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978-0-521-89555-2 - The Emperor Elagabalus: Fact or Fiction?  
Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado  
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## THE EMPEROR ELAGABALUS

The third-century adolescent Roman emperor miscalled *Elagabalus* or *Heliogabalus* was made into myth shortly after his murder. For 1,800 years since, scandalous stories relate his alleged depravity, debauchery and bloodthirsty fanaticism as high priest of a Syrian sun god. From these, one cannot discern anything demonstrably true about the boy or his reign. This book, drawing on the author's detailed research and publications, investigates what can truly be known about this emperor. Through careful analysis of all sources, including historiography, coins, inscriptions, papyri, sculpture and topography, it shows that there are things of which we can be sure, and others that are likely. Through these we can reassess his reign. We discover a youth, thrust by his handlers into power on false pretences, who creates his own more authentic *persona* as priest-emperor, but loses the struggle for survival against rivals in his family, who justify his murder with his myth.

LEONARDO DE ARRIZABALAGA Y PRADO is a graduate of Cambridge University. Recently he taught at Tsukuba University, Japan, where he published many articles, in English, on the Roman emperor commonly but wrongly known as '*Elagabalus*'.

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LEONARDO DE ARRIZABALAGA Y PRADO



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## Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>Dedication</i>	xv
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xviii
<i>Stylistic conventions</i>	xxxiv
1 Exposition	I
Radical and basic questions	1
Problematic	5
Sources and method of enquiry	14
2 Explosion	25
Varius, <i>Elagabalus</i> and <i>Heliogabalus</i>	25
Varian texts	27
Analysis of Varian propositions	46
3 Constitution	57
A mental exercise	57
Coins	59
Inscriptions	106
Papyri, ostraca and mummy labels	125
Sculpture: round	131
Sculpture: relief	141
Topography	146
<i>Res Gestae</i>	153
4 Speculation	162
The question <i>Why?</i>	162
Varius' priesthood	165
Varius' childhood	183
Varius' heritage	205
Varius' reality	229

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
5	Findings in contexts	260
	Findings	260
	Varius' family	261
	The Severan dynasty	262
	The Roman principate	264
	Varius' shift	266
	Varius and his models	268
	Severan self-presentation	272
	Varius and the imperial administration	278
	Varius and history	280
	Varius and culture	282
6	Appendices	
	1: Theory of knowledge	285
	2: Varian propositions	294
	3: Varian coin concordance	347
	4: List of Varian inscriptions	350
	5: List of Varian papyri, ostraca and mummy labels	352
	6: Varian chronology	357
	<i>Bibliography</i>	361
	<i>Index</i>	371

## *List of illustrations*

### TOPOGRAPHY: xxxvi–xxxvii

Map 1. The Roman empire in the late Severan period (211–235) showing Varian sites.

### ANCIENT HISTORIOGRAPHY: 24

Dio's text in *Codex Vaticanus Graecus* 1266, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

### COINS: 89–105

**89:** o. Emesene coin of Caracalla showing the Baetyl in the Temple of Emesa: BMC: c.230.17; 1922.0509.364; CGR153026. Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum. (As reproduced in *LIMC, Elagabalos*, N° 7.)

The following list shows Numismatica Variana Data Base (NVDB) number, source, source catalogue number, side and denomination.

#### **90:**

1. NVDB 359: BNF: FG 1226, obv., AV
2. NVDB 328: BNF: FG 1220, obv., AV
3. NVDB 345: BNF: FG 7182, obv., D
4. NVDB 373: BNF: FG 7322, obv., D
5. NVDB 364: BNF: FG 7314, obv., D
6. NVDB 509: BNF: FG 7312, obv., D

#### **91:**

7. NVDB 10: BNF: FG 7252, obv., D
8. NVDB 59: BNF: SL 161, obv., AV
9. NVDB 38: FWM: CM.RI.1855-R, obv., A
10. NVDB 41: BNF: A-V 1195, obv., A
11. NVDB 85: FWM: CM.RI.1856-R, obv., D
12. NVDB 69: BNF: BEDR 443, obv., AV

**92:**

13. NVDB 77: BNF: Y 28803, obv., A
14. NVDB 75: FWM: CM.TR.1611-R, obv., A
15. NVDB 136: BNF: FG 7325, obv., A
16. NVDB 371: BNF: FG 7317, obv., A
17. NVDB 127: BNF: EDD, obv., A
18. NVDB 107: BNF: 1984-402, obv., A

**93:**

19. NVDB 223: BNF: FG 7283, obv., D
20. NVDB 281: BNF: FG 7240, obv., D
21. NVDB 273: BNF: FG 7237, obv., D
22. NVDB 207: BNF: FG 1223, obv., AV
23. NVDB 254: BNF: FG 7221, obv., D
24. NVDB 245: BNF: FG 1219, obv., AV

**94:**

25. NVDB 253: FWM: CM.RI.1857-R, obv., D
26. NVDB 225: BNF: 1966-512-3, obv., D
27. NVDB 24: BNF: FG 7310, obv., As
28. NVDB 241: BNF: FG 7273, obv., As
29. NVDB 228: BNF: FG 7303, obv., Dp
30. NVDB 210-212: BNF: A-V 1199, obv., A

**95:**

31. NVDB 238: BNF: FG 1218, rev., AV
32. NVDB 155: BNF: FG 3795, rev., S
33. NVDB 328: BNF: FG 1220, rev., AV
34. NVDB 350: BNF: FG 7189, rev., D
35. NVDB 243: BNF: FG 7183, rev., D
36. NVDB 245: BNF: FG 1219, rev., AV

