corr. **Gitlbauer** (p. 106.11) :
 ἀποθούμενος **A PHN** ἀπώσῃ **C** || 7 πῶς post καὶ add. **q** || 8 θεῷ **A** : Χριστῷ **C Pq** || ὅτι — παρ' αὐτῷ **AC P** :
 οὔτε ψεῦδος ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ (ἡ om. **H** sic etiam **Maran** [col. 1123.4]) ἀλήθεια **q** || ὅτι alterum **A P** : ὅτε **C** καὶ **q** ||
 9 γνησιότης **AC q** : δικαιοσύνη **P** || χρηστότητος **AC q** : Χριστότητος **P** || θεὸς **A q** : ὁ Χριστὸς **C** ὁ θεὸς **P** || πάντων ὧν
 καὶ πάντων **A** : πάντων ὧν καὶ **PHNS** ὧν πάντων καὶ **L** ὁ πάντων κ(ύριος), ὁ πάντων **C** || 10 ἀποθανεῖν **A** : θανεῖν **C**
P θανεῖν (παθεῖν **L**) καὶ ἀναστήναι **q** || 11 ἁμαρτιῶν om. **q** || αὐτόν **A** : αὐτοῦ **C Pq** || 12 αἰωνίου post ζωῆς add. **Pq**
 || ἔχειν ἡμᾶς om. **C** || τὸν om. **C** || 13 κατάστασιν **AC** : ἐπίγνωνσιν **Pq** || 13–14 ὁ Χριστὸς post εἰ οὖν (in linea 13)
 transp. **P** || 14 ἀποβαλεῖται **A** : ἀποβάλλεται **C PLNS** ἀποβάλλεται **H**.

13. Upon hearing these words I was sorely afraid, for the devil had answered me cleverly. (2) For this reason I said to those of you who were present, “Have pity on my youthful folly, tell me about Christ, if I am able to appease him, if he will receive me when I repent, if he can offer me assistance so that I am set free from my former impiety.” (3) While the majority remained silent, someone spoke up and said to me,⁸⁹ “Fear not, Cyprian, because Christ will receive you.” (4) And I replied to him, “Won’t Christ deal with me as the devil said, by rejecting me in the end?”⁹⁰ (5) But he said to me, “You realized that the devil is a liar, and yet you still believe his words? (6) There is no cunning in God, Cyprian, because he himself is the truth. There is no falsehood in him, because genuineness springs forth from him. (7) But so that you may learn that he is a source of goodness, he, who is God of all men and creator of all things, became a man for our sake, and on our behalf he allowed himself to die so that through him we might rise above the sins of death, and the almighty God became reconciled with us and he prepares us to have hope in life, as he has offered us a model through Christ, so that we might live in the dispensation of the resurrection.⁹¹ Therefore, if Christ died for the sake of the impious and the sinners,⁹² fear not, Cyprian, because he will certainly not reject you. You are one of the impious and he will atone for you

⁸⁹ The surviving manuscript of Eudocia’s hexameter rendition of the *Confession* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 7.10) ends abruptly at this point (on fol. 180v): ὁψὲ δέ μοί τις ἔειπε διαπρύσιόν γε βοήσας (*De S. Cypri.* 2.479). It is quite possible that the remainder was lost due to the graphic and gory details of Cyprian’s public confession (beginning at 14.1), which would have begun on the recto of the next folio. Something very similar may have happened to the exemplar of C. See further my comments in the introduction (§ 2.4).

⁹⁰ Cf. 12.5.

⁹¹ This passage contains a number of scriptural allusions and echoes, e.g., κατηλλάγη ἡμῖν (cf. 2 Cor 5:18), ἐλπίδα ζωῆς (cf. Tit 3:7), and ὑπογράμμον (cf. 2 Pet 2:21–22); see further esp. Rom 6:1–14.

⁹² Cf. 1 Tim 1:15.

σε ἐξιλάσεται. ⁸ σύνες γοῦν ἐκ τῆς εὐσπλαχνίας τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ μὴ φρόντιζε περὶ ὧν
ἐπραξας. ⁹ εἰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σταυρούντων προσηύξατο, πῶς σε ὑπερόψεται; ¹⁰ λέγει γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ
περὶ αὐτῶν· πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιούσι, καὶ πῶς σοὶ οὐκ ἀφήσεις; ¹¹ τὰς
ἀσεβείας σου μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἐποίησας· μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία, ἀλλ’ ἀναστὰς ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν
ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ὑποδείξει σοὶ τὴν προσέλευσιν τὴν πρὸς Χριστόν. ¹² ταῦτα οὖν αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος
ἦλθον εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἔλαβον. ¹³ ἡρξάμην οὖν πάλιν ὁμιλεῖν μετὰ θάρσους καὶ λέγω·
ἄρα, ἐταῖρε Τιμόθεε, οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ἔφης; ὁ δὲ πολλοῖς ἐτέροις με λόγοις ἐπιστάσαστο.

(11) 14. τότε ἡρξάμην ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ἐξαγγέλλειν μου τὰς ἀσεβείας καὶ λέγω· ἄρα [15]
ἀφήσιν μοι ὅσα διεπραξάμην, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀντιοχείς; πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅσα ἐπραξα φαῦλα·
οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς οὐδὲ λόγος εἰς ἐξήγησιν. ² ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσας τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀνέτεμνον
καὶ εὐγενίδας μεταμορφῶν τῶν οἰκείων πόλεων ἡχμαλώτιζον καὶ συλλαμβανούσας ἐκ
πορνείας ἀνήρουν· νήπια γαλουχοῦντα ἐσφαγίασα ὑποκάτω γῆς· ἄλλα ἔπνιξα, ἕτερα
ἀπεστραγγάλωσα· ἐπαγγελία καὶ βοηθεία τοῦ δράκοντος ἡβώντας ἤδη ἐσφαγιάζον,
ἄλλους προσιόντας τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συνέχωσα τῷ Πλούτῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἑκάτην ξένων ἀνδρῶν

A C P q (HLNS) 1 σε ἐξιλάσεται AC : ἐξιλάσεται σε PHNS ἐξιλάσεται σοὶ L || γοῦν AC P : οὖν q || τὸν Χριστὸν AC
PHNS : τοῦ Χριστοῦ L || 2 εἰ ὑπὲρ A : καὶ γὰρ περὶ C καὶ εἰ περὶ P καὶ εἰ ὑπὲρ q || σταυρούντων A P : σταυρούντων
αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίων C σταυρωσάντων καὶ ἀποκτεινάτων q || καὶ post προσηύξατο add. C || γὰρ A PL : οὖν HNS om. C ||
3 περὶ A P q : ὑπὲρ C || τὴν ἁμαρτίαν post αὐτοῖς add. q || 3–4 ἀφήσεις; . . . σου μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἐποίησας A : ἀφήσεις
(ἀφήσει P) . . . σου ἂς μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἐποίησας; C P ἀφήσει (ἀφήσει S) . . . ἂς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησας; q || 4 μηδὲ δειλία
A P q : Κυπριανὲ C || 4–5 εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον A : πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἡμῶν C P q || 5 τὴν προσέλευσιν post
προσέλευσιν add. per ditt. H || Χριστόν A : τὸν Χριστόν C P q || οὖν om. L || 6 εἰς A P q : πρὸς C || πάλιν om. C P ||
μετὰ θάρσους AC P : μετὰ θάρσους αὐτῷ HNS αὐτῷ μετὰ θάρσους L || λέγω A : λέγειν C P q || 7 ἔφης A : λέγεις
C q λέγεις μοι P || ἐτέροις με λόγοις A q : λόγοις με ἐτέροις C P || ἐπιστάσαστο A P : ἐπίστωσε C ἐπίστωσε ταῦτα
οὕτως ἔχειν q || 8 ἀσεβείας AC PS : ἁμαρτίας HLN || λέγω A : λέγειν C P ἔλεγον μετὰ δακρύων q || 9 ὦ om. P ||
ἐστὶν — φαῦλα A (cf. § 14.10) : ἡσέβησα καὶ C P q || 10 τῶν κακῶν μου post ἐξήγησιν add. q || ἐν A P : τὰς ἐν C ἐγὼ
ἐν q || δαίμοσιν A P q : δαιμονίοις C || ἀνέτεμνον A : ἀνέτεμον C P q || 11 ἡχμαλώτιζον A P q : ἡχμαλώτευσον C ||
συλλαμβανούσας A P q : συλλάμβανον C || 11–12 ἐκ πορνείας P q : ἐκ τῆς πορνείας A sed τῆς omitti in codice A
falso adnotavit Gitlbauer (p. 106.30 in app. crit.) ἐξ ἀνδρῶν πορνείας C || 12 ἀνήρουν om. C || γαλουχοῦντα AC
P : γαλουχούμενα q || γῆς A L : τῆς γῆς C PHNS || ἄλλα ἔπνιξα ante ὑποκάτω transp. C || ἕτερα AC PHNS : ἄλλα L
|| 13 ἐπαγγελία codd. : ἐπ’ ἀγγελία con. Maran (col. 1123 n. a) prob. Klee (p. 216b.2) || καὶ βοηθεία A : βοηθείας
C PHLN βοηθεία S || ἐπαγγελία — δράκοντος cum iis quae antecedunt coniungit Maran (col. 1123.41–42) cum
P sed. cf. § 6.6 || ἤδη om. S || 14 προσιόντας A : προϊόντας C P q || Πλούτῳ P q : πλούτῳ AC || Ἑκάτην A P q :
Ἑκάτην C || ἀνδρῶν ξένων C.

completely. (8) So come to know Christ from his good heart and do not be anxious over what you have done. (9) If he even offered prayers on behalf of those who crucified him, how could he overlook you? (10) For he said to the Father concerning them, ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,’⁹³ so how could he not forgive you? (11) You committed your impious deeds in ignorance. Do not be afraid, nor be timid, but rise and go to our bishop and he will show you the way that leads to Christ.” (12) When he had said these things, I went into myself and seized my soul. (13) Then I began to speak with courage again and I said, “Friend Timothy, are things really as you say they are?” And he reassured me with many other words.

14. Then before everyone I began to make my impieties known and said, “Men of Antioch, are you sure that he forgives me for all I have done? For the bad things I did are many and neither number nor word can delineate them. (2) I would cut open pregnant women for the demons,⁹⁴ and I would disguise noble women and take them prisoner from their home cities, and after they conceived from prostitution I would kill them.⁹⁵ Their suckling babes I slaughtered below ground,⁹⁶ others I suffocated, and still others I strangled. For the promised reward and assistance of the dragon⁹⁷ I would sacrifice boys who had just attained puberty, others who approached manhood I buried for Pluto,⁹⁸ and I would

⁹³ Luke 23:34.

⁹⁴ Eusebius makes the same claim about Maxentius: “To crown all his wickedness, the tyrant resorted to magic (ἐπὶ γοητεῖαν ἤλαυνεν). And in his divinations he cut open pregnant women, and then inspected the bowels of newborn infants (μαγικαῖς ἐπινοίαις τοτὲ μὲν γυναικάς ἐγκύμονας ἀνασχίζοντος, τοτὲ δὲ νεογνῶν σπλάγχχνα βρεφῶν διερευνημένου), slaughtered lions, and performed various execrable acts to invoke demons and avert war” (*Eccl. hist.* 8.14.5); cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 6.557–560; *PGM* IV. 2574–2591. The demon Obyzuth similarly claims to strangle and kill newborns in *T. Sol.* 13:3–4 (πνίγω τὰ βρέφη); see further J.-J. Aubert, “Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic,” *GRBS* 30 (1989): 435–38; cf. D. Frankfurter, “Fetus Magic and Sorcery Fears in Roman Egypt,” *GRBS* 46 (2006): 37–62.

⁹⁵ ἐκ πορνείας (Pq) is preferable to ἐκ τῆς πορνείας (A). Gitlbauer (*Die Ueberreste*, 1106.30) retains the definite article, but cf., e.g., Gen 38:24: ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει ἐκ πορνείας. The Valentinian magician Marcus (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.13.1–7) was also accused of seducing wealthy noble women through magic: μάλιστα γὰρ περὶ γυναικάς ἀσχολεῖται, καὶ τούτων [τοῦτο] τὰς εὐπαρέφους, καὶ περιπορφύρους, καὶ πλουσιωτάτας, ἃς πολλάκις ὑπάγεσθαι πειρώμενος, κολακεύων φησὶν αὐταῖς [118.2–4 Harvey]. For similar accusations, cf. Apuleius, *Apol.* 66–67; Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* 8.14.2 (quoted in note 117); Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.30.7.3.

⁹⁶ ὑποκάτω γῆς (AL) is preferable to ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς (C PHNS). Gitlbauer (*Die Ueberreste*, 1106.31) again retains the definite article, but the phrase means “below ground” (like ὑπὸ γῆς) and doubtless refers to the practice of cutting the throat of a sacrificial victim in a necromantic pit (as, e.g., Homer, *Od.* 11.33–36); see further D. Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 168–69.

⁹⁷ Α’s ἐπαγγελία καὶ βοηθεία τοῦ δράκοντος must be the original text. The clause refers to 6.6: “He promised (ἐπηγγελάτο) to make me an archon in the afterlife and to assist me in this life.” This is less clear with ἐπαγγελία βοηθείας τοῦ δράκοντος and completely lost with Maran’s correction ἐπ’ ἀγγελία (“Confessio,” 1123 n. a).

⁹⁸ Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.114.2) reports that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, buried fourteen men alive as a sacrifice “to the fabled god below ground” (τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ). Plutarch (*Superst.* 13.171d) recounts the same story but claims that

τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέτεμον· γυναικῶν ἔτι παρθένων τὸ αἶμα τῇ Παλλάδι κατέσπεισα, τῷ δὲ
 Ἄρει καὶ Κρόνῳ ἄνδρας ἤδη τελείους· καὶ συχνοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας διὰ τοιούτων θυσιῶν
 ἐπληροφόρησα, ἵνα οὕτως αὐτῷ προσέλθῃ τῷ διαβόλῳ.³ καὶ ὅτε αὐτῷ ἔμελλον προσιέναι,
 αἶμα παντὸς ζώου ἐν σκεύεσι χρυσοῖς αὐτῷ προσήνεγκα.⁴ καὶ δεξάμενος ἐρράντισε πρῶτον
 5 αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, εἶτα καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν εἰπών· λάβε καὶ σὺ

A C P q (HLNS) 1 ἔτι om. C || 1–2 δὲ Ἄρει **A P** : τε Ἄρει C Ἄρει δὲ **q** || 2 συχνοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας **AC P** :
 συχνοὺς (συχνῶς **NS**) ἄλλους λαοὺς (λαοὺς **deest S**) ἔθουν τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ **q** || 3 αὐτοῦς post ἐπληροφόρησα
 add. **q** || οὕτως αὐτῷ προσέλθῃ **A P q** : βρωτοὺς αὐτοὺς προσένεγκα **C** || αὐτῷ ἔμελλον **A** : ἔμελλον αὐτῷ **C HNS**
 ἤμελλον αὐτῷ **PL** || προσιέναι **AC PHL** : προίεναι **NS** || 4 παντὸς **AC P** : παντοίου **q** || σκεύεσι χρυσοῖς αὐτῷ **A** :
 σκεύει χρυσῷ αὐτῷ **C q** σκεύει αὐτῷ χρυσῷ **P** || προσήνεγκα **A P q** : προσέφερον **C** || 4–5 ἐρράντισε πρῶτον
 αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτοῦ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 107.6) : ἐρράντισε πρῶτον αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτοῦ **A PLNS** πρῶτον ἐρράντισεν ἑαυτοῦ
 . . . αὐτοῦ **C** ἐρράντισεν αὐτοῦ πρῶτον . . . αὐτοῦ **H**.

cut off heads of foreign men for Hecate.⁹⁹ I poured out the blood of women who were still virgins as drink-offerings to Pallas, but to Ares and Kronos that of men already full-grown,¹⁰⁰ and I satisfied many other demons through such sacrifices so that in this way I might draw near to the devil himself. (3) And when I was ready to approach him, I offered him the blood of every living thing in golden vessels. (4) And when he received them he sprinkled first his own crown and powers and then me myself, saying,

Amestris buried twelve men alive (cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.35.5) as a sacrifice to Pluto (τῷ Ἑιδῇ) to prolong her own life; cf., although no mention is made of human sacrifice, the story of Valesius' discovery and reburial of an underground altar dedicated to Dis Pater (Pluto) and Proserpina (Zosimus, *Hist.* 2.1–3; cf. Valerius Maximus, *Mem.* 2.4.5); for "human sacrifices" to Pluto in the context of gladiatorial games, see Prudentius, *Sym.* 1.388–398; cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 15.5.

⁹⁹ Accounts of sacrifices of foreigners are not uncommon in literary sources (see, e.g., Plutarch, *Quaest. rom.* 83), but the connection between Hecate and the decapitation of foreigners is rather obscure. The solution is to be found in the equation Hecate-Artemis-Enodia-Iphigeneia. In an early period both Hecate and Artemis were identified with E(i)nodia (e.g., already Sophocles fr. 535 Radt; Pseudo-Hesiod fr. 23a.17–24 Merkelbach-West; cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 9.185), a Thessalian goddess whose name "In-the-Road" suggests that she functioned as guardian of all entrances into the city; see S.I. Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 208; see further L. Robert, "Une déesse à cheval en Macédoine," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960): 588–95. Hecate's role as guardian (already Aeschylus fr. 388 Radt) likely incited this equation and her further association with Artemis and Iphigeneia. According to Pausanias (*Descr.* 1.43.1), who cites Arcadian tradition and Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* as sources, Iphigeneia did not die, but "became Hecate by the will of Artemis" (see Stesichorus' *Oresteia*, fr. 215 Davies from the Herculaneum papyrus of Philodemus' *On Piety*, P.Herc. 248, fr. 3.5–13; cf. Johnston, *Restless Dead*, 238–47), but the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* claims that Artemis transformed Iphigeneia into Artemis Enodia (fr. 23a.17–24 Merkelbach-West) after she saved her from being sacrificed by substituting in her stead an εἰδωλον (or a deer, so Proclus, *Chrest.* 135–143, summarizing Stasinus' *Cypria*). As priestess of Artemis in the land of the Taurians Iphigeneia was in charge of sacrificing any foreigner who entered the land (see Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 30–41). Herodotus reports that the Taurians sacrificed shipwrecked sailors and captured Greeks to a Maiden whom they identified with Iphigeneia (*Hist.* 4.103.1–3); the manner of sacrifice was by decapitation and they placed the severed heads of foreigners on tall poles as apotropaic devices (cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 3.43.3); see further J.N. Bremmer, "Human Sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*: Greek and Barbarian," in *Sacrifices humains: Perspectives croisées et représentations* (ed. P. Bonnechère and R. Gagné; Collection Religions 2; Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2013), 87–100. The σκῦλα and ἀκροθίνια of foreigners that hang from Artemis' altar at *Iph. Taur.* 72–75 could possibly refer to the skulls of slain victims (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 22.8.33). The Hecate-Artemis-Enodia-Iphigeneia equation is further suggested by the subsequent mention of Cyprian's sacrifices of virgins to Pallas Athena, which is surely an error—but probably Porphyry's and not the author's (see the following note)—for Artemis. Note, too, Eucrates' claim that, following an earthquake (cf. 6.10), he saw Hecate half a furlong in height, holding a torch in one hand and brandishing a sword in the other (Lucian, *Philops.* 22); cf. Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 183–84 no. 85. At any rate, this relationship between Hecate and *xenoi* (cf. 15.1 and 18.4) may explain a few peculiar phrases in Greek magical texts: e.g., *PGM* IV. 2260: ἐνεύχομαι σοι, Ξεῖνη τ' Αὐγῇ, παρθένε (so Preisendanz, but as an epithet for Hecate, Wessely's conjecture ξεινοδηγέ and van Herwerden's ξειναγωγέ are still worthy of consideration); P.Köln inv. T.1, 69–70 (addressing Hecate-Artemis, among other chthonian goddesses): Ἰνωδί[α] Ἐκάτῃ φρεϊκῶδι φωνῇ, βαρβαρ[ε]σον κράζουσα θεὰ θ/[εῶ]ν ἡγεμονεύεις (Jordan, "A Love Charm," 251, 259); Getty Museum inv. 81.AI.140.2, col. i.13–14: Εἰνοδία δ' Ἐκάτῃ φρεϊκῶδε φωνῇ / [βάρβαρον ἐκκλάζουσα θεὰ θεῶν ἡγεμονεύει (D. Jordan and R. Kotansky, "Ritual Hexameters in the Getty Museum: Preliminary Edition," *ZPE* 178 [2011]: 57–58).

¹⁰⁰ Gitlbauer's placement (*Die Ueberreste*, 1107.3–4) of an interpunct before τῷ δὲ Ἄρει καὶ Κρόνῳ ἀνδρας ἤδη τελείους cannot be right; the clause belongs with the preceding (it cannot be governed by ἐπληροφόρησα) and should be understood in the same sense, i.e., τῷ δὲ Ἄρει καὶ Κρόνῳ ἀνδρῶν ἤδη τελείων τὸ αἷμα κατέσπεισα. The author's list of human sacrifices is not merely whimsical Christian polemic. Given the attribution of human sacrifices to Kronos, Ares, and Pallas (Athena),

ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀλόγων καὶ λογικῶν. ⁵ φίλοις παρεχόμενος χάριτας ἀπείρους
 ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ πολλοὺς πένητας κατέστησα. ⁶ αἱ μὲν οὖν εὐεργεσίαι μου οὐκ εἶχον
 ὄνησιν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ὑπόστασιν ὡς φαντασίαι, αἱ δὲ ἀδικίαι μου ἀληθεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ἐπειδὴ
 ἐνέργουν οἱ δαίμονες πρὸς τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπιβλαβῶς, παρέχειν δὲ ὑπαρξιν οὐκ ἠδύναντο.
⁷ εἴ τιτι χρυσίον ἐδίδουν, πρὸς ἡμέρας δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἴσχυεν, ὅθεν οἷς ἔλεγον τὸν δόλον, θάττον
 αὐτὸ συναλλάττοντες ἐζημίουν τοὺς συναλλάκτας. ⁸ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅσας μοιχείας καὶ

A C P q (HLNS) 1–2 φίλοις — ἄλλους scripsi : ἐγὼ φίλοις (φίλους N) παρεχόμενος χάριτας, ἀπείρους (ἀπείρους om. H) πολλοὺς (πολλοὺς om. L ἄλλους S) **q** φίλοις παρεχόμενος ἀπείρους ἄλλους **C P** φίλους παρεχομένους ἀπείρους ὄλους **A** φίλοις παρεχόμενος cum iis quae antecedunt coniungit **P** sed haec coniungi posse cum iis quae sequuntur adnotavit Maran (coll. 1123–1124 n. b) || 2 καὶ om. **C P** || πένητας πολλοὺς **P** || 3 ὄνησιν **C P q** : νόησιν **A** || ἐπειδὴ **A P q** : σπουδῇ **C** || 4 ἐνέργουν **P q** (cf. § 3.5) : ἡργουν **A** ὑπούργουν **C** || οἱ δαίμονες post ἐπιβλαβῶς transp. **L** || πρὸς τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπιβλαβῶς **A** : εἰς τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπιβλαβῶς **C q** ἐπιβλαβῇ εἰς τὰς ὑπάρξεις **P** || παρέχειν **A** : παρασχεῖν **C P q** || 5 τιτι **A P q** : τινας **C** || χρυσίον corr. Gitlbauer (p. 107.11) : χρυσίω **A** χρυσὸν **C P q** || δύο ἢ om. **C P q** || δόλον **AC PLNS** : λόγον **H** || αὐτὸ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 107.12) : αὐτῷ **A** αὐτοὺς **C** αὐτὸν **P q** || 6 συναλλάττοντες **C P** : συνελάσαντες **A** συναλλάσσοντες **q** || ἐζημίουν **C P q** : ἐξοικεῖους **A** || συναλλάκτας **AC q** : συναλλάττοντας **P** || καὶ πορνείας post μοιχείας add. **q**.

“You, too, receive authority over the soul of every irrational and rational being.”¹⁰¹ (5) By offering love-charms to lovers I killed countless others, and I made many people poor.¹⁰² (6) Therefore, my good deeds were inconsequential, because as illusions they did not have any actual existence, but my wrongdoings were real, because the demons can harmfully affect realities, although they cannot bring about reality themselves.¹⁰³ (7) If I gave someone gold, it would last for two or three days, during which time those to whom I revealed the trick would hasten to enter into contracts and defraud their business associates.¹⁰⁴ (8) I am incapable of saying how many times I committed adultery and pederasty, perverting together

it is highly probable that the author’s source was Porphyry’s *De abstinētia*. Porphyry’s discussion of human sacrifice immediately follows his discussion of evil daemons and how they thrive on sacrificial vapors and savors (see note 61): “For also on Rhodes on the sixth day of the month Metageitnion a human being used to be sacrificed to Kronos. Now this custom, having lasted a long time, was altered, for they would keep one of those condemned to death by the people until the time of the Kronia, and during the festival they would lead the man outside the gates opposite the seat of [Artemis] Aristoboule, where, having given him wine to drink, they would slay him. . . . Moreover, Apollodorus [*FGH* 244 F 125] says that the Lacedaemonians would sacrifice a human being to Ares. The Phoenicians, in the great misfortune of war or plague or drought, would sacrifice someone of their most beloved, whom they selected by vote, to Kronos. . . . And Istros in his *Collection of Cretan Sacrifices* says that in ancient times the Kouretes sacrificed children to Kronos. . . . For also in Laodicea in Syria a virgin was sacrificed each year to Athena, but now a deer is sacrificed [cf. Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 26–29]” (*Abst.* 2.53.3–56.10); see Hughes, *Human Sacrifice*, 122–30. On human sacrifices to Kronos, cf. Sophocles, fr. 126 Radt; Pseudo-Plato, *Minos* 315c; Theophrastus, fr. 13.22–26 Pötscher apud Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.27.2; H.S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* (2 vols.; SGRR 6; Leiden: Brill: 1990–1993), 2:90–135, esp. 100–102. On human sacrifices to Ares, cf. Xenophon of Ephesus, *Eph.* 2.13, where a group of bandits attempts to sacrifice Anthia to Ares. Porphyry’s attribution of human sacrifices in Laodicea to Athena is confused; he has apparently mistaken Artemis for Athena (so, rightly, L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2:441–42), and this error may well be the source of the author’s misattribution of sacrifices of virgins to Pallas (Athena). See further esp. J. Rives, “Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians,” *JRS* 85 (1995): 65–85.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the ritual prescriptions in *P.Ant.* 2.65 (= Suppl. Mag. 2.100): “pour blood into a vessel and on the outside besprinkle (αἶμα ἔρχεον εἰς ἀγγεῖον) / καὶ ἔξω κατάρανον) . . . to Hekate” (*PGM* XCIII. 1–6).

¹⁰² Αἱ φίλους παρεχομένους ἀπείρους ὄλους ἐφόνευσα is obscure and not likely to be the original text. The following αἱ μὲν οὖν εὐεργεσίαι and αἱ δὲ ἀδικαί μου in 14.6 only make sense if 14.5 is taken to mean that Cyprian offered his services to the betterment (even if only in a superficial sense) of some (which the reading in A does not allow) and to the detriment of others. For example, even though Cyprian confesses that he “made many people poor,” it is clear from 14.7 that his disappearing gold trick made others rich. I adopt q’s χάριτας because the use of χάρις with the meaning “love-charm” is relatively rare—and it is used precisely with this meaning in 8.6 (but only in the shorter text)—and because the context is clearly erotic magic (cf. 15.1 and note 108; 18.11 and note 118). The performance of erotic magic spells could sometimes result in unintentional (or unavoidable) consequences, namely, the death of the object of an erotic spell (cf. 18.11). The attraction spell of Pachrates of Heliopolis, who may be identical with Lucian’s Pancrates in *Philops.* 34 (see note 25), at *PGM* IV. 2441–2495 claims to be able to attract a lover in one hour, but it warns the practitioner, “Be sure to open the door for the woman who is being led by the spell, otherwise she will die (τελευτήσῃ)” (2491). The insomnia spell at *PGM* XII. 376–396, an erotic spell designed to make a woman “lie awake until she consents,” similarly warns the practitioner that “the woman will die (τελευτήσῃ) for lack of sleep, without lasting 7 days. This charm cannot at any time have an antidote” (379–380). See further C.A. Faraone, “Sex and Power: Male-Targeting Aphrodisiacs in the Greek Magical Tradition,” *Helios* 19 (1992): 92–105.

¹⁰³ Cf. Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.39–41.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *PGM* I. 99–100.

παιδοφθορίας ἔδρασα ἐμοὶ καὶ ἑτέροις πολλοῖς παρατρέπων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ μὴ θελούσας·
 ὅσα ἐτεχνασάμην εἰς μοχθηρίαν, εἰς πόλεμον, εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ ὄλεθρον τίς ἂν εἴη ἱκανὸς
 ἐγγράψασθαι; ⁹ πῶς γοῦν ταῦτα πάντα συγχωρήσειεν ὁ θεός, ὦ φίλοι; πῶς με ἐλεήσειεν
 ἐμαυτὸν μὴ ἐλεήσαντα; ¹⁰ εἰ ἦν μοι ὁ λόγος περὶ μιᾶς ἢ δύο ψυχῶν, εἶχον ἐλπίδας πρὸς
 5 ἀπολογίαν· πολλὰ εἰσιν ἅ ἔδρασα φαῦλα.

15. τίνα παρρησιάσομαι ἢ ποῖα διηγέσομαι; γένους ὄλεθρον, φίλων ἔνδολον διάθεσιν, [16]
 ξένων ἀναίρεσιν, τῶν ἄλλων τὴν σφαγὴν, τῶν εὐσεβῶν τοὺς διωγμούς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰς
 ἐπιβουλὰς, τῶν παρθένων τὰς φθοράς, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰς καθαιρέσεις, τῶν εὐκτηρίων
 οἴκων τὴν ἐρήμωσιν, τῶν σεμνῶν γυναικῶν τὴν δημαγωγίαν, τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσι κατὰ τῶν
 10 μυστηρίων ἐπινοίας, ὅτι πολλοὺς ἥκιστον ἐξαγγέλειν καὶ ἀκούων ἐγέλων καὶ διηγούμενος

A C P q (HLNS) 6 [p. 196]–1 καὶ παιδοφθορίας A H : καὶ παιδεραστίας PLNS om. C || 1 post ἔδρασα lac. ad
 § 27.4 (p. 236.10) in C.

A P q (HLNS) 1 ἅμα ante ἐμοὶ add. P q || ἑτέροις πολλοῖς P q : ἐτέρων πολλῶν A || 2 εἴη om. q || 3 ἐγγράψασθαι
 A P : συγγράψασθαι q || γοῦν A : οὖν P οὖν μοι q || ταῦτα falso om. Maran (col. 1126.5) || συγχωρήσειεν A : συγχωρήσει
 P q || ἐλεήσειεν A : ἐλεήση HS ἐλεήσει PLN || 4 ἐμαυτὸν A : ἐαυτὸν P τὸν ἐμαυτὸν q || ψυχῶν ἢ δύο q || ἐλπίδας A :
 ἐλπίδα P q || 5 ἀπολογίαν A : ἀπολογίαν μου P ἀπολογία, ἀλλ' ὑπέρ τινος ἀπολλογήσομαι q || γάρ post πολλά
 add. q || 6 παρρησιάσομαι A : παρήσομαι P παρήσω q || ποῖα διηγέσομαι A : τίνα ἐξαγορεύσω P q || ἢ post ὄλεθρον
 add. S || 7 ἀνθρώπων post ἄλλων add. P q || σφαγὴν A : κατασφαγὴν P q || 8 ἐπιβουλὰς A PS : διαβολὰς HLN
 || τῶν παρθένων τὰς φθοράς A HLN : τὰς φθοράς τῶν παρθένων P τῶν παρθένων τὰς διαφορὰς S || 9 τὴν prius
 om. P || ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὰς A S || 9–10 ἐπινοίας κατὰ τῶν μυστηρίων P q || 10 ἐξαγγέλειν A : ἐξαγγεῖλαι P q || ἐγέλων
 A HLN : ἔλεγον PS.

with my own the souls of many others, even those who were unwilling.¹⁰⁵ Who would be capable of recording how many times I employed the magical arts for depravity, for perdition and destruction? (9) How, friends, could God possibly forgive all these misdeeds? How could he show mercy to me, who showed no mercy myself? (10) If my reckoning concerned one or two souls, I would have some hope for a defense. The bad things I did are many.¹⁰⁶

15. What deeds shall I speak about frankly, or which shall I describe in detail?¹⁰⁷ The destruction of offspring, the cunning arrangement of lover and beloved, the slaying of foreigners, the slaughtering of others, the persecutions against the pious, the plots against the Christians, the corruptions of virgins, the demolitions of churches, the desolation of houses of prayer, the manipulation of noble women,¹⁰⁸ the designs against everyone initiated into the Christian mysteries,¹⁰⁹ for I tortured many to betray their secrets and I would laugh when I heard them and scoff when I described them, and I would steal their

¹⁰⁵ On C's omission of *καὶ παιδοφθορίας* and the large lacuna after *ἔδρασα*, see my comments in the introduction (§ 2.4). The accusers of Apuleius cited his pederastic poems as evidence that he practiced black magic (*Apol.* 9–13) and alleged that he had used a beautiful boy named Thallus as a medium in what they apparently took for a lecanomantic ritual (*Apol.* 42–46). On the use of boy-mediums (although most spells require that they be *ἄφθοροι*) in divinatory magic, see esp. the spell known as “Solomon’s Collapse” at *PGM* IV. 850–929; cf. *PGM* IV. 88–93; V. 1–53 (lecanomancy); VII. 348–358; VII. 540–578 (lecanomancy); XIII. 734–1077; *PDM* XIV. 1–92; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 4.28.7–8, 41.1–2; T. Hopfner, “Die Kindermedien in den griechisch-ägyptischen Zauberpapyri,” in *Recueil d’études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov: Archéologie, histoire de l’art, études byzantines* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1926), 65–74. Apollonius of Tyana, who had reputedly exorcized a pederastic ghost from a young boy (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.38; cf. the characterization of the pederastic demon Ornias in *T. Sol.* 1.1–2.9), had also been accused of murdering a beautiful Arcadian boy for the purpose of hepatoscopic divination (*Vit. Apoll.* 7.11; 8.5–7); cf. Cicero’s allegation that Vatinius sought to appease the chthonic Di Manes with the entrails of murdered boys (*Vat.* 14) and Juvenal’s description of a Commagenian soothsayer (*Sat.* 6.548–552). It was also rumored that Hadrian’s boy-lover Antinous had offered himself to be sacrificed for necromantic purposes (Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom.* 69.11.2–4). The *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* claim that Simon Magus made use of the soul of a boy, “unsullied and violently slain,” as a magical assistant or familiar spirit (2.13), and this boy is later equated with the aerial homunculus whose image Simon had erected in his own bed-chamber (2.15). See further Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 196–201.

