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978-1-107-03172-2 - Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective

Richard Flower

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## EMPERORS AND BISHOPS IN LATE ROMAN INVECTIVE

This innovative study illuminates the role of polemical literature in the political life of the Roman empire by examining the earliest surviving invectives directed against a living emperor. Written by three bishops (Athanasius of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari), these texts attacked Constantius II (337–61) for his vicious and tyrannical behaviour, as well as his heretical religious beliefs. This book explores the strategies employed by these authors to present themselves as fearless champions of liberty and guardians of faith, as they sought to bolster their authority at a time when they were out of step with the prevailing imperial view of Christian orthodoxy. By analysing this fascinating collection of writings alongside late-antique panegyrics and ceremonial, this study also rehabilitates anti-imperial polemic as a serious political activity and restores it to its proper place in the complex web of presentations and perceptions that underpinned late Roman power relationships.

RICHARD FLOWER is Lecturer in the Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter.

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*For my grandmother, Hilda Flower  
who knew a thing or two about invective*

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*Acknowledgements*

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[More information](#)*Abbreviations*

All journal abbreviations follow *L'Année philologique*.

- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, Turnhout, 1967–.
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna, 1866–.
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1897–.
- ICUR *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores*, n.s., Rome, 1922–92.
- ILS H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 5 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916.
- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (eds.), *A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th edn with a revised supplement, revised by H. S. Jones *et al.*, Oxford, 1996.
- OLD P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1982.
- PL *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1841–64.
- PLRE I A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I: A.D. 260–395*, Cambridge, 1971.
- RIC H. Mattingly *et al.* (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10 vols., London, 1923–94.

## ANCIENT TEXTS

Unless noted here, all abbreviations follow OLD, LSJ and A. H. M. Jones (1964) III 394–406.

- Ad Const.* Hilary of Poitiers, *Liber II ad Constantium*  
A. Feder (ed.), *S. Hilarii Episcopi Pictaviensis Opera. Pars Quarta*, CSEL 65, 1916, 197–205.

*List of abbreviations*

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- Ad Ep. Aeg.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Epistula ad Episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*  
K. Metzler (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 1.1, Berlin, 1996–2000, 39–64.
- Adu. Val. et Ursac.* Hilary of Poitiers, *Aduersus Valentem et Ursacium*  
(= *Collectanea Antiariana Parisina*)  
A. Feder (ed.), *S. Hilarii Episcopi Pictauiensis Opera. Pars Quarta*, CSEL 65, 1916, 43–193.
- Altercatio Heracliani* *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio, episcopo Sirmiensi*  
A. Hamman (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina, Supplementum* 1, Paris, 1958, 345–50.
- Aphth. Prog.* Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*  
H. Rabe (ed.), *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, *Rhetores Graeci* 10, Leipzig, 1926.
- Apol. c. Ar.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Apologia contra Arianos* (= *Apologia secunda*)  
H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 87–168.
- Apol. Const.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Apologia ad Constantium*  
H. C. Brennecke, U. Heil and A. von Stockhausen (eds.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.8, Berlin, 2006, 279–309.
- Ath. De synodis* Athanasius of Alexandria, *De synodis Arimini et Seleucia*  
H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 231–78.
- Ath. V. Ant.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii*  
G. J. M. Bartelink (ed.), *Athanasie d'Alexandrie: Vie d'Antoine*, Sources chrétiennes 400, Paris, 1994.
- Chron. Pasch.* *Chronicon Paschale*  
L. Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn, 1832.
- Contra Arianos* 1–111 Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orationes III contra Arianos*  
K. Metzler (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 1.1, Berlin, 1996–2000, 109–381.

