

**The *Confession* of Cyprian of Antioch:  
Introduction, Text, and Translation**

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June 2009**

**A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement of the degree of Master of Arts**

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### Abstract

The first-person narrative of the *Confession* of Cyprian of Antioch, one of three principal witnesses to the fourth-century hagiographical romance of the pagan magician turned Christian bishop and martyr, has remained a largely unexploited resource for the study of late-antique *Religionsgeschichte*. The vivid details of Cyprian's occult *curriculum vitae* and public confession before the Christian audience of Antioch have languished in virtual obscurity due to the lack of a modern critical edition. This thesis offers a critical edition of the complete text of the Greek version, newly restored using previously unedited manuscript material. The introduction provides an overview of critical scholarship on the *Confession*, an examination of its sources and reception history, and an assessment of the manuscript evidence. The Greek text is accompanied by an English translation and explanatory notes.



### Résumé

Le récit à la première personne de la *Confession* de Cyprien d'Antioche, qui représente l'un des trois principaux témoins d'un roman hagiographique portant sur la vie de ce magicien païen du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, devenu évêque chrétien et martyr, demeure une ressource en grande partie inexploitée pour l'étude de la *Religionsgeschichte* de l'Antiquité tardive. Sans édition critique moderne, les détails saisissants du *curriculum vitae* occulte de Cyprien d'Antioche et sa confession publique devant l'auditoire chrétien d'Antioche sont demeurés pratiquement inconnus. Cette thèse propose une édition critique complète de la version grecque du texte, nouvellement restaurée grâce à l'utilisation de matériel scripturaire jusqu'ici inédit. L'introduction présente un survol de l'étude critique de la *Confession*, une analyse de ses sources et de l'histoire de la réception, de même qu'une évaluation critique des manuscrits. Le texte grec est accompagnée d'une traduction anglaise et de notes explicatives.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank first and foremost Ellen Aitken for supervising this thesis and for saving me from numerous errors in the translation. I would also like to thank the following: Lorenzo DiTommaso, for making my trip to the Vatican Film Library possible and for help in obtaining reproductions of two manuscripts; Gregory A. Pass and Barbara J. Channell of the Vatican Film Library, for their assistance during my short research trip; Éric Bellavance, for kindly translating the abstract into French; Phil Hart, for closely proofreading this thesis on such short notice; and my family, for their love and support.

## **Introduction**

### 1. The *Confession* of Cyprian of Antioch

The *Confession* or *Repentance* (μετάνοια) is one of three principal witnesses to the hagiographical romance of the fictional saint Cyprian of Antioch. The first-person narrative of the *Confession*, a confessional autobiography which predates Augustine's *Confessions* by decades,<sup>1</sup> originally circulated independently but was later inserted between the third-person narratives of the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom*. The story concerns a pagan magician who, after numerous failed attempts to seduce the Christian virgin Justina through magic, realizes the power of Christ and converts to Christianity.

The text can be divided into four main sections.<sup>2</sup> In the first main section (chs. 1–7) Cyprian narrates the course of his religious history from early childhood to adulthood. Cyprian is dedicated to Apollo as a child, joins the Mithraic mysteries, participates in the Stepterion and the rites of Eleusis, and spends an initiatory period on Mount Olympus (chs. 1–2). He then travels to Memphis and is initiated in the Egyptian adyta where he is privileged to visions of the variegated forms of demonic grotesquerie (chs. 3–4). After learning the mysteries of the Chaldaeans, Cyprian's truly impressive occult *curriculum vitae* culminates in an encounter with the devil himself (ch. 5–6). Cyprian then explains the mechanics of sacrifice as the means by which the devil and his demons empower themselves (ch. 7).

In the second main section (chs. 8–14) the philosopher-magician Cyprian takes up shop in Antioch, where, while offering his services to the populace, he meets a young man named Aglaïdas who is enamored with the Christian virgin Justina (ch. 9). Cyprian tells the story of his attempts to seduce Justina through erotic and demonic magic, first on behalf of Aglaïdas and then on behalf of himself, as he too falls in love with the virgin. However, neither the phalanx of demons Cyprian sends to her door nor the dragon are able to enter her vestibule

<sup>1</sup> See the few parallels drawn by Pierre 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.

<sup>2</sup> The *Confession* was first divided into these four sections by an anonymous Bollandist editor, "Confessio seu Poenitentia S. Cypriani, editore et interprete Prudentio Marano Benedictino, cum aliis editis collata," *AASS Sept.*, VII (1867): 204–224; repr. from *AASS Sept.*, VII (1760): 222–241.

(chs. 8 and 10). Even the devil himself tries to defeat Justina, but all of his attempts, like those of Cyprian, the dragon, and the demons, are thwarted by the sign of the cross (chs. 11–12). Cyprian realizes that the devil is powerless against the cross of Christ, renounces the devil, and seeks solace among the Christians of Antioch (chs. 12–14).

The third main section (chs. 15–20) contains Cyprian's lengthy and lurid public confession of past misdeeds such as ripping open pregnant women and sacrificing their children, decapitating foreigners, committing pederasty, sinking ships, toppling over churches and tearing churchgoers to pieces, and making jokes about prayer (chs. 15–16, 18). Much of this section consists of Cyprian's various lamentations over his dim prospects of obtaining forgiveness, since according to Cyprian he surpassed in impiety even the Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres who battled against Moses (chs. 17, 19–20).

In the fourth main section (chs. 21–28) the presbyter Eusebius responds to Cyprian's confession. He accepts Cyprian's confession and tells him that Christ will accept him because he not only acted out of ignorance but was acted upon by the devil (chs. 21–22).<sup>3</sup> Eusebius provides Cyprian with a number of examples of biblical figures who were received by God after turning from their evil ways (chs. 23–25). After Eusebius explains the nature of Christian education and worship, Cyprian joins the Christian community in Antioch, burns his magical books, and receives baptism (chs. 26–28).

#### 1.1 AUTHOR, DATE, AND PURPOSE

Although there remains a possibility that there were three eastern martyrs named Cyprian, Justina, and Theoctistus whose relics were translated from Nicomedia to Caelian Hill in Rome during the fourth century, the entire hagiographical romance of Cyprian of Antioch, the pagan magician turned Christian bishop and martyr, has been widely regarded as pure fiction.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the fact that no bishop

<sup>3</sup> The entirety of the Greek text of Eusebius's argument has now been recovered, see section 4.1.

<sup>4</sup> The evidence for the three historical martyrs has been compiled by P. Franchi de' Cavalieri ("Dove furono sepoliti i SS. Cipriano, Giustina e Teoctisto?" in *Note agiografiche* 8 [Studi e testi 65; Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935], 333–54), who rejects the legend as

named Cyprian appears in the well-known lists of bishops of Antioch,<sup>5</sup> source-criticism of the legend has shown conclusively that neither the plot nor even the majority of the names of the characters in the legend are original, but were borrowed from other literary works.<sup>6</sup> The real author of the *Confession*, therefore, must remain anonymous. The author was clearly well-read, as evinced by the numerous influences from Greco-Roman novels, the apocryphal acts of the apostles, and Jewish-Christian pseudepigrapha, but his style is often rather clumsy and it is certain based on stylistic grounds that this author was not one and the same as the author of the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom* (see section 2).

The date of the *Confession* can be fixed with certainty. In his panegyric on Cyprian of Carthage delivered in 379 C.E. Gregory Nazianzus confused the historical bishop of Carthage with the legendary magician of Antioch and it is clear that the story outlined by Gregory was derived from the text of the *Confession* (see section 3.1). The *Confession*, then, was probably written ca. 350–370 C.E., but no later than 379 C.E.<sup>7</sup> A date towards the middle of this spectrum is reasonable since the author of the *Confession* assumes a background story similar to the one that appears in what must be the earlier narrative of the *Conversion*.

This date fits perfectly with what is no doubt the main purpose of the text, which is almost certainly a product of the pagan revival of the latter half of the

pure fiction; J. Coman ("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) has defended the historicity of both Cyprian and certain aspects of the legend, although his arguments for the latter are unconvincing. Whether Cyprian of Antioch is considered a historical figure martyred in 304 C.E. or not, he was not the author of the *Confession*. As a result of the lack of historical veracity to the legend, both Cyprian and Justina were removed from the list of saints by the Vatican in 1968.

<sup>5</sup> Theodor Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1882), 84–85; H. Delehaye, "Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage," *AnBoll* 39 (1921): 322; A. Krestan and A. Hermann, "Cyprianus II (Magier)," *RAC* 3 (1957): 467.

<sup>6</sup> See esp. the analyses by Richard Reitzenstein, "Cyprian der Magier," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1917): 38–79; idem, "Zu Cyprian der Magier," *AR* 20 (1920–1921): 236–37 and Ludwig Radermacher, "Cyprian der Magier," *AR* 21 (1922): 233–35; idem, *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: Tempsky, 1927), 5–41; cf. Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien*, 106–15.

<sup>7</sup> All scholars have unanimously followed Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 104) in assigning the rough date of 350 C.E.

fourth century.<sup>8</sup> Unlike the *Conversion* or the *Martyrdom*, the *Confession* is clearly directed at pagan audience as is apparent from its *incipit* which addresses “all you who take offence (προσκόπτετε) at the mysteries of Christ” (1:1).<sup>9</sup> The lengthy history of Cyprian’s occult training in various pagan mystery-religions, told in what seems to be deliberately obscure terms, is meant to firmly establish Cyprian as a pagan holy man *par excellence*. But for all his knowledge, power, and experience, Cyprian is unable to overcome one Christian virgin and in the end converts to Christianity, with the inevitable conclusion that the devil is at work behind all pagan religions. The polemic against sacrifice in *Conf.* 7:5–10 is particularly telling as it is the only point in the text where Cyprian says that he will actually explain some of his secret knowledge (7:5). Cyprian explains that it is the κνῖσς of burnt-offerings by which the devil obtains the means to empower himself and supply his demonic cohorts with their forms.<sup>10</sup> Pagan sacrifice was a particularly vexing issue for Christians during this period since one of the first acts of Julian as Augustus in 362 C.E. was to rescind Emperor Constantius’s prohibition made in 341 C.E. against pagan cult sacrifice.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A good analysis of this period is given by H. Bloch, “The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century,” in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (ed. Arnaldo Momigliano; Oxford-Warburg Studies; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 193–218.

<sup>9</sup> Reitzenstein (“Cyprian der Magier,” 50–51 n. 3) favored the then hypothetical Greek variant προσκόπτετε first postulated by Prudentius Maran (“Confessio Sancti Cypriani,” in *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani, episcopi Carthaginensis et martyris Opera omnia* [ed. Etienne Baluze; Venice: Ex typographia Hieronymi Dorigoni, 1758], 1105 n. a) based on the reading *proficitis* which appears in the Latin manuscripts. Delehay (“Cyprien d’Antioche,” 316–17 with n. 2) also adopted this reading of the text in his translation of the *incipit*. Although this hypothetical Greek variant is now an actual Greek variant from *Vat. gr.* 797 fol. 116<sup>v</sup> col. a. l. 5, I cannot accept it as the more original text. Reitzenstein suggested merely that the reading προσκόπτετε “ist im Ausdruck bedenklich und zerstört den Sinn.” But it is προσκόπτετε that destroys the sense. The subject of this second-person plural verb must be the same as the subjects of the second-person plural verbs of the sentences which follow. *Conf.* 1:2 refers to “all you who delight in the customs of demons” and in *Conf.* 1:3 Cyprian assures the reader that “neither will any of you be able to be more god-fearing (δεισιδαιμονέστερος) than I was formerly.” That the *incipit* which precedes these sentences should refer to “all you who are advancing in the mysteries of Christ,” (i.e., Christians) makes no sense at all. Add to this the time period in which the *Confession* was written and there can be no doubt that προσκόπτετε is the original text.

<sup>10</sup> One is reminded of Iamblichus’s statement that it is the opinion of the atheists (by which he means the Christians who do not believe in the gods) “that all divination is accomplished by the evil daemon” (*Myst.* 3.31.179–180; see Emma C. Clarke, John M. Dillon, and Jackson P. Hershbell, trans., *Iamblichus, On the Mysteries* [SBL Writings from the Greco-Roman World 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003], xxvii–xxix, 201).

<sup>11</sup> Rowland Smith, *Julian’s Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (London: Routledge, 1995), 4.

## 1.2 THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE *CONFESSION*

The *Confession* still remains a largely unexploited resource for the study of late-antique *Religionsgeschichte*. In 1846 Ludwig Preller first noted its potential historical value and made its contents more widely available by reprinting the Greek text of its initial chapters.<sup>12</sup> His brief note eventually succeeded in inciting several more short studies by a number of prominent scholars such as Arthur Bernhard Cook, Arthur Darby Nock, Martin P. Nilsson, André-Jean Festugière, and Charles Picard.<sup>13</sup> However, all of these studies concentrated exclusively on Cyprian's early childhood initiations into various Greco-Roman mystery-cults (*Conf.* 1–2). The material concerning Cyprian's initiations and often bizarre experiences and visions in Egypt and Chaldaea have remained virtually untouched (*Conf.* 3–5).<sup>14</sup> A couple of examples will suffice to give a sense of the nature of the historical kernels contained in the *Confession*.

According to *Conf.* 1:5 Cyprian joined the Mithraic mysteries when he was only seven years old. Membership in the mysteries of Mithras was on the whole exclusively reserved for adult males.<sup>15</sup> However, that children were sometimes admitted to the mysteries in the late fourth century is attested by an inscription from Rome (376 C.E.) which states that Aurelius Victor Augentius, a Mithraic Pater—perhaps a Pater of several Mithraic communities given his epithet *Pater Patrum*—known from four other inscriptions (*CIMRM* 400–405) is said to have bestowed the initiatory grade of Raven (*hierocoracica*) upon his own son, a boy

<sup>12</sup> Ludwig Preller, "Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Alterthums," *Phil* 1 (1846): 349–51.

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Bernhard Cook, *Zeus, a Study in Ancient Religion* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–1940), 1:110–11; Arthur Darby Nock, "Hagiographica II. Cyprian of Antioch," *JTS* 28 (1927): 411–15; Martin P. Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries in the Confession of St. Cyprian," *HTR* 40 (1947): 167–76; André-Jean Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste: I. L'astrologie et les sciences occultes* (2nd ed.; Paris: Lecoffre, 1950), 37–40; Charles Picard, "Mantique et mystères antiques d'après la Confession de Saint Cyprien," *RAr* 35 (1950): 205–7.

<sup>14</sup> Several scholars have called for further analysis of these sections, see Howard M. Jackson, "A Contribution toward an Edition of the *Confession* of Cyprian of Antioch: The *Secreta Cypriani*," *Le Muséon* 101 (1988): 37; Krestan and Hermann, "Cyprianus II (Magier)," 472; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 176. László Kákósy ("'Cyprien' en Egypte," in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* [Orientalia Monspeliensia 2; Montpellier: Editions de l'Université de Montpellier, 1984], 109–14) has covered some aspects of Cyprian's time spent in Egypt, although he focuses primarily on the Coptic version in which there are a number of interpolations, most of which give the text a distinctly Egyptian character.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Richard Gordon, "Who Worshipped Mithras?" (review of Manfred Clauss, *Cultores Mithrae: Die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes*), *JRA* 7 (1994): 464–65, 468–69.



named Emilianus Corfinius Olympius.<sup>16</sup> But this is the only epigraphic evidence for childhood initiation and one could argue that in this instance an exception to the rule was made for the son of a high-ranking initiate of the Mithraic mysteries. While it is certainly possible that the author of the *Confession* was aware of one or more similar cases of childhood initiation in Mithraism, one must constantly be aware that the author's primary purpose in these initial chapters is to bolster the prestige of Cyprian.

An example of the author's descent into the realms of incredibility is the reference in *Conf.* 1:5 to Cyprian's childhood role as δαδούχος in the Eleusinian mysteries (ἐδαδούκησα τῇ Δημήτρῳ). Cyprian simply could not have held such a post because the δαδούχος was drawn exclusively from the family of Kerykes.<sup>17</sup> Immediately following this remark, however, Cyprian mentions that he submitted to the white sorrow of Korē. Preller considered the phrase λευκὸν πένθος to be a contradiction and corrupt text as a result, but Nock has correctly described it as an authentic antiquarian reference to the custom implemented by Herodes Atticus in which the Ephibi wore white garments instead of black in the procession to Eleusis.<sup>18</sup> The child Cyprian, however, would not have been allowed to participate in this procession. Although the *Confession* should be considered as a legitimate

<sup>16</sup> Franz Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (2 vols.; Brussels: Lamartin, 1896–1899), 2:93 no. 10 (= M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* [2 vols.; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956–1960], 1:172 no. 403): *D(ominis) n(ostris) Valente V et Valentiniano / iunior primus aug(ustus) VI idus april(es) / tradidit hierocoracica Aur(elius) Victor / Augentius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) p(atrum) filio suo Emiliano / Corfini(o) Olympio c(larissimo) p(uero) anno tricensimo / acceptionis suae felic(iter)*. Regarding the inscription Vermaseren adds that “[i]t is very remarkable that at the end of the fourth century children could be admitted in the mysteries also”; cf. Nock, “Cyprian of Antioch,” 411. However, since the *Confession* is a fictional account, Franz Cumont (“The Dura Mithraeum,” in *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* [ed. John R. Hinnells; 2 vols.; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975], 1:159) considered this reference to be an “equivocal indication of the introduction of the Persian cult in the populous capital of Antioch” (so Ernest Will, “Nouveaux monuments sacrés de la Syrie romaine,” *Syria* 29 [1952]: 69). Cumont and Will are right to doubt the historical significance of the passage, but Cyprian is in Athens at this point and does not move to Antioch until much later in the text (*Conf.* 9:1). For the evidence of Mithraism in Greece, see *CIMRM* nos. 2346–2353.

<sup>17</sup> See Kevin Clinton, “The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64 (1974): 47–68. Nock (“Cyprian of Antioch,” 411) also suggested that if Cyprian had a role in the mysteries it would have been as ὁ ἀφ’ ἐστίας, a position that could be held by any Athenian child; see Clinton, “The Sacred Officials,” 98–114; Katherine Esdaile, “ὁ ἀφ’ ἐστίας: Two Statues of a Boy Celebrating the Eleusinian Mysteries,” *JHS* 29 (1909): 1–5.

<sup>18</sup> Preller, “Beiträge,” 350; Nock, “Cyprian of Antioch,” 411.

source for the history of late-antique religion, its references to pagan cults and concepts must be taken with a grain of salt since the author, even though he is referencing genuine fourth-century mysteries and ideas, is more concerned with the creation of a pagan holy man *par excellence* than with historicity.<sup>19</sup> But that this should be the case in an early Christian work of fiction is hardly surprising.

## 2. Some Sources of the *Confession*

The first-person narrative of the *Confession* originally circulated independently but was later inserted between the third-person narratives of the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom*.<sup>20</sup> The *Conversion* begins by recounting the conversion of the virgin Justina, who, after hearing the sermons of the deacon Praylius from her window, goes together with her parents to the bishop Optatus and receives baptism. A wealthy man named Aglaïdas notices her during her frequent trips to and from the church and after his advances fail he approaches Cyprian the magician and pays him two talents to win her over by magical means. Cyprian conjures three demons—the second more powerful than the first, the third being the father of all demons—and sends them to Justina's apartment. Each attempt is unsuccessful as a result of Justina's prayers and her use of the sign of the cross. Convinced of the power of Christ, Cyprian converts and eventually works his way up through the ecclesiastical hierarchy becoming bishop of Antioch.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cook (*Zeus*, 1:111) certainly goes too far in suggesting that Cyprian's experiences on Mount Olympus are representative of "puberty-rites, Cyorbantic or Cabiric in character"; cf. Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 171.

<sup>20</sup> This occurs primarily in non-Greek manuscripts. Note that the Greek manuscripts containing the *Confession* (e.g., in *Par. gr.* 1506, *Vat. gr.* 797, and *Vat. gr.* 1809) contain solely the *Confession*. The acephalus text of the *Confession* in *Par. gr.* 1485 is actually followed by the *Conversion*. *Ocrida* 4 is the exception, following the pattern *Conversion, Confession, Martyrdom*.

<sup>21</sup> Good summaries of the *Conversion* are given by H. Delehaye ("Cyprien d'Antioche," 315–16) and T. A. Sabattini ("S. Cipriano nella tradizione agiografica," *RSC* 21 [1973]: 183–84). For the Greek manuscripts of the *Conversion* (titled simply *πρᾶξις* in most manuscripts), see François Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca* (3rd ed.; *Subsidia Hagiographica* 8a; Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1957), 137–138 no. 452; idem, *Auctarium bibliothecae hagiographicae Graecae* (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 47; Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1969), 53 no. 452; idem, *Novum auctarium bibliothecae hagiographicae Graecae* (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 65; Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1984), 56 no. 452. Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 139–53) printed a critical text using *Par. gr.* 1468 and *Par. gr.* 1454 and the texts of the Latin recension (cf. his German translation on pp. 21–30). Margaret Dunlop Gibson (*Apocrypha Arabica* [*Studia Sinaitica* 8; London: Clay, 1901], 64–71) printed the Greek text of *Sinaiticus* 497 as well as an Arabic version (cf. Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* [5 vols.; Studi e testi

Continuing where the *Conversion* left off, the *Martyrdom* tells of Eutolmius, Count of the region of the East, who after hearing of the miraculous deeds of Cyprian and Justina has them arrested and brought to Damascus where they are tortured and thrown into boiling pitch. Since the saints survive the torments of Eutolmius unscathed, they are then sent to Nicomedia where Diocletian condemns them to death by decapitation. After six days their bodies, along with a man named Theoctistus who was decapitated along with them for saluting Cyprian, are then brought to Rome and given an honorable burial.<sup>22</sup>

From a literary perspective the *Confession* is a rather clumsy piece. Characters appear unannounced, settings change spontaneously, and there is very little if any significant background information. Theodor Zahn has shown convincingly that the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom* were written by the same author and that this

118, 133, 146–147, 172; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953], 1:517). Radermacher (*Griechische Quellen* 73–149) divided the Greek texts into three recensions: for the first recension there is only *Par. gr.* 1468; for the second recension there are *Sinaiticus* 497, *Par. gr.* 1454, *Laud. gr.* 68, *Vat. gr.* 866, and *Pal. gr.* 68; for the third there is only *Barb. gr.* 517. For the Latin manuscripts, see the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (2 vols.; Subsidia Hagiographica 6; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901), 1:308–9 nos. 2047–2048; Henricus Fros, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Novum supplementum* (Subsidia Hagiographica 70; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986), 239 nos. 2047–2048b–d; see also the brief analysis and comparison with the Latin text of the *Confession* by Danielle van Mal-Maeder, “Moi, Cyprien d’Antioche, magicien du diable,” in *Mirabilia — Conceptions et représentations de l’extra-ordinaire dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque international, Lausanne, 20–22 mars 2003* (ed. Olivier Bianchi and Olivier Thévenaz; Echo: Collection de l’Institut d’archéologie et des sciences de l’Antiquité de l’Université de Lausanne 4; Bern: Lang, 2004), 115–30. For versions in other languages, see Paul Peeters, *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis* (Subsidia Hagiographica 10; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910), 53–54 nos. 228–230.

<sup>22</sup> For summaries of the *Martyrdom*, see Delehay, “Cyprien d’Antioche,” 319–20; Sabattini, “S. Cipriano,” 187–88. For Greek manuscripts of the *Martyrdom* (or *Passion*), see Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 138–39 nos. 454–455; idem, *Auctarium*, 54 no. 455; idem, *Novum auctarium*, 57 no. 455. Gibson (*Apocrypha Arabica*, 72–78) printed the Greek text of *Sinaiticus* 497 along with an Arabic version. For the Latin manuscripts, see *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina*, 1:309 nos. 2050–2051; Fros, *BHL: Novum supplementum*, 239 no. 2050–2051a. On manuscripts in other languages, see Peeters, *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*, 54–55 no. 232; this entry must be corrected as the entry concerning the Syriac version of the *Conversion* also applies to the *Martyrdom* (cf. Victor Ryssel, “Der Urtext der Cyprianuslegende,” *ASNSL* 110 (1903): 273–311) and it must also be supplemented with the Ethiopic version published by Edgar J. Goodspeed (“The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justa,” *AJSL* 19 [1903]: 65–82) and a second Coptic version, *Pier. Morg.* M609 fols. 93<sup>v</sup>–100<sup>v</sup>, edited by Friedrich Bilabel (“Studien zu Kyprian dem Magier,” in *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* [ed. Friedrich Bilabel and Adolf Grohmann; Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen 5; Heidelberg: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1934], 146–60).

author did not write the *Confession*.<sup>23</sup> However, the *Confession* assumes a background story such as that found in the *Conversion* and must have been written at a later date (there are, however, no signs that indicate that the author was aware of the *Martyrdom*). But even though the *Confession* appears at least in part dependent on the *Conversion*, there are numerous differences between the two narratives, for which reason Zahn suggested the existence of a now lost source other than the *Conversion*.<sup>24</sup> The author of the *Confession* may have simply deviated from the details of the *Conversion* either for literary purposes or to suit a different audience. The *Confession* was probably intended as a supplement; I see no need to view it as an incomplete work or to suggest a lost introduction.<sup>25</sup>

## 2.1 THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The apocryphal acts of the apostles played a significant role in the development of the legend of Cyprian. The portrayal of the virgin Justina's conversion in the *Conversion* so closely resembles the conversion of the virgin Thecla in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* that there can be little doubt that the author of the former used the latter as a source.<sup>26</sup> The story of Justina's conversion does not appear in the

<sup>23</sup> Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien*, 73–85; cf. Delehay, "Cyprien d'Antioche," 320.

<sup>24</sup> Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien*, 76–79. Some of the differences are the following: in the *Confession* none of the demons succeed in penetrating the apartment of Justina, but in the *Conversion* each of the demons enter; in the *Conversion* Cyprian burns his magical books before going to see the bishop Anthimus, in the *Confession* he does so after he goes to Eusebius; in the *Conversion* Cyprian works his way up the ecclesiastical ranks and becomes bishop of Antioch, and in the *Confession* there is no reference to any ecclesiastical role for Cyprian; in the *Conversion* Aglaïdas disappears after the demonic attacks on Justina have failed and in the *Confession* he converts along with Cyprian; cf. Delehay, "Cyprien d'Antioch," 321. It seems more sensible to suggest that the *Conversion* was an oral rather than a written source for the author of the *Confession*.

<sup>25</sup> Reitzenstein, "Cyprian der Magier," 50; Delehay, "Cyprien d'Antioche," 320. The *incipit* of the *Confession* as it now stands is, to my mind, satisfactory as an introduction for a pagan audience. Since both Reitzenstein ("Cyprian der Magier," 50–51 n. 3) and Delehay ("Cyprien d'Antioche," 316–17 with n. 1) favored the then hypothetical Greek variant προκόπτετε (now an actual variant from *Vat. gr.* 797) rather than προσκόπτετε as an introductory address to those advancing in the mysteries of Christ rather than to those offended by the mysteries of Christ, the force of the *incipit* as an introduction was missed (see note 9). The *incipit* of the *Conversion* is expressly Christian: "When our Saviour, Jesus Christ appeared on earth from heaven and the words of the prophets were fulfilled, the whole world was enlightened with the word and, believing in God, the Father Almighty, and in our Lord Jesus Christ, was baptized in the Holy Ghost" (trans. Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1936], 42–43).

<sup>26</sup> See Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 16–17. The similarity may have sparked Gregory Nazianzus's reference to Thecla in *Or.* 24.10; cf. Carl Schlau *Die Acten des Paulus und der*

*Confession*, but the account of Cyprian's attempts to win the love of Justina through erotic magic is retained, although it appears in a form radically different from that found in the *Conversion*. Gilles Quispel has suggested that this plot was originally derived from the *Acts of Andrew*,<sup>27</sup> which contains several parallels to the Cyprianic legend: a reference is made to the magician's lengthy period of training<sup>28</sup>; the magician, after seeing a virgin go up to her roof to pray, sends demons against her; the demons, who also seem to be disguised (the text says that "they acted like her brother") like the demon in the *Conversion* who is disguised as a maiden, knock on the virgin's door; the virgin prays and the demons flee.<sup>29</sup> Quispel is right to designate the *Acts of Andrew* as a source for this plot, but it is not the only source, especially for the plot as it appears in the *Confession*.

In the *Conversion* the three demons are conjured consecutively, each of them returning from Justina's apartment unsuccessfully. The *Confession* is much less structured and staccato; here Cyprian sends the entire phalanx of demons entrusted to him by the devil to the door of Justina (*Conf.* 9:10).<sup>30</sup> This phalanx of demons is accompanied by the dragon, a character that is common to the apocryphal acts and totally absent from the *Conversion*. The dragon in the *Confession*, as in the apocryphal acts, is a symbol of sexual desire. The dragon in *Acts of Thomas* 31–33 is enamored with a beautiful woman and kills her lover; similarly the dragon kills Fortunatus in the necrophilia scene in Drusiana's tomb in *Acts of John* 63–86.<sup>31</sup> In these cases, however, the dragon punishes sexual

*Thecla und die ältere Thecla-legende: Ein Beitrag zur christlichen Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1877), 37–38. Radermacher (*Griechische Quellen*, 26–29) also suggested compositional dependencies of the *Conversion* on the *Acts of Peter and Paul* and the *Acts of Thomas*.

<sup>27</sup> Gilles Quispel, "Faust: Symbol of Western Man," in *Gnostic Studies* (2 vols.; Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 34.1–2; İstanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1974–1975), 2:297.

<sup>28</sup> Noted by Jan N. Bremmer, "Man, Magic, and Martyrdom in the Acts of Andrew," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer; Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 5; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 25.

<sup>29</sup> This portion of the *Acts of Andrew* is preserved only in Coptic, see Gilles Quispel, "An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew (Pap. Copt. Utrecht N. 1)," *VC* 10 (1956): 129–48.

<sup>30</sup> Cyprian does summon a demon, but not to attack Justina. The demon of fornication is disguised as Justina and sent to Aglaïdas so that he stops demanding the services of Cyprian and the devil; the demon, however, loses his disguise when Aglaïdas shouts the name of Justina (cf. *Conf.* 10:4; 11:1).

<sup>31</sup> See Tamás Adamik, "The Serpent in the Acts of Thomas," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (ed. Jan N. Bremmer; Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 6; Leuven: Peeters, 2001),

deviance, whereas in the *Confession* the dragon attempts to incite it. There is also a strong resemblance to *Acts of Philip* 9 where the dragon is similarly defeated through prayer and the sign of the cross.

## 2.2 THE FIGURE OF THE MAGICIAN IN THE GRECO-ROMAN NOVEL

Perhaps more significant than the value of the *Confession* for the study of late-antique *Religionsgeschichte* is the value of its literary depiction of a late-antique magician. Although the *Confession* was obviously written from a Christian perspective, its graphic representation of the magician Cyprian closely parallels the literary portrayals of magicians typical of the era. Greco-Roman novels such as Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* undoubtedly represent a second main body of literature from which the author of the *Confession* pulled material. As in the tales of many magicians and holy men, Cyprian travels far and wide to increase his own magical capabilities seeking initiation into exotic mysteries. Cyprian, like Eucrates in Lucian's *Philopseudes* 34 and Jesus, according to Celsus (Origen, *Cels.* 1.38; cf. Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 43), travels to Egypt to learn magic and, like Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.25), journeys to the land of the Chaldaeans.<sup>32</sup> In Greco-Roman novels, as in the *Confession*, such voyages and initiatory periods were meant to enhance the prestige of the holy man.<sup>33</sup>

Whereas Quispel identified the *Acts of Andrew* as the source for the plot concerning Cyprian's erotic magic, Radermacher pointed to a short narrative in Lucian's *Philopseudes* 14 in which the Peripatetic Cleodemus tells his friends about a Hyperborean magician, who is, like Cyprian, able to fly through the air

115–24. In this scene Thomas's role is similar to Cyprian's role as a magician in the *Conversion*; he commands the dragon, as Cyprian commands the demons, to tell him of his nature and deeds. Both the dragon in the *Acts of Thomas* and a demon in the *Conversion* similarly confess to having tempted Eve in the garden of Eden. Note also what is said of the sexual proclivities of the Winged Dragon in *T. Sol.* 14:3–4.

<sup>32</sup> Note also the voyages of Scythianus mentioned by Epiphanius (*Pan.* 66.1.8–4.5). For a few further parallels, see Danièle Berranger-Auserve, "Cyprien, personnage romanesque dans *La Confession de saint Cyprien*," in *Les personnages du roman grec: Actes du colloque de Tours, 18–20 novembre 1999* (ed. Bernard Pouderon; Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen 29; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen-Jean Pouilloux, 2001), 302–6.

<sup>33</sup> See Graham Anderson, *Sage, Saint and Sophist: Holy Men and their Associates in the Early Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1994), 167–97.

and walk on water (*Philops.* 13; *Conf.* 18:11).<sup>34</sup> In the tale, Cleodemus introduces Glaucias, who is at wit's end over his love affair with Chrysis, to the Hyperborean magician, who for four minas fashions a little Cupid out of clay and sends it to the house of Chrysis; shortly thereafter Chrysis knocks at the door of Glaucias and embraces him. No single source is directly responsible for the plot as it appears in the legend of Cyprian; it is probable given the similar tale told by Epiphanius (*Pan.* 30.5.1–11.7) that stories of this type were prevalent in late antiquity.

The author of the *Confession* has succeeded in creating a villainous magician of Cyprian in his pre-conversion years comparable to Lucan's witch Erictho. Indeed, Cyprian begins his public confession by stating that he, much like Erictho and probably also for necromantic purposes, ripped open pregnant women and sacrificed their children (*Conf.* 15:3).<sup>35</sup> Many of the references to necromantic practices were influenced by other literary depictions of necromancy and have either little or no bearing on actual necromantic practices.

### 2.3 THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHON JANNES AND JAMBRES

In the *Decretum Gelasianum* (sixth century C.E.) the *Confession* (where it is titled *Poenitentia sancti Cypriani*) is labeled as an apocryphal treatise together with three other *poenitentiae*, one of which is the pseudepigraphon *Jannes and Jambres* (titled *Poenitentia Iamne et Mambre* in the *Decretum*).<sup>36</sup> Because of the proximity of these two texts in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, the commonality of their titles, and the similarity of their subject matter (the misdeeds of deviant magicians), M. R. James was led to believe that the contents of the *Confession* could help flesh out the literary lacunae of the fragmentary pseudepigraphon. Prompted further by the two allusions to the two Egyptian brothers in the

<sup>34</sup> Ludwig Radermacher, "Cyprian der Magier," *AR* 21 (1922): 233–35; idem, *Griechische Quellen*, 5–7.

<sup>35</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6.557–560; cf. W. Fauth, "Die Bedeutung der Nekromantie-Szene in Lucans *Pharsalia*," *RhMus* 118 (1975): 325–44; Richard Gordan, "Lucan's Erictho," in *Homo viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble* (ed. Michael Whitby et al.; Bristol: Bristol Classical, 1987), 231–41.

<sup>36</sup> E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis: Im kritischem text* (TU 38.4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912), 84; cf. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, "The so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*," in *New Testament Apocrypha* (trans. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; rev. ed.; Westminster: John Knox Press, 1991), 1:38–40.

*Confession* (6:6; 17:5–7), James even went so far as to consider it “far from unlikely that the Penitence of Jannes and Jambres has furnished a model” for the *Confession*.<sup>37</sup> James speculated that Jambres, at what appears to be the end of the pseudepigraphon where he conjures the shade of his dead brother Jannes up from Hades, actually heeds his brother’s words of warning and repents.<sup>38</sup>

In the first of these two passages the devil praises Cyprian as “well-grown (εὐφυῆ), a lad (μειράκιον), a young Jambres, well-strung for service, worthy of association with that one” (*Conf.* 6:6).<sup>39</sup> Of the great number of references to Jannes and Jambres in secondary sources this is the only instance in which Jambres is mentioned by himself. In reference to James’s speculations, Albert Pietersma has suggested that because of this unique reference the author of the *Confession* must have been aware of a tradition in which Jambres enjoyed a status distinct from his brother.<sup>40</sup> But this interpretation stems from an unnecessary correction to the text by Prudentius Maran as well as from reading the passage out of context. Maran corrected εὐφυῆ to εὐφυές to agree with μειράκιον, which Pietersma has translated as “a clever lad.”<sup>41</sup> But the correction is both unwarranted and lessens the force of μειράκιον, a term which is used to refer to someone

<sup>37</sup> M. R. James, “A Fragment of the ‘Penitence of Jannes and Jambres’,” *JTS* 2 (1901): 575; cf. idem, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), 34. Although it is most likely an interpolation, there is a third reference to Jannes and Jambres in one of the Coptic manuscripts (*Par. copt.* 129<sup>15</sup> fol. 2<sup>v</sup> col. b, ll. 16–18; von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 4). Where in the Greek version of *Conf.* 3:1 Cyprian travels to Memphis, the Coptic version says that he went to both Memphis and Heliopolis to become more skilled than Jannes and Jambres (this portion is in lacuna in *Pier. Morg.* M609; see Stephen Gero, “Parerga to ‘The Book of Jannes and Jambres’,” *JSP* 9 [1991]: 78 n. 30).

<sup>38</sup> James, “A Fragment,” 576.

<sup>39</sup> Albert 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)* [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 119; Leiden: Brill, 1994], 63) translates the final clause ἄξιον τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνου as “worthy of fellowship with him [Satan].” This is incorrect; ἐκείνου must refer to Jambres (and even if it were correct the *Confession* uses διάβολος throughout and never Σατανᾶς).

<sup>40</sup> Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 56, 60, 63.

<sup>41</sup> Maran (“*Confessio Sancti Cypriani*,” 1113–14) prints εὐφυές in his text and in note *b* does not mention his correction but merely writes “Interpr. *astutum puerum*”; however, on *Par. gr.* 1506 fol. 175<sup>r</sup> l. 14 it is clearly εὐφυῆ (similarly *Vat. gr.* 797 fol. 120<sup>v</sup> col. a, ll. 9–10 and *Vat. gr.* 1809 fol. 217<sup>v</sup> col. a, l. 66 [see Gitlbauer’s transcription, “Die Ueberreste,” 65]). One wonders if Maran had intended to note his correction, since *astutum puerum* (Pietersma’s “a clever lad”) is the only way his text can be translated. Both James and Pietersma used the Bollandist edition, which lacks even Maran’s small note, and had no way of knowing about Maran’s correction (cf. AASS Sept., VII [1867]: 207).



around or under twenty years of age. Earlier in the text, however, when Cyprian leaves for Chaldaea, we learn that he is thirty years old (*Conf.* 5:4). When the term *μειράκιον* is used in reference to adults, as is the case here, it is used in a contemptuous sense.<sup>42</sup> The devil is essentially telling Cyprian that he is well-grown, but still a mere lad, and it is only in this context that the devil's imperative that Cyprian "be a man" (*ἀνδρίζου*) in *Conf.* 6:9 makes any sense. The author isolated Jambres not because he was aware of some tradition in which Jambres enjoyed a career independent of his brother,<sup>43</sup> but rather merely because Jambres was the lesser of the two brothers.

In the second passage Cyprian laments over the prospect that he will not be forgiven for his ungodliness since he outdid Jannes and Jambres, who at least acknowledged God when Cyprian did not. Cyprian then asks, "If God did not pardon those ones even though they recognized him in part, how will he pardon me, who did not recognize him at all?" (*Conf.* 17:7). The *Confession* states rather emphatically that the Egyptian magicians did not obtain forgiveness. This is also attested in the psuedepigraphon where the shade of Jannes tells his brother Jambres, "but now there is no forgiveness for us" (*JanJam* 23f<sup>v</sup>). If Jambres did enjoy an independent career in the story, then it was probably not as a penitent.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See LSJ 1093b s.v. *μειράκιον*.

<sup>43</sup> Even with Maran's correction, however, such an interpretation is a stretch, and especially if it is thought that the author of the *Confession* was familiar with *Jannes and Jambres*. By this line of thought the devil's association of Cyprian to a penitent Jambres would be act of clairvoyance suggesting that the devil knew that Cyprian would also repent. The devil is, however, both surprised and angered when Cyprian renounces him, so much so that he tries to strangle him (see *Conf.* 13:8–12).

<sup>44</sup> This leaves the perplexing question as to how *Jannes and Jambres* came to be referred to as *Poenitentia* in the *Decretum Gelasianum*. The most probable solution is that the *poenitentia* or *μετάνοια* label is not original since the text is not universally given this label. The scenario here is probably similar to that of the *Penitence of Adam*; although there is an Armenian text with this title, the *Poenitentia Adae* mentioned in the *Decretum Gelasianum* is most likely a reference to the pseudepigraphon known as the *Life of Adam and Eve*, in which, even though it too is labeled *Poenitentia* in some manuscripts, there is no actual confession (see Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*, 304; Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 60; Michael E. Stone, *The Penitence of Adam* [CSCO 429; Louvain: Peeters, 1981], ix). During this time period confession literature had developed into its own genre (Elias J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988], 205), and although these texts should not be included, their titles nonetheless may have later fallen victim to the popularity of the genre. If the speech of Jannes is considered a confession (as Pietersma suggests in "The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians," in *Congress Volume, Leuven 1989* [ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1991], 392–93), then in terms of confession literature it is in a category all by itself.

The *Confession* was likely not modeled upon *Jannes and Jambres*,<sup>45</sup> and not even in a superficial sense, but there can be little doubt that author of the *Confession* was familiar with the text of *Jannes and Jambres*<sup>46</sup> as well as other pseud-epigrapha, most notably the *Testament of Solomon*.<sup>47</sup>

### 3. Reception History

The popularity of the legend of Cyprian of Antioch gave rise to a rich and varied body of literature which is in many ways comparable to the trajectory of magical literature surrounding the biblical figure Solomon. Much of this literature is expressly magical in nature, from one particularly lengthy erotic spell preserved in Coptic,<sup>48</sup> to the large number of exorcistic and apotropaic prayers and amulets which have survived in various languages,<sup>49</sup> to medieval grimoires such as the

<sup>45</sup> Note also the new fragment *P. Mich. Inv. 4925*, unknown to James and unavailable to Pietersma, which begins with a genealogy of Jannes and Jambres (see Ludwig Koenen, "Notes on Papyri," *BASP* 16 [1979]: 114–15; Georg Schmeltz, "Zwei 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).

<sup>46</sup> So Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 49, 63. See also my note to *Conf.* 3:3, which I suggest may have been inspired by the story of Jannes and Jambres.

<sup>47</sup> That the author was familiar with the *Testament of Solomon* has been noted by James, "A Fragment," 575; Howard M. Jackson, "Notes on the *Testament of Solomon*," *JSJ* 19 (1988): 52; cf. Peter Busch, *Das Testament Salomos: Die älteste christliche Dämonologie, kommentiert und in deutscher Erstübersetzung* (TUGAL 153; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2006), 170, 184.

<sup>48</sup> This Coptic spell references the legend as it appears in the *Confession*. See Friedrich Bilabel, "Das Kyprian-Zauberbuch Inv.-No. 1684 der Heidelberger Universitätsbibliothek," in *Griechische, koptische, und arabische Texte*, 304–25; there is an English translation by Howard M. Jackson, "Erotic Spell of Cyprian of Antioch," in *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (ed. Marvin W. Meyer and Richard Smith; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 153–58 no. 73.

<sup>49</sup> Theodor Schermann ("Die griechischen Kyprianosgebete," *OrChr* 3 [1903]: 303–23) has made a critical text from several Greek manuscripts (cf. Friedrich Bilabel, "Texte zum Kypriangebet," in *Griechische, koptische, und arabische Texte*, 231–59). On the Latin prayers, see H. Leclercq, "Oratio Cypriani," *DACL* 12.2 (1936): 2332–45. On the Ethiopic prayers, see Adolf Grohmann, "Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten," *WZKM* 30 (1916): 121–50; René Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens VI: Les prières de saint Cyprien et de Théophile* (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Haute Science, 1896), 6–24; Stefan Strelcyn, "Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes (*maftahe šarāy*)," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 18 (1955): xlvii–lii. On the Arabic prayers, see Bilabel, "Texte zum Kypriangebet," 260–303; Graf, *Geschichte*, 1:662. For various magical prayers and amulets in Arabic, Coptic, and Greek, see Friedrich Bilabel, "Andere koptische, koptisch-arabische und griechische Zaubertexte, Gebete und Amulette," in *Griechische, koptische, und arabische Texte*, 327–414. On the Armenian prayers, see Michael E. Stone, "Some Armenian Angelological and Uranographical Texts," in *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Armenian Studies: Collected Papers* (2 vols.; OLA 144–45; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 416–17; cf. J. S. Wingate, "The Scroll of Cyprian: An Armenian Family Amulet," *Folklore* 41 (1930): 170–83.