¹⁰⁶ The phrases *πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν ὅσα ἔπραξα φαῦλα* in 14.1 and *πολλὰ εἰσιν ἃ ἔδρασα φαῦλα* in 14.10 bracket Cyprian’s initial confession, a feature which is lost in all manuscripts except A (at 14.1 all other manuscript read *πολλὰ γάρ ἡσέβησα*).

¹⁰⁷ On the long recensions’ variant *ἐξαγορεύσω*, cf. Gregory’s oration on Cyprian: *ὁ δὲ καὶ μακρῷ λόγῳ στηλιτεύων τὴν προτέραν αὐτοῦ κακίαν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο θεῷ καρποφορήσῃ, τὴν ἐξαγόρευσιν, καὶ πολλοῖς ὁδὸς γένηται τῆς χρηστοτέρας ἐλπίδος τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας ἐπιστρεφόντων* (*Or.* 24.8 [*PG* 35:1177b; 54.11–14 Mossay]).

¹⁰⁸ Each crime listed here, with the exception of those concerning Cyprian’s persecutions of Christians, refers back to a crime already described in the previous section: (1) *γένους ὄλεθρον* = *νήπια γαλουχούντα ἐσφαγίασα ὑποκάτω γῆς* in 14.2; (2) *φίλων ἔνδολον διάβησιν* = *φίλοις παρεχόμενος χάριτας ἀπίρους ἄλλους ἐφόνευσεν* in 14.5, cf. 18.3; (3) *ξένων ἀναίρεσιν* = *διὰ τὴν Ἑκάτην ξένων ἀνδρῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέτεμον* in 14.2, cf. 18.4; (4) *τῶν ἄλλων τὴν σφαγὴν* = perhaps *ἡβώντας ἤδη ἐσφαγίζον* κτλ. in 14.2; (5) *τῶν παρθένων τὰς φθοράς* = *γυναικῶν ἔτι παρθένων τὸ αἶμα τῇ Παλλάδι κατέσπεισεν* in 14.2, cf. 8.6; (6) *τῶν σεμνῶν γυναικῶν τὴν δημαγωγίαν* = *εὐγενίδας μεταμορφῶν τῶν οἰκείων πόλεων ἡχμαλώτιζον* κτλ. in 14.2.

¹⁰⁹ Certainly the *μυστηρία* here are the Christian mysteries mentioned in 1.1.

ἐχλεύαζον καὶ τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς ἐφενάκιζον, ἔρριπτον, ἐξουδένουν, ἔκαιον· τοὺς
 διασπαραγμοὺς τῶν προσεδρευόντων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τὸ μῖσος, τὸν γέλωτα τοῦ βαπτίσματος,
 τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς κληρικούς, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν, τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, τὴν χλεύην
 τῶν προσευχῶν, τὸν μυκτηρισμὸν τῆς λειτουργίας, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ τὰς
 5 δυσφημίας, τῶν εὐαγγελίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίληψιν; ² τί μοι γοῦν ἀφήσιν ἄρα πρῶτον ὁ
 Χριστός; τὰ πάντα γὰρ φαῦλα καὶ ἀσθενείας μεστά. ³ οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ μοι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν ὁ
 χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς μου· οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ζήσομαι ἄλλα εἴκοσι ἔτη. ⁴ μίᾱς μου πράξεως μόλις ἔχει
 μετάνοια· τίς μοι χρόνος ὑπάρξειε πρὸς τὰς ἀπείρους ἀσεβείας;

(12) 16. εἴπατέ μοι, ὦ φίλοι, τί ποιήσω, τί διαπράξομαι; ² ἐπέγνων Χριστοῦ τὴν θεότητα, ἀλλ'
 10 οὐκ ἔχω δύναμιν, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐξιλεώσωμαι· ἐπέγνων τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐλάβειαν, ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἔχω πρόσωπον ἐν αὐτοῖς παρρησιάσασθαι· ἐπέγνων τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐ
 τολμῶ ἄψασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος συνεχόμενος. ³ ἐπέγνων ὅτι μυστήριον ἀθάνατον ἡ πίστις
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχὺν καταλαβέσθαι αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνάρετον. ⁴ ἐπέγνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 τὴν κατάστασιν, ἀλλ' αἰδοῦμαι κἂν τοῖς προαυλοῖς ἐγγίσαι· συνήκα θεὸν καὶ πῶς αὐτῷ
 15 ἀπολογήσομαι ἀπορῶ. ⁵ εὐσεβῆσαι ποθῶ καὶ ἡ ἀσεβείᾱ μου περιγίνεται· ἐπιθυμῶ δοῦλος [17]
 ἀκοῦσαι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀγνοῶ εἰ θέλει με πριάσασθαι· ἑμαυτὸν πωλῶ, ἑμαυτὸν καταγράφω

A P q (HLNS) 1 ἔκαιον **A q**: ἔκλαιον **P** ἔκλαιον conl. Maran (col. 1125 n. c) prob. Klee (p. 216b.39) || ἀλλὰ post ἔκαιον add. **q** || 2 προσεδρευόντων **A PLNS**: προεδρευόντων **H** || τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ **Pq**: τῆς ἐκκλησίας **A** || 3 τὴν ὑπόνοιαν om. **q** || 3–4 τῶν προσευχῶν τὴν χλεύην **L** || 4 τῆς λειτουργίας τὸν μυκτηρισμὸν post **q** || Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ **A q**: θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ **P** || 5 τὴν ἐπίληψιν **A PHLN**: τὰς ἐπιλήψεις **S** || γοῦν **A q**: οὖν **P** || ἀφήσιν ἄρα **A**: ἄρα ἀφήσει **P** ἄρα ἀφήσειε **q** || 5–6 ὁ Χριστός **A**: ὁ Χριστὸς ἢ τί μοι συγχωρήσειεν **P** ὁ Χριστὸς ἢ τί μὴ ἀφήσειε **q** || 6 ἀσθενείας **A**: ἀσεβείας **Pq** || ἐπαρκεῖ **A PHNS**: ἐπαρκέσει **L** || τὴν ante ἀπολογίαν infra lineam add. **A** (sed cf. § 14.10) || 7 μου **A**: τῆς ἐμῆς **Pq** || 7–8 ἔχει μετάνοια **A** (cf. Smyth § 1441): ἔχει μετάνοιαν **P** ἔχω μετάνοιαν **q** || 8 ὑπάρξειε **A P**: ὑπάρξει **q** || μου post ἀσεβείας add. **PHLN** || 9 εἴπατέ μοι, ὦ φίλοι om. per hapl. **N** || ὦ om. **P** || μου post φίλοι add. **HL** || ἢ post ποιήσω add. **q** || 10 εὐλάβειαν **A q**: εὐσέβειαν **P** || 9–11 ἀλλ' — τὴν χάριν om. per hapl. **L** (suppl. **L^{ms}**) || 12 συνεχόμενος **A HLS**: ἀνεχόμενος **N** ἐλεγχόμενος **P** || 12–13 ἀθάνατον post Χριστοῦ transp. **L** || 13 τοῦ Χριστοῦ **A**: Χριστοῦ **Pq** || καταλαβέσθαι **A^{ms}**: ἐκμειλίξασθαι **Pq** || αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνάρετον **A P**: αὐτόν **q** || 14 ἐγγίσαι **A P**: αὐτῆς προσεγγίσαι **q** || 15 ἀπολογήσομαι **A q**: ἀπολογίσασθαι **P** || ἢ om. **S** || μου **A P**: μοι **q** || 16 ἀκοῦσαι **A PHLN**: γενέσθαι **S** || με **A q**: ἐμὲ **P** || πριάσασθαι **A**: πριάσθαι **Pq** || ἑμαυτὸν prius **A q**: εἰς αὐτόν **P** (εἰς αὐτόν· πῶλῶ ἑμαυτόν, καταγράφω interp. Maran [col. 1126.51–52] cum **P**).

holy Scriptures, throw them away, destroy and burn them, the tearing to pieces of those who regularly attended church, the hatred, the laughter at baptism, the enmity for the clerics, the suspicion, the plots against them, the jokes about prayer, the sneering at the liturgy, the blasphemies against Christ and God, the censure of his Gospels? (2) Why should Christ forgive me in the first place? For all of these deeds are bad and full of impiety. (3) The rest of my life would not be enough time for me to make an apology. I do not know if I shall live another twenty years. (4) Repentance is insufficient for one deed of mine. What time would suffice for these countless impieties?

16. Tell me, friends, what shall I do? What can I do? (2) I have recognized the divinity of Christ, but I lack the power to appease him. I have recognized the piety of his priests, but I lack the countenance to speak openly with them. I have recognized the grace of the Gospels, but I do not dare to touch them because I am constrained by my conscience. (3) I have recognized that faith in Christ is the undying mystery, but I lack the strength to grasp its exceptional character. (4) I have recognized the institution of the church, but I am ashamed even to draw near to its vestibules. I have become aware of God and I am at a loss as to how I shall defend myself before him. (5) I am anxious to live piously and impiety prevails over me. I desire to obey Christ as a slave and I do not know if he wants to buy me. I offer myself for sale;

δοῦλον αὐτοῦ. ⁶ οὐ θέλω ἀντιτίμησιν, μόνον με προσδέξεται· εἰ μὴ θέλῃ μοι συγγνώναι, ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιγράφω, μόνον κὰν ὡς ἀσεβεῖ μοι ἐπιβλέψῃ. ⁷ ἔν οἶδα, ὅτι αἰωνίου ὀλέθρου ἄξιός εἰμι· οὐ παραιτούμαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, μόνον αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀποθανεῖν καταξιωθῶ, ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν γενέσθαι, κὰν γοῦν θανατώσαί με βούλεται. ⁸ οὐκ αἰτῶ ἄφεσιν· ὑπερβάλλει
5 τὸ χρέος τὴν αὐτοῦ χρηστότητα· οὐ πειράζων προσέρχομαι· πείραν γὰρ ἔχω τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰουστίνης· καταγράφω ἐμαυτῷ θάνατον· ἴδω μόνον πῶς προσκυνεῖται Χριστός.

17. εἵπατέ μοι, ὦ φίλοι, εἰ δύναμαι κὰν ὡς ἀλλότριος ἐπιστῆναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἵνα μήκοθεν ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα τῇ κηδῶνι μου τὴν ψυχὴν καταμαράνω. ² οὐ πιστεύω ὅτι ἀφίησί μοι· οὐ πείθομαι χείρονά μου γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ὑπερέβαλον Ἰαννὴν καὶ Ἰαμβρὴν
10 τοὺς λεγομένους. ³ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ γοητεύειν ὠμολόγησαν θεοῦ δάκτυλον, ἐγὼ δὲ παντελῶς διεκείμην μὴ εἶναι θεόν. ⁴ εἰ ἐκείνοις ὁ θεὸς οὐ συνεχώρησε κὰν ἐκ μέρους ἐπιγνοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἐμοὶ πῶς συγχωρήσειε παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσαντι; ⁵ οὐ καυχῶμαι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσεβείαις μου· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦδος πάλιν θεραπεύειν ὀφείλω ἀγνοῶν τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ’ οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθείας ἀντιποιεῖται. ⁶ τίς ὑμῖν διηγῆσεται ἀσεβείας πέλαγος; τίς ὑμῖν ἄβυσσον βλασφημίας

A P q (HLNS) 1 προσδέξεται με **q** || θέλῃ **A N** : θέλει **PHLS** || μοι συγγνώναι **A** : μου συγγνώναι (συγγνώναί μου **L**) τὰς ἀσεβείας **Pq** || 2 τὴν αἰτίαν post ἐπιγράφω add. **Pq** || κὰν om. **A** || ὡς ἀσεβεῖ μοι **A q** : ὡς ἀσεβῇ με **P** || ἐπιβλέψῃ **P** : ἐπιβλέψει **A** ἐπιβλέπει **HS** ἐπιβλέπη **LN** || αἰωνίου om. **H** || 3 καταξιωθῶ **A q** : ἀξιωθῶ **P** || 4 γενέσθαι **A** : γένωμαι **HL** γένομαι **PN** || 5 τὸ χρέος **A P** : μου τὸ χρέος **q** || τάχα post χρέος add. **PHNS** || γὰρ post ὑπερβάλλει in line 4 transp. **P** || 5–6 αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως **N** || 6 ἀπὸ **A P** : διὰ **q** || καὶ ante καταγράφω add. **P** || ἴδω μόνον **A P** : μόνον ἴδω **HL** ἴδω **NS** || 7 ὦ om. **HLN** || εἵπατε (μοι **S**) post φίλοι add. **q** || εἰ δύναμαι κὰν ὡς ἀλλότριος **A P** : εἰ δύναμαι κὰν ὅλως **HNS** κὰν ὅλως εἰ δύναμαι **L** || 8 ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ **A PHNS** : αὐτοῦ ὁρῶν **L** ὁρῶ αὐτοῦ **Maran** (col. 1127.10) || τῇ κηδῶνι **A** : τήκων **P** τῇ κεδόνι **q** || τὴν ψυχὴν μου **q** || καταμαράνω **A¹ Pq** : καταμαραίνῃ **A^{ms}** καταμαρανῶ **Maran** (col. 1127.11) || 9 ἀφίησί μοι **A P** : μοι ἀφίησιν **q** || γὰρ post πείθομαι add. **Pq** || χείρονά **A P** : χείρον **HS** χείρω **LN** || γενέσθαι **A** : γεγενῆσθαι **Pq** || ὑπερέβαλον **A NS** : ὑπερέβαλλον **HL** ὑπερβαλὼν **P** || 10 εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα post δάκτυλον add. **q** || 10–11 παντελῶς — θεόν **A P** : μὴ εἶναι θεόν, (ἀλλ’ add. **L**) εἰ μὴ τὸν διάβολον **q** || 11 ἐκ μέρους **A** : ἐν μέρει **PHLS** μέρει **N** || ἐπιγνοῦσιν **A q** : ἐπιγνώσιν **P** || 13 πάλιν om. **q** || ὀφείλων ἀγνοῶ **P** : ὀφείλον ἀγνοῶν **A** ὀφείλω, ἀγνοῶ **HNS** ὀφείλω ἀγνοῶν **L** || 14 ἀντιποιεῖται **A PLNS** : ποιεῖται **H** || τίς — πέλαγος om. per hapl. **LNS** (suppl. **L^{ms}**) || ἀσεβείας πέλαγος **A P** : τῆς ἀσεβείας τοῦ πέλαγος **q**.

I register myself as his slave. (6) I do not desire recognition, only that he receives me. If he does not wish to pardon me, then I lay the burden upon myself, even if he only looks upon me as an impious person. (7) I know one thing, that I am worthy of eternal death. I do not ask for retribution, only that I am deemed worthy to die when he orders it, and to be placed under his authority, even if he wants to put me to death. (8) I do not ask for forgiveness. My debt surpasses his goodness. I do not come forward to make a trial, for I have proof of his power from Justina. I inscribe death for myself. Only let me see how Christ is worshipped.

17. Tell me, friends, if as a outsider I am able at least to witness the words that are spoken, so that while watching his divinity from afar I may wither away my soul in grief. (2) I do not believe that he forgives me, for I am convinced that no person worse than I has ever been born. (3) I outdid the famous magicians Jannes and Jambres.¹¹⁰ They acknowledged the finger of God while performing their magic, but I was wholly convinced that God did not exist.¹¹¹ (4) If God did not pardon them, even though they recognized him in part, how could he pardon me, who did not recognize him at all?¹¹² (5) I do not boast in my impieties, for I am not bound to serve falsehood again even though I am ignorant of his grace, but I know that he seeks after truth. (6) Who could describe to you this sea of impiety? Who could

¹¹⁰ Apuleius also compares himself to Jannes, among several other notorious magicians, claiming that if his accusers could prove that he had married Pudentilla for financial gain: *ego ille sim Carmendas uel Damigeron uel † his † Moses uel Iohannes uel Apollobex uel ipse Dardanus uel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est* (Apol. 90.6). The name *Iohannes* is a variant spelling of (or at least a common confusion for) *Iannes* (e.g., even in the surviving papyrus fragments of the pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres* the name Ἰάννης alternates with Ἰωάννης, see P.Vindob. 29828v fr. b.12 and P.Chester Beatty XVI. 5abcfjp4.1). As for the obelized *his*, Bosscha's conjectural emendation *Iesus* <uel> makes the most sense from a palaeographical standpoint. See further V. Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros: Pro se de magia* (2 vols.; Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1997), 2:223; idem, "Apuleius, Pudentilla and Christianity," VC 54 (2000): 91.

¹¹¹ Cf. Exod 8:19 [8:15 LXX]: εἶπαν οὖν οἱ ἐπαιδοὶ τῷ φαραώ· δάκτυλος θεοῦ ἐστὶ τοῦτο. For the equivalent statement in *Jannes and Jambres*, see P.Chester Beatty, 3ab→.15–16 (τοῦτ' / ἐστὶν θεοῦ ἡ ἐνεργούσα [δύναμις])//P.Vindob. 29828v fr. b.9–10 (τοῦτ[ο] δύναμις / θεοῦ] ἐστίν). Reference is made to Cyprian's former conviction that God did not exist in the expanded version of 8.6 in the longer text (ᾧθεν ἐπειθόμην μὴ εἶναι θεὸν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν διάβολον).

¹¹² The statement that God did not pardon Jannes and Jambres likely derives from the pseudepigraphon itself (the nameless Egyptian magicians drop out of the biblical account after Exod 8:19), at the end of which Jambres conjures up from Hades the shade of his dead brother Jannes, who describes the various torments in Hades and at P.Chester Beatty 6abcefgi4.24 [= 6f4.6] informs his brother, "But now (νῦν?) there is for us no forgiveness" (ἵνιν δὲ οὐκ ἀφίεται ἡμῖν); cf. Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 237. Jannes' ἡμῖν may well refer to all of the people in Hades rather than only to himself and his brother Jambres, but the suggestion of M.R. James ("A Fragment," 575–76) that Jambres may have repented like Cyprian is clearly unwarranted; see further my comments in the introduction (§ 2.2).

διαγράψοιτο; τίς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστήσειεν εἰς τοὺς τῆς κακίας θησαυρούς; ⁷ ἐγὼ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν
 ὑπεχώρησα καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἄβυσσοι αὐτῆς ἐμετρήθησαν, ἐν ἐμοὶ πολλοὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς [18]
 ἐναυάγησαν. ⁸ οὐκ εἰμὶ μόνος ἐν τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἐβαράθρωσα· πολλοὺς ἄλλους
 σὺν ἐμοὶ κατέσπασα.

- 5 18. ποῖα κλαύσω; περὶ τίνος δὲ θαυμάσω; περὶ τῶν σωματικῶς ἀναιρεθέντων ἢ
 περιέργως πραχθέντων μοι; περὶ τῶν μαθόντων δι' ἐμοῦ ἢ τῶν ἐμὲ μιμησαμένων; ² ἄφθονος
 ἐγενόμην ἀσεβείας διδάσκαλος, σπουδαῖος κήρυξ τῆς κακίας γέγονα. ³ ἀπείρους ἔχων τοὺς
 μανθάνοντας πολλοῖς μετέδωκα τοῦτο τὸ δηλητήριον καὶ φίλοις δοκῶν παρέχειν ξίφος
 κατεπήγνουσιν καὶ συγγενεῖς οἰόμενος φιλεῖν αἴτιος αὐτοῖς ὀλέθρου κατέστην καὶ διὰ
 10 πρεσβείας αὐτῶν συχνοὺς ἐποίησα γόητας. ⁴ νέους προεβίβασα γηράσαι κακῶς καὶ γέροντας
 ἔπεισα ἐναποθανεῖν ματαιότητι, ξένους ἔδειξα ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς γοητείαν καὶ καλὰ δρῶντας
 οὐκ εἶσα προκόψαι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν. ⁵ ἐμύησα ὡς ἱερεὺς, ὡς δαιμόνων νεωκόρος ἐδίδαξα,
 πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐπότισα, ἐπεδειξάμην πρὸς πλάνην· ὡς ἱεροφάντης ἐτέλεσα ἐκατόμβην καὶ ὡς
 πολλὰ ἰσχυῶν οὐδενὸς ἐφεισάμην. ⁶ πολλοὺς ἐξήψα πρὸς μίμησιν καὶ ἐρίζοντάς μοι πλείστους
 15 ἀπέκτεινα. ⁷ ἄλλοι δέισαντές με κατέπιπτον καὶ προδότης ἐγενόμην τῶν θελώντων μοι

A P q (HLNS) 14 [p. 202]–1 ἄβυσσον βλασφημίας διαγράψοιτο A P : τὴν (τὴν om. S) ἄβυσσον τῆς βλασφημίας
 διαγράψοι LNS διηγῆσεται ἢ διάγραψοι ἄβυσσον τῆς βλασφημίας H || 1 ὑμᾶς A P : ὑμῖν q corr. Maran (col. 1127
 n. b) prob. Klee (p. 217a.19) || εἰς — θησαυρούς A : τῆς (τῆς om. PS) κακίας τοὺς θησαυρούς Pq || 2 ὑπεχώρησα
 A : ἐχώρησα Pq || ἐν ἐμοὶ A P : ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ HLN ἐπὶ ἐμοὶ S || ἄβυσσοι A P : αἱ (αἱ om. H) ἄβυσσοι καὶ τὰ βάθη q ||
 ἐμετρήθησαν A q : ἐχώρησαν P || ἐπ' A : ὑπ' P || 2–3 ἐν ἐμοὶ — ἐναυάγησαν om. q || 3 εἰμὶ A P : ἤμην q ||
 μου post ἀπωλείᾳ add. P || μόνον post ἐμαυτὸν add. Pq || 3–4 πολλοὺς — κατέσπασα om. per hapl. LNS || 5 δὲ
 post ποῖα transp. Pq || ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ante ἀναιρεθέντων add. q || 6 τῶν ante περιέργως add. HLN || 7 κακίας A P :
 ἀσεβείας q || ἄδωροδόκητος ἄμισθος post γέγονα add. q || ἔχων A H : εἶχον PS ἔσχον LN || 8 τοῦτο τὸ δηλητήριον
 (scriptum δειλητήριον) A PHN : τούτου τοῦ διελητηρίου L τοῦτο τὸ δειλητήριον τοῦτο S || καὶ om. P || φίλοις
 δοκῶν P : φίλους δοκῶν A φίλοις καὶ ἰδίοις (καὶ ξένους add. N) καὶ δοκῶν κέδρος αὐτοῖς q || 9 κατεπήγνουσιν P :
 προσεπήγνουσιν q κατέπιον A || φιλεῖν A : ὀφελεῖν Pq || 10 συχνοὺς A P : δεινοὺς q || κακῶς γηράσαι P || 11 ἔδειξα
 A^{pc} (cf. § 18.10) : ἐδίδαξα A^{ac} (litt. δα expunctae) q om. P || γοητείαν A PHLN : γοητείας S || 12 δὲ post ὡς add. q ||
 13 ἐκατόμβην A P : ἐκατόμβας q || 14 οὐδενὸς A PHNS : οὐδενὰ L || ἐρίζοντάς μοι A : ἐμοὶ ἐρίζοντας Pq ||
 14–15 πλείστους ἀπέκτεινα A q : πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσα P || 15 ἄλλοι A q : πολλοὶ P.

delineate for you this abyss of blasphemy? Who would bring you into the vaults of evil? (7) I made way for every kind of evil, and in me its abysses have been measured out; through me many have suffered shipwreck at its hands. (8) I am not alone in my perdition, nor have I cast only myself into the pit. I have pulled many others down with me.

18. “For which evils shall I lament? For whom shall I weep? For those I killed physically or those I finished off magically? For those who learned through me or those who imitated me? (2) I became an ungrudging teacher of impiety, a zealous herald of evil. (3) I had countless students and I communicated this poison to many of them, and when I appeared to give myself up to friends,¹¹³ I would pierce them with a sword, and although I thought I loved my relatives, I became the source of their destruction, and I turned many men into sorcerers at their request. (4) I wickedly pushed young men forward to bring them to old age and I persuaded old men to die in purposelessness; I caused foreigners to leave their homes to take part in my sorcery¹¹⁴ and I prevented those who did good deeds from progressing toward piety. (5) As a priest I conducted the mysteries, as a temple warden of demons I gave instruction, I handed out magical potions for the purpose of deception, I made a display of my powers in order to lead people astray, as a hierophant I officiated the hecatomb,¹¹⁵ and as one who had power to do many things I refrained from nothing. (6) I incited many to impersonation and I killed most of those who quarreled with me. (7) Others who feared me would bow down to me, and I became a traitor to those who wished

¹¹³ The expression φίλοις δοκῶν παρέχειν ξίφος κατεπήγνυον seems to be related to 14.5 (φίλοις παρεχόμενος χάριτας ἀπείρους ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα), but here the object of παρέχειν must be an implied ἐαυτόν (see LSJ 1338 s.v. [A.2]), and φίλοις more likely means “friends” rather than “lovers” (cf. 15.1 and note 108; 18.11 and note 118) since it is sandwiched between references to Cyprian’s students and family members.

¹¹⁴ Presumably this refers to Cyprian’s decapitation of foreign men for Hecate at 14.5 (see note 99; cf. 15.1), which in the context of sorcery could refer to the practice of cephalomancy; see further Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 208–16.

¹¹⁵ The hecatomb proper consisted of 100 oxen or bulls, but the term could also refer to any large sacrifice of any kind of animal. The prior reference to Cyprian’s time served as νεωκόρος of Pallas Athena (cf. 1.4 and note 8) could indicate that the author here has in mind the hecatomb of the famous Panathenaea, which was performed on the Acropolis, but a subsequent reference to the office of νεωκόρος at 26.4 would suggest that the author may be referring to the taurobolium. The text is ultimately ambiguous, but an inscription from Troy of the first century BCE seems to evince some connection between the Panathenaea festival and the earliest phase of the taurobolium. The inscription honors Agathes, son of Menophilus, for his services as *agonothetes* and *agoranomos* of the Panathenaea, and for funding on two separate occasions taurobolia involving more than forty bulls; see J.L. Caskey, “New Inscriptions from Troy,” *AJA* 39 (1935): 589–91 (no. 3); L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec* (BEHE-SHP 278; Paris: E. Champion, 1940), 315–16; Rutter, “The Three Phases,” 227, 230.

ἀντιστήναι. ⁸ ἀξιούμενος ἐποίησα ἐν ἁέρι πέτασθαι καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ βαδίσαι καὶ ναυσὶ
 παρέσχον ἀνέμους· πλεῦσαι ὡς ἵπταμένους καὶ μὴ βαδίζοντας ἀποδημήσαι κατεσκεύασα.
⁹ ἀνέμους ἐκώλυσα καὶ πάλιν ἀπέλυσα· νῆας ὑποβρυχίους γενέσθαι ἐποίησα καὶ ἄλλας
 ἐποκεῖλαι πρὸς γέλωτα. ¹⁰ ὕδωρ ἐν ἐρήμῳ ῥεῦσαι ἐφάντασα καὶ ἐν οἴκοις λιμνάζειν ἔδειξα.
 5 ¹¹ γυναικάς ἐκδιώκεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν συμβίων πρὸς τοὺς μοιχοὺς ἐποίησα· τεκνοφορίαν
 ἐδείκνυον· εὐχερῇ χάριν θανάτῳ παρέσχον, οἴκους ὅλους παρεδίδουν εἰς ὄλεθρον, φίλους
 δολοφονεῖν ἠνεσχόμην, οἰκετῶν γνησίων συχνοὺς ἐζημίωσα. ¹² ἐν τούτοις ἔνιοι ἠξίου
 ὁμοιωθῆναί μοι καὶ οἱ δαίμονες συγχαίροντες, ὅτι με προετρέποντο.

A P q (HLNS) 1 βαδίσαι **A P** : βαδίζειν **q** || ναυσὶ codd. : ὡσεὶ coni. Maran (col. 1128 n. e) || 2 πλεῦσαι ὡς
 ἵπταμένους **A^{ac}** : πλεῦσαι ἵπταμένους **A^{pc}** (ὡς expunctum) **PS** εἰς τὸ πλεῦσαι ἵπταμένους **HLN** || κατεσκεύασα **A** :
 παρεσκεύασα **P** εἰς ἄλλην χώραν παρεσκεύασα **q** || 3 ἐκώλυσα καὶ πάλιν ἀπέλυσα scripsi : ἀπέλυσα (ἐποίησα
HLN) καὶ πάλιν ἐκώλυσα **Pq** ἐκώλυσα **A** || νῆας **A PLNS** : ναὺς **H** || ἐποίησα **A^{ac}** **HLN** : expunctum in **A** om. **PS** ||
 4 ἐποκεῖλαι **A q** : ἐπώκειλα **P** || τινων post γέλωτα add. **HLN** || πρὸς γέλωτα cum iis quae antecedunt coniungunt
A LN sed cum iis quae sequuntur **PHS** sic etiam Maran (col. 1127.57) || ἔδειξα **A P** : ἐδίδαξα **q** [ἐδ]εῖκνυον corr. **L^{ss}**
 || 5 γυναικάς **A** : γύναια **Pq** || ἐκδιώκεσθαι **A q** : διώκεσθαι **P** διοίχεσθαι coni. Maran (col. 1129 n. a) || τεκνοφορίαν
q corr. Maran (col. 1129 n. b) : τεκνοφορίαν **A P** || 6 παρέσχον **A q** : παρέχων **P** || 7 δολοφονεῖν **A** : δολοφονηθῆναι
Pq || ἠνεσχόμην **A PLS** : ἀνεσχόμην **HN** || συχνοὺς **A P** : πολλοὺς **q** || 8 μοι **A^{ac}** : expunctum in **A** μοι θαυμάζοντες,
 ὅθεν **q** θαυμάζοντες **P** || ὅτι με προετρέποντο **P A** : ἔτι μάλλον προετρέποντό με **q**.

to stand against me. (8) I would fly through the air and walk on the water and provide winds for ships whenever I was asked to do so. I would prepare those ships that did not sail to go abroad and sail as though they were being carried by wings. (9) I would hinder the winds and release them again. I caused ships to sink under water and others to run ashore for a laugh. (10) I made water appear to flow in the desert and caused it to flood in people's homes.¹¹⁶ (11) I caused wives to be chased from the arms of their husbands into the hands of adulterers,¹¹⁷ caused the corruption of children, showed a reckless delight in death, handed over entire houses into ruin, suffered lovers to slay by treachery,¹¹⁸ and punished many sincere household slaves. (12) In these matters some dared to become like me,¹¹⁹ and the demons rejoiced, for they outdid me.

¹¹⁶ The Peripatetic Cleodemus claims to have seen a Hyperborean magician fly through the air and walk on water: τί γάρ ἔδει ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος φερόμενον ἡμέρας οὔσης καὶ ἐφ' ὕδατος βαδίζοντα καὶ διὰ πυρὸς διεξιόντα σχολῇ καὶ βάρην; (Lucian, *Philops.* 13). Aerial flight was one of the magical feats Lucius desired to witness in Thessaly (Pseudo-Lucian, *Asin.* 4) and one of many magical feats allegedly performed by Simon Magus (*Acts Pet.* 4, 31, 32; *Mart. Pet.* 2, 3; *Mart. Pet. Paul* 30, 51–56; cf. *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 2.9; cf. 3.47, 57). The assistant daemon of the “Spell of Pnouthis” (PGM I. 42–95) is said to give the magician the power to perform these and many other feats: “he stirs up winds from the earth” (ἀναρίπτει ἀνέμους ἐκ γῆς [99]); “he stops ships and again releases them” (ἵστησι πλοῖα καὶ πά[λιν] ἀπολύει [114–115]); “he will carry you [into] the air” (βαστάξει σ[ε εἰς] ἀέρα [119]); “he will quickly freeze rivers and seas and in such a way that you can run over them firmly” (πῆξει δὲ ποταμούς καὶ θάλασσαν συντ[όμως καὶ, ὅπως ἐνδιατρέχης σταδίως [120–122]). These are strikingly similar to the abilities of the magician of the fragmentary novel preserved in P.Mich. inv. 5 (= PGM XXIV. 1–24): “. . . it will stand still; if I order the moon, it will descend; if I wish to prevent (κωλύσαι) the day, night will linger on for me; and again, if we demand the day, the light will not depart; if I wish to sail the sea, I have no need of a ship (κἂν πλεῦσαι θελήσω τὴν θάλατταν, οὐ δέομαι νεώς); if I wish to move through the air, I become weightless (κἂν δι' ἀέριος ἐλθεῖν, κορυφισθήσομαι)” (ed. and trans. S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, “The Love Drug,” in *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995], 173–78); cf. C. Bonner, “A Papyrus Describing Magical Powers,” *TAPA* 52 (1921): 111–18; E.R. Dodds, “A Fragment of a Greek Novel (P.Mich. inv. no. 5),” in *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (ed. M.E. White; Phoenix Supplement 1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 133–37; S. Daris, “Prosa (Romanzo?),” *Aeg* 66 (1986): 110–14; A. Stramaglia, “Innamoramento in sogno o storia di fantasmi?: P.Mich. inv. 5 = PGM² XXXIV (Pack² 2636) + P.Palau Rib. inv. 152,” *ZPE* 88 (1991): 73–86; J.R. Morgan, “On the Fringes of Canon: Work on the Fragments of Ancient Greek Fiction 1936–1994,” *ANRW* II.34.4 (1998): 3359–61. These magical feats are nearly identical to those mentioned by the anonymous traveler on the way to Hypata in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*: “Indeed that lie you told is just as true as if someone should assert that by magical mutterings rivers can be reversed (*susurramine amnes agiles reverti*), the sea sluggishly shackled (*mare pigrum conligari*), the winds reduced to a dead breathlessness (*ventos inanimes exspirare*), the sun halted, the moon drop her dew, the stars made to fall, daylight banished, and the night prolonged” (1.3).