**96:**

37. NVDB 37: BNF: CDB 144, rev., AV
38. NVDB 359: BNF: FG 1226, rev., AV
39. NVDB 290: FWM: CM.RI.657 R, obv., S
40. NVDB 290: FWM: CM.RI.657-R, rev., S
41. NVDB 141: FWM: CM.YG.1399R, rev., AV
42. NVDB 153: BNF: FG 1222, rev., AV

**97:**

43. NVDB 369: BNF: FG 1227, obv., AV
44. NVDB 369: BNF: FG 1227, rev., AV
45. NVDB 375: BNF: FG 7344, rev., D
46. NVDB 378: BNF: FG 7343, rev., D

*List of illustrations*

ix

47. NVDB 307: FWM: CM.YG.330-R, obv., S  
 48. NVDB 307: FWM: CM.YG.330-R, rev., S
- 98:**
49. NVDB 254: BNF: FG 7221, rev., D  
 50. NVDB 259: FWM: CM.RI.1858-R, rev., D  
 51. NVDB 308: BNF: 1984/403XL, rev., D  
 52. NVDB 301: FWM:CM.RI.1859-R, rev., D  
 53. NVDB 313: FWM: M.RI.1860-R, rev., D  
 54. NVDB 313: FWM: CM.RI.1857-R, rev., D
- 99:**
55. NVDB 181: FWM: CM.RI.1861-R, obv., D  
 56. NVDB 181: FWM: CM.RI.1861-R, rev., D  
 57. NVDB 187: BNF: FG 7289, obv., D  
 58. NVDB 187: BNF: FG 7289, rev., D  
 59. NVDB 229: BNF: A-V 1200, obv., S  
 60. NVDB 229: BNF: A-V 1200, rev., S
- 100:**
61. NVDB 510: BNF: FG 374, obv., M  
 62. NVDB 510: BNF: FG 374, rev., M
- 101:**
63. NVDB 511: BMC: 1992 s-9-364 Clay, obv., M.  
 Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum  
 64. NVDB 511: BMC: 1992 s-9-364 Clay, rev., M.  
 Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum
- 102:**
65. NVDB 512: MKB: 105, obv., AE  
 66. NVDB 512: MKB: 105, rev., AE
- 103:**
67. NVDB 513: NAC: 596, obv., A  
 68. NVDB 513: NAC: 596, rev., A
- 104:**
69. NVDB 514: BNF: FG 28, obv., MC  
 70. NVDB 514: BNF: FG 28, rev., MC
- 105:**
71. NVDB 422: BNF: FG 1231, obv., AV  
 72. NVDB 380: BNF: CDB146, obv., AV  
 73. NVDB 462: BNF: FG 1229, obv., AV  
 74. NVDB 486: BNF: FG 3815, obv., S  
 75. NVDB 495: BNF: FG 3817, obv., S  
 76. NVDB 496: FWM: CM.LS.3594-R, obv., D



**Denominations:**

A	Antoninianus	D	Denarius
AE	Bronze	Dp	Dupondius
As	As	M	Medallion
AV	Aureus	MC	Médaille Cerclé
		S	Sestertius

**Sources:**

BMC	British Museum Collection	MKB	Münzkabinett Berlin
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France	NAC	Numismatica Ars Classica
FWM	Fitzwilliam Museum		

Thanks are due to the British Museum, to the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, to the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, to the Director of the Münzkabinett Berlin, and to the publishers of Numismatica Ars Classica for kind permission to publish their coins

SCULPTURE: ROUND: (1–24) 133–140; RELIEF: (25–32) 143–145

**133:**

1. Bust: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 756<sup>a</sup> (I.N. 2073). Photograph by Ole Haupt.
2. Bust: Schlossmuseum, Gotha, Inv.-Nr. A Ptr 2. Photographs by Lutz Ebhardt.
3. Bust: Musée du Louvre, Paris, MA N° 1077. Photo RMN.

**134:**

4. Head: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Inv.Nr. Arch 68/1. Photographs by P. Frankenstein, H. Zweitach.
5. Bust: Museo Torlonia, Rome, Inv. N° 574. Photographs used by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.
6. Fragment: Museo Capitolino, Rome, Magazzino Teatro Marcello. Inv. 903. Photographs used by permission of the Soprintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma.

**135:**

7. Bust: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, N° 77.337. Photographs used by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.
8. Head: Nymphaeum Museum, Perge, Turkey. Photographs used by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

*List of illustrations*

xi

9. Head: Musei Vaticani, Rome, Inv. N° 4696. Photographs Vatican Museums.
- 136:**
10. Head: Museo Capitolino, Rome, Inv. N° 470. Photographs by the author.
11. Head: The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo, Inv. N° 1434. Photographs by J. Lathion © Nasjonalmuseet 2008.
12. Head: The Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Inv. N° MTh 855. Used with permission.
- 137:**
13. Bust: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, I.N. 741. Photograph by Ole Haupt.
14. Statue: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, I.N. 714. Photograph by Ole Haupt.
15. Bust: Musée du Louvre, Paris, MA N° 1022. Photograph RMN.
- 138:**
16. Head: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations, Inv. S 954
17. Bust: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations, Inv. S 2062
18. Bust: Farnborough Hall, Warwickshire, Universität zu Köln: Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Inv. No 5697
- 139:**
19. Head: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 45–66. Photograph by John Lambertson.
20. Head: Roma, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Inv. 2457. Photograph from Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini, by Maria Teresa Natale.
21. Head Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. N° 329. Photograph used by permission of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.
- 140:**
22. Colossal statue: Museo Nazionale, Naples. Photograph used by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.
23. Panzerstatue: Archäologischer Park, Carnuntum. Used with permission.
24. Gewandstatue: Archäologischer Park, Carnuntum. Used with permission.