*Secreta Cypriani* and the *Art of Cyprian*.<sup>50</sup> However, much of this later literature attributed to Cyprian does not derive specifically from the text of the *Confession*, but rather from the Cyprianic tradition as a whole.<sup>51</sup> The amalgamations of the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom* into single *vitae* by both Symeon Metaphrastes and Jacobus de Voragine (*Legenda aurea* 142) were particularly influential.<sup>52</sup> The plot of Calderón's drama *El mágico prodigioso* was based on the version in the *Legenda aurea* and the story of Cyprian in the *Conversion* is considered one the earliest forerunners, if not the earliest, to Goethe's *Faust*.<sup>53</sup> There is also a

<sup>50</sup> The *Secreta Cypriani*, though it seemed to have disappeared, was relocated by Howard M. Jackson, who subsequently published a few select passages ("A Contribution," 38–39). The text is found just before a Latin version of the *Confession* in MS Digby 30 (olim A224) on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–28<sup>v</sup> (see William D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars nona codices a viro clarissimo Kenelm Digby, Eq. Aur., anno 1634 donatos, complectens: Adiecto indice nominum et rerum* [Oxford: E typographico Clarendoniano, 1883], 28; Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* [7 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953], 2.1:70 no. 1631). Hans Waitz (*Die Pseudoklementinen, Homilen und Rekognitionen: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* [TUGAL 10; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904], 231) refers to a second manuscript, *Par. St. Genev.* 1352, but he has confused this text with an exorcistic prayer (see Charles Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève* [3 vols.; Paris: Plon, 1893–1896], 1:621 no. 1352). The *Art of Cyprian* is found in a manuscript once owned by Frederick Hockley, *Glasgow Ferg.* 101 fols. 64–102; see Adam McLean, "Constructing a Magical Mirror according to the Art of Cyprian," *Hermetic Journal* 11 (1981): 27–33. Cyprian figures briefly in other medieval grimoires as well, such as the *Verus Jesuitarum Libellus*, in which there is a Cyprianic invocation of angels. The Pseudo-Baconian *De Nigromancia* (2.4–6) provides instructions for consecrating a magical circle which involve having a priest say a mass in honor of St. Cyprian; see Michael-Albion MacDonald, *De Nigromancia of Roger Bacon* (Gillette, NJ: Heptangle, 1988), 13–26.

<sup>51</sup> Nerses of Lambron's reference (*Comm. Rev.* 9.7) is particularly interesting because it mentions the *Confession* specifically, but in reference to a ranking of greatness to smallness among the demons (see Robert W. Thomson, *Nerses of Lambron: Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John* [Hebrew University Armenian Studies 9; Leuven: Peeters, 2007], 28, 102); however, this concept was most likely derived from the *Conversion*. The *Martyrdom* exists in Armenian (see Mkrtich' Awgerean, *Liakatar Vark' ew V kayabanut' iwnk' Srboç* [12 vols.; Venice: n.p., 1810–1814], 4:68–105), although many elements from both the *Conversion* and the *Confession* have been worked into this version (see F. C. Conybeare, "The Armenian Acts of Cyprian," *ZNW* 21 (1922): 269–77; cf. the brief "Life and Deeds of Cyprian" translated by Wingate, "The Scroll of Cyprian," 183–87).

<sup>52</sup> For Symeon Metaphrastes' *Vita et martyrion sanctorum Cypriani et Justinæ*, see PG 115:847–882.

<sup>53</sup> On the relation of Cyprian to Faust, see Theodor Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1882) 1–20; Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition*, 41–59; Gilles Quispel, "Faust," in *Gnostic Studies*, 2:294–98; I. P. Couliano, "Dr. Faust, Great Sodomite and Necromancer," *RHR* 207 (1990): 274–76; Enrica Salvaneschi, "Un Faust redento," in *σύγκρισις α': Testi e studi di storia e filosofia del linguaggio religioso* (ed. C. Angelino and E. Salvaneschi; Genova: Il Melangolo, 1982), 1–10. On Calderón, see W. Beyschlag, "De Cypriano mago et martyre Calderonicae tragoediae persona primaria," (Ph.D. diss., Universität Halle, 1866). The story of Cyprian was also turned into a poem by Anthony Ascham, on which see Fred C. Robinson, "The Complaynt off Sanct Cipriane, the Grett

Portuguese grimoire attributed to St. Cyprian which exists in several different versions that is infamous in modern day Portugal.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.1 GREGORY NAZIANZUS, *ORATION* 24

On 3 October, 379 C.E. in Constantinople Gregory Nazianzus delivered his panegyric in honor of St. Cyprian of Carthage in which he famously confused the historical bishop of Carthage who was martyred under Valerian in 258 C.E. with the fictitious Cyprian of Antioch who was allegedly martyred under Diocletian in 304 C.E.<sup>55</sup> After praising the erudition of Cyprian—who is clearly identified as the historical bishop of Carthage (*Or.* 24.6)—Gregory goes on to tell the story of Cyprian's former life and eventual conversion (*Or.* 24.8–12); the story Gregory tells, however, is the story of a pagan sorcerer who employs demonic magic in his attempts to seduce a Christian virgin. Gregory's obvious confusion of the two Cyprians is of crucial importance for dating the *Confession* since a number of elements in Gregory's discourse point specifically to the *Confession* as his source. In addition to the references to public confession (ἐξομόρευσις), worship of demons, sorcery as the trademark of Cyprian's nefarious activities, and Cyprian's appetite for carnal pleasure (24.8), Gregory refers to Cyprian's personal infatuation with an unnamed virgin (24.9), a theme which is found only in the *Confession*.<sup>56</sup> Theodor Zahn has gone so far as to suggest that Gregory can only have become aware of the legendary Cyprian through the text of the *Confession* for the reason that the *Conversion* and the *Martyrdom*, unlike the *Confession*, both

Nigromancer': A Poem by Anthony Ascham," *Review of English Studies* 27 (1976): 257–65; note as well the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plays referenced by Eric Wimmer, "Cyprianus," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 3 (1999): 198–99.

<sup>54</sup> See Jackson, "A Contribution," 41 n. 16.

<sup>55</sup> A modern critical text of *Or.* 24 has been made by Justin Mossay, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 24–26: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (SC 284; Paris: Cerf, 1981), 40–85 (= PG 35:1169–1193); there is also the English translation of Martha Vinson, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Select Orations* (Fathers of the Church 107; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 142–56. For the respective martyrdoms of the two Cyprians, see Mossay, *Discours 24–26*, 12–16.

<sup>56</sup> In *Conf.* 10:1 Cyprian states that he, like Aglaïdas, has fallen in love with Justina. However, Gregory makes no mention of a client comparable to Aglaïdas. In the *Conversion*, Cyprian tells the first demon that it was summoned because he loved a maid of the Galileans, but this is immediately following Aglaïdas's consultation and it is clear that he is speaking not of his own love but rather on Aglaïdas's behalf.

unequivocally identify Cyprian as bishop of Antioch—had Gregory been aware of this attribution, presumably, he would not have conflated the two Cyprians.<sup>57</sup> 379 C.E., then, represents the *terminus ante quem* for the *Confession*, which was likely composed sometime after the *Conversion*.

Scholars have been at a loss to explain how exactly such a learned person as Gregory could have made such an egregious error and have postulated a now lost biography on Cyprian of Carthage in which this conflation of two Cyprians already existed as the source of Gregory's confusion.<sup>58</sup> Few have realized, however, that the day on which this panegyric was delivered, 3 October, was one day after the oriental feast day of St. Cyprian of Antioch; Gregory actually confused the legendary Cyprian of Antioch with the historical bishop of Carthage and not the other way around.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.2 PRUDENTIUS, *PERISTEPHANON* 13

Although the Spanish poet Prudentius was most likely unaware of Gregory's panegyric on Cyprian of Carthage, in his poetic portrayal of the life and martyrdom of the famous bishop of Carthage, composed in the late fourth or early fifth century, he seems to succumb to the same confusion.<sup>60</sup> However, whereas a substantial amount of Gregory's oration can be connected to the legend of

<sup>57</sup> Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien*, 87–90; cf. Delehaye, "Cyprien d'Antioche," 329. Gregory's statement (*Or.* 24.14) that Cyprian of Carthage was martyred under Decius, while certainly incorrect—Cyprian evaded the persecutions of Decius through voluntary exile (Delehaye, "Cyprien d'Antioche," 325)—similarly shows that Gregory could not have been aware of the *Martyrdom* of Cyprian of Antioch, in which Cyprian is martyred under Diocletian.

<sup>58</sup> Reitzenstein, "Cyprian der Magier," 58–59; Delehaye, "Cyprien d'Antioche," 326–32; Krestan and Hermann, "Cyprianus II (Magier)," 472. While this theory is speculative it is certainly preferable to Coman's suggestion ("Le deux Cyprien," 371) that Gregory deliberately conflated the two Cyprians.

<sup>59</sup> See J. M. Szymusiak, "Pour une chronologie des discours de S. Grégoire de Nazianze," *VC* 20 (1966): 183–84 n. 3; cf. Christopher A. Beeley, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We See Light* (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 36. This is no doubt the cause of Gregory's opening remark: "We nearly forgot Cyprian!" (*Or.* 24.1).

<sup>60</sup> Several studies have been devoted to this poem, see S. Costanza, "La Conversione di Cipriano nell'Inno XIII del *Peristephanon* di Prudenzio," *Giornale italiano di filologia* 30 (1978): 174–82; Martha A. Malamud, *A Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 49; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 115–48; John Petruccione, "Prudentius' Portrait of St. Cyprian: An Idealized Biography," *REAug* 36 (1990): 225–41; Michael Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs* (Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 109–29.

Cyprian of Antioch, only four lines of Prudentius's poem pertain to the fictional Cyprian: "He was pre-eminent among young men for skill in perverse arts, would violate modesty by a trick, count nothing holy, and often practise a magic spell amid the tombs to raise passion in a wife and break the law of wedlock" (*Per.* 13.21–24).<sup>61</sup> Although there are some glaring differences, many have uncritically connected this passage directly to the legend of Cyprian of Antioch.<sup>62</sup> But Prudentius refers to married women rather than a Christian virgin and to the spirits of the dead in their tombs rather than demons. These features are present in the *Confession* but are certainly peripheral to the main plot, and it would be odd indeed if Prudentius had singled out such passing remarks.<sup>63</sup>

It is much more difficult to explain the conflation of Cyprians in Prudentius since the passage does not point directly to a source concerning Cyprian of Antioch. Reitzenstein's postulation of a lost biography was intended to explain the similar conflations of both Gregory and Prudentius simultaneously; according to this hypothesis the differences in their respective conflations are explained away as a result of Prudentius's isolation to this bare bones biography as a source and Gregory's supplementation of this same biography with the text of the *Confession*.<sup>64</sup> Attractive as this theory may be, it unfortunately cannot be proven. John Petruccione's alternative that Prudentius's source may have been a Latin translation of Gregory's panegyric on Cyprian is also mere speculation.<sup>65</sup> The

<sup>61</sup> *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.* The translation is that of H. J. Thomson, *Prudentius* (2 vols; LCL 387 and 398; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 2:328–31.

<sup>62</sup> See Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2:330 n. a; Malamud, *A Poetics of Transformation*, 134; Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, 120–21.

<sup>63</sup> Petruccione ("Prudentius' Portrait," 231–32) points instead to parallels in Roman elegy. Cyprian does not only use his magic to seduce virgins, but he confesses to using magic to drive married women away from their husbands (*Conf.* 18:14; cf. 15:3, 8; 16:2). Cyprian also refers to divination through the sounds of the dead in their tombs (*Conf.* 2:3); this, however, is not in reference to erotic magic but to necromancy (as is the case with the examples cited by Petruccione, "Prudentius' Portrait," 231–32 n. 18).

<sup>64</sup> See Reitzenstein, "Cyprian der Magier," 64–65; Delehay, "Cyprien d'Antioche," 331–32; Krestan and Hermann, "Cyprianus II (Magier)," 472–73.

<sup>65</sup> Petruccione, "Prudentius' Portrait," 230. The Italian scholar Rufinus is known to have translated eight of Gregory's orations, but Gregory's panegyric on Cyprian is not one of them—according to Delehay ("Cyprien d'Antioche," 331) Prudentius could not have been aware of Gregory's panegyric. Costanza's suggestion ("La Conversione," 177 n. 2) that Prudentius may

source of these lines in Prudentius was undoubtedly the legend of Cyprian, but whereas Gregory was influenced by the legend directly, Prudentius, in whatever manner, was influenced indirectly.

### 3.3 EUDOCIA, *DE SANCTO CYPRIANO*

Around the middle of the fifth century the Byzantine empress Eudocia reworked all three Cyprianic texts, *Conversion*, *Confession*, and *Martyrdom*, into one epic poem in hexameter verse.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately her metaphrasis has survived only in part. In addition to the 322 hexameters which have survived from the part which corresponds to the *Conversion*, Claudio Bevegni discovered and published 99 hexameters from the beginning of the text; 479 hexameters have survived from the part which corresponds to the *Confession*.<sup>67</sup> None of the verses which correspond to the *Martyrdom* have survived, but their existence is verified by Photius (*Bibliotheca* 184), who gave a summary of all three parts.<sup>68</sup>

Photius (*Bibliotheca* 183) praises the poetic verse of Eudocia's paraphrase of the Octateuch and commends her for not using poetic license to digress from main themes and for accurately following the text without expansion or abridgement. Photius's praise of her Greek verse seems somewhat unwarranted, however, as it

have learned the story of Cyprian of Antioch during a visit to the shrine of Cyprian in Rome is no less speculative (cf. Petruccione, "Prudentius' Portrait," 228–229).

<sup>66</sup> On the life and writings of Eudocia, see Arthur Ludwig, "Eudokia, die Gattin des Kaisers Theodosios II, als Dichterin," *RhMus* 37 (1882): 206–25; L. Cohn, "Eudokia," *PW* 6 (1909): 906–12; Alan Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982): 217–89.

<sup>67</sup> The editions of *De Sancto Cypriano* are those of M. Bandini (*PG* 85:831–864) and Arthur Ludwig, *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum Graecorum reliquiae accedunt Blemymachiae fragmenta* (*Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum teubneriana*; Leipzig: Teubner, 1897), 16–70. There is an English translation by G. Ronald Kastner ("Eudokia," in Patricia Wilson-Kastner et al., *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church* [Lanham, Md.: University of America Press, 1981], 135–71) and an Italian translation by Enrica Salvaneschi, "De Sancto Cypriano," in *σύγκρισις α': Testi e studi di storia e filosofia del linguaggio religioso* [ed. C. Angelino and E. Salvaneschi; Genova: Il Melangolo, 1982], 11–80. For the new material, see Claudio Bevegni, "Eudociae Augustae Martyrium S. Cypriani I 1–99," *Prometheus* 8 (1982): 249–62.

<sup>68</sup> René Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque* (9 vols; Collection Byzantine; Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres," 1959–1991), 2:196–99; cf. the notes and English translation of N. G. Wilson, *Photius, The Bibliotheca: A Selection* (London: Duckworth, 1994), 174–76.

is full of neologisms, pseudo-epicisms, and often clumsy verse.<sup>69</sup> Numerous instances of slight expansion and abridgement as well as poetic license are visible throughout her metaphrasis of the *Confession*, e.g., her reference that in his youth Cyprian learned ὄργια θηρὸς νηδυπόροιο δράκοντος (*De S. Cypriano* 2.13–14). Because of these characteristics Eudocia's metaphrasis is of limited text-critical value for the *Confession*; it is, however, of unquestionable value as an early witness, although the precise relationship of the text of the *Confession* used by Eudocia to the two identifiable recensions is not altogether clear at this time.<sup>70</sup>

Eudocia's metaphrasis oscillates between the long and short recensions of the *Confession*. In terms of content there are two key points which distinguish the long and short recensions, *Conf.* 8:2 and 9:1–9. Only the long recension contains 8:2, which is quite possibly an interpolation incited by the unintentional omission of a negative in 8:1; the short recension, which contains a negative in 8:1, lacks 8:2 entirely (see note 37 to my translation). Here the text utilized by Eudocia clearly followed the long recension (*De S. Cypriano* 2.275). The contents of *Conf.* 9:2–8 are also unique to the long recension; they are missing in the short recension, where 9:1 merges with 9:9. At this point Eudocia's text clearly follows the short recension (*De S. Cypriano* 2.296–306).<sup>71</sup> If it is maintained that Eudocia followed the text of her manuscript of the *Confession* relatively closely, then the text that she used represents an intermediary stage in the manuscript tradition.

<sup>69</sup> Peter van Deun, "The Poetical Writings of the Empress Eudocia: An Evaluation," in *Early Christian Poetry: A Collection of Essays* (ed. J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst; VCSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 277–82; Wilson, *Photius*, 176 n. 1.

<sup>70</sup> The texts of the *Conversion* and *Confession*, however, may be of text-critical value for Eudocia's metaphrasis. For textual criticism of *De Sancto Cypriano* with reference to the three recensions of the *Conversion* and the two recensions of the *Confession*, see Claudio Bevegni, "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; 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 ed esegetiche," *Nea Rhome* 1 (2004): 35–44; idem, "Il viaggio di istruzione al male del mago Cipriano: Due note," *Itineraria* 3–4 (2004–2005): 51–56; idem, "Sui modelli del *De Sancto Cypriano* dell'imperatrice Eudocia," in *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique: Hommages à Jacques Schamp* (ed. Eugenio Amato; Collection Latomus 296; Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 2006), 389–405.

<sup>71</sup> This has been noted by Bevegni, "Il viaggio," 53; idem, "Sui modelli del *De Sancto Cypriano*," 400–401.



#### 4. Manuscripts and Recensions

The Greek version of the *Confession* of Cyprian of Antioch was first edited by Prudentius Maran in 1726 for the collection of the works of Cyprian of Carthage initially begun by Stephen Baluze.<sup>72</sup> His edition was subsequently reedited by an anonymous Bollandist editor (who did not consult the manuscript itself) and reprinted for the *Acta Sanctorum* series in 1760.<sup>73</sup> Neither edition is up to modern standards and at numerous points emendations and corrections are made silently without any indication of the actual readings in the manuscript. Both editions are of a single manuscript, *Par. gr.* 1506, and it is from one or the other of these editions that all translations into modern languages are based.<sup>74</sup> Much lesser known is Michael Gitlbauer's 1878 edition of *Vat. gr.* 1809.<sup>75</sup> These two versions have many significant differences and can be divided into two recensions, a long recension (*Par. gr.* 1506) and a short recension (*Vat. gr.* 1809).

Other versions of the *Confession* exist in Latin, Coptic, and Slavonic.<sup>76</sup> The Latin version has the appearance of an abridgement and attests a shorter recension (shorter than that of *Vat. gr.* 1809). Sections which appear in both the short and long Greek recensions such as Cyprian's experiences and visions in Memphis

<sup>72</sup> Maran, "Confessio Sancti Cypriani," 1105–40 (I have used the 1758 edition).

<sup>73</sup> I have used the 1867 edition, "Confessio seu Poenitentia S. Cypriani, editore et interprete Prudentio Marano Benedictino, cum aliis editis collata," AASS Sept., VII (1867): 204–224. The editor adopted the majority of Maran's suggested corrections and in a few places made new ones. This edition is unfortunately marred by myriad typesetting errors. The Greek text is accompanied by Maran's Latin translation, which Lynn Thorndike (*History of Magic and Experimental Science* [8 vols; New York: Macmillan, 1923–1958], 1:428 n. 1) mistook for an ancient Latin translation.

<sup>74</sup> There are two complete French translations, the first made by Jules Eudes Mirville, *De esprits: De l'Esprit-Saint et du miracle dans les six premiers et les six derniers siècles de notre ère, spécialement des résurrections de morts, des exorcismes, apparitions, transports, etc. Extraits des Bollandistes et des Procès de canonisation* (Tome 6; troisième mémoire; Manifestations thaumaturgiques 1; Paris: F. Wattelier, 1868), 174–83 and the second by Pierre Grimal, *Romans grecs et latins* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 134; Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 1385–1413. There is also the partial French translation of *Conf.* 1:4–2:5 made by Picard, "Mantique," 205–6. The German translation is that of Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 30–63) and there is an Italian translation made by Stephano Fulmagalli (*Cipriano di Antiochia, Confessione: La prima versione del mito di Faust nella letteratura antica* [Milan: Associazione culturale Mimesis, 1994], 35–75). In English there are only partial translations; Nock ("Cyprian of Antioch," 412) translated *Conf.* 1:6–2:1, which Nilsson ("Greek Mysteries," 168–69) took up and extended to *Conf.* 1:4–2:5.

<sup>75</sup> Gitlbauer, "Die Ueberreste," 59–80, 95–109 with pls. XII–XIV.

<sup>76</sup> Picard ("Mantique," 205 n. 6) is incorrect in his assertion that there are Syriac and Arabic versions of the *Confession*; there are Syriac and Arabic versions of the *Conversion* and *Martyrdom* (see notes 21–22), but not of the *Confession*.

(*Conf.* 3:1–5:4) are omitted.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, the Coptic material attests a longer recension (longer than that of *Par. gr.* 1506), although it may be more accurate to describe it simply as a heavily interpolated version of the long recension.<sup>78</sup> The Slavonic version also attests the longer recension and is often of help in restoring lacunae in the Coptic versions.<sup>79</sup> For this edition I have consulted

<sup>77</sup> Of the Greek version of *Conf.* 3:1–5:4 the Latin retains only: *Cum autem XXX annorum factus suissem, de Aegypto intravi in terram Chaldaeorum, volens discere coeli virtutem, quam ipsi super ignem esse dicunt.* Since only four Latin manuscripts have been noted by scholars (see, e.g., *BHL* 2049; Festugière, *Révélation*, 371), it is impossible to tell if the versions which have been edited and published are representative of all Latin manuscripts. A single Rouen manuscript has been edited by E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (5 vols; Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series 275; New York: B. Franklin, 1968), 3:1629–46; cf. Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Tome premier, Rouen* (Paris: Plon, 1886), 370 no. 1389 (U.35) fols. 108<sup>r</sup>–111<sup>v</sup>. An eclectic text of three manuscripts has also been published by John Fell, *Caecilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illustrata a Joanne Fello, Oxoniensi episcopo Accedunt Annales Cyprianici, sive, Tredecim annorum, quibus S. Cyprianus inter Christianos versatus est, brevis historia chronologicè delineata a Joanne Pearsonio, Cestriensi episcopo* (Amsterdam: Joannes Ludovicus de Lorme, 1700), 196–206. Fell does not give any information on his manuscripts, but they are MS Digby 30 fols. 29<sup>r</sup>–46<sup>r</sup> (see Macray, *Catalogi*, 28), Trinity College, Cambridge B. I. 23 fols. 95<sup>r</sup>–106<sup>r</sup> (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 Trinity College, Dublin B. 4. 1 (see Thomas Kingsmill Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* [Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1980], 26 no. 191, 5). Fell gives few variants in his notes and I have the impression from the few citations from the Bodleian manuscript given by Maran in the notes to his edition of the Greek text that Fell's three manuscripts contain a great deal of variation. There are many more Latin manuscripts than these four, none of which appear in Fros's supplement to *BHL*. For now I will refer to only four more, see Hermann Hagen, *Catalogus codicum bernesium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1974), 69 no. 48 (fols. 36<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>); V. Jacob, "Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Metz," *SAHM* 13 (1874): 281 no. 397, 9; Joseph Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum* (London: Hansard, 1802), 479 (*Vespasianus* E. III fols. 106<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup>); Jules de Saint-Genois, *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville et de l'Université de Gand* (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1849–1852), 175 no. 158.

<sup>78</sup> There are two more or less complete Coptic manuscripts: *Par. copt.* 129<sup>15</sup> fols. 11<sup>r</sup>–16<sup>v</sup>, edited by Oscar von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke der Legende von Cyprian von Antiochien* (Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de Saint-Petersbourg, VIII<sup>e</sup> s., Classe historico-philologique 4.6; Saint-Petersburg: Académie Impériale des sciences, 1899), and *Pier. Morg.* M609 fols. 53<sup>r</sup>–93<sup>r</sup>, edited by Friedrich Bilabel, "Studien zu Kyprian dem Magier," in *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* (ed. Friedrich Bilabel and Adolf Grohmann; Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen 5; Heidelberg: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1934), 32–249. There are three additional Coptic fragments, *British Museum Or.* 3581B[39] (see Walter E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London: British Museum, 1905], 151–52 no. 331; cf. Bilabel, "Studien," 43–47), *Bibl. Naz. di Napoli* I. B. 14 fol. 466 (olim *Borg. Copt.* 294; see Bilabel, "Studien," 47–48), and *Erzherzog Reiner K* 9514 (see Friedrich Bilabel, "Nachtrag Nr. 167: Wiener Fragment der Kyprianlegende," in *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte*, 448–51).

<sup>79</sup> See Jackson, "A Contribution," 36; von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, x–xii; A. Heisenberg, review of Oscar von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke der Legende von Cyprian von*

manuscripts in other languages only where there are serious textual problems in the Greek texts. Ultimately all extant versions will need to be compared and collated in order to fully understand the manuscript tradition, but this is a task that must await the future.

#### 4.1 THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

This is an edition of the long recension of the Greek version of the *Confession*, for which I have utilized a third previously unedited Greek manuscript, *Vat. gr.* 797. There are still two known Greek manuscripts (*Ochrid.* 4 and *Ambr. gr.* F 144 sup.)<sup>80</sup> which I was not able to obtain in time for this edition, and a third (*Par. gr.* 1485) which, though I obtained it too late to include it in the apparatus, I have resorted to in making some final textual decisions. It must be stressed that this edition is a provisional text, a prolegomenon to a definitive edition to which I will dedicate myself in the near future. With more Greek manuscripts the completion of this task is not nearly as bleak as when Arthur Darby Nock, Friedrich Bilabel, and Howard M. Jackson each proposed the construction of a critical edition since they were aware of only a single Greek manuscript (*Par. gr.* 1506).<sup>81</sup>

**P** = *Parisinus graecus* 1506 (olim *Colbertinus* 1931, then *Regius* 2447<sup>3</sup>), manuscript in parchment, tenth century; 204 folia measuring 198 × 278 mm; minuscule script written in a single column averaging 24–26 lines per folio; the *Confession* is found on fols. 171<sup>r</sup>–192<sup>v</sup>.<sup>82</sup> On fol. 171<sup>r</sup> it is given the title μετόνοια

*Antiochien*, *ByzZ* 9 (1900): 583; for the text see *Velikiĭ Minei Chet'i sobrannyĭ vserossĭskim mitropolitom Makariem* (ed. S. Palauzov; Saint-Petersburg: Imperatorskii Akademii Nauk, 1868), for 2 October.

<sup>80</sup> On *Ochrid.* 4 (tenth century), see François Halkin, "Manuscripts Byzantins d'Ochrida en Macédonie Yougoslave," *AnBoll* 80 (1962): 7–9; Paul Canart, "Apophtegmes et récits monastiques dans le ms. 33 d'Ochrida," *AnBoll* 80 (1962): 25 with n. 2. On *Ambr. gr.* F 144 sup. (gr. 377) (twelfth century), see Halkin, *Auctarium*, 54; idem, *Novum auctarium*, 57.

<sup>81</sup> Nock, "Cyprian of Antioch," 411 n. 2; Bilabel, "Studien," 32–33 n. 4; Jackson, "A Contribution," 35. The other manuscripts have escaped the notice of most scholars since only *Par. gr.* 1506 is mentioned in Halkin's *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 138 no. 453. François Bovon gives invaluable advice for this type of work in his article "Editing the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies* (ed. François Bovon et al.; Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1–35.

<sup>82</sup> Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (4 vols.; Paris: A. Picard, 1886–1898), 2:61–62; Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literature der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis*

τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ, which is the shortest and probably the most original of the three Greek titles.<sup>83</sup> The fact that a folio of the *Confession* is missing from P has gone largely unnoticed. Folio 187<sup>v</sup> ends with τὴν ἄγνοιαν (see 22:2) and folio 188<sup>r</sup> begins λεσεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνούς (see 22:17–18). Maran read straight through and glossed over the problem, reading τὴν ἄγνοιαν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνούς κτλ., and gave no indication in his notes that he ignored the initial λεσεν or that it even existed.<sup>84</sup>

V = *Vaticanus graecus* 1809, manuscript in parchment, tenth century, 271 folia measuring 190 × 248 mm; tachygraphic script with columns varying throughout the codex; the *Confession* is found on fols. 217<sup>r</sup> b 8–218<sup>r</sup> in three columns containing 60–88 lines each.<sup>85</sup> V's title is similar to P's but has been extended to μετάνοια τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας, κύριε εὐλόγησον, which is certainly an expansion given that Cyprian becomes bishop of Antioch in the *Conversion* and not in the *Confession*. V contains a portion of the contents from the folio that is missing from P. This material begins after τὴν ἄγνοιαν (in 22:2) and ends with προσλαμβάνεται (the end of 22:9), after which the scribe rather mysteriously stopped copying and left a third column almost entirely blank.<sup>86</sup>

S = *Vaticanus graecus* 797 (olim 515), manuscript in parchment, tenth century; 380 folia measuring 260 × 360 mm; minuscule script written in two columns containing 25–27 lines per folio; the *Confession* is found on fols. 116<sup>v</sup>–

zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts (3 vols.; TUGAL 50–52; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937–1952), 1:377–80; Gérard Garitte, “La tradition manuscrite de l’*Agathange* grec,” *RHE* 37 (1941): 200; François Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* (Subsidia Hagiographica 44; Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1968), 189.

<sup>83</sup> Gero (“Parerga,” 78 n. 30) has suggested that the Coptic title ΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΝΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΜΑΓΟΣ (*Pier. Morg.* M609 fol. 53<sup>r</sup>; Bilabel, “Studien,” 65) may be more original than the Greek.

<sup>84</sup> See Maran, “Confessio Sancti Cypriani,” 1134 (cf. AASS Sept. VI [1867]: 220); Gitlbauer (“Die Ueberreste,” 34) refers to a note on the last folio of the codex reading “post fol. 187 deest folium.”

<sup>85</sup> Paul Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962* (2 vols.; Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti; Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970), 1:173–78, 2:xxxvii. Photographs of the folia of the *Confession* are available in Gitlbauer, “Die Ueberreste,” pls. XII–XIV along with a transcription (pp. 59–80).

<sup>86</sup> Column c on fol. 218<sup>r</sup> contains only six lines of text, see Gitlbauer, “Die Ueberreste,” pl. XIV.

139<sup>v</sup>.<sup>87</sup> On fol. 116<sup>v</sup> it is given the title *πράξεις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἰούστης*, a title which is generally reserved for the *Conversion* and is not used for the *Confession* elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> S contains all of the material from P's missing folio. This material was unquestionably once a part of P as the *λεσεν* that begins folio 188<sup>r</sup> of P is no doubt from *ἀπώλεσεν* on folio 134<sup>v</sup> col. *b* line 3 of S (see 22:17). It is a second witness for *Conf.* 22:2–9 and its Greek text is better than V's in some places. However, since V ends at 22:9, S is the only witness for 22:10–17. Since this material was a part of both recensions, it is probable that this material is original text. The new material is particularly striking for its many references to characters from various Greek myths (e.g., Ajax, Odysseus, Paris, Orestes, Medea, Hippolytus, Theseus, etc.), but more so for Eusebius's "the devil made you do it" argument. With the folio missing from P, Eusebius argues only that Cyprian's misdeeds were committed in ignorance. It may well be that the folio between 187<sup>v</sup> and 188<sup>r</sup> was intentionally removed from P because its contents were considered either inappropriate or theologically incorrect.<sup>89</sup>

N = *Parisinus graecus* 1485 (olim *Colbertinus* 505, then *Regius* 2017<sup>3.3</sup>), manuscript in parchment, tenth century; 183 folia measuring 230 × 330 mm; minuscule script written in two columns of 35 lines each; the *Confession* is found on fols. 36<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>.<sup>90</sup> These folia (and those of the *Conversion* which follow) are unfortunately damaged and a few lines of the top portion of the folia are sometimes partially or entirely illegible. N is acephalus, part of a premetaphrastic

<sup>87</sup> Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 604–866* (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti; Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1950), 323–25. There are consistently 27 lines of script throughout the text of the *Confession*, except for the first column of the first folio, the last column of the last folio, and fols. 138<sup>r-v</sup>; folio 136<sup>r</sup> col. *a* has 26 lines, which must be due to the scribe's omission of ἵνα δε μάθης τὴν before σύγκρισιν in *Conf.* 23:8.

<sup>88</sup> The same title is found in the following manuscripts of the *Conversion*: *Par. gr.* 1454; *Pal. gr.* 68 (with *πράξεις* instead of *πράξεις*); *Vat. gr.* 866 (with *ἁθλησις* instead of *πράξεις*); *Barb. gr.* 517 (with *Ἰούστης παρθένου* instead of *τῆς ἁγίας Ἰούστης*). See Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen*, 76–77.

<sup>89</sup> It may also be significant that a fols. 9–10, which would have contained *Conf.* 15:3–22:20, are missing from *Par. copt.* 129<sup>15</sup> (see von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 15–16, 38). This new material is, however, preserved in the Coptic text of *Pier. Morg.* M609—which diverges from the Greek text in several places with certain portions omitted and many others interpolated (see Bilabel, "Studien," 121–22, 186–87)—as well as in the Slavonic version (see von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, xii).

<sup>90</sup> Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 2:71; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:405–7; Garitte, "La tradition manuscrite," 198; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs*, 179.

*Menologion* containing only the final chapters of the *Confession* (24:6–28:5). At this point in time it is not possible to determine which recension N belongs to since these chapters are missing from the short text of V, although N generally oscillates between P and S and perhaps stems from the long recension.

#### 4.2 NOTES ON THIS EDITION

Gitlbauer considered the text of P to be heavily interpolated; moreover, since Gitlbauer was editing a single codex, he favored the text of V and used P only for control where V is decidedly corrupt.<sup>91</sup> The Greek of V is on the whole better than that of P, but this does not necessarily make it a more original text. In a number of places it is apparent that V makes what is either difficult or ambiguous in P much easier to understand. More often than not the text of P contains the *lectio difficilior*. The text of S has a stronger relationship to the text of V than P does. Since all manuscripts stem from a common source, my method has been to follow the median reading where all manuscripts agree in content, i.e., when P agrees with V against S, PV is favored, and when S agrees with V against P, SV is favored. This was kept only as a general rule, however, as there are always special cases, such as the danger here of creating eclectic readings which do not appear in any manuscript. In such cases I have more often than not retained the more difficult text of P.

1–8	P S / V (deest 8:2)
9:1–9	P S (long) / V (short)
9:10–22:2a	P S V
22:2b–22:9	S V
22:10–17	S
22:18–24:5	P S
24:6–28:4	N P S

The above table outlines the general contents of the manuscript evidence. Where P and S agree against V, I have usually kept the text of PS since this is an

<sup>91</sup> Gitlbauer, “Die Ueberreste,” 34.

edition of the long recension. Many of these instances, however, have the appearance of interpolations, but in a number of other places there is significant variation between PS and V. The primary mark of distinction between the long and short recensions is the content of *Conf.* 9. In the short recension of V the contents of 9:1–9 are barely visible (with 9:2–8 missing entirely). It is perhaps significant that Eudocia's metaphrasis is missing the same material, although her metaphrasis commonly glosses over phrases and passages (see section 3.3). It may well be significant that this material outlines Cyprian's career as a magician in Antioch in greater detail, perhaps in order to better situate Cyprian in Antioch.

I have followed the Bollandist numbering system of 28 chapters—which is used by Gitlbauer in his edition of V and by Fumagalli for his Italian translation—since the Bollandist edition is referenced more often than Maran's. Maran's numbering system of 18 chapters—used by Grimal for his French translation—appears in the right-hand margin in brackets. For his German translation Zahn used his own numbering system of 25 chapters, but since no one that I am aware of has cited the text by his chapter divisions, I have left them out.

I have kept an open apparatus that includes all manuscript variants and errors since much work remains to be done on this text. I have also included the abbreviations that appear in S in the apparatus since this manuscript has not been edited previously. Finally, as mentioned, I have not included the text of N in the apparatus, but I have referred to some of its variants in the notes to the translation.

#### 4.3 LIST OF SIGLA

- Bol “Confessio seu Poenitentia S. Cypriani, editore et interprete Prudentio Marano Benedictino, cum aliis editis collata.” *AASS* Sept., VII (1867): 204–24. An edition of Maran's edition of P by an anonymous Bollandist editor.
- Del Delehay, Hippolyte. “Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage,” *AnBoll* 39 (1921): 316–17 with n. 2. Used only once for the author's adoption of a suggested emendation to P.

- Fest Festugière, A.-J. *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste: I. L'astrologie et les sciences occultes* (2nd ed.; Paris: Lecoffre, 1950), 38 n. 2, 39 n. 2. Festugière for the most part only references Preller's emendations; occasionally he offers his approval and at one point corrects one of Preller's emendations to P.
- Gitl Gitlbauer, Michael. "Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie in codex Vaticanus graecus 1809," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe* 28 (1878): 59–80, 95–109 with pls. XII–XIV. The *editio princeps* of V; Gitlbauer is the corrector of V and occasionally of P (in his apparatus) where Maran has erred. When the abbreviation Gitl is used without the abbreviation corr. in the apparatus (following either P or Mar), it means that Gitlbauer is simply following the text of P or one of Maran's corrections.
- Lud Ludwich, Arthur. *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum Graecorum reliquiae accedunt Blemyomachiae fragmenta* (Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum teubneriana; Leipzig: Teubner, 1897), 47–79. In his edition of Eudocia's *De Sancto Cypriano* Ludwich includes portions of Maran's text of P in his apparatus, sometimes giving his own conjectures and emendations.
- Mar Maran, Prudentius. "Confessio Sancti Cypriani," in *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani, episcopi Carthaginensis et martyris Opera omnia* (ed. Etienne Baluze; Venice: Ex typographia Hieronymi Dorigoni, 1758), cols. 1105–40. The *editio princeps* of P; Maran is a corrector of P and gives a number of suggested emendations and corrections in his notes.
- N *Parisinus graecus* 1485 fols. 36<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>. (Unedited: the text of N is referred to only in the notes to the translation.)
- Nil Nilsson, Martin P. "Greek Mysteries in the Confession of St. Cyprian," *HTR* 40 (1947): 168–69. Nilsson offers a translation of *Conf.* 1:4–2:5 with the Greek text of P, which he sometimes corrects, accompanying certain difficult phrases.



- Noc Nock, Arthur Darby. "Studies in the Greco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire," *JHS* 45 (1925): 87 with n. 27. Nock offers a couple of emendations to P at *Conf.* 1:3.
- Nock Nock, Arthur Darby. "Hagiographica II. Cyprian of Antioch," *JTS* 28 (1927): 412 n. 1. Nock prints the Greek text of *Conf.* 1:6–2:1 and provides a few more corrections to the text of P.
- P *Parisinus graecus* 1506 fols. 171<sup>r</sup>–192<sup>v</sup>. (Editions: see Mar and Bol)
- Prel Preller, Ludwig. "Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Alterthums," *Phil* 1 (1846): 349–51. Preller offers a few corrections and one hypothetical emendation to the text of P; he prints the Greek text of *Conf.* 1:4–2:5 with a few differences in punctuation.
- Reit Reitzenstein, Richard. "Cyprian der Magier," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1917): 50 n. 3, 51. Reitzenstein offers his defense of one of Maran's conjectural emendations to the text of P at *Conf.* 1:1 and also prints the text of *Conf.* 12:10–13:5 with a few corrections.
- S *Vaticanus graecus* 797 fols. 116<sup>v</sup>–139<sup>v</sup>. (Previously unedited: the text of S can be reconstructed by using the text and apparatus in this edition.)
- V *Vaticanus graecus* 1809 fols. 217<sup>r</sup> b 8 ab imo 218<sup>r</sup>. (Edition: see Gitl)
- Zah Zahn, Theodor. *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1882), 30–63. Zahn provides a German translation of P supplied with numerous textual notes often referencing Eudocia's metaphrasis and the Latin recensions.



## **Text and Translation**

## ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ

1. ὅσοι τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίοις προσκόπτετε, τοῖς ἑμοῖς [1]  
 δάκρυσιν ἐπιβλέψατε καὶ γνῶτε πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφερομένων τὴν  
 δύναμιν.<sup>2</sup> ὅσοι τοῖς δαιμονικοῖς ἐπιτέρπεσθε τρόποις, παρ' ἑμοῦ μάθετε  
 τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς χλευασμάτων.<sup>3</sup> οὔτε γάρ τις ὑμῶν ἑμοῦ  
 5 δεισιδαιμονέστερός ποτε γενέσθαι δυνήσεται, οὔτε διερευνήσασθαι τὰ  
 περὶ θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων, οὔτε ἐφικέσθαι τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας.<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐγὼ εἰμι Κυπριανός, ὁ ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι  
 κειμήλιον, μνηθεὶς ἔτι νήπιος τὴν τοῦ δράκοντος δραματουργίαν.<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ  
 οὐπω ἡμῖν ἐτῶν, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρου προσήλθον μυστηρίοις καὶ ὡς  
 10 Ἀθηναῖος ἐπὶ λυτοῦ ὄν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γεννησάντων με διὰ σπουδῆς πολίτης  
 γενόμενος, ἔτι ὧν δέκα ἐτῶν, ἐδαδούχησα τῇ Δημήτρῃ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὸ  
 λευκὸν πένθος ὑπέμεινα, καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει Παλλάδος τῷ  
 δράκοντι ἐλειτούργησα, εἰς προκοπὴν νεωκόρου καταστάς.<sup>6</sup> ἐγενόμην  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ὄρει θεῶν, ὡς λέγουσιν, οἰκητηρίῳ καὶ ἐμυήθην  
 15 ἡχοῦς ὁμιλίαν καὶ ψόφων διήγησιν.<sup>7</sup> εἶδον ἐκεῖ φαντάζοντα πρέμνα καὶ  
 πόας ἐνεργεῖν δοκούσας θεῶν ἐπισκοπαῖς.<sup>8</sup> εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὥρων διαδοχὰς

μετάνοια τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ incipit P πρᾶξις τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγίας Ἰούσσης  
 incipit S μετάνοια τοῦ ἁγίου Κυπριανοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας κύριε εὐλόγησον incipit V || 1  
 Χριστοῦ:  $\overline{\chi\rho}$  S || τοῖς ... μυστηρίοις PS Gitl: τῶν ... μυστηρίων V || προσκόπτετε PV: προκόπτετε  
 S iam conj. Mar et Zah ex *proficitis* in Latinis codd.; prob. Reitz, Del || 2 γνῶτε PS: γνώσεσθε V ||  
 πάντων PS: om. V || τῶν ... ἐμφερομένων S: τῶν ... ἐμφερομένων λόγων V τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς P || 3 δύναμιν PS: ἀκρίβειαν V || ἐπιτέρπεσθε PV: ἐπιτέρπεσθαι S || τρόποις PV: λόγοις  
 καὶ τρόποις S || 4 ἐν αὐτοῖς PS Gitl: ἐαυτῆς V || οὔτε PV: οὔδε S || τις PSV: *neglexerunt* Mar et  
 Bol; οὐδεὶς pro τις post ἑμοῦ suppl. Noc || 4-5 ἑμοῦ δεισιδαιμονέστερός PS: δεισι-  
 δαιμονέστερος ἑμοῦ V || 5 γενέσθαι δυνήσεται PV: γενέσδυνήσεται S cum ll. *δυν* in ras. ut vid.  
 θαι ante ras. || διερευνήσασθαι PSV: διερευνῆσαι corr. Noc || τὰ PS: τι V || θεῶν τῶν λεγομένων  
 PV: τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν S || 6 οὔτε ... ἐνεργείας PS: *deest* V || τῆς P: τὰς S || τὴν δύναμιν post  
 ἐνεργείας add. S || 7 ἀνατεθεὶς PS Gitl: ἀνατιθεὶς V || 8 δραματουργίαν PV: θαυματουργίαν S ||  
 9 οὐπω PV: οὐτω S || ὅλων post οὐπω add. V || Μίθρου P: μίθρα SV Gitl || μυστηρίοις PV:  
 ὀργίοις S || 9-10 ὡς Ἀθηναῖος PS Gitl: ὡς Αθηναῖος V || 10 ἐπὶ λυτοῦ corr. Mar, Gitl: ἐπίλυτος  
 PSV || με PS: om. V || 11 ἔτι PV: ἔτη S || ὧν PS: om. V || ἐτῶν PV: ἐτῆς S || Δημήτρῃ PV: διμήτρῃ  
 S || 12 λευκὸν πένθος PSV: *damn.* Prel et conj. Ἐλευσίνιον vel Ἐλευσῖνι || Παλλάδος PS Gitl:  
 παλάδος V || 13 νεωκόρου corr. Mar: νεοκόρου PS νεωκόρον V || 14 Ὀλυμπίῳ PS: ὀλύμπῳ V,  
 conj. Lud || θεῶν SV: τῶν θεῶν P || οἰκητηρίῳ S, corr. Mar: οἰκητήριον P Nock οἰκητηρίῳ καὶ  
*deest* V || ἐμυήθην SV, corr. Mar: ἐμοιήθην P ἡμυήθην err. Prel || 15 ἡχοῦς ὁμιλίαν corr. Gitl, Fest:  
 ἡχους ὁμιλίαν V, corr. Prel ἡχοῦς ὁμιλιῶν corr. Nil ἡχους ὁμιλιῶν PS Mar, Nock || καὶ (prius)  
 PV: om. S || ψόφων PV: ψώφων S || θεῶν post ψόφων add. V; om. Gitl || φαντάζοντα πρέμνα PS  
 Gitl: φαντάζοντας πνεύματα V || 16 ὥρων PV: ὁρῶν S.