¹¹⁷ Eusebius accused Maxentius of the same misdeed: “For having separated wives from their lawful consorts, he abused them and sent them back most dishonorably to their husbands (διαζευγνύς γέ τοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς κατὰ νόμον γαμετάς, ταύταις ἐνυβρίζων ἀτιμότατα, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐθις ἀπέπεμπεν). And he not only practiced this against the obscure and unknown, but he insulted especially the most prominent and distinguished members of the Roman senate” (*Eccl. hist.* 8.14.2).

¹¹⁸ The phrase φίλων ἔνδολον διάθεσιν in 15.1 suggests that the verb δολοφονεῖν means “to murder by magical cunning.” Cyprian confesses to “magical murder” in 18.1 (περιέργως πραχθέντων μοι), but A’s δολοφονεῖν is closer in meaning to 14.5 than Pq’s δολοφονηθῆναι, which would suggest that the murders are caused by the enamored lovers who acquired erotic magic spells from Cyprian and who were apparently unaware of the potentially deadly outcomes of such spells (see note 102).

¹¹⁹ Cf. 18.6.

- (13) 19. εἶπατέ μοι γοῦν, ὦ φίλοι, εἰ ἔστιν ἐπίνοιά τις πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴν ἢ μάλλον [19]
 χρὴ ἐλέσθαι τὸν δι' ἀγχόνης θάνατον; ² τὸ γὰρ ζῆν ἐν τοιαύτῃ μνήμῃ πονηρῶν πράξεων,
 καὶ μὴ γίνωνται, ἐσχάτου θανάτου ἐστὶν ἄξιον. ³ ἤθελον γοῦν ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐμοὶ ὠρισμένον θάνατον. ⁴ ταύτην ἔχων τὴν
 5 ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνέχομαι ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσά μοι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς περιήρηται. ⁵ οὐ
 φέρω εἰπεῖν τὰ λοιπά, ἵνα μὴ τὴν μνήμην μου ξίφος γενέσθαι παρασκευάσω· οὐχ ὑπομένω
 φράσαι τὰ ὑπέρτερα, ἵνα μὴ ἀναστάντες ἀποδράσῃτε· οὐκ ὀφείλω ἐπιδοῦναι ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα,
 ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτὸς χαωθῇ. ⁶ ἔννοιαν ὑμῖν δίδωμι, ὁποῖός εἰμι ἀσεβής, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν
 ἰδίᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἐν ταρτάρῳ εἶχον συκοφαντοῦσαν καὶ πολεμοῦσαν πολὺ τῶν εἰρημένων
 10 ἀνοσιώτερα· τοῖς ἐν ἀέρι βουλὰς ἐδίδουν ζηλοῦν τὰ κάτω καὶ τοὺς κάτω πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω
 συνέβαλλον καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρείχον ἑκατέροις τεκμήριον. ⁷ οὐ χωρῶ διελθεῖν τὸ κατάλοιπον·
 οὐ γὰρ συμφέρον τοῖς ἀκούουσι. ⁸ πῶς γοῦν λέγετε ὅτι Χριστὸς με προσδέξεται ἀγνοοῦντες
 τὰ κατ' ἐμέ; ⁹ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μοι εἰς μέσον ἡνέγκατε, ὅτι ἔτυχον ἰλασμοῦ. ¹⁰ ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ
 αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοκτόνους θεομαχεῖν ὑπερέβαλον, τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργήσαντες δαίμονας.

A P q (HLNS) 1 γοῦν μοι **Pq** || ὦ om. **HLN** || ἔπατε post φίλοι add. **q** || ἐπίνοιά **A P** : ὑπόνοιά **q** || 2 χρὴ om. **L** || ἐλέσθαι **A P** : ἀνελέσθαι **q** || πονηρῶν πράξεων **A P** suppl. **L^{mg}** : om. **q** || 3 γίνωνται **A q** : γένωνται **P** || ἐσχάτου **A PHNS** : ἕκαστα **L** || ἄξιον **A P** : ἄξια **q** || γοῦν **A** : οὖν καὶ γὰρ **P** οὖν καὶ ὅλως **q** || 4 ἐμοὶ ὠρισμένον **A L** : ὠρισμένον μοι **P** ἐμοὶ ὠρισμένον αἰώνιον **q** (αἰώνιον suppl. **L^{mg}**) || 4–5 τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων **PS** || 5 ἔτι om. et τοῦ ζῆν (expuncta) post περιήρηται transp. **A** || 6 εἰπεῖν **A P** : ἐξεῖπεῖν **q** || τὴν μνήμην **Pq** : τῇ μνήμῃ **A** || μου **A P** : μοι **q** || ὑπομένω **A P** : ὑποφέρω **q** || 7 ὀφείλω ἐπιδοῦναι **A P** : ὀφείλον ἐλθεῖν **q** || 8 αὐτὸς **A P** : οὗτος **q** || χαωθῇ **A q** : εἰς τέλειον ἔδαφος κατασπασθῇ **P** || ἔννοιαν **A q** : ἔνια **P** || δίδωμι **A S** : μόνον δίδωμι **HN** δίδωμι μόνον **L** μόνον δείκνυμι **P** || εἰμι **A P** : ἡμην **q** || ἐγὼ post εἰμι add. **PN^{mg}** || 9 ἰδίᾳ corr. Maran (col. 1130 n. d) prob. Klee (p. 217a.67) : διὰ codd. || ταρτάρους **A PLNS** : ταρτάρῳ **H** || καὶ om. **Pq** || 10 ἀνοσιώτερα **A²** : ἀνοσιώτεραν (in marg. repositum) **A¹** ἀνοσιώτερον **Pq** || τὰ κάτω **A** : καὶ φθονεῖν τοῖς κάτω **q** om. **P** || τοὺς alterum **A q** : τὰ **P** || 11 συνέβαλλον **A q** : συνέβαλον **P** || ἑκατέροις **A PNS** : ἀμφοτέροις **HL** || τὸ κατάλοιπον **P** : τὰ κατάλεπτον **A q** || 12 συμφέρον **A** : συμφέρει **Pq** || γοῦν **A** : οὖν **Pq** || με προσδέξεται **A q** : σε παραδέξεται **P** || 13 τοὺς om. **P** || ἡνέγκατε **A** : ἡγάγετε **P** ἡγάγετε τοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντας **q** || ὅτι **A q** : ἐπειδὴ **P** || δὲ om. **P** || 14 θεοκτόνους **A** : χριστοκτόνους **Pq** || θεομαχεῖν **A** : θεομαχῆσαντας **P** om. **q** || ὑπερέβαλον **A LS** : ὑπερέβαλλον **PHN** || οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις εἰς Χριστὸν παροινήσας post ὑπερέβαλον add. **q** || τοὺς ἐνεργήσαντες **A** : τοὺς ἐνεργήσαντες εἰς αὐτοὺς **P** αὐτοὺς τοὺς συνεργήσαντες αὐτοῖς **q**.

19. “So tell me, friends, if there is any conceivable plan for deliverance from these acts, or is it necessary instead for me to choose death by hanging? (2) For living with such a memory of evil deeds, even though I no longer commit them, is comparable to the utmost death. (3) I would like at least to hear about the power of Christ and in this manner die the death that has been marked out for me. (4) I endure living now only because I have this desire, for I know that all hope of salvation has been removed from me. (5) I do not offer to speak of any remaining misdeeds so that I do not turn my memory into a sword. I shall not carry on and highlight the more atrocious crimes so that you do not get up and run away. I do not feel obliged to outline the weightier misdeeds so that the house itself is not swallowed up whole. (6) I give you a notion of what sort of godless person I am because my soul is now separate from my body down in the nether regions denouncing and battling greatly against the more unholy deeds I mentioned.¹²⁰ I gave counsel to those in the air to envy what lies beneath and I united those below with those above,¹²¹ offering myself as a proof to each of them. (7) I shall not pass through what remains, for it is of no use to those who will listen. (8) How, then, can you say, when you do not know everything about me, that Christ will receive me?¹²² (9) You mentioned the Jews to me, because they attained atonement. (10) But I surpassed even the godkillers themselves in battling against God, and perhaps

¹²⁰ The use of Τάρταρος in the plural is relatively rare; cf., e.g., *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5.20–28, esp. 5.27: καὶ κατήγαγόν με κατώτερον ἐν ταρτάροις, καὶ ἶδον πάντας θρηνούντας καὶ κλαίοντας καὶ κακὸν πένθος τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς).

¹²¹ The meaning of this passage is obscure. The language seems to evoke the mythological story of the sons of God or fallen angels and their lust for the daughters of men (Gen 6:1–4; cf. 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6; 1 *Enoch* 6–7), but surely Cyprian cannot be claiming that he had played some role in this prehistoric event. He seems rather to be referring to sexual intercourse between humans and gods, daemons, εἰδῶλα (which the author equates with aerial demons, cf. notes 44 and 47), or the like (i.e., τοὺς ἄνω probably refers to the aerial spirits/demons of 3.5 and 5.5). In the fragmentary Greek novel preserved in P.Mich. inv. 5 and P.Palau Rib. inv. 152 (see further note 116) the magician tells the father who has approached him, “A handsome image (καλὸν εἰδῶλον) is appearing to your daughter you say, and this seems strange to you? But how many others have fallen in love with supernatural bodies (πόσοι δὲ ἄλλοι παραλόγων ἡράσθη[σ]αν σωμαμάτων) . . . ?” (P.Mich. inv. 5//PGM XXIV. 18–23); cf. Stesichorus’ account of the εἰδῶλον of Helen of Troy (see note 138). In the *Alexander Romance* Olympias has sex with the god Ammon in a dream sent by the magician Nectanebo, and she is subsequently impregnated after sleeping with the god (who turns out to have been Nectanebo in disguise) in a wakeful state (*Hist. Alex. Mag.* [α/β] 1.5–7); cf. S.I. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008) 163–64; C. Ruiz-Montero, “Magic in the Ancient Novel,” in *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings* (ed. M. Paschalis; Ancient Narrative Supplement 8; Groningen: Barkhuis, 2007), 47–48. Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.25) recounts how a certain Menippus was about to marry an apparition (φάσμα) in the form of a Phoenician woman until Apollonius showed her to be a vampyrean succubus (an ἔμπουσα or λάμια); cf. *T. Sol.* 2:3; 14:4 (mentioned in note 36). Phlegon of Tralles (*Mirab.* 1) similarly describes the case of Machates and the corporeal revenant of Philinnion (cf. Proclus, *In Remp.* 2.115–116 Kroll); see further J.R. Morgan, “Love from Beyond the Grave: The Epistolary Ghost-Story in Phlegon of Tralles,” in *Epistolary Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature* (ed. O. Hodkinson et al.; MBCSup 359; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 293–322.

¹²² Cf. 13.3.

¹¹ και ὑμῖν μὲν πλείστη χάρις, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐλπίζω ἔτι σωθήσεσθαι τοσαύτην ἐπιδεδειγμένος εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀσέβειαν. ¹² οἶδα ὅτι εἶπον ἑμαυτὸν Χριστοῦ μείζονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγέλων αὐτὸν ἄγροικον ἀποκαλῶν. ¹³ ἐδείκνυσον γὰρ νεκροὺς ὡς ζῶντας καὶ χωλοὺς ὡς τρέχοντας καὶ πολλοὺς συνεπόδισα πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι θεὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἐκώλυσον μὴ γενέσθαι
 5 Χριστιανούς πείθων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι θεός, ὅθεν καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων τοῦ διαβόλου ἐνεργήσαντος. ¹⁴ ἰδιώτην ἔλεγον, μαγγανικὸν καὶ μὴδ' ὅλως ἔχοντα σύνεσιν, οὐ λέγω τῶν [20] ἀοράτων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ὁρατῶν. ¹⁵ καὶ πῶς μοι λέγετε ὅτι δέξεται σε ὁ Χριστὸς τοσαῦτα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσεβήσαντα;

20. περὶ τίνος δυνήσομαι μετανοῆσαι; ὦν ἐκώλυσα σωθῆναι ἢ ὦν ἔπεισα ἀπολέσθαι;
 10 ὦν ἔδρασα φονῶν ἢ ὦν ἔπεισα σφαγιασθῆναι; ὦν ἡσέληγσα ἢ ὦν ἔπεισα ἀσελγεῖν; ὦν ἐπεβούλευσα ἢ ὦν ἐχλεύασα, ἥρπαξα, ἡδίκησα ψυχὰς ἀπὸ φωτὸς καθελὼν εἰς τὸ σκότος

A P q (HLNS): 1 μὲν A^{ss} q : om. P || σωθήσεσθαι A : σώζεσθαι P σωθῆναι q || 2 Χριστοῦ μείζονα A q : μείζονα θεοῦ P || 2–3 ἐγέλων αὐτὸν ἄγροικον A P : ἐνεγέλων αὐτῷ ἄγροικον αὐτὸν q || 3 καὶ μείζονα αὐτοῦ θαῦματα ποιοῦντα post ἀποκαλῶν add. q || καὶ post γὰρ add. P || 4 συνεπόδισα A : ἐνεπόδισα P q || αὐτῷ πιστεῦσαι P || θεός ἐστίν A P S : ἔστι θεός HLN || καὶ οὐ μόνον ἔργον (ἔργῳ LN) post θεός ἐστίν add. q || 5 θεός A : [ὁ] θεός H θεός ὁ Χριστός PLNS || ἐξ ἀσθενείας ante ἐσταυρώθη add. q || 5–6 τοῦ διαβόλου ἐνεργήσαντος om. q || 6 αὐτὸν καὶ post ἔλεγον add. P q || ἔχοντα A P : ἐσχηκότα q || σύνεσιν A : ἐπίγνωσιν P συνέσιν καὶ γνώσιν q || 7 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ A P NS : ἀλλὰ δὲ H ἀλλὰ καὶ L || ὅτι om. P q || 9 τίνος A : τίνος δὲ P τίνος δὲ ἄρα q || ἔπεισα A P : οὐκ ἐκώλυσα q || 10 φονῶν scripsi : φόνων codd. || σφαγιασθῆναι A q : σφαγιαῖσαι P || ἔπεισα alterum A P : ἐποίησα q || 11 ἢ ὦν ἐχλεύασα, ἥρπαξα A : ἢ ὦν ἐχλεύασα, ἥρπασα P ἥρπασα, ἐχλεύασα q || ψυχὰς ἀπὸ φωτὸς καθελὼν A : ψυχὰς καθελὼν ἀπὸ φωτὸς P καθελὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς q.

even the demons that had worked among them. (11) And I thank you very much, but I no longer hope to be saved because I have shown so much impiety towards God and man. (12) I know that I said I was greater than Christ, but I also laughed at him and called him a rustic.¹²³ (13) I portrayed the dead as living and the lame as running, and I prevented many from believing in him, from believing that he is God, but I also held them up with discourse and convinced them not to become Christians, persuading them that he is not God, for which reason he was also crucified by the Jews, because the devil had worked through them. (14) I said that Jesus was an amateur and a magician who had no knowledge whatsoever, and I don't mean knowledge of invisible things, but not even of visible things.¹²⁴ (15) So how can you say to me, 'Christ will receive you even though you have sinned against him so greatly'?¹²⁵

20. "For whom shall I repent? For those whom I hindered from being saved or for those whom I persuaded to die? For those whom I sacrificed in cold blood or for those whom I persuaded to be sacrificed? For those with whom I have behaved licentiously or for those whom I persuaded to behave licentiously? For those against whom I plotted or for those whom I treated scornfully, ravished, and

¹²³ Porphyry and Celsus repeatedly called Christians ἄγροικοι ("rustics" or "rednecks") and ἰδιῶται ("simpletons"); see, e.g., Porphyry, *Christ.* fr. 4 Harnack apud Jerome, *Tract. Ps.* 81; Origen, *Cels.* 1.27, 29; 3.57; 6.1, 14; 7.58, 61. According to Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 4.102), Julian also accused Christians of being ignorant rustics (ἀλογία . . . ἀγροικία), cf. Julian, *Ep.* 55 to Photinus. Julian's insistence that Christians be referred to as "Galileans" was intended to highlight their backwater, rustic origins. See esp. J.G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (STAC 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 82–88, 115, 136, 138–41, 146, 156, 181, 185, 217, 226, 249, 260, 263–64, 292.

¹²⁴ On the term μαγγανικός, see PGL 818b (but surely the term here must mean "magician" or "charlatan"); cf. Cyprian's statement that (unlike Jesus) he "possessed great knowledge of invisible things" in the longer text's expansion of 8.6 (πολλὴν τῶν ἀοράτων [ὁράτων καὶ ἀοράτων H] ἔχων κατὰληψιν Pq). Pagan authors often accused Jesus of sorcery, but I am not aware of any instances in which Jesus is said to have been an "amateur magician." Celsus claimed that Jesus "because of poverty (διὰ πέναν) worked for pay in Egypt and there became experienced with certain powers (δυνάμεων τινῶν πειραθείς) for which the Egyptians are distinguished," and afterwards returned from Egypt a skilled magician (apud Origen, *Cels.* 1.28; cf. 1.38). This polemical claim is also found in Rabbinic sources, e.g., *b. San.* 67a, 107b; *b. Shabb.* 104b. See further Origen, *Cels.* 1.6, 68, 71; 2.48–49; Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 1.43; Augustine, *Cons.* 1.9.14; 1.11.17; *Faust.* 12.45; M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978) 45–67; E.V. Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus* (SBLDS 64; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), 75–135; Anderson, *Sage*, 224–27; Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament*, 32, 33, 36–37, 40, 45, 69, 70, 93, 108, 157, 196, 265–66, 271, 276. Hierocles and other pagans extended this argument by comparing the miracles of Jesus with those of Apollonius of Tyana, who, despite Philostratus' best efforts, was widely regarded as a sorcerer in antiquity, even among pagan authors (see, e.g., Lucian, *Alex.* 5). Hierocles essentially argued that Jesus was an unexceptional magician, but Eusebius employed clever rhetorical strategies in *Contra Hieroclem* to distance Jesus from Apollonius and show pagans to be much more credulous than Christians; see further M. Kertsch, "Traditionelle Rhetorik und Philosophie in Eusebios' 'Antirrhethikos gegen' Hierokles," *VC* 34 (1980): 145–71; É. des Places, "La seconde sophistique au service de l'apologétique chrétienne: Le *Contre Hiéroclès* d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *CRAI* 129 (1985): 423–27; É. Junod, "Polémique chrétienne contre Apollonius de Tyane," *RTP* 120 (1988): 475–82; J.G. Cook, "Some Hellenistic Responses to the Gospels and Gospel Traditions," *ZNW* 84 (1993): 245–46.

¹²⁵ Cf. 13.3.

τὸ ἐξώτερον; ² ὅτι γὰρ ἡδυνήθην νοῆσαι θεότητα ἀληθινήν, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ μοι. ³ διὰ τὸ συνορᾶν
 κρείσσον εἶναι τοῦ αἰτεῖν Χριστὸν παύομαι, μήποτε χεῖροني περιπέσω ἀσεβείᾳ· οἰόμενός με
 ἀδυνατὸν εἶναι θεῷ προσελθεῖν σιωπῶ, ἵνα μὴ μου ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσῃται οὐκ εἰς ἄφεςιν, ἀλλ'
 εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσαν κόλασιν. ⁴ καὶ διττοῖς δάκρυσιν συσχεθεῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐσιώπησα. ⁵ ἔκκλειον
 5 δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ παρακαθήμενοι σφοδρῶς συνορῶντες ὅτι δίκαια λέγω· καὶ ἦν μέγας κοπετὸς
 δοκιμαζόντων ὅτι εἰκότως ἔφρονησα ἀπαγορεύσας Χριστοῦ πρόσοδον, ἀνάξιος ὢν τῆς θείας
 αὐτοῦ παραστάσεως. ⁶ καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κόνιν πασάμενος ἐκείμην ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ἐδάφους πένθος μέγα αἰρούμενος, οὐκ ἀλαλητοῖς, δάκρυσιν μόνον τὸ οὐαί μοι ἀναβοῶν, ὅτι
 ἀπωλόμην ὁ ἄθλιος.

(14) ¹⁰ 21. τότε δὴ τότε πάντων ἀφασίᾳ συσχεθέντων ὁ ἐταῖρος Εὐσέβιος ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει· [21]
 Κυπριανέ, μὴ ἀπελπίσης, τούτων γὰρ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ λύσις, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησας· ἐνόμισας
 γὰρ ἐνθέοις ἔργοις ἐπιδεδωκέναι ἀναπαύσας τὸν διάβολον· ἡ ἄγνοια τόπον σοι δίδωσιν
 ἀπολογίας. ² ἵνα τί σπαράττεις ἑαυτὸν θρηγῶν διωλύγιον; ἵνα τί συνέπεσας τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς
 εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς ψυχῆς; ³ ἐμοῦ ἄκουσον τοῦ φιλοῦντός σε, παράσχου μοι ἡσυχίαν, ἵνα σε
 15 πληροφορήσω. ⁴ οἶδα πολλούς, ὦ Κυπριανέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ ταῖς πράξεσι κατὰ σέ, ἀλλὰ γε ταῖς

A P q (HLNS) 1 ἐξέπεμψα (ἐπεμψα S) post ἐξώτερον add. q || νοῆσαι A : γνῶναι P || ὅτι γὰρ — ἀρκεῖ μοι A :
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φοβερὰ ὄντα παρήσω, ἵνα βλάβην προξενήσω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν (τοῖς ἀκούουσιν προξενήσω H) q || διὰ
 τὸ συνορᾶν A : διὰ τοῦτο συνορῶν PHS διὰ τοῦτο συνορῶ LN || 2 τοῦ αἰτεῖν εἶναι κρείσσον L || Χριστὸν A : χάριν
 Χριστὸν P παρὰ Χριστὸν χάριν q || παύομαι A P : παύσομαι q || χεῖροني . . . ἀσεβείᾳ A P : καὶ χεῖρον . . . τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ q
 || με om. q || 3 ἀδυνατὸν A : δυνατὸν Pq || θεῷ om. LNS || μου ὑπόμνησιν A P : εἰς ὑπόμνησίν μου q || ποιήσῃται
 A PHLS : ποιῇται N || 4 διττοῖς A : δὴ τοῖς Pq || 5 παρακαθήμενοι A NS : παρακαθήμενοι μοι HL συμπαρακαθήμενοι
 P || συνορῶντες om. P || 6 ἀπαγορεύσας A PS : ὑπαγορεύσας H ἐπαγορεύσας LN || 5–6 ὅτι δίκαια — ἀνάξιος
 Pq : ὅτι εἰκότως ἔφρονησα ἀπαγορεύσας Χριστοῦ πρόσοδον, ὅτι δίκαια λέγω· καὶ ἦν μέγας κοπετὸς δοκιμαζόντων,
 ὅτι ἀνάξιος A || 7 κόνιν A q : κόμην P || 8 μέγα πένθος q || αἰρούμενος q : ἀράμενος P ἑώμενος A αἰρόμενος
 corr. Gitlbauer (p. 110.13) || οὐκ A q : καὶ P || ἀλαλητοῖς corr. Gitlbauer (p. 110.13) : ἀλαλήτοις codd. || μόνον
 A : μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ q om. P || ἀναβοῶν A q : ἀναφωνῶν P || 10 τότε δὴ τότε A : τότε δὴ Pq || ἀφασίᾳ συσχεθέντων
 A : συγχυθέντων P συσχεθέντων q || ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει A P : λέγει καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς HS λέγε μοι ἀποκριθεὶς LN ||
 11 ἐστὶν ἡ λύσις scripsi : ἡ λύσις ἐστὶν P ἐστὶν ἡ λύσις ταχεῖα q ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς A || 12 ἐνθέοις ἔργοις A : ἑαυτὸν ἐνθέοις
 ἔργοις H ἐνθέοις ἑαυτὸν ἔργοις PLNS || οὖν post ἡ add. q || 13 ἑαυτὸν A HLS : σεαυτὸν PN || θρηγῶν διωλύγιον A :
 διωλύγιον P θρηγῶν q || 14 εἰς A q : πρὸς P || σου post ψυχῆς add. q || 15 εἰ om. NL¹ (ins. L²) || κατὰ σέ om. P ||
 γε om. q.

harmd as I brought their souls down from the light and into the outer darkness?¹²⁶ (2) For it is not enough that I have been able to perceive true divinity. (3) Because I realize that it is better, I refrain from pleading with Christ, so that I do not fall into worse impiety. Because I think that it is impossible for me to approach God, I remain silent, so that he does not make mention of me, not with respect to forgiveness, but to avoid a punishment far greater than not being forgiven.” (4) And held back by twofold tears I remained silent among them. (5) And all who were sitting nearby wailed profusely when they saw that I was serious about the things I had said, and there was a loud noise of lamentation from those who approved of my reasoning, even though I had given up the way that leads to Christ because I felt unworthy of his divine assistance. (6) After tearing my clothes and sprinkling myself with ashes I lay outstretched upon the ground and took a great sorrow upon myself, crying out, not with battle-cries, but with tears, only “Woe is me!” because I, poor wretch, was lost.¹²⁷

21. Just then,¹²⁸ while everyone was constrained by speechlessness, the church member Eusebius answered and said, “Cyprian, do not despair, for there is deliverance from all these crimes because you committed them in ignorance, for you considered devoting yourself to godly works after you quit the devil. Your ignorance gives you room for a defense. (2) So why do you tear yourself to pieces and sing such a piercing dirge? Why have you fallen to making arguments for the destruction of your soul? (3) Listen to me as one who loves you. Lend me your silence so that I may satisfy you fully. (4) I know many, Cyprian, who, even though they did not perform deeds like those you have described, had similar

¹²⁶ The expression τὸ σκότος τὸ ἑξώτερον derives from sayings of Jesus in Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30. *Pistis Sophia* 3.126 [317.16–19] has Jesus explain what exactly he means by the phrase: “The outer darkness (πικακε ἐτρίβολ) is a great dragon (δράκων) whose tail is in its mouth, and it is outside the whole world (κόσμος), and it surrounds the whole world (κόσμος)” (trans. V. MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* [NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978], 635).

¹²⁷ Cf. *Conv.* 11.7.

¹²⁸ The expression τότε δὴ τότε is relatively well-attested (see, e.g., Lucian, *Sacr.* 14) and very appropriate in this place. The variant τότε δὴ adopted by Gitlbauer (*Die Ueberreste*, 1:110.14) is likely the correction of a scribe who was unfamiliar with the expression and took the repetition of τότε for a dittographic error.

προθέσει προσελθόντας Χριστῷ καὶ σωθέντας· ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους ἐπίγνωθι τὸ ὅλον.⁵ κἀκεῖνοι
 γόητες καὶ ἐδέχθησαν· καὶ σὺ γόης καὶ πάντως ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνους δεχθήσῃ.⁶ ἕως πότε
 συγκόπτεις ἑαυτὸν καὶ τιμωρήσῃ, καίπερ ὦν ἐξ ἀσθενείας πολλῆς; ⁷ ἄπιδε, μὴ ταύτην
 τὴν ἀνελπιστίαν ὁ διάβολος συνεργήσῃ παραδέξασθαι· δεινὸς ἐστίν, ὥς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον
 5 ἐπιγινώσκεις· ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα μετὰ δόλου σοι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ πῶς
 ἀπήει σοι ἀπειλῶν;⁸ οὐκ εἶπέ σοι ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς μισεῖ τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ μετὰ δόλου συνήλθε σοι,
 ἵνα σε χωρίσας ἐμοῦ πάλιν ἀπόσῃ καὶ ποιήσω εἰς σέ ὃ βούλομαι;⁹ τέως οὖν ὀφείλεις
 εἰδέναι ὅτι παρόντος Χριστοῦ οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ὁ διάβολος· κατασφράγισαί σου τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα
 ἀφαιρεθῇ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἡ τῆς ἀνελπιστίας ἐπίνοια κάπικάλεσαι Χριστόν, ἵνα πείραν αὐτοῦ λάβῃς
 10 τῆς χρηστότητος.¹⁰ οὐκ αἰτεῖ σε δῶρα οὐδὲ χρόνου δεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἔλεος οὐδὲ διὰ μεσιτειῶν
 φαντασίας σοι ἐμποιεῖται τὰς βοηθείας αὐτοῦ.¹¹ λέγει γὰρ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Παῦλος ὁ
 ἀπόστολος· ἐγγὺς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστίν ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.¹² ποῖον
 τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα; τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως καὶ ἐπικλήσεως δηλαδή· καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται
 εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν.

A P q (HLNS) 1 μόνον ante προσελθόντας add. **q** || Χριστῷ **A PHLS** : τῷ Χριστῷ **N** || σωθέντας **A q** : δεχθέντας **P** ||
 κἀκεῖνοι corr. Gitlbauer (p. 110.20) : κεικεῖνοι **A** ἐκεῖνοι **Pq** || 2 καὶ σὺ **A q** : σὺ **P** || καὶ πάντως **A** : πάντως **PHLN**
 om. **S** || 3 ἑαυτὸν **A PL** : σαυτὸν **HNS** || τιμωρήσῃ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 110.21) : τιμωρήσαι **A** τιμωρεῖς **Pq** || ἄπιδε
A P : κατανόησον **q** || 4 τὴν... διάβολος **A** : σοι τὴν... διάβολος **P** τὴν... διάβολός σοι **q** || συνεργήσῃ **S** : συνεργεῖ
A συνεργῇ corr. Gitlbauer (p. 110.22) ἐνεργεῖ **HLN** δῶν **P** || παραδέξασθαι om. **S** || γάρ post δεινός add. **S** ||
 καὶ πανούργος post ἐστίν add. **q** || 5 ἐπιγινώσκεις **A q** : γινώσκεις **P** || ἢ ante ἀγνοεῖς add. **Pq** || ὅτι **A q** : ὁ **P** ||
 φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα **A** : φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα ἐν νυκτὶ **P** ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πῶς **q** || 6 ἀπήει **A q** :
 ἀπεσεῖσθη **P** || σοι ἀπειλῶν **A** : ἀπειλῶν **P** ἀπειλῶν σοι **q** || ὅτι codd. : expungit **A** (vide post) || συνήλθε σοι **PLN** :
 συνεισήλθε σοι **H** σοι (expunctum), φησί, συνήλθεν **A** || 7 ἐμοῦ **A** : ἀπ' ἐμοῦ **Pq** || ἀπόσῃται **A P** : οὖν ἀπόσεται
 σε **q** || ποιήσω **A q** : ποιήσει **P** || ὁ **A P** : ὁ **q** || βούλομαι **A q** : βούλεται **P** || 8 κατασφράγισαί **P** : καὶ σφράγισαί **A**
HNS καὶ σφραγίσας **L** || 9 ἐπίνοια κάπικάλεσαι **A** : ἐννοια, ἐπικάλεσαι **PHNS** ἐπίνοια, ἐπικάλεσαι σου **L** || λάβῃς
 αὐτοῦ **q** || 10 δεῖται corr. Gitlbauer (p. 111.1) : δέεται **A Pq** (**N^{pr}**) δέειεται **N^{ar}** || οὐδὲ alterum **A** : οὐ **Pq** || διὰ om. **q**
 || 11 φαντασίας — αὐτοῦ **A** : φαντασίας σοι ποιεῖ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ **P** φαντασία βοηθεῖ (βοηθεῖ φαντασία **S**) **q** ||
 αὐτοῦ alterum **A q** : Χριστοῦ **P** || 12 τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστίν **A** : ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα **Pq** || ἐν τῷ — καρδίᾳ σου **A P** : ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου
 καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου **q** || 13 τὸ om. **PNS** || ἐπικλήσεως δηλαδή **A P** : δηλαδή καὶ ἐπικλήσεως **q** || 13–14 καρδίᾳ
 — εἰς σωτηρίαν **A** : στόματι γάρ, φησὶν (φησὶν om. **S**), ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν, καρδίᾳ δὲ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην
Pq.

intentions, and they approached Christ and were saved. Learn to know the whole from the part. (5) Even those sorcerers were received, and you as a sorcerer will also certainly be received just like they were. (6) How long will you, even though you are coming out of a great sickness, beat yourself up and punish yourself? (7) Look away, so that the devil does not assist you in accepting this hopelessness. He is clever, as you yourself know very well. Do you not realize that before the cock crowed¹²⁹ he answered you cunningly, and do you not realize how he stood far away from you when he threatened you? (8) Did he not say to you, 'Christ hates those who are mine and joined up with you to trick you, so that after he separated you from me, he could reject you again, and then I shall have the power to do whatever I want to you'?¹³⁰ (9) In the meantime, you must know that when Christ is present, the devil can do nothing. Seal your heart so that the idea of hopelessness is removed from it. Call upon Christ so that you gain experience of his goodness. (10) He will not ask you for gifts, nor does he stand in need of time to show you mercy, nor does he lay claim to aid through mediations of illusion. (11) For his disciple Paul the Apostle said, 'The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart.'¹³¹ (12) What kind of word is this? Why, one of appeal and of faith in him, of course: 'For one believes with the heart and so is justified, and one confesses with the mouth and so is saved.'¹³²

¹²⁹ πρὸ τοῦ φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα is an allusion to Peter's denial (Mark 14:72//Matt 26:75//Luke 22:61). The addition of ἐν (τῇ) νυκτὶ in the long recensions derives from Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial (Mark 14:30//Matt 26:34).

¹³⁰ Cf. 12.5.

¹³¹ Rom 10:8.

¹³² Rom 10:10.

