

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage

Allen Brent

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CYPRIAN AND ROMAN CARTHAGE

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus believed fervently that his conversion experience had been a passage from the darkness of the world of Graeco-Roman paganism to his new vision of Christianity. But Cyprian's response as bishop to the Decian persecution was to be informed by the pagan culture that he had rejected so completely. His view of Church Order also owed much to Roman jurisprudential principles of legitimate authority exercised within a sacred boundary spatially and geographically defined. Given the highly fragmented state of the non-Christian sources for this period, Cyprian is often the only really contemporary primary source for the events through which he lived. In this book, Allen Brent contributes to our understanding both of Roman history in the mid third century and of the enduring model of Church Order that developed in that period.

ALLEN BRENT is an affiliated lecturer in the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. He has published many books on the history of Christianity, most recently *A Political History of Early Christianity* (2009).

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage
Allen Brent
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CYPRIAN AND ROMAN CARTHAGE

ALLEN BRENT



Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage
 Allen Brent
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
 São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521515474

© Allen Brent 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
 permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
 Brent, Allen.

Cyprian and Roman Carthage / Allen Brent.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-51547-4

1. Cyprian, Saint, Bishop of Carthage. 2. Church history – Primitive and early church, ca. 30–600.
 3. Carthage (Extinct city) – Church history. 4. Church discipline. 5. Church polity. I. Title.

BRI720.C8B74 2010

270.1092 – dc22 2010029484

ISBN 978-0-521-51547-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
 accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to
 in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such
 websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage
Allen Brent
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Caroline Penrose Bammel, FBA,
in piam memoriam

Contents

<i>List of plates</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xii
Introduction	I
1 Cyprian's life and controversies	2
2 Cyprian's background in Roman Carthage	23
3 Historiography in the age of Decius	76
4 Decius' religious policy and political rhetoric	117
5 The Decian persecution	193
6 The Church of the Martyrs	250
7 Stephen's challenge to the <i>sacramentum unitatis</i>	290
8 A final postscript: Cyprian's legacy	328
<i>Works cited</i>	330
<i>Indices</i>	343

Plates

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 2.1 Ara Pacis Augustae: Carthage, Pax relief. © Slide Collection, Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge. | <i>page</i> 32 |
| 2.2 Ara Pacis Augustae: Rome, Pax relief, phot. Allen Brent. | 33 |
| 2.3 Altar of the <i>gens Augusta</i> : Hedulus, veiled, in procession, Poinssot, <i>L'Autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage</i> (Notes et documents: Direction des antiquités et arts 10; Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien; Paris: Vuibert 1929), Plate II. | 36 |
| 2.4 Altar of the <i>gens Augusta</i> : Apollo with the tripod and Aeneas panel, Poinssot, <i>L'Autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage</i> (Notes et documents: Direction des antiquités et arts 10; Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien; Paris: Vuibert 1929), Plate VI. | 37 |
| 2.5 Altar of the <i>gens Augusta</i> : Roma Panel – General view, Poinssot, <i>L'Autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage</i> (Notes et documents: Direction des antiquités et arts 10; Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien; Paris: Vuibert 1929), Plate I. | 38 |
| 2.6 Altar of the <i>gens Augusta</i> : Aeneas and Roma panels, Poinssot, <i>L'Autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage</i> (Notes et documents: Direction des antiquités et arts 10; Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien; Paris: Vuibert 1929), Plate IV. | 39 |
| 2.7 Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius and the holm oak, Poinssot, <i>L'Autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage</i> (Notes et documents: Direction des antiquités et arts | |

List of plates

ix

- 10; Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien; Paris: Vuibert 1929), Plate ix. 39
- 2.8 Altar of the *gens Augusta*: Roma panel – close-up of serpents, Poinssot, *L'Autel de la Gens Augusta à Carthage* (Notes et documents: Direction des antiquités et arts 10; Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien; Paris: Vuibert 1929), Plate XI (a). 42
- 4.1 Philip I; proclamation of new age: SAECVLVM NOVVM, Roma in hexastyle temple, *RIC* iv.3, p. 71 nos. 24 (a) and 25 (b). ©The Trustees of the British Museum. 154
- 4.2 L. IVL(ius) AVR(elius) SVLP(icius) VRA(nius) ANTONINVS; SAECVLARES AVGG, with column for his first consulship, *RIC* iv.3, p. 205 no. 7*. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. 154
- 4.3 Philip I; millennial games: SAECVLARES AVGG, she-wolf and Romulus and Remus, *RIC* iv.3, p. 70 no. 15 (b) and 12* (b). ©The Trustees of the British Museum. 159
- 4.4 Philip I; millennial games: SAECVLARES AVGG, lion walking, *RIC* iv.3, p. 70 no. 12* (a) and (b). ©The Trustees of the British Museum. 159
- 4.5 Pacatianus (AD 248); millennial games: Romae Aeternae anno mille et primo, *RIC* iv.3, p. 105 no. 6*. ©Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins> 160
- 4.6 Valerian; RESTITVTOR ORBIS, *RIC* v.1, p. 47 no. 119. ©The Trustees of the British Museum. 167
- 4.7 Decius' *diui* series: DIVO AVGVSTO; CONSECRATIO, *RIC* iv.3, p. 130 no. 77. 171
- 5.1 Christ-Apollo, Vatican necropolis, tomb of the Julii, Mausoleum M. Photo by kind permission of Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. 230
- 5.2 The Morning Star (Lucifer), Vatican Necropolis, Mausoleum U. Photo by kind permission of Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. 231
- 5.3 The Fisherman, Vatican necropolis, tomb of the Julii, Mausoleum M. Photo by kind permission of Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. 232