**I43:**

25. Cameo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris N° 303. Used with permission.
26. Cameo: Münzkabinett, Berlin N° 7011.
27. Cameo: The State Hermitage Museum, N°. Ж-1453. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg.

**I44:**

28. Cameo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris N° 304. Used with permission.
29. Cameo: Münzkabinett, Berlin N° 2342
30. Relief sculpture: La pompa del magistrato, Museo di Aquileia, Udine. Photograph: Aquileia Nostra, Udine.

**I45:**

31. *The Idyll of Elagabal*. Drawing, by the author.
32. Photo-merge of column capital, by the author.

## TOPOGRAPHY: 148–150

**I50:**

- o. Drawing of the Emesene Temple of Elagabal from a Varian coin of Emesa, Donaldson 1857, N° 19.

**I51:**

1. Map of Rome in the reign of Varius. (Adapted by LAP from Palmer, R. R. (ed.) 1957: 39).
2. Reconstruction of the Varian temple of Elagabal, Rome, Françoise Villedieu and Patrizia Veltri.

**I52:**

3. Syrian temple, Trastevere, Rome. Photograph by the author.
4. Circus Varianus, Porta Labicana, Rome. Photograph by the author.

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## *Dedication*

### THE KINDNESS OF STRANGERS

At the risk of sounding like a Blanche Dubois impersonator, I could not possibly have written this book without depending on the kindness of strangers. When I was first drawn to this subject by a friend, Edouard Roditi, I knew nothing of the skills I must acquire to approach it. I had not read Classics or History at Cambridge, but Philosophy (or Moral Science, as it was then called), Archaeology and Anthropology, and English. Within English, I had done papers involving Classical Greek and Latin literature. But this had in no way prepared me for research in Ancient History. The closest I had come was 'S' level History, Renaissance to Enlightenment, at the Oratory School, under a learned Mediaevalist, Dom Adrian Morey.

Indeed, history was not what I set out to do. I set out intending to write an historical novel about *Heliogabalus*, as I then thought Varius was called. My intention was that the novel should be historically accurate, and that its fiction should be subordinate to, and consonant with, historical fact.

Accordingly, I set out in search of facts about this emperor. I knew at least, having historian friends, that I must go straight to the original sources. Using the occasion to revive my schoolboy Greek and Latin, I did so with the help of the Loeb translations. It did not take me long to realise that those original sources do not purvey facts, as my friends and I understand them. Rather, they offered as fact unattributed hearsay and unproven allegations.

When I turned from the original sources to modern academic works about this emperor, I found that most, with one honourable exception, did not seriously or systematically challenge those ancient sources, though they might express doubt about some of their more implausible allegations

about him. Even that one exception, while very encouraging, did not cover the whole of this emperor's life and reign, but only one aspect of it.

I would, eventually, come to see that the aspect it covers is indeed the most important, if only because it is one of very few where a substantial body of fact can be found. I did not know this then. But I did realise that this emperor's life and reign, seen as a whole, remained to be reclaimed for history. I also realised that it fell to me to do so, if only because I cared.

That was when I began to rely on the kindness of strangers. For it soon became obvious that I would have to learn much more about ancient historiography, and also to learn, starting from zero, the basic skills of numismatics and epigraphy. Soon after, I would add to that list papyrology, glyptology and topography. At least of this last my year of undergraduate Archaeology had given me some notion, but for all the rest I was a rank beginner. I would have to become a student all over again.

Accordingly, through friends at Cambridge, I got introductions to experts in some of the fields I needed to acquaint myself with. In other cases, I simply approached the relevant individual, out of the blue.

I found that most, especially the best in their field, were willing to help, with guidance in research, and in critical discussion of articles where I first published my findings. Some have since become friends. Others have died. Another source of help was those, already friends, upon whom I prevailed to discuss questions of epistemology and methodology, and to read my scripts for clarity and style. Again, this book could never have been written without them, or the aid of students, who carefully and tirelessly helped me photograph, digitalise and catalogue its artefactual materials. Finally, scholars who contributed papers, music, pictures or discussion to the Varian Symposium, held in Trinity College, Cambridge, in summer 2005, helped bring the subject of this book to its eventual publishers' attention.

It is to all these, no longer strangers, as well as to the memory of my parents, Antonio and María del Carmen, that I dedicate this book. I list them here together, without degrees or titles, since most are eminent, and require no introduction; while those who are not yet so will surely soon become so. To all these persons heartfelt thanks. Any remaining errors are my own.

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 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

*Dedication*

xvii

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## Abbreviations

**STUDIA VARIANA:** All *Studia Variana* are by Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado (LAP). One is written in collaboration with Raúl de la Fuente Marcos (RFM).