## THE CONFESSION OF SAINT CYPRIAN

1. All you who take offence at the mysteries of Christ, take a look at my tears, and take notice of the power of all that is contained in them [sc. the mysteries]. (2) All you who delight in the customs that come from demons, learn from me the vanity of the mockeries in them. (3) For neither will any of you be able to be more god-fearing<sup>1</sup> than I was formerly, nor be able to examine the things concerning the so-called gods more than I, nor be able to attain more energy from them. (4) I am Cyprian, who from tender talons<sup>2</sup> was dedicated to Apollo as a valuable gift and still as a child was initiated into the dramaturgy of the dragon.<sup>3</sup> (5) I was not yet seven years old when I entered the mysteries of Mithras,<sup>4</sup> and seeing how I was an Athenian foreigner I was quickly made a citizen by my parents; when I was still ten years old, I carried the torch for Demeter<sup>5</sup> and submitted to the white sorrow<sup>6</sup> of Korē, and I served the serpent of Pallas on the Acropolis,<sup>7</sup> as I was promoted to temple servant. (6) Then I arrived on Mount Olympus, the dwelling place, as they say, of the gods, and I was initiated into the communion of sound<sup>8</sup> and the recounting of noises. (7) I saw there trees that produce visions and herbs appearing to operate by divine intervention. (8) I saw there the successions of

<sup>1</sup> δεισιδαιμών, "fearing of the gods," can also mean "superstitious" (LSJ 375b); the author perhaps intends this as a pun given the content of what precedes it in 1:2.

<sup>2</sup> The idiom ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων means "from childhood" (LSJ 1234a s.v. ὄνυξ); note also Philostratus's expression that Apollonius of Tyana in his boyhood was ὥσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἀετῶν ἐν ἀπαλῇ μὲν τῷ περὶ (Vit. Apoll. 1.7.3).

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the Stepterion, a rite which symbolized the killing of the dragon Python by Apollo; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. graec.* 12 and *Def. orac.* 418 A–B; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 3.1; Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.24; Preller, "Beiträge," 350; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 170.

<sup>4</sup> There is epigraphic evidence for the initiation of children in Mithraism, see Nock, "Cyprian of Antioch," 411; Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, 2:54 no. 6b, 2:93 no. 10 (= Vermaseren, *CIMRM* no. 403). Cumont ("The Dura Mithraeum," in *Mithraic Studies*, 1:159), however, doubts the authenticity of *Confession*'s attestation.

<sup>5</sup> It is improbable that Cyprian could have been a δαδούχος in the Eleusinian mysteries; see Nock, "Cyprian of Antioch," 411; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 170.

<sup>6</sup> Preller ("Beiträge," 350) calls this a contradiction, but the Ephepi later wore white garments, instead of the traditional black, in the procession to Eleusis; see Nock, "Cyprian of Antioch," 411.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 8.41

<sup>8</sup> Both Nock ("Cyprian of Antioch," 412 n. 1) and Nilsson ("Greek Mysteries," 171) have expressed puzzlement over the phrase ἡχοῦς ὁμιλίαν (although both preferred ἡχοῦς ὁμιλιῶν). The context (cf. 1:9) seems to suggest more precisely "the intercourse of the echo" in reference to traditions in which demons are born from the echo of a heavenly voice. See Jackson's comments on *T. Sol.* 4:8, *L.A.B.* 53.3–4, 60.3, and *PGM XIII.* 192–204, 522–546 ("Notes," 32–37; "Echoes and Demons in the Pseudo-Philonian *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *JSJ* 27 [1996]: 1–20).

πνευμάτων υπαλλασσόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα ὑπὸ τινων  
 ἐνεργειῶν ἐναντίων συνισταμένην. <sup>9</sup> εἶδον ἐκεῖ χοροὺς δαιμόνων  
 ὑμνούντων καὶ ἄλλων πολεμούντων, καὶ ἐτέρων ἐνεδρευόντων,  
 ἀπατώντων, συγχεόντων, καὶ ἐκάστου θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς ἐθεασάμην ἐκεῖ  
 5 τὴν φάλαγγα, μείνας αὐτόθι ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα· ὁπόθεν ὡς ἐκ  
 βασιλείων ἀποστέλλονται τὰ πνεύματα ἐνεργεῖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ  
 γῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

2. καὶ ἐσιτούμην ἀκρόδρνα μόνον μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου, καὶ δὴ ὦν ἔτι  
 ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐμυούμην τὴν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 10 ἐπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν· λίαν γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ γονεῖς ἔσπευδόν με ἐπιγνῶναι τὰ γῆς,  
 ἀέρος καὶ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ φύσιν 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. <sup>2</sup> ἦλθον καὶ ἐν Ἄργει ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἥρας τελετῇ, ἐμυήθην ἐκεῖ [2]  
 15 βουλᾶς ἐνόητος ἀέρος πρὸς αἰθέρα, καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς αέρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
 γῆς πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς αέρα. <sup>3</sup> ἔφθασα καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι καὶ  
 τὴν ταυροπόλον Ἀρτεμὶν κατέλαβον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἵνα μάθω ὕλης  
 σύγχυσιν καὶ διαίρεσιν καὶ μετεωρισμοὺς λοξῶν καὶ ἀγρίων διηγήσεων,  
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν κατέλγηπα παρὰ Φρυγῶν καὶ ἡπατοσκοπίαν  
 20 ἔμαθον καὶ ἐν βαρβάρους οἰωνισμὸν καὶ τετραπόδων καμπὰς καὶ

1 υπαλλασσόντων PV: υπαλασσόντων S || 2 συνισταμένην S, corr. Nock: συνισταμένων V, corr. Mar: συνισταμένον P || 3 ὑμνούντων ... πολεμούντων PV: πολεμούντων ... ὑμνούντων S || 4 ἀπατώντων PS Gitl: ἀπὸ τουτῶν V || 5 ἡμέρας PS: ἡμερῶν V || καὶ ἄλλων ὀκτώ (H') post τεσσαράκοντα add. V || 6 τινῶν post βασιλείων add. S || ἀποστέλλονται PS: ἐξαποστέλλονται V || 7 ἐν PSV alii: om. Bol || 8 δὴ PV: μὴ S || ἔτι P: ἐτι S om. V || 9 ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα (τῆ S) ἐμυούμην PS: πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν μυούμενος V || ἐκάστου PS: πρὸς ἕκαστον V || αὐτῶν PS: τῶν πνευμάτων V || 10 ἔσπευδόν PV: ἔπευδον S || τὰ γῆς PV: τὰ τῆς γῆς S || 11 καὶ post φύσιν add. V || 12 σωμάτων SV, corr. Mar: στωμάτων P || τὰς SV, suppl. Prel: om. P || ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς PV: ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις S || 13 ἐτύπωσεν SV: ἐνετύπωσεν P || 15 ἐνόητος PV: ἐνώητος S || καὶ αἰθέρος ... ἅμα δὲ PS: deest V || 16 Ἥλιδι corr. Bol in adnot. (prob. Zah), Prel (prob. Fest), et Gitl: Ἰλιάδι P ἡλιάδι S ἑλλάδι V || 17 ταυροπόλον corr. Mar et Prel: ταυροπόλιν VP Gitl: ταυροπόλει S || Λακεδαίμονι PV: λακεδαιμονία S || 18 ἀγρίων P: ἀργῶν S ἄκρων V || 19 τὰ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν P: κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν SV τὰ κατὰ μαντικὴν Bol || κατέλγηπα PV: κατέλγηπα S || ἔθνεσιν post Φρυγῶν add. V; καὶ παρὰ Φρυγῶν ἔθνεσιν emend. Gitl || 20 ἔμαθον PS: om. V || καὶ ἐν βαρβάρους P Gitl: καὶ βαρβάρους V καὶ ἐν βαρβάρῳ S || οἰωνισμὸν P: οἰωνισμὸν S οἰωνῶν κρούσματα V || τετραπόδων PS Gitl: ἑτερα πολλῶν V || καμπὰς corr. Mar, Gitl: καμπτὰς PSV.

seasons as the winds changed and the diversity of days brought about by certain opposing energies. (9) I saw there bands of demons chanting, and others making war, and others lying in ambush, deceiving, and confounding, and I beheld there the phalanx of every god and goddess as I waited for forty days<sup>9</sup> in that place from which, from kingdoms so to speak, they send out the winds to activate each of them on the earth and among all nations.

2. And I fed only on fruits after sunset<sup>10</sup>; and when I was fifteen years old I was initiated by the seven hierophants<sup>11</sup> into the energy of each one of them, for my parents were eager that I discover the things of the 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 ruler of this age,<sup>12</sup> who was opposed to the configuration of God, imprinted in all of them. (2) Then I came to Argos at the time of the mysteries of Hera<sup>13</sup>; I was initiated there into the counsels of the unity of air with ether and of ether with air, and at the same time also of earth with water and of water with air. (3) And I arrived in Elis and then caught up with Artemis Tauropolos<sup>14</sup> in Lacedaemon in order to learn the mixture and division of matter and the escalations of ambiguous and savage narratives; and what relates to divination I apprehended from the Phrygians, and I learned hepatoscopy, and among the barbarians I learned ornithomancy<sup>15</sup> and divination from the movements of four-footed animals and the observations of signs for knowing

<sup>9</sup> Both Eudocia (*De. S. Cypriano* 2.35) and V have forty-eight days rather than forty.

<sup>10</sup> Over a purificatory period of twenty-nine days the Chaldaean magician Mithrobarzanes puts Menippus on a diet of fruits, see Lucian, *Men.* 7.

<sup>11</sup> The reference is obscure. Nilsson ("Greek Mysteries," 173) suggests that the seven hierophants are the seven celestial bodies; Festugière (*Révélation*, 39 n. 1), however, refers to a parallel from the mysteries of Sabazios.

<sup>12</sup> ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου: cf. *First Book of Jeu* 40, 42, 45 (ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ); John 12:31, 16:11 (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου); 2 Cor 4:4 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.38.3. Pausanias mentions only that the mysteries (Pausanias also uses the term τελετή) of Hera concerned a place in which she bathed yearly and regained her virginity. In what follows, the author of the *Confession* seems to be referring in part to the marriage of Zeus and Hera (Preller, "Beiträge," 351); Zeus is commonly associated with the element ether (on which see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, 1:25–33) and Plato associates Hera with the element air (*Crat.* 404 C; cf. Rosamond K. Sprague, "Empedocles, Hera, and *Cratylus* 404 C," *CR* 22 [1927]: 169). On the union of earth and water, see Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 174–75.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Pausanias, *Descr.* 3.16.7, 11; Nilsson, "Greek Mysteries," 175–76.

<sup>15</sup> V's variant οἰωνῶν κρούσματα ("the pluckings of birds") suggests alctryomancy.

γνωστικῶν κληδονισμοὺς καὶ φωνὴν τρισμοῦ παντὸς ξύλου καὶ λιθοῦ  
καὶ νεκρῶν ἐν τάφοις καὶ θυρῶν ψόφους καὶ παλμοὺς μελῶν.<sup>4</sup> ἔγνω καὶ  
αἱμάτων φορὰς ἐν τοῖς σώμασι κατ' ἐνέργειαν καὶ μυρμηκισμῶν  
συστάσεις καὶ ἀναστάσεις καὶ βολὰς λόγων καὶ ἀριθμῶν εἰς λόγους  
5 καὶ λόγων εἰς ἀριθμοὺς καὶ ἐπιπολαίους κακώσεις σωμάτων ὡς φυσικὰς  
καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς ὡς ἐπιπλάστους καὶ ὄρκους ἀκουομένους καὶ μὴ  
ἀκουομένους καὶ συμφωνίας εἰς ἐναντίωσιν.<sup>5</sup> καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν  
ἀέρι καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ με ἔλαθεν, οὔτε φασματικόν, οὐ γνωστικόν, οὐ  
πολύτροπον, οὐ μηχανικόν, οὐκ ἔντεχνον, ἄχρι καὶ τῆς τῶν γραφῶν  
10 μεταφορᾶς μαγγανικῆς, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων.

3. μετὰ ταῦτα εἴκοσι γενόμενος ἐτῶν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς Μέμφην [3]  
ἦλθον, κάκεϊ τῶν ἀδύτων λαμβάνω πείραν, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ περίγεια  
ἐνοῦνται, καὶ κατὰ ποῖον ἀποτρόπαιοί εἰσι τόπον, καὶ τίσιν  
ἐπιτέρπονται ἄστροις καὶ θεσμοῖς καὶ πράγμασι, καὶ ἐν τίσι  
15 φυγαδεύονται· πῶς σκότος τηροῦσι, καὶ ἐν τίσι πράγμασιν ἄλλοις τὴν  
ἀντίστασιν ἔχουσιν.<sup>2</sup> ἔγνω ἐκεῖ πόσοι ἄρχοντες σκότους εἰσὶ καὶ πῶς ἐν  
ψυχαῖς κατορθοῦσι καὶ σώμασιν ἐαυτῶν κοινωνίαν ἔχουσιν, καὶ ποία  
ἐνέργεια δι' αὐτῶν κατορθοῦται, δρόμος, γνῶσις, μνήμη, φόβος, τέχνη  
ἐνδολος, ἀθρύλλητος ὁρμή, λήθη καὶ ὄχλου παίγματα, καὶ τὰ  
20 τοιουτότροπα.<sup>3</sup> ἐκεῖ ἔγνω σεισμῶν καὶ ὑετῶν ὁμοιότητα, καὶ γῆς καὶ

1 τρισμοῦ παντὸς P: παντὸς τρισμοῦ S τρισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς V || 2 ψόφους PV: ψόφον S || μελῶν  
PV: βελῶν S || post μελῶν dist. Gitl || 3 φορὰς PS Gitl: φθορὰς V || σώμασι PV: σώμασιν S Prel ||  
4 ἀναστάσεις SV: ἀνατάσεις P || βολὰς PS Gitl: βολλὰς V || καὶ ἀριθμῶν εἰς PS: καὶ ἀριθμὸν  
εἰς V καὶ ἀριθμῶν, <ἀριθμῶν> εἰς emend. Gitl || 5 λόγων (alterum) PS Gitl: λόγους V || post  
ἀριθμοὺς dist. Mar || ἐπιπολαίους corr. Mar, Gitl: ἐπιπολέους PSV || κακώσεις PV: κολάσεις S ||  
6 ὄρκους PS Gitl: ἄρκους V || 6-7 καὶ μὴ ἀκουομένους om. S ex hapl. || 7 εἰς ἐναντίωσιν PV:  
ἐναντίων S || 7-8 ἐν ἀέρι καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ S: ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ ἐν ἀέρι P καὶ ἀέρι καὶ θαλάττῃ V ||  
8 οὐ (prius) SV: οὔτε P || οὐ (alterum) PSV: οὔτε Mar || 9 ἔντεχνον PS Gitl: ἔντεχνιον V || 10  
μεταφορᾶς μαγγανικῆς PV: μαγγανικῆς ἀμφορᾶς S || 11 μετὰ ταῦτα V: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα S μετὰ τὰ  
τοιαῦτα P || γενόμενος ἐτῶν PS: ἐτῶν γενόμενος V || Μέμφιν corr. Mar, Gitl: Μέμφην PSV || 12  
λαμβάνω PV: λαμβάνων S || περίγεια PS: ἐπίγεια V conj. Zah || 13 ἐνοῦνται PS Gitl: αἰνοῦνται  
V || ἀποτρόπαιοί PS Gitl: ἀποτρόπαιον V || τόπον PS: τρόπον V || 14 πράγμασι PV: πράγμασιν S  
|| τίσι PV: τίσιν S || 15 πῶς σκότος PS: καὶ πῶς κῶτον (κότον corr. Gitl) V || ἐν τίσι πράγμασιν  
PS: τίσι πνεύμασιν V || 16 ἔγνω ἐκεῖ PV: ἐκεῖ ἔγνω S || πόσοι PSV: πόροι corr. Bol || εἰσὶ PV:  
εἰσὶν S || 17 κατορθοῦσι PS Gitl: καὶ ἰχθύσι V || ἐαυτῶν PS: ἀλόγων V || ἔχουσιν PV: ἔχουσιν S ||  
18 δρόμος PV: νόμος S || 19 ὁρμή PS: om. V || παίγματα P: παίγνια S πλήγματα V || 20 τὰ  
τοιουτότροπα PSV Gitl: τὰ τοιούτω τροπῶ in marg. V.



and the sound of every shrill cry of wood and stone and of the dead in their tombs and the creaking of doors and the twitching of limbs.<sup>16</sup> (4) I came to know also the motion of the blood in bodies in relation to energy, and the composition and removal of warts,<sup>17</sup> and the throwing of words and numbers into words<sup>18</sup> and of words into numbers, and the superficial effects of the diseases of bodies as though natural, and the natural as though feigned, and oaths which are heard and not heard, and agreements in contradictions. (5) And nothing on the earth and in the air and in the sea was unknown to me, neither what pertains to apparitions, nor what pertains to knowledge, not what is manifold, not what is mechanical, not what is artificial, and as far as the bewitching transference of writings, and all of these kinds of things.

3. After these things, when I was twenty years old, I came to Memphis among the Egyptians, and there I gained experience in the innermost sanctuaries<sup>19</sup> in which they unite themselves with the beings surrounding the earth, and I gained experience in what astral region<sup>20</sup> they are apotropaic, and in which stars and ordinances and circumstances they delight and by which they are banished, how they watch over the darkness, and to which other circumstances they show resistance. (2) There I came to know how many rulers of the darkness<sup>21</sup> there are and how they prosper in souls and have communion with their own bodies, and what kind of energy is erected through them: swiftness in running, knowledge, memory, fear, skill in cunning, unspoken desire, forgetfulness and frivolity of the mob, and things of this sort. (3) There I came to know the semblance of earth-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pseudo-Melampus's *Περὶ παλμῶν μαντική*.

<sup>17</sup> I have tentatively accepted SV's ἀναστάσεις as a reference to the removal of warts by magical means. However, if divination by warts is meant, then P's ἀνατάσεις should be retained; cf. Pseudo-Melampus's *Περὶ ἐλαίων τοῦ σώματος*.

<sup>18</sup> The reference is to isopsephy, see, e.g., Jerome, *Comm. Am.* 5.9–10. I have not adopted Gitlbauer's emendation, sensible as it seems, since it does not appear in any manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> Zahn (*Cyprian*, 33 with n. 3) translates τῶν ἀδύτων as "die verborgensten Geheimnisse" and suggests that these cannot be the underground adyta which are mentioned in Lucian, *Philops.* 34 and Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.55—if so, according to Zahn, the περίγεια should be ἐπίγεια (the reading of V). The suggestion is reasonable given that Gregory uses the phrase ὑποχθονίοις δαίμοσι, but the adyta need not be subterranean. Note Arnobius's refutation (*Adv. nat.* 43) of a tradition that Jesus stole the names of powerful angels while learning magic in Egyptian adyta.

<sup>20</sup> τόπος here refers to a position on the Zodiac; Ptolemy (*Tetr.* 128) used the term to refer to the twelve regions of 30°. The περίγεια may be a reference to the Egyptian decans (cf. Origen, *Cels.* 8.58). The astrological sense of τόπος/περίγεια fits better here than V's τρόπος/ἐπίγεια.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the rulers of the darkness (ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΠΚΔΚΕ) in *Pistis Sophia* 104, 201, 373.

θαλάσσης ἐπιτετηδευμένην ὁρμήν, ὡς ἂν πρὸς ἐναντίωσιν τῆς ἐποπτικῆς  
τοῦ θεοῦ κινήσεως. <sup>4</sup> ἐκεῖ εἶδον γιγάντων ψυχὰς ὑπὸ σκότους κρα-  
τουμένας, καὶ φασματικῶς ὀρθούσας γῆν, ὡς ἂν τις ἐπ' ὧμων φέρῃ  
φορτίον βαρύτατον. <sup>5</sup> ἐκεῖ εἶδον δρακόντων κοινωνίας μετὰ δαιμόνων,  
5 καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν προϊεμένην πικρίαν εἰς ὄλεθρον τῶν ἐπιγείων· ὅθεν  
μετέχοντα τὰ ἀέρια πνεύματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πάνδεινα διατίθενται,  
ὡς βοηθείας ὑλικῆς ἀπολαύοντα. <sup>6</sup> εἶδον καὶ γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ  
πνεύματος, καὶ μὴ χαλωμένην ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, διὰ τὴν ἐπαναφορὰν τῶν  
στηριγμάτων αὐτῆς τῶν φυσικῶν. <sup>7</sup> ἦλθον ἐν χώρῳ ὅπου αἱ ἰδέαι τῶν  
10 μεταμορφώσεων τοῖς δαίμοσι γίνονται, ὅς ὁ δράκων ἀντιδιατασσόμενος  
τῇ θείᾳ διατυπώσει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πλάνης παράταξιν ἐπετήδευσε, δι' ὧν  
τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα λειτουργοῦσι τοῖς συσπόνδοις αὐτῶν ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ  
ἀνθρώποις. <sup>8</sup> ἐκεῖ εἶδον πῶς συνίσταται ἀσεβῆς εὐσέβεια καὶ ἄλογος  
γνώσις καὶ ἄδικος δικαιοσύνη καὶ συγκεχυμένη κατάστασις.

15 4. ἐκεῖ εἶδον εἶδος τοῦ ψεύδους, μορφήν ἔχον παμποίκιον, καὶ τὸ  
εἶδος τῆς πορνείας τρίμορφον, αἱματῶδες, ἀφρῶδες, σπηιδῶδες· εἶδος  
ὀργῆς, πετρῶδες, ἔρημον, καὶ τραχὺ καὶ θηριωδέστατον· εἶδος δόλου,  
πυκνόν, σύμφυτον πολλαῖς γλώσσαις, κατάκομον· εἶδος μίσους, τυφλόν,  
ἔχον τέσσαρας ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοκρανίῳ ὀφθαλμοὺς φεύγοντας ἀεὶ τὸ φῶς  
20 καὶ πόδας ἔχον πολλοὺς εὐθύς ἡρτημένους ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ μὴ ἔχον

1 ὡς ἂν PS: ὅσα V || 2 τοῦ θεοῦ (Θῦ S) κινήσεως SV: κινήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ P || 2-3 κρατουμένας PSV: τηρουμένας emend. Mar || 3 φασματικῶς PV, corr. ex φασματικούς S || φέρῃ P: φέρει S ἄρη V || 4 βαρύτατον PS: δυσβάστακτον V || κοινωνίας PS: κοινωνίαν V || 5 τὴν PS: om. V || προϊεμένην πικρίαν PS: προηγμένην κακίαν V || 6 μετέχοντα PS Gitl: μετέχονται V || τοῖς ἀνθρώποις S: τοὺς ἀνθρώπους PV || εἰς ante τὰ πάνδεινα conj. Lud || διατίθενται PS: διατίθεται V || 7 καὶ PS: om. V || 8 χαλωμένην PS: χαλινουμένην V || ἐπὶ PSV<sup>2</sup>: ὑπὸ V<sup>1</sup> || ἐπαναφορὰν PS: ἐπιφορὰν V || 9 στηριγμάτων PS: ἀντιστηριγμάτων V || ἰδέαι P: εἰδέαι SV || 10 ὅς emend. Bol (conj. in adnot.; prob. Zah): ἦν PSV; transp. ἦν ὁ δράκων ... ἐπετήδευσεν post τῶν φυσικῶν Gitl (conj. Mar) || 11 θείᾳ PS: deest V || ἐπετήδευσε P: ἐπετήδευσεν SV || 12 συσπόνδοις P: συσπόνδοις S συμπόντοις V || 13 ἀνθρώποις: ἀντοῖς S || συνίσταται PS: ἀνθίσταται V || εὐσέβεια PS Gitl: εὐσεβῆ V || 13-14 ἄλογος γνώσις P Gitl: γνώσις ἄλογος S διάλογος γνώσει V || 14 συγκεχυμένη PV: συγκεχυμένη S || 15 ἐκεῖ εἶδον εἶδος PS: ἐκεῖ εἶδον μορφήν V ἐκεῖ εἶδος emend. Gitl || 16 ἀφρῶδες PV: om. S || σπηιδῶδες corr. Gitl: σπιιδῶδες P λιιδῶδες conj. Mar (prob. Bol) σπηιδῶδες V om. S || 18 κατάκομον P Gitl: κατάκωμον SV || πυκνόν ... κατάκομον interpunxit V: σύμφυτον, πολλαῖς γλώσσαις κατάκομον interpunxit Mar || 19 ἔχον PV: ἔχων S || τῷ PS: om. V || 20 ἔχον PV: ἔχων S || πολλοὺς PS Gitl: ταλλοὺς V || ἡρτημένους PV: ἡρτυμένους S || ἔχον PV: ἔχων S.

quakes and downpours, and the violent motion of earth and sea manufactured artificially in order to oppose the providential motion of God.<sup>22</sup> (4) I saw there the souls of giants which were detained under darkness and in appearance raising up the earth as though one were carrying the heaviest of burdens on one's shoulders.<sup>23</sup> (5) I saw there the fellowships of dragons with demons and the bitterness which was sent forth from them to the detriment of the inhabitants of the earth, from which the aerial spirits partake and distribute terrible things among humans, as they have the benefit of material assistance. (6) I also saw the earth being weighed down by the wind, and it was not let loose upon the water on account of its relation to its natural foundations. (7) I came to a place where the forms of metamorphoses are made for the demons, which<sup>24</sup> the dragon who is opposed to divine proportion invented for the marshalling of error, and through which the evil spirits render service in impiety to humans who share libations with them. (8) I saw there how impious piety is put together, and knowledge without reason, and unjust justice, and stability in demolition.

4. I saw there the form of falsehood, having an all-variegated shape, and the trimorphic form of fornication: bloody, foamy, like a cuttle-fish; the form of anger, like a stone, desolate and rough and most savage; the form of treachery, shrewd, a natural to many tongues,<sup>25</sup> with long falling hair; the form of hatred, blind, having four eyes in the back of its skull that always shunned the light and many feet which hung directly from its head, and it did not have a belly because

<sup>22</sup> Both Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 34) and Grimal (*Romans grecs*, 1391) incorrectly translate ἔγνων in this sentence as "I saw." The sense seems to be that Cyprian learned how to magically induce natural disasters. This may have been inspired by traditions concerning Jannes and Jambres, who, according to Numenius, were able to replicate all the plagues of Moses (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.8). Jannes probably induces the earthquake in *Jan. Jam.* 25a<sup>1</sup> (see Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 138). A reference to Jannes and Jambres occurs at the beginning of this section in the Coptic version (von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 4; Gero, "Parerga," 78 n. 30).

<sup>23</sup> Concerning the souls of giants Zahn (*Cyprian*, 34 n. 2) referenced biblical traditions (Gen 6:4; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6), but these were more likely derived from the myth of Atlas and the Titans; Kákosy ("Cyprien," 110–11) suggested that they could possibly refer to the Egyptian Bouto.

<sup>24</sup> Gitlbauer transposed this clause to the end of 3:6, in which case ἦν refers to the earth. I find this highly unlikely—the order of clauses is the same in all Greek and Coptic manuscripts—and instead adopt the Bollandist editor's suggested emendation ὅς in reference to ἰδέαι. The error was present in the text used by Eudocia, who tried to correct the error with the incorrect form χώρην.

<sup>25</sup> Maran's punctuation is certainly incorrect and the cause of Grimal's "chevelue comme de mille langues" (*Romans grecs*, 1391). It makes more sense that the form of treachery or cunning would be naturally gifted (the meaning of σύμφυτος with the dative) at languages.

κοιλίαν διὰ τὴν ἄσπλαγχνον ὁρμήν· εἶδος φθόνου ὅμοιον τῷ ζήλῳ,  
διαφερόμενον δὲ ὅτι τὴν γλῶσσαν προσφέρει ὡς δρέπανον.<sup>2</sup> εἶδος  
πονηρίας εἶδον ἐκεῖ, λεπτῶδες, τὸ πολυόφθαλμον, ἀντὶ τῶν κόρων βέλη  
ἔχον, πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ὁρμὴν κεκτημένον· εἶδος ἀπληστίας, κεφαλὴν  
5 ἔχον στενὴν καὶ μακράν, στόμα δὲ εἶχε καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ πρὸς τῷ θώρακι  
τὴν γῆν ἀνιμώμενον καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ λεπτότερον ἐγίνετο μηδὲν  
προϊέμενον· εἶδος γρυπότητος ὁξὺ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἔχον κατὰ τὴν ἄρπην  
καὶ τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχον συνδυνούσας εἰς ἔκλειψιν· εἶδος  
ἐμπορίας κονδόν, γοργόν, γρυπόν, ἔχον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου δεσμὸν περιέχοντα  
10 πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· εἶδος ματαιιότητος εὐστροφον, εὐσαρκον,  
μὴ ἔχον δὲ ὅσῃ τὸ σύνολον· εἶδος εἰδολολατρείας ὑψηλοπετέες, πτερὰ  
ἔχον ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ πάντα σκέπειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον, μηδὲ ἐν μέλος  
ἔχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν σκιαζόμενον· εἶδος ὑποκρίσεως ὅλον πεπονημένον, καὶ  
ἔχον στέρνα μεγάλα, ἀλλὰ λεληθότως διαρρέοντα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν  
15 ἀνεμίων εἰς μυρία περιστρεφόμενα· εἶδος ἀνοίας, νέον, ἀρρενόθηλν,  
γυμνόν, ἀναιδές, ἀπερίστατον· εἶδος προπετείας γλῶσσαν ἔχον  
μακροτέραν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος· εἶδος μωρίας, κεφαλὴν ἔχον καρύου,  
καρδίαν χαύνην διαχεομένην, καὶ μηδὲν βαστάσαι ἰσχύουσιν.<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
ἐκάστου ἐλαττώματος εἶδον ἐκεῖ μορφήν, ἣν ἕκαστος δαίμων ἐνδυνόμενος

1 ὅμοιον PS: ὁποῖον V || ζήλῳ PV<sup>2</sup>: ζῳλῳ V<sup>1</sup> ἥλῳ S || 2 διαφερόμενον SV, corr. Mar: διαφερόμενοι P || προσφέρει PV: φέρει S προφέρει corr. Gitl || 2–3 εἶδος πονηρίας εἶδον ἐκεῖ PV: εἶδον εἶδος πονηρίας ἐκεῖ S εἶδος πονηρίας ἐκεῖ εἶδον emend. Gitl || 3 λεπτῶδες τὸ P: λεπτὸν ὁστώδες S (λεπ)των ὁ τὸ in marg. V λεπτόνωτον corr. Gitl || τῶν PS: om. V || 4 ἔχον PV: ἔχων S || ἐπιβουλὴν PV: ἐπιβῆναι S || κεκτημένον S, corr. Mar: κεκτημένην P ἔχον V || ἀπληστίας V: ἀπληστείας P ἀπωληστείας S || 5 εἶχε ... θώρακι P: εἶχεν ὀπισθε ... θώρακι V εἶχεν καὶ πρὸς τῷ θώρακι καὶ ὀπισθεν S || 6 ἀνιμώμενον PS Gitl: ἀνημώμενον V || καὶ τοὺς λίθους PS: deest V || λεπτότερον PSV<sup>2</sup>: λεπτότερον V<sup>1</sup> || ἐγίνετο PS: ἐγένετο V || 7 προϊέμενον V: προσιέμενον PS || γρυπότητος SV, conj. Mar: γριπότητος P λυπότητος corr. Bol || ὁξὺ V, corr. Mar: ὁξὺν PS || τὸ σῶμα ἔχον PS: ἔχον τὸ σῶμα V || ἄρπην PS: ἀρπαγὴν V || 8 συνδυνούσας PV: δυνούσας S || 9 ἐμπορίας PS ἐμπορείας V || κονδόν PSV: ἀκονδον conj. Mar κόνιον conj. Zah || γρυπόν V: ρυποῦν PS ρυ[πὸν] in marg. V ρυπούμενον conj. Lud || 10 πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ PS: αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν V || εὐστροφον SV: εὐτροφον P || 11 δὲ PS: om. V || ὑψηλοπετέες, πτερὰ SV: ὑψιπετέες τὰ πτερὰ P || 12 σκέπειν PV: σκέπην S || ἐπαγγελλόμενον V: ἐπαγγελλόμενον PS || μηδὲ ἐν P Gitl: μὴ δὲ ἐν V μηδὲν S || 13 αὐτῶν in marg. V, corr. Mar, Gitl: αὐτὸν PV<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ S || ὅλον SV, corr. Mar: ὅλως P || πεπονημένον SV: πεπονηρευμένον P || 14 ἔχον PV: ἔχων S || λεληθότως SV, corr. Mar: λεληθότος P || διαρρέοντα PS: διαρεόμενα V διαρρέόμενα corr. Gitl || 15 ἀνεμίων PS: ἀνέμων V || περιστρεφόμενα SV: περιστρεφόμενον P || νέον PS: om. V || 17 μακροτέραν SV, conj. Lud: μακράν P || καρύου corr. Gitl: καροίου PSV καρσίον corr. Mar || 18 καρδίαν χαύνην P: καρδίαν χαύνην καὶ S καρδίαν ἔχον χαύνην V || βαστάσαι PS: βαστάζει V.

of its heartless rage; the form of envy, similar to jealousy, but it differed in that it uses its tongue like a scythe. (2) I saw there the form of wickedness, thin, many-eyed, having arrows in the place of its pupils since it possessed a desire for scheming; the form of greediness, having a narrow and long head, and it had a mouth both in the back and in the front of its chest which drew up earth and stones, and it became weaker, since it let go of nothing; the form of hookedness,<sup>26</sup> having its entire body sharp like a sickle and the pupils of its eyes sunk together in abandonment; the form of commerce, short, fierce, aquiline, having a strap on its back encompassing all its wealth; the form of vanity, well-twisted, plump, and having no bones whatsoever; the form of idolatry, high-flying, having wings on its head and professing to shelter all, yet it did not even have a single limb which was shaded by them; the form of hypocrisy, completely worn out, and having a large chest, but it [sc. its chest] was imperceptibly wasting away as though it were being whirled round upon the winds in countless directions; the form of foolishness, youthful, hermaphroditic, naked, shameless, solitary; the form of rashness, having a tongue longer than the rest of its body; the form of folly, having the head of a nut<sup>27</sup> and a spongy heart which would evaporate and was capable of retaining nothing. (3) And I saw there the shape of each defect which

<sup>26</sup> γρυπότης, “hookedness of the nose,” was often considered an admirable trait (Socrates [Plato, *Rep.* 5.19 (474 D)] calls a youth with such a nose “kingly”), but this cannot be the case here. Dwarfs, satyrs, and comically ugly men were often depicted with large hooked noses as well as large misshapen phalluses, both of which were considered 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; for a good example, see the grotesque head in Clairève Grandjouan, *The Athenian Agora 6: Terracottas and Plastic Lamps* [Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1961], pl. 29 no. 1036). Note too that here the body of the form of hookedness is phallic-shaped. The form which follows that of hookedness, the form of commerce, is described specifically as a dwarf (κωλοβόρος/κολοβός) in the two Coptic manuscripts (see Bilabel, “Studien,” 76 col. 1; von Lemm, *Sahidische Bruchstücke*, 8 col. 2; cf. Kákosy, “‘Cyprien’ en Egypte,” 110), for which reason I have adopted V’s γρυπόν (“aquiline”) over the ρυποῦν of PS.

<sup>27</sup> Maran’s correction to καρσίον (“crosswise”) is a stretch. Gitlbauer’s correction to καρβύον, which is the same noun used by Eudocia (*De S. Cypriano* 2.163), is much more reasonable. All manuscripts have καρπόιον; although it is a feminine noun, καρποία, “walnut” (Lampe, *PGL* 703b) may have been intended.

ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἵεται.

5. τριακόσια ἐξηκονταπέντε εἶδη παθῶν εἶδον ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆς κενο- [4]  
δοξίας καὶ κενῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ κενῆς σοφίας καὶ κενῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐν οἷς  
πλανῶσι τοὺς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφους.<sup>2</sup> ὅλα γὰρ ἐστολισμένα εἰσίν, ἀλλ'  
5 ὑπόστασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, τὰ μὲν ὡς κονιορτός, τὰ δὲ ὡς σκιά θάττον  
διαρρέοντα· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐξηκονταπέντε πάθεσι τὰ δαιμόνια  
ἐνεργεῖν παρασκευάζουσιν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν.<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἵνα μὴ τὰ πολλὰ  
λέγων πολλὰς βίβλους καταγράψωμαι, βραχέα εἰπὼν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν  
τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας μου ὑμῖν παραινίττομαι.<sup>4</sup> τριάκοντα ἐτῶν  
10 γεγονώς παρ' Αἰγύπτου στέλλομαι πρὸς τοὺς Χαλδαίους, ἵνα μάθω τοῦ  
αἰθέρος τὴν ὁρμήν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ πυρὸς εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ  
ἀκριβεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ φωτός.<sup>5</sup> παρ' αὐτῶν ἔγνων ἀστέρων ὡς ἐπὶ βοτανῶν  
διαφορὰς καὶ χοροὺς ἄστρον ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμων διαταγαῖς.<sup>6</sup> οὗτοί μοι  
κατέλεξαν οἴκους ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, καὶ κοινωνίας, καὶ τροφὰς καὶ πόματα,  
15 καὶ συνουσίας νοερὰς ἐπὶ φωτὸς ἀνθρώποις τελειουμένας.<sup>7</sup> οὗτοί μοι  
διείλαντο αἰθέρα τρόποις τριακοσίοις ἐξηκονταπέντε, καὶ φύσιν  
ἕκαστον ἔχοντα κοινωνὸν ἐνεργείας ὑλικῆς καὶ συμβουλία χρώμενα τῇ  
τοῦ ἄρχοντος διαταγῇ καὶ παραμηνύοντα τὴν βουλὴν τοῖς κινήμασι καὶ  
κρύπτοντα μυστικὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ πειθόμενα λόγοις πραγματικοῖς τοῖς  
20 ἐκ θυσιῶν καὶ σπονδῶν· τινὰ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενα, ἀλλὰ διάθεσιν τηροῦντα  
πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ φωτός.<sup>8</sup> ἔδειξαν δέ μοι, πῶς ἐπείσθησαν μετέχειν

1 ἵεται SV: προίεται P || 2 εἶδη παθῶν SV: παθῶν εἶδη P || 2-3 κενοδοξίας ... σοφίας P: κενῆς δοξίας ... σοφίας S κενῆς σοφίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης καὶ κενῆς ἀρετῆς V || 4 ὅλα SV: ὅλως P || 5 ὡς σκιά P: ὡς σκιὰν S om. V || 6 διαρρέοντα PV: διαρέοντα S || πάθεσι P: εἶδεσι τῶν παθῶν S εἰδώλοις V || δαιμόνια PV: εἰδῶλα S || 7 πολλὰ PS: πάντα V || 8 καταγράψωμαι PS: καταλείψωμαι V || εἰπὼν PV: εἶπω S || ἐκ τῶν P: ἐκ δὲ τῶν S καὶ ἐκ τῶν V (καὶ om. Gitl) || 9 παραινίττομαι corr. Mar, Gitl: παραινίττομαι P παραινίσσομαι S παραινείττομαι V || ἤδη post ἐτῶν add. P || 10 παρ' P: ἐξ S ἀπ' V || τοὺς PS: om. V || 11 οὗτοι PS: om. V || ἐπὶ PS: ὑπὸ V || εἶναι SV: om. P || 12 ἀστέρων PS: om. V || 13 ἄστρον PV: ἀστέρων S || διαταγαῖς PS: διαταγὰς V || μοι PV: μου S || 15 ἀνθρώποις ἀνῶις S || τελειουμένας SV: τελουμένας P || 16 διείλαντο PV: διήλαν S || αἰθέρα PSV<sup>2</sup>: ἐθέρα V<sup>1</sup> || εἰδώλοις, δι' ὧν τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐνεργεῖν παρεσκεύασεν εἰς ἀποπλάνησιν post ἐξηκονταπέντε add. V || 17 ἐνεργείας PV: ἐνεργεία S || συμβουλία SV, corr. Mar: συμβουλεία P || χρώμενα V: χρωμένους PS || 18 παραμηνύοντα PS Gitl: παραμηνύων V || καὶ ante κρύπτοντα om. V || 19 πειθόμενα ... πραγματικοῖς PS Gitl: πείθων ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πραγματικῆς V (πειθόμενα V<sup>1</sup>) || 20 μὴ PV: μηδὲ S || 21 βουλὴν PV: βολὴν S || ἐπείσθησαν PV ἐπίσθησαν S.

each demon that wears them hurls upon the world.<sup>28</sup>

5. I saw there the three hundred sixty-five forms of passions and vanity and empty virtue and empty wisdom and empty justice in which they lead the Greek philosophers astray. (2) For they are altogether adorned, but they do not have actual existence since they dissipate quickly, some like a cloud of dust, others like a shadow; for in the three hundred sixty-five passions the demons get ready to operate in order to cause digression. (3) And so that I do not fill many books with writing by describing the majority, I hint at the gravity of my ungodliness for you by mentioning a few from the many. (4) When I became thirty years old, I set out from Egypt to the Chaldaeans in order to learn the motion of the ether, which these same men say occurs in fire, but the strict ones among them say occurs in light.<sup>29</sup> (5) From them I came to know the species of the stars, as with plants, and the dances of the stars, as in the ordinances of war. (6) These men described to me in detail the house of each one and their conjunctions and foods and drinks and spiritual unions with humans which are accomplished on the basis of light. (7) These men divided the ether for me into three hundred sixty-five types, and they each have with respect to their nature an accompaniment of material energy, and they consult the command of the ruler for advice and disclose his will by their movements, and they conceal a mysterious injunction and obey the active words which come from sacrifices and drink-offerings; some, however, do not obey, but guard their disposition against the will of the light.<sup>30</sup> (8) They showed me how they are persuaded to participate in the

<sup>28</sup> The forms in *Conf.* 4 may have been inspired by the demonic personifications of abstractions and vices in *T. Sol.* 8:2–11 where Solomon encounters the seven heavenly bodies of this world of darkness, of which the most relevant are Deception (ἀπάτη), Strife (ἐρις), Distress (ζάλη), Error (πλάνη), and Power (δύναμις). The demon of murder (φόνος), which is described as “a man (who had) all his limbs, but no head” (*T. Sol.* 9:1) is particularly reminiscent of this section. Similar personifications are also found in NHC II,5 *On the Origin of the World* 106,19–34, which is probably also dependent on the *Testament of Solomon*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Orac. chald.* 51, 61, 85.

