

5 Cyprian, the “Pope” of Carthage

A COMMITTED LIFE

When referring to Cyprian, Jerome simply called him an African (*Cyprianus Afer*), which meant that he came from the Roman province of *Africa*, later renamed *Africa Proconsularis* because it was governed by a proconsul. Based on other evidence from Lactantius, Augustine, Jerome, and Cyprian’s own writings, a great deal is known about Cyprian’s life—much more than what we know about his contemporaries. Considered the Cicero of Latin Christianity, Cyprian was the first bishop to contribute to the African literary tradition.

Cyprian’s writings include a corpus of eighty-four letters, which provide rich detail about his work as a bishop and his relationships with other clergy. Sixty-five of these letters—six of which were conciliar letters in which he was the primary author—were written by Cyprian while another sixteen letters came from Roman clergy like Novatian and Cornelius, and were addressed to Cyprian or the Carthaginian clergy. While unfortunate that none of these letters was dated internally, it is nevertheless helpful that each letter, except for two, included the name of its recipient. Cyprian’s correspondence, full of insights into his theology, is complimented by thirteen small treatises written to the church at Carthage, some of which were essentially sermons. This collection of letters and treatises not only provides important evidence for understanding African church history, it also serves as an important milestone in Latin Christian literature. To be sure, Cyprian remained one of the most popular Christian authors well into the medieval period, and his works have survived to the present day via numerous manuscripts.

In addition to these primary sources, our understanding of Cyprian’s life is strengthened by other key secondary sources from the period. First,

the *Acta proconsularia* is a very valuable document highlighting official actions of the Roman authorities toward Cyprian, including his court appearances, interrogations, the judgments rendered by the Carthaginian governors, and his martyrdom. Secondly, the *Life of Cyprian*, the first work of its type in early Christian Latin literature, was written by a certain Pontius, a deacon from Carthage who lived with Cyprian during his exile until the time of his execution. Though Pontius was Cyprian's contemporary and offers an important eye witness account, his work seems to lose some historical value because of its devotional and edifying purpose. Hence, the work functions as a panegyric to honor Cyprian's holy example—that “this incomparable and lofty pattern may be prolonged into immortal remembrance.”¹

While these sources provide an accurate understanding of Cyprian's life during his ten years as bishop (249–258), his pre-conversion life is quite unknown. Though named Caecilius Cyprianus, he also went by Thascius. While it cannot be confirmed with certainty, Cyprian was probably born in Carthage. According to Pontius, he lived in a villa with gardens in Carthage—a home that he owned—which gives the impression that he had always lived there. Though his date of birth is unknown—even Augustine was unaware of it—we can plausibly suggest that it was sometime around 210. Finally, Cyprian does not seem to have had a personal relationship with Tertullian, his “master” who probably died around 222.

A man of great financial means, Cyprian certainly belonged to the rich and cultivated bourgeoisie in Carthage. Jerome recorded that Cyprian, born into paganism, was initially “a defender of idolatry.” After receiving a comprehensive education, Cyprian was on the path to success, and his background and training gave him access to the pomp and splendor of the highest ranks of the Roman administration. A brilliant communicator who had mastered the rules of rhetoric and eloquence, Cyprian developed quite a reputation in Carthage, where he may have practiced law for a time. It is also likely that he held a position in the civil or municipal administration. Though not possessing Tertullian's legal mind, Cyprian's writings do reveal a level of judicial expertise that he would put to use in his career as a bishop. Cyprian also enjoyed an elegant lifestyle

1. Pontius *Life of Cyprian* 1. [All English translations of *Life of Cyprian* are from ANF 5.]

with fine food, luxury, and pleasure, and his circle of friends included the leading pagans of Carthage. He probably maintained these friendships after his consecration as bishop, which perhaps explains the respect he commanded from police and magistrates during his arrests and periods of interrogation. To be sure, the conversion of this rich member of the social elite came as a shock to Carthage’s high society.