- AV* ***Anaglyptica Variana: Column capitals with sculptural relief, and associated fragments, related to the cult of Elagabal.***
- AVI* Fascicles 1 and 2, *TSSL*, 43, 2003: 111–87; [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M63/M637420/7.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M63/M637420/7.pdf)
- AV2* Fascicle 3, *TSSL*, 45, 2004: 139–22; [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M71/M718576/5.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M71/M718576/5.pdf)
- AV3* Fascicle 4, *TSSL*, 46, 2004: 199–258; [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M75/M756659/8.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M75/M756659/8.pdf)
- PECE* ***Pseudo-Eunuchs in the Court of Elagabalus: The riddle of Gannys, Eutyichianus and Comazon***, *UGU95*, 1999: 117–41. [www.cambridge.org/9780521895552](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521895552)
- QV* ***Quaestiones Varianae.***
- QVI* *Existence, Identity, Nomenclature: a basis for Studia Variana*, Part 1: *The Boy on the Coin*, *AST*, 22, 2004: 57–87. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M72/M729463/5.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M72/M729463/5.pdf)
- QV2* *Existence, Identity, Nomenclature: a basis for Studia Variana*, Part 2: *Nomen Varianum*, *AST*, 23, 2004: 15–47. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M73/M731206/3.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M73/M731206/3.pdf)
- QV3* *In Varium Heliogabulum imperium conlatum est (HA/AH 1.4): the Roman imperial succession of a.u.c. 971= A.D. 218*, *AST*, 24, 2005: 15–67. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M89/M899278/3.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M89/M899278/3.pdf)
- QV4* *Iter Principis: Elagabal's Journey from Emesa to Rome?* *AST*, 21, 2003: 59–100. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M63/M633663/5.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M63/M633663/5.pdf)
- QV5* *In Varium: the Indictment*, *AST*, 25, 2005: 71–123. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M89/M899279/6.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M89/M899279/6.pdf)



## Abbreviations

xix

- QV6 *In Varium: the Verdict*, *AST*, 26, 2006: 59–120. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M84/M845971/6.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M84/M845971/6.pdf)
- QV7 *Clades alia Variana: Varius his Fall*, *AST*, 27, 2006: 43–99. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M84/M849980/5.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M84/M849980/5.pdf)
- TIBV ***The Importance of Being Varius***, or, *Exploding the Varian Misconception*: an Introduction to *Studia Variana*, *TSLL*, 48, 2005: 95–138. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M81/M816743/7.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M81/M816743/7.pdf)
- VSDS ***Varian Studies, a Definition of the Subject***, *Opening address to the Varian Symposium, Trinity College, Cambridge, 30–31 July, 2005. Varian Symposium Acta (VSA)*: [www.couperusmuseum.org/varian/](http://www.couperusmuseum.org/varian/)
- VTER Arrizabalaga y Prado, Leonardo de, and Fuente Marcos, Raúl de la, ***The Site of the Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome***, *TSLL*, 47, 2005: 89–124. [www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M78/M782732/7.pdf](http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedia/dlam/M78/M782732/7.pdf)

## ANCIENT VARIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

- Amm. Marc.* (A.D. 391) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. Frézouls and Berger, (1996) 26.6.19, Paris.
- C354 (A.D. 354) *Chronographus anni CCCLIII*, *Chronica Minora*, 1, ed. Mommsen, T., (1894), Berlin.
- C354 FC *Fasti consulares a regibus exactis*, a.p. Chr. 218–22: 59.
- C354 LG *Liber Generationis* I: 138.
- C354 CUR *Chronica Urbis Romae*: 147.
- Cassiod.* (A.D. 519) *Cassiodori Senatoris chronica ad a.DXIX*, a.p. Chr. 219–22, *Chronica Minora*, 2, ed. Mommsen, T., (1894): 145. Berlin.
- CC395 (A.D. 395) *Consularia Constantinopolitana ad a. CCCXCV*, *Chronica Minora*, 1, ed. Mommsen, T., (1894): 226. Berlin.
- CG452<sup>6</sup>5II (A.D. 382–420) *Chronica Gallica a. CCCCLII et DXI*, III, *Chronicorum a. DXI pars Hieronymiana*, 392, *Chronica Minora*, 1, ed. Mommsen, T., (1894): 641, Berlin.
- Dio* (A.D. 222–30) *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum Quae Supersunt*, ed. Boissevain, U., (1901): 402–73 = Ch.79.30.1 – 80.21.3, Berlin.

- EH* (A.D. 953) *Excerpta Historica Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti* eds. Boissevain, U., Boor, C., Buttner-Wobst Th. (1903) Berlin.
- EH/EI* vol. III, *Excerpta de Insidiis, ex Ioanne Malala* §15.
- EH/EVV* vol. II, pars I, *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis, ex Cassio Dione*, §403–14.
- Epitome* (A.D. 395–408) *Epitome de Caesaribus*, ed. Festy, M. (1999) Paris.
- Euseb. HE* (A.D. 325) *Eusebi Episcopi Caesareaensis Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Migne, (1839-) 6.21, Paris.
- Euseb. CC* (A.D. 325) *Eusebi Chronicorum Canonum Quae Supersunt, Chronicorum Libri Duo, (Eusebius, Versio Armenia, Hieronymus, Epitome Syria)* ed. Schoene, A., (1866): 178–9, 216, Berlin.
- Eutrop.* (A.D. 364) *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, ed. Müller, F (1995), 8.22, Stuttgart.
- HA* (A.D. 390–410) *Scriptores historiae Avgustae* ed. Hohl, E., Samberger, C. and Seyfarth, W., (1965) Leipzig.
- HA/AC:* *Antoninus Caracalla.*
- HA/AD:* *Antoninus Diadumenianus.*
- HA/AH:* *Antoninus Heliogabalus.*
- HA/OM:* *Opellius Macrinus.*
- HA/SA:* *Severus Alexander.*
- Herodian* (A.D. 238–50) *Herodianus Regnum post Marcum* ed. Lucarini, C. M. (2005) Teubner, Munich and Leipzig.
- Hydatius* (A.D. 468) *Idatii Episcopi Aquae-flaviensis Descriptio Consulium*, 218–22, *Patrologia*, ed. Migne, Vol LII: (1839-): 904–5. Paris.
- Malalas* (A.D. 565) *Chronographia*, ed. Thurn, H., (2000), Berlin.
- Oros.* (A.D. 417) *Orosii Historiae adversus Paganos*, ed. Zangmeister, K. F. W, (1889), Leipzig.
- PTEC* (A.D. 433–55) *Prosperi Tironis Epitoma Chronicon, Chronica Minora*, 1, ed. Mommsen, T., (1894): 435–36, Berlin.
- VG 1266* *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1266*, earliest known manuscript of relevant part of *Dio*: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Victor* (A.D. 360) Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, ed. Pichlmayr, F., Gruendel, R., (1970):102–3 = Ch. 23, Leipzig.