22. ἀποδέχομαί σου τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, ὅτι ἐξήγγειλάς σου τὰς ἀσεβείας τὰς οὕσας [22]
καὶ οὐκ οὕσας. ² διὸ καὶ ἡσύχασα καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἔπεισα, ἵνα ἐμέσαντός
σου τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὸ φάρμακον, ἐπικουφισθῇ σου ἡ διάνοια πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. ³ κατάστα,
Κυπριανέ, σύνες ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶ, νόησον τὴν πλάνην, τὴν ἄγνοιαν, τὴν νεότητα τῆς φύσεως,
τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὁρμὴν, τῶν δαιμόνων τὴν δεινότητα. ⁴ οὐκ ἔστι σε διδάξειν ὅσα ὁρμῶσι ποιεῖν
καὶ οἶα ἐπιτηδεύουσι. ⁵ τί οὖν σαυτὸν μὴ νουθετεῖς μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον φθείρεσθαι τοῖς θρήνοις;
⁶ εἰπέ σου τῇ συνειδήσει ὅτι ἀγνοίας γέγονα παῖγνιον καὶ πολέμιος ἑαυτῷ κατέστην μὴ
βουλόμενος· πείσόν σου τὴν γνώμην ὅτι κακὰ ἐποίησας ὑπὸ κακίας ἐνεργούμενος ὡς ὑπὸ
πυρὸς ὕλη πολλοὺς καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους συμφλέξασα. ⁷ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγράφει
τῇ ὕλῃ τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πυρί· καὶ σὺ μὴ σαυτῷ ἐπίγραφε, ἀλλὰ τῇ πλάνῃ· μὴ τὴν
συνειδήσιν σου παραινίττου αἴτιον τῆς ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δράκοντος τὴν ἀποπλάνησιν.
⁸ ἢ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πολλοὺς μανέντας καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἑαυτοῖς, οἷος γέγονεν Αἴας διὰ
ζῆλον Ὀδύσσεως ἑαυτὸν διαχειρισάμενος; ⁹ ἔτεροι τέκνοις καὶ γονεῦσιν ἄκοντες ξίφος
ἐγένοντο, ὡς Ὀρέστης τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Μηδεῖα τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ Θησεὺς καθ' Ἱππολύτου.
¹⁰ οὐκ ᾔδει ὁ Πάρις ὅτι διὰ τὴν Ἑλένην τὸ Ἴλιον ἀλίσκεται οὐδὲ Ἀγαμέμνων Αἴγισθον

A P q (HLNS) 1 σου alterum **A q** : μοι **P** || καὶ post ἀσεβείας add. **LN** || 2 οὐκ **A** : τὰς μὴ **Pq** || ἔπεισα **A PHNS** :
ἐποίησα **L** || 3 φάρμακον **A** : φρόνημα **Pq** || ἀνανεύσασα post διάνοια add. **Pq** || λοιπὸν οὖν ante κατάστα add. **Pq**
|| 4 Κυπριανέ **A P** : καὶ **q** || τὴν ἄγνοιαν, τὴν πλάνην **q** || post τὴν ἄγνοιαν lac. in codice **P** ad § 22.19 (p. 220.1)
quoniam post fol. 187 deest folium : τὴν ἄγνοιαν desinit fol. 187r et λεσεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνούς incipit fol. 188r sed
λεσεν neglexit Maran (col. 1134.4).

A q (HLNS) 4 νεότητα **A** : ἀθεότητα **q** || post φύσεως add. τὴν ἀσθένειαν **q** || 5 τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὁρμὴν **A** : πανουργίαν
τοῦ ἐχθροῦ **q** || αὐτοῦ post δαιμόνων add. **q** || οὐκ ἔστι σε (σοι **S**) **q** : οὐκέτι σε δεῖ (expunctum) **A** || διδάξειν ὅσα **A** :
διδάξαι οἶα **q** || 6 μὴ **A** : οὐ **q** || 7 ἑαυτῷ **A LNS** : ἑμαυτῷ **H** || 8 κακὰ **A** : ἄκων **q** || 9 πολλοὺς καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ
(expunctum) πόλεις καὶ δήμους συμφλέξασα **A** : ἐξαφθείσα πολλοὺς οἴκους καὶ ἄνδρας συνέφλεξε **q** || καὶ ante οὐδεὶς
add. **q** || ἐπιγράφει **A L** : ἐπιγράφῃ **HNS** || 10 οὖν post σὺ add. **q** || 12 πολλοὺς om. **q** || ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας
q || 12–13 γέγονεν Αἴας — διαχειρισάμενος **q** : γέγονε διὰ ζῆλον ὁ Αἴας, ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, ἑαυτοὺς διαχειρισάμενοι **A** ||
13 ἅπαντες τε καὶ post γονεῦσιν add. **N** || ξίφος **q** : ξίφους ἔργον **A** ^{ac (φους ἔργον expuncta)} || 14 Μηδεῖα **A LN** : Μηδείας
HS || 15 ὁ Πάρις ὅτι **A L** : ὅτι Πάρις **HNS** || οὐδὲ **A** : οὐτε **q**.

22. “I accept your confession because you proclaimed your impieties, those which remain and those which are no more. (2) For this reason I remained silent and I persuaded my friends to do likewise so that after you coughed up the enemy’s magic potion, your mind would be encouraged toward piety. (3) Settle down, Cyprian, understand that you are human, consider your error, your ignorance, the youthful folly of nature, the assault of the enemy, and the dreadfulness of the demons. (4) It is not possible for you to explain all that they are eager to do and what sort of things they pursue. (5) Why then don’t you warn yourself not to destroy yourself further with these lamentations? (6) Say to your conscience, ‘I have become a plaything of ignorance and like an enemy unto myself, although I did not wish it.’ Persuade your mind that you committed evil acts because you were acted upon by evil, just as wood has burned up many people and men and cities and lands by fire. (7) No one ascribes the destruction to the wood, but rather to the fire, so do not ascribe it to yourself, but rather to error. Do not allude to your conscience as the cause of your impiety, but instead to the seduction of the dragon. (8) Or have we not known many who went mad and plotted against themselves, such as Ajax, who killed himself because he was jealous of Odysseus?¹³³ (9) Others involuntarily became a sword against their children and parents, as Orestes against his mother and Medea against her children and Theseus against Hippolytus.¹³⁴ (10) Paris did not know that Troy would be conquered on account of Helen, nor Agamemnon, who was related to Aegisthus, that he was receiving into his own home someone who was

¹³³ On Ajax’s suicide, see Homer, *Od.* 11.543–564; Pindar, *Nem.* 7.20–27 and esp. 8.21–23 (Ajax’s jealousy); *Isthm.* 4.35–36; Sophocles, *Aj.* 815–865. A’s text is certainly corrupt. According to Eugammon’s lost *Telegony* and several other sources, Odysseus was unwittingly killed by his son Telegonus, as prophesied by the ghost of Teiresias in Homer, *Od.* 11.134–135 (cf. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 7.36; Hyginus, *Fab.* 127; schol. ad *Od.* 11.134).

¹³⁴ On Orestes’ murder of Clytemnestra, see Aeschylus, *Cho.* 930; Euripides, *El.* 1206–1223. On Medea’s murder of her children, see Euripides, *Med.* 1236–1250. The inclusion of Theseus in this list is odd because he does not kill Hippolytus with a sword in any version of the story (this likely explains the author’s use of καὶ Ἰππολύτου rather than Ἰππολύτῳ). Rather, Theseus invoked Poseidon’s wrath against his son Hippolytus, who was then surprised by a sea-monster, thrown from his chariot, and dragged to death (Euripides, *Hipp.* 1173–1248; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 15.479–546; Seneca, *Phaedr.* 1057–1113). In Seneca’s version Phaedra falsely accuses Hippolytus of raping her at sword-point and presents the sword (with which she later kills herself) to Theseus as evidence.

προσοικειούμενος ὅτι ἑαυτῷ ἐπίβουλον προσλαμβάνεται. ¹¹ ἢ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ ὁ Περδίκκας ὑπὸ διττοῦ ἔρωτος τιμωρούμενος, καὶ ἐπόθει τυχεῖν ὃ πράττειν ἐπήυχετο. ¹² Οἰδίπους καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρατο δόξης ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν ἧ πονήσας, καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν μετεμελείτο· ἀνελῶν γὰρ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας θρῆνον εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν· καὶ τὸν γάμον τῆς μητρὸς
 5 ἄκων ἐπιτυχῶν μιανὰν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν συμβίωσιν ἡγείτο οὗτος αὐτός. ¹³ ὁμοίως οὗτοι πάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐμπαιχθέντες ἐκέρασαν τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν τῇ τοῦ παρόντος βίου ἀνάγκῃ· καὶ παλινωδίαν οἱ πλείστοι μελετήσαντες. ¹⁴ ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἀνθρώποις, παρήλθον μὴ ἀποδεδωκότες τῇ πλάνῃ. ¹⁵ καὶ σύ, Κυπριανέ, ἀπόβλεψον τῷ ἀβουλήτῳ τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπίγνωθι τὴν πρὸς θεόν σου ἀπανάστασιν. ¹⁶ ὕδωρ ἦν χειμάρρου ῥέοντος ἐν τῇ σῇ διανοίᾳ·
 10 ὁ διάβολος πολλὰς πατρίδας ἄφνω διελθὼν διὰ σοῦ κατέσυρε. ¹⁷ τίνι οὖν χρὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὸν ὄλεθρον, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι πεφευγότες κατελήφθησαν ἢ τῷ ὕδατι τῷ τὸν ὄλεθρον κατεργασαμένῳ; ¹⁸ καὶ σε τοιοῦτον ἔσχεν, ὡς ὁρῶ, ὁ διάβολος χῶρον ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς διὰ σοῦ

A q (HLNS) 1 ἑαυτῷ **q** : ἑαυτοῦ **A** || προσλαμβάνεται *des. mutil.* **A** et ἢ ὅτι ἀγνοίας παίγνιον γέγονας· πείσόν σου τὴν καρδίαν ὅτι ἄκων ἐποίησας ὑπὸ κακίας ἐνεργούμενος (*cf.* § 22.5). παρακαλῶ, πάτερ Εὐσέβιε, φράσο<ν> μοι ποθοῦντι ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἴ τινα τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὁ θεὸς ἐγκλημάτων ἀπήλλαξεν (*cf.* § 23.2) κτλ. *post* προσλαμβάνεται *habet N*, *in quo* §§ 22.11–23.1 *desunt* et §§ 23.2–28.5a *sunt imperfecta et mutila*.

q (HLS) 2 ἐπήυχετο **HS** : ἀπήυχετο **L** || 3 ἤρατο **L** : εὐξάμενος **HS** || 4 τὸν γάμον **HS** : τῶν γάμων **L** || 5 ὁμοίως **LS** : ὅμως **H** || 7 ἀνάγκη **HL** : ἐπιτυχίᾳ **S** || ἀνθρώποις **HL** : ἀνθρωπος **S** || 9 ἀπανάστασιν **L** : ἐπανάστασιν **HS** || 10 ἄφνω διελθὼν **L** : ἄφνω ἐπελθὼν **H** ἐπελθὼν ἄφνω **S** || 12 ὡς ὁρῶ, ἔσχεν **L**.

plotting against him.¹³⁵ (11) Nor was Perdiccas aware that he would be punished at the hands of a double love, and he was anxious to achieve the end he had vowed to accomplish.¹³⁶ (12) Even Oedipus himself eagerly desired to attain the glory for which he toiled, and when he succeeded, he felt regret; for, after he killed his own father and became king in his stead, he lamented the happenstance of his kingship, and because he had unwittingly married his mother, he himself considered his wedded life with her to be stained with blood.¹³⁷ (13) All of these figures were similarly deluded by the dragon and tempered the life of struggle with the necessity of the world we live in, and the majority have rehearsed a palinode.¹³⁸ (14) For as long as humans have been able, they have passed by without rendering error its due. (15) And you, Cyprian, pay attention to the involuntary nature of the disposition, and recognize your migration toward God. (16) It was the water of a gushing gutter that polluted your mind; it was the devil, who has come suddenly upon many countries, who suddenly rushed down through you. (17) To which, then, must one ascribe the destruction, to humans, because having fled they are condemned, or to the water that achieves the destruction? (18) The devil, as I see it, considered you as such a bottomland, in which

¹³⁵ Agamemnon and Aegisthus were cousins; on the murder of Agamemnon, see, e.g., Homer, *Od.* 1.35–39; 3.253–275, 303–312; 4.90–93, 514–537; 11.409–434, 652–653; 24.199–202; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1125–1128, 1246–1247; 1258–1263; 1388–1392.

¹³⁶ Perdiccas was one of the most distinguished generals of Alexander the Great and one of the Diadochi who fought for control of the empire after Alexander's death in 323 BCE. The “double love” refers to Nicaea (the daughter of Antipater, Perdiccas' rival) and Cleopatra (daughter of Philip II and Olympias, i.e., Alexander's sister). Perdiccas requested Nicaea's hand in marriage to form an “alliance” with Antipater, but at the same time Olympias offered him Cleopatra's hand in marriage. Perdiccas allegedly planned to repudiate the marriage with Nicaea and wed Cleopatra, but Antigonus' discovery of the plot led Antipater and Craterus to turn against Perdiccas, who was eventually assassinated by his own officers. See Arrian, *FGH* 156 F 9.20–26 apud Photius, *Bibl.* “codex” 92; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 18.14, 16, 22–25; Justin, *Epit.* 13.6; E. Carney, “The Sisters of Alexander the Great: Royal Relicts,” *HZAG* 37 (1988): 399–400.

¹³⁷ Cf. Sophocles, *Oed. tyr.* 1369–1415, esp. 1384 (τοιάνδ' ἐγὼ κηλῖδα μὴνύσας ἐμήν).

¹³⁸ A palinode is an ode in which a writer retracts a view or sentiment expressed in an earlier poem. The most famous example is Stesichorus' *Palinodia*, a retraction or recantation of his earlier poem *Helen*, which closely followed Homer's account. Stesichorus allegedly went blind after writing *Helen* (cf. fr. 187–191 Davies), having incurred the wrath of Helen because the poem held her responsible for the Trojan War (see Plato, *Phaedr.* 243a–b; Isocrates, *Hel.* 64; Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 27.1); cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.23.2, where Simon Magus' partner, a reformed prostitute named Helen (Justin, 1 *Apol.* 26.3), is regarded as a reincarnation of “the same Helen who struck Stesichorus blind.” In the *Palinodia* (fr. 192–193 Davies), however, Stesichorus called Homer's authority into question, claiming that Helen went to Egypt and that it was an εἰδωλον or phantom of Helen that Paris took to Troy (see Plato, *Rep.* 9.586c; P.Oxy. XXIX. 2506, fr. 26). See further D. Sider, “The Blinding of Stesichorus,” *Hermes* 117 (1989): 423–31; F. D'Alfonso, “Stesicoro corale nelle due principali testimonianze sulla Palinodia (Isocr. *Hel.* 64; Plat. *Phaedr.* 243a),” *Helikon* 33–34 (1993–1994): 419–29; cf. C.M. Bowra, “The Two Palinodes of Stesichorus,” *CR* 13 (1963): 245–52. Given the author's earlier statement that διὰ τὴν Ἑλένην τὸ Ἴλιον ἀλίσσεται (22.10), it is likely that he here has in mind the exemplum of Stesichorus, but perhaps also the case of Euripides' surviving *Hippolytus*, which is a substantial revision of his ill-received original.

ἀπώλεσεν.¹⁹ εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνοὺς Χριστοῦ τὴν δύναμιν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ ἐπέμεινας, τάχα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνελπιστίαν σου ἀπεδέξατο· εἰ δὲ νῦν ἔγνως καὶ ἀποστρέφη τὸν ἐχθρόν, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πάλαι εἴ τις ἦν σοι περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐξήγησις προτροπάδην ἂν τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἀπεκήρυττες.²⁰ νῦν οὖν τὸ μὲν δακρύνει σοι παρείσθω διὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ σοι καταλλαγὴν, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα ῥωμαλέον κτησάμενος ἴθι πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν.²¹ οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πλείονας ὦν ἀπώλεσας προσενέγκαι δυνήσῃ Χριστῷ πᾶσιν ὑποτιθέμενος τὰ συνοίσοντα.

(15) 23. καὶ γὰρ ἔφην· δακρύνειν οὐ παύομαι τῷ συνειδότει πληττόμενος· τὸ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν παρὲς μίαν πάλιν φροντίδα ἔχω <τῆς> κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας Ἰουστίνης ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ περιόψεται Χριστὸς τὴν αὐτῆς καταπόνησιν κάμοι συγγνώσεται, δι' ἣν καὶ παιδοκτονίαν
10 καὶ ἡπατοσκοπίαν ἐν γυναιξὶ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἄθεσμον τέχνην πεποιήμαι.² παρακαλῶ οὖν σε, πάτερ Εὐσέβιε, φράσον μοι ποθοῦντι ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἴ τινα τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ ἀσεβῶν ἐπιστρέψαντα ἐγκλημάτων ἀπήλλαξε.

(16) 24. καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἔφην· καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ, Παῦλος τοῦνομα, εἰ καὶ μὴ μάργος [23] ἦν, ἀλλὰ διώκτης γέγονε τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἀκροθίνιος, ἀμέλει συνευδόκησε τῇ ἀναίρεσει
15 Στεφάνου· ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίοις γράμμασι τοὺς κατὰ Δαμασκὸν Χριστῷ λατρεύοντας

P q (HLS) 1 ἀπώλεσεν q :]λεσεν incipit fol. 188r in codice P (cf. § 22.3) || τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ PL : τῆς ἀσεβείας H om. S || ἐπέμεινας P : ἐναπέμεινας q || 2 ἔγνως P : ἐπέγνως q || 3 ἦν . . . ἐξήγησις q : ἂν . . . ἐξηγήσατο P || ἂν om. P (vide ante) || 4 δακρύνειν P : δάκρυόν q || σοι PH : σου LS || Χριστοῦ σοι P : ἐν Χριστῷ q || 5 ἴθι P : ἐλθέ q || καὶ δόξαν post βούλησιν add. q || 6 Χριστῷ P : ψυχὰς τῷ θεῷ q || 7 παύομαι P : παύσομαι q || τὰ πολλὰ P : πολλὰ q || 8 γὰρ post μίαν add. P || πάλιν φροντίδα ἔχω PH : φροντίδα ἔχω πάλιν L φροντίδα ἔχω S || τῆς κατὰ τῆς . . . ἐπιβουλῆς scripsi : τῆς . . . ἐπιβουλῆς P τὴν κατὰ τῆς . . . ἐπιβουλὴν q || 9 κάμοι q : καὶ ἐμοὶ P || εὖ οἶδα post κάμοι add. q || 8–10 μίαν — πεποιήμαι secl. Maran (col. 1134.18–23) || 11 σε om. P || φράσον q : παύσων P || κατ' ἐμὲ om. S || 12 ὁ θεὸς τῶν post ἐπιστρέψαντα add. q || 13 καὶ alterum om. q || τοῦνομα om. S || 14 ἦν P : γέγονεν q || γέγονε P : σφοδρῶς ἦν q || ἀκροθίνιος P : καὶ ὑβριστὴς καὶ βλάσφημος q || γοῦν post ἀμέλει add. q || ἀμέλει, συνευδόκησε interp. Maran (col. 1134.30) cum P || 15 τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος post Στεφάνου add. q || τοὺς . . . λατρεύοντας P HL : τοῖς . . . λατρεύουσι S.

he could destroy many through you. (19) For if you persisted in your impiety after you recognized the power of Christ, then perhaps someone could accept your hopelessness. But if you have now recognized that his power can turn away the enemy, then it is clear that, even long ago, if this detailed exposition about Christ had been available to you, you would have publicly renounced your impiety with headlong speed.¹³⁹ (20) Therefore, let the knowledge of Christ's reconciliation with you now put an end to your tears, and once you have acquired a strong mind, go with his will. (21) For you will be able to bring many more to Christ than those whom you destroyed as you proclaim what will be of general advantage to all people."

23. And I said, "I cannot stop weeping because I am stricken in my conscience, and although I have neglected to mention most of my crimes, I am concerned once again over my plot against the holy maiden Justina, because of which I performed child-sacrifice and divination by examining the livers of women and the rest of the unlawful art, namely that Christ will overlook her affliction and pardon me.¹⁴⁰ (2) Therefore, I beseech you, father Eusebius, show me, as I long for it, from the Scriptures of Christ whether he set any convert free from impious charges like mine."

24. And Eusebius said, "Even Christ's apostle, Paul by name, although he was no magician,¹⁴¹ but became the foremost persecutor of his servants, actually approved of the slaying of Stephen.¹⁴² But also with written letters from the state he wanted to chase those who served Christ in Damascus away from

¹³⁹ Eusebius' argument is not entirely appropriate given Cyprian's statements in 15.1.

¹⁴⁰ The syntax of this sentence is somewhat awkward. Maran's bracketing of *μίαν* — *πεποίημα* ("Confessio," 1134.18–23) as an interpolation is certainly understandable, but improbable given the presence of this passage in the Coptic translation (see Pierpont Morgan Library, M609 fol. 82v; Bilabel, "Studien," 124) and its connection to other parts of the narrative. The use of *πάλιν* suggests that Cyprian has previously shown concern for Justina's well-being. The only possible moment of concern on Cyprian's part is 10.6, for which reason I have translated these questions as exclamations (*ὧν ἐπεβούλευσα* in 20.1 more likely refers to *τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς* in 15.1). That the author is here referring back to 10.6 is also supported by *καταπόνησις*, which can only refer to the *καύσων* or "burning heat" that afflicts Justina in 10.5 (immediately preceding Cyprian's interrogatory exclamations). Eusebius' statement in 26.14 (*καὶ σὺ λέγεις ὅτι ἐμὲ περιόψεται*) also appears to refer back to this passage, but here Cyprian does not worry that Christ will overlook (*περιόψεται*) him, but that he will overlook Justina by making room for him (but cf. 25.14 and note 161). Also somewhat problematic is the mention of Cyprian's use of women's livers for hepatoscopic divination, a detail unparalleled elsewhere (cf. 2.2 and 14.2), which Apollonius of Tyana considered completely nonsensical and theoretically impossible (cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.7.45).

¹⁴¹ This clause is perhaps intended to counter the pagan allegation that Paul was a magician. Julian (*Gal.* 101a) claimed that Paul "surpassed all the magicians and charlatans of every place and time" (*ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πάντας πανταχοῦ τοὺς πώποτε γόητας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ὑπερβαλλόμενον Παῦλον*); cf. *Acts Paul Thec.* 15, 20; Pophry, *Christ.* fr. 4 Harnack apud Jerome, *Tract. Ps.* 81; Julian, *Gal.* 339e–340a; Macarius Magnes, *Apocr.* 4.14 [183.10–25 Blondel]; see further Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament*, 156–58, 212–13, 310.

¹⁴² The phrase *συνευδόκησε τῇ ἀναιρέσει* Στεφάνου derives from Acts 8:1 (*Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ*).

ἐξεδίωκε τῆς τε χώρας πάσης καὶ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέψας σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,
 ὡς καὶ ὠμολόγησεν εἰπών· ἠλεήθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα. ² ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι
 τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ περιέχει ὅτι ἱκανοὶ τῶν τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς
 μαγικὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν προσεδέχθησαν Χριστῷ καὶ βαπτισθέντες ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν
 5 ἔτυχον, τῆς τε ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν κολάσεως ὑπεράνω γενόμενοι. ³ εἰ δέ σοι χρὴ καὶ
 τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Ναβυχοδονόσωρ εἰς μέσον ἐνεγκεῖν, οὗτος μετὰ πείραν θεοῦ ἦν εἶδεν ἐν
 καμίνῳ πυρὸς καιομένης ῥυσθέντων τριῶν παίδων θεοῦ, ἀσεβήσας καὶ ἐκδιωχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων κτήνος γεγρονῶς καὶ μετανοήσας ἐδέχθη, ὥστε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κράτος ἀπολαβεῖν.
⁴ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, Μανασσῆς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται
 10 καὶ μετὰ θεογνωσίαν τὰ πάντα δεινὰ δράσαντες καὶ μεταμεληθέντες ἐδέχθησαν ἀνεθέντες
 τῆς διὰ τὰ εἰδῶλα βαρυτάτης κολάσεως, καίπερ ὁμοῦ σὺν αὐτοῖς δῆμους ὀλοκλήρους
 συγκατασπάσαντες καὶ προφήτας ἀνελόντες καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ μιάναντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὸν
 Ἰσραὴλ ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας συχνῶς ἀσεβοῦντα καὶ συχνῶς μετανοοῦντα
 πελάγει ἀνεξικακίας καὶ ἐλέους προσεδέξατο. ⁵ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ κουρόκομος
 15 μετάνοια ἰσχύει πολλὰ ἕως νῦν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λίαν ἐξασθενήσαντας ἁμαρτίαις προσίσθαι
 ἐπιστρέφοντας. ⁶ ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· αὐτὸ γάρ ἐστι τὸ μάννα τῆς τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ χάριτος, ὅπως οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεούμενοι μὴ κατακρίνωνται. ⁷ διὸ λέγει

P q (HLS) 1 ἐξεδίωκε **P** : κατεδίωκεν **q** || τῆς τε — πόλεως **q** (cf. § 24.2) : τῆς χώρας καὶ πάσης πόλεως **P** ||
 αὐτοῦ **P** : αὐτῷ **q** || ἐγένετο **P** : γέγονεν **q** || 2 εἰπών **P** : λέγων **q** || ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ post ἐποίησα add. **HL** || 3 αὐτοῦ
 περιέχει om. **L** (add. **L**^{2mg}) || 4 μαγικὰς om. **H** || 5 τε scripsi (cf. § 24.1) : δὲ **P** om. **q** || δι' αὐτὴν **PHL** : δι' αὐτῆς
S || σοι **PL** : σὺ **HS** || 6 εἰς μέσον om. **L** || ἐνεγκεῖν **P** : ἐνέγκαι **q** || 7 καιομένης **q** : κατηργημένης **P** || 8 ἐξ
 ἀνθρώπου post κτήνος add. **q** || καὶ om. **P** || ἐδέχθη **P** : προσεδέχθη **q** || καὶ post ὥστε add. **q** || τὸ om. **H** ||
 κράτος **P** : κράτος αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας **HS** αὐτὸν κράτος τῆς βασιλείας **L** || 9 ἀκόλουθα post τούτοις add. **HL** ||
 ἰδιῶται **PHS** : διώκται **L** || 10 πᾶσαν ante θεογνωσίαν add. **q** || πάντα δεινὰ **PS** : πάνδεινα **HL** || καὶ μεταμεληθέντες
 ἐδέχθησαν **P** : προσεδέχθησαν **q** || 11 κολάσεως **PHL** : σκληνῆς **S** || ὁμοῦ om. **q** || 12 συγκατασπάσαντες **P** : ἐν τῇ
 πλάνῃ κατασπάσαντες **q** || μιάναντες **P** : βεβηλώσαντες **q** || 13 συχνῶς . . . συχνῶς **P** : πολυτρόπως . . . πάλιν **q** ||
 14 πελάγει ἀνεξικακίας καὶ ἐλέους **P** : τῷ πελάγει τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεξικακίας **q** || κουρόκομος scripsi : κουροκόμος
P Maran (col. 1134.59) om. **q** || 14–15 ἡ κουρόκομος — ἕως νῦν **P** : δὲ ἕως νῦν ἡ μετάνοια ἰσχύει πολλὰ **q** ||
 15 ἁμαρτίαις **P** : τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ **q** || 15–16 ἐπιστρέφοντας προσίσθαι **q** || 16 ἐστὶ τὸ μάννα **P** : γεωργεῖ τὸ δῶρον **q** ||
 17 καὶ post διὸ add. **q**.

every country and city,¹⁴³ but after he converted he became the vessel of his choice, as he also agreed when he said, ‘I was shown mercy by Christ because I acted in ignorance.’¹⁴⁴ (2) And it says in the Acts of his Apostles that Christ accepted many practitioners of magic after they burned their magical books, and they obtained forgiveness after they had been baptized and rose above their impiety and any future retribution for it.¹⁴⁵ (3) And if it is necessary to introduce the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar to you, this man, after he saw proof of God in a fiery furnace and three servants of God were being protected as it burned, acted impiously and was banished away from humans, becoming a beast, yet he was received favorably after he repented, so that he regained the might which he had had from the beginning.¹⁴⁶ (4) And the following examples are similar: Manasseh, the king of Israel, and many other kings and commoners, who did all kinds of terrible things even though they had knowledge of God, were received favorably when they repented, and even though they pulled down simultaneously entire peoples along with them and killed the prophets and defiled the Holy of Holies, they escaped the most severe of punishments for their idols.¹⁴⁷ But Christ also received in a sea of compassion and mercy the whole of Israel, who until the arrival of Christ often acted impiously and repented often. (5) And the practice of cutting the hair short¹⁴⁸ as a sign of repentance is still very strong in the church today, so that even those who are extremely weak from sins may drive themselves forward after their conversion. (6) Now, the gospel is the power of the church, for it is the manna of Christ’s grace in that those who act impiously, when they are shown mercy, are not condemned. (7) For this reason he said to Peter, ‘Not only seven

¹⁴³ Cf. Acts 9:1–3.

¹⁴⁴ 1 Tim 1:13.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Acts 19:19.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Dan 3–4.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. 2 Kgs 21; 2 Chr 33.

¹⁴⁸ *κουρόκομος* is a *hapax legomenon*. The initial element derives from *κόρος* (“boy, lad”), which appears in compounds as *κουρο-* (from *κείρω*, “of one who has cut his hair short on emerging from boyhood,” [LSJ 981 s.v. *κόρος* B]), and the final element from *κόμη* (“hair”). *ἡ κουρόκομος μετάνοια* literally means “the short-haired (or boy-haired) repentance,” the adjective *κουρόκομος* being more or less synonymous with *κούριμος*. The proper accentuation is *κουρόκομος*, a parytoxone, and not *κουροκόμος* as it is accented in P (so Maran, “Confessio,” 1134.59 and *LBG* 1.4:875a s.v.), since the final element is certainly from *κόμη* (so, e.g., *ἄκομος*, “hairless”; *ἀφρόκομος*, “foam-haired”; *ἰππόκομος*, “decked with horsehair”; *λευκόκομος*, “white-haired”; etc.) and not *κομέω* (so, e.g., *ἱεροκόμος*, “one who takes charge of a temple”; *καμηλοκόμος*, “keeping camels”; *νοσοκόμος*, “sick-nurse”; *συννυμφοκόμος*, “helping to deck a bride”; etc.).

τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐπτάκις ἐπτά ἀφήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, ἀλλ' ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά.
⁸ πῶς οὖν σοι οὐκ ἀφήσει ὁ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτρέπων ἔχειν τοσαύτην χρηστότητα; ⁹ ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς
 τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ ἔλεους θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, μαρτυρεῖ τις βόων· ἔλεος ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τὸν
 πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ἔλεος δὲ θεοῦ ἐπὶ πάσαν σάρκα. ¹⁰ τί οὖν εἴ σὺ πρὸς πάσαν σάρκα, ὅτι νομίζεις [24]
 5 ἐκκενοῦσθαι αὐτόν, ἐὰν εἰς σέ χρηστεύσῃται; ¹¹ ἐπὶ Νινευίταις ὥρισε θάνατον ἀσεβήσασιν
 ὑπὲρ σέ, οὐ λέγω καθ' ἑνα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πάντας ὁμοῦ, καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντας οὐκ ἀπώλεσε· καὶ
 σὺ εὐτόνως αὐτὸν παρακάλεσον, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἀπώσῃται. ¹² τῷ ληστῇ ῥοπή τὸν παράδεισον
 δωρεῖται διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πίστεως· καὶ σοὶ οὐ συγχωρήσει κἂν εἰς πελάγη κακίας
 καταφυγμένος ᾗς, ἐὰν γνησίως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσῃ;
 10 25. ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ εἶσθαι αὐτοῦ χρηστότητα. ² λέγει γὰρ ἐν Ὡσηε τῷ
 Ἰσραήλ· ὡς Ἀδαμα θήσομαί σε καὶ ὡς Σεβείμ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπάγει· καὶ ἐστράφη ἡ καρδιά
 μου καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συνεταράχθη ἡ μεταμέλειά μου, σημαίνων ὅτι ἔτοιμός ἐστι τοὺς
 μετανοοῦντας προσδέχεσθαι. ³ λέγει τῷ Ἠλίᾳ· ἴδες πῶς κατενύγη Ἀχαάβ ἀπὸ προσώπου
 μου; οὐ μὴ ἐπάξω ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ τὰ κακά, καίπερ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἠλίου ὀρίσας αὐτῷ
 15 θάνατον περὶ τίνος Ναβουθαί, ὃν δόλῳ ἐφόνευσεν Ἰεζάβελ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτόν· καὶ πῶς
 σὺ σαυτὸν ἀπελπίζεις σωθῆναι τοσοῦτῳ πελάγει οἰκτιρμῶν περιβληθσόμενος; ⁴ οὐ μόνον
 λιτῶς σοὶ δείκνυμι θεὸν χρηστευόμενον, ἵνα δὲ μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν σωτηρίας ἀπαγορεύσῃ, ὁμνυσι

P q (HLS) 1 ἐπτάκις om. q || 2–3 ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς τὴν om. S || 3 θεοῦ P : κυρίου q || 5 Νινευίταις codd. : Νινευίτας
 corr. Maran (col. 1135.10) || ἀσεβήσασιν L : ἀσεβήσαντας PHS || 6 τὸν ante καθ' add. q || ἀνθρώπους post ὁμοῦ
 add. q || ἐπιστρέψαντας PHL : ἐπιτρέψας S || 7 οὖν post σὺ add. q || ῥοπή P : ἐν ῥοπή LS || 7–8 τῷ ληστῇ —
 δωρεῖται om. per hapl. H || 8 συγχωρήσει HL : συγχωρήσῃ S συγχωρεῖ P || πελάγη P : πέλαγος q || 9 σωθήσῃ
 post ἐπικαλέσῃ add. L || 10 γὰρ ἐν om. P || 11 ὡς Ἀδαμα LS : ὡς Σόδομα PH sic etiam Maran (col. 1135.20) et
 Klee (p. 221a.53–54) || ἐστράφη P : ἐπεστράφη q || 12 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ P : ἐμαυτῷ H ἐπ' αὐτῷ LS.