Jerome, commenting once more on Cyprian’s life, added: “It was under the influence of the priest, Caecilius, from whom he received his name, that Cyprian became a Christian and donated his wealth to the poor.”² Cyprian was probably baptized around 246. Setting a precedent for Augustine’s later confessional-style autobiography, Cyprian recounted the steps in his conversion at the outset of his treatise to his friend Donatus, probably one of Cyprian’s former colleagues in the legal profession:

While I was still lying in darkness and gloomy night, wavering hither and thither, tossed about on the foam of this boastful age, and uncertain of my wandering steps, knowing nothing of my real life, and remote from truth and light, I used to regard it as a difficult matter, and especially as difficult in respect of my character at that time, that a man should be capable of being born again . . . These were my frequent thoughts. For as I myself was held in bonds by the innumerable errors of my previous life, from which I did not believe that I could by possibility be delivered, so I was disposed to acquiesce in my clinging vices; and because I despaired of better things, I used to indulge my sins as if they were actually parts of me, and indigenous to me.³

Upon his conversion, Cyprian took a vow of celibacy, renouncing the worldly pleasures that had characterized his previous life, and donated his earthly belongings to the poor and to the church. He probably paid a greater price by breaking with his worldly “masters,” the classical authors of Greek and Latin literature. From this point on, he had but two masters that he consulted daily—the Bible and Tertullian. Though occupying a place of prominence and authority as bishop of Carthage, Cyprian lived and conducted himself quite humbly. Despite this simplicity, he was still very much a man of action, which propelled the African pastor to a place of renown among the leaders of the Christian movement of his day.

2. Jerome *Lives of Illustrious Men* 67 [English translation my own].

3. Cyprian *To Donatus* 3–4.

Shortly after his baptism in 246, he was set apart to the priesthood by Bishop Donatus, his predecessor in Carthage. In early 249, Cyprian was consecrated as bishop and became the “pope” of Carthage—a title signifying the bishop’s fatherly and spiritual care for the flock entrusted to him. Not reserved uniquely for the bishop of Rome, this distinction was also used to address bishops in Asia Minor and Alexandria. Cyprian was called pope not only by his congregation, but also by some Roman clergy.⁴ In a letter denouncing Felicissimus and the five priests who led a schism during the Decian persecution, Cyprian referred to his own episcopal election and this fatherly authority of a bishop: “there is a man who is appointed bishop in the place of a deceased bishop; he is chosen in time of peace by the vote of the entire congregation . . . it can only be the adversary of Christ and the enemy of his church who is hounding the appointed leader in the church with his attacks.”⁵

Due to his abilities as an administrator and theologian, Cyprian was a solid spiritual leader for the church at Carthage, to which he gave himself first and foremost. He was also an influential advisor to churches in Spain and Gaul, who addressed their problems to the African church councils overseen by Cyprian. As an administrator, Cyprian tirelessly gave himself to the clergy and people of Carthage. He also left a corpus of important theological writings, which on one hand, were written in clear and sober pastoral manner, yet on the other, possessed all of the passion of Tertullian and the African tradition. Thus, by often alluding to military imagery in his writings, he influenced African theology toward a “militant spirituality.”

A CHAMPION OF UNITY

Cyprian’s treatise *On the Unity of the Church* was probably published in the spring of 251. The most influential of all of his works, it was read aloud at the council of Carthage in 251. It is also the work that best captured Cyprian’s personality. The schisms set off by Novatus and Felicissimus, which had succeeded in dividing the Carthage church, gave Cyprian the occasion to write this exhortation. Addressed not only to Cyprian’s clergy and flock, its recipients also included confessors in Rome who were still

4. Cf. Cyprian *Letters* 30, 36.

5. Cyprian *Letter* 59.6.

following Novatian. Like *On the Lapsed*, which had confronted apostasy during the Decian persecution, *On the Unity of the Church* was prompted by the circumstances surrounding schism and written in the context of several church councils dealing with this issue.

Cyprian believed that unity, a value that he championed until his own martyrdom, ought to be a bishop’s chief concern, because unity was the primary characteristic of the Christian faith. Cyprian wrote, “Can he who is not bound to the unity of the church, believe himself to be bound to the faith? Can one who opposes the church be certain that he is also in the church? One cannot even be a martyr if he is not in the church.” Cyprian was convinced that outside of the church, falsehood and impiety reigned, and that salvation could only be experienced within the context of the church: “We cannot have God for our father without the church as our mother. He, who does not maintain unity, fails to keep God’s law and rejects faith in the Father and the Son.”⁶ As signs pointing to the Lord’s imminent return abounded—a millenarian position already defended by Tertullian—those outside of the fold were urged to return immediately to communion or risk perishing. Cyprian argued that church unity should be affirmed on several levels.