## Abbreviations

xxi

- Xiphilinus* (11th century A.D.) *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, ed. Boissevain, U., (1901), vol. 3: 722–9, *Xiphilinus*, 344.17–354.19. Berlin.
- Zonar.* (A.D. 1118) *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome Historiarum*, ed. Dindorf, L., (1868–75), Lib. 12, Cap. 13–14, Leipzig.
- Zos.* (A.D. 498) *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle*, ed. Paschoud, F., (2000) I.10.1–I.11.1, Paris.

## ANCIENT LITERARY SOURCES

- Apul. *Met.* Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*.
- Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* Cicero, *De Inventione Rhetorica*.
- Dig.* *Corpus Iuris Civilis, I, Digesta*.
- Hdt. Herodotus, *Histories*.
- Juv. *Sat.* Juvenal, *Satires*.
- Livy Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*.
- Luc. *Syr. D.* Lucian, *De Syria Dea*.
- Plin. *Ep.* Pliny, *Epistles*.
- Quint. *Inst.* Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*.
- Suet. *C.C.* Suetonius, *Gaius Caligula*.
- Tac. *Hist.* Tacitus, *Histories*.
- Tert. *C. M.* Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*.

## ANCIENT HISTORICAL PERSONS, GODS AND INSTITUTIONS

short name	full name (so far as known)	abbreviation	identification
Adventus	Marcus Oclatinus Adventus		consul with Macrinus, Varius
Albinus	Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus		rival of Severus
Alcippilla	Aurelia Alcippilla Lailiana		dedicatrix of Thyatiran inscription
Alexander	Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander	GAB	Roman emperor 222–235, originally Alexianus, here called Alexander after becoming Roman emperor
Alexianus	Gessius Alexianus Bassianus	GAB	son of Marcianus and Mamaea, here called Alexianus before becoming emperor as Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander

(cont.)

short name	full name (so far as known)	abbreviation	identification
Annia	Annia Faustina Augusta	AFA	third wife of Varius, descendant of the family of Faustina Minor
Apicius	Marcus Gavius Apicius		supposed author of culinary treatise
Aquilia	Julia Aquilia Severa Augusta	JAS	second wife of Varius, reportedly a Vestal virgin
Augustus	Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus		Roman emperor 31 BC–AD 14
Aurelian	Lucius Domitius Aurelianus		Roman emperor 270–275
Avitus	Gaius Julius Avitus Alexianus	CJAA	husband of Maesa, father of Soaemias and Mamaea, grandfather of Varius and Alexianus
Balbillus	Tiberius Julius Balbillus	JBR	priest of Elagabal in Rome during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla
Bassianus	Julius Bassianus	JBE	priest of Elagabal in Emesa, father of Domna and Maesa, grandfather of Caracalla Geta, Soaemias and Mamaea, great-grandfather of Varius and Alexianus
Caesar	Gaius Julius Caesar		Roman dictator 48–44 BC
Caligula	Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus		Roman emperor 37–41
Capitolinus	Julius Capitolinus		alleged Roman historiographer ( <i>HA</i> )
Caracalla	Lucius Septimius Bassianus	LSB	son of Severus and Domna, a.k.a. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor 211–217
Carinus	Marcus Aurelius Carinus		Roman emperor 283–285
Carus	Marcus Aurelius Carus		Roman emperor 282–283
Cicero	Marcus Tullius Cicero		Roman republican statesman, author

*Abbreviations*

xxiii

short name	full name (so far as known)	abbreviation	identification
Cilo	Lucius Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus		ally of Severus
Comazon	Publius Valerius Comazon	PVC	praetorian prefect and consul under Varius, associate of Maesa
Commodus	Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus	MAC	son of Marcus and Faustina, Roman emperor 180–192
Constantine	Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus		Roman emperor 306–337
Diadumenianus	Marcus Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus	MOD	son of Macrinus, co-emperor early 218
Didius	Marcus Didius (Severus) Julianus		Roman emperor March–June 293
Dio	Cassius Dio (Cocceianus?)		Roman historiographer, author of <i>Dio</i>
Diocletian	Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus		Roman emperor 284–305
Domna	Julia Domna Augusta	JDA	daughter of Bassianus, wife of Severus, mother of Caracalla and Geta, sister of Maesa, aunt of Soemias and Mamaea, great-aunt of Varius and Alexianus
Elagabal	Deus Sol Elagabalus	DSE	Sun god of Emesa, a.k.a. Elagabalus and Heliogabalus
Eubulus	Aurelius Eubulus		alleged procurator under Varius
Faustina	Annia Galeria Faustina a.k.a. Faustina Minor	FM	wife of Marcus, mother of Commodus, daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior
Gessius	Marcus Julius Gessius Bassianus	JGB	<i>magister</i> of the Arval brethren during the reign of Caracalla