P q (FHLS) 13 Ἀχαάβ codd. : ὁ Ἀχαάβ Maran (col. 1135.25) || 13–14 λέγει — ἐν ταῖς corrumpitur in F ||
 14 τὰ κακά P : κακά q || δι' αὐτοῦ PHLS : διὰ F || τοῦ om. HS || 15 δι' αὐτόν PHLS : δι' αὐτοῦ F || καὶ ante δι' αὐτόν
 transp. P || 16 σὺ σαυτὸν q : σεαυτὸν P || οὖν post μόνον add. HLS || 17 λιτῶς σοὶ δείκνυμι PHS : σοὶ λιτῶς δείκνυμι
 L μὴ sic F ex hapl. (= ... δείκνυμι)? (vide ante) || θεὸν PFHS : Χριστὸν L || δὲ HL : γε S γὰρ P om. F || ἀπαγορεύσῃ
 P : ἀπαγορεύῃ FHS ἀπαγορεύοι L.

times seven do you forgive your brother, but seventy times seven.¹⁴⁹ (8) How could he who commands humankind to have such great goodness not forgive you? (9) And so that you may understand how God's mercy compares to human mercy, someone testified, crying aloud, 'The mercy of a human being is for his neighbor, but the mercy of God is for every living being.'¹⁵⁰ (10) What then are you compared to 'every living being' that makes you think God would be emptied out if he were to show you mercy? (11) He had condemned the Ninevites to death, who acted more impiously than you, I do not mean just one but them all together, but he did not destroy them after they repented.¹⁵¹ And you, call upon him vigorously, for he will certainly not reject you. (12) He presented the thief with the gift of paradise at a decisive moment because of the preeminence of his faith,¹⁵² so would he not forgive you, even though you were buried in seas of evil, if you called upon him genuinely?

25. Read the prophets and you will know his goodness. (2) For he says to Israel in Hosea, 'Would I make you like Admah and Zeboiim?' to which he adds, 'My heart recoils and within myself regret is stirred,'¹⁵³ indicating that he is ready to receive those who have repented. (3) He said to Elijah, 'Have you seen how Ahab was deeply moved in my presence? I will certainly not bring evils in his days,'¹⁵⁴ although it was through Elijah himself that he condemned Ahab to death because of a certain Naboth, whom his wife Jezebel cunningly killed on his behalf.¹⁵⁵ So how can you despair that you cannot be saved when you are surrounded by so great a sea of mercy? (4) I show you plainly not only that God is merciful, but

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Matt 18:22.

¹⁵⁰ Sir 18:13.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Jonah 3.

¹⁵² Cf. Luke 23:40–43.

¹⁵³ Hos. 11:8.

¹⁵⁴ 1 Kgs 21:29 [3 Kgdms 20:29 LXX].

¹⁵⁵ Cf. 1 Kgs 21 [3 Kgdms 20 LXX].

λέγων, ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, οὐ θελήσει θέλω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι
καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν. ⁵ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανόησον καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι, ἐὰν ζῆς ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ
ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετανοήσης, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃς, λέγει κύριος, ἀλλὰ ζῶῃ ζήσεις ἐνώπιόν
μου. ⁶ οὐ δύναται θεὸς ψεύσασθαι, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια· μὴ διὰ σέ ἔχει ἀλληγορήσαι,
5 Κυπριανέ, ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔχει
νικηθῆναι ἢ ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ; ⁷ τὰ ἐννεήκοντα ἐννέα πρόβατα ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατέλειπε, δηλαδὴ
τὰ ἐπουράνια τάγματα, καὶ πρὸς ἐν κατελήλυθε τὸ ἀπολωλὸς, καὶ ἐπὶ σοῦ ἔχει συστεῖλαι
αὐτοῦ τὴν χρηστότητα; ⁸ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ὀκνεῖ ἀσεβεῖ ἐπιστρέφοντι [25]
ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδούναι; ⁹ λοιδορούμενος τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς προσκαλεῖται, καὶ δοξαζόμενος ἀπώσεται
10 σε; ¹⁰ ἀπιστούμενος τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς προσεκαλέσατο, καὶ πιστεύομενος οὐ χρηστεύσεται
σε; ¹¹ πάσχων οὐκ ἀπεστράφη τὸν ληστήν καὶ προσκυνούμενος πρὸς σέ οὐκ ἐπιστραφῆσεται
εἰς ἰλασμόν; ¹² εἰ μείζων τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ θεός, πάντως ὅτι μειζόνως χρηστεύεται· πάντα τὰ
ἐπουράνια χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι, καὶ πῶς ὁ θεός σε ἀποστραφῆσεται;
¹³ θάρσει, Κυπριανέ. οὐκ ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν·
15 μόνον σὺ μετανόησον ὡς χρὴ καὶ ὅψει αὐτὸν περιπτυσσόμενόν σε. ¹⁴ ὅτε εὗρε τὸ ἀπολωλὸς
πρόβατον οὐ μόνον ἐχάρη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τέκνον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐβάστασεν, ἵνα ἔργῳ μάθῃς τὸ

P q (FHLS) 1 οὐ **L** : εἰ **PFHS** || θέλω **P** : θελήσω **FLS** θελησάτω **H** || 2 ζῆν αὐτόν **FHL** : εἰς ζωὴν ἐλθεῖν **P** εἰς
ζῆν αὐτόν **S** || ζῆς **P** : ζήσης **q** || ἑκατὸν **PHS** : ἑκαστὸν **FL** || 3 ἐν **om.** **HS** || μετανόησης **PS** : μετανοήσεις **FHL** ||
ζωῇ **q** : ζωὴν **P** || ζήσεις **PFL** : ζήση **H** ζήσης **S** || 4 μου **PFLS** : ἐμοῦ **H** || θεὸς **P** : οὖν θεὸς **HS** οὖν ὁ θεὸς **FL** ||
ἔχει ἀλληγορήσαι **HS** : ἔχει ὀλιγορήσαι **F** ἀλληγορήσαι ἔχει **L** ἔχει ἀλληγορήσαι **P** || 5 ἰδίου **om.** **F** || καὶ **P** : ἢ **q**
|| 6 ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατέλειπε πρόβατα **L** || 7 τάγματα — ἀπολωλὸς *corrumpitur in F* || τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν ἄνθρωπον
post ἀπολωλὸς *add.* **q** || 8 αὐτοῦ τὴν χρηστότητα **PFHS** : τὴν αὐτοῦ χρηστότητα **L** || ἐπιστρέφοντι **P** : μετανοοῦντι
q || 10 τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς **P FHL** : τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς **S** || πιστεύομενος **PFHS** : προσκυνούμενος **L** (*cf.* § 25.11) ||
χρηστεύσεται **PHS** : χρηστεύεται **F** || 11 σε **PH** : σοι **FS** || 10–11 ἀπιστούμενος — χρηστεύσεται *σε post* ἰλασμόν
(*in linea* 12) *transp.* **FLS** || 10–12 χρηστεύσεται — μειζόνως **om.** *per hapl.* **L** || 12 ὅτι **om.** **F** || σοι *post*
χρηστεύεται *add.* **S** || 13 τάγματα *post* ἐπουράνια *add.* **q** || ἁμαρτωλῷ ἐνὶ **P** || σε ὁ θεός **q** || 14 οὐκ **P** : οὐ γὰρ ||
περιπτυσσόμενόν σε des. mutil. **L.**

P q (FHS) 15 ὅτε **FH** : ὅτι **PS** || 16 αὐτὸ *post* τέκνον *add.* **P** || αὐτὸς *ante* ἐβάστασεν *add.* **FS.**

also, so that no one would refuse their salvation, he swears, ‘As I live, says the Lord, I do not wish the death of the sinner as much as that he converts and lives.’¹⁵⁶ (5) Repent with your whole heart and he will say to you, ‘Even if you should live one hundred years in impiety and repent on the last day, you shall not die, says the Lord, but will surely live in my presence.’¹⁵⁷ (6) God is incapable of lying, for he himself is the truth. He wouldn’t speak figuratively only for your sake, Cyprian. Did he not spare his own son for the sake of humankind? Could his goodness be vanquished just because of you? (7) If he left the ninety-nine sheep behind in heaven—clearly a metaphor for the heavenly body—and descended to find the one that was lost,¹⁵⁸ could his kindness run dry because of you? (8) He was crucified for the sake of humankind and will not hesitate to give himself to a godless person who converts. (9) It is because he was reviled that he calls upon the godless, so would he reject you if you praised him? (10) He calls upon sinners because no one believed in him, so would he not show you mercy if you believed in him? (11) He did not turn away the thief while he suffered, so would he not turn himself to you in expiation if you worshipped him? (12) If God is greater than the angels,¹⁵⁹ then certainly it is because he is more merciful. Every heavenly being rejoices over one sinner who repents, so how could God reject you? (13) Be of good courage, Cyprian. Christ did not come to call upon the just, but sinners to repentance.¹⁶⁰ Only repent as necessary as you shall see him come and embrace you. (14) Not only was he glad when he found the lost sheep, but he also lifted it up like a child on his shoulders so that by this action you might

¹⁵⁶ Ezek 33:11.

¹⁵⁷ The formula λέγει κύριος gives the impression that Eusebius is quoting a biblical text, but like Zahn (*Cyprian*, 58 n. 4) I have not been able to find this saying elsewhere. This “Old Testament agraphon” appears to have been constructed from three separate texts: (1) Isa 65:20: “Neither shall there be there any more a child that dies untimely, or an old man who shall not complete his time: for the youth shall be a hundred years old, and the sinner who dies at a hundred years shall also be accursed” (καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται ἔτι ἐκεῖ ἄωρος καὶ πρεσβύτης, ὃς οὐκ ἐμπλήσει τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῦ· ἔσται γὰρ ὁ νέος ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀποθνήσκων ἁμαρτωλὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν καὶ ἐπικατάρατος ἔσται); (2) Ezek 18:21: “And if the transgressor turn away from all his iniquities which he has committed, and keep all my commandments, and do justice and mercy, he shall surely live, and shall by no means die” (καὶ ὁ ἄνομος ἐὰν ἀποστρέψῃ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησεν, καὶ φυλάξῃται πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ ποιῇ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἔλεος, ζῶν ζήσεται, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ); (3) Herm. Vis. 2.2.5: “For repentance for the just has an end; the days of repentance have been fulfilled for all the saints, but for the heathen repentance is open until the last day” (ἡ γὰρ μετάνοια τοῖς δικαίοις ἔχει τέλος· πεπληρῶνται αἱ ἡμέραι μετανοίας πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγίοις· καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μετάνοιά ἐστιν ἕως ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας); cf. Ezek 18:28; 33:15; Eccl 7:15–17; and the parable at Herm. Vis. 3.12.2.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Matt 18:10–14//Luke 15:3–7.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Heb 1:4.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Matt 9:13//Mark 2:17//Luke 5:32.

ὑπερβάλλον θεοῦ πρὸς ἀγγέλους, καὶ σὺ λέγεις ὅτι ἐμὲ περιόψεται; ¹⁵ σὺ μόνον ποιήσον καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τότε μου μνησθήσῃ, ὅτε κληρονόμος ἔσῃ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ· βρέχει ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀνατέλλει τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πονηροὺς, καὶ σὺ λέγεις ὅτι ἐμὲ ἀποβάλλεται; ¹⁶ τοὺς μὴ πιστεύοντας εὐεργετεῖ, καὶ σὲ τὸν
 5 στενάζοντα οὐ προσδέξεται; ¹⁷ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα λέγει· ὅτε ἀποστραφεῖς στενάξεις, τότε σωθήσῃ, καὶ σοὶ ἐγκάρπως μετανοήσαντι οὐκ ἐπιδώσειε χάριν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ἀπόλαυσιν; ¹⁸ λέγει γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ Παύλῳ ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.

26. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν σοὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα, Κυπριανέ· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς [26]
 διδασκάλους ἴῃς, ἀκούσῃ τὰ περὶ μετανοίας σαφῶς, κάμῃ ἐν φοιτητῶν τάξει σχῆς πρὸς τὸ
 10 πλάτος τοῦ δόγματος καταπλαγείς. ² καὶ γὰρ ἄφθονοὶ εἰσι καὶ χαίροντες χεῖρα ὀρέγουσιν· οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς τύφος, οὐ στολὴ περιβλεπτος ἐπίδειξιν σημαίνουσα, οὐ σοφιστικὴ οἴησις, οὐκ ἐλπίδι μισθῶν ὑπέρθεσις ἀνελεύθερος. ³ καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαιωδῶν ἄρχονται πᾶσαν λήψεως ὑπόνοιαν ἐξορίζοντες· οὐχ ὥς οἱ σοφισταὶ ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων ἀνάγονται τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῇ κρηπίδι πλησιάσαι τῆς σοφίας παρακαλοῦσιν εὖ εἰδότες
 15 δεῖν πρῶτον τὸν θεμέλιον ὀρίζειν, ὅτι κράτιστον, εἴθ' οὕτως ἀζημίως ἐποικοδομεῖν τὰ

P q (FHS) 1 ὑπερβάλλον — περιόψεται corrumpitur in F || ἀγγέλους P : ἀνθρώπους HS || σὺ prius om. H ||
 3 αὐτοῦ q : ὡς υἱός· ὅς P || 4 σὺ om. P || ἐμὲ q : σε P || πιστεύοντας P : πιστεύσαντας FHS || τὸν om. H || 6 σοὶ
 PF : σὺ HS || τὴν om. F || 7 ἀποστόλῳ ante Παύλῳ add. q || 8 παρ' ἐμοῦ post ὀλίγα transp. q || 9 ἴῃς P :
 εἴῃς q || σχῆς P : σχεῖς FHS || 10 καὶ post χαίροντες add. F || 11–12 τύφος — ἀνελεύθερος corrumpitur in F ||
 12 οἴησις PS : οἴκησις H || τῶν om. F || 13 λήψεως ὑπόνοιαν P : λέξεως ὑπόνοιαν F λέξεως ἐπίνοιαν HS ||
 ἐξορίζοντες PHS : ἐξορίζονται F || ἐλαττόνων P : τῶν ἐλαττόνων q || ἀνάγονται P : ἀνάγουσι q || 14 ἀλλὰ χωρὶς P :
 ἀλλ' εἰ χωρεῖς q || παρακαλοῦσιν P : παρακαλοῦσί σε q || 15 ὀρίζεν P : ἐρίζειν q || ἀζημίως ἐποικοδομεῖν P :
 οἰκοδομεῖν q.

learn God's superiority to his angels, and yet you say, 'He will overlook me'?¹⁶¹ (15) You, only produce a harvest worthy of repentance and I shall remember you, because you will be an heir of his kingdom. He sends rain upon sinners and the just and makes his sun rise upon the good and the wicked,¹⁶² and yet you say, 'He rejects me'?¹⁶³ (16) He is kind to those who do not believe, so would he not receive you as one who sighs deeply? (17) He says in Isaiah, 'When you turn back and sigh deeply, then you shall be saved,'¹⁶⁴ so would he not bestow grace upon you with eternal pleasure after you repented fruitfully? (18) For it also says in Paul's writings, 'He wants all human beings to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.'¹⁶⁵

26. "And these are a few out of many, from me to you, Cyprian. When you go to the teachers, however, you will hear clearly all that pertains to repentance, and you can count me among the order of pupils since you have been overwhelmed by the breadth of our doctrine. (2) For they are without envy and rejoice at the chance to lend a helping hand. There is no arrogance among them, no fancy garment suggesting ostentation, no sophistical selfconceit, no miserly procrastination in hope of financial gain.¹⁶⁶ (3) For they begin from the fundamentals, removing all suspicion of fraudulence. They do not lead up the mind from inferior subjects as the sophists do, but, differently from them, they encourage it, so to speak, to draw near to the foundation of wisdom because they know well that it is necessary first to lay down the foundation, since it is strongest, and then build up what follows without

¹⁶¹ Cyprian actually says this of Justina (cf. 23.1 and note 140). However, that Cyprian has said this of himself may be inferred from Timothy's query to Cyprian in 13.9, "How could he overlook (ὑπερόψεται) you?"

¹⁶² Cf. Matt 5:45.

¹⁶³ Cf. 13.4.

¹⁶⁴ Isa 30:15.

¹⁶⁵ 1 Tim 2:14.

¹⁶⁶ Julian issued an edict on 17 June 362 requiring teachers to excel "first in character, then in eloquence" (*moribus primum, deinde facundia*) and reserved to himself control over the appointment of teachers (*Cod. Theod.* 13.3.5). Then, sometime between July 18 and mid-September 362, he issued a rescript effectively forbidding Christians (and, apparently, lukewarm pagans) from teaching Classical literature (see *Ep.* 36; cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 3.16; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18). The purpose of the rescript was primarily to prevent Christian teachers from using Classical texts as weapons against pagan religion (so fr. 7 Wright apud Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 3.4.2). Eusebius' speech at 22.8–14, which culls numerous exempla from Classical literature, would seem to fly in the face of this Julianic legislation, but both Eusebius and the Christian διδάσκαλοι to whom he refers would have fallen outside the confines of the legislation. According to the imperial letter, "Christian teachers of higher education who held public chairs had to resign but could continue to teach classical education privately" (R. Cribiore, *Libanius the Sophist: Rhetoric, Reality, and Religion in the Fourth Century* [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013], 231). Nonetheless, in 26.3 Eusebius compares the modest Christian διδάσκαλοι with sharp-dressed and avaricious σοφισταί, and the paedagogical methodology he espouses, if τὰ ἀκόλουθα refers to "inferior subjects" like *grammatikē* and rhetoric, could easily deteriorate into the weaponization of

ἀκόλουθα. ⁴ ὅψει ἐκεῖ σεμνήν λειτουργίαν οὐ κυμβάλοις καὶ ὀργάνοις περιηχουμένην, οὐ κρότον ἀκοὴν ἐκθηλύοντα, οὐκ αὐλοὺς ἤχουοντας λελυμένας ῥοδάς, οὐ τύμπανα ὀρμήν κλώντα ἐπεικειάς, οὐ χορὸν μουσικῇ τὸ πλεον προσέχοντα καὶ οὐκ εὐνομία, οὐ φωνὴν ἀλόγων δονοῦσαν διάνοιαν, οὐ θύματα καὶ κόπρους καθαιρομένους, οὐ ξύλα καὶ πῦρ ἀλόγων

P q (FHS) 1 λειτουργίαν **PFH**: ἀκολουθίαν **S** || 2 κρότον . . . ἐκθηλύοντα **P** : κρότους . . . ἐκθηύοντας **q** ||
3 ἐπεικειάς **q** corr. Maran (col. 1137 n. a) : ἐπὶ οἰκίας **P** || εὐνομία **q** corr. Maran (col. 1137 n. b) : εὐνομίαν **P** ||
4 δονοῦσαν — ἀλόγων om. per hapl. **S** || θύματα **P** : θυμιάματα **FH**.

fraud. (4) You will see there¹⁶⁷ an honorable service celebrated without cymbals and instruments, without rattling noises that effeminate the hearing, without flutes that sound unbounded songs of joy, without kettledrums that frustrate a desire for self-control,¹⁶⁸ without a troop of dancers who pay heed to a musical din rather than good order, without exclamations of unintelligible words that disturb the understanding,¹⁶⁹ without sacrificial victims and constantly cleaning up excrement,¹⁷⁰ without wood and

Classical literature that so detested Julian, although Eusebius himself, for the most part, refrains from such polemic and carefully confines himself to human (rather than divine) exempla.

¹⁶⁷ Eusebius' ὅψει ἐκεῖ plays on Cyprian's εἶδον ἐκεῖ refrain (cf. 1.6–8; 3.4–6, 8; 4.1–4).

¹⁶⁸ The κύμβαλον (“cymbal”), αὐλός (“flute”), and τύμπανον (“kettledrum” or “tambourine”) were the traditional instruments of the mysteries of Cybele; see, e.g., Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 119; Diogenes Tragicus, *TGF* 45 F 1.3 apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 14.38; Pindar, *Dithyr.* fr. 70b Snell [cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.13]; Catullus, *Carm.* 63.21–22; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179–214; Statius, *Achill.* 1.828–840; Virgil, *Aen.* 3.111; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 3.57.8–59.8; 5.49.1; Lucian, *Syr. d.* 50; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 3.9. The sacred formula that served as a token of initiation into the mysteries of Cybele allegedly began, “I ate from the kettledrum, I drank from the cymbal” (Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2.15.2; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 18.1). The noun κρότος can refer to the beat of dancing feet or to the sound of clashing armor (see LSJ 999a s.v.), in which case it would allude to the dance of the armored Corybantes (see note 172), but in this position it must refer to the sound of the κρόταλον (“rattle”), which was also used in the rites of Cybele (see, e.g., *Hom. Hymn.* 14.3–4; Euripides, *Hel.* 1301–1368, esp. 1308; Callimachus, fr. 761 Pfeiffer; Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.15; Lucian, *Syr. d.* 44). The author's expression οὐ κρότον ἀκοὴν ἐκθελύνοντα is brilliant polemic that kills two birds with one stone. Plato's Socrates similarly compares his own hearing of certain arguments to the Corybantes' hearing of flutes (*Crit.* 54d; cf. *Symp.* 215e), and he likens a person sickening of the desire to hear speeches to the ecstatic frenzy of a Corybantic dancer (*Phaedr.* 228b–c; cf. Lucian, *Lex.* 16; Celsus apud Origen, *Cels.* 3.16). But the author's choice of the verb ἐκθελύνειν (“to make effeminate” or more generally “to weaken”) is certainly no accident. Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.76.1–5) and Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.24.1) both report that the Scythians murdered Anacharsis because he celebrated the foreign mysteries of Cybele “with precision,” carrying a small kettledrum and hanging images (ἀγάλματα) about himself (according to Clement, it was a κύμβαλον that hung from his neck), but Clement offers the further clarification that the Scythians killed him because he had become effeminate among the Greeks and a teacher of the disease of effeminacy to the rest of the Scythians (ὥς ἀνάνδρον αὐτόν τε παρ' Ἑλλήσι γεγεννημένον καὶ τῆς θηλείας τοῖς ἄλλοις Σκυθῶν διδάσκαλον νόσου). Clement, like the author, no doubt has in mind the castrated priests of Cybele, the Galli; cf., e.g., Lucian, *Syr. d.* 51; Pseudo-Lucian, *Asin.* 35–37; Apuleius, *Metam.* 8.26–29; Julian, *Or.* 5.168c–169d.

¹⁶⁹ Demosthenes (*Cor.* 18.260) attempted to damage the reputation of his rival Aeschines by accusing him of participating in a “Dionysian” *thiasos* during which initiates paraded ecstatically through the streets while waving about serpents and dancing to the rhythm of the cries εὐοὶ σαβοὶ and ὕψις ἄττης ἄττης ὕψις. Most scholars recognize in these exclamations derivatives of the names Sabazius (σαβοὶ) and Attis (ἄττης). The interjection εἰοὶ is usually associated with Dionysian rites (see, e.g., Euripides, *Bacch.* 141; *Troad.* 325; Sophocles, *Trach.* 219; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1294; Lucian, *Bacch.* 2, 4 [in connection with τύμπανα and κύμβαλα], 6; Pausanias, *Descr.* 4.31.4), but Strabo (*Geogr.* 10.3.18) associates the exclamation εἰοὶ σαβοὶ with rites of Sabazius and Cybele (cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 4.6.671e–f; Pausanias Atticus, *Onom. synag.* v 3; Photius, *Lex.* v 37).

¹⁷⁰ Large numbers of sacrificial animals inevitably led to large amounts of excrement and long hours spent cleaning (e.g., *IG* XI.2 146.76–77: ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέπλευσεν, τὸν κόπρον ἐξενέγκασιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μισθωτοῖς κτλ.). Human and animal excrement in or around a sacred shrine was considered pollution (see, e.g., Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 394; *Ran.* 366). There are prohibitions both against dumping κόπρος in a sacred grove (e.g., *SIG*³ 986.1–2 : βολῆς γνώμ[η] ἐν τ[οῖς] ἄλσεσιν μ[ὴ] / ποιμ[α]ίνεν μηδὲ κοπρ[ε]ῖν) and against removing it from a sacred land (e.g., *LSCG* 78.21: [ἐκ] τὰς ἱερᾶς γᾶς κόπρον μὴ ἄγεν μηδεμίαν), the latter presumably because it was intended for sale. An inscription from the Vari Cave near Athens seems to prohibit the washing out of ὄνθος from the entrails of sacrificed animals within the sacred precinct (*IG* I³ 982: τάντερ' ἔχσο κλύζετ[ε] καὶ τὸν ὄνθον νίζετε). See further G. Németh, “Μεθ' ὄνθον ἐγβαλέν: Regulations concerning Everyday Life in a Greek Temenos,”

σωμάτων ἀμυντήρια, οὐχ ἱερέα οἶονεῖ ἀλόγῳ πολέμῳ καθοπλισμένον, οὐ νεωκόρους ταύρων
τροποῦντας ἰσχύν, οὐ λόγον ἀκόλαστον, οὐ γέλωτα αἰσχροτάτον, οὐ βλέμμα μετέωρον, οὐ
θοῖνην ἄτακτον, οὐ τρόπον ἀσχήμονα, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν ἡσυχίας γνώμην καὶ κατάστασιν ἄτυφον
δι' ὧν παιδευθεῖ τις ἂν ὁρῶν κομιδῇ νηπίους τὴν αὐτὴν πρεσβύταις ἔχοντας εὐταξίαν, ὥς
5 ἔκ τινος θειώδους συνθήματος οἶεσθαι τὸ νέον αὐτῶν καταβραβεύεσθαι. ⁵ πάντων οὖν ἐν

P q (FHS) 1 ἀλόγῳ πολέμῳ **PF** : ἀλόγων πολέμων **S** ἀλόγων **H** || μηχανωμένων ante ταύρων add. **q** || 2 τροποῦντας
corr. Maran (col. 1138 n. c) : τροποῦσθαι codd. || 2–3 αἰσχροτάτον — κατάστασιν corrumpitur in **F** || 3 θοῖνην
corr. Maran (col. 1138 n. d) : θύνην **PHS** || ἡσυχίας γνώμην **P** : ἡσυχίαν γνώμης **H** ἡσυχίᾳ γνώμην **S** || 4 παιδευθεῖη
τις ἂν ὁρῶν **P** : παιδευθῇ ἂν τις ἰδὼν **q** || κομιδῇ **PF** : κομιδὴν **HS** || 5 οἶεσθαι om. **H** || ἐν om. **F**.

fire as weapons against animal bodies,¹⁷¹ without priests dressed in full armor as if for some unexpected battle,¹⁷² without temple wardens who put the strength of bulls to rout,¹⁷³ without undisciplined words, without shameful laughter, without haughty glances, without disorderly feasts, without any unseemly customs, but you will see on the whole a disposition of rest and an institution that is not puffed up, through which one may be educated just as when one sees that infants have the same good order as old men, such that one would think their youth was robbed by some divine token. (5) Therefore, while

in *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence: Proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult Organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22–24 November 1991* (ed. R. Hägg; SkrAth 8.15; Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1994), 59–64; M.P.J. Dillon, “The Ecology of the Greek Sanctuary,” *ZPE* 118 (1997): 113–27. For this reason I adopt P’s θύματα over q’s θυμιάματα, although incense and fumigation can be directly linked to ritual associated with the mysteries of Cybele (see, e.g., F.M. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* [EPRO 3; Leiden: Brill, 1962], 14; M.J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* [trans. A.M.H. Lemmer; London: Thames and Hudson, 1977], 100).

¹⁷¹ Cf. esp. Lucian’s description of the Fire (or Lamp) Festival at Hierapolis (which immediately precedes his exposé of the Galli): “On this occasion the sacrifice is performed in this way: They cut down tall trees and set them up in the court; then they bring goats and sheep and cattle and hang them living to the trees; they add to these birds and garments and gold and silver work. After all is finished, they carry the gods around the trees and set fire under; in a moment all is in a blaze. To this solemn rite a great multitude flocks from Syria and all the regions around” (*Syr. d.* 49).

¹⁷² The author no doubt refers here to the Corybantic dancers of Cybele (often called Corybantes), earthly representatives of the armored Kouretes (or Corybantes) who protected the infant Zeus by dancing a pyrrhic dervish and clashing together their arms in raucous clamor (see, e.g., Euripides, *Bacch.* 120–134; Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.19). According to Ovid (*Fasti* 4.215) and Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argon.* 1.1134–1139), the tympanum and the cymbal stood in place of the shields, spears, and helmets of their mythological counterparts, but other sources (esp. Lucretius, *Rer. nat.* 2.629–643), although they confirm that the loud din was caused by instruments and not clanging armor, suggest that the Corybantic dancers indeed wore armor, most notably a plumed helmet; see N. Robertson, “The Ancient Mother of the Gods: A Missing Chapter in the History of Greek Religion,” in *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren* (ed. E.N. Lane; RGRW 131; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 292–95. The author’s earlier claim that these dancers paid heed to the musical din and not to “good order” (εὐνομία) concurs with the statements of other ancient authors. Plato claimed that the Corybantic dancers “have a sharp ear for one tune only, the one which belongs to the god by whom they are possessed, and to that tune they respond freely with gesture” (*Ion* 534a). According to Longinus, the flute “sets a measured rhythm and forces them to step in time to it and to adapt themselves to the spirit of the tune” (*Subl.* 39.2). Julian, however, claimed that “the Corybantes, when excited by flutes, dance and leap without method (ξὺν λόγῳ)” (*Or.* 3.119d). The author’s ἀλόγῳ πολέμῳ likely refers to the frenzied dance. See further I.M. Linforth, “The Corybantic Rites in Plato,” *CPCP* 13 (1946): 121–62.

¹⁷³ Epigraphic evidence confirms that temples of Cybele had νεωκόροι. Of the two inscriptions, both from Thasos, one dated to the first century BCE unquestionably belongs to her cult (*IG* XII suppl. 427 [= *CCCA* II 529]: [– – –]ριας ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Κυβέλης καὶ δις νεωκόρος ἐνέκαυσεν τὴν τράπεζαν), and attribution of a second dated to the second century CE, although Cybele is not expressly named, is probable given the location of the discovery (*IG* XII suppl. 428 [= *CCCA* II 530]: Νικαρέτη Σιμαλίωνος / νεωκορήσασα τὴν θεάν); see F. Salviat, “Décrets pour épilé fille de Dionysios: Déesses et sanctuaires thasiens,” *BCH* 83 (1959): 373 (discounting *IG* XII.8 378 as a third example); cf. H.-U. Wiemer and D. Kah, “Die phrygische Mutter im hellenistischen Priene: Eine neue *Diagraphé* und verwandte Texte,” *EA* 44 (2011): 29 and n. 107. If the author is speaking about Cybelean νεωκόροι, then the phrase νεωκόρους ταύρων τροποῦντας ἰσχύν must refer to the taurobolium, but perhaps not specifically to the slaughtering of the bull, which, if Prudentius (*Perist.* 10.1011–1050) is taken at his word—although he probably should not be (cf. Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 161)—was performed by a “high priest” (*summus sacerdos*) decked out in his Sunday best and not by a νεωκόρος, although νεωκόροι both assisted priestly officials in sacrificial duties and performed sacrifices themselves (see, e.g., Celsus apud Origen, *Cels.* 8.73; Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* 46:916b–917a; cf. S.J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* [RGRW 116; Leiden: Brill, 1993], 51–53;

κύκλω ἐστῶτων ἴδοις ἂν πόλιν ἱερὰν ἐνὶ πειθαρχοῦσαν ἡγεμόνι, ἐτέρους δὲ νεωκόρους
ἀκολουθίᾳ τάξεως τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν περιβάλλοντας. ⁶ εἴθ' οὕτως ὁ ψαλμῳδὸς ἀφαιρεῖ
τῷ λόγῳ ὕμνον καταनुκτικὸν εἰς παράκλησιν οἶονεὶ περικαθαίρων τὸ στόμα καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς
ὠδῶν κοσμικῶν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναγνώσματα. ⁷ μὴ αἰδεσθῆς οὖν τὴν πρόσοδον, ἀλλ' ἐν [27]
5 παρρησίᾳ προσπέλαξε καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπονηστεῦσαι τρίτην ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄσιτος ὢν.
⁸ καὶ κοινοτέρως ἴωμεν τέως μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐσπέρας εὐχὴν, τῇ ἐξῆς δὲ τῇ πανεόρτῳ
συνάξει ἐπιμένοντες· ἔθος γὰρ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τῇ πρώτῃ ποιεῖν ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ
μνεῖαν, μεθ' ἣν τῷ πάπᾳ προσελθόντες τὰ εἰκότα δρώμεν καὶ λέγομεν. ⁹ σαυτοῦ γενοῦ,
Κυπριανέ· τάχα γὰρ πλείονας σώσεις παρ' οὓς ἀπώλεσας κάμου μνήσθητι ὅταν εὖ σοι
10 γένηται μεθημερινά σοι ἐνύπνια διακρίνοντι πρὸς πολλῶν ὠφέλειαν.