- Contra Auxentium* Hilary of Poitiers, *Contra Arianos uel Auxentium Mediolanensem* sections 1–12: J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Sancti Hilarii Pictauiensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, vol. 11, PL 10, 1845, 610–18.  
sections 13–15: M. Durst (ed.), ‘Das Glaubensbekenntnis des Auxentius von Mailand: historischer Hintergrund – Textüberlieferung – Theologie – Edition’, *JbAC* 41, 1998, 161–3.
- Cyprian, *Ep.* Cyprian of Carthage, *Epistulae* G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Sancti Cypriani Episcopi Epistularium*, 2 vols., CCSL 3B and 3C, 1994–6.
- [Cyprian], *Laus Mart.* [Cyprian of Carthage], *On the Glory of Martyrdom* G. Hartel (ed.), *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia*, CSEL 3.3, 1871, 26–52.
- De Ath. I* Lucifer of Cagliari, *Quia absentem nemo debet iudicare nec damnare siue De Athanasio Liber I* G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 3–75.
- De Ath. II* Lucifer of Cagliari, *Quia absentem nemo debet iudicare nec damnare siue De Athanasio Liber II* G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 77–132.
- De decr.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 1–45.
- De fuga* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Apologia de fuga sua* H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 68–86.
- De morte Arii* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Ad Serapionem de morte Arii* H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius Werke: 11.1*, Berlin, 1935–41, 178–80.

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- De non conu.* Lucifer of Cagliari, *De non conueniendo cum haereticis*  
G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 165–92.
- De non parc.* Lucifer of Cagliari, *De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus*  
G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 195–261.
- De regibus* Lucifer of Cagliari, *De regibus apostaticis*  
G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 135–61.
- Dio Chrys. *Or.* Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*  
G. de Budé (ed.), *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1916–19.
- Ep. Enc.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Epistula Encyclica*  
H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 169–77.
- Ep. Lucif., Pan. et Hil.* *Epistula Luciferi Pancratii Hilarii ad Eusebium episcopum*  
G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 319.
- Epiphanius, *Panarion* Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*  
K. Holl (ed.), *Epiphanius*, GCS, 3 vols., rev. by J. Dummer from chapter 34 onwards, 1915, 1980, 1985.
- Epistula Liberii* *Epistula Liberii papae ad Eusebium, Dionysium et Luciferum in exilio constitutos* (= *Adu. Val. et Ursac.* B.VII.2)  
G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 320–2.
- Eus. *HE* Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*  
T. Mommsen and E. Schwartz (eds.), *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 11: *Kirchengeschichte*, GCS n.f. 6.1–3, 2nd edn, rev. by F. Winkelmann, 1999.
- Eus. *LC* Eusebius of Caesarea, *Laus Constantini*  
I. A. Heikel (ed.), *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1: *Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, GCS 7, Leipzig, 1902, 195–223.

- Eus. *Mart. Pal.* Eusebius of Caesarea, *Liber de martyribus Palaestinae*  
G. Bardy (ed.), *Eusèbe de Césarée: Histoire ecclésiastique Livres VIII–X et les martyrs en Palestine*, Sources chrétiennes 55, Paris, 1958, 121–74.
- Eus. *SC* Eusebius of Caesarea, *De sepulchro Christi*  
I. A. Heikel (ed.), *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1: *Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, GCS 7, Leipzig, 1902, 223–59.
- Eus. *V. Const.* Eusebius of Caesarea, *De Vita Constantini*  
F. Winkelmann (ed.), *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1: part 1: *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, GCS, Berlin, 1975, rev. edn 1991.
- Eus. *Verc. Ep.* Eusebius of Vercelli, *Epistulae*  
V. Bulhart (ed.), *Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi quae supersunt*, CCSL 9, 1957, 103–10.
- Eutrop. Eutropius, *Breuiarium ab urbe condita*  
C. Santini (ed.), *Breuiarium ab urbe condita*, Leipzig, 1979.
- Greg. *Naz. Or. 21* Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 21*  
J. Mossay (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 20–23*, Sources chrétiennes 270, Paris, 1980, 110–92.
- Herm. *Prog.* Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*  
H. Rabe (ed.), *Hermogenis Opera*, *Rhetores Graeci* 6, Leipzig, 1913, 1–27.
- Hilary, *De synodis* Hilary of Poitiers, *De synodis*  
J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, vol. 11. PL 10, Paris, 1845, 479–546.
- Hippol. *Haer.* Hippolytus of Rome, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*  
M. Marcovich (ed.) *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 25, Berlin, 1986.
- Hist. Ar.* Athanasius of Alexandria, *Historia Arianorum*  
H. G. Opitz (ed.), *Athanasius: Werke* 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 183–230.
- In Const.* Hilary of Poitiers, *Liber In Constantium*  
A. Rocher (ed.), *Hilaire de Poitiers: Contre Constance*, Sources chrétiennes 334, Paris, 1987.
- Iren. *Haer.* Irenaeus of Lyon, *Aduersus Haereses*