First, during the Decian persecution, Cyprian asserted that Christian unity (*concordia*) was expressed through corporate prayer. He wrote to the priests and deacons of his diocese:

Every one of us should pray to God not for himself only, but for all his brothers, just as the Lord taught us to pray. His instructions are not for each of us to pray privately but he bade that when we pray we should do so with united hearts in communal prayer for everyone. If the Lord shall observe that we are humble and peaceable, joined in union together, fearful of his wrath, chastened and amended by the present sufferings, He will make us safe from the assaults of the enemy.⁷

These arguments are also supported in Cyprian’s treatise *On the Lord’s Prayer*, a work written as Cyprian was going into hiding during the Decian persecution. He refers to the apostles’ practice of corporate prayer: “They continued with one accord in prayer, declaring both by the urgency and by the agreement of their praying, that God, ‘who makes

6. [English translation my own.]

7. Cyprian *Letter* 11.7.3.

men to dwell of one mind in a house,' only admits into the divine and eternal home those among whom prayer is unanimous."⁸

In *On the Unity of the Church*, Cyprian specified further that unity was not dependent upon the number of believers gathered together:

When, therefore, in His commandments He lays it down, and says, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am with them," He does not divide men from the church, seeing that He Himself ordained and made the Church; but rebuking the faithless for their discord, and commending peace by His word to the faithful, He shows that He is rather with two or three who pray with one mind, than with a great many who differ, and that more can be obtained by the concordant prayer of a few, than by the discordant supplication of many.⁹

This practice does not simply refer to a prayer gathering of a few Christians; rather, Cyprian alludes to the united "Catholic prayer" of the entire church.

As Novatian worked to attract more believers into his schismatic movement in 251, another aspect or level of church unity (*concordia*) was raised—the unity of the bishops. In dealing with the problem of the lapsed, Cyprian had already requested that the clergy demonstrate their unity by adopting a united stance on the issue. In a letter to priests and deacons at Rome, he wrote: "You should read these same letters also to any of my colleagues who may be present with you or who may come later. In this way, we may act in unison and harmony, adhering to the same health-giving measures for healing and curing the wounds of the fallen."¹⁰ Cyprian constantly urged the bishops to be united so they could speak with one voice for the universal church. For instance, Cornelius' election as bishop of Rome over Novatian was legitimized because of the "testimony of his episcopal colleagues, all of whom were in unanimous agreement."¹¹ Hence, the church's universality and catholicity was determined by the unity of its bishops.

A difficult question is raised in the fourth chapter of *On the Unity of the Church*—a chapter that exists in variant manuscripts, itself an unre-

8. Cyprian *On the Lord's Prayer* 8.

9. Cyprian *On the Unity of the Church* 12.

10. Cyprian *Letter* 34.31.

11. Cyprian *Letter* 8.1 [English translation my own].

solved controversy. In what is probably the oldest manuscript—or at least, as some argue, a text unaffected by later “additions”—Cyprian speaks of “the chair of Peter” and of the “primacy of Peter.” The text in question continues: “Although Christ gave all of the apostles the same authority, he nevertheless established but one episcopal chair. Set apart on account of Christ’s authority, this chair is the heart and reason for unity.” In founding his church on Peter, Jesus clearly and concretely presented a case for unity—the essential quality and greatest goal for the church. That said, though the bishop of Rome in some respects served as a communication link between bishops and “personified” the unity of the church, he had no official delegation to speak or decide on his behalf.

While the mission to teach, signified by the notion of “chair” (*cathedra*), was first given to Peter, it was also conferred with the same authority on all of the apostles: “The other apostles were the same as Peter except that Peter occupied a primal place of authority (*primatus*). This shows that there is but one church and one seat of authority. All of the apostles are good shepherds, yet there is one single flock that is led in one accord out to pasture. This unity must be firmly defended, especially by those of us who are bishops.”¹² On the basis of the earlier text of *On the Unity of the Church*, Peter’s primacy emerges as a symbol of and exhortation to unity. While Rome’s privileged position could be likened to the rights of a firstborn, or conferred due to its ecclesiastical seniority, it did not mean that the Roman bishop had authority and jurisdiction over his episcopal colleagues.