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage

Allen Brent

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

List of plates

- 5.4 Jonah, Vatican necropolis, tomb of the Julii,
Mausoleum m. Photo by kind permission of
Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. 232
- 6.1 Cemetery of St Callistus: tombs of the popes, PCAS
CAL 22. ©Photo Pont. Comm. Arch. Sacra. 277
- 6.2 Crypt of Lucina: tomb of Cornelius, PCAS CAL C
42. ©Photo Pont. Comm. Arch. Sacra. 278
- 6.3 Epitaph of Pope Fabian: ΦΑΒΙΑΝΟC ΕΠΙ(σκοπος)
Μ(ά)Ρ(τυς), *ICUR* IV.10694. ©Photo Pont. Comm.
Arch. Sacra. 279
- 6.4 Epitaph: CORNELIVS MARTYR EP(iscopu)s,
IGUR IV.9327. ©Photo Pont. Comm. Arch. Sacra. 279
- 7.1 Cornelius and Cyprian, PCAS CAL C 49. ©Photo
Pont. Comm. Arch. Sacra. 322
- 7.2 Sixtus III and Optatus, PCAS CAL C 50. ©Photo
Pont. Comm. Arch. Sacra. 323

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage
Allen Brent
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Preface

This book is the latest outcome of my research programme ‘Continuity and Change in the Transformation of Pagan, Classical Culture’, begun with research grants from the British Academy (1996–7) and the Leverhulme Trust (1998–2000) that have funded a number of periods at the British School at Rome. Since my retirement in 2002 I have been a member of, and more recently an Affiliated Lecturer in, the Faculty of Divinity, Cambridge University. I wish to acknowledge with thanks the influence on the development of my thinking of the Patristics Seminar under the chairmanship of Dr Thomas Graumann, and also the New Testament Seminar under the leadership of the present and last two Lady Margaret Chairs in Divinity, Professors Graham Stanton, Morna Hooker, and Judith Lieu. I am also indebted to my good friend Dr Alistair Stewart-Sykes, both for reading the proofs and for many valuable suggestions.

I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance in obtaining photographic plates and their kind permission to use them of His Excellency, S. E. Vittorio Lanzani, and Dr Daniel Pergolizzi, of the Fabbrica di San Pietro in the Vatican, of Prof. Fabrizio Bisconti of the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome, and of Meghan Mazella and Jenni Adam and The Trustees of the British Museum.

Lastly, a special thanks for the generous grant of the Hort Memorial Fund and Cambridge University’s Faculty of Divinity that supported the costs of reproducing the photographic plates.

Allen Brent
St Edmund’s College, Cambridge, 2008

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage
 Allen Brent
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Abbreviations

- Alföldy, *Ausgewählte Beiträge Die Krise des römischen Reiches: Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung. Ausgewählte Beiträge*, by G. Alföldy (Heidelberger althistorische und epigraphische Studien 5; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 1989).
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter 1972–).
- Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* I–IV, edited by J. von Arnim, (Leipzig: Teubner 1903–5).
- Banti, *Bronzi imperiali I grandi bronzi imperiali* I–IX, edited by A. Banti (Florence 1983–).
- BMC *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, edited by H. Mattingly (London: Trustees of the British Museum 1923–).
- Brent, *Hippolytus Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, by A. Brent (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 31; Leiden: E. J. Brill 1995).
- Brent, *Ignatius Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic*, by A. Brent (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006).
- Brent, *Imperial Cult The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order: Concepts and Images of Authority in Paganism and Early Christianity before the Age of Cyprian*, by A. Brent (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 45; Leiden: E. J. Brill 1999).
- BT *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Leipzig/Stuttgart: Teubner 1949–).
- CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1st edn, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charlesworth, and N. H. Baynes (Cambridge University Press 1939).
- CAH² *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn, edited by A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and A. Cameron (Cambridge University Press 2005).