<sup>30</sup> I have adopted V’s χρώμενα over the χρωμένους of PS, in which case all of the participles in this sentence are neuter plural; ἑκάστος often takes a plural verb, but this still does not explain why all of the participles would be neuter when τρόπος is a masculine noun. V has resolved the problem by adding εἰδώλοις κτλ., but this is certainly an interpolation. The passage equally troubled Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 37), who has a lengthy ellipsis in his translation: “365 Tropen . . . . (und lehrten mich), daß sie . . . .” There is a plurality of ethers in *Orac. chald.* 98.

σκοτεινῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀντιπαρασχεῖν βουλὴν φωτὸς εἰς ἐπικράτησιν. <sup>9</sup>  
εἶδον τοὺς μεσίτας καὶ ἐθαύμασα, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀερίοις τοῦ σκότους  
πνεύμασιν ὁ βίος κατακερματίζεται. <sup>10</sup> ἔγνωσαν τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
διαθήκας καὶ ἐξεπλάγην, ὅτι ὄρκοις ἰδίοις κεκράτηνται.

- 5      6. ἐκεῖ διαθέσεις, ἐκεῖ ἐντολαί, ἐκεῖ σπουδὴ καὶ ἔννοια, ἵνα τῆς  
μετουσίας αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἣν ὁ ἄρχων σοφία δεινῇ ἐξεῦρεν. <sup>2</sup> ἐκ  
γὰρ ἀέρος τὸν νοῦν ἐπλήρωσε συνέσεως, ἐκ δὲ γῆς τὴν γλῶσσαν δο-  
λιότητος, ἐκ δὲ καταχθονίων τὴν προαίρεσιν κακούργου πράξεως· καὶ  
οὕτως ἀπησχόλησε τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀποστήναι πίστεως καὶ θεοῦ καὶ  
10 τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῦ. <sup>3</sup> πάντα ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ ἐνεπορεύσατο, πάντα συνέχεε  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πηγῇ ματαιότητος βασιλεύει τῆς ἀνομίας. <sup>4</sup> ἐμοὶ πιστεύετε, [5]  
ὅτι αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον ἐθεασάμην θυσίαις ἐξιλεωσάμενος. <sup>5</sup> ἐμοὶ  
πέιθεσθε, ὅτι καὶ ἡσπασάμην αὐτὸν καὶ συνελάλησα καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ  
τὰ πρῶτα ἐχόντων ἐνομίσθην. <sup>6</sup> εὐφυῆ με, μειράκιον προσεῖπεν, νέον  
15 Ἰαμβρὴν, εὐτονον εἰς λειτουργίαν, ἄξιον τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνου. <sup>7</sup> ἐπ-  
ηγγείλατό με ἄρχοντα ποιήσιν μετὰ τὰ ἐν βίῳ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν  
βίον συνεργεῖν. <sup>8</sup> διὸ ὡς τιμὴν ἔχοντί μοι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ φάλαγγα δαι-  
μόνων ἐνεπίστευσεν. <sup>9</sup> Ἀνδρίζου, μοι ἐξιόντι ἀνεβόησε, σπουδαιότατε  
Κυπριανέ, καὶ προέπεμψέ με ἀναστάς, ὅπερ καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμασαν.

1 σκοτεινῆς SV, corr. Mar: σκοτινῆς P || τοῦ ante φωτὸς add. V || 2 ὅτι PSV: ὅτε Bol || 3 πνεύμασιν PV: πνεύμασι S || ἀλλήλους PS Gitl: ἄλλους V || 4 ἐξεπλάγην PV: ἐξεπλάγη S || 5 σπουδὴ PV: σπουδαί εἰ καὶ ἄλλοι S || ἔννοια P Gitl: εὐνοια V εὐνοια καὶ ὁμόνοια S || 6 αὐτῶν PS: ἐαυτῶν V || ἀπολαύσωσιν PV: ἀπολαύουσιν S || ἐξεῦρεν PS: κατεσκεύασεν V || 7 ἐπλήρωσε PV: ἐπλήρωσεν S || 8 τῶν ante καταχθονίων add. P || κακούργου PS: πανούργου V || 9 ἀπησχόλησε V, corr. Mar: ἀπησχόλησαι P ἀπησχόλησεν S || τὸν πάντα χρόνον P: τὸν πάντα τουτονὶ κόσμον S τουτονὶ κόσμον V || ἀποστήναι PSV: ἀποστήσαι conj. Mar || πίστεως P: φύσεως SV || θεοῦ: Θεοῦ S || 10 ἐνεπορεύσατο PV: ἐπονηρεύσατο S || συνέχεε PV: συνέχεεν S || 11 πηγῇ PS: τῇ γῇ V || ματαιότητος PV: om. S || καὶ ante βασιλεύει add. V; βασιλεύει καὶ emend. Gitl || ἀνομίας P: ἀμαρτίας S ἀνομίας V || ἐμοὶ PV: εἰ μοι S || πιστεύετε PS: πιστεύσατε V || 12 θυσίαις ἐξιλεωσάμενος V: om. P θυσίαις αὐτὸν ἐξιλεωσάμενος S || ἐμοὶ PV: εἰ μοι S || 13 πέιθεσθε corr. Mar: πέιθεσθαι PS πείσθητε V || ὅτι V: om. PS || αὐτῷ post συνελάλησα add. S || τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ PS Gitl: τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν V || 14 εὐφυῆ PSV: εὐφυὲς corr. Mar || με μειράκιον PV: μειράκιον με S || πρὸς post προσεῖπεν add. V; om. Gitl || 15 Ἰαμβρὴν P: ἰαμβρὴν S, corr. Gitl ἰάμβριον V || 16 ποιήσιν PS Gitl: ποιήσεν V || τὰ ἐν βίῳ καὶ SV: τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευταίην P || κατὰ τὸν PV κατὸν S || 17 μοι post ἔχοντί om. V || παρ' αὐτῷ SV: παραντῷ P παρ' αὐτῷ corr. Gitl || μοι post φάλαγγα add. V || 18 ἐνεπίστευσεν PV: ἐνεπίστευσέν μοι S || μοι ἐξιόντι P Gitl: ἐξιόντι μοι S μοι ἐμόντι V || ἀνεβόησε V Mar: ἀνεβόησεν PS.



dark will and cause in return victory over the will of the light.<sup>31</sup> (9) I saw the mediators<sup>32</sup> and was amazed that even this world is chopped up by the aerial spirits of the darkness. (10) I came to know their treaties with each other and was astounded that they were bound by peculiar oaths.<sup>33</sup>

6. There were arrangements there, there were injunctions there, there was an eagerness and an intention there in order to have the benefit of their partnership, which the ruler procured with his terrible wisdom. (2) 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 mischievous action, and in this manner he left them no leisure for the whole of time to keep them far from faith and from God and his veneration. (3) He cheated everything into error and confounded everything, and he himself rules over lawlessness with a fount of vanity. (4) Believe me, after I appeased him with sacrifices, I saw the devil. (5) Trust me, 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, a young Jambres, well-strung for service, worthy of association with that one.<sup>34</sup> (7) He promised to make me a ruler after the time of the things in my life and to assist me in this life. (8) For this reason he entrusted a phalanx of demons to me, since I held honor with him. (9) “Be a man,” he shouted aloud to me as I was going out, “most excellent Cyprian,” and after he stood up, he escorted me out, at which all likewise marveled. (10) For this reason all his rulers

<sup>31</sup> These ideas were probably derived from and inveigh against the concept of the will of the Father in the *Chaldaean Oracles*; *Orac. chald.* 81 provides a particularly striking parallel: “All things yield to the intellectual Lightning-bolts of the intellectual Fire, serving the persuasive will (πειθηνίδι βουλή) of the Father” (trans. Ruth Majercik, *The Chaldaean Oracles: Text, Translation, and Commentary* [Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 5; Leiden: Brill, 1989], 81). Cf. *Orac. chald.* 37, 77, 107.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 46) mentions that the Persians gave Mithras the name μεσίτης since he was midway between the god of light and the god of darkness.

<sup>33</sup> The phrase ὅρκους ἰδίους may also have been inspired by late-antique (mis)conceptions of “Persian” mysteries; cf. Tertullian’s description of the Mithraic crown oath-ritual (*Cor.* 15).

<sup>34</sup> Maran corrected εὐφύη to εὐφνές to agree with μεῖράκιον, but this is both unnecessary and lessens the force of μεῖράκιον. The term μεῖράκιον is generally used to refer to persons from twenty to twenty-one years of age or younger; when it is used in reference to adults, however, it is used in a contemptuous sense (see LSJ 1093b), which is the case here since Cyprian is thirty years old at this point (cf. *Conf.* 5:4). This makes sense since Jambres was the lesser of the two Egyptian magicians. It is also in this sense that the following imperative ἀνδρίζου in 6:9 should be understood. See my comments in the introduction (section 2.3).

<sup>10</sup> διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ ὑπήκουόν μοι, ἰδόντες τὴν τιμὴν μου  
τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ. <sup>11</sup> ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνθος χρυσοῦ τιμίους λίθοις  
κεκοσμημένον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστεφάνωτο λίθοις συμπλεκόμενοις, ὧν  
αἱ ἐνέργειαι τὸ πεδίον ἐκείνο κατηύγαζον καὶ ἡ στολὴ οὐκ ἀνόμοιος· καὶ  
5 ἔσειεν τὸν χρόνον περιστεφόμενος.

7. πολλὰ δὲ ἡ περὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ παράστασις διαφόρων ταγ-  
μάτων κεκλικότων πρὸς ὑποταγὴν αὐτῷ τὰς εἰδέας καὶ ἐνεργείας. <sup>2</sup>  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὡς τὸν τόπον φωτίζειν, καὶ ἐφάνταζεν οὐ μετρίως  
καταπλήττων ἅπαντας. <sup>3</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἄστροις καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς  
10 τοῦ κυρίου κτίσμασιν ὁμοιότητος ἑαυτῷ παρέπλεξε πρὸς πόλεμον θεοῦ  
καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ παρατασσόμενος, δι' ὧν ἐδόκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
πλανᾶν ὡς θεός, μηδὲν ἔχων ἐν ὑποστάσει, τὰ δὲ πάντα ζωγραφίᾳ  
σκιῶδει οἰόμενος ὑφίστασθαι καὶ προβάλλεσθαι. <sup>4</sup> ὅθεν, ὅταν φαίνονται  
ἐν μορφαῖς οἱ δαίμονες, διαλύονται· σπουδάζουσι γὰρ καὶ διὰ τῶν  
15 εἰκόνων δεικνύναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν. <sup>5</sup> πῶς δὲ ἔχει τῶν σκιῶν τούτων [6]  
τὴν ὕλην ἔρῳ, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν θυσιῶν. <sup>6</sup> αἱ γὰρ ἀνα-  
θυμιάσεις ἐκ τῶν κνισῶν ἐκείνων γίνονται αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔριον καὶ λίνον καὶ  
ἰστώνες καὶ βάμματα, τέχνη τε ναοῦ καὶ ὄργανα, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς  
ἀμφιέννυσι ταῖς σκιαῖς αὐτῶν ἀντὶ μορφῶν χρώμενοι. <sup>7</sup> διὰ τοῦτο αἰτεῖ

1 ὑπήκουόν PS Gitl: ὑπήκούον V || ἰδόντες V: εἰδότες PS || 1-2 τιμὴν ... αὐτῷ PV: παρ' αὐτῷ τιμὴν  
μοι S || 2 εἶδος SV, corr. Mar: ἴδος P || τῆς φαντασίας post εἶδος add. S || τιμίους PS: om. V || 3  
κεκοσμημένον ... λίθοις om. S ex hapl. || ἐστεφάνωτο P: ἐστεφανωμένον V || συμπλεκόμενοις PS:  
συμπεπλεγμένοις V || 4 ἐνέργειαι PSV: ἐνάργειαι corr. Mar || τὸ πεδίον SV: τοπαδίον P || ἅπαν  
post ἐκείνο add. S || 5 τὸν χρόνον S: τὸν χρόνον P τῷ χωρῷ V τῷ χορῷ corr. Gitl || περιστεφόμενος  
PS Gitl: ἐστεφανωμένον V || 6 ἡ PS: τῶν V || αὐτοῦ SV: αὐτῷ P || ἡ ante παράστασις add. V ||  
διαφόρων SV: διαφόρον P || 7 κεκλικότων PS: κεκληκότων V || 8 φωτίζειν SV: φωτίζει P || 9  
καταπλήττων PV: καταπλήσων S || γὰρ PV: om. S || ἐν ante φυτοῖς add. P || ἐν ante τοῖς add. P ||  
10 κυρίου P: κυ S θεοῦ V || παρέπλεξε V<sup>2</sup> Mar: παρέπλεξεν PSV<sup>1</sup> || θεοῦ: θεῶ S || 11  
παρατασσόμενος SV: παραταττόμενος P || ἀνθρώπους: ἀνδρῶν S || 12 θεός: θεῶ S || καὶ ἀληθεία  
post ὑποστάσει add. S || 12-13 ζωγραφίᾳ σκιῶδει P: ἐν ζωγραφίᾳ μόνον σκιῶδει S ζωγραφήσας  
σκιῶδη V || 13 οἰόμενος SV, corr. Mar: οἰώμενος P || καὶ προβάλλεσθαι V: καὶ προβάλλεσθαι P  
om. S || ὅταν corr. Mar, Gitl: ὅτ' ἀν P ὅτε S ὅ τ' ἀν V || 14 ἐν μορφαῖς PS Gitl: εὐμορφεῖς V || καὶ PS  
Gitl: καὶ V || 15 εἰκόνων PS: εἰκόνων V<sup>1</sup> εἰκόνων V<sup>2</sup> || τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν SV: αὐτῶν τὴν  
ἐξουσίαν P || καὶ δύναμιν post ἐξουσίαν add. S || τούτων PV: om. S || 16 τὴν SV in marg. P: om.  
Mar || ἔρῳ ... ἄλλοθεν PS: deest V || ἡ PS: om. V || 16-17 αἱ γὰρ ἀναθυμιάσεις PS: ἡ γὰρ  
ἀναθυμιάσεις V || 17 αἱ ante ἐκ add. S || κνισῶν V: κνισσῶν S, corr. Mar κνισσῶν P || αὐτοῖς SV:  
αὐτῷ P || 18 ἰστώνες PS: χιτῶνες V || τέχνη τε ναοῦ PV: καὶ τέχνη S || αὐτοῖς PS Gitl: αὐτῆς V ||  
19 ἀμφιέννυσι PV: ἀφιέννυσι S || χρώμενοι PV: χρώμενος S || αἰτεῖ PSV<sup>2</sup>: ἐτεῖ V<sup>1</sup>.

also submitted to me, since they saw the honor which I held with him. (11) His form was like a golden flower adorned with precious stones, and he crowned his head with stones that were twined together—the energies of which illuminated that plain, and his garment was no different—and when he enwreathed himself, he shook the land.

7. Great indeed was the display around his throne of different ranks which laid down their forms and energies in subordination to him.<sup>35</sup> (2) But he was also displaying himself so as to illuminate the place, and he was astounding everybody, terrifying them tremendously. (3) For he wove likenesses of himself among all the stars and plants and creatures of the Lord, having drawn them up for battle with God and his angels, through which he pretended to lead men astray as God, since he possesses nothing in reality, intending to uphold everything in a dark picture and put it forward. (4) Therefore, whenever the demons appear in their forms, they dissolve, for they are eager, if only through their images, to show their own authority. (5) I shall explain how he acquires the material of these shadows, that it comes from no other place than from sacrifices. (6) For the rising vapors from the savor<sup>36</sup> of those burnt-offerings are favorable to them, as are wool and linen and weaving-sheds and dyes, and the decorations and instruments of a temple, and they dress themselves in them, using their shadows for forms. (7) For this reason he demands sacrifices; he also

<sup>35</sup> There is a similar scene in *Act Pet. Paul* 16 where in a dream Paul sees one who can only be the devil or a high-ranking demon sitting on a golden seat surrounded by a multitude of demons (πλῆθος μαύρων) who report their evil deeds.

<sup>36</sup> κνῖσα, cf. Homer, *Il.* 1.317.

5 θυσίαν, ἄχρι καὶ μύρμηκος καὶ ὕδατα ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ ἔρια καὶ καρπούς καὶ  
 πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἔχη ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν φαντασιωδῶν σκιῶν τὴν  
 ἀπόχρησιν. <sup>8</sup> ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν θανόντων τὰς μνήμας ἐμμόρφους ἔχομεν ἐν  
 διανοίᾳ καὶ ὁρῶμεν αὐτοὺς μὴ φαινομένους καὶ μὴ ὁμιλοῦσι συν-  
 10 ομιλοῦμεν, 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 ἰχθῦν, ἀλλ' οὐ τροφήν,  
 καὶ χρυσὸν δωρούμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνύπαρκτον. <sup>9</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὕλῶν συμμορφαζόμενος πόλιν δείκνυσι καὶ οἴκους καὶ χώρας, ὅρη τε  
 10 καὶ πατρίδας, ὡσαύτως καὶ πόαν καὶ ἄνθη καὶ ἔρια, καὶ ἄνθινα  
 ἀπλώματα, καὶ ὀνείρων ὑπόστασιν δείκνυσι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν νυκτὶ  
 φαντάζει τὰς ψυχάς. <sup>10</sup> καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος φαντάζει, οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς  
 ἄνθρωποι θεραπεύοντες παρασκευάζουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

8. τί δὲ πρὸς με τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον θεῷ προσελθεῖν καὶ γνῶντα τὴν  
 15 ἀτονίαν τοῦ δράκοντος καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀλαζονείαν,  
 ὅτι κατῶρυγμα ἐν σκότει τῆς ἀσεβείας; <sup>2</sup> Ἐπείρασά γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ  
 ψεῦδος, εἰδὼς, ὅτι φαντάζει μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ποιεῖ ἀληθές. <sup>3</sup> ἔγνω ἐκ  
 τῆς παρθένου Ἰουστίνης τοὺς δαίμονας ὅτι καπνὸς εἰσι καὶ οὐδὲν  
 ἰσχύουσιν· εἶδον ἐν τῇ κόρῃ τῇ Χριστιανῇ τὸν τοσαῦτα φυσῶντα  
 20 δράκοντα, μὴδὲ κώνωπος ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα. <sup>4</sup> ἐπείσθην ἐκ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς

1 ἄχρι PS Gittl: ἀντι V || καὶ (prius) PS: om. V || μύρμηκος SV, corr. Mar: τοῦ μύρμηκος P ||  
 ὕδατα PV: κόπρου καὶ ὕδατος S || καὶ καρπούς PSV alii: καρπούς Bol || 2 τῆς SV: om. P || τῶν  
 φαντασιωδῶν PS Gittl: τὸ φαντασιωδὸν (priore o in ras., corr. ex ω) V || καὶ ante σκιῶν add. V || 3  
 ἐμμόρφους PS Gittl: ἐμμόρφους V || 3-4 ἐν διανοίᾳ PV: ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ S || 4 μὴ (prius) PV: om. S ||  
 7 ποιῶν πῦρ PV: πῦρ ποιῶν S || καῖον PV: καίον S || οὐ τροφήν PV: οὐκ εἰς τροφήν S || 8-9  
 ἄλλων ὕλῶν P: μάλλων ὕλῶν S ἄλλων V || 9 πόλιν PV: πόλεις S || δείκνυσι PS: διαδείκνυσι V ||  
 10 ἔρια P: ἱερὰ S || 11 ὑπόστασιν P: ὑποστάσεις S || 10-11 πόαν ... δείκνυσι PS: ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων  
 (ἀνθῶν corr. Gittl) ἀερίνων τοῖς εἰδώλοις ποιοῦσι στολῶν ἐνδύματα χρωτῶν σκιώδεσιν, οὐδὲν ἢ  
 τῶν ὀνείρων ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπόστασιν V || 11 αὐτὸς ἐν νυκτὶ PS: ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις οὕτω V || 13  
 ἄνθρωποι: ἀνῶι S || παρασκευάζουσιν PV: παρὰ παρασκευάζουσιν ex ditt. S || αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτα  
 ποιεῖν P: αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῖν S deest V || 14 με τὸν μὴ V: ἐμὲ PS || θεῷ: θῶ S || γνῶντα SV:  
 γνῶναι P || 15 ἀτονίαν PS: αἰτίαν V || ἀλαζονείαν V, corr. Mar: ἀλαζονία P || καὶ πᾶσαν ...  
 ἀλαζονείαν PV: om. S || 16 κατῶρυγμα PV: κατῶρυγμα S || 16-17 ἐπείρασά ... ἀληθές PS:  
 deest V || 17 ἔγνω PS: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνω V || 18 καπνός PS: καπνοὶ V || 18-19 οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν PS:  
 καὶ οὐδὲ μίαν (οὐδεμίαν corr. Gittl) δύναμιν ἔχουσιν V || 20 δράκοντα PSV<sup>2</sup>: δαίμονα V<sup>1</sup> || μὴδὲ  
 S, corr. Lud: μὴτε PV || κώνωπος P: κόνωπος S κώνωτος V || ἔχοντα PS: ἐπιδεικνύμενον V ||  
 εὐσεβοῦς PS: θηλείας V.

demands back wools and fruits and all the things on the earth, even as far as an ant and water, so that with them he can acquire the consumption of his fantastic shadows. (8) 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 hold converse, so too the devil, who, after forming images of the shapes of those things which are sacred to him, places them around both himself and his companions; he gives rain but not water, makes fire but it does not burn, provides fish but not nourishment, and presents gold but it is not real. (9) And then out of the other materials, by gesturing,<sup>37</sup> he displays a city and houses and fields, both mountains and countries, similarly grass and flowers and wools and blooming expanses, and he displays the substance of dreams, for he himself deceives souls during the night. (10) So he presents these things, and the ungodly humans who serve him prepare to make these things as well.

8. But what was it to me, one who did not want to come to God and did not know the debility of the dragon and all his power and boastfulness because I was buried in the darkness of ungodliness? (2) Then I made trial of his falsehood, since I knew that he only deceives and makes nothing real.<sup>38</sup> (3) From the virgin Justina I came to know that the demons are smoke and have power over nothing; in the presence of the Christian maiden I saw the dragon so greatly extinguished and lacking even the strength of a mosquito. (4) From the pious virgin I was

<sup>37</sup> The verb συμμορφάζω is attested elsewhere only in a Byzantine work by Theophylactus (see Paul Gautier, *Theophylacte d'Achrida: Discours, Traités, Poésies* [Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, Series Thessalonicensis 16.1; Thessalonica: Association de Recherches Byzantines, 1980], 147 ll. 6–7). Gautier translates with “adopte,” Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 39) with “bildet,” and Grimal (*Romans grecs*, 1394) with “façonne.” However, this is not συμμορφίζομαι or συμμορφόομαι nor is it from μορφάω or μορφόω, but rather μορφάζω, “to use gesticulations”; here συμμορφάζόμενος seems to imply some sort of a magical or creative gesture.

<sup>38</sup> I am doubtful of the originality of *Conf.* 8:2 and have placed it in half-brackets. There is no negative in 8:1 of the long recension of PS, in which case Cyprian during all this time has wanted to come to God (which would contradict 17:6) and was aware of the debility of the dragon (which would contradict the whole of Eusebius’s argument in *Conf.* 22 that Cyprian both acted out of ignorance and was deceived by the devil; cf. 24:3, which explicitly references 8:1). There is a negative in 8:1 of the short recension of V, in which 8:2 is missing entirely. It seems to me highly likely that the negative was unintentionally omitted at some point and that the content of 8:2 was added in order to make the sense of 8:1 without a negative less awkward. If such was the case then the error, but not necessarily the addition, occurred at an early date since Eudocia’s metaphrasis also lacks a negative: ἀλλά γε τίποτε πάθω, ὅτι βουλόμενος τρομέεσθαι (*De S. Cypriano* 2.275).

παρθένου τὸν τηλικαῦτα ἐπαγγελλούμενον βασιλέα τοῦ σκοτούς, ὅτι  
ἐψεύδετο· ὁ δράκων ὡς σκώληξ κατεπατήθη ὑπὸ Ἰουστίνης τῆς κόρης, ὁ  
βασιλεὺς τῶν δαιμόνων παρέμενε τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς παιδός, εἰσελθεῖν μὴ  
δυνάμενος.<sup>5</sup> ὁ μυρίαὶς φάλαγξι δορυφορούμενος σανίδιον τῆς θύρας  
5 αὐτῆς διαρρήξαι οὐκ ἴσχυεν.<sup>6</sup> ὁ νομίζων πάντων κρατεῖν, ὑπὸ κόρης  
ἐπαίζετο· ὁ τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν σείειν βρενθυνόμενος γυναικὸς τὴν φύσιν  
πάρεργος ἐγίνετο· οὐ γὰρ ἡδύνατο τοὺς λογισμοὺς αὐτῆς ἀλλοιωῶσαι, ὁ  
τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγων περιτρέπειν.<sup>7</sup> ὁ ὡς λέων κατὰ παντῶν ὠρυόμενος, ὡς  
κῶνωψ ἐν τῷ προαυλίῳ αὐτῆς παρεκαθέζετο, μηδὲν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τολμῶν  
10 καὶ ὁ δοκῶν πάντας ἐκφοβεῖν, εἰς δειλίαν οὐκ ἐνέβαλε τὴν κόρην.

9. ὡς γὰρ παρείην ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαίας γῆς, τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέλαβον [7]  
καὶ θαυματουργῶν ἤμην ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρχαίων, καὶ πείραν ἐδίδουν τῆς  
γοητείας, καὶ ὀνομαστὸς ἤμην μάγος φιλόσοφος, πολλὴν τῶν ἀοράτων  
ἔχων κατάληπιν.<sup>2</sup> πολλοὺς τε εὐεργετεῖν ἐδόκουν, καὶ μυριοὶ ἦσαν οἱ  
15 ταῖς φαντασίαις μου προσεδρεύοντες· οἱ μὲν διὰ λογιότητα, οἱ δὲ διὰ  
τέχνης ἀσεβοῦς ἀπόπειραν, οἱ δὲ διὰ πάθη φιληδονίας φθόνῳ, ζήλῳ,  
κακίᾳ λεηλατούμενοι.<sup>3</sup> καὶ πᾶσι συνηρχόμην, τοῖς μὲν τὴν ἡδονὴν  
ῥάστην ποιῶν, τοῖς δὲ τὸν ζῆλον τρέπων εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἢ τοὺς ἐν-  
αντιουμένους ὑποτάσσων, ἢ φιλονεικούντας ἀναιρῶν.<sup>4</sup> καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ

1 παρθένου P: παρ<sup>θ</sup> S τῆς εὐλαβοῦς V || καὶ τοσαῦτα post τηλικαῦτα add. S || ἐπαγγελλούμενον SV, corr. Mar ἐπαγγελλόμενον P || 2 ὁ δράκων V: ὁ γὰρ δράκων P ὁ δράκων καὶ S || κατεπατήθη ... κόρης PS: πρὸς (πρὸ in marg.) τῆς Ἰουστίνης κατεπατήθη V || 3-4 παρέμενε (παρέμενεν S) ... δυνάμενος PS: γυναικὸς θύρα προσήδρευε μὴ τολμῶν ὑπείσελθεῖν V || 4 μυρίαὶς φάλαγξι PS: τοῖς ἀπείροις πνεύμασι V || δορυφορούμενος PV: δωρυφορούμενος S || 4-5 τῆς θύρας αὐτῆς S: τῆς θύρας αὐτοῦ P γυναικὸς V || 5 ἴσχυεν SV: ἡδύνατο P || νομίζων πάντων κρατεῖν PS: πάντων κρατεῖν οἰόμενος V || 5-6 κόρης ἐπαίζετο PS: γυναικὸς ἐξευροῦτο V || 6 βρενθυνόμενος PSV: ρ suprascr. S βρενθυόμενος Mar || γυναικὸς PS: κόρης V || 7 πάρεργος V: πάρεργον PS || 8 οὐρανὸν: οὐνον S || λέγων PS: λέγον Bol || 7-8 οὐ γὰρ ... περιτρέπειν PS: ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος ἐν πανουργίᾳ γυναικὸς οὐκ ἡλλοίωσε λογισμοὺς V || 8 ὁ ὡς λέων ... ὠρυόμενος (ὀρυόμενος S) PS: ὁ δοκῶν ὠρυεῖσθαι (ὠρύεσθαι corr. Gitl) ὡς λέων καὶ καταπλήττειν V || 9 κῶνωψ P Gitl: σκῶνωψ S κόνωψ V || παρεκαθέζετο PS: κατεπαίζετο V || 10 ἐνέβαλε Mar: ἐνέβαλε PS || 9-10 μηδὲν ... τὴν κόρην PS: deest V || 11 παρείην PV: παρίειν S παρήειν conj. Lud || Χαλδαίας SV: Χαλδαίων P || ἐπὶ ante τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν add. V || κατέλαβον PS: om. V || 12 καὶ θαυματουργῶν PS: θαυματουργῶν καὶ V || ἐδίδουν P: ἐδίδου S || 13 μου post γοητείας add. S || ἐπ' αἰοδὸς post μάγος add. S || πολλὴν S, corr. Mar: πλὴν P || 14 ἔχων κατάληπιν P: τὴν κατάληπιν ἔχων S || τε P: τε καὶ S || 16 οἱ δὲ διὰ τέχνης ἀσεβοῦς ἀπόπειραν post ἀπόπειραν add. S ex. ditt. || 17 τὴν PS: om. Mar || 19 φιλονεικούντας S, corr. Mar: φιλονεικίων P.

persuaded that the king of darkness, who proclaims his great age, beguiles; the dragon was trampled down like a worm by the maiden Justina, as he was standing near the girl's door without being able to enter. (5) The one who is attended by countless phalanxes was not strong enough to break through a plank of her door. (6) The one who thinks that he rules over all was made a sport of by the maiden; the one who bears himself so haughtily as to shake that which is under heaven was made subordinate in nature by a woman, for he, the one who says that he turns the heavens upside down, was not able to alter her calculations. (7) The one who roars like a lion against everyone sat near her vestibule like a gnat, daring to make no attack; and the one who seems to alarm all men did not invade the maiden out of cowardice.<sup>39</sup>

9. Then, when I passed from the land of Chaldaea, I arrived in Antioch<sup>40</sup> and was performing miracles like one of the ancients, and I gave proof of my sorcery and was a famous philosopher-magician, since I possessed a great understanding of the invisible realms. (2) 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 experiment with the ungodly art, others who were enslaved to envy, jealousy, and depravity attended because of their passions for pleasure-seeking. (3) 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. (4) And, indeed, fathers would intercede on behalf

<sup>39</sup> In the *Conversion* each of the three demons conjured by Cyprian succeeds in entering Justina's apartment. This characteristic of non-penetration is unique to the *Confession* and perhaps metaphorical of the preservation of Justina's virginity. Also unique to the *Confession* is the presence of the dragon, a character likely adopted from the apocryphal acts of the apostles (see my comments in the introduction, section 2.2). The demon known as Winged Dragon in *T. Sol.* 14:3–4 who boasts of copulating with beautiful women mentions his attack upon a certain woman whom he impregnated. Elsewhere in the *Confession* (esp. 3:5, 7) the dragon bears a striking resemblance to the dragon of Egyptian Gnostic traditions, see *Pistis Sophia* 258–260, 317, 320–322, 329; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.10.8; cf. *Apoc. John* 11,31–32.

<sup>40</sup> On Syrian Antioch as a center of magic, cf. Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* 9.3; Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien*, 102 n. 3. Although some scholars associate Cyprian with Antioch of Pisidia (e.g., Mossay, *Discours* 24–26, 16) due to the fact no bishop named Cyprian can be historically placed in Syrian Antioch, Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 84–85), although he does not discount this notion outright, correctly highlights the unlikelihood that Pisidian Antioch is intended here given the fame of the other cities that are mentioned in the text. Moreover, this passage was clearly received as a reference to Syrian Antioch (cf. Eudocia, *De S. Cypriani* 2.297).

θυγατέρων πατέρες ἐπρέσβευον συμβιωταῖς κακοῖς λεηλατουμένας  
 ὀρώντες· καὶ ὑπὲρ δουλίδων ἕτεροι, καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπὲρ μητέρων καὶ  
 ἀδελφῶν.<sup>5</sup> καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπετύγχανε διὰ τῶν προσόντων μοι δαιμόνων.<sup>6</sup>  
 ὅθεν ἐπειθόμην μὴ εἶναι θεὸν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν διάβολον, διότι πάντων κρατεῖ  
 5 καὶ περιγίνεται.<sup>7</sup> οὐκ ἦδεν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ ὁμοίοις  
 ἰσχύει· οὐκ ἐνενόουν ὅτι ἀδυνατεῖ πρὸς τινὰς, ἐπειδὴ ἠγνόουν εἶναι  
 ἐτέραν δύναμιν μείζονα.<sup>8</sup> εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος  
 ἐνυπνόμην, ὅτι ἀδίκως παρέχει πολλά, λοιμούς, φθοράς, ἀγχόνας, καὶ ὅτι  
 ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἀδίκοις συντρέχει καὶ ἀνελεήμοσι καὶ φονεῦσι καὶ ἄρπαξι,  
 10 πλὴν διὰ τὸ πάντα αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἢ πλανῶντα ἢ βιαζόμενον, ἔπαυόν  
 μου τὴν συνειδήσιν πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ.<sup>9</sup> ἐλθόντος δὲ σὺν τοῖς  
 πολλοῖς Ἀγλαΐδου τινὸς κομποῦ μεираκίου καὶ περὶ ἔρωτος ἀνα-  
 θεμένου μοι Ἰουστίνης τινὸς παρθένου, ἐν καθέξει γίνομαι τῆς τοῦ  
 δράκοντος ἀσθενείας.<sup>10</sup> καὶ γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ δεδομένη μοι πρὸς  
 15 βοήθειαν εἰσήλασεν ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ, καὶ ἀνέκαμπτον ἄπρακτοι· ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ τὸν ἀποσταλέντα εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ Ἀγλαΐδου συνερεῖν δοκοῦντα  
 δαιμόνια ἢ τῆς κόρης ἀφίησιν εὐχὴ καὶ ποσῶς ἐνεργῆσαι.

10. καὶ δὴ μετὰ πολλὰς τοῦ νεανίσκου ἀγρυπνίας καὶ πολλὰς  
 περιεργίας καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου φιλονεικίας, ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέραις  
 20 συμβεβλημένας, αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος σὺν τοῖς πρώτοις ἄρχουσιν αὐτῇ  
 παρατάσσεται· οὐκέτι γὰρ ὁ Ἀγλαΐδης εἶχετο μόνος ἐρωτικῶς τῆς κόρης,

1 συμβιωταῖς corr. Mar: συμβιωταῖς P συμβιώσαι S || 2 μητέρων: μῶν S || 3 προσόντων S, corr. Mar: προσόντων P || 4 θεὸν: ὅν S || ἢ P: εἰ μὴ S || 5 ἦδεν P: ἴδεν S || τοῖς ὁμοίοις S, corr. Mar: τοῖς ὁμοίοις P τοὺς ὁμοίους corr. Gitl || 6 ἰσχύει P: ἰσχύι S || ἐνενόουν P: ἐνόουν S || 7 δύναμιν μείζονα P: μείζονα δύναμιν S || 8 ὅτι P: ὅτε S || καὶ φονεῦσι, καὶ ἄρπαξι P: καὶ ἄρπαξι καὶ φονεῦσιν ὅπερ θείας φύσεως ἀλλότριον S || 10 πλανῶντα S, corr. Mar: πλανόντα P || 11(p. 52)–14 ἡμιν ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ... τῆς τοῦ δράκοντος ἀσθενείας PS: πολλὰ φαντάζων τέχνη τῇ μαγικῇ καὶ πολλοῖς παρεχόμενος ἔρωτος καὶ φθόνου ζῆλόν τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πονηρίας τῆς σαρκικῆς, Ἀγλαΐδας τις, κομπον μεираκίον, μεταξύ τῶν ἄλλων μοι προσέρχεται ἀξιῶν περὶ παρθένου τινὸς τοῦνομα Ἰουστίνης αἰτῶν χάριν, ὅπως αὐτῆς περιγένηται. τότε δήλη μοι γέγονεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου ἀδρανείας καὶ φαντασίας V || 15 βοήθειαν PS: λειτουργίαν V || ἄπρακτοι PS: om. V || 16 οὐδὲ PS: οὐτὲ V || τὸν SV, suppl. Mar: om. P Bol || συνερεῖν δοκοῦντα PV: om. S συνερεῖν δοκοῦν τὰ emend. Mar || 17 δαιμόνια PS: om. V || ἀφίησιν εὐχὴ P: πίστις ἀφίησι S πίστις ἡφίη (ἡφίει corr. Gitl) V || ποσῶς PS: ἐν ποσῶ V || 18–19 καὶ πολλὰς περιεργίας P: καὶ ποικιλίας ἐμου περιεργίας S om. V || 20 συμβεβλημένας P: συμβεβλημέναις S συμβεβλημένος V || τοῖς PV: Il. οἱς in lac. S || πρώτοις ἄρχουσιν PS: ἄλλοις V || 21 παρατάσσεται PV: παραστάς S || Ἀγλαΐδης P<sup>2</sup>, corr. Mar, Gitl: ἀγλαΐδος P<sup>1</sup> ἀγλαΐδος S ἀγλαΐδος V || εἶχετο μόνος ἐρωτικῶς τῆς κόρης P: μόνον εἶχετο τῆς κόρης ἐρωτικῶς S εἶχετο τῆς κόρης ἐρωτικῶς V.



of their daughters since they saw them enslaved to wicked companions, and others interceded on behalf of their female slaves, and others on behalf of their mothers and sisters. (5) And through the demons that belonged to me, no one lost out. (6) Therefore, I was persuaded that there was no other god than the devil, because he rules and prevails over all. (7) But, men, I did not know that he was powerful among those who were like me; I did not consider that he was powerless against some, since I did not perceive that there was another greater power. (8) And when I would be greatly stung by my conscience because he unjustly causes many things, plagues, destructions, 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 by using force. (9) However, after, just as in the case of many others, a certain refined lad Aglaïdas came and told me about his love for a certain virgin Justina, I apprehended the weakness of the dragon.<sup>41</sup> (10) For the entire phalanx that was given to me for support marched in on the virgin and returned unsuccessful; but the miraculous prayer of the maiden, even though it worked enormously, did not get rid of the one who was sent who seemed to contribute to the aid of Aglaïdas.<sup>42</sup>

**10.** And, indeed, after the many surveillances of the young man and many juggleries and the emulations of the devil which accumulated over seventy days, the devil himself was drawn up beside his foremost rulers for battle against her; for it was no longer only Aglaïdas who was in love with the maiden, but I as well.

<sup>41</sup> This is the text of the long recension of *Conf.* 9:1–9; V's text is much shorter: "Then, when I passed from the land of Chaldaea, while working wonders near Antioch and creating spectacles with my magic art and offering zeal both for love and envy and for fleshly wickedness as well, a certain refined lad Aglaïdas, among other comparable ones, approached me asking for a favor concerning a certain virgin named Justina in order to prevail over her. Then the beginning of the devil's inefficiencies and illusions became clear to me . . ." (here the text continues with 9:10). Eudocia's metaphrasis (*De S. Cypriano* 2.296–306 [Ludwich, *Eudociae Augustae*, 67–68]) closely follows V here (see Bevegni, "Il viaggio," 53; idem, "Sui modelli del *De Sancto Cypriano*," 400–401). Although Eudocia omits material from other parts of the *Confession*, it seems probable that the contents of *Conf.* 9:1–9 were not present in the recension which she possessed in the fifth century C.E. and hence that V may be the more original text.

<sup>42</sup> The Greek text here is a corrected text of P (with Maran's supplement τὸν attested by SV), which is certainly the *lectio difficilior*. δαίμονια must be nominative and agree with εὐχή (which is truer to the story than SV's πίστις) and cannot be an accusative of δαίμόνιον as Maran suggested since the *Confession* uses the noun δαίμων exclusively when referring to demons.

ἀλλὰ κἀγώ.<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὰς τοσαύτας δυνάμεις σὺν τῷ δράκοντι ὑπὸ  
 μιᾶς κόρης καταργουμένας, καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν  
 ἡμῶν τρέψαι ἡδυνήθη ὁ διάβολος, καίπερ πολλὰ πειραθεὶς ἐπιτηδεῦσαι.  
<sup>3</sup> εἶπον γὰρ αὐτῷ, Εἰ ὅλως σοι τὸ τῆς φύσεως σύγκριμα ὑποτάσσεται,  
 5 κἂν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡμῶν ἄμβλυνον, ἵνα μὴ γελασθῶμεν ἐπιμένοντες καὶ  
 μηδὲν ἐξανύοντες.<sup>4</sup> διὸ ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ καλέσας τὸν τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα,  
 πάμπολλα αὐτῷ ἐπετίμησε, κελεύσας ποιεῖν ὃ προεῖπον, λέγων, Εἰ μὴ  
 χαυνωθῇ ὁ Ἀγλαΐδης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, τὰ πάνδεινα ὑποστήσεται.<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ  
 πολλὰ δράσας, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη, οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεργῆσαι ἐν ἡμῖν, δεικ-  
 10 νύντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι οὐ δύναται πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ὁ διάβολος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ  
 τῆς φύσεως μέγала φρονεῖ, ὥς ὅτε τις κυλλὸς ἢ χωλὸς ἵππῳ πολεμεῖν  
 εἰδότες χρησάμενος δοκοίη τὰ κατορθώματα εἰς οἰκεῖον πρόσωπον ἀνα-  
 φέρεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ μελέτη τοῦ νέου σώματος ἐξάπτει τὸν πόθον, καὶ τὴν  
 φύσιν πλεον ἐγείρει εἰς ὄρεξιν.<sup>6</sup> ἦν οὖν πολλὴ ζυγομαχία ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς  
 15 δαίμονας καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἠπείλουν,  
 ἀπεδυσπέτουν.<sup>7</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῷ δράκοντι ἐπιφυόμενος, ὃ δὲ  
 οὔτε ἔγρυξεν συνορῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀσθένειαν, κατεβόουν τε αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ἔφερε δεδιώς μου τὴν ἀναχώρησιν.<sup>8</sup> ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ [8]  
 ἡβουλήθη πλανῆσαι τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν εἰς νεανίδα τινα καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν,  
 20 οὔτε τῆς σκιᾶς τῆς Ἰουστίνης περιγενέσθαι, καίπερ μεταμορφωθείσαν

1 τὰς PS: om. V || δράκοντι PS Gitl δράκοντα V || 1-2 ὑπὸ μιᾶς ... ἐκπλαγῆναι P: ὑπὸ μιᾶς κόρης  
 καταργουμένας S καταργουμένας ὑπὸ τῆς κόρης καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι V || οὐδὲ PS: οὔτε V || 4 οὐδ'  
 post ὅλως add. V || 6 ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ SV: ἐπ' ἐμοῦ P || 7 αὐτῷ SV: αὐτὸν P || ἐπετίμησε PV: ἐπετίμησεν  
 S || αὐτῷ post λέγων add. S || 8 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας SV: om. P || ὑποστήσεται PS: διαθήσεσθαι V ||  
 ἀλλὰ PS: καὶ ἀλλὰ V || 9 ἐν τούτῳ PV: ἐπὶ τούτῳ S || ἐνεργῆσαι ἐν ἡμῖν PV: συνεργῆσαι ἡμῖν S  
 || 10 μετὰ PS Gitl: κατὰ V || 11 φρονεῖ PSV: φρονεῖν in marg. V || ὥς ὅτε PV: ὥστε S || κυλλὸς  
 corr. Mar, Gitl: κυλὸς P κυλλὸς SV || 12 δοκοίη P Gitl: δοκοίει SV || 13 τοῦ νέου σώματος PV:  
 τοῦ σώματος τοῦ νέου S || 14 οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος δοκεῖ κεχρησθαι κυλλῶς καὶ παρασίμως τῇ  
 φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων τυραννικῶς ἐπεμβαίνων post εἰς ὄρεξιν add. S || 14-15 ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς  
 δαίμονας καὶ PS: deest V || 15 πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς PS: καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς V πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ emend.  
 Gitl || καὶ ἀλλήλοις P: om. S κατ' ἀλλήλων V || 15-16 ἠπείλουν, ἀπεδυσπέτουν P:  
 ἀπεδυσπέτουν ἠπείλουν S ἠπείλουν V; transp. ἠπείλουν post τῷ δράκοντι in 10.7 Mar (prob.  
 Bol) || 16 ἐγὼ δὲ P: om. S ἐγὼ δ' ἤμην V || ἀναχώρησιν PS: διαίρεσιν V || καὶ κατεβόουν post  
 ἐπιφυόμενος add. V || 17 ἔγρυξεν S: ἔβρυξε P ἔγρυξεν V || ἑαυτοῦ PV: αὐτοῦ S || κατεβόουν τε  
 αὐτοῦ P: κατεβόουν τε αὐτοῦ corr. Mar κατεβόουν ἐγὼ S om. V || 18 ἔφερε V: ἔφερεν PS || μου  
 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν PS: τὴν ἀναχώρησίν μου V || 19 Ἀγλαΐδαν PV: ἀγλαΐδον S || νεανίδα P: νεάνιν  
 S || 20 περιγενέσθαι P: προσεγγίσει S.