P q (FHS) 1 ἐστῶτων **P** : περιστῶτων **q** || πόλιν ἱερὰν **P** : ἱερὰν πόλιν **S** ἱερέα πολίαν **FH** || ἐνὶ πειθαρχοῦσαν **P** :
ἐνὶ ἐμπειθαρχοῦσαν **S** ἐμπειθαρχοῦσαν **FH** || νεωκόρους **P** : om. **q** || 2 ἀκολουθίᾳ **q** conl. Maran (col. 1138 n. e) :
ἀκολουθίαν **P** || 2–3 οὕτως ὁ ψαλμῳδὸς — τὸ στόμα scripsi : οὕτως ὁ ψαλμῳδὸς ἀφελῆς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὕμνῳ
καταनुκτικὸς εἰς παράκλησιν οἶονεὶ περικαθαίρων τὰ στόματα **P** οὕτω τὸν ψαλμῳδὸν θεάσῃ ἀφελῆ (ἀφαιρεῖ **F**) τῷ
λόγῳ καὶ τὸν ὕμνον καταनुκτικὸν ἄδοντα παράκλησιν (πρόκλησιν **F**) ὁμονοίας οἶονεὶ περικαθαίροντα τὸ στόμα **q** ||
4 αἰδεσθῆς οὖν **P** : οὖν ἐπαισχυνηθῆς **H** γοῦν ἐπαισχυνηθῆς **FS** || 5 παρρησίᾳ **P** : ἀληθείᾳ **q** || καὶ om. **q** || ἀπονηστεῦσαι
scripsi : ἀπονήστησι **P** ἀπονήστεσαι corr. Maran (col. 1138.58) ἀπονηστείας **q** || τὴν om. **P** || 6 κοινοτέρως **P** :
κοινότερον **q** || μὲν om. **PS** || τῇ ἐξῆς **q** : ἐξῆς **P** || 7 ἐπιμένοντες **P** : ἐπιβαίνοντες **q** || τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τῇ πρώτῃ **P** :
τῇ μίᾳ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν **FH** τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν **S** || 7–8 ποιεῖν — δρώμεν corruptitur in **F** || 8 μνεῖαν **P** : μνεῖας
HS || οὖν post σαυτοῦ add. **q** || 9 κάμου **q** : καί μου **P**.

everyone is standing in a circle, you may see a holy city obeying a single leader and other temple wardens¹⁷⁴ in a sequence of order surrounding the holy table. (6) Then in this manner the psalmist excerpts a heart-searching hymn from Scripture to encourage unanimity, completely cleansing, as it were, the mouth and ears of earthly songs for the readings that follow. (7) Therefore, do not fear the approach, but draw near with outspokenness. Now rise and break your fast, since this is your third day without eating. (8) In the meantime we shall go together to evening prayer and continue tomorrow at the assembly kept as a high festival, for it is customary on the first of every seven days to remember Christ's resurrection. After this we shall go to the papa¹⁷⁵ and do and say what is fitting. (9) Get a hold of yourself, Cyprian, for perhaps you will save more souls than you have destroyed, and 'remember me when all goes well with you' as you interpret the dreams that come to you by day to the benefit of many people.¹⁷⁶

M. Ricl, "Society and Economy of Rural Sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia," *EA* 35 [2003]: 85–87). Numerous Latin inscriptions refer to the *vires* of bulls in conjunction with verbs like *excipere*, *consecrare*, *considerare*, etc. (see R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology* [EPRO 10; Leiden: Brill, 1969], 72–74); cf. the famous inscription *CIL* XIII 1751, recording the performance of a taurobolium in Lugdunum on 9 December 160 CE, in which Lucius Aemilius Carpus, who served as *dendrophorus* in the cult of Magna Mater, is said to have "received the powers (*vires*) and transferred them from the Vaticanum"). The generally accepted interpretation is that the *vires* are the bull's testicles, although some have suggested that they refer to the strength and potency of the entire bull (i.e., genitals, blood, and horns). The author's use of the singular *ισχύς* does not necessarily speak in favor of either interpretation, since the accusative plural *ισχύς* is quite rare and could easily have been mistaken for *ισχύς* (and hence as a scribal error). The precise meaning of *τροποῦντας* (Maran's correction from *τροποῦσθαι*) is rather difficult to determine, but certainly it is the cause of family q's addition of *μηχανωμένων*, which suggests further mechanical shenanigans (cf. 2.4 and note 22).

¹⁷⁴ The author's use of the term *νεωκόρος* here (cf. 1.4; 18.5; 26.4) requires some explanation. There was never an office of *νεωκόρος* in the early Christian church (hence it comes no surprise that the word is omitted in family q). The author may use the term here simply to stress the dissimilarities between pagan cult (esp. the mysteries of Cybele) and Christian ritual, i.e., Taurobolium vs. Eucharist. However, Philo used the term to describe the tribe of Levi in their functions as guardians, purifiers, and keepers of the temple, i.e., temple officers ranked below the Levitical priests (*Fug.* 17.90, 93; 18.94; *Mos.* 1, 58.316, 318; 2, 15.72, 31.159, 33.174, 50.276; *Praem.* 13.74; *QG* fr. 17; *Somn.* 2, 41.273; *Spec.* 1, 32.156; 2, 24.120), and Josephus to refer to temple officers responsible for rites of purification (*BJ.* 1.153; cf. 5.383, 389, using the term as a metaphor for the wilderness generation prior to the construction of the temple). Their adoption of this term is understandable since one of the responsibilities of the *νεωκόρος* was temple security (Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 51–52) and since the equivalent term in the Septuagint is *φύλαξ* (cf., e.g., Ezekiel's vision of the restored priesthood, including both *ιερείς* and *φύλακες*, esp. Ezek 44:14–15). The author uses the term *νεωκόρος* in a similar manner, but not in reference to ancient Jerusalem. The "holy city" can be none other than the holy city of Rev 21:10, i.e., the New Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁵ The term *πάπα* is colloquial for *ἐπίσκοπος* (cf. 28.2); see further A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (HTS 60; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 98.

¹⁷⁶ The quoted text derives directly from Gen 40:14 LXX (ἀλλὰ μνήσθητί μου διὰ σεαυτοῦ, ὅταν εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ποιήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔλεος καὶ μνησθήσῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ Φαραω καὶ ἐξάξεις με ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλῳματος τούτου) and closely parallels John Chrysostom's citation of this verse in *Ad illum. catech.* 1.1 (μνήσθητί μου, ὅταν εὖ σοι γένηται [*PG* 49:223]). The text that follows is similar to a passage in Philo's treatise on Joseph (*Ios.* 24.143): "it is necessary that the statesman as well as the philosopher should approach the science of the interpretation of dreams, so as to understand the dreams and visions which appear by day to

(17) 27. ἐγὼ οὖν ἀναστὰς ἀπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τὰ στέρνα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 προθέμενος πατέρα καὶ ἄγγελον ἀπεκάλουν· καὶ μέσον ἔχοντες ἑαυτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ τοῦτου
 υἱὸς συνηλικιώτης μου ὦν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μοι τῶν γραμμάτων διατριβῆς γεγονώς, εὐσεβείᾳ δὲ
 προὔχων, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος οἴκαδε ἀγαγόντες παρτίθουν τὰ πρέποντα.² εἴθ' οὕτως ἀπήειμεν
 5 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν χορὸν οὐρανίων εὐοκίτα θεοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἢ χορῶ ἀγγέλων
 θεῷ ἀναμέλποντι Ἑβραϊκῇ τε λέξει ἐκάστω στίχῳ ἐπάγοντι μιᾷ φωνῇ, ὡς πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς
 μὴ εἶναι ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ φύσιν λογικὴν σύγκλυδον ἀπηχοῦσαν θαυμάσιον ἦχον ὃν οἱ
 προφήται θανόντες διὰ τῶν ζώντων πάλιν προεφήτευσαν.³ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι οὐδὲν ἤττον ὥς [28]
 παρόντες ἐφθέγγοντο οὐ χρήζοντες ἐρμηνείας· ἀπλούστατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἐν διανοαῖς
 10 συγκείμενοι.⁴ καὶ δὴ τὸ πλῆθος ἐθαυμάσαν ἡμῶν τὴν εἴσοδον ὥστε ξενισθῆναι· καὶ πάλιν
 οἱ καταχθέντες ἡσυχάσαμεν.

28. καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς εἶπον· πάτερ Εὐσέβιε, καὶ ἡμεῖς καίωμεν τὰς βίβλους τοῦ διαβόλου;
 (18) ² δημοσίᾳ οὖν τοῦτο δράσαντες εἶδομεν καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πάντα καθὼς μοι ἐνετείλατο
 ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄγγελός μοι γεγονώς Εὐσέβιος ἀκηκόαμεν.³ ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε καὶ ἡ ἀγία Ἰουστίνη
 15 τὰς κόμας ἀποκειραμένη καὶ τὸν θάλαμον σὺν τῇ προικί διοικήσασα διπλὴν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ

P q (FHS) 1 ἐγὼ οὖν **P** : ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν **q** || τὰ στέρνα **FH** : στέρνα **PS** || 2 ὀφθαλμοῖς post προθέμενος add. **q** ||
 καὶ ἄγγελον om. **q** || καὶ... ἐαυτῶν **P** : καὶ... με ἐαυτῶν **q** || 3 μοι om. **q** || 4 παρτίθουν **PFS** : παραδίδουν **H** ||
 τὰ πρέποντα **P** : τὰ δὲ πρέποντα **S** τὰ δέοντα **FH** || 5 ἦν om. **P** (cf. §§ 10.2 et 10.6) || χορὸν οὐρανίων — ἢ χορῶ **P** :
 χώρον οὐράνιον χωρῶ **q** || 6 θεῷ **P** : τῷ θεῷ **H** τὸν θεὸν **FS** || ἐκάστω στίχῳ **P** : ἐν τῷ στίχῳ **q** || ἐπάγοντι **q** :
 ἐπαγαγόντες **P** || 7 αὐτοὺς post εἶναι transp. **q** || φύσιν — ἀπηχοῦσαν **P** : φύσιν τινὰ (ἐτέραν add. **FH**) λογικὴν
 σύμφωνον ἐξηχοῦσαν **q** || ὃν om. **q** || 8–9 θανόντες — παρόντες corrumpitur in **F** || 9 εἰσιν **P** : ἦσαν **q** || λιταῖς
 post λόγοι add. **q**.

C P q (FHS) 10 τότε οὖν ante καὶ δὴ add. **C** || ἐθαυμάσαν... ὥστε ξενισθῆναι **C** : θαυμάσαν... γέγονε ξενισθῆναι
 (ἡμᾶς **q**) **Pq** || 11 οἱ καταχθέντες **Pq** : οἱ κατατελθόντες **C** || 12 καὶ ἡμεῖς **C** : διατί μὴ **P** τί μὴ **q** || 13 οὖν τοῦτο
 δράσαντες **P** : γοῦν τοῦτο δράσαντες **q** τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες **C** || ἐνετείλατο **C q** : ἐπηγγέιλαιτο **P** || 14 ὁ om. **P** ||
 γεγονώς **q** : γενόμενος **P** || Εὐσέβιος om. **H** || ὁ — Εὐσέβιος (vide ante) : ὅθεν τέλος γέγονεν ὦν εὐσεβῶς **C** || τὴν
 ἐπιστροφὴν μου post Ἰουστίνη add. **q** || 15 κόμας **q** : ἀκοὰς **C** τρίχας **P** || λύχνους ἄψασα καὶ θεῷ τὴν δόξαν δοῦσα
 post ἀποκειραμένη add. **q** || καὶ τὸν θάλαμον — διοικήσασα **C P** : πάντα τε τὰ γονικά αὐτῆς πωλήσασα διένειμεν τοῖς
 πένησι **q** || πένησι διέμεινε post διοικήσασα add. **P**.

27. Then I stood up and put my arms around him, and as I embraced him tightly I called him father and angel. And both he and his son, who was the same age as me and who, even though he had been in the same school of learning as me, excelled in piety, held me in between them as though I were some other person and led me to their home where they served a suitable meal. (2) Then in this manner we went off to the church and it was possible to see the choir, which was like a choir of heavenly god-men or angels singing praises to God and supplying a Hebrew diction to each verse in a single voice, so that one would believe that they were not human, but rather a crowd of waves, dialogic in nature, reechoing the marvelous sound that the prophets who have died prophesied back when they were alive.¹⁷⁷ (3) The apostles, too, as though they were present, spoke just as loudly and clearly, without requiring interpretation. For the words they composed in their minds are devoid of rhetorical flourish.¹⁷⁸ (4) Moreover, the multitude marveled at our admission so that as a result they received us as a guest. Then they led us down to the house once more, and there we rested.

28. And on the next day I said, “Father Eusebius, shall we also burn the books of the devil?”¹⁷⁹ (2) Then, after doing this in public, we went to see the bishop and we heard everything just as Eusebius, who seemed to me an angel in human form, had promised me.¹⁸⁰ (3) And when she heard the news the holy maiden Justina, who had also cut her hair short¹⁸¹ and had been keeping house in her apartment

those who believe themselves to be awake” (παρελθόντα δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ σοφὸν τὴν ὄνειροκριτικὴν τὰ μεθήμερινά ἐνύπνια καὶ φάσματα τῶν ἐγγηγορέναι δοκούντων διακρίνειν).

¹⁷⁷ See further M. Klinghardt, “Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion,” *Numen* 46 (1999): 1–52, esp. 23 n. 65. According an interpolation in the Coptic translation the choir supplied the Hebrew word Hallelujah (הלל יהוה) after each verse; cf. BnF copt. 129¹⁵ fol. 16v, col. ii.35 (ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ); von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 28; Pierpon Morgan Library, M609 fol. 89r, col. ii.9–10 (ⲭⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ); Bilabel, “Studien,” 137. The author contrasts the serene, ocean-like calm of the ecclesiastical choir (χορός) with the orgiastic mayhem of the Corybantic troop (χορός) of armed dancers.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Celsus’ allegation that the disciples of Jesus despised mere elegances of style (οἱ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαθηταί, οἱ μακρὰν χαίρειν εἰπόντες τῇ ποικίλῃ τῶν λέξεων συνθέσει [Origen, *Cels.* 7.60]).

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Conv.* 11.1–5; *Mart.* 2.6. See further D. Sarefield, “Bookburning in the Christian Roman Empire: Transforming a Pagan Rite of Purification,” in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (ed. H.A. Drake; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 287–96; cf. idem, “Burning Knowledge,” 73–89, esp. 84–85.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. 26.7.

¹⁸¹ Presumably Cyprian has cut his hair short (cf. 24.5 and note 148); cf. *Acts Paul Thec.* 25. The author continues his Cybele-Christ comparison and contrasts the repentant “Kourokomos” with the long-haired Kouretes, i.e., the Corybantic dancers of Cybele. According to Archemachus (*FGH* 424 F 9 apud Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.6), the mythological Kouretes “let their hair grow long behind but cut short the part in front, and because of this they were called Κούρητες, from the cut of their hair (ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς)” (for further etymological speculation, see Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.8).

τῇ ἐμῇ μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας ἀποταξάμενος τῷ διαβόλῳ
 <τάς ἑαυτοῦ βίβλους> ἐνέπρησεν, ὅτι τὸ ξίφος τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἑαυτῷ περιέπειρεν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ
 πλήξαντος αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγίας Ἰουστίνης καὶ ἡμῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν δεδωκότος. ⁴ ἐπεὶ δὲ
 καγὼ διένειμον τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἤμην σὺν τῷ πατρὶ Εὐσεβίῳ γενομένῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς
 5 ἐκκλησίας τυχὼν τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁵ ἐξηγωνιζόμενῃ κηρύττων πᾶσι καὶ πολλοὺς
 πείθων ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦν ᾧ πρέπει
 πᾶσα δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

C P q (FHS) 15 [p. 236]–1 διπλὴν — τὴν εὐχαριστείαν **C** : διπλὴν ἡγησαμένη σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐμὴν μετάνοιαν **Pq** ||
 καὶ post γὰρ om. **C PF** || Ἀγλαΐδας **C^{ac} P** : Ἀγλαΐδης **C^{pc} P** : Ἀγλαΐδος **q** || 1–2 τῷ διαβόλῳ τάς ἑαυτοῦ βίβλους
 scripsi : τὸν διάβολον codd. || 2 ἐνέπρησεν ὅτι **C P** : ἐνέπρησε **q** || περιέπειρεν **C P** : περιπεύραντα **HS** || 2–3 τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ — δεδωκότος **C** : τοῦ (δὲ add. **S**) Χριστοῦ πλήξαντος ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰουστίνης σωτηρίαν δίδυμον **Pq** || 4 ἑμαυτοῦ
 ante πράγματα add. **HS** || 2–4 ἑαυτῷ — πατρὶ corrumpitur in **F** || 4 πρεσβυτέρῳ γενομένῳ **FH** || 4–5 γενομένῳ
 — ἐκκλησίας om. **S** || 5 ἀγίας ante ἐκκλησίας add. **F** || τοίνυν post τυχὼν add. **q** || ἐξηγωνιζόμενῃ **P** : ἐξῆς ἡγωνιζόμενῃ
C τῇ ἐξῆς ἡγωνιζόμενῃ **q** || καὶ om. **C** || 6 κύριον **C q** : τὸν κύριον **P**.

C P q (FHNS) 6–7 ἀλλὰ καὶ — ἀμήν **C** : ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ
 δόξα, κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν **P** ὅθεν καὶ πεισθέντες προσετέθησαν δι' ἐμοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· πάντῃ γὰρ
 αὐτῆς τὴν πλάνην ἐθριάμβευσα, ὥς καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκπιών· τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ
 παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι· δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ (καὶ om. **FN**) κράτος καὶ προσκύνησις (καὶ νῦν add. **H**) εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν **FHNS**.

by means of her dowry, gave double thanks for my repentance, for in fact Aglaïdas had also renounced the devil and burned his own books, seeing that he was about to run the sword of destruction through himself, because Christ had stricken him through the holy maiden Justina and granted us salvation.¹⁸²

(4) Then I also distributed my things to the poor and I was with father Eusebius, who became presbyter of the church, when I obtained the seal of Christ. (5) I struggled hard as I preached to everyone and persuaded many to turn to the Lord, but they were also persuaded by the Lord and Christ Jesus, to whom all glory is due, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always, and forever, amen.

¹⁸² The passage concerning Aglaïdas is hopelessly corrupt. All translators agree that Aglaïdas renounces the devil (Zahn, *Cyprian*, 63; Grimal, *Romans grecs*, 1413; Fumagalli, *Cipriano*, 74), but this requires a dative (τῷ διαβόλῳ). Zahn (*Cyprian*, 63 n. 1) correctly notes that the object of ἐνέπρησεν is missing (so Grimal, *Romans grecs*, 1537). I supply the object τὰς ἐαυτοῦ βίβλους on the basis of the Coptic translation, which reads ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲱⲱⲩ ⲁⲓⲗⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲟⲩⲁⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲓⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲱⲩⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲉ ⲧⲥⲛⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲣⲧⲱⲣⲥ ⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ (Pierpont Morgan Library, M609 fol. 91v, col. i.18–27; Bilabel, “Studien,” 142): “And Aglaïdas himself renounced (ἀποτάσσομαι) the devil (διάβολος) and burned the books that were in his possession, because he had pierced the sword of death in himself.” For the “mixed” construction ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩ, see B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect* (PLO Neue Serie 20; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 67–68 (§ 82). The Vienna fragment K 9514 has a similar reading, but with ⲛⲕⲱⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲓⲧⲟⲥ (Bilabel, “Wiener Fragment,” 449.34–44), which would suggest τὰς μαγικάς βίβλους αὐτοῦ or the like. I am doubtful, however, that this reconstruction can be the original text since there is nothing to indicate that Aglaïdas ever possessed magical books of his own—it is, after all, his lack of expertise in magic that prompts him to consult Cyprian the magician—and since nothing is said about Aglaïdas’ bookburning in Photius’ summary of Eudocia’s metaphrasis (but nor is mention made of a curtailed suicide): “Aglaïdas, Justina’s unpleasant lover, having failed in his objective, then distributed his wealth to the poor, rejected the demons as false, and accepted instead the Christian faith” (*Bibl. cod.* 184 [2:198.7–11 Henry]). The Latin version omits the passage about Aglaïdas (see Fell, *S. Caecilii Cypriani opera*, 60b; Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, 3:1644), and the Slavonic version closely follows family q, but here the passage about Aglaïdas, although still corrupt, is slightly different, reading instead но и Аглаида отвергъся діавола, вонъзи мечъ в того, иже бѣ заклалъ (Palauzov, *Великие Минеи Четыи*, col. 79): “Aglaïdas plunged the sword into the one who stabbed [object missing (him/himself?)] to death.” On any reading, however, the passage clearly has to do with Aglaïdas’ impending suicide attempt in 9.4 (see note 75). On the “sword of destruction,” see Eusebius’ speech at 22.9–18 and esp. *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 7.3.1 (ἀγνοίας αἰτία καθ’ ἐαυτῶν ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐπισπασάμενοι τὸ τοῦ ὀλέθρου ξίφος).

SIGLA
(BHG 455)

Recensio A

- F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1485, ff. 38r–40r (saec. X).
G Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 520, ff. 62r–65r (saec. X–XI).
H Mount Athos, Μονή Σταυρονικήτα 10 (Lambros 875), ff. 354r–356r (saec. XI).
N Ohrid, Народен музеј 4 (Mošin 76), pp. 200r–205r (saec. X).
V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 866, ff. 125v–126v (saec. XI–XII).
X Saint Petersburg, Российская национальная библиотека, греч. 213 (Granstrom 283), ff. 119r–121r (saec. XI–XII).

Recensio mixta (recensio A + recensio B)

- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1468, ff. 88v–90v (saec. XI).

Correctiones, emendationes, etc.

- Franchi de' Cavalieri P. “Dove il sepolto i SS. Cipriano, Giustina e Teoctisto?” Pages 333–54 in *Note agiografiche* 8. Studi e testi 65. Vatican City, 1935.
Nock A.D. “Hagiographica II. Cyprian of Antioch.” *JTS* 28 (1927): 411–15.
Klee J. “Martyrium Sanctorum martyrum Cypriani et Justinae a auctore anonymo ex bibliothecae regiae Parisinae codice 520 collato cum cod. 1485.” *AASS* 47 [Sept. VII] (1867): 224–28.
Zahn T. *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage*. Erlangen, 1882.

< ΠΡΑΞΙΣ Γ' >
MARTYRIUM TON AGION KYPIRIANOY KAI IOYSTINHS

- (1) 1. τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων πληρουμένων τῶν τε λόγων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [1]
περὶ τῆς σπορᾶς τοῦ σίτου τῶν τε ζιζανίων πληθυνομένων τοῦ τε λαοῦ σκορπιζομένου τοῦ
τε λύκου σοβοῦντος τὴν ποίμνην ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς δι' ἐπιστολῶν πάντας διωρθωσάμενος
κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν πολλοὺς ἀνέσπασε πλανωμένους ἐκ τῆς θήρας τοῦ λύκου. ² ὁ
5 δὲ ἀρχέκακος ὄφεις βασκαίνων ὑπέβαλεν Εὐτολμίῳ τῷ κόμητι τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὅτι Κυπριανὸς
ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν Χριστιανῶν καθεῖλε μὲν τὴν δόξαν τῶν θεῶν, γοητεύει δὲ πάντας ἅμα τινὶ
παρθένω καὶ ἀνασεῖει πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην δι' ἐπιστολῶν. ³ ὁ δὲ κόμης
θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ὑπὸ δεσμοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς
ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς τὴν Δαμασκόν.

A (FGH NVX) **P** tit. μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης **VX** μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Κυπριανοῦ
καὶ Ἰουστίνης **G** μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Κυπριανοῦ καὶ Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθένου **N** μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ
ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰουστίνης τῆς παρθένου **P** titulus corrumpitur in **F** sine titulo **H** || 1 νῦν post λόγων add.
FGH || τῶν τε **A** : καὶ τῶν **P** || 2 τοῦ τε Ναυάτου ἀστοχήσαντος περὶ τὴν πίστιν post πληθυνομένων add. **P** || τοῦ τε
P : καὶ τοῦ **A** || 3 σοβοῦντος **A** : συλοῦντος **P** || τοῦ Χριστοῦ post ποίμνην add. **FGH** || πάντας δι' ἐπιστολῶν **FGH** ||
4 μὲν post πολλοὺς add. **NVX** || 5 ὄφεις βασκαίνων **A** : καὶ βάσκανος ὄφεις διὰ ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων (ὑπουργῶν
cett.) **P** || 6 ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν Χριστιανῶν **FGH NX P** : τις Χριστιανὸς **V** || μὲν om. **A** || 7 Ἰουστίνι post παρθένω
add. **P** || καὶ αἰνιγμάτων post ἐπιστολῶν add. **P** || 8-9 ἐκέλευσεν — Δαμασκόν **A** : τὸν ἅγιον Κυπριανόν ἅμα τῇ
παρθένω ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκέλευσεν **P**.

ACT III.
THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINTS CYPRIAN AND JUSTINA

1. While the words of the prophets and the words of our Lord Jesus Christ concerning the sowing of wheat' were being fulfilled and the weeds were being multiplied and the people were being scattered and the wolf was driving away the flock of Christ, the holy Cyprian restored everyone to order in every city and village through his letters² and pulled many of those who had gone astray out from the wolf's trap. (2) But the mischievous serpent who bewitches whispered in the ear of Eutolmius, the Count of the East,³ that a Christian teacher named Cyprian had destroyed the glory of the gods and partnered with a certain virgin was spellbinding everyone and stirring up the entire East and the whole Roman Empire through his letters. (3) Enraged, the Count ordered that they present themselves in Damascus in fetters and under every security measure of the magistrates.⁴

¹ Cf. Matt 13:24–30, 36–43.

² No pseudepigraphical letters attributed to Cyprian of Antioch are known; there is, however, a fragment of a Coptic homily attributed to Cyprian of Antioch on the subject of neglecting Sunday mass in Pierpont Morgan Library, M664B(26) (see Depuydt, *Catalogue*, 1:128–29 no. 63, 2:pl. 70). The author of the *Martyrdom* must have taken this detail from the life of the historical Cyprian of Carthage, a prolific author of letters. This is further supported by the interpolation τοῦ τε Ναυάτου ἀστοχήσαντος περὶ τὴν πίστιν after πληθυνομένων in P (the same interpolation appears in manuscripts of recension B). Novatian of Rome controversially maintained that lapsed Christians who had denied the faith and sacrificed to pagan gods under the pressures of the Decian persecution were not to be received back into the church (Ναυάτος, by the way, was the standard Greek spelling for Novatian, i.e., this does not refer to the Carthaginian priest Novatus, who was initially a laxist and favored the acceptance of such apostates back into the church with no probation but who later joined in the Novatianist cause and became a rigorist). Cyprian of Carthage supported Cornelius, bishop of Rome from 251–253 CE, who had adopted a mean between the extremes of laxist and rigorist propositions, arguing in *De lapsis* and numerous letters for readmission of the lapsed with probationary periods to be determined according to the gravity of the apostasy; see further J.L. Papandrea, *Novatian of Rome and the Culmination of Pre-Nicene Orthodoxy* (PTMS 175; Eugene, Oreg.: Pickwick, 2011), 47–72. On the Novatian controversy in Antioch, see Downey, *A History of Antioch*, 308–9.

³ The origins of the office of *comes Orientis* are obscure. According to John Malalas (*Chron.* 13.4), Constantine appointed Flavius Felicianus as the first *comes Orientis* in the year 335 CE. Malalas' report, which Downey accepts (*A History of Antioch*, 650 and n. 2) but T.D. Barnes rightly disputes (*The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982], 109, 142), is the only extant literary source for the institution of the office. In any case, there was no such office during the reign of Diocletian. There can be no doubt, however, that the author's Eutolmius is Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, who served as *comes Orientis* under Valens from 370–374 CE (see *PLRE* 1:876–78 s.v. Tatianus 5), even though the author places him anachronistically under the reign of Diocletian (cf. esp. note 13 below). Downey's assertion that the name Eutolmius "must be a later addition since the office of *comes Orientis* had not yet been instituted at this time" (*A History of Antioch*, 329 n. 51) is inaccurate. Such anachronistic nomenclature is typical in martyrologies of the period (cf. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 59); this may have been a way for Christian authors to save themselves from directly polemicizing against contemporary pagan rulers. The fictional setting during the Great Persecution under Diocletian was an obvious choice and is not unique to this author.

⁴ The *comes Orientis* was based at Antioch (in Syria), not Damascus. The author's placement of Eutolmius' persecution in Damascus is most likely intended to evoke Saul's failure to persecute Christians in Damascus (Acts 9:1–19); cf. *Conf.* 24.1.

2. προσαχθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν ὁ κόμης· σὺ εἶ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν Χριστιανῶν,
 ὁ πολλοὺς ποτε συναθροίσας τῇ δυνάμει τῶν θεῶν, νυνὶ δὲ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου
 ἐμφαίνων ἀπάτης περικλύζεις τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκοάς, προκρίνων τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον τῶν
 ἀθανάτων θεῶν; ² ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς λέγει· σὺ δὲ εἶπέ μοι πῶς τολμᾷς ἑαυτὸν συνιστᾶν
 5 τῷ κόμπῳ τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ τῆς διαβολικῆς μανίας; ἐγὼ γὰρ πρώην ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ σήμερον
 ἤμην ἐζωγρημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσκοτισμένος. ³ πολλοὺς
 μὲν ἀπέκτεινα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πορνεύειν ἐποίησα· ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔσωσέ με ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τῆς
 ἀγίας ταύτης παρθένου· σχολαστικὸς γάρ τις ὀνόματι Ἀγλαΐδας ὁ τῶν Κλαυδίου ἐρασθεὶς
 αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ νόμῳ ἦν ἀσπαζόμενος γάμον· καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσας πρὸς με ἐλθὼν ἠξίωσέ με τῆς
 10 τοῦ φίλτρου μανίας ἐπαπολαύειν αὐτῇ. ⁴ ἐγὼ δὲ θαρρῶν ταῖς βίβλοις μου ταῖς μαγικαῖς [2]
 ἔπεμψα δαίμονα πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξήρανε τῇ σφραγίδι τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔως

A (FGH NVX) P 1 προσαχθέντων ... αὐτῶν ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν **P** : προελθόντας ... αὐτοὺς ἡρώτα **A** || Κυπριανέ ante
 σὺ add. **P** || 1–2 τῶν Χριστιανῶν — τῶν θεῶν *corrumpitur in F* || 2 ποτέ πολλοὺς **X** || τῇ δυνάμει τῶν θεῶν **A** :
 τῇ μαγείᾳ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τῶν θεῶν **P** || νυνὶ **FGH P** : νῦν **NVX** || δὲ om. **NX** || 2–3 διὰ τῆς — ἀπάτης **FGH NX** :
 διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου γόητας, τὴν δόξαν μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀποστρέφει, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου ἐμφέρων ἀπάτην **V**
 διὰ τῆς γοητείας τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου ἐμφαίνων ἀπατήσῃ **P** || 3 προκρίνων **FGH NX P** : προτιμῶν **V** || 4 ἀθανάτων
FGH : ζώντων **NVX P** || δὲ prius om. **FGH** || πρὸς αὐτὸν post λέγει add. **P** || σὺ δὲ εἶπέ μοι **A** : ἄθλιε **P** || τολμᾷς
 ἑαυτὸν συνιστᾶν **A** : ἑαυτὸν συνέστησας **P** || 5 καὶ prius **FGH** : καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ **X** πλουτῶν **NV P** || τῆς διαβολικῆς
 μανίας **FGH NX P** : τῇ διαβολικῇ μανίᾳ **V** || πρώην ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ σήμερον **FGH NX** : ἐγὼ γὰρ ὡς σὺ ἔφης **V P** ||
 6 καὶ om. **FGH** || τῇ σοφίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων **FGH NX** : τῇ Ἑλλήνων σοφίᾳ **P** τῇ Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίᾳ **V** || 7 μὲν
 ἀπέκτεινα, πολλοὺς om. per hapl. **P** || δὲ om. **N** || ἐποίησα **P** : ἐποίησα ἐδούλωσα **V** ἐδούλωσα **NX** ἐδίδαξα **FGH** ||
 ἀλλὰ νῦν **FGH NX** : ἀλλ' **V** καὶ **P** || 8 παρθένου ταύτης **V** || ὀνόματι Ἀγλαΐδας **NX** : ὀνόματι Ἀγλαΐδος **FGH** Ἀγλαδὸς
 ὀνόματι **V** Ἀγλαΐδης **P** || 8–2 [p. 248] ἐρασθεὶς αὐτῆς — τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἐλπίδος (§ 3.6) *evanuit in H* || 9 αὐτῆς
FG V : ταύτης **NX P** || καὶ τῷ νόμῳ — ἀνύσας **FG NX** : καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσας, νόμῳ τὸν γάμον βουλόμενος ἐπιτελέσαι,
 πέμψας αὐτῇ διὰ πλειόνων **V** καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσας, νόμῳ τὸν γάμον αἰτούμενος, καὶ μὴ δὲ ὅλως ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ὑπεῖξας **P**
 || με **FG P** : ἐμέ **NVX** || 9–10 τῆς ... μανίας ἐπαπολαύειν **F** : τῇ ... μανίᾳ ἐπαπολαύειν **G** τὴν ... μανίαν ἐπαπολύειν
X τὴν ... μανίαν ἀπολύειν **V** τὴν ... μανίαν ἀπολύσαι **P** || 10 ἐγὼ δὲ **FG NX P** : κἀγὼ **V** || ταῖς βίβλοις μου ταῖς
 μαγικαῖς **FG NX P** : ταῖς μαγικαῖς μου βίβλοις **V** || 11 δαίμονα πρὸς αὐτήν **FG NX** : αὐτῇ δαίμονα **V P**.

2. When they had been brought forward the Count asked Cyprian, “Are you the teacher of the Christians who formerly gathered many together through the power of the gods, but now that you have accepted the deception of the one who was crucified, you whitewash the ears of men, preferring to advance the one who was crucified instead of the deathless gods?” (2) The holy Cyprian said, “Tell me how you deign to associate yourself with this vaunt of arrogance and devilish madness? For previously I had been held captive and blinded by the wisdom of the Greeks,⁵ just as you are today. (3) I killed many and forced many others to become prostitutes,⁶ but now Christ has saved me through this holy maiden. For there was a certain learned man from the house of Claudius named Aglaïdas who fell in love with her, and he welcomed the idea of marriage according to the law,⁷ but since he was not able to accomplish this, he came to me and offered to pay me to acquire⁸ her by means of the madness of a love potion. (4) And being confident in my magical books⁹ I sent a demon against her, but she paralyzed it with the sign of Christ. But I also sent as many as three archontic demons, and these she lay low with

⁵ Cf. *Conf.* 4.4.

⁶ These details must derive from the *Confession* since no mention is made in the *Conversion* of Cyprian’s former misdeeds (aside from the demonic assault on Justina); for πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινα, cf. *Conf.* 14.5; 18.1, 6, and for πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πορνεύειν ἐποίησα, cf. *Conf.* 14.2; 15.1.

⁷ Cf. *Conv.* 3.2–3; *Conf.* 10.9.

⁸ The verb ἐπαπολαύειν literally means “to revel in,” but the entire clause could perhaps also be rendered “to profit from the madness of a love charm against her.”

⁹ The same statement is made at *Conv.* 6.5 (καὶ θαρρῶν ταῖς μαγείαις), but with respect to Cyprian’s conjuration of the second of the three demons.