In a later redaction of *On the Unity of the Church*—regarded by some as the only text written by Cyprian—the term “primacy” does not appear and more emphasis is placed on the apostle’s equality. The following citation from John’s Gospel shows the apostles on equal footing: “As the Father has sent me, even so I am sending you.’ And when he had said this, he breathed on them and said to them, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you withhold forgiveness from any, it is withheld’” (John 20:21–23). Peter’s powers are declared identical to those of the other apostles, in content as well as importance: “Assuredly the rest of the apostles were also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership both of honor and power.”¹³

12. Cyprian *On the Unity of the Church* 4–5 [English translation my own].

13. Cyprian *On the Unity of the Church* 4.

Certainly, both versions of the text could have been written by Cyprian, under different circumstances. The harsh conflict over the re-baptism of heretics that took place between Cyprian and Bishop Stephen could provide an explanation in the changes to *On the Unity of the Church*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that neither text asserts that Peter or his successors have authority and jurisdiction over the universal church.

According to Cyprian, next to Christ's eminent authority, the Catholic church's greatest source of authority was the united *collegium* of bishops speaking with one voice in Christ's name. This notion of collegiality was especially developed among the African church leaders as bishops were elected by the clergy and laity and were later consecrated by other key provincial bishops. Hence, the bishop of Rome was not empowered with the authority to single-handedly make doctrinal or disciplinary decisions for the entire church. Firmilian's harsh words regarding Stephen have been noted: "to cut himself off from the unity of charity, to alienate himself from his brethren in everything."¹⁴ The Holy Spirit should serve as the ultimate guide and judge for the universal church, not the church at Rome. Thus, if the Roman bishop cut himself off from the church, which speaks through its unified body of bishops, it is imperative for the sake of unity that he be shown the error of his ways. In condemning Marcianus of Arles, Cyprian had already written: "it is plainly evident that a man does not hold the truth of the Holy Spirit with the rest of his colleagues when we find that his opinions are different from theirs."¹⁵

Despite consistently affirming the rights of bishops from outside influences, Cyprian showed some inconsistency in this area as he solicited Rome's intervention at times on certain matters. For instance, indignant over Novatus and other Carthaginian schismatics attempting to win the Roman bishop to their view, Cyprian wrote: "they now have the audacity to sail off carrying letters from schismatics and outcasts from religion even to the chair of Peter, to the primordial church, the very source of episcopal unity."¹⁶ While turning to Stephen for help in confronting the Novatianist Bishop Marcianus, Cyprian actually gave the Roman bishop directions for how to proceed in the matter: "I exhort you, therefore, to direct letters to that province and to the faithful who dwell at Arles, urging that after Marcianus has been excommunicated, a successor be appointed

14. Cyprian *Letter* 75.25.2.

15. Cyprian *Letter* 68.5.

16. Cyprian *Letter* 59.14.

in his place.”¹⁷ Though Cyprian appealed to the pope in this matter, he never asked him to get involved with an issue facing the African church.

As the apostles were considered Peter’s equals—“endowed with a like partnership both of honor and power”—bishops also shared the same episcopal authority. Cyprian wrote: “In his [Christ’s] view the church consists of the people who remain united with their bishop, it is the flock that stays by its shepherd. By that you realize that the bishop is in the church and the church is in the bishop, and whoever is not with the bishop is not in the church.”¹⁸ Thus, it appears that Cyprian became the leading voice for episcopal authority in the church. Following the two significant church crises that also raised theological questions—the problem of the lapsed and the rebaptism of heretics—the bishop’s role increased significantly in Cyprian’s mind, especially as the African church leadership clashed with that of Rome.

Cyprian continued to affirm a bishop’s autonomy within the context of the leader’s diocese. Writing to the Numidian Bishop Antonianus at a time when apostasy was dividing the church, Cyprian asserted: “Provided that the bonds of harmony remain unbroken and that the sacred unity of the Catholic church continues unimpaired, each individual bishop can arrange and order his own affairs, in the knowledge that one day he must render an account to the Lord for his own conduct.”¹⁹ Cyprian communicated similarly in letters to his Roman counterparts, Cornelius and Stephen. After their decision concerning the rebaptism of heretics at the council of Carthage in the spring of 256, Cyprian and the African bishops wrote to Stephen: “For every appointed leader has in his government of the church the freedom to exercise his own will and judgment, while having one day to render an account of his conduct to the Lord.”²⁰