*(cont.)*

short name	full name (so far as known)	abbreviation	identification
Geta	Publius Septimius Geta, (a.k.a. Lucius as <i>privatus</i> )	PSG	son of Severus and Domna, co-emperor with Caracalla 211
Gratus	Gaius Vettius Gratus Sabinianus		consul under Varius
Hadrian	Publius Aelius Hadrianus		Roman emperor 117–138
Herodian	Herodianus		Roman historiographer, author of <i>Herodian</i>
Julius	Julius Alexander		nobleman of Emesa, allegedly murdered by Commodus
Justinian	Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus		Roman emperor 527–576
Laetus	Quintus Aemilius Laetus		praetorian prefect under Commodus, Pertinax, Didius
Lampridius	Aelius Lampridius		alleged Roman historiographer, pseudonym for author of part of <i>HA</i>
Macrinus	Marcus Opellius Severus Macrinus	MOM	Roman emperor 217–218, between Caracalla and Varius
Maesa	Julia Maesa Augusta	JMA	daughter of Bassianus of Emesa, sister of Domna, wife of Avitus, mother of Soaemias and Mamaea, grandmother of Varius and Alexianus
Mamaea	Julia Mamaea Augusta	JMMA	daughter of Avitus and Maesa, sister of Soaemias, aunt of Varius, wife of Gessius, mother of Alexianus
Marcellus	Sextus Varius Marcellus	SVM	husband of Soaemias, father of Varius
Marcianus	Gessius Marcianus	GM	husband of Mamaea, father of Alexianus / Alexander
Marcus	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus	MAA	Roman emperor 161–180, adoptive son of Pius, husband of Faustina Minor, father of Commodus

*Abbreviations*

xxv

short name	full name (so far as known)	abbreviation	identification
Maximinus	Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus		Roman emperor 235–238
Maximus	Lucius Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus	MM	senator, city prefect, consul, imperial biographer. author of <i>Maximus</i>
Nero	Lucius Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus Nero (as emperor); Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, (as <i>privatus</i> )		Roman emperor 54–68
Nerva	Marcus Cocceius Nerva		Roman emperor 96–98
Niger	Gaius Pescennius Niger		rival of Severus
Numerianus	Aurelius Numerius Numerianus		Roman emperor 283–284
Orbiana	Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana		wife of Alexander
Otho	Marcus Salvius Otho		Roman emperor Jan–Apr 69
Paula	Julia Cornelia Paula Augusta	JCP	first wife of Varius
Pertinax	Publius Helvius Pertinax		Roman emperor Jan–Mar 193
Philip	Marcus Julius Philippus		Roman emperor 244–249
Pius	Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus		Roman emperor 138–161
Plautianus	Gaius Fulvius Plautianus		praetorian prefect under Severus
Plautilla	Fulvia Plautilla		daughter of Plautianus, wife of Caracalla
Pliny	Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus		Roman author
Porphyrogenitus	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus		Byzantine emperor, 913–959
Sacerdos	Quintus Tineius Sacerdos		consul with Varius
Scipio	Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus		Roman republican statesman, general
Seleucus	Marcus Flavius Vitellius Seleucus		consul under Varius

*(cont.)*

short name	full name (so far as known)	abbreviation	identification
Senatus Populusque Romanus	Senatus Populusque Romanus	SPQR	the Senate and People of Rome
Severus	Lucius Septimius Severus	LSS	Roman emperor 193–211, husband of Domna, father of Caracalla and Geta
Soaemias	Julia Soaemias Bassiana Augusta	JSB	daughter of Maesa, wife of Marcellus, mother of Varius
Thrasia	Lucius Valerius Messala Thrasea Priscus		curator of the waters under Severus
Tiberius	Tiberius Claudius Nero (as <i>privatus</i> ), Tiberius Julius Caesar (as emperor)		Roman emperor 14–37
Trajan	Marcus Ulpius Traianus		Roman emperor 98–117
Ulpian	Domitius Ulpianus		Roman jurist
Uranius	Lucius Julius Aurelius Sulpicius Severus Uranius Antoninus		Emesene pretender to Roman principate
Varius	Sextus Varius Avitus Bassianus	VAB	son of Marcellus and Soaemias a.k.a. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor 218–222, a.k.a. <i>Elagabalus</i> or <i>Heliogabalus</i>
Vespasian	Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus		Roman emperor 69–79
Victor	Sextus Aurelius Victor		Roman historiographer, author of <i>Victor</i>
Vitellius	Aulus Vitellius		Roman emperor 69
Zoticus	Aurelius Zoticus		alleged (would be) lover of Varius

## VARIUS' IMPERIAL FORMULA

Imp	<i>Imperator</i> , emperor, military commander.
Caes	<i>Caesar</i> , Julius Caesar's name, understood as an imperial title.



## Abbreviations

xxvii

DAMf	<i>Divi Antonini Magni filius</i> , son of the deified Antoninus Magnus (SBC).
DSn	<i>Divi Severi nepos</i> , grandson of the deified Severus (LSS).
TR P	<i>Tribunicia Potestate</i> , the Tribunician Power.
Aug	<i>Augustus</i> , imperial title denoting superiority.
PCos	<i>Pro Consul</i> , senatorial title, held by emperor and others.
Cos	<i>Consul</i> , senatorial title, held by emperor and others.
PP	<i>Pater Patriae</i> , Father of the Fatherland.
P	<i>Pius</i> , dutiful to gods, state, and ancestors.
F	<i>Felix</i> , successful, triumphant.
SORP	<i>Super Omnes Retro Principes</i> , above all previous emperors.