τρίτου ἀρχοντικοῦ δαίμονος ἔπεμψα, καὶ τούτους κατέστρωσε τῷ αὐτῷ σημείῳ. ⁵ ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσπούδασα μαθεῖν τὴν τοῦ σημείου δύναμιν πολλὰ ὀρκίσας τὸν δαίμονα· καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων μαστιγωθείς πάντα μοι ἀνήγγειλε. ⁶ τότε ἐγὼ ἀνανήψας τῷ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐπισκόπῳ προσήνεγκα τὰς μαγικάς μου βίβλους· παρόντων καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς πόλεως ἐνέπρησεν αὐτὰς ἐν πυρί. ⁷ διὸ καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων μανίας καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπου ὁ θεὸς εὐσεβῶς δοξάζεται· καὶ τότε γνώσει τὴν ἀνίκητον δύναμιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

- (2) 3. ὁ δὲ κόμης ὀργισθεὶς θυμῷ ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας συνειδήσεως ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κρεμασθέντα ξέεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀγίαν παρθένον ὠμοῖς δέρμασι μαστίζεσθαι κατ' ἄμφω ἀλλήλων. ² ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἤρξατο λέγειν· δόξα σοι ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἀναξίαν με οὖσαν οἰκείωσας πρὸς τὸ σὸν θέλημα καὶ κατηξίωσάς με ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου τοῦτο παθεῖν. ³ τῶν δὲ δημίων ἀτονησάντων καὶ τῆς ἀγίας ὑμνούσης τὸν θεὸν ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι αὐτούς. ⁴ τοῦ δὲ ἀγίου Κυπριανοῦ ἐπὶ πλέον ξεομένου οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν ὅλως. ⁵ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κόμης· διὰ

A (FGH NVX) P 11 [p. 244]–1 ἀλλὰ καὶ — ἔπεμψα (om. NX) FG NX : ἕως καὶ (om. V) τρίτου καὶ (ἕως add. V) αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρχόντος αὐτῶν V P || 1 κατέστρωσε FG : ἔτρωσε NX || 1–2 καὶ τούτους — ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσπούδασα (vide ante) : τούτων δὲ τροπωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἐσπούδασα V καὶ τούτου τροπωθέντος τῷ αὐτῷ σημείῳ ἐσπούδασα οὖν λοιπὸν P || 2 ἀγὼ post μαθεῖν add. P || πολλὰ ὀρκίσας τὸν δαίμονα FG NX : ὀρκώσας τὸν δαίμονα P ὀρκώσας τὸν δαίμονα τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει V || καὶ om. V || 2–3 δαίμων — μαστιγωθείς A : ἐμπυριζόμενος ὑπ' ἀγγέλων P || 3 πάντα μοι ἀνήγγειλεν A : ἐλάλησέ μοι ταῦτα διότι κακίας ἦν εὐρετῆς καὶ πάντος πράγματος δεινοῦ P || 4 προσήνεγκα — βίβλους P : προσαγαγὼν μου τὰς βίβλους FG NX προσφέρω τὰς βίβλους V || ἅπερ ante παρόντων add. P || καὶ om. NX || καὶ ante ἐνέπρησεν add. V || ἐνέπρησεν V P : ἐνέπρησα FG NX || 5 αὐτὰς scripsi : αὐτὰ V om. FG NX P || ἐν om. X P || καὶ prius om. NVX || σε παρακαλῶ FG || ἀπαλλαγῆναι NVX P : ἀποστῆναι FG || εἰσελθεῖν G (cf. § 3.9) : ἐλθεῖν F NVX P || 6 τὸν οἶκον NVX : τὴν δόξαν FG || ὁ θεὸς scripsi : ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς FG θεὸς VX P || καὶ ἀληθῶς post εὐσεβῶς add. FG || γνώσει N : γνώσῃ FG VX P || 8 ὀργισθεὶς θυμῷ FG NX : ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς V ὀργισθεὶς καὶ ζέσας τῷ θυμῷ P || ἰδίας G NX P : οἰκείας F || συνειδήσεως FG NX P : ἀληθείας V || 9 κρεμασθέντα ξέεσθαι P (cf. § 3.8) : κρεμασθῆναι καὶ ξέεσθαι A || ἀγίαν FG : μακαρίαν NVX P || μαστίζεσθαι FG : σκοτοφυλίζεσθαι NX P || 9–10 κατ' ἄμφω ἀλλήλων FG : ἄμφω ἀλλήλων NX P ἐκατέρωθεν V || 10 ἀγία ante παρθένος add. P || ἤρξατο λέγειν FGH NX : λέγει V P || ὁ θεός FGH V P : Χριστέ N om. X || με ἀναξίαν P || οἰκείωσας G NVX : καὶ τὸ πρὶν ξένην, οἰκείωσω P || 11 κατηξίωσας NVX P : καταξίωσας G || τοῦτο NVX P : ταῦτα G || 10–12 με οὖσαν — τῶν δὲ δημίων corrumpitur in F || 12 παρθένου post ἀγίας add. P || 12–13 τοῦ δὲ — ἐπὶ πλέον A : ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ ὀσίου P || 13 οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν ὅλως F : ὅλως οὐκ ἔμειξεν P οὐκ ἔγρυξεν ἔνεκεν τῶν βασάνων G X οὐκ ἤσθάνετο τῶν βασάνων N οὐκ ἀνестένανεν ἔνεκεν τῶν βασάνων V || λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κόμης F : λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κόμης V πρὸς δὲ τὸν κόμητα λέγει G NX καὶ λέγει ὁ ἄγιος Κυπριανὸς τῷ κόμητι P.

the same sign. (5) I hastened to learn the power of the sign and adjured the demon repeatedly; and the demon, since it was being flogged by angels, reported everything to me in detail.¹⁰ (6) Then, when I had returned to my senses, I brought my magical books to the bishop, and he burned them in a fire in the presence of the foremost men of the city.¹¹ (7) Therefore, I implore you to depart from the madness of the idols and to enter into God's house, where God is glorified in a godly manner,¹² and then you will know the unconquerable power of Christ."

3. Now, the Count, wroth with anger at being crossexamined by his own conscience, ordered that Cyprian be strung up and flogged and the holy maiden Justina lashed with coarse leather whips, each within view of the other.¹³ (2) And the maiden began to say, "Glory to you, God, because you made me who am unworthy a friend to your will and deemed me worthy to suffer this torment for your name's sake." (3) But when the executioners had become exhausted and the holy maiden continued singing praises to God, Eutolmius ordered them to stop. (4) But while the holy Cyprian was being flogged much more severely, he showed concern for absolutely nothing. (5) The Count said to him, "What have you

¹⁰ Clearly the author's source is the *Conversion*, as indicated by the reference to "three archontic demons." Since the only demon that Cyprian questions repeatedly is the third demon, and this demon is the only one that reveals to him the power of the sign of the cross, the final datum that the demon was being flogged by angels most likely derives from the demon's description of the torture device (φούρκελλος) applied to both humans and (fallen) angels at *Conv.* 10.11.

¹¹ Since the author relies primarily on the narrative of the *Conversion*, ἐπέπρησεν (VP) is preferable to ἐνέπρησα (FG NY). It is the bishop (not Cyprian) who burns the magical books (see *Conv.* 11.5); other recensions of the *Martyrdom* supply the bishop's name, Anthimus. In the *Confession*, however, the bookburning is performed by both the churchman Eusebius and Cyprian (see *Conf.* 28.1–2).

¹² Cf. *Conf.* 26.2–6; 27.2–3.

¹³ Although Libanius once praised Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus for his treatment of Antioch (*Or.* 10.37), he also criticized him in his oration against Flavius Florentius (see *PLRE* 1:364–65 s.v. Florentius 9) for adopting the cruel practice of flogging offenders to death—apparently in reference to the time when Eutolmius held office as *consularis Syriae* and *comes Orientis* (so *PLRE* 1:877 s.v. Tatianus 5e)—at *Or.* 46.8: "It was his father [sc. Florentius' father] who first dared to inflict death by blows, and in that regard he had a disciple in [Flavius Eutolmius] Tatianus, and another in his son [sc. Florentius]. I thought that the latter, being ashamed of those examples, would imitate neither the one nor the other, nor become a beast instead of a man. But no doubt he thought that he would not really be governor if he neglected to do such things. The doctors, being called by the parents of each, would recoil when they saw the deep lacerates dug by whips in their bodies because they did not have suitable remedies. And only then, when he heard about these things, did that 'admirable man' consider himself a true governor" (καὶ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἐτόλμησε πληγαῖς ἐργάσασθαι θάνατον, οὗ μαθητὴν ἔσχε Τατιανόν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὸν υἱόν. καὶ ὥμην γε τοῦτον ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐκεῖνων αἰσχυρόμενον μηδετέροις ἔψεσθαι μηδ' ἄντ' ἀνθρώπου θηρίον ἔσεσθαι, ὃ δ' ἄρα ἐνόμιζεν οὐδ' ἄρχων γεγενῆσθαι μὴ τοιαῦτα ποιήσας. ἐφ' ἃ καλούμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκάστοις οἰκείων παῖδες ἱατρῶν ὀρώντες τοὺς ὀρωρυγμένους ὑπὸ τῶν μαστιγῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι βόθρους ἀνεπήδων ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἀποχρῶν. καὶ τότε ὄντως ἄρχειν ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐνόμισεν, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπύθετο); see further M. Casella, *Storia di ordinaria corruzione: Libanio, Orazioni LVI, LVII, XLVI* (Pelorias 19; Messina: Di.Sc.A.M., 2010), 74–76, 116–17, 278–81; cf. P. Petit, *Les fonctionnaires dans l'oeuvre de Libanius: Analyse prosopographique* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 541; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1994) 111 no. 119 (Florentius IX); Brown, *Power and Persuasion*, 57.

τί ἀπονενόησαι; ⁶ ὁ δὲ μακάριος Κυπριανὸς λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· σὺ ἀπονενόησαι ἀποστάτης
 ὦν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δραπετῆς τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν ἐλπίδος καὶ ἄπεγνωσμένος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν
 οὐρανῶν εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ φθάσαι σπουδάζω, εἴ γε καταξιωθῶ διὰ τῶν βασάνων τούτων. ⁷ ὁ δὲ [3]
 τύραννος οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τῶν βασάνων εἰπὼν· εἰ βασιλείαν σοι οὐρανῶν περιποιούμαι,
 5 μείζουσιν ὑποβληθήσῃ βασάνοις. ⁸ καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν καθαιρεθέντα βληθῆναι ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ,
 τὴν δὲ ἀγίαν παρθένον εἰς τὰ Τερεντίου προέταξεν εἶναι. ⁹ εἰσελθούσης δὲ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν
 οἰκίαν ἐφωτίσθη πᾶς ὁ οἶκος τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ.

- (3) 4. μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κόμης προσαχθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγει τῷ μακαρίῳ
 Κυπριανῷ· μὴ ἀπάτῃ καὶ μαγείᾳ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτείνει θελήσῃτε.
 10 ² ὁ δὲ μακάριος Κυπριανὸς λέγει· οὗτος ὁ θάνατος τοῖς ποθοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰώνιον ζωὴν
 περιποιεῖται. ³ τότε ὁ κόμης σύννους γενόμενος ἐκέλευσε τήγανον πυρωθῆναι καὶ βληθῆναι
 ἐν αὐτῷ πίσσαν καὶ κηρὸν καὶ στέαρ καὶ βληθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν μακάριον Κυπριανὸν ἅμα τῇ
 παρθένῳ. ⁴ τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου ἐμβληθέντος οὐχ ἥψατο αὐτὸν τὸ πῦρ· τῆς δὲ ἀγίας παρθένου

A (FGH NVX) P 1 Κυπριανέ post ἀπονενόησαι add. V || ὁ δὲ μακάριος — πρὸς αὐτόν F : λέγει αὐτῷ μακάριος V ||
 ὁ δὲ μακάριος — ἀπονενόησαι om. per hapl. G NX P || 2 τοῦ θεοῦ F V : θεοῦ P om. G NX || τῆς εἰς (τὸν add. V)
 Χριστὸν ἐλπίδος NV : τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἐλπίδος P τῆς ἐλπίδος εἰς Χριστὸν X τῆς ἐλπίδος Χριστοῦ G τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν
 πίστεως F || καὶ ἄπεγνωσμένος G NX : καὶ ἀπερριμμένος H V ἄπεγνωσμένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ P || 2–3 καὶ ἄπεγνωσμένος
 — σπουδάζω (vide ante) : ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιγινωσκόμενος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν φθάσαι σπουδάζω F ||
 3 εἴ γε GH NVX : ἐὰν P ἵνα καταξιωθῶ F || διὰ τῶν βασάνων τούτων P : διὰ τῶν βασάνων τούτων ἐπιτυχεῖν τῶν
 αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν F διὰ τῶν βασάνων ὧν θεωρεῖς V om. GH NVX || 4 σοι οὐρανῶν FGH V : οὐρανῶν σοι P οὐρανῶν
 NX || 5–13 μείζουσιν ὑποβληθήσῃ βασάνοις — τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου ἐμβληθέντος (§ 4.4) evanuit in H || 5 αὐτὸν —
 φυλακῇ A : αὐτὸν κατενεχθέντα εἰς τὴν φρουρὰν βληθῆναι P || 6 τὴν δὲ ἀγίαν παρθένον A : καὶ τὴν μακαρίαν P ||
 Τερεντίου FG NX : Τερεντίνης P Τερεντίνης τῆς ματρώνης V || προέταξεν V : προσέταξεν FG NX ἐκέλευσεν ante
 εἰς P || εἶναι scripsi : εἶναι codd. sic etiam Klee (p. 225.47) || 6–7 εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν A : ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ P || 7 Τερεντίνης
 post οἶκος add. P || τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ NX : τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ F V χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ P τῇ χάριτι τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ G || 8 προσαχθῆναι G NVX : πάλιν προσενεχθῆναι P || μακαρίῳ om. G || 8–9 μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας —
 μὴ ἀπάτῃ καὶ μαγείᾳ corrumpitur in F || 9 τεθνηκός FG NX : τεθνεώτος V P || ἀποκτείνει θελήσῃτε A : θέλετε
 ἀπολέσθαι P || 10 ὁ διὰ Χριστὸν post θάνατος add. P || 11 τότε ὁ κόμης A : ὁ δὲ P || γενόμενος FG NX : γενάμενος
 V γεγωνώς P || 12 βληθῆναι F NVX : ἐμβληθῆναι P || ἐν αὐτῷ F P : ἐκεῖ NVX || πίσσαν — ἐν αὐτῷ om. per hapl. G
 || κηρὸν NX P : κηρίον F V || μακάριον FG VX P : ἅγιον N || 13 τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου — τὸ πῦρ A : τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς μὴ
 ἀπτομένου αὐτοῦ, ἣν γὰρ πρῶτος εἰσελθὼν ὁ μακάριος Κυπριανός P || ἀγίας παρθένου FGH V : ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ
 παρθένου NX ἀγίας P.

lost your mind?” (6) And the blessed Cyprian said to him, “It is you who have lost your mind, because you are an apostate from God and a runaway from hope in Christ and have rejected the kingdom of heaven, into which I am eager to arrive first, if, that is, I am deemed worthy on account of these torments.” (7) But the tyrant did not put a stop to the tortures and said, “If I do not gain possession of your kingdom of heaven, you will be subjected to even greater tortures.” (8) And he ordered that Cyprian be taken down and thrown into prison, but he had arranged beforehand to send the holy maiden to the house of Terentius.¹⁴ (9) And as she entered into the house, his entire home was illuminated by the grace of God.

4. After a few days the Count ordered that they be brought forward, and he said to Cyprian, “Do not kill yourselves for the fraud and sorcery of one dead man.”¹⁵ (2) The blessed Cyprian replied, “This death acquires eternal life for those who long for him.” (3) Then the Count, after some moments deep in thought, ordered that a cauldron be set down on a fire and that pitch and wax and fat be thrown into it and that Cyprian be thrown into it along with the virgin. (4) And when the blessed Cyprian had been thrown in, the fire did not touch him, but when the holy maiden drew near, the demon that hates all

¹⁴ The most plausible historical candidate for the author's Terentius is the homonymous *dux et comes Armeniae* from 369–374 CE (see *PLRE* 1:881–82 s.v. Terentius 2). As both *dux* and *comes* Terentius governed the whole of Armenia (the *comes Armeniae* governed Armenia Maior, the *dux Armeniae* Armenia Minor). Both Eutolmius and Terentius governed simultaneously (Eutolmius from 370–374 and Terentius from 369–374), but certainly they would not have had recourse to interact over such matters as these. Terentius was a general under Valens and is best known for his military campaigns in Armenia and Iberia; in 370 he installed Pap as king of Armenia (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 27.12.10)—although years later Terentius would plot against him—and in the summer of the same year he restored Sauromaces as king of Iberia (*Res. gest.* 27.12.16). On Terentius' military campaigns in Armenia, see esp. N. Lenski, “The Chronology of Valens' Dealings with Persia and Armenia, 364–378 CE,” in *Ammianus after Julian: The Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26–31 of the Res Gestae* (ed. J. den Boeft et al.; MBCBSup 289; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 95–127; J. den Boeft et al., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXX* (PHCAM 11; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–29. Terentius was also a pious, orthodox Christian who enjoyed a correspondence with Basil of Caesarea (see *Ep.* 99, 105, 214, 215, 216). Ammianus' description of Terentius as *demisse ambulans semperque submaestus, sed quo ad vixerat, acerrimus dissensionum instigator* (30.1.2) likely alludes obliquely and sardonically to his Christian piety; see G. Sabbah, *La méthode d'Ammien Marcellin: Recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les Res Gestae* (Collection d'études anciennes; Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1978), 238 n. 61; V. Neri, *Ammiano e il Cristianesimo: Religione e politica nelle “Res Gestae” di Ammiano Marcellino* (Studi di storia antica 11; Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 1985), 214 nn. 68–69. According to Basil's *Ep.* 214, by the year 375 Terentius had retired from service and was living a contemplative life in Antioch (only to be called back into service that year); on the date of this letter, see Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile: Lettres* (3 vols.; Collection des universités de France; Paris: Société d'édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1957–1966), 2:202. Theodoret further claimed that when Valens asked Terentius to choose a reward for his military service in Armenia, he asked that a church be given to the orthodox, a petition which Valens summarily tore to shreds (*Hist. eccl.* 4.33 [271.4–13 Parmentier-Scheidweiler]). It is surely no coincidence that Terentius in the *Martyrdom* appears to be a closet Christian (cf. 6.2).

¹⁵ Cf. *Conf.* 20.14 and the accompanying note.

- ἐλθούσης ἐγγὺς ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων δειλίαν ὑπέβαλεν. ⁵ τότε λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος
 Κυπριανός· δεῦρο ἢ ἀμνάς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ τὰς πύλας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνοίξασά μοι καὶ δείξασά
 μοι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ τοὺς δαίμονας νικήσασα καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν εἰς οὐδὲν
 ἡγησάμενη τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ· πῶς νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄλλοτρίου ἐλήφθης; ⁶ ἢ [4]
 5 δὲ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιήσασα ἐπέβη τῷ τηγάνῳ. ⁷ καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφοτέροι ἀναπαυόμενοι
 ὡς ἐπὶ δρόσῳ, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν μακάριον Κυπριανόν· δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ· τοῦ
 γὰρ διαβόλου ἐκπεσόντος ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν τὰ σύμπαντα εἰρήνης πεπλήρωται. ⁸ Χριστὸς γὰρ
 ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν διάβολον ἐτροπώσατο καὶ τῇ σταυροφόρῳ δυνάμει τὸν κόσμον ὤκτειρήσε.
⁹ διὸ εὐχαριστῶ σοι, θεέ καὶ κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους, ὅτι ταύτην τὴν κόλασιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου
 10 ἐκτελῶ, καὶ παρακαλῶ σε, ἵνα τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν ὁσφρανθῇς ὡς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας.
5. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ κόμης εἶπεν· ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐλέγξω ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῆς μαγείας
 (4) ὑμῶν ἐκπομπεύσω. ² Ἀθανάσιος δὲ τις συγκάθεδρος ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλος, ἱερεὺς δὲ πρῶτος

A (FGH NVX) **P** 1–8 τότε λέγει — τὸν διάβολον ἐτροπώσατο (§ 4.8) *evanuit in H* || 1–2 τότε — Κυπριανός
FG : τότε λέγει ὁ μακάριος Κυπριανός τῇ παρθένῳ **N** αὐτῇ λέγει ὁ μακάριος Κυπριανός **X** ὁ δὲ μακάριος Κυπριανός
 λέγει αὐτῇ **V** καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος Κυπριανός **P** || 2 μοι *post* δεῦρο *add.* **FG** || ἢ *alterum om.* **P** || τὰς *om.* **V** ||
 μοι ἀνοίξασα **A** || 3 ἀμνησίκακον *ante* δόξαν *add.* **P** || νικήσασα **A** : κατισχύνασα **P** || 4 πῶς — ἐλήφθης **NVX** :
 πῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ ἄλλοτρίου ἐλήφθης **P om.** **FG** || 5 ἄγια *post* δὲ *add.* **P** || τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ **NVX** :
 σταυροῦ τύπον **P** τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος **FG** || ποιήσασα **A** : ποιησάμενη **P** || 6 ἐπὶ δρόσῳ **NVX** : ἐπὶ δρόσου
FG ἐπὶ δρόσῳ τῇ Ἀερμών **P cett.** *recensiones* || ὡς **FG NV** : ὡς καὶ **V om.** **X** || ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία *post* εἰρήνη *add.*
G P || 6–7 δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις — τοῦ γὰρ διαβόλου *corrumpitur in F* || 7 ἐκπεσόντος **A** : πεσόντος **P** || τὰ σύμπαντα
 εἰρήνης πεπλήρωται **A** : καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν τῇ γῇ πᾶσα εἰρήνη ἀφείρητο **P** || 8 ἐλθὼν **FG NX** : παθόντος **V**
 παραγενόμενος **P** || γῆς **G V** : τῆς γῆς **F NX P** || τὸν διάβολον ἐτροπώσατο **FG NX P** : διάβολος ἡσυχυνη **V** || τὴν δὲ
 εἰρήνην ἐκράμευς *post* ἐτροπώσατο *add.* **P** || καὶ τῇ **FGH NX** : τῇ **V** τῇ γὰρ **P** || αὐτοῦ *post* σταυροφόρῳ *add.* **N** ||
 8 τὸν κόσμον ὤκτειρήσε **FGH** : τοὺς μὲν (*om.* **NX**) οἰκείους αὐτοῦ ὤκτειρήσε, τὸν δὲ διάβολον ἄδου (*om.* **X**) οἰκήτορα
 ἐποίησε (*πεποίηκε NX*) **NX P om.** **V** || 9 πατέρων *post* θεῷ *add.* **NVX P** || ὅτι **A** : ὑπὲρ οὗ κατηζήσας παρασχέσθαι
 ἡμῖν **P** || ταύτην τὴν κόλασιν **GH** : τὴν κόλασιν ταύτην **F** ταύτην τὴν κρίσιν **NVX P** || 10 ἐκτελῶ **A** : ἐκτελέσαι **P** ||
 παρακαλῶ σε **FH NX** : νῦν παρακαλῶ σε **V** παρακαλῶ **G** ἔτι εὐχαριστῶ σοι **P** || τὴν θυσίαν **NX** : τῆς θυσίας **G** τὰς
 θυσίας **F** τὴν θυσίαν τῆς ὀλοκαρπώσεως **V** τὴν ὀλοκαύτωσιν τῆς θυσίας **P** || ὁσφρανθῇς **NX P** : ὁσφρανθεὶς προσδέξῃ **F**
 ὁσφρανθῇς προσδεξάμενος **G** δοξάμενος ὁσφρανθῇς **V** || ὡς **NVX P** : εἰς **FG** || 10–5 [p. 252] ὡς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας —
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς (§ 5.4) *evanuit in H* || 11 ταῦτα *post* δὲ *add.* **V** || σήμερον *om.* **P** || ὑμᾶς *om.* **V** || καὶ *om.* **V** ||
 12 ἐκπομπεύσω **FG** : οὐκ ἀποκρύψω **NX om.** **V P** || τις συγκάθεδρος **A** : ὁ συγκάθεδρος αὐτοῦ **P** || ὢν αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλος
F VX : αὐτοῦ ὢν καὶ φίλος **N** αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλος ὢν **G** φίλος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων σφόδρα **P** || ἱερεὺς δὲ πρῶτος **FG NX** : ἱερεὺς
 δὲ πρῶτος τῶν εἰδώλων **V** καὶ ἱερεὺς περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων πλάνην **P**.

that is good provoked her cowardice. (5) Then the blessed Cyprian said to her, “Come, lamb of Christ, who opened the gates of heaven to me and showed me the glory of Christ, who conquered the demons and rendered their ruler powerless with the crossbearing power of Christ. How have you now been seized by the enemy?” (6) Justina then made the sign of the cross over her body and stepped into the cauldron. (7) And they were both resting in it as though they were lying in a pool of dew,¹⁶ so that the blessed Cyprian said, “Glory be to God in the highest and peace on earth, for when the devil fell down from heaven everything at once had been made full of peace. (8) For when Christ came down to earth he put the devil to flight, and he had pity on the world through his crossbearing power. (9) For this reason I give thanks to you, God and Lord of mercy, that I may bring this torture to completion for your name’s sake, and I call upon you so that you catch the scent of our sacrifice as a fragrant odor.”¹⁷

5. Upon hearing these words the Count said, “Today I shall put you to shame and perform the same feat with the craft of our magic.” (2) Then Athanasius,¹⁸ who was one of the Count’s advisers and

¹⁶ P’s addition of τῇ Ἀερμών, which also appears in the other recensions, derives from Ps 132:3 LXX: ὡς δρόσος Ἀερμών ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Σιών, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐνετείλατο κύριος τὴν εὐλογίαν.

¹⁷ This a strange statement for a Christian author to make. Martyrdom is likened to pagan sacrifice (the statement is perhaps inspired by Cyprian’s discussion of sacrificial κνῖσα in the *Confession*; see esp. *Conf.* 7.5 and the accompanying note). Never mind the fact that the existence of a martyrial κνῖσα implies that Cyprian and Justina, however impervious to the pain, are indeed being boiled alive. Cf. *Conv.* 12.2 and the accompanying note.

¹⁸ The author has most likely taken the name Athanasius from the *Martyrdom of Saint George*, which contains a tale of magical contest between Saint George and a magician named Athanasius: “Athanasius held up a drinking-cup, invoked the names of demons, and gave it to George to drink, but nothing unnatural happened to him. Athanasius said to the king [sc. Dadianus], ‘King, I can still perform one more feat against him, but if he should suffer nothing, I, too, shall go over to the one who was crucified.’ And Athanasius held up a drinking-cup, invoked the names of demons more evil than the first, and gave it to George to drink, but nothing unnatural happened to him. Then Athanasius said to the martyr, ‘Servant of God, George, lamp of truth, show me the cross of Christ the Son of God who came into the world to save all who have gone astray, have mercy on my soul and give me the seal of Christ, so that the gatekeeper of truth might open the door to me.’ When he saw what happened the king ordered that Athanasius be driven out of the city and killed by the sword on 23 January, a Sunday, at the seventh hour. And thus his martyrdom was completed” (translating K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* [ABAW 25.3; Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911], 21.30–22.4, see further 2.III, 5.5–16, 28.26–33). In some versions Athanasius first shows proof of his magical powers by whispering into a bull’s ear and splitting the bull into two equal portions; see 18.13–19, 21.17–26 Krumbacher; cf. E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia: The Coptic Texts* (Oriental Text Series 1; London: D. Nutt, 1888), 209–10. That the name Athanasius is a not-so-thinly-veiled reference to Athanasius of Alexandria was long ago recognized by E. Gibbon, *History*, 3:125 n. 124 (quoted in the introduction to the *Conversion* in § 1.1); cf. Budge, *The Martyrdom*, XXXI. The anti-Arian bishop Athanasius was accused of sorcery (Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 4.10.5; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gest.* 15.7.8; Athanasius, *Apol.* 60.1–4; cf. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians*, 265–66) and was later replaced by the pro-Arian bishop George “the Cappadocian.” Since there is no apparent reason for giving the priest-magician here the name Athanasius—note esp. that Gregory of Nazianzus composed a panegyric in honor of Athanasius (*Or.* 21), whom he praised for combatting Arianism—it is reasonable to suggest that the author has borrowed the name from the *Martyrdom of Saint George*. See further my comments in the introduction (§ 3.2).

λέγει αὐτῷ· <ἐάν> κελεύση με ἡ ἀρετὴ σου ἐπὶ τῷ βρασμῷ τοῦ τηγάνου στήναι ἐπὶ τῷ
 ὀνόματι τῶν θεῶν, καὶ νικήσω τὴν νομιζομένην δύναμιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ³ ἐπιτρέψαντος οὖν τοῦ
 κόμητος τῷ Ἀθανασίῳ, καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ τηγάνῳ λέγει· μέγας ὁ θεὸς Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ὁ
 πατὴρ τῶν θεῶν Ἀσκληπιός, ὁ τὴν υἱείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχων. ⁴ καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ
 5 προσεγγίσας τῷ βρασμῷ τοῦ τηγάνου κατεκυριεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἡ γαστήρ αὐτοῦ
 διερράγη καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ ἐξεχύθη· ὁ δὲ μακάριος Κυπριανὸς ἄμωμος ἦν σὺν τῇ

A (FGH NVX) P 1 αὐτῷ **FG** : κόμητι **NVX P** || ἐάν supplevi || κελεύση με **NX** : κελεύσει με **FG V** ἐμέ κελεύσει **P** ||
 ἡ ἀρετὴ σου — στήναι **A** : ἡ σὴ ἀρετὴ ἐπιβῆναι ἐν τῷ βρασμῷ τοῦ τηγάνου **P** || 2 αὐτῶν post νικήσω add. **P** ||
 2-3 ἐπιτρέψαντος — Ἀθανασίῳ, καὶ **V** : καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ κόμης (ὁ δὲ κόμης ἐπέτρεψε **P**) τῷ Ἀθανασίῳ· καὶ ὁ
 Ἀθανάσιος **FG NX P** || 3 προσελθὼν **FG NX P** : εἰσελθὼν ἐν **V** || εἰ post μέγας add. **FG NX** || ὁ prius om. **N** ||
 3-4 ὁ πατὴρ τῶν θεῶν **FG NVX P** : ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν ὄλων conl. Nock || 4 Ζεὺς post θεῶν add. **V** || παρέχων **A** : παρέχον
 Klee (p. 226.12-13) χαριζόμενος **P** || καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν om. **VP** || 5 μόνον ante προσεγγίσας add. **FG** || προσεγγίσας
 — ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς [**F**]**G NX** : καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν αὐτὸν τῷ βρασμῷ τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ ἐκυρίευσεν **V P** cett. recensiones ||
 κατεκυριεύθη — καὶ ἡ corrumpitur in **F** || 6 ἐξεχύθη **VX P** : ἐξελύθη **N** ἐγυμνώθησαν (ἐξεγυμνώθησαν **F**) καὶ τὰ
 ὅσα αὐτοῦ διεσπαράχθησαν καὶ ἐξεχύθησαν **FGH** || μακάριος om. **G** || ὁ δὲ . . . ἄμωμος ἦν **NX** : ἦν δὲ ὁ . . . ἄμωμος **P**
 ὁ δὲ . . . ἄμωμος ἔμεινε **FGH**.

also his friend, but first and foremost a priest, said to him, “If your excellency orders me to stand in the cauldron’s boiling liquid in the name of the gods, then I shall conquer the alleged power of Christ.”

(3) The Count gave Athanasius permission, and as he approached the cauldron Athanasius said, “Great is the god Heracles¹⁹ and the father of the gods, Asclepius, who gives health to humankind.”²⁰ (4) And when he had said these things and had drawn near to the boiling cauldron, he was overcome by the fire and his belly burst open and his guts spilled out,²¹ but the blessed Cyprian remained unblemished and

¹⁹ For collections of μέγας acclamations, see A.D. Nock, “Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire,” *JHS* 45 (1925): 86–87; E. Peterson, *Heis theos: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur antiken “Ein-Gott”-Akklamation* (ed. C. Marksches; Ausgewählte Schriften 8; Echter: Würzburg, 2012), 196–210 (§§ IV.3.b–d). Note esp. Aristides’ acclamation upon being healed of a stomach ailment after incubation in an asclepium at Smyrna (*Or.* 48.7): “Great is Asclepius! The order is accomplished” (μέγας ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, τετέλεσται τὸ πρόσταγμα). The mention of Heracles may derive from the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (see the preceding note), although the parallel acclamation is professed by the governor Magnentius (μέγας εἰ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς Ἡράκλειος καὶ Ἀπόλλων [7.27–28 Krumbacher]), not Athanasius; for further references to Heracles, see 4.24, 6.5, 13.18, 17.10, 20.34, 22.30, 24.10–11, 31.15, 34.10, 42.6, 45.3–4 Krumbacher (cf. note 25 below). The mention of Asclepius is one of the author’s own contributions (see the following note).