Cyprian’s words to Antonianus (“provided that the bonds of harmony remain unbroken”) further signified that a bishop’s autonomy must be exercised in the context of ecclesiastical unity. Thus, it was not permissible for a bishop to act in a manner contrary to the decisions of church councils. The frequent African councils, prompted by issues facing the church and the need to establish rules and policies for the churches, succeeded

17. Cyprian *Letter* 68.2–3.

18. Cyprian *Letter* 66.8.

19. Cyprian *Letter* 55.21.

20. Cyprian *Letter* 72.3.

in unifying the bishops in their respective work. Hence, an individual bishop's freedom to lead could not prevail over *concordia*—a recurring theme in *On the Unity of the Church*—and dissident bishops were urged to return to unity with their colleagues. In short, a bishop's freedom and autonomy was derived from his membership in the *collegium* of bishops. Cyprian summarized: "The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole."²¹

In light of these theological convictions concerning church leadership, Cyprian publicly scorned the bishop of Bulla Regia (Hamman Daradji, Tunisia). Opposing the decisions of church councils from the spring of 251 and May of 252, which prescribed measures for readmitting the lapsed to communion, this bishop prematurely reconciled a priest who had sacrificed during the Decian persecution. Cyprian wrote: "Our colleague Therapius with rash and precipitate haste granted him reconciliation though the time for this was still premature. This action has seriously disturbed us, for it marks a departure from the authority of our decree."²² In the same letter, Cyprian urged Bishop Fidus to abide by the decision of a recent church council from the end of 253 that dealt with the baptism of infants—a decision that Fidus opposed. Hence, in Cyprian's view, unity and agreement among church leaders were distinguishing characteristics of Christ's church.

Whenever Cyprian confronted one of his colleagues, he always made reference to an appropriate conciliar decision and acted as an advocate for episcopal unity. In a letter to the Mauretanian Bishop Jubaianus, Cyprian reminded him of the judgments rendered at the councils of 255 and the spring of 256:

We have written this brief reply to you . . . we do not wish to prevent any bishop from doing what he thinks right, for he is free to exercise his own discretion . . . we do our very best to refrain from quarreling over this question of heretics with our colleagues and fellow bishops . . . charity of spirit, the honor of the episcopal college, the bond of faith, the harmony of the episcopate, these we preserve in patience and gentleness.²³

These words summarized perfectly Cyprian's episcopal theology.

21. Cyprian *On the Unity of the Church* 5.

22. Cyprian *Letter* 64.1.

23. Cyprian *Letter* 73.26.

THE MARTYR

In a letter written at the end of August of 258 to his colleague Successus, Cyprian informed him of a recent imperial rescript targeting the church. As the edict singled out members of the clergy who would face capital punishment, Cyprian made a final reference to his Roman colleague Sixtus: "You should be further informed that Sixtus was put to death in the cemetery on August 6, and, along with him, four deacons." Apparently briefed by messengers returning from Rome, Cyprian added: "Moreover, the Emperor Valerian has added to his address a copy of the letter which he has written to the governors of the provinces concerning us. We are daily awaiting the arrival of this letter, resolved as we are to stand in all firmness of faith ready to endure a martyr's suffering."²⁴

This letter and the *Acta proconsularia* are the only texts that provide any detail about Valerian's edict. However, there is no evidence to support a firm date for its implementation in Africa. We do know that upon the arrival of the new proconsul Galerius Maximus, Cyprian was summoned from exile in Curubis and ordered to appear before the tribunal. Following the governor's orders, Cyprian returned to his villa in Carthage and waited to be arrested. In the meantime, he resumed his pastoral ministry. According to Augustine, Cyprian's return to Carthage occurred in August of 258 and corresponded to an apparent massacre in nearby Utica. In the so-called *Massa Candida*, a large number of Christians from Utica—estimates vary between 150 and 300—were put to death. Bishop Quadratus, the head of the church at Utica, was executed also on August 21. Later, the basilica at Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerte) was named in his honor.