## JOURNALS, ACTA, SERIALS, LEXICA, CATALOGUES AND CORPORA

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , Paris.
AEMÖU	<i>Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn</i> , Vienna.
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i> , New York and Washington.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Concord N.H.
AMA	<i>Agora Museum</i> , Athens.
AMG/RHR	<i>Annales du Musée Guimet, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> , Paris.
AMG/Mél	<i>Annales du Musée Guimet, Mélanges</i> , Paris.
AMS	<i>Archaeological Museum</i> , Salonica.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin and New York.
ANSMN	<i>The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> , New York.
AntAfr	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i> , Paris.
APC	<i>Archäologisches Park</i> , Carnuntum.
AqNos	<i>Aquileia Nostra</i> , Udine.
ASFN	<i>Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique</i> , Paris.
ASLod	<i>Archivio storico Lodigiano</i> , Lodi.
AST	<i>Area Studies Tsukuba</i> , Tsukuba.
AVFGS	<i>Abhandlungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, zur klassischen und provinzial-römischen Archäologie, und zur Geschichte des Altertums</i> , Bonn.
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i> , Leiden.
BACTH	<i>Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques</i> , Paris.

<i>BAGB</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé</i> , Paris.
<i>BAR/BIAA</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i> , <i>British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara</i> , Oxford.
<i>BCAR</i>	<i>Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> , Rome.
<i>BHAC</i>	<i>Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium</i> , Bonn.
<i>BHAF</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Historia-Augusta-Forschung</i> , Bonn.
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Berliner Griechische Urkunden</i> , Berlin.
<i>BIAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Cairo.
<i>BICA</i>	<i>Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> (= <i>MDAIR</i> ), Rome.
<i>BIFB</i>	<i>Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut</i> <i>Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth</i> , Paris.
<i>BIFI</i>	<i>Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut</i> <i>Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul</i> , Paris.
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in</i> <i>Bonn (im Landschaftsverband Rheinland) und des Vereins</i> <i>von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande</i> , Bonn.
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Collection</i> , London.
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , London.
<i>BMCGC</i>	<i>Greek Coins in the British Museum Collection</i> , London.
<i>BSNAF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France</i> , Paris.
<i>BNF</i>	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale de France</i> , Paris.
<i>BVGB</i>	<i>Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter</i> , Munich.
<i>Chiron</i>	<i>Chiron, Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte</i> <i>und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Munich.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1869-), Berlin.
<i>CFAQS</i>	<i>Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt</i> (1998) <i>Acta Fratrum Arvalium</i> , Scheid, J., (ed.) <i>Roma Antica</i> , 4, <i>Recherches Archéologiques a la Magliana</i> : 293–309, Rome.
<i>Classica</i>	<i>Classica</i> , Belo Horizonte.
<i>CMR</i>	<i>Centrale Montemartini</i> , Rome.
<i>CQNS</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly, New Series</i> , London.
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et</i> <i>Belles-Lettres</i> , Paris.
<i>CSCT</i>	<i>Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition</i> , Leiden.

## Abbreviations

xxix

<i>DDbDP</i>	<i>Duke Database of Documentary Papyri</i> : <a href="http://www.papyri.info">www.papyri.info</a> .
<i>DAIMF</i>	<i>Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrider Forschungen</i> , Berlin.
<i>DKÖAW-Ph</i>	<i>Denkschriften der (Kaiserlichen) Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> , Vienna.
<i>Eauze</i>	<i>Le Trésor d'Eauze</i> , Éd. AMAMP, 1992, Bordeaux.
<i>Eph Ep</i>	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i> , Rome and Berlin.
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain</i> , Leiden.
<i>ES</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i> , Düsseldorf.
<i>ESEL</i>	<i>Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae</i> , Berlin.
<i>Etymonline</i>	<i>Online Etymology Dictionary</i> , Harper, D. (ed.) © 2001, consulted 2007. <a href="http://www.etymonline.com/">www.etymonline.com/</a>
<i>FD</i>	<i>Feriale Duranum</i> , Fink, Hoey, Snyder, 1940, New Haven.
<i>FHV</i>	<i>Frankfurter Historische Vorträge</i> , Wiesbaden.
<i>FHW</i>	<i>Farnborough House</i> , Warwickshire.
<i>FWM</i>	<i>Fitzwilliam Museum</i> , Cambridge.
<i>GCP</i>	<i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> , Mitteis and Wilcken, 1912, Leipzig.
<i>GEL</i>	<i>A Greek English Lexicon</i> (1897) Liddell H. G. and Scott, R., (ed.), Oxford.
<i>Germania</i>	<i>Germania, Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Berlin.
<i>GN</i>	<i>Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten</i> , Mainz-Laubenheim.
<i>GPBM</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , London.
<i>HACA</i>	<i>Historiae Augustae Colloquium Argentoratense</i> , Bari.
<i>HACNS</i>	<i>Historiae Augustae Colloquia Nova Series</i> , Bari.
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes, Zeitschrift für Classische Philologie</i> , Berlin and Wiesbaden.
<i>HGV</i>	<i>Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens</i> , <a href="http://aquila.papy.uni-heidelberg.de/gvzFM.html">aquila.papy.uni-heidelberg.de/gvzFM.html</a>
<i>Historia E</i>	<i>Historia, Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Einzelschriften</i> , Wiesbaden.
<i>Hunter</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet</i> (1977) Robertson, A. S., (ed.), London.