(2) And it happened that he saw so many powers beside the dragon exhausted by a single maiden and was panic-stricken; but the devil was not able to alter our desire, although he tried many times to make it so. (3) For I said to him, "If the constitution of nature is wholly obedient to you, then at least dull our desire, so that we are not laughed at by continuing as we are and accomplishing nothing."<sup>43</sup> (4) For this reason, when I called the demon of fornication to me, I rebuked him very much, having ordered him to do what I just said, saying, "If Aglaïdas is not relieved of his desire, terrible things will happen." (5) But after doing many things, he was not able, nor, for that matter, was he able to have an effect on us, since God showed that the devil is not able to be efficacious against nature, but is rather presumptuous with nature, as when a certain crippled or lame person who makes use of a horse that knows how to do battle would think to refer to its successes with respect to his own person, for the condition of the young body inflames yearning and arouses its nature to desire even more. (6) Great indeed was my quarrelling with the demons and of the demons with themselves, and they threatened each other and gave up through impatience. (7) But I, as I clung to retreat along with the dragon—he did not grumble since he was able to see his own weakness—shouted at him and in shock he led my retreat.<sup>44</sup> (8) Then, on the fiftieth day he wanted to mislead Aglaïdas toward a certain young woman and he was not able, nor was he able to secure the shadow of Justina, although there was

<sup>43</sup> According to Gitlbauer ("Die Ueberreste," 101) V's negative οὐδ' is required by the context since by this point Cyprian has already begun to doubt the devil's power. However, much of the content which precedes is obvious literary foreshadowing. Without the negative Cyprian's statement is much more of a dare, which works well in the immediate narrative context. The literary response to this statement comes in 10:5, but even this passage is arguably foreshadowing since both Cyprian and the devil continue to make attempts on Justina.

<sup>44</sup> All three manuscripts are drastically different at 10:7. I have retained the text of P, clearly the *lectio difficilior*, without Maran's emendation and correction. Maran removed ἡπείλουν in 10:6 and placed it after δράκοντι in 10:7. However, the removal of ἡπείλουν is problematic since it leaves ἀλλήλοις in an awkward position. Maran then corrects κατεβόουν in 10:7 to κατεβόων. It is much simpler to take κατεβόουν as the main verb, which is the case, although with variations, in S and to a lesser extent in V.

τὴν κόρην, οὐκ ἦν εἰδέναι αὐτῆς ὁμοίον τι. <sup>9</sup> ἐπέγνω οὖν αὐτῶν τὴν πλάνην καὶ προσετίθουν τὴν κατάγνωσιν.

11. τέλος οὖν, τὸν τῆς πορνείας δαίμονα κατασκευάζει ὁ διάβολος μορφήν Ἰουστίνης δεῖξαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ τὴν μὲν μορφήν ἐδόκει  
5 δεικνύναι· ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίασε τῷ Ἀγλαΐδᾳ περιχαρεῖ γενομένῳ καὶ προσφωνήσαντι, καλῶς ἦλθεν Ἰουστίνα ἡ ὀλόκαλος· πρὸς τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῆς παρθένου εὐθύς ἡ μορφή ἀφαιρεῖτο, καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὡς καπνὸς διελύθη, καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράπη· οὕτως ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου βαρὺ ἦν τοῖς δαίμοσιν. <sup>2</sup> ἐγὼ παρήμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, τούτων σκευαζομένων· ἐγὼ τὴν  
10 πείραν ἔσχον τῆς πίστεως αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ δράκοντος εὐτελείας. <sup>3</sup> συνεχυνόμην, ἡγρύπνουν, παρήδρευον, εἰς γυναῖκα μετεμορφούμην, πετεινὸν ἐγενόμην· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἔφθανον τοῦ προαυλίου τὴν θύραν, ἀναχωρούσης τῆς φαντασίας, Κυπριανὸς ἤμην τῆς τέχνης κατηργημένης. <sup>4</sup> ἐποίησά ποτε στρουθίον τὸν Ἀγλαΐδαν, καὶ ἀναπτὰς ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος τῆς  
15 Ἰουστίνης· ὡς δὲ προέκυψεν ἡ ἀγία, ἀπώλεσε τοῦ εἶναι στρουθίον, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐξ ἄκρου ἐστηκώς ὁ ἄθλιος, εἰ μὴ ἐλέει τῆς παρθένου, εὐφυνῶς κατηνέχθη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσθενεστάτης ἐξοχῆς τοῦ δώματος.

1 εἰδέναι P: ἰδεῖν S || 1–2 αὐτῶν τὴν πλάνην P: τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν S || 18(p. 56)–2 ἐν τῇ πενητηκοστῇ ... τὴν κατάγνωσιν PS: καὶ δὴ ἐν τινι καιρῷ ἐπειράθη πλανῆσαι τὸν ἀγλαΐδον ('Αγλαΐδαν corr. Gitl) εἰ (om. Gitl) καὶ (in. gas.) τινὰ κόρην μεταμορφώσασθαι θέλων οὐκ ἴσχυσε· ὡς γὰρ ἦγε τὴν κόρην, οὐδὲν ἦν ἰδεῖν τῆς Ἰουστίνης παραπλήσιον ἐν αὐτῇ· ἔγνω οὖν τὸν δόλον V || 3 τέλος P: τελείως S || 3–5 τέλος οὖν ... δεικνύναι: καὶ πρὸς ἐκτομὴν (προσεκτώμην corr. Gitl) ἔτι τοῦ δράκοντος τὴν κατάγνωσιν τέλος αὐτὸν δαίμονα τῆς πορνείας μορφῶν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰουστίνης (ἡουστίνα V<sup>1</sup>) πρόσωπον V || 5 ἐπλησίασε P: ἐπλησίασεν S || Ἀγλαΐδᾳ P: ἀγλαΐδῳ S || περιχαρεῖ S: περιχαρῇ P || 5–6 ἐπλησίασε ... προσφωνήσαντι: ἦκε πρὸς τὸν ('Αγλαΐδαν corr. Gitl) περιχαρῇ τε γενόμενον καὶ προσφωνήσαντα V || 6 ἦλθεν PS: ἦλθες V || πρὸς PV: προσγοῦν S || τὴν ὀνομασίαν PS: τὸ ὄνομα V || 7 ἡ μορφή P: μορφή S || ἀφαιρεῖτο P ἡλλοιώθη S || εὐθύς ἡ μορφή ἀφαιρεῖτο, καὶ: om. V || δαίμων PSV: διάβολος corr. Mar, Bol || 7–8 διελύθη ... ἐτράπη P: φυγὴν ἐτράπη S διεχύθη ... ἐτράπη V || 8 τῆς παρθένου P: τῆς κόρης S || 8–9 ἦν τοῖς δαίμοσιν P: τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἦν S || οὕτως ... δαίμοσιν: ὥστε τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπὸ τοῦ δάσους διαφωνήσαι V || 9 παρήμην PS: γὰρ ἤμην V || παρὼν ante τούτων add. V || 10 ἔσχον SV: ἔχον P ἔχων corr. Mar || τῆς πίστεως PS: τοῦ πίστεως V || τῆς ... εὐτελείας PS: τῇ ... εὐτελείᾳ V || 10–11 post συνεχυνόμην dist. Gitl || 12 ἐγενόμην SV: ἐγενόμην P || τοῦ προαυλίου V: τῆς προαυλίου S: τῆς προαυλίου P || θύραν V, corr. Mar: θύρα P θύραν καὶ S || 13 ὁ αὐτὸς ante Κυπριανὸς add. S || κατηργημένης PV: καταργουμένης S || 14 Ἀγλαΐδαν P Gitl: ἀγλαΐδον SV || ἀναπτὰς scripsi: ἀναπετάσας PS ἀπελθὼν V ἀναπτάσας corr. Mar, Bol || ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος V: ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ δώματος P ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα S || 15 μόνον ante προέκυψεν add. S || ἀπώλεσε S: ἀπόλλει P, in marg. V ἀπολώλει corr. Mar ἀπολλῆγει V || 16 ἔμελλεν V, corr. Mar: ἤμελλεν PS || ἀπόλλυσθαι PSV<sup>2</sup>: ἀπόλλυσι V<sup>1</sup> || ἐξ ἄκρου ἐστηκώς ὁ ἄθλιος PV: ὁ ἄθλιος ἐξ ἄκρου ἐστηκώς τοῦ δώματος S || 17 ἀσθενεστάτης PV: om. S || ἐξοχῆς SV, corr. Mar: ἐξοχῆς P.

no resemblance of her that was recognizable in the maiden that was transformed.

(9) Therefore, I recognized their error and delivered my condemnation.

11. So, finally, the devil prepared the demon of fornication<sup>45</sup> to show the shape of Justina to the young man and it appeared to portray her shape, but as it drew near to Aglaïdas, who became exceedingly glad and called her by name, the entirely beautiful Justina came happily; at the name of the virgin the shape was immediately taken away and the demon was dissolved like smoke and was put to flight, since even the name of the virgin was burdensome to the demons. (2) I was present, men, when these were being prepared; I had experience of her faith and the cheapness of the dragon.<sup>46</sup> (3) I was troubled, I was suffering from insomnia, I became assiduous, I transformed myself into a woman, I became able to fly; but I would merely reach the door of her vestibule when my illusion withdrew, I was Cyprian when my magic art stopped working. (4) At one point I turned Aglaïdas into a sparrow,<sup>47</sup> and after he flew up, he stood on the house of Justina; but when the saint peeped out he lost his existence as a sparrow, and the struggling man who stood on the highest point would probably have been killed if he was not brought down gracefully by the compassion of the virgin from the weakest

<sup>45</sup> This narrative is drastically different than that found in the *Conversion*, although there are some superficial parallels. In Radermacher's third recension of the *Conversion* (ch. 4) the first demon which Cyprian conjures orders him to sprinkle a philtre around Justina's house and tells him that afterwards he will bring the spirit of harlots (τὸν πορνικὸν . . . νοῦν) upon her (other manuscripts have τὸν πατριόν). The third demon in the *Conversion* (ch. 8) is also a shape-shifter, but there the demon appears at the door of Justina in the form of a young maiden.

<sup>46</sup> Gitlbauer punctuates after συνεχονόμεν in 11:3 since the dative τῇ . . . εὐτελείᾳ appears in V rather than the genitive τῆς . . . εὐτελείας of PS. I find the latter somewhat more probable since the rapid succession of verbs in 11:3 is characteristic of the author, see, e.g., 12:10, 13:1, 13:5.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Apuleius, *Metam.* 3.21 where the witch Pamphile transforms herself into an owl so that she can fly off to her lover.

<sup>5</sup> παραινέσασα οὖν αὐτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, ἐκβάλλει τοῦ προαυλίου. <sup>6</sup> οὐ νόσος, οὐ βάσανος, οὐκ αἰκισμὸς ἄλλος τις αὐτῆς περιέγρονεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις κατέτεινεν αὐτὴν ὁ διάβολος. <sup>7</sup> πολλάκις οὖν αὐτὴν ἀπαγορευομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν  
5 ἔκλαιον οἱ γονεῖς, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη, Μὴ κλαίετε, ὅτι οὐ τεθνήξομαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀθυμῶ, οὐδὲ ἀλγῶ τι· οὐδὲ αἰσθάνομαι ἀσθενείας, ἡ μόνον ἐπιπολαίου τινος καύματος ὡς ἐξ ἀέρος μοι περιχυομένου. <sup>8</sup> τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐποίησαμεν ἢ τί οὐκ ἐδράσαμεν αὐτῇ; <sup>9</sup> ἡ δὲ ἐποίει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ ἀπήλυνε τὰς ἐνεργείας τῶν δαιμόνων· ἐκάκωσα οὖν αὐτῆς  
10 τοὺς γονεῖς, ποιμένας αὐτῶν ἀνείλον, βόας καὶ ὑποζύγια.

**12.** ἡ δὲ παρήνει μὴ ἀθυμεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀπελπίζειν καὶ διὰ τῆς νοουθεσίας αὐτῆς ἔπειθεν ἀπολήψεσθαι πολυπλασίονα τοῦ θεοῦ εὐλογοῦντος τὰ περιλειπόμενα. <sup>2</sup> ἤδειςαν τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτῇ ὀργὴν καὶ πάντες κατεβόων ἐπιδουῖναι τῷ νεανίᾳ ἐαυτήν, οὐ πρὸς φθοράν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γάμον  
15 ἔννομον· ἀλλὰ Ἰουστίνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰᾶτο αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσθενείας καὶ ἔπαυε τῆς ὀχλήσεως· καὶ τῷ δήμῳ λοιμὸν προσήγαγεν ὁ

1 παραινέσασα οὖν αὐτὸν corr. Mar: παραινέσας οὖν αὐτὸν P παραινέσασα οὖν αὐτῷ S καὶ παραινέσας αὐτὸν V παραινέσας· αὐτὸν corr. Gitl || καὶ θεὸν P Gitl: καὶ ὁ V S θεὸν V || 2 τοῦ προαυλίου V: τῆς προαυλίου PS || ἄλλος τις αὐτῆς corr. Mar: ἄλλ' ὅστις αὐτῆς P οὐ πειρασμός τις αὐτῆς S τις ἄλλος αὐτῇ V || 3 περιέγρονεν PV: περιέγνετο S || κατέτεινεν αὐτὴν S, corr. Mar, Gitl: αὐτῆς κατέτεινεν PV<sup>2</sup> αὐτῇ κατέτεινεν V<sup>1</sup> || 4 ὑπὸ PS Gitl: ἀπὸ V || ἱατρῶν PV: ἱητρῶν S || 5 ἔκλαιον οἱ γονεῖς PS: οἱ γονεῖς ἔκλαιον V || ἔφη PS: om. V || μὴ κλαίετε, ὅτι PS: deest V || οὐ τεθνήξομαι PS, corr. Gitl: οὐτε θνήξομαι V Mar || φησί post τεθνήξομαι add. V || 6 οὐδὲ (prius) PS: οὐτε V || οὐδὲ (alterum) P: οὐτε S || οὐδὲ ἀλγῶ τι PS: deest V || οὐδὲ (triens) PS: οὐτε V || αἰσθάνομαι ἀσθενείας P: αἰσθάνομαι ἀσθενείους S ἀσθενείας αἰσθομαι V || 7 ἐπιπολαίου corr. Mar: ἐπιπολέου PS || καύματος P: ῥήματος S || περιχυομένου P: περιζυνομένου S || 6-7 ἡ μόνον ... περιχυομένου: περικείται δέ μοι ἐκ τινος ἀέρος λαβρότατος καύσων σφοδροτάτην δύναμιν ἔχων V || 7 τί γὰρ PSV<sup>2</sup>: τί δὲ V<sup>1</sup> || 8 ἡ τί PS: τί δὲ V || αὐτῇ PS: τῇ παρθένῳ V || ἐποίει PS: deest V || 8-9 τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ S: τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ P τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ V || 9 καὶ PS: deest V || ἀπήλυνε V Mar: ἀπήλυνεν PS || ἐκάκωσα οὖν P: ἐκάκωσα SV<sup>1</sup> οὐκἀκώσα V<sup>2</sup> || 10 ποιμένας P Gitl: τὰ ποιμένα S ποιμένας V || αὐτῶν SV, corr. Mar: αὐτὸν P || ἀνείλον PV: ἀνείλων S || καὶ (alterum) SV, suppl. Mar: om. P || 11 καὶ μὴ ἀπελπίζειν P: μὴ δὲ ἀπελπίζειν S om. V || 11-12 καὶ διὰ τῆς νοουθεσίας αὐτῆς PS: καὶ δι' αὐτῆς V || 12 ἔπειθεν SV: ἐπῆλθεν P || ἀπολήψεσθαι ... θεοῦ P: ἀπολειψεσθαι ... θεοῦ S ἀπολήψεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ V λήψεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ emend. Gitl || εὐλογοῦντος PS: εὐλογηθῆναι V || 13 ἤδειςαν PV: ἤδισαν S ἔδειςαν corr. Mar || αὐτῇ ὀργὴν PV: ὀργὴν αὐτῇ S || 13-14 κατεβόων PV: κατεβόουν S || 14 ἐαυτήν PS: om. V || ἄνομον post φθοράν add. S || 15 ἀλλὰ Ἰουστίνα PV: ἀλλ' ἰουστίνου S || Χριστοῦ: ᾧ S || 16 ἔπαυε PV: ἔπαυεν S || δὲ παντὶ post τῷ δήμῳ add. S || προσήγαγεν P: προσήγεν S ἐπήγαγεν V.

extremity of her house. (5) Then, after she suggested that he be at rest and serve God, she threw him out of her vestibule.<sup>48</sup> (6) Neither sickness, nor torture, nor any other discomfort had prevailed over her, for even the devil tortured her with such things as these. (7) Her parents lamented her often since the doctors gave up on her; but she said to them, "Do not lament, since I shall not die, for neither am I disheartened, nor do I feel any pain, nor do I have perception of a disease other than of a certain superficial fever heat which spread over me as though from the air."<sup>49</sup> (8) For what did we not do, or what action did we not perform against her?<sup>50</sup> (9) She then made the sign of the cross and drove the energies of the demons away; then I injured her parents and killed their flocks, cows, and beasts of burden.

12. But she advised them not to be disheartened and not to despair, and through her admonitions she persuaded those that survived to receive abundantly from the God who blesses. (2) They knew the wrath which was placed upon her, and all cried out that she 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; and the devil brought a

<sup>48</sup> Justina's action here, although much tamer, was probably derived from the *Conversion* (ch. 3) where Justina throws Aglaïdas to the ground and beats him black and blue after he attempts to rape her.

<sup>49</sup> The third demon ("the father of all demons") conjured by Cyprian in the *Conversion* (ch. 7) agitates Justina with diverse fevers for six days.

<sup>50</sup> There remains a slight possibility that this sentence is a continuation of Justina's dialogue, in which case αὐτῇ can only refer back to ἀσθενείας. If the sentence is taken this way, it means, "For what did we [sc. Justina and her parents] not do or what action did we not perform against it [sc. the disease]." It seems more probable, however, even though it disrupts the narrative, that this is a parenthetical remark made by Cyprian given V's clarification of αὐτῇ with τῇ παρθένῳ, in which case it means, "For what did we [sc. Cyprian, Aglaïdas, the devil, dragon, and demons] not do or what action did we not perform against her [sc. Justina]." The sense here is that for all the energy exerted by Cyprian and his retinue, Justina remains virtually unscathed with only a mere fever. This is the sense of Zahn's translation (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 44).

διάβολος καὶ χρησμὸν δίδωσιν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι, ἐὰν Ἰουστίνα συν-  
 αφθῇ τῷ Ἀγλαΐδᾳ.<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ καταβοῶντα τὸν δῆμον ἢ εὐχὴ αὐτῆς κατ-  
 ἔστειλεν, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν ἀποδιώξασα τῆς πόλεως· ὧν αἰσθησιν  
 λαβόντες οἱ πολῖται μεταβαλλόμενοι τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξαζον, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς τῆς  
 5 πόλεως ἐπίβουλον ἐλοιδόρουν σφοδρῶς, ὥστε με λεληθότως προϊέναι  
 καὶ ἐντρέπεσθαι προσυπαντᾶν τοῖς γνωρίμοις μου.<sup>4</sup> τέλος, ὡς εἶδον, ὅτι [9]  
 οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σφραγίδος περιγίνεται, ἐν ἐμαυτῷ γενόμενος,  
 εἶπον πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον, Ὁλέθριε καὶ πάσης πλάνης χορηγὲ καὶ  
 θησαυρὲ ἀσεβείας, τί μου τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπεβούλευσας, συνειδώς σου τῇ  
 10 ἀσθενείᾳ;<sup>5</sup> εἰ γὰρ ἡ σκιά τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιγίνεται σου, τί δράσεις, ἐὰν  
 αὐτὸς παραγένηται;<sup>6</sup> εἰ μόνον ὀνομάζεται Χριστὸς καὶ τρέμεις, τί  
 ποιήσεις, ἐὰν θελήσῃ σοι ἐπιθέσθαι;<sup>7</sup> εἰ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ  
 ἀσθενῇ σε ποιεῖ, τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ αὐτοῦ ποῦ ἂν εὐρεθῇ;<sup>8</sup> εἰ σφραγίζει καὶ  
 οὐ τολμᾷς ἐπιβῆναι τῷ ὄρφι αὐτοῦ, τίνας οὖν δύνη ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ χειρὸς  
 15 αὐτοῦ;<sup>9</sup> οὐδὲν εἶ, οὐδὲ ἔχεις ὑπόστασιν πρὸς ἄμυναν, οὐδὲ ἰσχύεις, οὐδὲ  
 πάρεστί σοι δύνამις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν.<sup>10</sup> νῦν ἔγνω σοὺ τὴν πλάνην· ἐπέστην  
 ταῖς φαντασίαις σου· ἐπέγνω σοὺ τὴν ἀσθένειαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχεις τι  
 ἐνυπόστατον, ἀλλὰ ματαίαις καὶ προσκαίρου ροπῆς ἀπολαύσεις· οὔτε οἱ  
 τύποι σου οὔτε οἱ θεσμοί σου, οὓς ἀντέθηκας τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν,  
 20 ἀλλὰ πλάνη καὶ φαντασία.

1 δίδωσιν V: δίδωσι PS || ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ἐὰν SV: μὴ ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι ἐὰν μὴ ἢ P || 2  
 Ἀγλαΐδᾳ PV: ἀγλαΐδῳ S || ἀλλὰ ... τὸν δῆμον PV: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταβοῶντα S || 3  
 ἀποδιώξασα PS: ἀποδιώξαμένη V || αἰσθησιν SV, corr. Mar: οἰσθησιν P || 4 τὸν θεὸν (θῶ) S: τὸν  
 Χριστὸν P τὸν μὲν θεὸν V || 4-5 τῆς πόλεως ἐπίβουλον PS: ἐπίβουλον τῆς πόλεως V || 5  
 ἐλοιδόρουν PV: ἐλοιδώρουν S || 7 Χριστοῦ: χῡ S || ἐν PSV: ἐκ Bol || 8 αὐτὸν PV: om. S || πλάνης  
 χορηγὲ PV: ἀπάτης χορηγὲ S || 9 post ἐπεβούλευσας dist. Gitl || 9-10 συνειδώς σου τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ  
 P: συνειδώς τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν S συνείδων σου τὴν ἀσθένειαν V || 10 Χριστοῦ: χῡ S || ἐὰν  
 PV: ἂν S || 11 εἰ μόνον V: καὶ εἰ μόνον P εἰ γὰρ μόνον S || Χριστὸς: χῡ S || 13 τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ PSV<sup>1</sup>:  
 τὴν ἐνεργείαν in marg. V || ἂν PV: om. S || σφραγίζει PS Gitl: σφραγίζει V || 15 τὸν τύπον τῇ (lege  
 τῆς) σφραγίδος post αὐτοῦ add. S || τίνας οὖν δύνη S: τίνας οὖν δυνήσῃ P τίνας δύνη V || οὐδὲν εἶ  
 PS Gitl: οὐδενί V || οὐδὲ ... οὐδὲ V: οὐδὲν ... οὔτε PS || 16 πάρεστί PV: πάρεστί S || νῦν ... τὴν  
 πλάνην PS: deest V || ἐπέστην V: ἐπαίστην P ἐπέιστην S ἐπαίχτην corr. Bol || 17 σου (prius) PV:  
 om. S || ἐπέγνω SV: ἔγνω P || οὐδὲ P: οὐδὲν S οὔτε V || γὰρ ἔχεις PS: γὰρ παρέχῃ V || τι PV:  
 om. S || 18 ἐνυπόστατον PS: ἐν ὑποστάσει V || ματαίαις PSV: ματαίαις Bol || προσκαίρου PS  
 Gitl: πρὸς καίρου V || ἀπολαύσεις PV: ἀπολαύσιν S || 19 τύποι σου οὔτε PV: τύποισοῦτε ex  
 harl. S || ἀντέθηκας SV: ἀνατέθεικας P ἀντιτέθεικας conj. Mar (prob. Bol et Zah) || εὐσεβείᾳ  
 PV: ἀσεβείᾳ S || ἀληθεῖς PV: ἀληθῆς S ἀληθῶς corr. Reit || εἰσιν PS: εἰσι V || 20 ἀλλὰ πλάνη  
 καὶ φαντασία PS: deest V.



plague upon the people and gave an oracle that they would be set free if Justina was wedded to Aglaïdas. (3) But her prayer pacified the people who cried out and at once she chased the plague away from the city, whose citizens, after they got a sense of what happened, changed their minds and praised God, but they abused me vehemently as an enemy of the city, so that I sent messages secretly and was hesitant to meet with my acquaintances. (4) Finally, when I saw that nothing prevails over the seal of Christ, having gone into myself, I said to the devil, "Destructive one and choir-leader of error and treasure-house of impiety, why did you plot against my soul when you were conscious of your weakness? (5) For if the shadow of Christ prevails over you, what would you do if he himself were standing by your side? (6) If Christ is merely spoken of by name and you tremble with fear, what would you do if he wanted to attack you? (7) If the sign of his passion makes you weak, where will you be found within its energy? (8) If one makes the sign and you are not brave enough to force your way past its boundary, then whom are you able to remove from its reach? (9) You are nothing, nor do you have a plan for self-defense; neither are you strong, nor do you have the power for avenging. (10) Now I have come to know your error, I have put a stop to your illusions, I have witnessed your weakness, for anything that you possess is not substantial, but vain and fruits of transient moments; neither the forms nor the laws which you set against godliness are real, but error and illusion.

13. διέφθειράς μου τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν ψυχὴν, τὰς  
ἐλπίδας μου διέρρηξας, πᾶσάν μου τὴν λογικὴν κατάστασιν εἰς χάος  
κατέσπασας, ἀπώλεσας τὴν ζωὴν μου καὶ τῇ κακίᾳ κατεδαπάνησας καὶ  
πᾶσάν μου τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς φύσεως διώλεσας.<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>μεγάλως ἐπλανήθην,  
5 πιστεύσας σοι, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἡσέβησα, ἀφρόνως ἠνέχθην, ἐπιδοὺς  
σοι ἑμαυτόν· ἑμαυτωθὴν ἐπὶ γράμμασι, τῇ παιδείᾳ μου ἐπιβλαβῶς  
ἐχρησάμην, ὑπακούσας σου· ἀπώλεσά μου χρήματα καὶ πράγματα ἐξ-  
ακολουθήσας σου τῇ ἀπάτῃ.<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup>μετὰ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
μου προσεζημίωσας· εἰ διένειμον χρήζουσι τὰ ἐν σοὶ ἀπολόμενα, εἶχον  
10 κἂν γοῦν βραχείαν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίδα.<sup>4</sup> <sup>3</sup>οὐαὶ μοι, τί πεπόνθα; <sup>4</sup>δεινῶς  
κατεφθάρην, ἀνιάτως ἐτραυματίσθην, νεκρὸς ὢν ζῆν ἐνόμιζον καὶ  
ἐλάνθανον πολλῶ χρήματι τάφον ὠνησάμενος, ζῶν ἐπικινδύνως σοι  
προσεδρεύσας.<sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup>δεῖ με παρακαλέσαι Χριστιανούς, ἵνα με ἐλεήσωσι·  
χρή με ὑποπεσεῖν τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν, ἵνα με οἰκτειρήσωσι· δεῖ με καὶ τῆς  
15 Ἰουστίνης τῶν ποδῶν ἄψασθαι, ἵνα μου προνοήσῃ τῆς σωτηρίας.<sup>6</sup> <sup>6</sup>ἄπελθε  
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἄνομε, βέβηλε, ἀποστάτα, ἀποχώρει μου, ἐχθρὲ τῆς ἀληθείας  
καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐναντίε.<sup>7</sup> <sup>7</sup>ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ ἐπιδραμών μοι, ὥρμησε  
τοῦ ἀνελεῖν με καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν πνίγειν με ἐπειρᾶτο.<sup>8</sup> <sup>8</sup>ὥς δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἰσχὺν  
λεαινόμενος αὐτοῦ τῇ βίᾳ καὶ πᾶσα ἐλπίς μοι περιήρητο τοῦ ζῆν,  
20 ὑπεμνήσθην τοῦ σημείου, οὗ ἡ παρθένος ἐχρᾶτο καὶ λέγω, Ὁ θεὸς

1 ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν ψυχὴν PS: om. V || 3 μου τὴν σωτηρίαν post ἀπώλεσας add. V || καὶ (prius)  
PS: om. V || 4 διώλεσας P Gitl: διώλεσα S διόλεσας V || 5 πιστεύσας σοι PV: πιστεύσα σοι S ||  
ὑπερβαλλόντως PV: ὑπερβαλόντος S || 6 ἑμαυτόν PV: ἑμαυτῶ S || γράμμασι PV: γράμμασιν S ||  
τῇ παιδείᾳ P: τῇ παιδείᾳ S παιδείας V παιδείᾳ corr. Gitl || 7 σου PV: σοι S || ἀπώλεσά μου PS:  
ἀπώλεσα V || πράγματα PV: γράμματα S || 7-8 ἐξακολουθήσας PV: ἐξακολουθήσα S || 8 μετὰ  
SV: μετὰ γὰρ P || 9 μου P: om. S με V || διένειμον SV: δένειμα P δ' ἐνειμα corr. Marg || χρήζουσι  
PV: τοῖς χρήζουσιν S || ἀπολόμενα S Gitl: ἀπολλόμενα PV || 10 κἂν γοῦν PSV: ἂν κἀγὼ corr.  
Reit || βραχείαν P Gitl: βραχεία S βραχείας V || σωτηρίας PV: σῆρας S || 11 κατεφθάρην PS:  
ἐφθάρην V || ἀνιάτως PS: ἀνίατα V || ἐτραυματίσθην PV: ἐτραυματίσθην S || 12 ἐλάνθανον PV:  
ἐλάθανον S || ζῶν PS: ἀντὶ ζωῆς V || ἐπικινδύνως PS, in marg. V: ἐπὶ κινδύνους V<sup>1</sup> || 13 δεῖ με PS  
Gitl: μὴ δὲ V || παρακαλέσαι Χριστιανούς PS: Χριστιανούς παρακαλέσαι V || ἐλεήσωσι PV:  
ἐλεήσωσι S || 14 τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν PS: τοῖς εὐβέσιν ἀνδράσιν V<sup>1</sup> τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἀνδρας in marg.  
V || οἰκτειρήσωσι PV: οἰκτειρήσωσιν S || 15 ἄψασθαι SV: ἐφάψασθαι P || προνοήσῃ PV:  
προνοήσῃ S || σωτηρίας: σῆρας S || 16 ἀποστάτα PV: ἀπόστα S || 17 ἐναντίε PSV: ἀναντίε Bol  
|| ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας P: ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα S deest V || μοι PS: om. V || ὥρμησε PV: ὥρμησεν S || 19  
αὐτοῦ PV: om. S || πᾶσα ... τοῦ ζῆν P: δὴ πᾶσα μοι περιήρητο ἐλπίς τοῦ ζῆν S πᾶσα ἡ ἐλπίς μου  
περιήρητο τοῦ ζῆν V || 20 ἐχρᾶτο PV: ἐχρήσατο S || λέγω PV: ἀνέκραξα S || θεὸς S.

13. "You have corrupted my thinking, destroyed my soul, shattered my hopes, pulled my entire intellectual constitution down into chaos, destroyed my life and squandered it through malice, and annihilated my entire natural constitution. (2) I was greatly lead astray since I believed in you, I acted exceedingly impiously, I was senselessly swept away since I gave myself to you; I became foolish in learning, I used my education for harm since I obeyed you; I lost my money and affairs since I followed your deceit. (3) And you have caused in addition the loss of my soul together with my inherited wealth; if I apportioned the things that were lost on you to those who have need of them, then at least I would have a little hope for salvation. (4) Woe is me, what has become of me? (5) I was destroyed terribly, I was wounded incurably, I thought that I was alive when I was dead, and I was unaware of this when I offered to buy a tomb for much money, since I lived in danger while I was serving you. (6) I must appeal to the Christians so that they show me mercy; I must submit to those who are pious so that they have pity on me; I must grasp the feet of Justina as well, so that she provides for my salvation. (7) Go away from me, lawless one, unhallowed one, rebel; depart from me, enemy of truth and opponent of piety." (8) When he heard this, he ran at me and set out to kill me, and falling upon me he tried to strangle me. (9) When I did not have the strength since I was crushed by his force and every hope of living was being stripped from me, I was reminded of the sign which the virgin made use of,

Ἰουστίνης βοήθησόν μοι· καὶ μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς εὐθέως ἐνισχύθην καὶ τὴν  
 χεῖρα κινήσας κατασφραγίζομαι. <sup>10</sup> ὁ δὲ ὡς βέλος ἀπορριφεὶς ἀπέστη  
 μου καὶ σταῖς ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπειλεῖν, ξίφος κατ' ἐμοῦ σπασάμενος· καὶ δὴ  
 πείραν λαβὼν Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοῦ, θαρσαλέος γίνομαι  
 5 πλεῖον ἔτι καὶ συχνῶς αὐτὸν ἐπικαλούμενος. <sup>11</sup> τότε γοῦν ἀπῆει ἀπειλῶν  
 μοι καὶ λέγων, Οὐ μὴ σε σώσῃ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου ὁ Χριστός· καὶ γὰρ  
 βδελύσσεται ἀσεβεῖς καὶ δόλω νῦν σοι βοηθεῖ, ἵνα σε τῷ ὀλέθρῳ  
 παραδῶ. <sup>12</sup> ὅτε γοῦν σε ἀπόσῃται, ἐγὼ σοι δείξω τί ποιεῖ τὸ καταφρονεῖν  
 τοῦ κράτους μου· ὅτι καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ προσίεται τοὺς ἐμούς· ἐστερήθης  
 10 γοῦν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διαθέσεως καὶ κεῖνος οὐδέν σε ὠφελήσειεν.

14. ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐφοβήθην σφοδρῶς, δεινῶς γάρ μοι ἀπ-  
 εκρίνατο. <sup>2</sup> διὸ ὑμῖν τοῖς παροῦσι λέγω, Ἐλεήσατέ μου τὴν ἀθλιότητα·  
 εἴπατέ μοι περὶ Χριστοῦ, εἰ δύναμαι αὐτὸν ἐξιλεώσασθαι, εἰ μετα-  
 νοοῦντά με δέξεται, εἰ ἐπιδίδωσί μοι βοήθειαν καὶ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν  
 15 ἀσεβείας ἀπαλλαγὴν. <sup>3</sup> ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείονες ἡσύχασαν, εἷς τις διάρας τὸ [10]  
 στόμα λέγει μοι, Θάρεσει, Κυπριανέ, ὅτι δέξεταί σε ὁ Χριστός· ἀγνοῶν  
 γὰρ ἐποίησας· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν, μὴ ἄρα, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ διάβολος, οὕτω μοι ὁ  
 Χριστὸς ποιήσειεν, ἔσχατόν με ἀπωθούμενος, <sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς με, Ἐγὼ  
 ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶν ὁ διάβολος καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις πιστεύεις, <sup>5</sup> οὐκ

1 μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς PV: σὺν τῇ φωνῇ S || εὐθέως SV: εὐθέως P || ἐνισχύθην PV: ἐνισχύθη S || 2  
 κατασφραγίζομαι PV: κατεσφραγίζομαι S || 3 μου PSV<sup>1</sup>: μοι in marg. V Gitl || ἀπειλεῖν PV<sup>1</sup>:  
 ἀπειλῶν S ἀπειλᾶν in marg. V || σπασάμενος SV: χρησάμενος P χρησόμενος conj. Mar (prob.  
 Bol) || 4 Χριστοῦ (χρ S) διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος αὐτοῦ SV: διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος Χριστοῦ P ||  
 θαρσαλέος V: θαρσαλεώτερος P θαρσαλέως S || γίνομαι SV: γέγονα P || 5 πλεῖον V: πλεον PS ||  
 αὐτὸν ἐπικαλούμενος V: Χριστὸν ἐπιβοώμενος P χρ ἐπιβοώμενος ὀνόμαζον S || γοῦν SV: οὖν P ||  
 ἀπῆει PV: ἀπείει S || 6 σώσῃ PV: σώσει S || ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου PS: deest V || Χριστός: χρ S || 7  
 ἀσεβεῖς PV: τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς S || δόλω νῦν PS Gitl: δολων ου V || βοηθεῖ PV: βοηθῇ S || σε τῷ  
 ὀλέθρῳ SV: τῷ ὀλέθρῳ σε P || 8 γοῦν SV: οὖν P || ἀπόσῃται PV: ἀπόσῃτε S || ποιεῖ τὸ PS: ἐστι  
 V || 9 ὁ Χριστὸς P: χρ S ὁ Χριστὸς σου V || 10 ὠφελήσειεν PV: ὠφελείσειεν S || 11 οὖν post  
 τούτοις add. S || σφοδρῶς PV: ἐγὼ σφόδρα S || 11-12 γάρ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο P: μοι γὰρ ἀπεκρίνατο  
 V γὰρ καὶ ἀπεινῶς μοι ἀπεκρίνατο ὀργιζόμενός μοι καὶ ἀγριούμενος S || 12 δεόμενος post λέγω  
 add. S || τὴν ἀθλιότητα P: ἀδελφοὶ τὴν ἀθλιότητα S τὴν νεότητα V || 13 Χριστοῦ: χρ S || 13-14  
 μετανοοῦντά με PV: μετανοοῦντά S || 14 δέξεται SV: δέχεται P || ἐπιδίδωσί SV Mar:  
 ἐπιδίδωσίν P || καὶ τῆς S: τῆς PV εἰς τῆς emend. Mar || 15 ἀπαλλαγὴν PS: ἀπαλλαγῆναι V  
 ἀπαλλαγῆσαι conj. Gitl || ἡσύχασαν PV: ἡσύχαζον S || τις διάρας P Gitl: ἐξ αὐτῶν διάρας S δέ  
 τις ἄρας V || 16 λέγει μοι SV: λέγει P || δέξεταί σε PV: δέξεται S || 17 ἔφην post αὐτὸν add. V ||  
 εἶπεν SV: εἶπεν μοι P εἶπέ μοι conj. Mar || οὕτω V, conj. Mar: οὕτως PS || 17-18 μοι ὁ Χριστὸς  
 ποιήσειεν P: μοι ὁ χρ ποιήσῃεν S ποιήσει μοι ὁ Χριστὸς V || 18 με SV: μοι P μου conj. Mar (prob.  
 Bol) || ἀπωθούμενος S, conj. Mar, Gitl: ἀποθούμενος PV || 19 πῶς post καὶ add. S.

and I said, "God of Justina, help me!" and I was strengthened immediately after my cry, and as I set my hand in motion, I sealed myself. (10) He then recoiled from me, being cast forth like an arrow, and as he stood he tried to threaten me by drawing a sword against me; and, indeed, after I made proof of Christ through his seal, I became even more confident and called upon him often. (11) Then he was far away, threatening me and saying, "By no means can Christ save you from my hands, for he abhors impiety and helps you now as a trick in order to hand you over to destruction. (12) When he rejects you, I will show you what despising my power can do, because even Christ does not accept those who are mine; now you are also deprived of my disposition, and that one will not help you at all."

**14.** At these words I was sorely afraid, for he answered me cleverly. (2) For this reason I said to those were present,<sup>51</sup> "Have pity on my wretchedness, tell me about Christ, if I am able to appease him, if he will receive me when I repent, if he can give me help and deliverance from my former impiety." (3) While the majority remained silent, a certain one who opened his mouth said to me, "Fear not, Cyprian, because Christ will receive you, for you acted out of ignorance"; and I replied to him, "Won't Christ deal with me as the devil said, by rejecting me in the end?" (4) Then he said to me, "You realized that the devil is a liar, yet you

<sup>51</sup> This scene change is surprisingly sudden, but characteristic of the author, see, e.g., 9:1, 27:1. This dialogue must also take place at the church, but Cyprian's public confession before the Christian audience of Antioch does not begin until 15:1.

ἔστι δόλος παρὰ θεῶ, Κυπριανέ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· οὐκ ἔστι  
 ψεῦδος παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ πηγάζει ἡ γνησιότης.<sup>6</sup> ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς ὅτι  
 πηγὴ ἐστὶ χρηστότητος, θεός πάντων ὧν καὶ δημιουργός, ἄνθρωπος γέγονε  
 δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατεδέξατο θανεῖν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θανάτου ἁμαρτιῶν  
 5 ὑπεράνω γενώμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς κατηλλάγη ἡμῖν  
 καὶ ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχειν ἡμᾶς παρεσκεύασε, τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἡμῖν  
 διὰ Χριστοῦ παρασχόμενος, ὅπως βιώσωμεν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀναστάσεως.  
 7 εἰ οὖν διὰ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε, θάρσει,  
 Κυπριανέ, ὅτι σὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποβάληται· εἰς εἰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πάντως  
 10 ἐξιλάσεται σε.<sup>8</sup> σύνες γοῦν ἐκ τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ μὴ  
 φρόντιζε περὶ ὧν ἔπραξας· καὶ εἰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σταυρούντων προσηύξατο,  
 πῶς σε ὑπερόψεται;<sup>9</sup> λέγει γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, Πάτερ ἄφες  
 αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσι· καὶ πῶς σοι οὐκ ἀφήσει τὰς ἀσεβείας  
 σου, ἃς μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἐποίησας;<sup>10</sup> μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ δειλία, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς,  
 15 ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἡμῶν καὶ ὑποδείξει σοι τὴν προσέλευσιν τὴν  
 πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν.<sup>11</sup> ταῦτα οὖν αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, ἦλθον εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ  
 ψυχὴν ἔλαβον· ἡρξάμην οὖν πάλιν ὁμιλεῖν μετὰ θάρσους καὶ λέγειν,  
 ὦ Ἀρα ἐταῖρε Τιμόθεε, οὕτως ἔχει ὡς λέγεις;<sup>12</sup> ὁ δὲ πολλοῖς ἐτέροις με  
 λόγοις ἐπιστάσατο.  
 20 **15.** τότε ἡρξάμην ἔμπροσθεν πάντων ἐξαγγέλλειν μου τὰς ἀσεβείας [11]  
 καὶ λέγειν, ὦ Ἀρα ἀφίησί μοι ὅσα διεπραξάμην, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀντιοχεῖς;

1 παρὰ θεῶ V: παρὰ Χριστῷ (χω S) PS || οὔτε ψεῦδος ante ὅτι add. S || ἡ ἀλήθεια PSV: ἀλήθεια  
 Mar, Bol || 1–2 οὐκ ἔστι ψεῦδος παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτι PV: καὶ S || 2 γνησιότης SV: δικαιοσύνη P || 3  
 χρηστότητος SV, corr. Mar: Χριστότητος P || θεός V: ὁ θεός P θς S || ἄνθρωπος: ἄνως S || 4 θανεῖν  
 PS: ἀποθανεῖν V || καὶ ἀναστῆναι post θανεῖν add. S || ἁμαρτιῶν PV: om. S || 5 δι' αὐτοῦ PS: δι'  
 αὐτόν V || 6 αἰωνίου PS: deest V || παρεσκεύασε V Mar: παρεσκεύασεν PS || 7 Χριστοῦ: χυ S ||  
 ἐπίγνωσιν PS: κατάστασιν V || 8 transp. ὁ Χριστὸς post οὖν P || ἀπέθανε V Mar: ἀπέθανεν PS || 9  
 σε PS, in marg. V: σου V<sup>1</sup> || 10 ἐξιλάσεται σε PS: σε ἐξιλεώσεται V || Χριστὸν: χυ S || 11 καὶ εἰ  
 ὑπὲρ S καὶ εἰ περὶ P εἰ ὑπὲρ V || καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων post τῶν σταυρούντων add. S || 12 γὰρ PV:  
 οὖν S || πατρὶ: παρὶ S || πάτερ: πέρ S || 13 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν post αὐτοῖς add. S || ποιοῦσι SV Mar:  
 ποιοῦσιν P || ἀφήσει P: ἀφίση S ἀφήσειε V || 14 σου PV: om. S || ἃς PS: om. V || μετὰ ἀγνοίας  
 PV: ἐν ἀγνοία S || ἀλλ' S, corr. Mar: ἄλλα P ἄλλα V || 15 πρὸς PS: εἰς V || ἡμῶν PS: om. V || 16  
 τὸν Χριστὸν PV: τὸν χυ ἡμῶν S || 17 πάλιν SV: om. P || αὐτῷ post θάρσους add. S || λέγειν PS:  
 λέγω V || 18 λέγεις P: λέγεις μοι S ἔφης V || 18–19 ἐτέροις με λόγοις SV: λόγοις με ἐτέροις P || 19  
 ἐπιστάσατο PV: ἐπίστασε ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν S || 20 τὰς ἀσεβείας PV: τὰς ἁμαρτίας S || 21  
 λέγειν P: ἔλεγον μετὰ δακρύων S λέγω V || ἀφίησί V Mar: ἀφίησιν PS || ὦ SV: om. P.

believe his words? (5) 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. (6) But so that you learn that he is a source of goodness: He, who is the God and creator of all, became a man for our sake, and on our behalf he allowed himself to die so that through him we could be above the sins of death; and the almighty God became reconciled with us and prepares us to have hope for eternal life, since he offered to us through Christ the model in what way we should live in recognition of his resurrection. (7) Therefore, if Christ died for the sake of the impious and the sinners, fear not, Cyprian, because he certainly does not despise you; you are one of the impious and he will atone for you completely. (8) So perceive Christ from his good heart and do not be anxious about what you have done; if he even offered prayers on behalf of those who crucified him, how will he overlook you? (9) For he said to the Father concerning them, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'<sup>52</sup>; and how will he not forgive you your impieties which you did in ignorance? (10) Do not be afraid nor have timidity, but when you rise, go to our bishop and he will show you the approach to Christ." (11) After he said these things, I went into myself and seized my soul; then I went back again to converse with courage and to say, "Friend Timothy, are things as you say they are?" (12) And he held me up with many other words.

