

IMPACT OF EMPIRE · VOLUME II

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIES

*The Discourse of Despotism and
Deceit in the Graeco-Roman World*

Edited by
Andrew J. Turner,
James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard
and Frederik Juliaan Vervaet

BRILL

Private and Public Lies

The Discourse of Despotism and Deceit
in the Graeco-Roman World

Edited by

Andrew J. Turner, James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard
and Frederik Juliaan Vervaeke



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

Cover illustration: The Roman emperor Augustus, ceremoniously dressed as *pontifex maximus*, a position he held from 12 BCE onwards. The statue is now in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome. Photo by J.H.K.O. Chong-Gossard.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Private and public lies : the discourse of despotism and deceit in the Graeco-Roman world / edited by Andrew J. Turner, James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard, and Frederik Juliaan Vervaeet. p. cm. – (Impact of empire)

Includes bibliographical references and indices.

ISBN 978-90-04-18775-7 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Despotism–Greece–History–To 1500. 2. Despotism–Rome–History.
3. Deception–Political aspects–Greece–History to 1500. 4. Deception–Political aspects–Rome–History. I. Turner, Andrew J. II. Chong-Gossard, K. O. III. Vervaeet, Frederik. IV. Title. V. Series.

JC75.D4P75 2010

320.93701'4–dc22

2010018053

ISSN 1572-0500

ISBN 978 90 04 18775 7

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.



Mixed Sources

Product group from well-managed forests
and other controlled sources
www.fsc.org Cert no. SGS-COC-006767
©1996 Forest Stewardship Council

Private and Public Lies

Impact of Empire

*Editorial Board of the series Impact of Empire
(= Management Team of the Impact of Empire)*

Lukas de Blois, Angelos Chaniotis
Ségolène Demougin, Olivier Hekster, Gerda de Kleijn
Luuk de Ligt, Elio Lo Cascio, Michael Peachin
John Rich, and Christian Witschel

Executive Secretariat of the Series and the Network

Lukas de Blois, Olivier Hekster
Gerda de Kleijn and John Rich
Radboud University of Nijmegen, Erasmusplein 1,
P.O. Box 9103, 6500 HD Nijmegen, The Netherlands

Academic Board of the International Network Impact of Empire

GÉZA ALFÖLDY – STÉPHANE BENOIST – ANTHONY BIRLEY
CHRISTER BRUUN – JOHN DRINKWATER – WERNER ECK – PETER FUNKE
ANDREA GIARDINA – JOHANNES HAHN – FIK MEIJER – ONNO VAN NIJF
MARIE-THÉRÈSE RAEPSAET-CHARLIER – JOHN RICHARDSON
BERT VAN DER SPEK – RICHARD TALBERT – WILLEM ZWALVE

VOLUME 11

This collection is dedicated to

CHARLES ANTHONY TESORIERO (1973–2005)

o saeuae nimium grauesque Parcae!
o numquam data longa fata summis!
cur plus, ardua, casibus patetis?
cur saeua uice magna non senescent?

(Statius *Siluae* 2.7.89–92)

and to

RONALD THOMAS RIDLEY

“In my opinion, then, let the historian be this sort of man: fearless, unbribeable, free, a friend of free speech and the truth; intent (as the comic poet says) on calling a fig a fig and a trough a trough; neither through hatred nor friendship dealing out anything or sparing anything or showing pity or shame or timidity; an impartial judge, well-disposed to all persons up to the point of not giving one side more than its due; in his books a stranger and a man without a city, independent, subject to no sovereign; not reckoning what this or that man will think, but stating what has been done.”

(Lucian *How To Write History* 41)

PREFACE

We are grateful to the editorial board of the international network Impact of Empire for allowing us to publish as part of their series this collection, which represents the proceedings of the conference 'Private and Public Lies: The Discourse of Despotism and Deceit in the Ancient World', held at The University of Melbourne from 7–10 July 2008. As we explain below, the conference was originally conceived of as one dealing with mainly literary issues, but due to a series of events eventually came to include a substantial contribution from a group of ancient historians whose work intersects on many levels with the fundamental interests of the Impact of Empire network. We hope that the resultant mixture of papers published here, some purely literary in focus, and others historical, will complement each other, and provide an accurate reflection of the dynamics of the conference, which participants later described as a great success.