Already present in Utica for these events, Galerius Maximus issued a warrant for Cyprian's arrest. Warned that imperial agents were en route to arrest him, Cyprian, apparently not wanting to experience martyrdom at Utica, probably followed the advice of friends and went into hiding again. From there, he wrote his final letter to the priests, deacons, and all of the faithful at Carthage: "It befits a bishop to confess his faith in that city where he has been placed in charge over the Lord's flock, it is proper that the appointed leader in the church should bring glory upon all his people by making his confession in their midst."²⁵ While refusing

24. Cyprian *Letter* 80.3.

25. Cyprian *Letter* 81.1.

to accept martyrdom under Decius, Cyprian embraced it under Valerian at the time and place of his choosing. Indeed, there is something rather aristocratic about his actions and like a *patronus*, he chose to die in his church. As the proconsul returned to Carthage, Cyprian also returned to his villa.

The circumstances of Cyprian's arrest and interrogation have been preserved in the *Acta Cypriani*, a text included in the larger *Acta proconsularia*—the governor's official document that justified the legalities of his judicial process. The short transcript prepared by an assistant present at the execution ably captured the interaction between Cyprian and the proconsul and serves as one of the most famous texts in the history of martyrdom.

On September 13, two of the proconsul's senior officers, flanked by an escort of soldiers, appeared at Cyprian's villa, where he greeted them with a smile. The bishop was then transported to a place called the *Ager Sexti*, the location of Galerius Maximus' vacation home. Upon arrival, the interrogation was put off until the following day because the proconsul was ill. Cyprian spent the night at the home of a military officer and was treated with much respect—including enjoying a final meal with some of his companions. From the time of his arrest, the Carthaginian Christians had gathered in mass and kept vigil outside of where Cyprian was staying.

The next day, the proconsul ordered Cyprian brought in to the *Atrium Sauciolum* and began the formal process by identifying the accused: "Are you Thascius Cyprianus? . . . Are you the one who has presented himself as the leader of a sacrilegious sect?" He then called upon Cyprian to submit to the laws of Rome: "The most holy emperors bid you to sacrifice . . . think it over." Cyprian flatly refused and said: "Do what you have been ordered to do. In such a just cause there is nothing to think over."

The *Acta* continue:

Galerius Maximus, after conferring with the college of magistrates, with difficulty and unwillingly pronounced this sentence: "You have long lived sacrilegiously and have gathered many in your criminal sect, and set yourself up as an enemy of the Roman gods and of their religious rites. The pious and most holy Augusti emperors Valerian and Gallienus, and Valerian most noble Caesar, failed to bring you back to the observance of their religious ceremonies."

"Therefore, since you have been seen to be the instigator of the worst of crimes, we shall make an example of you before those whom you have associated with yourself in these wicked actions. The respect for the law will be sanctioned by your blood." Having said this he read out in a loud voice from a tablet the decree: "I order that Thascius Cyprianus be punished by being beheaded." Bishop Cyprian said: "Thanks be to God."

Surrounded by soldiers, the condemned bishop departed for the place of torture and execution. As he walked, a crowd of Christians accompanied him and formed a procession of sorts. The *Acta proconsularia* close with the final eyewitness account:

Thus Cyprian was led into the countryside of Sexti (*Ager Sexti*), and there he took off his cloak and hood, knelt on the ground and prostrated himself in prayer to the Lord. He then removed his dalmatic and gave it to the deacons, leaving himself only in his linen garment, and so waited for the executioner. When the latter arrived, the bishop ordered his own followers to give the executioner twenty-five gold pieces. Meanwhile his brethren held out pieces of cloth and handkerchiefs to receive the blood as relics. Then the great Cyprian with his own hands bandaged his eyes, but since he could not tie the corners of the handkerchief, presbyter Julian and subdeacon Julian went to help him. Thus bishop Cyprian was martyred and his body, because of the curiosity of the pagans, was placed in a place nearby where it was hidden from their indiscreet eyes. It was then carried away at night with lighted flares and torches and accompanied as far as the cemetery of procurator Macrobius Candidianus, which is in the "Huts" Road (*Via Mappaliensis*) near the Baths. A few days later, proconsul Galerius Maximus died. The holy bishop Cyprian was martyred on September 14th under emperors Valerian and Gallienus, but in the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom all honor and glory be forever.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Daniélou, *Les Origines du christianisme latin*.

Demoustier, "L'ontologie de l'Église selon saint Cyprien," *Recherches de science religieuse*.

Monceaux, *Saint Cyprien*.

Sage, *Cyprian*.

Saumagne, *Saint Cyprien, évêque de Carthage, "pape" d'Afrique (248-258): Contribution à l'étude des "persecutions" de Dèce et de Valérien*.