**15.1** Then I went before everyone to make my impieties known and said, "Does he forgive me all that I brought about, Antiochian men? (2) For many

<sup>52</sup> Luke 23:34.

<sup>2</sup> πολλὰ γὰρ ἠσέβησα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς οὐδὲ λόγος εἰς ἐξήγησιν τῶν  
κακῶν μου. <sup>3</sup> ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσας τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀνέτεμον καὶ εὐγενίδας  
μεταμορφῶν, τῶν οἰκείων πόλεων ἡχμαλώτιζον καὶ συλλαμβανούσας ἐκ  
πορνείας ἀνῆρουν· νήπια γαλουχοῦντα ἐσφαγίασα ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς·  
5 ἄλλα ἐπνιξα, ἕτερα ἀπεστραγγάλωσα ἐπάγγελιά βοηθείας τοῦ δρά-  
κοντος· ἠβῶντας ἤδη ἐσφαγίαζον, ἄλλους προϊόντας τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συνέχωσα  
τῷ Πλούτῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἑκάτην ξένων ἀνδρῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπέτεμον·  
γυναικῶν ἔτι παρθένων τὸ αἷμα τῇ Παλλάδι κατέσπεισα, τῷ δὲ Ἄρῃ καὶ  
Κρόνῳ ἀνδρας ἤδη τελείους· καὶ συχνοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας διὰ τοιούτων  
10 θυσιῶν ἐπληροφόρησα, ἵνα οὕτως αὐτῷ προσέλθῃ τῷ διαβόλῳ. <sup>4</sup> καὶ ὅτε  
ἔμελλον αὐτῷ προσιέναι, αἷμα παντὸς ζώου ἐν σκεύει χρυσῷ αὐτῷ  
προσθήνεκα· καὶ δεξάμενος ἐρράντισε πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὸν στέφανον καὶ  
τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, εἶτα καὶ ἐμέ, εἰπὼν, Λάβε καὶ σὺ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ  
πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀλόγων καὶ λογικῶν. <sup>5</sup> φίλοις παρεχόμενος, ἀπείρους  
15 ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ πολλοὺς πένητας κατέστησα. <sup>6</sup> αἱ μὲν οὖν εὐ-  
εργεσίαι μου οὐκ εἶχον ὄνησιν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ὑπόστασιν, ὡς φαντασίαι·  
αἱ δὲ ἀδίκαιαι μου ἀληθεῖς ἐγίνοντο, ἐπειδὴ ἐνήργουν οἱ δαίμονες εἰς τὰς  
ὑπάρξεις ἐπιβλαβῶς, παρασχεῖν δὲ ὕπαρξιν οὐκ ἠδύναντο. <sup>7</sup> εἴ τιτι  
χρυσὸν ἐδίδουν, πρὸς ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἴσχυεν, ὅθεν οἷς ἔλεγον τὸν δόλον,  
20 θᾶττον αὐτὸν συναλλάττοντες ἐξημίουں τοὺς συναλλάκτας. <sup>8</sup> οὐκ ἔχω

1 ἠσέβησα καὶ PS: ἔστιν ὅσα ἐπραξα φαῦλα V || 1-2 τῶν κακῶν μου PS: deest V || 2 ἐγὼ ante ἐν γαστρὶ add. S || 3 τῶν οἰκείων πόλεων PS Gitl: τῶν οἰκείων πόλεμον V || ἡχμαλώτιζον PV: αἰχμαλώτιζον S || 4 γαλουχοῦντα PV: γαλουχούμενα S || 5 ἀπεστραγγάλωσα PV: ἀπεστραγγάλωσα S || ἐπάγγελιά PSV: ἐπ' ἀγγελία conj. Mar (prob. Bol) || βοηθείας P: βοηθεία S καὶ βοηθεία V || 6 ἤδη PV: om. S || προϊόντας S, corr. Mar: προσιόντας PV || 7 Πλούτῳ PS Gitl: πλούτῳ V || ξένων PV: ξένω S || 8 Παλλάδι PV: παλάδι S || κατέσπεισα P Gitl: κατέσπια S κατέσπεισα V || τῷ δὲ Ἄρει V τῷ δὲ Ἄρῃ P τῷ Ἄρρεϊ δὲ S || 9 συχνοὺς PV: συχνῶς S || δαίμονας PV: ἔθνον τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ S || 10 αὐτούς post ἐπληροφόρησα add. S || 11 ἔμελλον αὐτῷ S: ἡμελλον αὐτῷ P αὐτῷ ἔμελλον V || παντὸς PV: παντοίου S || σκεύει χρυσῷ αὐτῷ S σκεύει αὐτῷ χρυσῷ P σκεύεσι χρυσοῖς αὐτῷ V || 12 ἐρράντισε V Mar: ἐρράντισεν P ἐράντισεν S || 13 ἐμέ, εἰπὼν P: ἐμοὶ εἶπεν S ἐμέ αὐτὸν εἰπὼν V || 14 post λογικῶν dist. Gitl || φίλοις παρεχόμενος P: ἐγὼ φίλοις παρεχόμενος χάριτας S φίλους παρεχομένους V || post παρεχόμενος dist. Mar, Bol || 15 ἄλλους P: πολλοὺς S ὄλους V || καὶ πολλοὺς πένητας SV: πένητας πολλοὺς P || 16 ὄνησιν P Gitl: ὄνησιν S νόησιν V || 17 ἀληθεῖς PV: ἀληθῆς S || ἐγίνοντο PV: ἐγένοντο S || ἐνήργουν PS: ἡργουν V || 17-18 εἰς ... ἐπιβλαβῶς S: ἐπιβλαβὴ εἰς τὰς ὑπάρξεις P πρὸς ... ἐπιβλαβῶς V || 18 παρασχεῖν PS: παρέχειν V || 19 χρυσὸν PS Gitl: χρυσίῳ V || τρεῖς PS: δύο ἢ τρεῖς V || 20 αὐτὸν PS: αὐτῷ V αὐτὸ corr. Gitl || συναλλάττοντες P Gitl: συναλάσσοντες S συνελάσαντες V || ἐξημίουں PS Gitl: ἐξοικεῖους V ἐξημίουں Bol || συναλλάκτας SV: συναλλάττοντας P.



times I have acted impiously and there is neither a number nor a word for the delineation of my evils. (3) I cut open pregnant women for the demons,<sup>53</sup> and transforming noble women, I took them prisoner from their own cities, and after they conceived from fornication, I would kill them; I slaughtered their suckling babies below the earth,<sup>54</sup> others I suffocated, others I strangled at the promise of the dragon's assistance; by this time I was slaughtering boys who had attained puberty<sup>55</sup>; others who were advanced in age I buried for Pluto,<sup>56</sup> and I cut off the heads of foreign men for the sake of Hecate<sup>57</sup>; I offered up the blood of women who were still virgins to Pallas, and to Aries and Kronos men already full-grown; and I satisfied fully many other demons through such sacrifices,<sup>58</sup> so that in this way I might draw near to the devil himself. (4) And when I was about to approach him, I presented to him the blood of every living thing in a golden vessel; and when he received it, he sprinkled first his crown and his powers, and then me, saying, 'You too, receive authority over every soul of irrational and rational beings.' (5) Since I offered myself to friends, I murdered countless others and brought down many into poverty. (6) Indeed, my good deeds were of no consequence because as illusions they did not have an actual existence; my wrongdoings, however, were real because the demons could operate harmfully on realities, though they could not bring about reality themselves. (7) If I gave gold to someone it would last for three days, after which those to whom I mentioned the deception and who entered into contracts with him would fine the negotiators.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* 8.14; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6.557–560; *PGM* IV. 2574–2591; *T. Sol.* 13:3–4; Jean-Jacques Aubert, "Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic," *GRBS* 30 (1989): 435–38; David Frankfurter, "Fetus Magic and Sorcery Fears in Roman Egypt," *GRBS* 46 (2006): 37–62.

<sup>54</sup> The phrase ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς is probably a reference to a necromantic pit; see Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 168–69.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 7.11.3 where Apollonius of Tyana is accused of butchering a young boy for necromantic purposes; cf. note 58.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Prudentius, *Contra orationem Symmachi*, 1.395–396.

<sup>57</sup> This is likely a reference to cephalomancy. Although it is from a medieval Arabic grimoire, note the cephalomantic spell in *Picatrix* 3.7.40, which specifically calls for the decapitation of a dark-skinned youth from Cypress; see Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner, "*Picatrix*": *Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magīrī* (Studies of the Warburg Institute 27; London: The Warburg Institute, 1962), 240–41. On cephalomancy see Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 208–16.

<sup>58</sup> On this common Christian polemic, see J. Rives, "Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians," *JRS* 85 (1995): 78–83.

εἰπεῖν ὅσας μοιχείας καὶ παιδεραστείας ἔδρασα, ἅμα ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐτέρων  
πολλῶν παρατρέπων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ μὴ θελούσας.<sup>9</sup> ὅσα ἐτεχνασάμην εἰς  
μοχθηρίαν, εἰς πόλεμον, εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ ὄλεθρον, τίς ἂν εἴη ἱκανὸς  
ἐγγράψασθαι;<sup>10</sup> πῶς οὖν ταῦτα πάντα συγχωρήσει ὁ θεός, ὦ φίλοι;<sup>11</sup> πῶς  
5 με ἐλεήσει ἐμαντὸν μὴ ἐλεήσαντα;<sup>12</sup> εἰ ἦν μοι ὁ λόγος περὶ μιᾶς ἢ δύο  
ψυχῶν, εἶχον ἐλπίδα πρὸς ἀπολογίαν· πολλὰ εἰσιν ἃ ἔδρασα φαῦλα.

16. τίνα παρήσομαι ἢ τίνα ἐξαγορεύσω;<sup>2</sup> γένους ὄλεθρον, φίλων  
ἔνδολον διάθεσιν, ξένων ἀναίρεσιν, τῶν ἄλλων τὴν σφαγὴν, τῶν εὐσεβῶν  
τοὺς διωγμούς, τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, τῶν παρθένων τὰς  
10 φθοράς, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰς καθαιρέσεις, τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἰκῶν τὴν  
ἐρήμωσιν, τῶν σεμνῶν γυναικῶν τὴν δημαγωγίαν, τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπινοίας  
κατὰ τῶν μυστηρίων, ὅτι πολλοὺς ἥκισον ἐξαγγεῖλαι καὶ ἀκούων ἔλεγον  
καὶ διηγούμενος ἐχλεύαζον καὶ τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς ἐφενάκιζον, ἔρριπτον,  
ἐξουδένουν, ἔκαιον· τοὺς διασπαραγμοὺς τῶν προσεδρευόντων τῇ  
15 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 δυσφημίας, τῶν εὐαγγελίων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίληψιν.<sup>3</sup> τί μοι γοῦν  
ἄρα ἀφήσει πρῶτον ὁ Χριστὸς ἢ τί μοι συγχωρήσειεν;<sup>4</sup> τὰ πάντα γὰρ

1 παιδεραστείας P: πορνείας καὶ παιδαραστίας S παιδοφθορίας V || ἅμα PS: om. V || 1-2  
ἐτέρων πολλῶν PS: ἐτέροις πολλοῖς V || 3 μοχθηρίαν PV: μοχθηρίας S || καὶ ὄλεθρον PV: εἰς  
ὄλεθρον S || 3-4 εἴη ἱκανὸς ἐγγράψασθαι PV: ἱκανὸς συγγράψασθαι S || 4 οὖν PS: γοῦν V || μοι  
post οὖν add. S || ταῦτα πάντα SV: πάντα P || συγχωρήσει PS: συγχωρήσειεν V || 5 ἐλεήσει PS:  
ἐλεήσειεν V || ἐμαντὸν V: ἐαντὸν P τὸν ἐμαντὸν S || 5-6 μιᾶς ἢ δύο ψυχῶν PV: μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἢ δύο  
S || 6 ἐλπίδα PS: ἐλπίδας V || ἀπολογίαν SV: ἀπολογία μου P || ἀλλ' ὑπερ τίνος ἀπολλο-  
γήσομαι post ἀπολογίαν add. S || γὰρ post πολλά add. S || 7 παρήσομαι P: παρήσω S  
παρρησιάζομαι V || τίνα PS: ποῖα V || ἐξαγορεύσω PS: διηγῆσομαι V || ἢ ante φίλων add. S || 8  
τῶν ἄλλων τὴν σφαγὴν V τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων (ἀνῶν S) τὴν κατασφαγὴν PS: || 9 ἐπιβουλὰς  
PV: διαβολὰς S || 9-10 τῶν παρθένων τὰς φθοράς V: τὰς φθοράς τῶν παρθένων P τῶν παρθένων  
τὰς διαφθοράς S || 10-11 τὴν ἐρήμωσιν SV: ἐρήμωσιν P || 11 τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν S Mar: τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσι P  
Gitl ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὰς V || 11-12 ἐπινοίας ... μυστηρίων PS: κατὰ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπινοίας V || 12  
ἐξαγγεῖλαι PS: ἐξαγγέλλειν V || ἔλεγον PS: ἐγέλων V || 13 ἐφενάκιζον S, corr. Mar, Gitl:  
ἐφαινάκιζον PV || 14 ἔκαιον SV: ἔκλαιον P ἔκναιον conj. Mar (prob. Bol) || ἀλλὰ ante τοὺς  
διασπαραγμοὺς add. S || 14-15 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ PS: τῆς ἐκκλησίας V || 16 τὴν ὑπόνοιαν PV: om. S ||  
χλεύην PV: χλεύειν S || 17 τὸν μυκτηρισμὸν τῆς λειτουργίας PV: τῆς λειτουργίας τὸν  
μυκτηρισμὸν S || 17-18 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ V: αὐτοῦ τοῦ  $\chi\rho$  καὶ  $\theta\upsilon$  S αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ  
καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ P || 18 τὴν ἐπίληψιν PV: τὰς ἐπιλήψεις S || τί PV: τοί S || γοῦν SV: οὖν P || 19  
ἄρα ἀφήσει πρῶτον P: ἄρα ἀφήσειεν πρῶτον S πρῶτον ἀφήσιν ἄρα V || Χριστός:  $\chi\rho$  S || ἢ ...  
συγχωρήσειεν P: ἢ τί μὴ ἀφήσειεν S deest V.

(8) I am incapable of saying how many times I committed adultery and pederasty,<sup>59</sup> perverting together with my own the souls of many others, even those who were not willing. (9) Who would be able to record how many times I used cunning for wickedness, for perdition and destruction? (10) How, then, will God pardon all these deeds, friends? (11) How will he show mercy to me, who showed no mercy myself? (12) If the account from me was about one or two souls, I would have hope for a defense; the bad things I did are many.

16. "What shall I pass over or what else shall I confess? (2) Destruction of people, cunning disposition with friends, slaying of strangers,<sup>60</sup> the slaughtering of others, the persecutions of the pious, the plots against the Christians, the corruptions of virgins, the demolitions of churches, the making desolate of houses of prayer, the control of revered women, the designs against all initiated into the mysteries<sup>61</sup>—for I tortured many to betray their secrets, and when I heard them I would speak of them and scoff as I described them in detail, and I cheated their sacred writings, threw them away, destroyed and burned 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 joking at prayers, the sneering at the liturgy, the blasphemies against Christ and God, the censure of his gospels. (3) Why would Christ forgive me even the first of these or

<sup>59</sup> The accusers of Apuleius of Madauros referenced his pederastic poems as evidence that he practiced magic (see Apuleius, *Apol.* 9–13, 42–46). It was also suggested that Hadrian's boy-lover Antinous offered himself to be killed for necromantic purposes (Dio Cassius, 69.11; Juvenal, 6.548–552). Philostratus's account of the accusation that Apollonius of Tyana sacrificed a beautiful Arcadian boy is also replete with pederastic overtones (see *Vit. Apoll.* 7.11; 8.5–7); cf. Cicero, *Vat.* 14; *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 2.13, 15. Note also the demon Orniias's penchant for pederasty in *T. Sol.* 2:3. In general see Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 196–201.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Conf.* 15:3; 18:8.

<sup>61</sup> Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 49) is certainly correct that the mysteries referred to here must be the Christian mysteries (cf. *Conf.* 1:1).

φαῦλα καὶ ἀσεβείας μεστά· οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ μοι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν ὁ χρόνος  
 τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἐμῆς. <sup>5</sup> οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ζήσομαι ἄλλα εἴκοσι ἔτη· μιᾶς μου  
 πράξεως μόλις ἔχει μετάνοιαν· τίς μοι χρόνος ὑπάρξειε πρὸς τὰς  
 ἀπείρους ἀσεβείας; <sup>6</sup> εἶπατέ μοι, ὦ φίλοι, τί ποιήσω, τί διαπράξομαι; [12]  
 5 <sup>7</sup> ἐπέγνων Χριστοῦ τὴν θεότητα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω δύναμιν ὅπως αὐτὸν  
 ἐξιλεώσωμαι. <sup>8</sup> ἐπέγνων τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐλάβειαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω  
 πρόσωπον ἐν αὐτοῖς παρρησιάσασθαι. <sup>9</sup> ἐπέγνων τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὴν  
 χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐ τολμῶ ἄψασθαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος συνεχόμενος. <sup>10</sup> ἐπ-  
 10 ἐγνων ὅτι μυστήριον ἀθάνατον ἡ πίστις Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχὺν  
 ἐκμειλίξασθαι αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνάρετον. <sup>11</sup> ἐπέγνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν κατὰ-  
 στασιν, ἀλλ' αἰδοῦμαι κἂν τοῖς προαυλίοις ἐγγίσαι. <sup>12</sup> συνῆκα θεὸν καὶ  
 πῶς αὐτῷ ἀπολογήσομαι ἀπορῶ.

17. εὐσεβῆσαι ποθῶ καὶ ἡ ἀσέβεια μου περιγίνεται· ἐπιθυμῶ δοῦλος  
 ἀκοῦσαι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἄγνοῶ εἰ θέλει με πριάσθαι· ἐμαυτὸν πωλῶ,  
 15 ἐμαυτὸν καταγράφω δοῦλον αὐτοῦ· οὐ θέλω ἀντιτίμησιν, μόνον με  
 προσδέξεται· εἰ μὴ θέλῃ μοι συγγῶναι, ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιγράψω τὴν αἰτίαν,  
 μόνον κἂν ὡς ἀσεβῇ με ἐπιβλέψῃ. <sup>2</sup> ἐν οἶδα, ὅτι αἰωνίου ὀλέθρου ἄξιός  
 εἰμι· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, μόνον αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀποθανεῖν  
 καταξιωθῶ, ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν γενέσθαι, κἂν γοῦν θανατῶσαί με  
 20 βούλεται. <sup>3</sup> οὐκ αἰτῶ ἄφεσιν· ὑπερβάλλει τὸ χρέος τάχα τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 χρηστότητα· οὐ πειράζων προσέρχομαι· πεῖραν γὰρ ἔχω τῆς δυνάμεως

1 ἀσεβείας PS: ἀσθενείας V || ἀπολογίαν PS: τὴν ἀπολογίαν V || 2 τῆς ἐμῆς PS: μου V || εἴκοσι  
 PS: κ' V || 3 ἔχει PV: ἔχω S || μοι PV: μου S || ὑπάρξειε V Mar: ὑπάρξειεν P ὑπάρξει S || 4 μου  
 post ἀσεβείας add. P || ὦ SV: om. P || ἡ post ποιήσω add. S || 5 ἐπέγνων PV: ἐπέγνων S || Χριστοῦ:  
 χυ S || 6 εὐλάβειαν SV: εὐσέβειαν P || 7 παρρησιάσασθαι PV: παρρησιάσασθαι S || ἐπέγνων  
 PV: ἐπέγνων S || 8 συνεχόμενος SV: ἐλεγχόμενος P || 9 Χριστοῦ: χυ S || 10 ἐκμειλίξασθαι αὐτῆς  
 τὸ ἐνάρετον P: ἐκμειλίξασθαι αὐτόν S καταλαβέσθαι (καταλαλασθαι V<sup>1</sup>) αὐτῆς τὸ ἐνάρετον V  
 || 11 προαυλίοις PSV: προσαυλίοις corr. Mar (prob. Bol) || ἐγγίσαι PV: αὐτῆς πρὸς ἐγγίσαι S || 12  
 ἀπολογήσομαι V: ἀπολλογήσομαι S ἀπολογίσασθαι P ἀπολογήσασθαι corr. Mar || 13 ἡ  
 ἀσέβεια μου PV: ἀσέβεια μοι S || 14 ἀκοῦσαι PV: γενέσθαι S || Χριστοῦ: χυ S || με SV: ἐμὲ P ||  
 πριάσθαι PS: πριάσασθαι V || ἐμαυτὸν πωλῶ V: ἐμαυτόν πολῶ S εἰς αὐτόν πωλῶ P εἰς αὐτόν·  
 πολῶ corr. Mar || 15 αὐτοῦ SV: αὐτῷ P || 15-16 με προσδέξεται PV: προσδέξεται με S || 16 εἰ μὴ  
 PV: εἰ μὲ S || θέλῃ V: θέλει PS || μοι V: μου PS || συγγῶναι V: συγγῶναι PS || τὰς ἀσεβείας post  
 συγγῶναι add. S || 16-17 τὴν αἰτίαν ... ἀσεβῇ PS: μόνον ὡς ἀσεβῇ V || 17 με P: μοι SV ||  
 ἐπιβλέψῃ P: ἐπιβλέπει S ἐπιβλέψει V || 19 καταξιωθῶ SV: ἀξιωθῶ P || γενέσθαι V: γένομαι P  
 γένομαι S || 20 βούλεται PSV: βούληται Bol || οὐκ αἰτῶ SV, corr. Mar: οὐκετῶ P || ὑπερβάλλει  
 V: ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ P ὑπερβάλλει μου S || τάχα PS: om. V || 21 γὰρ SV: om. P.

why would he pardon me? (4) For all these things are bad and full of impiety; my lifetime is not sufficient for me to make an apology. (5) I do not know if I will live another twenty years, which would hardly grant repentance for one deed of mine; what time will I have for my countless impieties? (6) Tell me, friends, what shall I do, what shall I accomplish? (7) I have recognized the divinity of Christ, but I do not have the power to appease him. (8) I have recognized the piety of his priests, but I do not have the countenance to speak openly with them. (9) I have recognized the grace of the gospels, but I do not dare to touch them since I am constrained by my conscience. (10) I have recognized that faith in Christ is the undying mystery, but I do not have the strength to soften its virtuousness. (11) I have recognized the institution of the church, but I am ashamed even to approach the vestibules. (12) I have become aware of God and I am at a loss as to how I will answer to him.

17. "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, I register myself as his slave; I do not want recognition, only that he receives me; if he does not want to excuse me, then I ascribe the blame to myself, though only if he has examined me as an impious person. (2) 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 deemed worthy to be under his authority, even if he wants to put me to death. (3) I do not ask for forgiveness, perhaps my debt surpasses his goodness; I do not come forward making a trial, for I have proof of

αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰουστίνης· καταγράφω ἑμαυτῷ θάνατον· ἴδω μόνον πῶς  
προσκυβεῖται Χριστός. <sup>4</sup> εἶπατέ μοι, ὦ φίλοι, εἰ δύναμαι κἄν ὡς  
ἀλλότριος ἐπιστῆναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἵνα μήκοθεν ὁρῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
θεότητα τῇ κηδῶνι μου τὴν ψυχὴν καταμαράνω. <sup>5</sup> οὐ πιστεύω ὅτι ἀφίησί  
5 μοι· οὐ πείθομαι γὰρ χείρονά μου γεγενῆσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ὑπερβαλὼν  
Ἰαννὴν καὶ Ἰαμβρὴν τοὺς λεγομένους. <sup>6</sup> ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ γοητεύειν ὁμολόγη-  
σαν θεοῦ δάκτυλον, ἐγὼ δὲ παντελῶς διεκείμην μὴ εἶναι θεόν. <sup>7</sup> εἰ  
ἐκείνοις ὁ θεὸς οὐ συνεχώρησε κἄν ἐν μέρει ἐπιγνοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἐμοὶ πῶς  
συγχωρήσειε παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσαντι; <sup>8</sup> οὐ καυχῶμαι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσεβείαις  
10 μου· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦδος πάλιν θεραπεύειν ὀφείλων ἀγνοῶ τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ’  
οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθείας ἀντιποιεῖται. <sup>9</sup> τίς ὑμῖν διηγῆσεται ἀσεβείας πέλαγος,  
τίς ὑμῖν ἄβυσσον βλασφημίας διαγράψοιτο; <sup>10</sup> τίς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστήσειεν εἰς  
τοὺς τῆς κακίας θησαυρούς; <sup>11</sup> ἐγὼ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐχώρησα καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ  
ἄβυσσοι αὐτῆς ἐμετρήθησαν, ἐν ἐμοὶ πολλοὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐναυάγησαν.  
15 **18.** οὐκ εἰμι μόνος ἐν τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν μόνον ἐβαράθρωσα·  
πολλοὺς ἄλλους σὺν ἐμοὶ κατέσπασα. <sup>2</sup> ποῖα κλαύσω; <sup>3</sup> περὶ τίνος  
δακρύσω; <sup>4</sup> περὶ τῶν σωματικῶς ἀναιρεθέντων ἢ περιέργως πραχθέντων  
μοι; <sup>5</sup> περὶ τῶν μαθόντων δι’ ἐμοῦ ἢ τῶν ἐμὲ μιμησαμένων; <sup>6</sup> ἄφθονος  
ἐγενόμην ἀσεβείας διδάσκαλος, σπουδαῖος κήρυξ τῆς κακίας γέγονα.  
20 <sup>7</sup> ἀπείρους εἶχον τοὺς μανθάνοντας, πολλοῖς μετέδωκα τοῦτο τὸ

1 ἀπὸ PV: διὰ S || καὶ post Ἰουστίνης add. P || μόνον PV: om. S || 2 Χριστός:  $\overline{\chi\rho}$  S || ὦ φίλοι PV: φίλοι εἶπατέ μοι S || 2-3 ὡς ἀλλότριος PV: ὅλως S || 3 ὁρῶν S, corr. Gitl (ὁρῶ P): ὁρῶ V Mar, Bol || 4 τῇ κηδῶνι V: τήκων P τῇ κεδόνι S || καταμαράνω PSV<sup>1</sup> Gitl: καταμαρένῃ in marg. V καταμαρανῶ corr. Mar || 4-5 ἀφίησί μοι V Mar: ἀφίησίν μοι P μοι ἀφίησιν S || 5 γὰρ PS: om. V || χείρονά PV: χείρον S || γεγενῆσθαι P: γεγενεῖσθαι S γενέσθαι V || ἄνθρωπον: ἄνῶν S || ὑπερβαλὼν P: ὑπέρβαλον S ὑπερέβαλον V || 6 Ἰαμβρὴν PV: ἱαμβρὶν S || γοητεύειν PV: γοιτεύειν S || 7 θεοῦ:  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  S || ἐγὼ ... διεκείμην PV: εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα ἐγὼ δὲ ἔλεγον S || 8 συνεχώρησε Mar: συνεχώρησεν PSV || ἐν μέρει PS: ἐκ μέρους V || ἐπιγνοῦσιν SV, corr. Mar: ἐπιγνώσιν P || 9 συγχωρήσειε Mar: συγχωρήσειεν PSV || παντάπασιν PSV παντάσιν Bol || 10 πάλιν θεραπεύειν PV: θεραπεύειν S || ὀφείλων P Gitl: ὀφείλω S ὀφείλον V || ἀγνοῶ PS Gitl: ἀγνοῶν V || 11 τίς ... πέλαγος PV: om. S || 12 βλασφημίας διαγράψοιτο PV: τῆς βλασφημίας διαγράψοι S || ὑμᾶς PV: ὑμῖν S || ἐπιστήσειεν SV: ἐπιστήσειε P || 12-13 εἰς τοὺς τῆς κακίας θησαυρούς V: κακίας τοὺς θησαυρούς P τῆς κακίας τοὺς θησαυρούς S || 13 ἐχώρησα PS: ὑπέχώρησα V || ἐν ἐμοὶ PV: ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ S || 14 ἄβυσσοι P: αἱ ἄβυσσοι καὶ τὰ βάθη S καὶ ἄβυσσοι V || ὑπ’ P: ἐπ’ V || ἐν ἐμοὶ ... ἐναυάγησαν PV: om. S || 15 εἰμι PV: ἤμην S || μου post τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ add. P || μόνον PS: om. V || 16 πολλοὺς ... κατέσπασα PV: om. S || δὲ post ποῖα add. P || τίνος P: τινῶν S τίνος δὲ V || 17 ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ post σωματικῶς add. S || περιέργως πραχθέντων PS: τῶν περὶ ἔργως (περιέργως Gitl) πραχθέντων V || 19 τῆς κακίας PV: τῆς ἀσεβείας S || ἀδωροδόκητος ἄμισθος post γέγονα add. S.

his power from Justina; I inscribe death for myself, only let me see how Christ is worshipped. (4) Tell me, friends, if as a stranger I am able to be near the things which are spoken, so that seeing his divinity from afar I wither my soul away in grief. (5) I do not believe that he forgives me, for I do not believe that there has ever been a human being worse than me, since I outdid the so-called Jannes and Jambres.<sup>62</sup> (6) Those ones acknowledged the finger of God while performing magic,<sup>63</sup> but I was wholly convinced that there was no God. (7) If God did not pardon those ones even though they recognized him in part, how will he pardon me, who did not recognize him at all?<sup>64</sup> (8) I do not boast in my impieties, since I must account for serving falsehood again, for I am not ignorant of his grace, but I know that he seeks after truth. (9) Who can describe the sea of impiety to you, who would delineate the abyss of blasphemy for you? (10) Who will bring you into the vaults of evil? (11) I made room for it all and in me its abysses have been measured, through me many have suffered shipwreck at its hands.

18. "I am not alone in my perdition, nor have I cast only myself into the pit; I have pulled many others down with me. (2) Which shall I lament? (3) For whom shall I weep? (4) For those whom I killed physically or those whom I finished off magically? (5) For those who have learned through me or those who have imitated me? (6) I became an ungrudging teacher of impiety; I have been a zealous herald of evil. (7) I had countless students, I communicated this poison to

<sup>62</sup> Cf. 1 Tim 3:8; *Conf.* 6:6. For the text of the pseudepigraphon, see Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 91–281; see also Albert Pietersma and R. T. Lutz, "Jannes and Jambres," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols. Garden City: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 2:427–42.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Exod 8:19.

<sup>64</sup> This statement seems to concur with *Jan. Jam.* 23f<sup>v</sup> where Jannes tells his brother Jambres, "but now there is no forgiveness for us." However, one cannot be absolutely certain that Jannes is referring to himself and his brother since the text is so fragmentary (see Pietersma, *Apocryphon*, 237). See also my comments in the introduction (section 2.3).

δηλητήριον· φίλοις δοκῶν παρέχειν, ξίφος προσεπήγνυνον· καὶ συγγενεῖς  
 οἰόμενος ὀφελεῖν, αἷτιος αὐτοῖς ὀλέθρου κατέστην, καὶ διὰ πρεσβείας  
 αὐτῶν συχνοὺς ἐποίησα γόητας.<sup>8</sup> νέους προεβίβασα γηράσαι κακῶς καὶ  
 γέροντας ἔπεισα ἐναποθανεῖν ματαιότητι, ξένους ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς  
 5 γοητείαν καὶ καλὰ δρῶντας οὐκ εἶσα προκόψαι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν.<sup>9</sup>  
 ἐμύησα ὡς ἱερεὺς, ὡς δαιμόνων νεωκόρος ἐδίδαξα, πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐπότισα,  
 ἐπεδειξάμην πρὸς πλάνην· ὡς ἱεροφάντης ἐτέλεσα ἐκατόμβην καὶ ὡς  
 πολλὰ ἰσχύων οὐδενὸς ἐφεισάμην.<sup>10</sup> πολλοὺς ἐξῆψα πρὸς μίμησιν καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ ἐρίζοντας πλείστους ἀπέκτεινα· ἄλλοι δέισαντές με κατέπιπτον καὶ  
 10 προδότης ἐγενόμην τῶν θελόντων μοι ἀντιστῆναι.<sup>11</sup> ἀξιούμενος ἐποίησα  
 ἐν ἁέρι πέτασθαι καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ βαδίσαι καὶ ναυσὶ παρέσχον ἀνέμους  
 πλεῦσαι, ἵπταμένους καὶ μὴ βαδίζοντας ἀποδημῆσαι παρεσκεύασα.<sup>12</sup>  
 ἀνέμους ἀπέλυσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκώλυσα· νῆας ὑποβρυχίους γενέσθαι  
 ἐποίησα καὶ ἄλλας ἐποκεῖλαι πρὸς γέλωτα.<sup>13</sup> ὕδωρ ἐν ἐρήμῳ ῥέευσαι  
 15 ἐφάντασα καὶ ἐν οἴκοις λιμνάζειν ἔδειξα.<sup>14</sup> γύναια ἐκδιώκεσθαι ἀπὸ  
 τῶν συμβίων πρὸς τοὺς μοιχοὺς ἐποίησα· τεκνοφθορίαν ἐδείκνυνον·  
 εὐχερῇ χάριν θανάτῳ παρέσχον, οἴκους ὄλους παρεδίδουν εἰς ὄλεθρον,  
 φίλους δολοφονηθῆναι ἠνεσχόμην, οἰκετῶν γνησίων συχνοὺς ἐξημίωσα.  
<sup>15</sup> ἐν τούτοις ἔνιοι ἤξιουν ὁμοιωθῆναί μοι καὶ οἱ δαίμονες συγχαίροντες,  
 20 ὅτι με προετρέποντο.

1 δηλητήριον corr. Mar, Gitt: δειλητήριον PSV || φίλοις δοκῶν παρέχειν P: καὶ φίλοις καὶ δοκῶν  
 κέρδος αὐτοῖς παρέχειν S καὶ φίλους (φίλοις Gitt) δοκῶν παρέχειν V || προσεπήγνυνον S, corr.  
 Mar: κατεπήγνυνον P Gitt κατέπιον V || 2 ὀφελεῖν P: ὀφελεῖν S φιλεῖν V || ὀλέθρου PV: ὀλέθρου  
 S || κατέστην SV, corr. Mar: κατέστην P || 3 συχνοὺς PV: δεινοὺς S || γηράσαι κακῶς SV: κακῶς  
 γηράσαι P || 4 ἐναποθανεῖν PV: ἐπ' ἀποθανεῖν S || ἐδίδαξα post ξένους add. SV || 5 γοητείαν PV:  
 γοητείας S || εἶσα PV: ἴαση S || 6 νεωκόρος corr. Mar, Gitt: νεοκόρος PSV || ἐπότισα PS Gitt:  
 ἐπότῃ V || 7 ὡς (prius) PV: ὡς δὲ S || ἐκατόμβην PV: ἐκατόμβας S || 9 ἐμοὶ ἐρίζοντας PS: ἐμοὶ  
 ἐρρίζοντες S ἐρίζοντάς μοι V || πλείστους ἀπέκτεινα SV: πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσεν P || δέισαντές PV:  
 δῆσαντές S || 11 ναυσὶ παρέσχον V: ναυσὶν παρέσχον S ναυσὶ παρέχον P ὡσεὶ παρέχον Mar, Bol  
 || 12 πλεῦσαι PV: εἰς τὸ πλεῦσαι S || εἰς ἄλλην χώραν post ἀποδημῆσαι add. S || παρεσκεύασα  
 PS: κατεσκεύασα V || 13 ἀνέμους ... ἐκώλυσεν P: ἀνέμους ἐποίησα καὶ πάλιν ἐκώλυσεν S  
 ἀνέμους ἐκώλυσεν V || 14 ἐποίησα V: om. PS || ἐποκεῖλαι V: ἐπώκειλα P ἐποκίλει S || τινῶν  
 post γέλωτα add. S || 15 ἔδειξα PV: ἐδίδαξα S || γύναια PS: γυναῖκας V || ἐκδιώκεσθαι SV:  
 διώκεσθαι P διοίχεσθαι conj. Mar || 16 τεκνοφθορίαν SV, corr. Mar: τεκνοφορίαν P Bol || 17  
 εὐχερῇ PS Gitt: ευχαιρεῖ V || παρέσχον SV: παρέχων P || 18 δολοφονηθῆναι PS: δολοφονεῖν  
 V || ἠνεσχόμην PV: ἀνεσχόμην S || συχνοὺς PV: πολλοὺς S || 19 ὁμοιωθῆναί μοι V: ὁμοιωθῆναι  
 θαυμάζοντες P ὁμοιωθῆναί μοι θαυμάζοντες ὅθεν S || 20 ὅτι PV: ἔτι ἄλλον S || με  
 προετρέποντο PV: προετρέποντο με S.



many; when I seemed to submit myself to friends, I stuck a sword in them; and when I was believed to owe relatives, I became the source of destruction among them; and I made many men sorcerers at their requests. (8) I wickedly pushed young men forward to bring them to old age, and I persuaded old men to die in purposelessness, foreigners to leave their homes for the purpose of my sorcery,<sup>65</sup> and those who did good deeds I prevented from progressing toward piety. (9) As a priest I conducted the mysteries, as a temple servant of demons I gave instruction, gave drink for the purpose of deception, made a display of my powers for the purpose of error, as a hierophant I performed the hecatomb, and as one who had power to do many things, I refrained from nothing. (10) I kindled many to impersonation and I killed most who quarreled with me; others who feared me would bow down and I became a traitor to those who wanted to stand against me. (11) When I was asked to fly through the air and walk on the water,<sup>66</sup> I did, and I provided winds for ships to sail, and after they were flown in I prepared those that did not sail to go abroad. (12) I released the winds and hindered them again; I caused ships to sink underwater and others to run ashore for laughter.<sup>67</sup> (13) I made water appear to flow in the desert and caused it to flood in houses. (14) I caused wives to be chased away from their husbands to adulterers,<sup>68</sup> caused the murder of children, showed a reckless delight in death, handed over entire houses into ruin, suffered friends to be murdered, punished many sincere household slaves. (15) Some dared to become like me in these matters and the demons congratulated them, for they outdid me.

<sup>65</sup> This phrase likely refers back to *Conf.* 15:3 and 16:1, in which case Cyprian means that he drew foreigners to him through his magic so that he could kill them for necromantic purposes (see note 56).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Lucian, *Philops.* 13 where the Peripatetic Cleodemus ascribes the same actions to a Hyperborean magician.

<sup>67</sup> Maran punctuates after ἐποκεῖλαι and includes πρὸς γέλωτα in 18:13 instead. I follow Gitlbauer in placing it with 18:12 as it seems more reasonable syntactically and makes Cyprian seem much more cruel. Procopius of Caesarea (*History of the Wars* 3.20.13; 3.21.18) refers to an annual storm which sailors called the Cypriana. According to Procopius the storm was given this name simply because it generally came around the same time that the Libyans celebrated the festival of St. Cyprian of Carthage; it is tempting to consider this as another passage in which the legend of Cyprian of Antioch has influenced a story about the historical bishop of Carthage (see my comments in the introduction, sections 3.1 and 3.2).

<sup>68</sup> Eusebius (*Eccl. hist.* 8.14) says the same of the necromancer Maxentius.