The initial research for this collection was supported under the Australian Research Council's Discovery Projects funding scheme, for a project entitled 'Public and Private Lies: Retelling the clash of duty, power and sexual indulgence in the Roman imperial court' (project number DP0556420), awarded to James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard and Andrew Turner at The University of Melbourne (Turner was the recipient of an Australian Post Doctoral Fellowship under this grant), and Charles Tesoriero at The University of New England. The original plan was to look at the works of Tacitus, Juvenal, and Suetonius, whose accounts of the first-century Roman imperial court depicted the deleterious effect of private acts on public conduct, and to explore how these authors' interests were characteristic of their own generation rather than those described by their texts. The project would examine the interrelationship of private acts and public conduct during the height of the Roman Empire, and how personal morality was perceived to affect capability to govern. As part of their application, the researchers planned to host an international conference in June or July 2007 on the campus of The University of New England in rural New South Wales.

But Fate, ever revolving, had different plans. Tragically, Charles Tesoriero died in August 2005 at the age of 32. The conference proposal was then stalled until June 2006, when Frederik Vervaeke, of Ghent University

in Belgium, travelled to Australia to interview for a position as Lecturer in the School of Historical Studies at The University of Melbourne. Vervaet was subsequently recruited by Chong-Gossard and Turner to assist in organizing the conference, and proved an invaluable replacement for Charles. He was a major figure in convincing so many prominent international scholars to attend, and contributed substantially to the final form of this volume by suggesting that political deceit should become a principal theme in the conference.

With regard to the conference, we have many donors to thank, without whose support it could not have been such a success. The Classical Association of Victoria, the Ian Potter Foundation, and the Australasian Society for Classical Studies all provided funding which enabled our overseas visitors to attend, including subsidising airfares for our keynote speakers. Particular thanks go to Mr Peter Mountford and members of the Savage Club in Melbourne, for their generous subventions. Mr Ian Renard, then Chancellor of The University of Melbourne, who has always been a keen supporter of the Classics, officially opened the conference on behalf of the University. The provision of venues was facilitated by Professor Warren Bebbington, Deputy Vice-Chancellor of The University of Melbourne; our thanks are also due to the School of Botany, especially their building supervisor, for their hospitality whilst we utilized their space for our many lectures. We are greatly indebted to the School of Historical Studies at The University of Melbourne for providing material and secretarial support throughout, with thanks to Gabrielle Murphy, then the School's Executive Officer. Particular gratitude goes to Kevin March, then the School's Marketing Officer, who designed the conference programme. We also had substantial support from postgraduate volunteers throughout, including Sarah Davidson, Sarah Midford, James O'Maley, Miriam Riverlea, and Sonya Wurster.

All chapters presented in this volume were developed from papers given at the conference, with the exception of that by Professor Bleckmann, who had planned to attend and was only forced to cancel his journey at a late juncture; we are most grateful that he nevertheless agreed to submit. Charles' student from The University of New England, Thomas Atkinson, was able to assist us at many stages as a research assistant, and his contribution is gratefully acknowledged here. Michael Crennan of The University of Melbourne has also helped us greatly with reading over the papers and preparing material for the introduction, while Christopher Dart assisted us by providing biographical material. The editors for Brill, Caroline van Erp and Birgitta Poelmans, have also been of enor-

mous help, and we would like to thank them here for guiding us through the various procedures and facilitating publication. The editorial board of the Impact of Empire network arranged for all chapters to be anonymously peer-reviewed by two assessors.

This collection of proceedings has two dedicatees. The first is Charles Tesoriero, our original colleague in this project, who had already established a considerable reputation as a researcher into Lucan at the time of his death. Even before we joined forces with him, one of his more memorable achievements at The University of New England had been to organise an international conference on Ancient Magic entitled 'Hecate at the Crossroads' in 2001. His will left bequests of almost one million dollars to The University of New England and The University of Sydney, and a Latin literature conference ('Roman Byways') was held in his honour in Sydney in December 2007. 2010 saw the publication of a major contribution to Lucan scholarship which Charles had envisaged and largely set in train, the edited collection of influential essays in *Oxford Readings in Classical Scholarship: Lucan*, published by Oxford University Press. Charles' vivacious personality and passion for the passionate literature of antiquity will be sorely missed.

The other dedicatee of this collection of proceedings is Professor Emeritus Ronald T. Ridley, who has been a teacher and supervisor at The University of Melbourne for over forty years. He is well known within Australia and abroad for the commitment and genuine care he has shown for the needs of his students over many years. Professor Ridley is one of the last true universalist scholars; his numerous articles and chapters span early Dynastic Egypt, classical Greece, the late Roman Republic, late antiquity, the history of archaeology, and historiography. This incredible breadth of knowledge is in evidence in his contribution to this volume. Major books to date include a translation and commentary of Zosimus' *New History* (1982), *Gibbon's complement: Louis de Beaufort* (1986), *History of Rome: A documented analysis* (1987), a study of archaeology in the Napoleonic era, *The Eagle and the Spade* (1992), and his work on the *Res Gestae* of the emperor Augustus, *The Emperor's Retrospect* (2003). Forthcoming books include major works on travellers to Rome from the Renaissance to 1900 and a new assessment of Akhenaten. Professor Ridley is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquities (London), Fellow of the Royal Historical Society (London), Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities, and Fellow of the Pontifical Academy of Roman Archaeology (Roma).