List of abbreviations

xiii

- CCSL* *Corpus Christianorum series Latina* (Turnhout: Brepols 1973–).
- CIG* *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, edited by A. Boeckh (Berlin: George Reimer 1828–).
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, edited by Th. Mommsen (Berlin: George Reimer 1863–).
- Clarke, *Letters* *The Letters of St. Cyprian* I–IV, translation and commentary by G. W. Clarke (*Ancient Christian Writers* 43, 44, 46, and 47; New York: Newman Press 1984–9).
- Cohen, *Coins* *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain communément appelées médailles impériales*, edited by H. Cohen (Paris/London: Rollin and Feuardent 1880–).
- CSEL* *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, edited by K. F. von Halm (Vienna: C. Gerold 1866–).
- Dessau, *ILS* H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* (Berlin: Weidmann 1892–1916).
- Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, edited by V. Ehrenberg and A. M. Jones, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1976).
- EPRO* *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans L'Empire romain*, edited by M. J. Vermaseren (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1961).
- Fouilles de Delphes* *Fouilles de Delphes*, edited by G. Daux (Paris: Boccard 1987).
- Franke and Nollé, *Homonoia-Münzen* *Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasiens und der thrakischen Randgebiete*, edited by P. R. Franke and M. K. Nollé (*Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte* 10; Saarbrücken: Druckerei und Verlag 1997).
- GCS* *Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs 1987–).
- Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* IV *Epigrafia greca* IV. *Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane*, edited by M. Guarducci (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato 1978).
- Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers* *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd edn, edited by M. J. Holmes (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker 2007).
- I.Assos* *Die Inschriften von Assos* I and II, edited by W. Blümel and W. Weiser (Bonn: R. Habelt).
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*, edited by J. Kirschner (Berlin: Reimer 1913–; De Gruyter 1924–).
- IGRR* *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, edited by R. Cagnat *et al.* (Paris: Leroux 1911–).

- IGUR Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores Nova series*, edited by G. B. De Rossi and A. Silvagni (Rome 1921–).
- Knipfing, ‘Decian Persecution’ ‘The Libelli of the Decian Persecution’, by J. R. Knipfing, *Harvard Theological Review* 16 (1923), 345–90.
- LCL Loeb Classical Library* (London/Cambridge, Mass.: Heinemann/Harvard University Press 1912–).
- Leclercq, ‘Certificats’ ‘Les certificats de sacrifice païen sous Dèce en 250’, by H. Leclercq, *Bulletin d’Ancienne Littérature et d’Archéologie Chrétienne* 4 (1914), 52–60, 188–20.
- Molthagen, *Römische Staat Der römische Staat und die Christen im zweiten und dritten Jahrhundert*, by J. Molthagen (Hypomnemata 28; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1970).
- OCT Oxford Classical Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1903–).
- OGIS Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, edited by W. Dittenberger (Hildesheim/New York: Olms 1970).
- Oliver, *Greek Constitutions Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, edited by J. H. Oliver (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 178; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society 1989).
- P. Alexandrin. Papyrus grecs du Musée Gréco-Romain d’Alexandrie* I–II, edited by A. Swiderek and M. Vandoni (Warsaw: PWN-Editions scientifiques de Pologne 1964).
- P. Giss. Die Giessener literarischen Papyri und die Caracalla-Erlasse-Edition*, edited by P. A. Kuhlmann (Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek und dem Universitätsarchiv Giessen 46; Giessen: Universitätsbibliothek 1994).
- P. Hamb. Griechische Papyruskunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*, edited by P. M. Meyer *et al.* (Leipzig/Berlin 1911–24, 1954, 1984, and 1998).
- P. Oxy. Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by B. P. Grenfell *et al.* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund 1898–).
- PG Patrologia Graeca*, edited by J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne 1857–).
- PIR Prosopographia imperii Romani saeculi* I, II, III, edited by E. Croag and A. Stein (Berlin/Leipzig: De Gruyter 1933).
- PL Patrologia Latina*, edited by J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne 1844–).
- PSI Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto* (Florence: Le Monnier 1912–).
- RIC Roman Imperial Coinage*, edited by C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson (London: Spinks and Son 1918–).

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-51547-4 - Cyprian and Roman Carthage
 Allen Brent
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

List of abbreviations

xv

- Rives, *Religion and Carthage Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*, by J. B. Rives (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995).
- Roasenda, 'Libellatici' 'Decio e i libellatici', by P. Roasenda, *Didaskaleion* 5.1 (1927), 31–68.
- Robert, *OpMinSel Opera minora selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques I–VII*, by L. Robert (Amsterdam: Hakkert 1969–90).
- RPC Roman Provincial Coinage* I and II, edited by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. Ripollès, and I. Caradice (London/Paris: British Museum Press/Bibliothèque Nationale 1992 and 1999).
- Sage, *Cyprian Cyprian*, by M. M. Sage (Patristics Monographs Series 1; Philadelphia: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation 1975).
- SB Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, edited F. Preisigke *et al.* (Aufträge der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft; Strassburg/Berlin: K. J. Trübner 1913–).
- SC Sources chrétiennes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf 1944–).
- SEG Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, edited by H. W. Pleket *et al.* (Amsterdam: Gieben *et al.* 1928–).
- Sherk, *Greek East Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, edited and translated by R. K. Sherk (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 4; Cambridge University Press 1984).
- Sutherland, *Coins Roman Coins*, edited by C. H. V. Sutherland (London: Barrie and Jenkins 1974).
- Syl.*³ *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* 3rd edn, edited by W. Dittenberger (Hildesheim: Olms 1960).
- TU Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur*, edited by A. Harnack and C. Schmidt (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich 1907–).