19. εἶπατε γοῦν μοι, ὦ φίλοι, εἰ ἔστιν ἐπίνοιά τις πρὸς τὴν τούτων [13]  
ἀπαλλαγὴν ἢ μᾶλλον χρὴ ἐλέσθαι τὸν δι' ἀγχόνης θάνατον; <sup>2</sup> τὸ γὰρ ζῆν  
ἐν τοιαύτῃ μνήμῃ πονηρῶν πράξεων, κἂν μηκέτι γίνωνται, ἐσχάτου  
θανάτου ἐστὶν ἄξιον. <sup>3</sup> ἤθελον γοῦν ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
5 δυνάμεως καὶ οὕτω θανεῖν τὸν ἐμοὶ ὠρισμένον θάνατον. <sup>4</sup> ταύτην ἔχων  
τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνέχομαι ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσά μοι σωτηρίας  
ἐλπίς περιήρηται. <sup>5</sup> 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  
10 καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτὸς χαωθῇ. <sup>6</sup> ἔννοιαν ὑμῖν δίδωμι, ὁποῖός εἰμι ἀσεβής, ὅτι  
τὴν ψυχὴν ἰδίᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἐν ταρτάροις εἶχον συκοφαντοῦσαν καὶ  
πολεμοῦσαν πολὺ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνοσιώτερα· τοῖς ἐν ἀέρι βουλάς  
ἐδίδουν ζηλοῦν τὰ κάτω καὶ τοὺς κάτω πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω συνέβαλλον καὶ  
ἐμαυτὸν παρεῖχον ἑκατέροις τεκμήριον. <sup>7</sup> οὐ χωρῶ διελθεῖν τὸ κατὰ-  
15 λοιπον· οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει τοῖς ἀκούουσι. <sup>8</sup> πῶς γοῦν λέγετε, ὅτι Χριστὸς  
με προσδέξεται, ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ κατ' ἐμέ; <sup>9</sup> τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μοι εἰς μέσον  
ἤνέγκατε, ὅτι ἔτυχον ἰλασμοῦ. <sup>10</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς χριστοκτόνους θεο-  
μαχῆσαντας ὑπερέβαλλον, τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργήσαντας εἰς αὐτοὺς  
δαίμονας. <sup>11</sup> καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν πλείστη χάρις, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐλπίζω ἔτι

1 γοῦν μοι PS: μοι γοῦν V || ὦ φίλοι PV: om. S || εἶπατε post φίλοι add. S || ἐπίνοια PV: ὑπόνοια S || 2 ἐλέσθαι PV: ἀνελέσθαι S || 3 πονηρῶν πράξεων PV: om. S || γίνωνται SV: γένωνται P || 4 ἄξιον PV: ἄξιος S || γοῦν V: οὐν καὶ γὰρ P κἂν ὅλως S || Χριστοῦ: χυ S || 5 οὕτω PV: οὕτως S || ἐμοὶ SV: om. P || ὠρισμένον PS Gitl: ὀρισμένον V || αἰώνιον ante θάνατον add. S || 5-6 ταύτην ... ἐπιθυμίαν SV: ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων P || 6 ἔτι PS: deest V || τοῦ ζῆν PS Gitl: deest V || σωτηρίας: σῳτῖας S || 7 περιήρηται PS Gitl: περιήρηται τοῦ ζῆν V || εἰπεῖν PV: ἐξεῖπεῖν S || τὴν μνήμην PS Gitl: τῇ μνήμῃ V || μου PV: μοι S || 8 ὑπομένω φράσαι PV: ὑποφέρω φράσω S || 9 ὀφείλω ἐπιδοῦναι PV: ὀφείλον ἐλθεῖν S || 10 αὐτὸς PV: οὗτος S || χαωθῇ SV: εἰς τέλειον ἔδαφος κατασπασθῇ P || ἔννοιαν SV: εἶνα P || εἰμι PV: ἤμην S || ἀσεβής SV: ἐγὼ ἀσεβής P || 11 ἰδίᾳ corr. Mar, Gitl: διὰ PSV || καὶ V: om. PS || 12 ἀνοσιώτερα V<sup>2</sup> Gitl: ἀνοσιώτερον PS ἀνοσιωτέραν V<sup>1</sup> || 13 τὰ κάτω ... κάτω V: καὶ τοὺς κάτω P καὶ φθονεῖν τοῖς κάτω καὶ τοὺς κάτω S || τοὺς (alterum) SV: τὰ P || συνέβαλλον V: συνέβαλον PS || 14 χωρῶ PV: χωρῶ S || 14-15 τὸ κατάλοιπον P Gitl: τὰ καταλεπτόν SV || 15 συμφέρει PS: συμφέρον V || ἀκούουσι SV Mar: ἀκούουσιν P || γοῦν V: οὐν PS || λέγετε PV: λέγεται S || Χριστὸς: χς S || 16 με V: σε P μὲν ἐμέ S || προσδέξεται SV: παραδέξεται P || τοὺς Ἰουδαίους SV: Ἰουδαίους P || 17 ἤνέγκατε V: ἡγάγετε P ἡγάγετε τοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντας S || ὅτι SV: ἐπειδὴ P || δὲ SV: om. P || χριστοκτόνους PS: θεοκτόνους V || 17-18 θεομαχῆσαντας ὑπερέβαλλον P: ὑπερέβαλον S θεομαχεῖν ὑπερέβαλον V || 18 οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις εἰς χυ παροινίσας post ὑπερέβαλον add. S || 18-19 τοὺς ἐνεργήσαντας εἰς αὐτοὺς δαίμονας P: αὐτοὺς τοὺς συνεργήσαντας αὐτοῖς δαίμονας S τοὺς ἐνεργήσαντας δαίμονας V || μὲν S, supra lin. V: om. P.

19. "So tell me, friends, if there is any conception for deliverance from these things, or is it rather necessary to choose death by hanging? (2) For living with such a memory of evil deeds, even though they are no longer done, is comparable to the utmost death. (3) I would like at least to hear about the power of Christ and in this manner to die the death which has been marked out for me. (4) Since I have this desire, I still endure living, for I know that all hope of salvation has been removed from me. (6) I do not offer to speak of the remaining things so that I do not cause my memory to be a sword; I do not carry on to point out the stronger things so that getting up you do not run away; I am not obliged to deliver over the bigger things so that the house itself is not also swallowed up. (6) I give you a notion of what sort of godless person I am since I have my soul separate from my body in the nether-regions prosecuting and battling greatly the more unholy of the things which were spoken; I gave counsel to those in the air to envy the things below and united those below with those above, and I offered myself as a proof to each of the two. (7) I do not go on to pass through what remains, for it is of no use to those who hear. (8) How, then, do you who do not know everything about me say that Christ will receive me? (9) You mentioned the Jews to me since they attained atonement. (10) But I even outdid the Christ-killers who fought against God, and perhaps even the demons who worked among them. (11) And I thank you very much, but I do not still hope to be saved, since I displayed

σωθήσεσθαι, τοσαύτην ἐπιδεδειγμένος εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπους  
 ἀσεβειαν. <sup>12</sup> οἶδα ὅτι εἶπον ἐμαυτὸν Χριστοῦ μείζονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγέλων  
 αὐτὸν ἄγροικον ἀποκαλῶν. <sup>13</sup> ἐδείκνυν γὰρ νεκροὺς ὡς ζῶντας καὶ  
 χαλοὺς ὡς τρέχοντας καὶ πολλοὺς ἐνεπόδισα αὐτῷ πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι θεός  
 5 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἐκώλυνον μὴ γενέσθαι Χριστιανοὺς πείθων, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἐστι θεός, ὅθεν καὶ ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων τοῦ διαβόλου ἐν-  
 εργήσαντος.

20. ἰδιώτην ἔλεγον, μαγγανικὸν καὶ μὴδ' ὅλως ἔχοντα σύνεσιν, οὐ  
 λέγω τῶν ἀοράτων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ὁρατῶν. <sup>2</sup> καὶ πῶς μοι λέγετε, Δέξεταί  
 10 σε ὁ Χριστὸς τοσαῦτα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσεβήσαντα; <sup>3</sup> περὶ τίνος δὲ δυνήσομαι  
 μετανοῆσαι; <sup>4</sup> ὦν ἐκώλυσα σωθῆναι ἢ ὦν ἔπεισα ἀπολέσθαι; <sup>5</sup> ὦν  
 ἔδρασα φόνων ἢ ὦν ἔπεισα σφαγιασθῆναι; <sup>6</sup> ὦν ἡσέλγησα ἢ ὦν ἔπεισα  
 ἀσελγεῖν; <sup>7</sup> ὦν ἐπεβούλευσα ἢ ὦν ἐχλεύασα, ἥρπασα, ἡδίκησα, ψυχὰς  
 καθελὼν ἀπὸ φωτὸς εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον; <sup>8</sup> ὅτι γὰρ ἡδυνήθην  
 15 γνῶναι θεότητα ἀληθινήν, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ μοι· διὰ τοῦτο συνορῶν κρεῖσσον  
 εἶναι τοῦ αἰτεῖν χάριν Χριστὸν παύομαι, μήποτε χεῖροني περιπέσω  
 ἀσεβείᾳ· οἰόμενός με ἀδυνατὸν εἶναι θεῷ προσελθεῖν σιωπῶ, ἵνα μή μου  
 ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσῃται οὐκ εἰς ἄφεσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσαν κόλασιν.  
<sup>9</sup> καὶ δὴ τοῖς δάκρυσιν συσχεθεῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐσιώπησα· ἔκλαιον δὲ καὶ

1 σωθήσεσθαι V: σώζεσθαι P σωθῆναι S || θεὸν: ὅν S || 2 ὅτι PV: ὅτε S || Χριστοῦ (χρῦ S) μείζονα  
 SV: μείζονα θεοῦ P || ἀλλὰ PV: ἀλλὰ S || ἐγέλων PV: ἐνεγέλων αὐτῷ S || 3 αὐτὸν ἄγροικον  
 ἀποκαλῶν PV: ἄγροικον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ μείζονα αὐτοῦ θαῦματα ποιοῦντα S || καὶ post  
 γὰρ add. P || 4 ἐνεπόδισα P: ἐνεπόδησα S συνεπόδισα V || αὐτῷ πιστεῦσαι P: πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ  
 SV || 4-5 θεός ἐστίν PV: ἐστίν θεὸς καὶ οὐ μόνον ἔργον S || 5 γενέσθαι PV: γίνεσθαι S || 6 ἐστι  
 PV: ἐστίν S || θεὸς V: θεὸς ὁ Χριστὸς (χρῡ S) PS || ἐξ ἀσθενείας ante ἐσταυρώθη add. S || 6-7 τοῦ  
 διαβόλου ἐνεργήσαντος PV: om. S || 8 αὐτὸν καὶ post ἔλεγον add. PS || ἔχοντα σύνεσιν V:  
 ἔχοντα ἐπίγνωσιν P ἐσχηκότα σύνεσιν καὶ γνώσιν S || 9 λέγετε PV: λέγεται S || ὅτι post λέγετε  
 add. V || 10 Χριστὸς: χρῡ S || ἀσεβήσαντα SV: ἀμαρτήσαντα P || δὲ P: δὲ ἄρα S om. V || 10-11  
 δυνήσομαι μετανοῆσαι PV: μετανοῆσαι δυνήσομαι S || 11 ἢ PSV: ἢν Bol || ἔπεισα PV: οὐκ  
 ἐκώλισα S || 12 σφαγιασθῆναι SV: σφαγιασάαι P || ἔπεισα PV: ἐποίησα S || 13 ἢ ὦν ἐχλεύασα  
 ἥρπασα P: ἥρπασα ἐχλεύασα S ἢ ὦν ἐχλεύασα ἥρπαξα V || ψυχὰς PV: om. S || 14 καθελὼν ἀπὸ  
 φωτὸς P: καθελὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς S ἀπὸ φωτὸς καθελὼν V || ἔπεμψα post ἐξώτερον add. S || 15  
 γνῶναι P: νοῆσαι V || 14-15 ὅτι γὰρ ... οὐκ ἀρκεῖ μοι PV: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φοβερά ὄντα παρήσω ἵνα  
 μὴ βλάβῃν προξενήσω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν S || 15 διὰ τοῦτο συνορῶν P: διὰ τοῦτο συνορῶ S διὰ τὸ  
 συνορᾶν V || κρεῖσσον SV: κρεῖττον P || 16 χάριν Χριστὸν παύομαι P: παρὰ χρῡ χάριν παύσομαι  
 S Χριστὸν παύομαι V || χεῖροني PV: καὶ χεῖρον S || 17 ἀσεβείᾳ PV: τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ S || με PV: om. S  
 || ἀδύνατον V: δύνατον PS || θεῷ PV: om. S || 17-18 μου ὑπόμνησιν PV: εἰς ὑπόμνησίν μου S || 18  
 ποιήσῃται PV: ποιήσῃ S || εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσαν PV: ὑπερβάλλουσαν S || 19 δὴ τοῖς δάκρυσιν  
 PS: διττοῖς δάκρυσιν V.

so much impiety towards God and humans. (12) I know that I said that I was greater than Christ, but I also laughed at him, calling him boorish. (13) I portrayed the dead as living and the lame as running, and I hindered many from believing in him—from believing that he is God—but I also hindered them with discourse, persuading them not to become Christians—persuading them that he is not God, for which reason he was also crucified by the Jews, since the devil worked through them.

20. “I said that he was a common man and a trickster who had no knowledge whatsoever—I do not mean of invisible things, but not even of visible things. (2) So how do you say to me, ‘Christ will receive you even though you have sinned against him so greatly’? (3) For whom, then, should I repent? (4) For those whom I have hindered from being saved or for those whom I persuaded to be lost? (5) For the murders which I committed or for those whom I persuaded to be slain?<sup>69</sup> (6) For those with whom I have behaved licentiously or for those whom I persuaded to behave licentiously? (7) For those whom I have plotted against or for those whom I have treated scornfully, ravished, and harmed as I brought souls down from the light into the outer darkness.<sup>70</sup> (8) For it is not enough for me that I have been able to know true divinity; for this reason I see that it is better that I stop Christ to ask for his favor, so that I do not fall into worse impiety; since I think that I am unable<sup>71</sup> to approach God, I remain silent so that he does not make mention of me, not for forgiveness, but for a punishment that goes beyond this.” (9) And, indeed, held back by tears I remained silent among those ones, and then

<sup>69</sup> Since Cyprian nowhere confesses to persuading others to murder as P’s σφαγιάσαι would indicate, I have accepted SV’s σφαγιασθῆναι in reference to 18:8 where Cyprian confesses to persuading old men to die.

<sup>70</sup> There is a close relationship here to the *Pistis Sophia*, in which the phrase “outer darkness” (ἡ ἑξωτερικὴ σκοτία) is used repeatedly (e.g., 201, 259, 306, 307, 316, 373). In the text Jesus gives it the following definition: “The outer darkness is a great dragon whose tail is in its mouth, and it is outside the whole world, and it surrounds the whole world” (317; trans. Violet MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* [NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978], 635).

<sup>71</sup> Maran punctuates after προσελθεῖν and begins a new sentence at σιωπῶ. The reason for this is P’s δύνατον (so S); it would make little sense if Cyprian remained silent because he thought that he was able to approach God, but this problem still remains even with Maran’s punctuation, for which reason I adopt V’s ἀδύνατον.

πάντες οἱ παρακαθήμενοι σφοδρῶς συνορῶντες, ὅτι δίκαια λέγω· καὶ ἦν  
 μέγας κοπετὸς δοκιμαζόντων, ὅτι εἰκότως ἐφρόνησα ἀπαγορεύσας  
 Χριστοῦ πρόσδοτον, ἀνάξιος ὢν τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ παραστάσεως.<sup>10</sup> καὶ  
 περιρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ κόνιν πασάμενος ἐκείμην ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 5 ἐδάφους, πένθος μέγα ἀράμενος, οὐκ ἀλαλητοῖς, δάκρυσι μόνον τὸ οὐαί  
 μοι ἀναβοῶν, ὅτι ἀπωλόμην ὁ ἄθλιος.

21. τότε δὴ πάντων συσχεθέντων, ὁ ἐταῖρος Εὐσέβιος ἀποκριθεὶς [14]  
 λέγει, Κυπριανέ, μὴ ἀπελπίσης, τούτων γὰρ πάντων ἡ λύσις ἐστίν, ὅτι  
 ἄγνων ἐποίησας· ἐνόμισας γὰρ ἐνθέοις ἑαυτὸν ἔργοις ἐπιδεδωκέναι,  
 10 ἀναπαύσας τὸν διάβολον· ἡ ἄγνοια τόπον σοι δίδωσιν ἀπολογίας.<sup>2</sup> ἵνα  
 τί σπαράττεις ἑαυτὸν θρηνῶν διωλύγιον;<sup>3</sup> ἵνα τί συνέπασας τοῖς δια-  
 λογισμοῖς εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς ψυχῆς;<sup>4</sup> ἐμοῦ ἄκουσον τοῦ φιλοῦντός σε,  
 παράσχου μοι ἡσυχίαν, ἵνα σε πληροφορήσω.<sup>5</sup> οἶδα πολλούς, ὧ  
 Κυπριανέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ ταῖς πράξεις κατὰ σέ, ἀλλὰ γε ταῖς προθέσεσι  
 15 προσελθόντας Χριστῷ καὶ σωθέντας· ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους ἐπίγνωνθι τὸ ὅλον.  
<sup>6</sup> ἐκεῖνοι γόητες καὶ ἐδέχθησαν, καὶ σὺ γόης πάντως ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνους  
 δεχθήσῃ.<sup>7</sup> ἕως πότε συγκόπτεις ἑαυτὸν καὶ τιμωρεῖς, καίπερ ὢν ἐξ  
 ἀσθενείας πολλῆς;<sup>8</sup> ἄπιδε, μὴ ταύτην τὴν ἀνελπιστίαν ὁ διάβολος  
 συνεργῇ σοι παραδέξασθαι· δεινός ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπι-

1 παρακαθήμενοι SV: συμπαρκαθήμενοι P || συνορῶντες SV: om. P || 2 εἰκότως PV: εἰκότος S || 3 Χριστοῦ: ᾠ S || 1-3 ὅτι δίκαια λέγω ... ἀνάξιος PS Gitl: ὅτι εἰκότως ἐφρόνησα ἀπαγορεύσας Χριστοῦ πρόσδοτον ὅτι δίκαια λέγω καὶ ἦν μέγας κοπετὸς δοκιμαζόντων ἀνάξιος V || 4 περιρρηξάμενος SV: περιρήξάμενος P || κόνιν SV: κόμην P || πασάμενος PV: σπασάμενος S || 5 πένθος μέγα PV: μέγα πένθος S || ἀράμενος P: αἰρούμενος S ἔω μενος V ἀρόμενος Gitl || οὐκ SV: καὶ P || ἀλαλητοῖς corr. Gitl: ἀλαλήτοις PV ἀλλαλήτοις S || μόνον V: μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ S om. P || ἀναβοῶν SV: ἀναφωνῶν P || ἀπωλόμην PV: ἀπολλώμην S || 7 τότε δὴ PS Gitl: τότε δὴ τότε V || συσχεθέντων S: συγχυθέντων P ἀφασία συσχεθέντων V || 7-8 ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει PV: λέγει μοι ἀποκριθεὶς S || 8 ἡ λύσις ἐστίν P: ἐστὶν ἡ λύσις ταχέια S ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς V || 9 ἐνθέοις PV: ἐνθείοις S || ἑαυτὸν PS: om. V || 10 ἀναπαύσας PV: ἀναπαίσας S || ἡ ἄγνοια PV: ἡ οὖν ἄγνοια S || 11 ἑαυτὸν SV: σεαυτὸν P || θρηνῶν SV: om. P || διωλύγιον corr. Mar, Gitl: διολύγιον PV om. S || συνέπασας PS Gitl: συνέπεσας V || 12 εἰς SV: πρὸς P || σου post τῆς ψυχῆς add. S || 14 πράξεις κατὰ σε SV: πράξεσιν P || γε PV: om. S || μόνον post προθέσεσι add. S || 15 Χριστῷ: ᾠ S || σωθέντας SV: δεχθέντας P || 16 ἐκεῖνοι PS: κεικεῖνοι V κέκεῖνοι corr. Gitl || καὶ σὺ SV Mar: σὺ P || γόης πάντως P γόης S γόης καὶ πάντως V || 17 συγκόπτεις corr. Gitl: οὖν κόπτεις P συγκόπτῃς SV || ἑαυτὸν PV: σεαυτὸν corr. Mar (prob. Bol) σαυτὸν S || τιμωρεῖς PS: τιμωρήσαι V τιμωρήσῃ corr. Gitl || 18 ἄπιδε P Gitl: κατανόησον S ἄφηδε V || μὴ V: μὴ καὶ PS || σοι post ταύτην transp. P || 19 συνεργῇ corr. Gitl: δώῃ P συνεργήσῃ S συνεργεῖ V || σοι S: om. V || παραδέξασθαι PV: om. S || γὰρ post δεινός add. S || ὥς PV: om. S || ἐπιγινώσκεις SV: γινώσκεις P.

all those who were sitting nearby wailed excessively when they saw that I said things that were right; and there was a great noise of lamentation from those who approved that I thought reasonably, even though I gave up the approach to Christ since I was unworthy of his divine assistance.<sup>72</sup> (10) And after tearing off my clothes and sprinkling myself with ashes, I lay outstretched upon the ground taking a great sorrow upon myself as I cried out not with battle-cries but with tears merely “Woe is me!” since I, the miserable one, was lost.<sup>73</sup>

21. Then, indeed, while all were huddled together, my friend Eusebius who answered, said, “Cyprian, do not despair, for there is deliverance from all these things because you did them in ignorance; for you considered devoting yourself to godly works after you put an end to the devil; your ignorance gives you room for a defense. (2) So why do you tear yourself to pieces singing a piercing dirge? (3) So why have you fallen into arguments for the destruction of your soul? (4) Hear from me as one who loves you, lend me silence, so that I can satisfy you fully. (5) I know many, Cyprian, who, even though not with deeds like yours, but with intentions, approached Christ and were saved; learn to know the whole from the part. (6) Even those sorcerers were displayed, and you as a sorcerer will certainly be displayed just like those ones. (7) How long will you, even though you are coming out of a great sickness, beat yourself up and seek vengeance? (8) Look away, so that the devil does not assist you in accepting this hopelessness; he is

<sup>72</sup> The order in which the ὅτι clauses appear in V must be a scribal error—perhaps caused by homoeoteleuton, but somehow the error was caught and no text was omitted.

<sup>73</sup> I have accepted Gitlbauer’s correction from ἀλαλήτοις (“unutterable”) to ἀλαλητοῖς (“battle-cries”) as well as his addition of the comma which follows it. Since Maran retained ἀλαλήτοις (the accentuation of PSV), his text lacks Gitlbauer’s punctuation: οὐκ ἀλαλήτοις δάκρυσι μόνον τὸ οὐαί μοι ἀναβοῶν.

γινώσκεις· ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα ἐν νυκτὶ μετὰ δόλου  
 σοι ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ πῶς ἀπήγει σοι ἀπειλῶν;<sup>9</sup> οὐκ εἶπέν σοι, ὅτι Ὁ  
 Χριστὸς μισεῖ τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ μετὰ δόλου, φησί, συνῆλθén σοι, ἵνα σε  
 χωρίσας ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάλιν ἀπώσῃται καὶ ποιήσω εἰς σὲ ὃ βούλομαι;<sup>10</sup> τέως  
 5 οὖν ὀφείλεις εἰδέναι, ὅτι παρόντος Χριστοῦ, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ὁ διάβολος·  
 κατασφράγισαί σου τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα ἀφαιρεθῇ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἡ τῆς ἀν-  
 ελπιστίας ἔννοια· ἐπικάλεσαι Χριστόν, ἵνα πείραν αὐτοῦ λάβῃς τῆς  
 χρηστότητος.<sup>11</sup> οὐκ αἰτεῖ σε δῶρα, οὐδὲ χρόνου δέεται πρὸς τὸ ἔλεος·  
 οὐδὲ διὰ μεσιτειῶν φαντασίας σοι ποιεῖ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ.<sup>12</sup> λέγει  
 10 γὰρ ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος, Ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστὶν ἐν  
 τῷ στόματί σου, καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.<sup>13</sup> ποῖον τοῦτο ῥῆμα;<sup>14</sup> τῆς εἰς  
 αὐτὸν πίστεως καὶ ἐπικλήσεως δηλαδή· Καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς  
 δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν.

22. ἀποδέχομαί σου τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, ὅτι ἐξηγγειλάς σου τὰς  
 15 ἀσεβείας τὰς οὐσας καὶ τὰς μὴ οὐσας· διὸ καὶ ἡσύχασα καὶ τοὺς φίλους  
 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἔπεισα, ἵνα ἐμέσαντός σου τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὸ φρόνημα,  
 ἐπικουφισθῇ σου ἡ διάνοια, ἀνανεύσασα πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν.<sup>2</sup>  
 κατάστα, Κυπριανέ, σύνες ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶ, νόησον τὴν πλάνην, τὴν  
 ἄγνοιαν, τὴν νεότητα τῆς φύσεως, τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὁρμὴν, τῶν δαιμόνων

1 ἀγνοεῖς V: ἡ ἀγνοεῖς PS || ὅτι SV: δ P || τοῦ φωνῆσαι ἀλέκτορα PV: τοῦ ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι S ||  
 ἐν νυκτὶ P: ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πῶς S deest V || 2 ἀπήγει σοι ἀπειλῶν Gitl: ἀπεσεῖσθη ἀπειλῶν P ἀπείει  
 ἀπειλῶν σοι S ἀπείει σοι ἀπειλῶν V || 3 Χριστὸς: χῥ S || φησί, συνῆλθén σοι P συνεισῆλθén σοι  
 S σοι, φησί, συνῆλθén V || 4 χωρίσας PV: χωρήσας S || ἀπ' ἐμοῦ PS: ἐμοῦ V || οὖν post πάλιν add.  
 S || ἀπώσῃται PV: ἀπώσῃταί σε S || ποιήσω SV: ποιήσει P || δ PV: ἂ S || βούλομαι SV: βούλεται  
 P || 5 Χριστοῦ: χῥ S || 6 κατασφράγισαί P Gitl: καὶ σφράγισαί SV || ἀφαιρεθῇ PV: ἀφαιρεθῇ S ||  
 7 ἐπικάλεσαι PS: ἐπικαλέσαι V || Χριστόν: χῥ S || αὐτοῦ λάβῃς PV: λάβῃς αὐτοῦ S || 8 δέεται  
 PS: δέεται V δέεται corr. Gitl || 9 οὐδὲ V: οὐ PS || διὰ μεσιτειῶν PV: μεσιτειῶν S || διὰ PV:  
 om. S || φαντασίας ... βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ P: βοηθεῖ φαντασία S φαντασίας σοι ἐμποιεῖται τὰς  
 βοηθείας αὐτοῦ V || 10 αὐτοῦ SV: χριστοῦ P || τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστὶν V: ἐστὶ τὸ ῥῆμα PS || 10-11 ἐν τῷ  
 στόματι ... καρδίᾳ σου PV: ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου S || 11 ῥῆμα PS: τὸ ῥῆμα V  
 || 12 ἐπικλήσεως δηλαδή PV: δηλαδή καὶ ἐπικλήσεως S || 12-13 καρδίᾳ γὰρ ... εἰς σωτηρίαν V:  
 στόματι γὰρ, (φησίν, add. P) ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν, καρδίᾳ δὲ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην  
 PS || 14 σου (alterum) SV: μοι P || 15 τὰς μὴ PS: οὐκ V || 16 τὸ φρόνημα P: τὸ φρόνιμα S τὸ  
 φάρμακον V || 17 ἀνανεύσασα PS: deest V || 18 λοιπὸν οὖν ante κατάστα add. PS || 18 Κυπριανέ  
 PV: καὶ S || ἄνθρωπος: ἀνῶς S || 18-19 τὴν πλάνην, τὴν ἄγνοιαν PV: τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν πλάνην S ||  
 19 post ἄγνοιαν (fol. 187<sup>v</sup>) deest folium ab P; τὴν ἄγνοιαν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνοὺς κτλ. Mar || νεότητα V:  
 ἀθεότητα S || τὴν ἀσθένειαν post τῆς φύσεως add. S || τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὁρμὴν V: τὴν πανουργίαν  
 τοῦ ἐχθροῦ S || αὐτοῦ post τῶν δαιμόνων add. S.



clever, as you yourself know even better; do you not realize that before the cock crowed in the night he answered you with cunning and how he was far away from you while he threatened you? (9) Did he not say to you, 'Christ hates those who are mine and met with you with cunning,' he says, 'so that after he has separated you from me he could reject you again and I could do whatever I wish to you'?<sup>74</sup> (10) In the meantime, then, you must know that when Christ is present, the devil can do nothing; seal up your heart, so that the notion of hopelessness is taken away from it; call upon Christ, so that you gain experience of his goodness. (11) He does not ask you for gifts, nor does he stand in need of time for his mercy, nor does he give you his help through mediations of illusion. (12) For his disciple Paul the Apostle says, 'The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart.'<sup>75</sup> (13) What kind of word is this? (14) One of faith in him and appeal, of course: 'For one believes with the heart and so is justified, and one confesses with the mouth and so is saved.'<sup>76</sup>

**22.** "I accept your confession because you proclaimed your impieties, the ones which occurred and the ones which did not; for this reason I remained silent and I persuaded my friends to do the same, so that after you threw up the enemy's way of thinking, your mind was relieved as it tilted toward piety. (2) Settle down, Cyprian, understand that you are human, perceive error, ignorance,<sup>77</sup> the youthful folly of nature, the movement of the enemy, the dreadfulness of the demons.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Conf.* 13:12.

<sup>75</sup> Rom 10:8 (NRSV).

<sup>76</sup> Rom 10:10 (NRSV).

<sup>77</sup> After τὴν ἀγνοίαν on fol. 187<sup>v</sup> of P a folio is missing. Fol. 188r begins λεσεν· εἰ γὰρ (cf. *Conf.* 22:17–18). Maran seems not to have noticed and read τὴν ἀγνοίαν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνοὺς κτλ. without giving any indication of what the initial λεσεν, which is undoubtedly from the ἀπώλεσεν preserved in S, might have been.

τὴν δεινότητα.<sup>3</sup> οὐκέτι σε δεῖ διδάξειν, ὅσα ὀρμῶσι ποιεῖν καὶ οἷα  
 ἐπιτηδεύουσι.<sup>4</sup> τί οὖν σαυτὸν οὐ νοθεύεις μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον φθείρεσθαι  
 τοῖς θρήνοις;<sup>5</sup> εἰπέ σου τῇ συνειδήσει, ὅτι ἀγνοίας γέγονα παῖγνιον καὶ  
 πολέμιος ἑαυτῷ κατέστην μὴ βουλόμενος· πείσόν σου τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι  
 5 κακὰ ἐποίησας, ὑπὸ κακίας ἐνεργούμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ πυρὸς ὕλη πολλοὺς  
 καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους συμφλέξασα.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> ἢ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πολλοὺς μανέντας καὶ  
 10 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἑαυτοῖς, οἷος γέγονεν Αἴας διὰ ζῆλον Ὀδυσσέως  
 ἑαυτὸν διαχειρισάμενος;<sup>8</sup> ἕτεροι τέκνοις καὶ γονεῦσιν ἄκοντες ξίφος  
 ἐγένοντο, ὡς Ὀρέστης τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Μηδεῖα τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ Θησεὺς καθ'  
 Ἴππολύτου.<sup>9</sup> οὐκ ἤδει ὁ Πάρις, ὅτι διὰ τὴν Ἑλένην τὸ Ἴλιον ἀλίσκεται,  
 οὐδὲ Ἀγαμέμνων Αἰγισθὸν προσοικειούμενος, ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἐπίβουλον  
 15 προσλαμβάνεται.<sup>10</sup> ἢ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ ὁ Περδίκκας ὑπὸ διττοῦ ἔρωτος  
 τιμωρούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τυχεῖν, ὃ πράττειν ἐπήνχετο.<sup>11</sup> Οἰδίπους καὶ  
 αὐτὸς εὐξάμενος δόξης ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν ἧ πονήσας καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν μετεμελεῖτο·  
 ἀνελὼν γὰρ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἂν ταυτοῦ βασιλεύσας, θρῆνον εἶχε τῆς  
 βασιλείας τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον τῆς μητρὸς ἄκων ἐπιτυχῶν,  
 20 μισαρὰν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν συμβίωσιν ἡγεῖτο οὗτος αὐτός.<sup>12</sup> ὁμοίως οὗτοι  
 πάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐμπαιχθέντες ἐκέρασαν τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν τῇ

1 οὐκέτι ... διδάξειν V: οὐκ ἔστιν σοι διδάξαι S || ὅσα V: οἷα S || ὀρμῶσι V: ὀρμῶσιν S || 2  
 ἐπιτηδεύουσι V: ἐπιτηδεύουσιν S || οὐ S: μὴ V || 4 ἑαυτῷ V: ἑμαυτῷ S || πείσόν V: πείσων S ||  
 5 κακὰ V: ἄκων S || ἐξαφθείσα post ὕλη add. S || 5-6 πολλοὺς ... συμφλέξασα V: πολλοὺς  
 οἴκους καὶ ἄνδρας συνέφλεξε S || 6 καὶ ante οὐδεὶς add. S || ἐπιγράφει V: ἐπιγραφή S || 7 οὖν  
 post καὶ σὺ add. S || 8 αἴτιον V: αἰτίαν S || 9 πολλοὺς V: om. S || 10 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἑαυτοῖς  
 V: ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας S || 10-11 οἷος ... διαχειρισάμενος S: οἷος γέγονε διὰ ζῆλον ὁ Αἴας,  
 ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, ἑαυτοὺς διαχειρισάμενοι V || 11 ξίφος S: ξίφους ἔργον V || 12 μητρὶ: μητρί S ||  
 Μηδεῖα Gitl: μηδείας S μηδία V || 12-13 καθ' Ἴππολύτου Gitl: καθ' ὑπολύτου S κατιππολύτου  
 V || 13 ἤδει V: ἶδει S || ὁ Πάρις, ὅτι V: ὅτι Πάρις S || 14 οὐδὲ V: οὔτε S || ἑαυτοῦ V: ἑαυτῷ S || 15  
 post προσλαμβάνεται finit V || Περδίκκας scripsi: περδίκας S || 18 πατέρα: πατὴρ S || 19 μητρὸς:  
 μηρ S || 21 ἐμπαιχθέντες scripsi: ἐμπαίχθοντας S.

(3) It is no longer necessary for you to explain all that they are eager to do and what sort of things they practice. (4) Why then don't you warn yourself not to destroy yourself further with your lamentations? (5) Say to your conscience, 'I have become a plaything of ignorance and I have become like an enemy to myself, though I did not wish it'; persuade your mind that you have done evils since you were acted upon by evil, just as wood has burned up many people and men and cities and lands by fire. (6) No one ascribes the destruction to the wood, but rather to the fire; and you, do not ascribe it to yourself, but rather to error; do not allude to your conscience as the cause of your impiety, but rather the seduction of the dragon. (7) Or have we not known many who went mad and plotted against themselves, such as Ajax did, who because of Odysseus's jealousy killed himself.<sup>78</sup> (8) Others resorted to using the sword involuntarily on children and parents, as Orestes on his mother, and Medea on her children, and Theseus against Hippolytus.<sup>79</sup> (9) Paris did not know that Troy would be captured on account of Helen, nor Agamemnon, who was related to Aegisthus, that he received into his home one who plotted against himself.<sup>80</sup> (10) Nor too was Perdiccas aware that he would be punished at the hands of a double love, and he was anxious to achieve the end which he vowed to accomplish.<sup>81</sup> (11) Even Oedipus himself, who vowed to attain the glory in which he toiled and succeeded, felt regret; for, after he killed his father, even though he was king over the same region, he lamented the chance of his kingship, and since he involuntarily fell upon marriage with his mother, this one himself considered his wedded life with her to be stained with blood.<sup>82</sup> (12) Similarly, these ones, who were all deluded by

<sup>78</sup> On Ajax's suicide, see Sophocles, *Ajax* 815–865; cf. Homer, *Od.* 11.543–564.

<sup>79</sup> On Orestes' murder of Clytemnestra, see Aeschylus, *Cho.* 930; for Medea's murder of her sons, see Euripides, *Med.* 1236–1250. Theseus did not kill Hippolytus with a sword, which is perhaps why κατὰ is employed here rather than the dative. Theseus used a wish to request his death; Poseiden sent a sea-monster to frighten Hippolytus's horses and Hippolytus was thrown from his chariot and dragged to death (see Euripides, *Hipp.* 1173–1248).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Homer, *Od.* 1.35–39. Here V abruptly ends; the scribe stopped copying and left nearly the entire third column of fol. 218<sup>r</sup> blank. This leaves S as the only source for 22:10–17.

<sup>81</sup> Perdiccas (360–321 B.C.) was a general of Alexander. The "double love" refers to Nicaea and Cleopatra. Perdiccas requested his enemy Antipater's daughter Nicaea's hand in marriage, but at the same time was offered Olypias's daughter Cleopatra's hand in marriage. He broke off his engagement with Nicaea and planned to marry Cleopatra, but was murdered shortly thereafter.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus tyrannus*.

τοῦ παρόντος βίου ἐπιτυχίᾳ καὶ παλινωδίᾳ οἱ πλείστοι μελετήσαντες.  
<sup>13</sup> ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἄνθρωπος, παρῆλθον μὴ ἀποδεδοκότες τῇ πλάνῃ. <sup>14</sup> καὶ  
 σύ, Κυπριανέ, ἀπόβλεψον τῷ ἀβουλήτῳ τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπίγνωθι τὴν  
 πρὸς θεόν σου ἐπανάστασιν. <sup>15</sup> ὕδωρ ἦν χειμάρρου ρέοντος ἐν τῇ σῇ  
 5 διανοίᾳ· ὁ διάβολος πολλὰς πατρίδας ἐπελθὼν ἄφνω διὰ σοῦ κατ-  
 ἐσύρρεν. <sup>16</sup> τίνι οὖν χρὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἳ  
 πεφευγότες κατελήφθησαν ἢ τῷ ὕδατι τῷ τὸν ὄλεθρον κατεργασαμένῳ;  
<sup>17</sup> καὶ σὲ τοιοῦτον ἔσχεν ὡς ὁρῶ ὁ διάβολος, χῶρον ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς διὰ σοῦ  
 ἀπώλεσεν. <sup>18</sup> εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγνούς Χριστοῦ τὴν δύναμιν τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ ἐπ-  
 10 ἐμεινας, τάχα ἂν τις τὴν ἀνελπιστίαν σου ἀπεδέξατο· εἰ δὲ νῦν ἔγνως καὶ  
 ἀποστρέφῃ τὸν ἐχθρόν, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πάλαι, εἴ τις ἂν σοι περὶ Χριστοῦ  
 ἐξηγήσατο, προτροπάδην τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἀπεκήρυττες. <sup>19</sup> νῦν οὖν τὸ μὲν  
 δακρύνει σοι παρείσθω διὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ σοι καταλλαγὴν, τὸ δὲ  
 φρόνημα ῥωμαλέον κτησάμενος ἴθι πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν. <sup>20</sup> οὕτω  
 15 γὰρ ἂν πλείονας ὦν ἀπώλεσας προσενέγκαι δυνήσῃ Χριστῷ, πᾶσιν  
 ὑποτιθέμενος τὰ συνοίσοντα. <sup>21</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἔφην, Δακρύνει οὐ παύομαι τῷ [15]  
 συνειδῶτι πληττόμενος· τὸ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν παρεῖς, μίαν γὰρ πάλιν  
 φροντίδα ἔχω τῆς ἀγίας Ἰουστίνης ἐπιβουλῆς, εἰ περιόψεται Χριστὸς τὴν  
 αὐτῆς καταπόνησιν καὶ ἐμοὶ συγγνώσεται, δι' ἣν καὶ παιδοκτονίαν καὶ  
 20 ἡπατοσκοπίαν ἐν γυναιξὶ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἄθεσμον τέχνην πεποίημαι,  
 παρακαλῶ οὖν σε, πάτερ Εὐσέβιε, φράσον μοι ποθοῦντι ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἴ τινα τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ ἀσεβῶν ἐπιστρέψαντα ἐγκλημάτων  
 ἀπήλλαξε.

2 ἄνθρωπος: ἄνως S || 6 ἀνθρώποις: ἀνῶις S || 9 in fol. 188<sup>r</sup> λεσεν· εἰ γὰρ incipit P || Χριστοῦ P:  
 τοῦ θεοῦ S || τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ P: om. S || 9-10 ἐπέμεινας P: ἐναπέμεινας S || 10 ἔγνως P: ἐπέγνως S || 11  
 ἀποστρέφῃ P: ἀποστρέφει S || ἂν P: ἦν S || Χριστοῦ: χυ S || 12 ἐξηγήσατο P: ἐξηγήσεις S || ἂν post  
 προτροπάδην add. S || 13 δακρύνει P: δάκρυόν S || σοι P: σου S || Χριστοῦ σοι P: ἐν Χριστῷ S ||  
 14 ῥωμαλέον P: ῥωμαλαῖον S || ἴθι P: ἐλθὲ S || καὶ δόξαν post βούλησιν add. S || 15 Χριστῷ P:  
 ψυχᾶς τῷ θῷ S || 16 παύομαι P: παύσομαι S || 17 γὰρ πάλιν P: om. S || 18 τῆς ... ἐπιβουλῆς P: τὴν  
 κα<sup>τα</sup> τῆς ... ἐπιβουλῆς S || Χριστὸς: χς S || 19 καὶ ἐμοὶ P: κάμοι εὖ οἶδα S || 21 σε S: om. P ||  
 πάτερ: πέρ S || φράσον S: παῦσόν P || ποθοῦντι P: ποθῶντι S || 22 Χριστοῦ: χυ S || κατ' ἐμὲ P:  
 om. S || ὁ θεὸς post ἐπιστρέψαντα add. S || ἐγκλημάτων P: τῶν ἐγκλημάτων S || 23 ἀπήλλαξε P:  
 ἀπήλλαξεν S.

the dragon, tempered the life of struggle with chance in the present life, and the majority have rehearsed a palinode.<sup>83</sup> (13) For as long as the human being was able, they have passed by without rendering what is due to error.<sup>84</sup> (14) And you, Cyprian, pay attention to what is involuntary in your judgment and recognize your rebelliousness against God. (15) The water of a gutter that gushes was in your mind; the devil, who has come suddenly upon many countries, suddenly rushed down through you. (16) To what, then, is it necessary to ascribe destruction, to humans, because having fled they are condemned, or to the water that achieves the destruction? (17) So the devil, as I see it, had such a one as you, a place in which he has destroyed many through you. (18) If you continued in your impiety after you recognized the power of Christ, then perhaps one could accept your hopelessness; but if you knew now that he can also turn away the enemy, then it is clear that even long ago if someone told you about Christ, then you would have publicly renounced your impiety with headlong speed. (19) Therefore, let the weeping now fall away from you because of Christ's reconciliation with you, and when you acquire a strong mind, go with his will. (20) For in this way you will be able to bring many more to Christ than those which you destroyed,<sup>85</sup> while you make that which is good known to all." (21) And I said, "I do not stop weeping since I am stricken in my conscience, but since I have refrained from saying many things—for I have one further anxiety over my plot against Justina on account of which I performed child-sacrifice and hepatoscopy on women and the rest of the unlawful art, if Christ overlooks her affliction and pardons me—I call upon you, father Eusebius, to show me, as I long for it, from the scriptures of Christ whether he has delivered anyone who has turned back from impious charges like me."

<sup>83</sup> The most famous example of a palinode, a poem in which the view of an earlier poem is retracted, is the *Παλινωδία* of Stesichorus (sixth century B.C.E.), a retraction or recantation of his poem *Ἑλένη*, which closely followed Homer's account. Stesichorus supposedly went blind after writing *Ἑλένη* since the poem angered Helen and regained his sight after composing *Παλινωδία*, which took all blame for the Trojan War away from Helen (cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 243 A; David Sider, "The Blinding of Stesichorus," *Hermes* 117 [1989]: 423–31). But the *Palinode* itself—probably even the legend surrounding it—was not so much self-correction as it was intended to denigrate Homer's account and offer an alternative story.

<sup>84</sup> Error here refers specifically to the error which comes from the dragon, cf. *Conf.* 3:7, 22:6.

<sup>85</sup> S's *ψυχὰς τῶ θεῷ* is probably not original; cf. *Conf.* 27:2 where a similar phrase occurs.

23. καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἔφη, Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ, Παῦλος τοῦνομα, [16]  
 εἰ καὶ μὴ μάγος ἦν, ἀλλὰ διώκτης γέγονε τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἀκροθίνιος  
 ἀμέλει, συνευδόκησε τῇ ἀναιρέσει Στεφάνου· ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίοις  
 γράμμασι τοὺς κατὰ Δαμασκὸν Χριστῷ λατρεύοντας ἐξεδίωκε τῆς  
 5 χώρας καὶ πάσης πόλεως· ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέψας σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς αὐτοῦ  
 ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ ὡμολόγησεν εἰπών, Ἠλεήθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν  
 ἐποίησα.<sup>2</sup> 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 ἔτυχον,  
 10 τῆς δὲ ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν κολάσεως ὑπεράνω γενόμενοι.<sup>3</sup> εἰ δέ  
 σοι χρηὶ καὶ τὸν βαβυλώνιον Ναβυχοδονόσωρ εἰς μέσον ἐνεγκεῖν, οὗτος  
 μετὰ πείραν θεοῦ, ἣν εἶδεν ἐν καμίνῳ πυρὸς καιομένης ῥυσθέντων τριῶν  
 παίδων θεοῦ, ἀσεβήσας καὶ ἐκδιωχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κτῆνος  
 γεγωνῶς, μετανοήσας ἐδέχθη, ὥστε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κράτος ἀπολαβεῖν.<sup>4</sup> καὶ  
 15 τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις Μανασσῆς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι  
 βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται, καὶ μετὰ θεογνωσίαν τὰ πάντα δεινὰ δράσαντες,  
 καὶ μεταμελιθέντες ἐδέχθησαν, ἀνεθέντες τῆς διὰ τὰ εἰδωλα βαρυτάτης  
 κολάσεως· καίπερ ὁμοῦ σὺν αὐτοῖς δῆμους ὀλοκλήρους συγκατα-  
 σπάσαντες καὶ προφήτας ἀνελόντες καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ μιάναντες.<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 20 πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας συχνῶς ἀσεβοῦντα

1 καὶ (alterum) P: om. S || Χριστοῦ:  $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$  S || τοῦνομα P: om. S || 2 ἦν P: γέγονεν S || σφοδρῶς post διώκτης add. S || γέγονε P: ἦν S || ἀκροθίνιος P: καὶ ὕβρις τῆς καὶ βλάσφημος S || 3 γοῦν post ἀμέλει add. S || συνευδόκησε P: συνκυδόκησεν S || Στεφάνου P: στεφάνου τοῦ πρωτο<sup>1</sup> μάρτυρος S || 4 γράμμασι P: γράμμασιν S || Χριστῷ:  $\overline{\chi\omega}$  S || λατρεύοντας ἐξεδίωκε P: λατρεύουσι κατεδίωκεν S || 4-5 τῆς χώρας ... πόλεως P: τῆς τε χώρας πάσης καὶ τῆς πόλεως S || 5 αὐτοῦ P: αὐτῷ S || 6 ἐγένετο P: γέγονεν S || ὡς P: ὅς S || ὡμολόγησεν εἰπών P: ὡμολόγησε λέγων S || Χριστοῦ:  $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$  S || 7 αὐτοῦ P: οὗ S || 8 ἐμπρήσαντες P: ἐμπρισάντες S || 9 Χριστῷ:  $\overline{\chi\omega}$  S || 10 δὲ P: om. S || δι' αὐτὴν P: δι' αὐτῆς S || 11 σοι P: σὺ S || Ναβυχοδονόσωρ P: ναβουχοноσωρ S || ἐνεγκεῖν P: ἐνέγκαι S || οὗτος P: οὕτως οὖν καὶ S || 12 θεοῦ:  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  S || ἦν P: ἦν S || εἶδεν P: ἶδεν S || καιομένης S: κατηρημένης corr. Mar κατηρημένου P || 13 θεοῦ:  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  S || ἀνθρώπων P: ἀνῶν S || ἐξ οὐνοῦ post κτῆνος add. S || 14 γεγωνῶς P: γεγωνῶς καὶ S || ἐδέχθη P: προσεδέχθη S || ὥστε P: ὥστε καὶ S || ἀπολαβεῖν P: αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολαβεῖν S || 15 ἀκόλουθα post ἐπὶ τούτοις add. S || Μανασσῆς S: μανασῆς P || Ἰσραὴλ:  $\overline{\iota\sigma\lambda}$  S || 16 πᾶσαν ante θεογνωσίαν add. S || 17 καὶ μεταμελιθέντες ἐδέχθησαν P: προσεδέχθησαν S || 18 κολάσεως P: σκηνῆς S || ὁμοῦ P: om. S || ἐν τῇ πλάνῃ post ὀλοκλήρους add. S || 18-19 συγκατασπάσαντες P: κατασπάσαντες S || 19 ἀνελόντες P: ἀνελώντες S || μιάναντες P: βεβηλώσαντες S || 20 Ἰσραὴλ:  $\overline{\iota\sigma\lambda}$  S || συχνῶς P: πολυτρόπως S.

23. And Eusebius said, "Even Christ's apostle, Paul by name, although he was not a magician but actually became the foremost pursuer of his servants, agreed to the slaying of Stephen, but also with written letters from the state he was banishing those who served Christ in Damascus from the land and every city; 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.'<sup>86</sup> (2) And it says in the Acts of his apostles that many of those who practiced magic were accepted by Christ after they burned their magical books and obtained forgiveness of sins after they were baptized, and they rose above their impiety and the retribution for it.<sup>87</sup> (3) And if it is necessary to introduce the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar to you: this man—after the proof of God which he saw in a furnace of fire, since it was burning while three servants of God were protected—who acted impiously and was banished away from human beings, becoming a beast, was received after he repented, so that he regained the might which he had from the beginning.<sup>88</sup> (4) And the following examples are among these ones: Manasseh, the king of Israel, and many other kings and laymen, who did all kinds of terrible things even after they had knowledge of God, were also received favorably when they repented, as they were set free from the severest punishment for their idols even though they pulled entire peoples down together with them and killed prophets and defiled the sanctuaries.<sup>89</sup> (5) But he also received in a sea of compassion and mercy the whole of Israel, who until the

<sup>86</sup> 1 Tim 1:13.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Acts 19:19.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Dan 3–4.

<sup>89</sup> On Manasseh, see 2 Kgs 21; 2 Chr 33.

καὶ συχνῶς μετανοοῦντα πελάγει ἀνεξικακίας καὶ ἐλέους προσεδέξατο·  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ κουροκόμος μετάνοια ἰσχύει πολλὰ ἕως νῦν,  
ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λίαν ἐξασθενήσαντας ἀμαρτίαις προσίεσθαι ἐπι-  
στρέφοντας.<sup>6</sup> ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ  
5 μάννα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος, ὅπως οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεούμενοι  
μὴ κατακρίνονται· διὸ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὅτι Οὐ μόνον ἐπτάκις ἐπτά  
ἀφήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, ἀλλὰ ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά.<sup>7</sup> πῶς οὖν σοὶ οὐκ  
ἀφήσει ὁ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτρέπων ἔχειν τοσαύτην χρηστότητα;<sup>8</sup> ἵνα δὲ  
μάθῃς τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ ἐλέους θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, μαρτυρεῖ τις  
10 βοῶν· ἔλεος ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ἔλεος δὲ θεοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν  
σάρκα.

24. τί οὖν εἰ σὺ πρὸς πᾶσαν σάρκα, ὅτι νομίζεις ἐκκενοῦσθαι αὐτόν,  
ἐὰν εἰς σὲ χρηστεύσῃται;<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ Νινευίτας ὥρισε θάνατον, ἀσεβήσαντας  
ὑπὲρ σέ, οὐ λέγω καθ' ἓνα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πάντας ὁμοῦ· καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντας  
15 οὐκ ἀπώλεσε· καὶ σὺ εὐτόνως αὐτὸν παρακάλεσον, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε  
ἀπώσῃται.<sup>3</sup> τῷ ληστῇ ῥοπῇ τὸν παράδεισον δωρεῖται διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν  
τῆς πίστεως, καὶ σοὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ, κἂν εἰς πελάγη κακίας κατωρυγμένος  
ᾖ, ἐὰν γνησίως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσῃ;<sup>4</sup> ἀνάγνωθι τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ εἶση  
αὐτοῦ τὴν χρηστότητα.<sup>5</sup> λέγει Ὡσηὲ τῷ Ἰσραήλ, Ὡς Ἄδαμα θήσομαί σε  
20 καὶ ὡς Σεβωείμ; καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπάγει, Καὶ ἐστράφη ἡ καρδίᾳ μου καὶ ἐν τῷ  
αὐτῷ συνεταράχθῃ ἡ μεταμέλειά μου· σημαίνων ὅτι ἔτοιμός ἐστι τοὺς  
μετανοοῦντας προσδέχεσθαι.<sup>6</sup> λέγει τῷ Ἡλίᾳ, Ἰδες πῶς κατηνύγῃ ὁ  
Ἀχαάβ ἀπὸ προσώπου μου; οὐ μὴ ἐπάξω ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ τὰ κακά,

1 συχνῶς P: πάλιν S || πελάγει P: τῷ πελάγει S || ἀνεξικακίας καὶ ἐλέους P: τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
ἀνεξικακίας S || 2 ἡ κουροκόμος ... ἕως νῦν P: ἕως νῦν ἡ μετάνοια ἰσχύει πολλὰ S || 3-4  
ἀμαρτίαις ... ἐπιστρέφοντας P: τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἐπιστρέφοντας προσίεσθαι S || 4-5 ἐστὶ τὸ μάννα P:  
γεωργεῖ τὸ δῶρον S || 6 κατακρίνονται P: κατακρίνονται S || καὶ post διὸ add. S || ἐπτάκις ἐπτά  
P: ἐπτά S || 7 ἀλλὰ P: ἀλλ' S || 8 ἀνθρώποις: ἀνθρώποις S || 8-9 ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς τὴν P: om. S || θεοῦ P:  
κῦ S || ἀνθρώπου: ἀνθρώπου S || 10 ἔλεος P: ἔλεον S || ἀνθρώπου: ἀνθρώπου S || 13 Νινευίτας P:  
νινευίταις S || 14 τὸν post λέγω add. S || πάντας ὁμοῦ P: πάντας ὁμοῦ ἀνθρώπων S || ἐπιστρέψαντας  
P: ἐπιτρέψας S || 15 εὐτόνως αὐτόν P: οὖν αὐτόν εὐτόνως S || 16 ῥοπῇ P: ἐν ῥοπῇ S || 17 καὶ σοὶ  
P: καὶ σὺ S || συγχωρεῖ P: συγχωρήσῃ S || πελάγη P: πελάγος S || 18 σωθήσῃ post ἐπικαλέσῃ add.  
S || εἶση P: ἴση S || 19 γὰρ post λέγει add. S || Ὡσηὲ P: ἐν ὥσις S || ὡς Ἄδαμα S: ὡς Σόδομα P ||  
20 ὡς Σεβωείμ P: ὡς Σεβωείμ S || ἐστράφη P: ἐπεστράφη S || 20-21 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ P: ἐπ' αὐτῷ S  
|| 22 καὶ post λέγει add. S || 22-23 ὁ Ἀχαάβ P: ἀχαάβ S || 23 τὰ κακά P: κακά S.



coming of Christ often acted impiously and often repented; and repentance by cutting the hair short<sup>90</sup> is still very strong in the church today, so that even those who are exceedingly weak from sins can drive themselves forward after they have converted. (6) The gospel is its power, since it itself is the manna of Christ's grace in such a way that when those who act impiously are shown mercy by him, they are not condemned; for this reason he said to Peter, 'Not only seven times seven do you forgive your brother, but seventy times seven.'<sup>91</sup> (7) How then will he who entrusts humans to have such great goodness not forgive you? (8) So that you learn the comparison of the mercy of God to humans: 'The mercy of a human being is for his neighbor, but the mercy of God is for every living being.'<sup>92</sup>

24. "What, then, are you in comparison to every living being that you think that he would be emptied out if he were to be merciful to you? (2) He determined death for the Ninevites, who acted more impiously than you—I do not mean just one, but them all together—and after they turned around he did not destroy them; you too, call upon him vigorously, for he would certainly not reject you. (3) He presented paradise to the thief at a decisive moment because of the preeminence of his faith, so would he not forgive you, even though you were buried in a sea of evil, if you genuinely called upon him? (4) Read the prophets and you will know his goodness. (5) Hosea said to Israel, 'Would I make you like Admah and Zeboiim?' and immediately he adds, 'My heart recoils and within myself my regret is stirred,'<sup>93</sup> indicating that he is ready to receive those who have repented. (6) He said to Elijah, 'Have you seen how Ahab was moved deeply from my presence? I will certainly not bring evils in his days'<sup>94</sup>—although

<sup>90</sup> κουροκόμος is a *hapax legomenon*. The initial element must be from either κουρά ("cropping the hair") or more likely κόπος ("boy"), which appears as κουρο- in compounds and comes from κείρω, "to cut the hair short" (cf. LSJ 981 s.v. κόπος [B] III). The final element may be from κόμη, "hair of the head" or possibly κομάω in reference to long hair. The translation here as Maran's ("Confessio," 1133) and Grimal's (*Romans grecs*, 1409) is essentially the equivalent of κούριμος. It seems that Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 57) in his translation "Haarschmucks beraubt" is taking the final element as κόσμος. In the *Conversion* (ch. 2) Aidesios, the father of Justina, is baptized and cuts off his hair and beard "for he was a priest of the idols."

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Matt 18:22.

<sup>92</sup> Sir 18:13.

<sup>93</sup> Hos 11:8. P's variant ὡς Σόδομα probably originates in a dittographic error by doubling the sigma in the phrase ὡς Ἀδάμα. Note S's haplographic error in the following phrase ὡς Σεβωείμ.

<sup>94</sup> 1 Kgs 21:29 (3 Kgdms 20:29 LXX).

καίπερ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου ὀρίσας αὐτῷ θάνατον περί τινος Ναβουθαί,  
 ὃν δόλῳ ἐφόνευσεν Ἰεζάβελ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτόν· καὶ πῶς σεαυτὸν  
 ἀπελπίζεις σωθῆναι τοσοῦτῳ πελάγει οἰκτιρμῶν περιβληθισόμενος;<sup>7</sup> οὐ  
 μόνον λιτῶς σοι δείκνυμι θεὸν χρηστευόμενον· ἵνα γὰρ μηδεὶς ἐαυτὸν  
 5 σωτηρίας ἀπαγορεύσῃ, ὁμνυσι λέγων, Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ θελήσει  
 θέλω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν.<sup>8</sup> ἐξ  
 ὅλης καρδίας μετανόησον καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι, Ἐὰν ζῆς ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετανόησῃς, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃς, λέγει κύριος, ἀλλὰ  
 ζῶν ζήσεις ἐνώπιόν μου.<sup>9</sup> οὐ δύναται θεὸς ψεύσασθαι, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν  
 10 ἡ ἀλήθεια· μὴ διὰ σὲ ἔχει ἀλληγοῦσθαι, Κυπριανέ, ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ  
 οὐκ ἐφείσατο διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔχει νικηθῆναι ἢ  
 ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ;<sup>10</sup> τὰ ἐννενηκονταενέα πρόβατα ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατέ-  
 ἔλειπε, δηλαδὴ τὰ ἐπουράνια τάγματα καὶ πρὸς ἓν κατελήλυθε τὸ  
 ἀπολωλὸς καὶ ἐπὶ σοῦ ἔχει συστῆλλαι αὐτοῦ τὴν χρηστότητα;

15 **25.** διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ὀκνεῖ ἀσεβεῖ ἐπιστρέφοντι  
 ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι;<sup>2</sup> λωιδορούμενος τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς προσκαλεῖται καὶ  
 δοξαζόμενος ἀπώσεται σε;<sup>3</sup> πάσχων οὐκ ἀπεστράφη τὸν ληστὴν  
 καὶ προσκυνούμενος πρὸς σε οὐκ ἐπιστραφήσεται εἰς ἴλασμόν;<sup>4</sup>  
 ἀπιστούμενος τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς προσεκαλέσατο, καὶ πιστεύομενος οὐ  
 20 χρηστεύσεται σε;<sup>5</sup> εἰ μείζων τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ θεός, πάντως ὅτι μειζόνως  
 χρηστεύεται πάντα τὰ ἐπουράνια χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ ἐνὶ μετα-  
 νοοῦντι καὶ πῶς ὁ θεός σε ἀποστραφήσεται;<sup>6</sup> θάρσει, Κυπριανέ, οὐκ

1 τοῦ Ἡλίου P: ἡλία S || ὀρίσας P: δι' ὀρίσας S || ὃν PS: om. Bol || 2 Ἰεζάβελ P: ἡζαβελ S || ἡ  
 γυνὴ ... καὶ πῶς PS Mar: ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· καὶ δι' αὐτόν πῶς Bol || σεαυτὸν P: σὺ σεαυτὸν S || 4 οὐν  
 post μόνον add. S || θεὸν: θν S || γὰρ P: γε S || 5 σωτηρίας: σῳτῖας S || ἀπαγορεύσῃ P: ἀπαγορεύῃ  
 S || κύριος: κς S || 6 θέλω P: θελήσω S || ζῆν αὐτόν S: εἰς ζωὴν ἐλθεῖν P || 7 διὰ ante ὅλης add. S ||  
 ζῆς P: ζήσης S || 8 μετανόησῃς P: μετανόησεις S || 8 ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ P: τῇ ἐσχάτῃ S || 9 ζῶν ζήσεις  
 P: ζῶν ζήσης S || οὐν post δύναται add. S || θεὸς P: ὁ θεός S || 10 ἀλληγοῦσθαι scripsi (cop. ex S):  
 ἀλληγορήσαι S ἀλληλογῆσαι P παλιλλογῆσαι corr. Mar (prob. Zah) || 11 ἀνθρώπων: ἀνῶν S ||  
 καὶ P: ἡ S || 12 ἐννενηκονταενέα P: ἐννενηκονταενέα S || οὐρανοῖς P: οὐνοῖς S || 12-13 κατέλειπε  
 P: κατέλειπεν S || 13 ἐπουράνια P: ἐποῦνια S || κατελήλυθε P: κατελύληθεν S || 14 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸν  
 ἄνῳν post ἀπολωλὸς add. S || 15 ἄνθρωπον: ἄνῳν S || ἐπιστρέφοντι P: μετανοοῦντι S || 17  
 ἀπώσεται P: ἀπωθεῖται S || 20 χρηστεύσεται P: χρηστεύεται S || σε P: σοι S || 17-20 transp.  
 πάσχων ... εἰς ἴλασμόν post ἀπιστούμενος ... χρηστεύσεται σε P || 20 ἀγγέλων P: ἀγγέλων S || 21  
 χρηστεύεται P: χρηστεύεται σοι S || ἐπουράνια P: ἐποῦνια τάγματα S || ἐπὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ ἐνὶ P:  
 ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ S || 22 ὁ θεός σε P: σὲ ὁ θεός S || οὐκ P: οὐ γὰρ S.

through him, Elijah, he determined death for him because of a certain Naboth, whom his wife Jezebel killed for his sake through cunning<sup>95</sup>—so how can you despair about being saved yourself when you will be surrounded by so great a sea of mercies? (7) I do not only show you plainly that God is merciful; for, so that no one would refuse their own salvation, he swears, saying, ‘As I live, says the Lord, I surely do not wish the death of the sinner as much as that he converts and lives.’<sup>96</sup> (8) Repent with your whole heart and he will say to you, ‘Even if you lived one hundred years in impiety and repented on the last day, you would certainly not die, says the Lord, but you will live a life facing me.’<sup>97</sup> (9) God is not able to lie, for he himself is the truth; he is not able to speak figuratively for your sake, Cyprian, and did he not spare his own son for the sake of the descendants of humans and is his goodness able to be conquered because of you? (10) He left the ninety-nine sheep, who are clearly the heavenly body, behind in heaven and descended to the one who was lost,<sup>98</sup> so is he able to shorten his goodness for you?

**25.** “He was crucified for the sake of the human being and does not hesitate to give himself to a godless person who converts. (2) Since he was reviled, he calls upon the godless, so would he reject you when he is praised? (3) He did not turn away the thief when he suffered,<sup>99</sup> so would he not turn himself to you in expiation when he is worshipped? (4) Since he was not believed, he called upon sinners, so would he not be merciful to you when he is believed? (5) If God is greater than the angels,<sup>100</sup> then certainly it is because he is more greatly merciful; all the heavenly beings rejoice over one sinner who repents, so how could God

<sup>95</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 21.

<sup>96</sup> Ezek 33:11.

<sup>97</sup> The formula λέγει κύριος gives this passage the appearance of a biblical citation, however, like Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 58 n. 4), I have not been able to find a similar quote elsewhere. It could conceivably be a Christian interpretation of Isa 65:20.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Matt 18:10–14; Luke 15:3–7; *Gos. Thom.* 107; *Gos. Truth* 31,35–32,30.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Luke 23:43.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Heb 1:4.

ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν·  
μόνον σὺ μετανόησον ὡς χρὴ καὶ ὄψει αὐτὸν περιπτυσσόμενόν σε. <sup>7</sup> ὅτι  
εὗρε τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον οὐ μόνον ἐχάρη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τέκνον αὐτὸ  
ἐπὶ τῶν ὧμων ἐβάστασεν, ἵνα ἔργῳ μάθῃς τὸ ὑπερβάλλον θεοῦ πρὸς  
5 ἀγγέλους, καὶ σὺ λέγεις ὅτι 'Εμὲ περιόψεται; <sup>8</sup> σὺ μόνον ποίησον 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 λέγεις ὅτι σε ἀπο-  
βάλλεται; <sup>9</sup> τοὺς μὴ πιστεύοντας εὐεργετεῖ καὶ σὲ τὸν στενάζοντα οὐ  
10 προσδέξεται; <sup>10</sup> ἐν τῷ 'Ησαΐα λέγει, ὅτε 'Αποστραφεῖς στενάξεις, τότε  
σωθήσῃ, καὶ σοὶ ἐγκάρπως μετανοήσαντι οὐκ ἐπιδώσῃ χάριν εἰς  
τὴν αἰώνιον ἀπόλαυσιν; <sup>11</sup> 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  
15 πρὸς τοὺς διδασκάλους ἴῃς, ἀκούσῃ τὰ περὶ μετανοίας σαφῶς, καὶ ἐν  
φοιτητῶν τάξει σχῆς, τὸ πλάτος τοῦ δόγματος καταπλαγείς. <sup>2</sup> καὶ γὰρ  
ἄφθονοὶ εἰσι καὶ χαίροντες χεῖρα ὀρέγουσιν· οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς τύφος,  
οὐ στολὴ περίβλεπτος ἐπίδειξιν σημαίνουσα, οὐ σοφιστικὴ οἷσις, οὐκ  
ἐλπίδι μισθῶν ὑπέρθεσις ἀνελεύθερος. <sup>3</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαιωδῶν  
20 ἄρχονται, πᾶσαν λήψεως ὑπόνοιαν ἐξορίζοντες· οὐχ ὡς οἱ σοφισταὶ ἀπ'  
ἐλαττόνων ἀνάγονται τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῇ κρητίδι  
πλησιάσαι τῆς σοφίας παρακαλοῦσιν· εὖ εἰδότες δεῖν πρῶτον τὸν  
θεμέλιον ὀρίζειν ὅτι κράτιστον, εἴθ' οὕτως ἀζημίως ἐποικοδομεῖν τὰ

1 Χριστὸς:  $\overline{\chi\rho}$  S || 2 ὄψει P: ὄψῃ S || περιπτυσσόμενόν P: περιπτυσόμενόν S || ὅτι P: ὅτε S || 3  
εὗρε P: εὔρεν S || αὐτὸ P: om. S || 4 αὐτὸς ante ἐβάστασεν add. S || θεοῦ:  $\theta\bar{\upsilon}$  S || 5 ἀγγέλους P:  
ἀνῶν S || καὶ σὺ P: καὶ S || 7 αὐτοῦ S: ὡς υἱός  $\delta\varsigma$  P || 8 καὶ (alterum) P: καὶ σὺ S || σε P: ἐμὲ S ||  
9 πιστεύοντας P: πιστεύσαντας S || 11 σοὶ P: σὺ S || ἐπιδώσῃ P: ἐπιδώσειεν S || 12 τὴν αἰώνιον  
P: αἰώνιον S || ἐν τῷ Παύλῳ P: ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ παύλῳ S || 13 ἀνθρώπους: ἀνῶν S || 14 παρ'  
ἐμοῦ ... ὀλίγα P: ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα παρ' ἐμοῦ S || 15 τοὺς διδασκάλους P: διδασκάλους S || ἴῃς P:  
εἴῃς S || 16 φοιτητῶν P: φυτητῶν S || σχῆς P: σχεῖς S || τὸ πλάτος P: πρὸς τὸ πλάτος S || 17 εἰσι S:  
εἰσιν P || τύφος P: τάφος S || 19 τῶν κεφαλαιωδῶν P: κεφαλαιωδῶν S || 20 λήψεως P: λέξεως S ||  
ὑπόνοιαν P: ἐπίνοιαν S || 20–21 ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων P: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων S || 21 ἀνάγονται P:  
ἀνάγουσι S || ἀλλὰ χωρὶς P: ἀλλ' χωρεῖς S || 22 σε post παρακαλοῦσιν add. S || 23 ὀρίζειν P:  
ἐριθῖν S || ἀζημίως ἐποικοδομεῖν P: οἰκοδομεῖν S.

reject you? (6) Be of good courage, Cyprian, Christ did not come to call upon the just, but sinners to repentance<sup>101</sup>; only, you, repent as it is necessary and you will see him when he embraces you. (7) Not only was he glad because he found the lost sheep, but he also lifted it up like a child upon his shoulders, so that by this deed you learn the superiority of God with respect to the angels, yet you say, 'Will he overlook me?' (8) You, only produce a harvest worthy of repentance and then you will be remembered by me because you will be an heir of his kingdom<sup>102</sup>; he sends rain upon sinners and the just and makes his sun rise up over the good and the wicked, yet you say that he rejects you? (9) He shows kindness to those who do not believe, so would he not receive you as one who sighs deeply? (10) It says in Isaiah, 'When you have turned back, you will sigh deeply, then you will be saved,'<sup>103</sup> so will he not give you thanks in eternal pleasure after you have repented fruitfully? (11) For it also says in Paul, 'He wants all human beings to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.'<sup>104</sup>

26. "And these are a few from the many, from me to you, Cyprian; when you go to the teachers, however, you can hear clearly of the things that pertain to repentance, and you can have me among the order of pupils, since you have been amazed at the breadth of doctrine. (2) For they are without envy and they lend a helping hand while rejoicing; there is no arrogance among them, no fancy garment suggesting ostentation, no vague sophistical notion, no miserly procrastination in hope of pay. (3) For they begin from the fundamentals, removing all suspicion of fraudulence; they do not lead the mind up from inferior things like the Sophists, but differently from them, so to speak, they encourage it to draw near the foundation of wisdom, since they have known well that it is necessary to first mark out the foundation because it is strongest, then in this way

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Mark 2:17.

<sup>102</sup> Reading αὐτοῦ of NS. P's ὡς υἱός· δεῖ (cf. Heb 1:2) seems to be interpolated text and was probably incited by the prior references from the Epistle to the Hebrews (cf. *Conf.* 25:5, 7).

<sup>103</sup> Isa 30:15.

<sup>104</sup> 1 Tim 2:14.

ἀκόλουθα. <sup>4</sup> ὧπει ἐκεῖ σεμνὴν λειτουργίαν, οὐ κυμβάλοις καὶ ὀργάνοις  
 περιηγουμένην, οὐ κροτὸν ἀκοὴν ἐκθηλύοντα, οὐκ αὐλοὺς ἠχοῦντας  
 λελυμένας ψῆδας, οὐ τύμπανα ὀρμὴν κλῶντα ἐπεικειάς, οὐ χορὸν  
 μουσικῇ τὸ πλέον προσέχοντα καὶ οὐκ εὐνομίαν· οὐ φωνὴν ἀλόγων  
 5 δονοῦσαν διάνοιαν, οὐ θύματα καὶ κόπρους καθαιρομένους, οὐ ξύλα  
 καὶ πῦρ ἀλόγων σωμάτων ἀμυντήρια· οὐχ ἱερέα οἶονεὶ ἀλόγῳ πολέμῳ  
 καθοπλισμένον, οὐ νεωκόρους ταύρων τροποῦντας ἰσχύν· οὐ λόγον  
 ἀκόλαστον, οὐ γέλωτα αἰσχροτάτον, οὐ βλέμμα μετέωρον, οὐ θοίνην  
 ἄτακτον, οὐ τρόπον ἀσχήμονα· ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν ἡσυχίας γνώμην καὶ  
 10 κατάστασιν ἄτυφον· δι' ὧν παιδευθεῖ τις ἂν ὁρῶν κομιδὴν νηπίους τὴν  
 αὐτὴν πρεσβύταις ἔχοντας εὐταξίαν, ὡς ἐκ τινὸς θειώδους συνθήματος  
 οἶεσθαι τὸ νέον αὐτῶν καταβραβεύεσθαι. <sup>5</sup> πάντων οὖν ἐν κύκλῳ  
 ἐστώτων, ἴδοις ἂν πόλιν ἱερὰν ἐνὶ πειθαρχοῦσαν ἡγεμόνι, ἐτέρους δὲ  
 νεωκόρους ἀκολουθίᾳ τάξεως τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν περιβάλλοντας· εἴθ'  
 15 οὕτως ὁ ψαλμωδὸς ἀφελῆς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὕμνῳ κατανυκτικὸς εἰς  
 παράκλησιν, οἶονεὶ περικαθαίρων τὰ στόματα καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ψδῶν  
 κοσμικῶν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναγνώσματα.

27. μὴ αἰδεσθῆς οὖν τὴν πρόσοδον, ἀλλ' ἐν παρρησίᾳ προσπέλαζε,  
 καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπονήστεσαι, τρίτην ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄσιτος ὦν· καὶ  
 20 κοινοτέρως ἴωμεν τέως πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐσπέρας εὐχήν· τῇ ἐξῆς δὲ τῇ  
 πανεόρτῳ συνάξει ἐπιμένοντες· ἔθος γὰρ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τῇ πρώτῃ  
 ποιεῖν ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ μνηΐαν, μεθ' ἣν τῷ πάπᾳ προσελθόντες τὰ

1 ὧπει P: ὧψ S || λειτουργίαν P: ἀκολουθίαν S || 2 κροτὸν P: κρότους S || ἐκθηλύοντα P:  
 ἐκθηλύοντας S || 3 ἐπεικειάς S, corr. Mar: ἐπὶ οἰκίας P || 4 εὐνομίαν S, corr. Mar: εὐνομίαν P ||  
 6 ἀλόγῳ πολέμῳ P: ἀλόγων πολέμων S || 7 νεωκόρους P: νεοκόρους S || μηχανωμένων ante  
 ταύρων add. S || τροποῦντας corr. Mar: τροποῦσθαι PS || 8 θοίνην corr. Mar: θυνήν PS || 9 γνώμην  
 P: γνώμης S || 10 παιδευθεῖ P: παιδευθῆ S || τις ἂν P: ἂν τις S || ὁρῶν P: ἰδῶν S || κομιδὴν P:  
 κομιδὴν S || 11 εὐταξίαν P: εὐεὐταξίαν S || θειώδους P: θειώδου S || 13 ἐστώτων P: περὶ  
 ἐστώτων S || πόλιν ἱερὰν P: ἱερέαν πολιάν S || ἐνὶ πειθαρχοῦσαν P: ἐμπειθαρχοῦσαν S || 14  
 νεωκόρους P: om. S || ἀκολουθίᾳ S, corr. Mar: ἀκολουθίαν P || 15 οὕτως P: οὕτω S || ὁ  
 ψαλμωδὸς P: τῶν ψαλμωδῶν θεάσει S || ἀφελῆς P: ἀφελῆ S || ὕμνῳ P: τὸν ὕμνον S ||  
 κατανυκτικὸς P: κατάνυκτον ἄδοντα S || 15–16 εἰς παράκλησιν P: εἰς πρόκλησιν ὁμονοίας S ||  
 16 περικαθαίρων P: περικαθαίροντα S || τὰ στόματα P: τὸ στόμα S || 18 μὴ αἰδεσθῆς οὖν P: μὴ  
 γοῦν ἐπ' αἰσχυθεῖς S || παρρησίᾳ P: ἀληθείᾳ S || 19 καὶ (prius) P: om. S || ἀπονήστεσαι P:  
 ἀπονηστείας S || τὴν ἡμέραν P: ἡμέραν S || 20 κοινοτέρως scripsi: κοινωτέρως P κοινώτερον S ||  
 μὲν post τέως add. S || τῇ ἐξῆς S: ἐξῆς || 21 ἐπιμένοντες P: ἐπιβαίνοντες S || τῇ πρώτῃ P: om. S || 22  
 Χριστοῦ: χυ S || μνηΐαν P: μνηΐας S || πάπᾳ P: πάντα S.

build what follows upon it without fraud. (4) You will see there an honorable service, which is celebrated not with cymbals and instruments, no rattling noise which weakens hearing, no flutes that sound unbounded songs of praise, no drums which break the motion of reasonableness, no choir which pays more attention to the music and not to good order, no cry of something unintelligible which disturbs understanding, no sacrifice and purified filth, no wood and fire set to irrational bodies as a means of protection, no priest who is fully armed as if for an unexpected battle, no temple servants who turn the strength of bulls, no undisciplined word, no most shameful laughter, no haughty glance, no disorderly feast, no unseemly custom, but you will see altogether a disposition of rest and a constitution that is not puffed up, through which one can be trained whenever one sees that infants have the same good order as old men, so that one would think that their youth was robbed by some divine watchword. (5) Therefore, when everyone stands in a circle, you can see a holy city which obeys a single leader and other temple servants in a sequence of order surrounding the holy table; then, in this way the psalmist, who is simple in speech and pricks the heart with a hymn for encouragement, cleans completely, so to speak, the mouths and the ears of earthly songs with the readings which follow.

27. "Therefore, do not fear the approach, but approach with outspokenness; and when you stand up, break your fast, since this is your third day without eating; and in the meantime let us go in common to evening prayer, and then continue on the next day<sup>105</sup> with the assembly that is kept as a high festival, for it is a custom on the first of seven days to remember the resurrection of Christ, after

<sup>105</sup> The τῇ ἐξῆς of NS is preferable to P's ἐξῆς. Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 61 n. 1) goes to great lengths to show that Maran was incorrect in translating ἐξῆς with *cras*. But in 28:2 all manuscripts have τῇ ἐξῆς (the day on which Cyprian goes to church [28:4]) and 28:3 appears to refer back to this passage: "we also saw the bishop and we heard everything just as Eusebius . . . promised me."

εικότα δρῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν. <sup>2</sup> σαντοῦ γενοῦ, Κυπριανέ, τάχα γὰρ  
 πλείονας σώσεις παρ' οὓς ἀπώλεσας, καὶ μου μνήσθητι ὅταν εὖ σοι  
 γένηται, μεθήμερινά σοι ἐνύπνια διακρίνονται πρὸς πολλῶν ὠφέλειαν.  
<sup>3</sup> ἐγὼ οὖν ἀναστὰς ἀπρὶξ εἰχόμεν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ στέρνα αὐτοῦ [17]  
 5 τοῖς ἐμοῖς προθέμενος, πατέρα καὶ ἄγγελον ἀπεκάλουν· καὶ μέσον  
 ἔχοντες ἑαυτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς συνηλικιώτης μου ὢν καὶ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς μοι τῶν γραμμάτων διατριβῆς γεγωνός, εὐσεβεῖα δὲ προύχων, εἰ  
 καὶ τις ἄλλος, οἴκαδε ἀγαγόντες, παρετίθουν τὰ πρέποντα. <sup>4</sup> εἶθ' οὕτως  
 ἀπήειμεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν χορὸν οὐρανίων ἐοικότα  
 10 θεοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἢ χορῶ ἀγγέλων θεῶ ἀναμέλποντι, Ἑβραϊκὴν τε λέξι  
 ἐκάστω στίχῳ ἐπαγαγόντες μιᾷ φωνῇ, ὡς πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς μὴ εἶναι  
 ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ φύσιν λογικὴν σύγκλυδον ἀπηχοῦσαν θαυμάσιον ἦχον,  
 ὃν οἱ προφήται θανόντες διὰ τῶν ζώντων πάλιν προεφήτευον.

28. καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι οὐδὲν ἦττον ὡς παρόντες ἐφθέγγοντο, οὐ  
 15 χρῆζοντες ἐρμηνείας· ἀπλούστατοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι ἐν διανοίαις  
 συγκεείμενοι· καὶ δὴ τὸ πλῆθος θαυμάσαν ἡμῶν τὴν εἴσοδον γέγονε  
 ξενισθῆναι ἡμᾶς· καὶ πάλιν οἴκοι καταχθέντες ἡσυχάσαμεν. <sup>2</sup> καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς  
 εἶπον, Πάτερ Εὐσέβιε, διατὶ μὴ καίωμεν τὰς βίβλους τοῦ διαβόλου; <sup>3</sup>  
 δημοσίᾳ οὖν τοῦτο δρᾶσαντες εἶδομεν καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πάντα  
 20 καθὼς μοι ἐπηγγείλατο, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἄγγελός μοι γενόμενος Εὐσέβιος,

1 οὖν post σαντοῦ add. S || 2 καὶ μου P: καμοῦ S || 3 διακρίνονται P: διακρίναντι S || 4 ἀλλ' ante  
 ἐγὼ add. S || οὖν P: μὲν S || στέρνα P: τὰ στέρνα S || 5 προθέμενος P: προσθέμενος ὀφθαλμοῖς S ||  
 πατέρα: πᾶρ S || καὶ ἄγγελον P: om. S || ἀπεκάλουν P: ἐκάλουν S || καὶ P: καὶ S || 7  
 γραμμάτων S, corr. Mar: πραγμάτων P || 8 τὰ πρέποντα P: τὰ δὲ ὄντα S || 9 ἀπήειμεν P: ἀπίειμην  
 S || ἦν ἰδεῖν S: ἰδεῖν P ἴδον corr. Mar || τὸν χορὸν οὐρανίων P: τὸν χώρον οὐνιῶν S || 9-10 ἐοικότα  
 θεοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἢ P: om. S || 10 θεῶ P: τὸν ὅν S || 11 ἐκάστω στίχῳ P: ἐν τῷ στίχῳ S ||  
 ἐπαγαγόντες P: ἐπάγοντι S || αὐτοὺς μὴ εἶναι P: μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς S || 12 ἀνθρώπους: ἀνῶς S ||  
 τινὰ ἐτέραν ante λογικὴν add. S || σύγκλυδον P: σύμφωνον S || ἀπηχοῦσαν P: ἐξηχοῦσαν S || 13  
 ὃν P: om. S || ζώντων P: ζόντων S || προεφήτευον P: προεφήτευσαν S || 15 ἦσαν S: εἰσιν P || 17 ἐν  
 P: λιταῖς S || ἡμᾶς S: om. P || 18 πάτερ: πᾶρ S || διατὶ P: τι S || καίωμεν P: καίομεν S || 19 οὖν P:  
 γοῦν S || εἶδομεν P: ἴδαμεν S || 20 ἐπηγγείλατο P: ἐνετείλατο S || ὁ post ἄγγελός add. S ||  
 γενόμενος P: γεγωνός S || Εὐσέβιος P: εὐσέβιος S.



which, when we have gone to the bishop, we do and say things that are seemly. (2) Get a hold of yourself, Cyprian, for perhaps you will save many more than those whom you have destroyed, and remember me whenever it goes well for you as you interpret the visions that come to you by day to the advantage of many.”<sup>106</sup> (3) Then, when I stood up I held him tightly by his head and as I pressed his chest to mine I called him father and angel<sup>107</sup>; and he himself and his son who was my equal in age and who had been in the same school of learning with me and who excelled in piety, held me in the middle of themselves as though I was some other person while they lead me to their home where they served a suitable meal. (4) In this way we then went off to the church and it was possible to see the choir, which resembled a choir of heavenly god-men or angels singing praises to God, and to each verse they supplied a Hebrew word in a single voice,<sup>108</sup> so that one would believe that they were not humans, but a rational, harmonious creature which reechoed a marvelous sound which the prophets who have died prophesied back when they were alive.

28. And when the apostles were present they uttered sounds in no way inferior without need of interpretation, for the words which were composed in their minds were the most simple; and, indeed, it happened that the multitude who marveled at our admission received us as guests, and after we were lead down to the house again, we remained silent. (2) And on the next day I said, “Father Eusebius, why don’t we burn the books of the devil?”<sup>109</sup> (3) Then, after we did this in public, we also saw the bishop and we heard everything just as Eusebius, who appeared to

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *Conf.* 7:9 where Cyprian mentions that the devil produces the substance of dreams (δνειρος) which come by night. The five-tiered taxonomy of dreams in ancient oneiromancy was divided into two main types, meaningful and non-meaningful dreams. The term δνειρος was classed as a meaningful type, and the term used in this passage, ἐνύπνιον, was classed as a non-meaningful type; see A. H. M. Kessels, “Ancient Systems of Dream Classifications,” *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969): 389–425. The meaningful/non-meaningful distinction, however, does not seem to be prevalent in early Christian literature, see, e.g., Acts 2:17 (quoting Joel 2:28).

<sup>107</sup> καὶ ἄγγελον is missing from S as well as N, but is probably original, cf. *Conf.* 28:3.

<sup>108</sup> The disciples in the *First Book of Jeu* (40–41, 43, 45–46) answer Jesus “in a single voice” (ἐν ὁμοφωνίᾳ); cf. Matthias Klinghardt, “Prayer Formularies for Public Recitation: Their Use and Function in Ancient Religion,” *Numen* 46 (1999): 23 n. 65.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *Conf.* 23:2; on the burning of magical books in late antiquity, see Daniel Sarefield, “‘Burning Knowledge’: Studies of Bookburning in Ancient Rome,” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 73–89, esp. 84–85.

ἀκηκόαμεν. <sup>4</sup> ὥς δὲ ἤκουσε καὶ ἡ ἀγία Ἰουστίνη τὰς τρίχας ἀπο- [18]  
 κειραμένη καὶ τὸν θάλαμον σὺν τῇ προικὶ διοικήσασα πένησι διέμεινεν,  
 διπλῆν ἡγησαμένη σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐμὴν μετένοιαν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀγλαΐδας  
 ἀποταξάμενος τὸν διάβολον ἐνέπρησε τὸ ξίφος τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐαυτῷ  
 5 περιείραντα, τοῦ Χριστοῦ πλέξαντος ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰουστίνης σωτηρίαν  
 δίδυμον. <sup>5</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ διένειμον τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡμιν σὺν τῷ πατρὶ  
 Εὐσεβίῳ γενομένῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τυχὼν τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ· τῇ ἐξῆς ἡγωνιζόμεν κηρύττων πᾶσι καὶ πολλοὺς πείθων  
 ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ  
 10 Χριστῷ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ δόξα, κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν  
 αἰῶνων, ἀμήν.

1 ἤκουσε P: ἤκουσεν S || 1-2 τὰς τρίχας ... διέμεινεν P: τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν μου, τὰς κόμας ἀποκειραμένη λύχνους ἄψασα· καὶ θῶ τὴν δόξαν δοῦσα· πάντα τεταγονικὰ αὐτῆς πωλήσασα, διένειμεν τοῖς πένησιν· S || 3 διπλῆν P (διπλ. S) || σωτηρίαν: σῶριαν S || καὶ post καὶ γὰρ add. S || 4 ἐνέπρησε scripsi: ἐνέπρησεν P ἐνεπρίσε S || τὸ S: ὅτι τὸ P || 5 περιείραντα S: περιέπρηεν P || Χριστοῦ: χῡ S || σωτηρίαν: σῶριαν S || 6 τὰ πράγματα P: τὰ ἐμάντου πράγματα S || πατρὶ: πατρι S || 7 γενομένῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας P: om. S || τοίνυν post τυχὼν add. S || 8 Χριστοῦ: χῡ S || τῇ ἐξῆς ἡγωνιζόμεν S: ἐξηγονιζόμεν P || κηρύττων P: κηρύττον S || πᾶσι P: πᾶσιν S || 7 πρὸς τὸν κύριον P: πρὸς κῡ S || 9-10 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν ... κράτος P: ὅθεν καὶ πεισθέντες πρὸς ἐτέθησαν δι' ἐμοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· πάνν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὴν πλάνην ἐθριάμβευσα ὥς καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκπιών· τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὑἱῷ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνι-  
<sup>80</sup> ξατι μὴ καὶ κράτ<sup>ο</sup> καὶ πρὸς κύνησις S.

me as an angel in human form, promised me. (4) And when saint Justina heard as well, she cut her hair and from her bride-chamber she continued administering to the poor with her dowry, since she regarded my confession as a double salvation; for Aglaïdas, after he renounced the devil who pierced him, burned the sword of his own destruction,<sup>110</sup> since Christ devised a double salvation for us through Justina. (5) Then I also distributed my things and I was with father Eusebius who became presbyter of the church when I obtained the seal of Christ; on the next day I struggled as I preached to everyone and persuaded many to turn to the Lord, but they were also persuaded by the Lord Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom be glory unto the Father and power forever and ever, amen.

<sup>110</sup> P is certainly corrupt here; Zahn (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, 63 n. 1) suggested that the object of ἐνέπρησε was lost. The text of S is certainly better, but not without its problems; since it lacks P's ὅτι, the object of ἐνέπρησε can only be ξίφος. N's addition of τὸ before ἐαυ[τῷ] is tantalizing, but the text is unfortunately in lacuna after this point. It seems odd that Aglaïdas would "burn" the sword of his own destruction, but this verb may simply be used here to parallel the burning of Cyprian's magical books and emphasize the "double salvation." The translation is tentative.



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