A.J.T
J.H.K.O.C-G
F.J.V

ABBREVIATIONS

Names of classical authors and their works cited in this volume have been abbreviated in accordance with abbreviations found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Other abbreviations used are as follows:

- BNP *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: New Pauly*. Leiden 2002–.
- CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edition (Vols. 3–14). Cambridge 1982–.
- CCSL *Corpus christianorum. Series latina*. Turnholt 1953–.
- CID *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, vol. 2 *Les comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle* (ed. Jean Bousquet). École française d'Athènes: Paris: de Boccard. 1989.
- FGrH F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden 1957.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1903–.
- ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin: Weidmann. 1892–1916.
- LCL Loeb Classical Library
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition revised. Eds. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. Oxford 2003.
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Ed. P.G.W. Glare. Oxford 1982.
- PIR *Prosopographia imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III.* 2nd edition. Berlin-Leipzig 1933–.
- PO *Patrologia orientalis*. 1904–.
- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Stuttgart. 1941–.
- RE A.F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Munich 1894–1980.
- RIC C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. 1: *From 31 BC to AD 69*. 2nd edn. London: Spink and Son. 1984.
- RRC M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1974.

CONTRIBUTORS

BRUNO BLECKMANN is Professor and Chair of Ancient History at Heinrich-Heine-Universität in Düsseldorf, Germany. His recent works include *Fiktion als Geschichte. Neue Studien zum Autor der Hellenika Oxyrhynchia und zur Historiographie des vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2006), and (with Horst Schneider) *Eusebius von Caesarea. De vita Constantini. Über das Leben Konstantins* (Brepols, 2007).

BRIAN BOSWORTH is Professor of Ancient Cultures in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. He is the author of *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* (Oxford, Vol. 1 in 1980, Vol. 2 in 1995), *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1988, now in its third reprint as a Canto edition, 1993), and *The Legacy of Alexander: Politics, Warfare, and Propaganda under the Successors* (Oxford, 2002).

AMELIA R. BROWN is a Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. She is the author of 'Hellenic Heritage & Christian Challenge: Conflict over Panhellenic Sanctuaries in Late Antiquity,' in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions & Practices, Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity 5* (Ashgate, 2006). Her Ph.D. thesis was entitled *The City of Corinth and Urbanism in Late Antique Greece*.

CRISTINA G. CALHOON is an Instructor in the Department of Classics at the University of Oregon in the USA. She is the author of 'Lucretia, savior, and scapegoat: the dynamics of sacrifice in Livy 1.57–59,' in *Helios* 24 (1997), and a Ph.D. thesis entitled *Livia the Poisoner: Genesis of an Historical Myth* (University of California, Irvine, 1994).

JAMES H. KIM ON CHONG-GOSSARD is a Senior Lecturer in the Centre for Classics and Archaeology at The University of Melbourne in Australia. He is the author of *Gender and Communication in Euripides' Plays: Between Song and Silence* (Brill, 2008), 'Consolation in Euripides' *Hypsipyle*,' in *The Play of Texts and Fragments: Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp* (Brill, 2009), and 'Mourning and Consolation in Greek Tragedy: the rejection of comfort,' in *Acts Of Consolation: Approaches to loss and sorrow from Sophocles to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

CHRISTOPHER J. DART is a Fellow in Ancient History at The University of Melbourne in Australia, where in 2007 he completed a Ph.D. thesis entitled *Nationalism, Patriotism and National Identity in Italia under the Roman Republic*. He is the author of ‘The “Italian Constitution” in the Social War: A Re-assessment (91 to 88 BCE),’ in *Historia* 58 (2009).