xxx	<i>Abbreviations</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Jerusalem.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin.
<i>IGSKA</i>	<i>Inchriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , Bonn.
<i>IGRRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , Paris.
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (1963–5) Berlin.
<i>ILR</i>	<i>Iowa Law Review</i> , Iowa City.
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892–1916, repr. 1954–5, 1962) Dessau, H. (ed.), Berlin.
<i>JBBB</i>	<i>Jahresbericht der bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege</i> , Bonn.
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Berlin.
<i>JJP</i>	<i>The Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i> , Warsaw.
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i> , Vienna.
<i>JÖAI/B</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Beiblatt</i> , Vienna.
<i>JMR</i>	<i>Joyce Maire Reynolds, unpublished Greek inscription from Cyrenaica</i> , Cambridge.
<i>JNG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i> , Munich.
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London.
<i>LD</i>	<i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (1879 (1980)) Lewis, C.T. and Short, C., (ed.), Oxford.
<i>LF</i>	<i>Listy Filologické</i> , Prague.
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Munich.
<i>LMS</i>	<i>Landesmuseum</i> , Stuttgart.
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i> , Rome.
<i>MCR</i>	<i>Museo Capitolino</i> , Rome.
<i>M(K)DAIA</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des (Kaiserlich) Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, (Athenische Abteilung)</i> , Athens.
<i>M(K)DAIR</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des (Kaiserlich) Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung (= BICA)</i> , Rome and Heidelberg.
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire des Écoles Françaises de Rome et Athènes</i> , Rome.
<i>MFAB</i>	<i>Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston.
<i>MiscAcadBer</i>	<i>Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia</i> , Berlin.

*Abbreviations*

xxxii

<i>MKB</i>	<i>Münzkabinett</i> , Berlin.
<i>MLP, MA</i>	<i>Musée du Louvre, Marbres Antiques</i> , Paris.
<i>MNN</i>	<i>Museo Nazionale</i> , Naples.
<i>Monumentet</i>	<i>Monumentet, Instituti i Monumenteve te Kultures</i> , Tiranë.
<i>MWOD</i>	<i>Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary</i> , copyright © 2005 by Merriam-Webster, Inc., <a href="http://www.m-w.com/">www.m-w.com/</a>
<i>MTR</i>	<i>Museo Torlonia</i> , Rome.
<i>MVR</i>	<i>Musei Vaticani</i> , Rome.
<i>NAC</i>	<i>Numismatica Ars Classica</i> (Auction Catalogues), Zürich.
<i>NAMA, NT</i>	<i>Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Nelson Trust</i> , Kansas City.
<i>NCG</i>	<i>Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek</i> , Copenhagen.
<i>NC/JRNS</i>	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society</i> , London.
<i>NDF/AAG</i>	<i>Neue deutsche Forschungen, Abteilung Alte Geschichte</i> , Berlin.
<i>NGO</i>	<i>Nasjonalgalleriet</i> , Oslo.
<i>NMP</i>	<i>Nymphaeum Museum</i> , Perge.
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i> , Vienna.
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn., Oxford.
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , Hildesheim.
<i>PAPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i> , Philadelphia.
<i>P. Giessen</i>	<i>Griechische Papyri zu Giessen</i> , Leipzig.
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , London.
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Saec. I.II.III</i> , Berlin.
<i>PMPA</i>	<i>Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association</i> , Cleveland, OH.
<i>PMT</i>	<i>Palazzo Massimo alle Terme</i> , Rome.
<i>PRNS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society</i> , London.
<i>PRSM</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine</i> , London.
<i>RAAN</i>	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli</i> , Naples.
<i>RA, RPE</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique, Revue des Publications Épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine</i> , Paris.
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart and Munich.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i> , Bordeaux.

<i>REG, BE</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques, Bulletin Épigraphique</i> , Paris.
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des Études Latines</i> , Paris.
<i>Rend. Linc.</i>	<i>Atti della (Reale) Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, (Rendiconti Morali)</i> , Rome.
<i>Rend. Pont.</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti</i> , Rome.
<i>RIB</i>	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (1965) Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P., (eds.) I, <i>Inscriptions on Stone</i> , Oxford.
<i>RIC</i>	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (1927–49) Mattingly, H., Sydenham, E., Sutherland, C. H. V. (eds.), London.
<i>RLAC</i>	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart.
<i>RLAVA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> , Berlin.
<i>RMRP</i>	<i>Roman Military Records on Papyrus</i> , Fink. R. O., 1976, Cleveland, Ohio.
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i> , Jerusalem.
<i>SDAW/Gs</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Gesellschaftswissenschaften</i> , Berlin.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Lugdunum Batavorum/Amsterdam.
<i>SGUÄ</i>	<i>Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , various editors, 1915–1993, Strassburg, Berlin and Leipzig.
<i>S(K)AWW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der (Kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien</i> , Vienna.
<i>Smyth</i>	<i>Greek Grammar</i> , Smyth, Cambridge, MA.
<i>SMG</i>	<i>Schlossmuseum</i> , Gotha.
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , (in progress; various editors and locations).
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i> , Oslo.
<i>SOED</i>	<i>The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn. (1967), Oxford.
<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria, Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie</i> , Paris.
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (1941–1989), Vienna.
<i>Thirion</i>	<i>Le Monnayage d'Élagabal, (218–222)</i> (1968) Thirion, M., (ed.), Brussels/Amsterdam.
<i>TSLI</i>	<i>Tsukuba Studies in Language and Literature</i> , Tsukuba.