²⁰ Nock doubted the authenticity of the description of Asclepius as ὁ πατήρ τῶν θεῶν (“Cyprian,” 414) and suggested the possibility of a textual corruption, namely that “ὁ σωτήρ τῶν ὄλων involves very slight changes (CP for ΠP), and would be much easier” (“Cyprian,” 415 n. 4), noting the absence of the phrase and the separation of Zeus and Asclepius in Symeon Metaphrastes’ revision: Δία καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπιβοησάμενος, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοῦ αἰθερίου τε καὶ περιγείου πυρὸς ἄρχοντα, τὸν δὲ ὡς τοῦ ὑγαίνειν χορηγὸν νομιζόμενον (*PG* 115:876c). But there are several votive inscriptions dedicated to Zeus-Asclepius, e.g., from Epidaurus: [Γαῖ]ος Ἰο[ύ]λιος Ἀ[σι]ατικός, ἱεραπολήσας ἔτους πᾶ, κελεύσαντι Διὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ Σωτήρι (*IG* IV².1 399; dated 204 CE); [. . .] ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιῷ Διὶ κατὰ ὄναρ (*IG* IV².1 470; first-fifth century CE); Πό(πλιος) Αἰλῖος [— —] πυρο[φορή]σας Ἀσκληπιῷ Διὶ Τελείῳ (*IG* IV².1 481; second century CE); from Hermione: Ξενοτίμος Πολυκλέος Δάματρι Χθονίαι Διὶ Ἀ[σκ]λαπιῷ (*IG* IV 692 [*CIG* 1198]); and from the asclepium in Pergamum: Διὶ Σωτήρι Ἀσκληπιῷ Αἰμ(ῖλιος) Σαβείνος καὶ Ἐρεννιανὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξω θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων σωθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ (see E. Boehringer, “Die Ausgrabungsarbeiten zu Pergamon im Jahre 1965,” *AA* 30 [1966]: 456; cf. C. Habicht and M. Wörle, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* [Altertümer von Pergamon 8.3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969], 102–3 no. 63, Taf. 21); see further H. Schwabl, “Zeus I: Epiklesen,” *RE* 10A (1972): 280.48–281.8. Through the benefaction of L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, consul ordinarius of Pergamum in 142 CE, a temple to Zeus-Asclepius was erected at the Pergamum asclepium; see Aristides, *Or.* 42.4; 47.45; 78; 49.7; 50.28, 43, 46, 83, 107; Galen, *Anat. admin.* 1.2 [2.224–225 Kühn]; H. Hepding, “Πουφίνον Ἄλσος,” *Phil* 88 (1933): 90–103. The temple was a miniature replica (approximately one half the size) of the Pantheon in Rome, which Hadrian had recently restored in 118–128 CE; see further O. Ziegenaus, *Das Asklepieion: Teil 3. Die Kultbauten aus römischer Zeit an der Ostseite des heiligen Bezirks* (Altertümer von Pergamon 11.3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), 30–76; A. Petsalis-Diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wonders: Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asklepios* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 194–203. The phrase ὁ πατήρ τῶν θεῶν Ἀσκληπιός is the equivalent of Ζεὺς Ἀσκληπιός; the addition of Ζεὺς followed by an interpunct before Ἀσκληπιός in V appears to be a scribal attempt at correction. For descriptions of Asclepius as the supreme deity of the universe, see esp. Aristides, *Or.* 42.4 and 50.55–56, which renders improbable Nock’s suggestion (“Cyprian,” 415) that Asclepius is here identified with Eshmoun.

²¹ The manner of Athanasius’ death may have been inspired in part by the death of Judas Iscariot in Acts 1:18 (οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτίσαστο χωρίον ἐκ μίσθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάγχσεν μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ). That a priest of Asclepius, however, would die in such a manner is obvious polemic against the cult of Asclepius and is surely intended as irony. There are numerous reports of miraculous healings of stomach disorders though the prescriptions of Asclepius, often revealed to the afflicted during periods of incubation, see, e.g., *IG* IV².1 122 § XXVII.38–45 (ulcer) and § XLI.122–129 (tapeworm); *IG* IV².1 126 (indigestion); Aristides, *Or.* 47.61–68 (stomach tumor) and 49.10–13 (stomach illness; see the preceding note); Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 5.89 (stomach ailment); cf. Aelian, fr. 89 Hercher; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.8.

παρθένῳ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν.⁵ τότε λέγει ὁ κόμης· τάχα ἀνίκητός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ· [5]
τοῦτο δὲ μόνον μέλει μοι, ὅτι τὸν ἱερέα καὶ μόνον ὄντα φίλον μου ἀπέκτεινεν.

6. καλέσας οὖν Τερέντιον τὸν συγγενὴ αὐτοῦ λέγει· τί ποιήσω τοῖς κακούργοις τούτοις;
² λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Τερέντιος· μηδέν σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους τούτους· μὴ δὲ ἀντίπιπτε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ,
5 ἀνίκητος γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀλλὰ παράπεμψον αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ δηλῶν
(5) τὰ κατ' αὐτούς.³ ὁ δὲ κόμης γράφει ἀναφορὰν τοιαύτην· Διοκλητιανῷ καίσαρι τῷ γῆς
καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότη χαίρειν· κατὰ τὸν θεσμόν τῆς βασιλείας σου συνέλαβον Κυπριανὸν

A (FGH NVX) P 6 [p. 252]–1 ἄμωμος — δοξάζων (vide post) : ἅμα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐδόξαζεν **V** || 1 μακαρίᾳ ante παρθένῳ add. **X** || δοξάζων **FGH N** : αἰνῶν καὶ δοξάζων **P** δοξαζόντων **X** || τότε **A** : καὶ **P** || λέγει ὁ κόμης **NVX P** : ἀνέκραξεν ὁ κόμης λέγων **FGH** || ἀληθῶς post τάχα add. **P** || 2 τοῦτο — μοι **A** : οὐδέν μοι μέλλει **P** || ἀλλ' ante ὅτι add. **P** || μόνον ὄντα φίλον μου **FGH** : μόνον φίλον μου **NX** φίλον μου **V** ἐμὸν φίλον **P** || 3 Τερέντιον om. **X** || συγγενὴ **FGH** : συγγενέα **NVX P** || αὐτῷ post λέγει add. **P** || τοῖς κακούργοις τούτοις **FG** : τοὺς κακούργους τούτους **NVX P** || 4 λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Τερέντιος **A** : ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος λέγει **P** || καὶ post σοι add. **P** || 5 ὁ θεὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν **FGH** : ἡ δύναμις τῶν Χριστιανῶν **NX** ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ **V P** || αὐτούς **FGH NX P** : αὐτῶν **V** || 6 γράφει **A** : ἔγραψεν **P** || Διοκλητιανῷ (post δεσπότη in codd.) huc transposui et Κλαυδίῳ (ante καίσαρι in codd.) omisi : Διοκλητιανῷ secl. Zahn (p. 69 n. 5) sed cf. § 7.7 || μεγίστῳ ante γῆς add. **P** || γῆς **FH NVX P** : τῆς γῆς **G** || 7 τῆς βασιλείας σου **A** : τῆς σῆς βασιλείας **P** || συνέλαβον **A** : συνελαβόμην **P**.

continued glorifying God with the maiden Justina.²² (5) The Count then said, “The power of Christ quickly proves unconquerable!”²³ But all I care about is this, that he killed the priest, who was also my only friend.”

6. Eutolmius therefore called over his compatriot Terentius and said, “What shall I do with these criminals?” (2) Terentius said to him, “Have nothing to do with these holy people. Do not neglect the truth, for the God of the Christians is unconquerable.”²⁴ Send them away to the Emperor instead and explain all the charges against them.” (3) So the Count wrote the following report: “To Caesar Diocletian, master of earth and sea, greetings. According to the ordinance of your highness I have arrested Cyprian,

²² According to Nock, “the whole setting of the tale seems to rest on no sort of local tradition: it is a product of the imagination” (“Cyprian,” 415). The account, however, appears rather to be based partly on the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (see notes 18 and 19), but primarily on a fireproofing spectacle similar to the one Hippolytus describes at *Haer.* 4.32.2: “[The magicians] put a cauldron full of tar on burning coals, and after it boils, they put their hands in it but are not burned” (πίσσης λέβητα μεστόν ἐπ’ ἀνθράκων καιομένων τιθέντες, ἐπὰν βράσῃ, καθιέντες τὰς χεῖρας οὐ καίονται [120.8–9 Marcovich]). After briefly describing other spectacles of fireproofing and firewalking Hippolytus states, “And if, let’s say, someone demands that [the magician] display (δεικνύναι) Asclepius, he makes this invocation: ‘Zeus, thou immortal though long-perished child of Apollo!’ . . . When he ceases this jest a fiery Asclepius appears from the floor” (*Haer.* 4.32.3–33.1); see M.D. Litwa, *Refutation of All Heresies* (WGRW 40; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 148–51. The invocation, which consists of eleven hexameters, is of course made to Zeus-Asclepius, just as the magician Athanasius’ invocation. Hippolytus rattles off one magic trick after another in rapid succession and it is very difficult to know how interconnected the fireproofing spectacles and the theophanic ritual (on which compare Pseudo-Thessalus of Tralles, *Virt. herb.* proem 22–24) might be, specifically whether Hippolytus’ magicians, like Athanasius, also performed these fireproofing spectacles in the name of Asclepius. Such an invocation would be quite fitting, however, given the well-known birth narrative of Asclepius, who was rescued by Apollo (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.3) or Hermes (Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.26.6–7) from the womb of Coronis as she lay on the funeral pyre, and it is therefore reasonable to suggest that the whole of *Haer.* 4.32–33, which begins with an account of how magicians produce illusory sounds of thunder, is descriptive of spectacles performed by devotees of the cult of Zeus-Asclepius. Hippolytus goes on to explain that the magicians accomplish this particular feat by mixing vinegar and natron with the tar, a combination which causes the tar to bubble (and only appear to boil) when aided by a little heat (*Haer.* 4.33.2). Naturally there are some parallels between Hippolytus’ descriptions of the magicians’ bags of tricks and the PGM, but the conclusion drawn by J.A. Kelhoffer on the basis of such parallels, namely that “the author of the *Elenchos* had access to an actual collection of magical spells and that he adapted for his own anti-heretical purposes,” is untenable on a priori grounds (see “Hippolytus’ and Magic: An Examination of *Elenchos* IV 28–42 and Related Passages in Light of the Papyri Graecae Magicae,” *ZAC* 11 [2007]: 547 and *passim*). If, as M. Marcovich maintains, Hippolytus was “an unscrupulous and reckless plagiarist” (*Hippolytus: Refutatio omnium haeresium* [PTS 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986], 36), and there is every reason to believe that he was (so also Kelhoffer, “Hippolytus’ and Magic,” 521 and n. 16), then his source text was a compendium (pagan or Christian, but probably the former) describing the mechanics of fraudulent magical spectacles, i.e., the opposite of a magical handbook. It remains unclear, however, whether the author of the *Martyrdom* knew Hippolytus’ account or shared a common source, or (more likely) whether he independently attests (i.e., witnessed) the same or a similar fireproofing ritual. See further esp. R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos’ Capitel gegen die Magier: Refut. Haer. IV. 28–42* (TUGAL 39.2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913).

²³ Cf. *Conv.* 4.1 (οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ ἄθλιος ἀνέκχοντο εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ).

²⁴ Presumably Terentius has come to this view in part because of the event described in 3.8–9. The use of συγγενής is perhaps due to the fact that the historical Eutolmius and Terentius both shared the title κόμης (Eutolmius that of *comes Orientis* and Terentius that of *comes Armeniae*); cf. notes 3 and 14 above.

τὸν διδάσκαλον τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἅμα παρθένῳ τινὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ ὡς διὰ τῶν
 ὑπομνημάτων γνώσῃ, ὅτι τοσαύταις βασάνοις καὶ αἰκισμοῖς ὑποβληθέντες οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν,
 δι' ὃ τῷ σῶ κράτει τούτους ἀνέπεμψα. ⁴ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐγκύψας τοῖς σκρινίοις καὶ τὰς
 βασάνους τοῦ μακαρίου θαυμάσας ἐλογίσατο μετὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει· Κυπριανὸς
 5 ὁ Ἀντιοχείας διδάσκαλος καὶ ἡ παρθένος Ἰουστίνα ἐκλεξάμενοι τὴν ματαίαν αἵρεσιν τῶν
 Χριστιανῶν καὶ προλιπόντες τὸ ζῆν. ⁵ διὸ τὴν διὰ ξίφους τιμωρίαν ἐπενεχθῆναι αὐτοῖς
 κελεύω.

7. ἀπενεχθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Γάλλον ἐν τῇ Νικομηδέων πόλει μικρὰν [6]
 διωρίαν ἡτήσαντο τοῦ προσεύξασθαι καὶ μνησθῆναι τῶν κατὰ κόσμον ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ
 10 πάντων τῶν πιστῶν. ² καὶ τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ ποιήσας σφραγίδα ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν
 λαβὼν τὴν παρθένον πρὸ αὐτοῦ τελειωθῆναι ἡξίου· καὶ τούτου γενομένου εἶπεν ὁ μακάριος
 Κυπριανός· δόξα σοι, Χριστέ. ³ Θεόκτιστος δὲ τις διαβαίνων ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἡσπάσατο τὸν

A (FGH NVX) P 1 τὸν διδάσκαλον **A** : τῶν Ἀντιοχέων διδάσκαλον **P** || τινι *om.* **F** || ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ **FGH NX** : ἐν τῇ
 Ἀντιοχείᾳ **V** ὀνόματι Ἰουστίνα **P** || καὶ *om.* **G** sic etiam Klee (p. 226.31) || 2 ὅτι *om.* **V** || ὅτι τοσαύταις βασάνοις —
 τῷ σῶ κράτει *corrumpitur in* **F** || καὶ αἰκισμοῖς *om.* **GH** || τοῖς θεσπίσμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους σου *post* ἐπέισθησαν
add. **P** || 3 δι' ὃ **FGH** : διὸ **NX** διὸ νῦν **V P** || τῷ σῶ κράτει **FGH** : τῷ σῶ κράτει τῆς βασιλείας **NVX** τῷ κράτει σου **P**
 || τούτους ἀνέπεμψα **FGH** : ἀνέπεμψα αὐτούς **NX P** ἔπεμψα αὐτούς **V** || σκρινίοις **FGH NX** : ὑπομνήμασιν **V P** *cett.*
recensiones || 4 βασάνους **A** : αἰκίας **P** || λέγει **FGH** : λέγει οὕτως **NVX** || ἐλογίσατο — λέγει (*vide ante*) :
 ἐβουλεύσατο μετὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ μὴ ὅσιον εἶναι βασανίζειν τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ μάτην ἐγχειρεῖν ἀνικῆτω δυνάμει
 Χριστοῦ· λέγει οὖν οὕτως **P** || 5 Ἀντιοχείας **NVX P** : τῆς Ἀντιοχείας **FGH** || ἡ *om.* **P** || 6 προλιπόντες **NX** :
 προλειπόντες **P** παραλιπόντες **FG** παραλειπόντες **HV** || τὸ ζῆν **A** : ζῶν **P** || διὸ *om.* **FG** sic etiam Klee (p. 226.39)
 || 6–7 τιμωρίαν ἐπενεχθῆναι . . . κελεύω **FGH VX** : τιμωρίαν ἀπενεχθῆναι . . . κελεύω **N** κελεύω ἀπενεχθῆναι . . .
 τιμωρίαν **P** || αὐτοῖς κελεύω *om.* Klee (p. 226.39) || 8 αὐτῶν **A** : τοῦ τε ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς παρθένου **P** ||
 Γάλλον ποταμὸν **V P** || ἐν τῇ Νικομηδέων πόλει **FGH V** : τῇ Νικομηδέων πόλει **NX** εἰς τὴν Νικομηδέων πόλιν **P** ||
 8–9 μικρὰν διωρίαν **A** : καὶ μικρὰν ὥραν **P** || 9 ἡτήσαντο **A** : ἐξαίτιασμένων χάριν **P** || προσεύξασθαι **FGH P** :
 εὐξασθαι **NVX** || καὶ μνησθῆναι **FGH NX** : μνημόνευσαντες **V** μνημονεύσας τε ὁ ἅγιος πασῶν **P** *cett.* *recensiones* ||
 10 τῶν πιστῶν **FGH** : τῶν δούλων τοῦ (*om.* **P**) Χριστοῦ **NVX P** || κυρίῳ **FGH NX** : Χριστῷ **V P** || ποιήσας
 σφραγίδα **P** || ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς *om.* **P** || 11 τε *ante* λαβὼν *add.* **P** || ἡξίου **A** : ἡξίωσε **P** || 11–12 εἶπεν — Χριστέ
 (*vide post*) : ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεὸν **V** || 12 Κυπριανός *om.* **P** || Χριστέ **FG NX P** : θεέ **H** || || ὁ θεὸς υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
 ὑψίστου *post* Χριστέ *add.* **P** || τις φίλος τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ *post* τις *add.* **P** || τὸν *om.* **G**.

a teacher of the Christians, along with a certain virgin in the East, as you may already know through the public records, because they were not persuaded after being subjected to many torments and tortures, for which reason I have sent them up to you to be dealt with according to your sovereign ruling.”²⁵ (4) After reading the dossiers closely and marveling at the tortures Cyprian had undergone, the Emperor pondered the matter with his friends and said, “Cyprian the teacher of Antioch and Justina the virgin, who have both chosen the foolish heresy of the Christians, have neglected to live and have preferred their own god. (5) For this reason I decree that punishment by the sword be brought upon them.”

7. When they had been carried off to the river Gallus in the city of Nicomedia²⁶ they requested a short moment to pray and to call to mind the churches throughout the world and all the faithful. (2) Then the holy Cyprian, making the sign of the cross, took the maiden by the hand and asked her if she would be perfected before him. And when this was finished, the blessed Cyprian said, “Glory be to you, Christ.” (3) Now, a certain man named Theoctistus was passing by from abroad and he saluted the

²⁵ There is a similar pseudepigraphical letter *from* Diocletian in some versions of the *Martyrdom of Saint George*: “Diocletian, great *semper Augustus* (ἀεισέβαστος) and eternal emperor, to the generals in every province under Roman rule and to all governors of prominence, greetings. Since some very unsettling news has come to my attention of the prevailing atheistic heresy of the Christians, who worship as God the man called Jesus whom a certain Judean woman named Mary bore, and who by worshipping the so-called Christ as God, whom the Jews crucified as a criminal, blaspheme and insult the great gods Apollo and Hermes and Dionysus and Heracles and Zeus, through whom peace has been restored to our State, I decree that every Christian when found in any city or region, man or woman, be subjected in bitter retribution to sacrifice to our gods and to repudiate each of their errors, and if persuaded, they are to be shown mercy, but if not, they are to be handed over to death by the sword. So shall you be recognized, but if you should ignore any denial of the supremacy of our gods, you shall suffer equal retribution” (31.10–22 and 42.1–13 Krumbacher; cf. 28.29–31); cf. esp. Diocletian’s reaction to Eutolmius’ report in 6.4. This letter could possibly be the *θεσμός* to which Eutolmius refers in the beginning of his letter. In the tetrarchy system, however, Diocletian was Augustus (as in the *Martyrdom of Saint George*) and not Caesar (as in Eutolmius’ letter), but cf. the bilingual milestone from Herakleia Salbake τῷ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς / ἀνθρώπων γένους δεσπότη Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Διοκλητιανῷ Σε/βαστῷ (ca. 286–305; *SEG* LVIII 1209a; *AnnEpig* [2008]: 576 no. 1391a). Virtually all manuscripts more or less read Κλαυδίῳ καίσαρι τῷ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότη Διοκλητιανῷ, but Zahn’s suggestion that Διοκλητιανῷ (cf. 7.7) is a later interpolation and that Eutolmius’ letter is addressed to Emperor Claudius (41–54 CE) is not convincing (*Cyprian*, 69 n. 5, 91). Surely Κλαυδίῳ must be the later interpolation, as its absence in the Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions suggests (see Lewis, *Select Narratives*, 2:203 [f. 86b]; Bilabel, “Studien,” 201 [f. 98v]; E.J. Goodspeed, “The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justa,” *AJSL* 19 [1903]: 80). How exactly Κλαυδίῳ could have crept into the text is rather mysterious, but the misuse of καίσαρι and the further references to Claudius (2.5 and 7.6 [bis]) are probable causes. The formula ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης in Eutolmius’ letter appears in numerous imperial inscriptions, see, e.g., *IG* XII.5 269: τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότην καὶ κύριον Κ[ω]νσταντίνον νέον Καίσαρα ἢ λαμ<π>ροτάτη Παρι[ω]ν πόλις (Paros, 317–337 CE); *SIG*³ 906A: τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότην Φλ(άουιον) Κλαύδιον Ἰουλιανὸν αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν πάσης οἰκουμένης δεσπότην, ἢ λαμπρὰ τῶν Μιλησίων μητρόπολις καὶ τροφὸς τοῦ Διδυμέου Ἀπόλλωνος, εὐτυχῶς (Miletus, 361–363 CE); cf. *AnnEpig* (1939): 46 no. 147; (1966): 126 no. 429.

²⁶ When Diocletian introduced the tetrarchic system in 293 CE he made Nicomedia the eastern capital of the Roman Empire. The martyrdom is set during the “Great Persecution” of 303–313 (cf. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 97–150), but specifically during the years 303–305 (Diocletian’s reign having ended in the year 305).

- ἅγιον Κυπριανόν. ⁴ Φουλβιανὸς δὲ ὁ συγκαθέδρος ἡγανάκτησεν καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ
- (6) Κυπριανῷ ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς βορρὰν τοῖς κυσὶ ρίφῃναι. ⁵ προκειμένων
- δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοῖς αἰμοβόροις ναῦται τινες Ῥωμαῖοι πιστοὶ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι
- <ὁ>περετελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος Κυπριανὸς ὧν αὐτοῖς ὁμόφυλος Ῥωμαῖοις, ἕξ ἡμέρας καὶ ἕξ νύκτας
- 5 παραμείναντες καὶ πάντας τοὺς φυλάσσοντας λαθόντες ἔλαβον τὰ λείψανα σὺν τοῖς
- παραχθείσιν ὑπομνήμασι καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέβησαν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ἐπανήξαν
- ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομίζοντες δῶρον τίμιον τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων. ⁶ καὶ προσήγαγον αὐτά τινα
- Ῥουφίνη ματρῶνῃ γένους Κλαυδίου, ἥτις λαβοῦσα τὰ λείψανα ἔθετο ἐν τῷ μέσῳ λόφῳ

A (FGH NVX) P 1 μακάριον καὶ ante ἅγιον add. P || Φουλβιανὸς scripsi (e codice T) : Φουλεανὸς G Φλουβιανὸς H Φουλμίνος N Φουλμιανὸς X Φλουαῖος V Φουλβίνος P corrumpitur in F || τοῦ κόμητος post συγκαθέδρος add. FGH P || 1–2 ἡγανάκτησεν — Κυπριανῷ (vide post) : ἦν ὁρῶν καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρων τὰς κεφαλὰς V ἦν ἐπιτηρῶν τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδόν· καὶ ἴδοντες (sic) τὸν Θεόκτιστον πεπονηκότα τοῦτο, παραχρήμα ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοῦτον P || αὐτὸν — τὰ σώματα om. per hapl. G sic etiam Klee (p. 226.48–49) || 2 ἀγίῳ ante Κυπριανῷ add. FH || ἀποτμηθῆναι F P : ἀποτέμεσθαι H NX || τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν A : ἐκέλευσεν δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα P || εἰς βορρὰν — ρίφῃναι FGH : τοῖς κυσὶν εἰς βορρὰν ρίφῃναι NX τοῖς κυσὶ ρίφῃναι εἰς βορρὰν V κυσὶ βορρᾷ ρίφῃναι P || 3 ἡμέρας FGH NV : ὥρας X || Ῥωμαῖοι om. V || πιστοὶ om. NX || 4 ὑπερετελειώθη scripsi : περετελειώθη A || 2–4 προκειμένων — Ῥωμαῖοις (vide ante) : ἐπὶ πλείστας δὲ ἡμέρας ἕξω ἔκειντο οἱ τρεῖς πρὸς βρῶσιν τοῖς ὡμοβόροις θηρίοις· ναῦται δὲ πιστοὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸν ἅγιον τελειωθέντα καὶ ὄντα ὁμόφυλον αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων P || 4 καὶ ἕξ νύκτας om. FGH || 5 πάντας A : ἅπαντας P || τοὺς φυλάσσοντας A : τοὺς φύλακας P || τὰ λείψανα FG NX : τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων H τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων V || 5–6 σὺν — ὑπομνήμασι om. hoc loco V || 6 ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέβησαν (ἐνέβησαν FH NX) FGH NX : ἐμβάντες V || τῷ πλοίῳ NVX : πλοίῳ FGH || καὶ alterum om. V || εὐθέως ante ἐπανήξαν add. NX || 5–7 ἔλαβον — τῶν ἁγίων (vide post) : καὶ ἀνελῶμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ λίθον τίμιον καὶ χρυσίον πολλὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων ἀνέβησαν τὸν τόπον, δῶρον κομίζοντες τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τε τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀθλήσεως λαβόντες γράμματα P || 7 ἐν Ῥώμῃ FGH : τῇ Ῥώμῃ NVX || κομίζοντες — τῶν ἁγίων FG : κομίζοντες δῶρον τίμιον τὰ λείψανα H sic etiam Klee (p. 226.56) κομίζοντες (om. N) δῶρον ὑπὲρ λίθον τίμιον τῶν ἁγίων τὰ λείψανα NX δῶρον κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ χρυσίον καὶ λίθον τίμιον τῶν ἁγίων τὰ λείψανα ἐν ᾧ εὐρόντα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀθλήσεως αὐτῶν ὑπομνήματα V || καὶ FGH : εἰσελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ NVX om. P || προσήγαγον αὐτά FGH NX : προσήνεγκαν αὐτά V προσήξαν P || 8 Κλαυδίου VP : Κλαυρινοῦ NX (Κλαρίνου cett. recensiones) Καβάρου G Κραβάρου FH || τὰ λείψανα FGH : τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων NX τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τὰ λείψανα V τὰ πανάγια λείψανα τῶν ἀθλοφόρων μαρτύρων P || ἔθετο om. H || ἐν τῷ μέσῳ λόφῳ N conl. Franchi de' Cavalieri (p. 341) : ἐν μέσῳ λόφῳ X ἐν τῷ μεσολόφῳ H VP ἐν μεσολόφῳ FG om. Klee (p. 226.58).

holy Cyprian. (4) But Fulvianus²⁷ the consul became angry and ordered that Theoctistus be beheaded along with Cyprian and that their bodies be thrown to the dogs in the north. (5) When they had lain exposed to the bloodthirsty dogs for several days, some faithful Roman sailors who heard that Cyprian had died and that he was a Roman like them, after lying in wait for six days and six nights and escaping the notice of all the guards, took the remaining pieces along with their memory of what had transpired, and leaving that place they got into their boat and returned to Rome, carrying off the remaining pieces of the holy martyrs as a precious gift. (6) They brought them to a certain woman named Rufina,²⁸ a matron of the house of Claudius, who received the bodies of the martyrs and put them in a notable

²⁷ It is difficult to determine the original form of this name due to the number of variants. No two Greek manuscripts agree; Latin manuscripts read Felvinus and Felvius (Martène-Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 3:648; Klee, “Martyrium,” 228 n. u), Syriac manuscripts Fulvus (W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the Year 1838* [3 vols.; London: Longman, 1870–1872], 3:1093) and Balbus (Smith, *Select Narratives*, 202), and even in manuscripts of Symeon Metaphrastes’ rendition the name is written Φελκιος, Φελβιος, and Ελβιος (see Zahn, *Cyprian*, 70–71 n. 9). It should therefore come as no surprise that some Greek manuscripts omit the name (e.g., all manuscripts of the two recensions of *BHG* 454, with the exception of manuscript Q; cf. the Ethiopic version published by Goodspeed, “The Martyrdom,” 81). The consul, like Theoctistus, does not appear to be based on any historical or literary figure, although Φουλβανός or Φουλβιανός is also the name of both the Ethiopian king and his son in *Martyrdom of Matthew* 5, 10, 28 [221.16, 227.4, 258.16, 18 (Φουλβανός) Lipsius-Bonnet]; cf. Nicephorus, *Hist. eccl.* 2.41 (Φουλβιανός). There are some parallels between the two martyrdoms, e.g., when Fulv(i)anus tries to burn Matthew alive, the fire turns to dew (cf. 4.7 above): ὅλον δὲ τὸ πῦρ μετεβάλλετο εἰς δρόσον (*Mart. Matth.* 19 [242.3 Lipsius-Bonnet]). It is tempting to suggest, however, that the original name was Φούλβιος (or rather Φούλουιος)—in his summary translation A. Dufourcq renders the name as Fulvius without further explanation (*Étude sur les Gesta martyrum romains* [5 vols.; BEFAR 83; Paris: De Boccard, 1988], 5:105)—and that the name derives from that of the historical general Fulvius Macrianus (see *PLRE* 1:528 s.v. Maricanus 2), who, according to Dionysius of Alexandria (apud Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.10.4–7), induced Valerian to persecute the Christians.

²⁸ Both Franchi de Cavalieri (“Dove furono sepolti,” 345) and Wilpert (“Le pitture,” 522) noted the curious correspondence between the “matron Rufina” and the graffito *Rufina* inscribed on the lower panel of the left wall of the *confessio* beneath the Basilica dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo (see San Stanislao, *La casa celimontana*, 334, fig. 45). The graffito may refer to Rufina, the daughter of Paula and Iulius Toxotius and sister-in-law of Pammachius (so Brenk, “Microstoria,” 202; cf. Pietri and Pietri, *Prosopographie chrétienne*, 2.2:1923 s.v. Rufina 2), but that the author of the *Martyrdom* refers to this Rufina here is extremely problematic. Rufina died at a young age but was apparently still alive and of age to marry in 385 or 386 (Jerome, *Ep.* 108.4, 6). One should perhaps not read too much into the author’s use of ματρώνη (Lat. *matrona*) since the translation of relics to aristocratic *matronae* who bury them on their own property became a common literary trope in late-antique hagiography (Cooper, “The Martyr, the *Matrona* and the Bishop,” 297–317). Although the setting of the martyrdom under Diocletian is obvious fiction, if one assumes the existence of a historical and contemporaneous Cyprian whose relics were translated to Rome, then that translation must have occurred before the year 379, when Gregory delivered his panegyric, since he laments the loss of Cyprian’s remains to a pious (and nameless) woman (καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς παρὰ τινι γυναικί τῶν θερμῶν εὐσέβειαν [*Or.* 24.17]), in which case Rufina, who was likely born ca. 370 (so *PLRE* 1:773 s.v. Rufina 2), would have been a mere child (and, of course, this all assumes that the *confessio* had been constructed by 379 at the very latest, which is not likely to be correct). Other recensions lack the name Rufina, but clearly Eudocia’s manuscript contained the same information (so Photius, *Bibliotheca*, “codex” 184, quoted in the following note). As for the pious matron’s affiliation with the *gens Claudia*, it appears that for this author the *gens Claudia* is merely a indicator of status and wealth (see 2.3, where Aglaïdas, too, is said to come from the house of Claudius, a detail not found neither in the *Conversion* nor in the *Confession*). See further my comments in the introduction (§ 3.3).

Κλαυδίου φόρῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ, ἐν ᾧ πάντες οἱ συνερχόμενοι καὶ ἰάσεις λαμβάνοντες
δοξάζουσι θεόν.⁷ ἐπράχθη δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐν τῇ
ἐπιφανεστάτῃ Νικομηδεῖᾳ, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἢ
δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

A (FGH NVX) **P** 1 Κλαυδίου φόρῳ scripsi (e Photio et BHG 454b) : Κλαροφόρῳ **F** Κλαρωφόρῳ **G** Καρωφόρῳ **H**
Κλαυριωφόρῳ **NX** Κλαριοφόρῳ **V** Κλαῖοφόρῳ **P** om. Klee (p. 226.58) || ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ om. **V** || ἐν ᾧ **A** : διὸ **P** || οἱ
συνερχόμενοι **FGH** : οἱ συνερχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτῶν (om. **V**) λείψανοις **NVX** συνερχόμενοι τοῖς παναγίοις αὐτῶν
λειψάνοις **P** || καὶ om. **FGH V** || λαμβάνοντες **FGH** : λαμβάνοντες εἰς πᾶν πάθος **NVX** λαμβάνοντες παντὸς πάθους
P || 2 θεόν **GH** : τὸν θεόν **F NVX** θεὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν **P** ||
ἐπράχθη δὲ ταῦτα **FGH** : ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράχθη **HVX** ταῦτα ἐπράχθη **P** || καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ om. **G X** || 3 ἐπιφανεστάτη
om. **V** || Νικομηδεῖᾳ **GH** : πόλει Νικομηδεῖᾳ **NX** πόλει Νικομηδέας **P** Νικομηδέων πόλει **V** || καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ **GH N** :
κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς **P** om. **VX**.

place near the Forum of Claudius on the middle hill of Rome,²⁹ where those who come together and receive healings glorify God. (7) These events took place in the renowned metropolis of Nicomedia during the consulate of Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, although it is our Lord Jesus Christ who rules over us, to whom be the glory and the power, forever and ever, amen.

²⁹ According to Franchi de' Cavalieri ("Dove furono sepolti?" 338–41), the "Forum of Claudius" (φόρος Κλαυδίου/*forum Claudii*) refers to the grand portico area outside the *templum divi Claudii* (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 9) on the Caelian hill next to the Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo (cf. Wilpert, "Le pitture," 522). The term *forum*/φόρος degenerated in later periods and could refer "a tutte le aree o piazze adorne di portici e di statue e perfino agli atrii dei palazzi privati" (p. 339); cf. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 34.17 (*mox forum et in domibus privatis factum atque in atriis statuis positus*). Only the manuscripts of *BHG* 454b explicitly mention the "Forum of Claudius" (ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν μέσῳ Κλαυδίου φόρου CD), but certainly Eudocia must have read this in her exemplar, as Photius' summary attests: τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων ναῦται τινες ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιδημηκότες ἄρτι, ὧν ἦν ἑταῖρος καὶ ὁ μάρτυς Θεόκτιστος, οὗτοι λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας ἀνείλοντο καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπεκόμισαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ναὸς αὐτοῖς περικαλλής, ἐγγίζων τῷ Κλαυδίου φόρῳ, ἀνηγέρθη, ἔργον Ῥουφίνης εὐσεβόφρονος, ἧς τὸ γένος εἰς τὸ Κλαυδίου διέβαινεν αἶμα (*Bibliotheca*, codex 184 [199.4–10 Henry]). This peculiar designation is absent from manuscripts of *BHG* 455b (TZ) and manuscripts QR of *BHG* 454a; other manuscripts of *BHG* 454a are as bewildering and confused as those of *BHG* 455a (e.g., καὶ ποιήσασα ἄξιον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων οἶκον κατέθεντο αὐτὰ ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Κλαῖφόρῳ LS). The "middle hill" would then presumably refer to the Caelian, but none of the hills in Rome were ever called Μεσολόφος (the majority reading) like the central or fourth hill in Constantinople (another seven-hilled city). If μεσολόφῳ represents the original text, however, it would seem to corroborate the *Martyrdom's* eastern provenance, but this is more likely a Byzantine variant (so Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Dove furono sepolti?" 341) since Μεσολόφος is not attested as the name for the fourth hill in Constantinople until Pseudo-Codinus, *Patria Constantinopoleos* 3.19. See further my comments in the introduction (§§ 3.1 and 3.3).

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