JONATHAN M. HALL is Phyllis Fay Horton Professor in the Humanities, Professor and Chair of Classics, and Professor of History at the University of Chicago. He is the author of the award-winning *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997), *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago, 2002), *The Blackwell History of the Archaic Greek World* (Blackwell 2006), and *Archaeology and the Ancient Historian: Investigating Graeco-Roman Antiquity Through Texts and Material Culture* (University of Chicago Press, forthcoming)

FRÉDÉRIC HURLET is Professeur des Universités (Histoire romaine) at the Université de Nantes in France, Dean of the Subfaculty of History, Art History and Archaeology, and Director of the Nantes-based ‘Equipe de Recherche sur les Échanges dans la Méditerranée antique et médiévale’. He is the author of *La dictature de Sylla: monarchie ou magistrature républicaine? Essai d’histoire constitutionnelle* (Bruxelles-Rome 1993), *Les collègues du prince sous Auguste et Tibère. De la légalité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique* (Rome 1997), and *Le proconsul et le prince d’Auguste à Dioclétien* 350 (Bordeaux 2006).

MARTIJN ICKS is Wissenschaftlicher Angestellter on the research project “Making and Unmaking the Emperor” at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. His publications include *The Crimes of Elagabalus: the Life and Legacy of Rome’s Decadent Boy Emperor* (I.B. Tauris, 2010), ‘Empire of the Sun? Civic responses to the rise and fall of Sol Elagabal in the Roman empire,’ in *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* (Vol. 9 of *Impact of Empire*; Brill, 2009), and ‘Heliogabalus, a Monster on the Roman Throne: the literary construction of a “bad” emperor,’ in *Kakos: Badness and Anti-value in Classical Antiquity* (Brill, 2008).

PARSHIA LEE-STECUM is a Senior Lecturer in the Centre for Classics and Archaeology at The University of Melbourne in Australia. He is the author of *Powerplay in Tibullus: Reading Elegies Book 1* (Cambridge, 1998), ‘Persona and Power in Horace’s First Book of Epistles,’ in *Antichthon* 43 (2009), and ‘Roman *refugium*: refugee narratives in Augustan versions of Roman pre-history,’ in *Hermathena* 194 (2008).

PETER LONDEY is Associate Lecturer and Convenor of the Classics Program of the School of Language Studies at the Australian National University. He is the author of *Other People's Wars: a history of Australian peacekeeping* (Allen & Urwin, 2004), and 'A possession for ever: Charles Bean, the ancient Greeks, and military commemoration in Australia,' in *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53 (2007). He is also co-editor (with D. Horner and J. Bou) of *Australian Peacekeeping: Sixty Years in the Field* (Cambridge, 2009).

JOHN PENWILL is an Honorary Associate in Humanities within the Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences at La Trobe University, Bendigo, in Australia. He is the author of *Two Essays on Virgil: Intertextual Issues in Aeneid 6 and Georgics 4* (Studies in Western Traditions 2, 1995), and several articles on Roman poetry, including 'On Choosing a Life: variations on an epic theme in Apuleius *Met.* 10 & 11,' in *Ramus* 38 (2009), 'Lucretius and the First Triumvirate,' in *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome* (Brill, 2009), and 'The Double Visions of Pompey and Caesar,' in *Antichthon* 43 (2009).

FRANCISCO PINA POLO is Profesor titular de Historia Antigua at the Universidad de Zaragoza in Spain. He is the author of a pioneering study on Rome's informal popular assembly, the *contio* (*Las contiones civiles y militares en Rome*, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1989). His other publications include 'Eminent corpses: Roman aristocracy's passing from life to history,' in *Formae Mortis: el tránsito de la vida a la muerte en las sociedades antiguas* (University of Barcelona, 2009), 'Hispania of Caesar and Pompey. A conflict of *clientelae*?' in *Del Imperium De Pompeyo A La Auctoritas De Augusto: Homenaje a Michael Grant* (Instituto de Historia, Madrid, 2008), 'Public speaking at Rome: a question of *auctoritas*,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford, forthcoming), and *Consulares, consuls and the 'constitution' of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

JONATHAN PRAG is Fellow and Lecturer in Ancient History at Oxford's Merton College. His publications include 'Republican Sicily at the start of the 21st Century: the rise of the optimists,' in *Pallas* 79 (2009), 'Auxilia and Gymnasia: A Sicilian Model of Roman Imperialism,' in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 97 (2007), and 'Cave Navem: Petronius, *Satyricon* 30.1,' in *Classical Quarterly* 56 (2006). He is also co-editor, with I.D. Repath, of *A Handbook to Petronius* (Blackwell, 2009).

JOHN W. RICH is Emeritus Professor of Roman History in the Department of Classics at the University of Nottingham, U.K. He is the author of *Declaring War in the Roman Republic in the Period of Transmarine Expansion* (Latomus, 1976), *Cassius Dio: The Augustan Settlement* (Aris & Phillips, 1990), *A History of the Roman Republic* (Blackwell, 2010), and *War, Expansion and Society in Early Rome* (forthcoming).