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- Book 1: A Rousseau and L. Doutreleau (eds.), *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies, Livre I*, Sources chrétiennes 263–4, Paris, 1979.
- Lact. *Diu. Inst.* Lactantius, *Diuinae institutiones*  
 Book 3: S. Brandt (ed.), *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti opera omnia, Pars I: Diuinae Institutiones et Epitome diuinarum institutionum*, CSEL 19, 1890.  
 Book 5: P. Monat (ed.), *Lactance: Institutions divines, Livre V*, Sources chrétiennes 204–5, Paris, 1973.  
 Book 6: C. Ingremeau (ed.), *Lactance: Institutions divines, Livre VI*, Sources chrétiennes 509, Paris, 2007.
- Lact. *Mort. pers.* Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*  
 J. L. Creed (ed.), *Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum*, Oxford Early Christian Texts, Oxford, 1984.
- Lib. *Prog.* Libanius, *Progymnasmata*  
 C. A. Gibson (ed.), *Libanius's Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, Atlanta, GA, 2008.
- Men. *Rhet.* Menander Rhetor.  
 D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (eds.), *Menander Rhetor*, Oxford, 1981.
- Moriundum* Lucifer of Cagliari, *Moriundum esse pro dei filio*  
 G. F. Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 8, 1978, 265–300.
- Olymp. Olympiodorus, *Fragments*  
 R. C. Blockley (ed.), *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus II: Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes*, Liverpool, 1983, 151–220.
- Pan. Lat.* *Panegyrici Latini*  
 R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *XII Panegyrici Latini*, Oxford Classical Texts, Oxford, 1964 (repr. in Nixon and Rodgers [1994]).
- Philostorgius Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica*  
 J. Bidez (ed.), *Philostorgius: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, 3rd edn, rev. by F. Winkelmann, 1981.
- Quint. *Inst. Or.* Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*  
 M. Winterbottom (ed.), *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae libri duodecim*, Oxford Classical Texts, 2 vols., Oxford, 1970.

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<i>Rh. Al.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i> M. Fuhrmann (ed.), <i>Anaximenis Ars Rhetorica quae uulgo fertur Aristotelis Ad Alexandrum</i> , Leipzig, 1966.
<i>Sent. Dion.</i>	Athanasius of Alexandria, <i>De sententia Dionysii</i> H.-G. Opitz (ed.), <i>Athanasius: Werke</i> 11.1, Berlin, 1935–41, 46–67.
<i>Sententiae episcoporum</i>	<i>Sententiae episcoporum numero LXXXVII de haereticis baptizandis</i> G. F. Diercks (ed.) <i>Sententiae episcoporum LXXXVII de haereticis baptizandis</i> , CCSL 3E, 2004.
<i>Soc. HE</i>	Socrates, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> G. C. Hansen (ed.), <i>Sokrates: Kirchengeschichte</i> , GCS n.f. 1, 1995.
<i>Soz. HE</i>	Sozomen, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> G. C. Hansen (ed.), <i>Sozomenos: Kirchengeschichte</i> , Fontes christiani 73, 4 vols., Turnhout, 2004.
<i>Syn. De regno</i>	Synesius of Cyrene, <i>Oratio de regno</i> J. Lamoureux and N. Aujoulat (eds.), <i>Synésios de Cyrène</i> , vol. v: <i>Opuscules II</i> , Collection des Universités de France, série grecque 464, Paris, 2008.
<i>Theod. HE</i>	Theodoret, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> L. Parmentier and G. C. Hansen (eds.), <i>Theodoret: Kirchengeschichte</i> , GCS n.f. 5, 3rd edn, Berlin, 1998.
<i>Theon, Prog.</i>	Aelius Theon, <i>Progymnasmata</i> M. Patillon (ed.), <i>Aelius Theon: Progymnasmata</i> , Collection des Universités de France, série grecque 374, Paris, 1997.
<i>Zos.</i>	Zosimus, <i>Historia noua</i> F. Paschoud (ed.), <i>Zosime: Histoire Nouvelle</i> , Collection des Universités de France, série grecque 401, 268, 267, 307, 326, 5 vols., Paris, 2000, 1979–89.