RON RIDLEY is Emeritus Professor in the School of Historical Studies at The University of Melbourne in Australia. He is the author of *History of Rome: a documented analysis* (Rome, 1987), *The Infancy of Historiography* (1998), and *The Emperor's Retrospect: Augustus' Res Gestae in epigraphy, historiography and commentary* (Peeters, 2003).

ENRICA SCIARRINO is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Classics and Linguistics at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. Her publications include 'The Elder Cato and Gaius Gracchus: Roman Oratory Before Cicero,' in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric* (Blackwell, 2007), 'The Introduction of Epic in Rome: cultural theft and social contests,' in *Arethusa* 39 (2006), and a new book, *The Invention of Latin Prose: From Poetic Translations to Elite Transcripts*.

ANDREW J. TURNER was an Australian Research Council Post Doctoral Fellow at The University of Melbourne from 2005–2008. He is co-author of *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006), and co-editor of a digital edition of a manuscript of Terence, published by the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 2010). His other publications include 'The Poet and the Praetor: Travel Narratives from Early Second-Century Italy,' in *Antichthon* 43 (2009), and 'Frontinus and Domitian: *Laus principis* in the *Strategemata*,' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 103 (2007).

FREDERIK J. VERVAET is a Lecturer in Ancient History in the School of Historical Studies at The University of Melbourne in Australia. He is the author of several substantial articles on Roman republican history, the most recent ones being 'The Monopolisation of the *summum imperium auspiciumque*: From Cornelius Sulla Felix to Emperor Caesar Augustus,' in *MEFRA* 122 (2010), 'The Secret History: The Official Position of Emperor Caesar Divi filius from 31 to 27 BCE,' in *Ancient Society* 40 (2010), and 'Pompeius' Career from 79 to 70 BCE: Constitutional, Political and Historical Considerations,' in *Klio* 91 (2009). He is currently preparing a monograph on 'The Principle of the *summum imperium auspiciumque* under the Roman Republic'.

CONTENTS

Preface	XI
Abbreviations	XV
Contributors	XVII

Introduction	1
--------------------	---

THE GRAECO-HELLENISTIC WORLD

Autochthonous Autocrats: The tyranny of the Athenian democracy <i>Jonathan Hall</i>	11
Phokian Desperation: Private and public in the outbreak of the 3rd Sacred War	29
<i>Peter Londey</i>	
Truth and falsehood in early Hellenistic propaganda	39
<i>Brian Bosworth</i>	
Tyrannizing Sicily: The despots who cried 'Carthage!'	51
<i>Jonathan Prag</i>	

REPUBLICAN ROME

<i>Frigidus rumor</i> : The creation of a (negative) public image in Rome <i>Francisco Pina Polo</i>	75
Deceit and the struggle for Roman franchise in Italy	91
<i>Christopher Dart</i>	
Pouvoirs extraordinaires et tromperie. La tentation de la monarchie à la fin de la République romaine (82–44 av. J.-C.) ...	107
<i>Frédéric Hurlet</i>	

AUGUSTAN DISSIMULATION

Arrogating despotic power through deceit: the Pompeian model for Augustan <i>dissimulatio</i>	133
<i>Frederik Juliaan Vervaet</i>	

- Deception, lies, and economy with the truth: Augustus and the establishment of the principate 167
John Rich

EARLY IMPERIAL LITERATURE

- Lucan's Cleopatra 195
Andrew J. Turner
- Damn with great praise? The imperial encomia of Lucan and Silius 211
John Penwill
- What 'lies' behind Phaedrus' fables? 231
Enrica Sciarrino
- Mendacia maiorum*: tales of deceit in pre-Republican Rome 249
Parshia Lee-Stecum
- Is there an antidote to Caesar? The despot as *venenum* and *veneficus* 271
Cristina Calhoon
- Who slept with whom in the Roman empire? Women, sex, and scandal in Suetonius' *Caesares* 295
James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard

THE LATER EMPIRE

- From priest to emperor to priest-emperor: The failed legitimization of Elagabalus 331
Martijn Icks
- Constantinus tyrannus*: Das negative Konstantinsbild in der paganen Historiographie und seine Nuancen 343
Bruno Bleckmann
- Justinian, Procopius, and deception: Literary lies, imperial politics, and the archaeology of sixth-century Greece 355
Amelia Brown

THE BROADER CONTEXT

- Despotism and Deceit: Yes, but what happened before and after? .. 373
Ron Ridley

CONTENTS

IX

Bibliography	387
Index	425
Index Locorum	431