

# *The Mad Emperor: Heliogabalus and the Decadence of Rome*

by

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## Endnotes

These Endnotes, and the Bibliography, are for those readers who wish to dig deeper than the *Further Reading* published in the book. The notes are gathered by paragraphs within chapters and sections. They make no claims to be exhaustive, but they provide support for the text, and give the interested reader somewhere to start.

### Introduction: *The Roses of Heliogabalus*

**Alma Tadema:** see below, Chapter Thirteen; **Nero:** Suet., *Nero* 31; **Tiberius:** Tac., *Ann.* 6.7.5

**Damnatio Memoriae:** Varner (2004)

**Nicknames:** Bruun (2003), 95

**Names:** Birley (1988), 224; **Varius:** de Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 25-7

**Cassius Dio:** The relevant books (79 and 80) are translated by E. Cary in volume IX of the Loeb (1927); there is a valuable commentary by Scott (2018)A; the seminal modern study was Millar (1964); two important collections of recent articles are Madsen, and Lange (eds.) (2016), and (2021); an overview aimed at non-specialists (although with a controversial slant) is offered by Madsen (2019); on the date of composition see now Lindholmer (2021), 133-159

**Herodian:** A translation, with excellent notes, by C.R. Whittaker is published in two Loeb volumes (1969-1970). After long neglect, the late 1990s saw the start of a resurgence of interest in Herodian: Sidebottom (1998), 2775-2836; Zimmermann (1999); Hidber (2006); Pitcher (2012), 269-282; Kemezis (2014); Pitcher (2017), 236-250; Scott (2018)B, 434-459; and Chrysanthou (2020), 621-651

**Augustan History:** The life of Heliogabalus is translated in the second volume of the Loeb edition of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* by D. Magie (1924). There is a better translation in *Lives of the Later Caesars* by A.R. Birley (1976), which also has an excellent introduction to this strange series of biographies. Hermann Dessau, alerted by the many anachronistic names and titles in the text, proposed that the *Augustan History* was not, as it claimed, written by six men around AD300, but by one unknown author about a hundred years later: (1889), 337-92. Over a century of scholarship has confirmed his argument. Most influential in English-speaking scholarship are the works of Sir Ronald Syme: (1968); (1971)

By far the most enjoyable and informative place to begin thinking about **sources and methods** is Pitcher (2009)

## Chapter One: The Revolt

### I The Flight

**Narratives of revolt:** CD 80.30.1-41.4; Her. 5.3.1-5.2; HA, *Mac.*9.1-10.6. **Hours of darkness:** <https://www.timeanddate.com/sun/syria/homs> accessed 02/07/2019. **Distance Emesa to Raphaneai:** Talbert (2000), map 68.

**Emesa:** see below under Ch.4. **Roman-Parthian wars:** Campbell (1993), 213-40; and Roth (2017), 1023-5; 1028-9; 1038-42.

**Necropolis:** Hope (2009), 154-66. **Prostitutes:** Knapp (2011), 236-64. **Ghost stories:** Ogden (2008). **Lemuria:** Balsdon (1969), 69.

**Plotters:** CD 80.33.3-4; Her. 5.3.9-12. **Women in Herodian:** Kettenhofen (1979). **Oracles:** CD 80.33.2. **Young men:** Erelle (2015).

**Others in plot:** CD 80.30.2-3; Her. 5.3.12. **Festus:** CD 80.32.4; **Aurelius Eubulus:** CD 80.21.1-2.

**Journey:** Talbert (2000), map 68; **Peutinger Table:** Talbert (2010); view map online at [peutinger.atlantides.org](http://peutinger.atlantides.org); **Temperature:** <https://en.climate-data.org/asia/syria/homs/homs-4951/> accessed 02/07/2019. **Travel:** Casson (1974); **Attitudes to the countryside:** MacMullen (1974), 1-27.

**Supernatural creatures:** Ogden (2008). **Apollonius:** Phil. VA 2.4.

**Names:** Birley (1988), 221-4.

## II Domna's Plot

**Septimius Severus and Julia Domna:** superb biographies respectively by Birley (1988) and Levick (2007). The **Parthian campaigns of Caracalla** are narrated (with some eccentricity) by Syvanne (2017), 190-281. **Imperial correspondence to Domna:** CD 79.4.2-3

**Death of Caracalla:** CD 79.5.1-5; Her. 4.13.1-7; HA Car. 6.6-7.2

**Domna in Antioch:** CD 79.23.1-6; Her. 4.13.8; HA

**Propaganda:** Scott (2018)A, 242-3.

**Domna fears loss of status:** CD 79.23.1; 4

**Antioch as imperial capital:** Downey (1961)

**Herodian on 'suicide':** 5.3.11

**"A woman could not rule":** Levick (2007), 106. **Heliogabalus' family:** See below, ch.2. **"Overthrown by a mere boy":** CD 79.40.3

**Semiramis and Nitocris:** CD 79.23.3

## III Maesa's Plot

**Maesa at court:** Her. 5.3.2; CD 79.30.3; **Ordered to Emesa:** Her. 5.3.2; **C. Julius Avitus Alexianus:** Birley (1988), 223

**Exile: legal terms,** Berger (1953), *sv* *Deportatio*; and *Relegatio*; **implications,** Drogula (2011), 230-66

**Plautilla**, Publia Fulvia: CD 77.6.3 (quoted); 78.1.1; cf Her. 3.13.2-3.

**Condemnation for confiscation**: Sidebottom (2005), 315-30; **Dio Chrysostom**, *Or.* 7.11

**Sulla**: **epitaph**, Plut. *Sulla* 38.4; **praise**, CD 76.8.1-2; HA *Car.* 2.2; **tomb**, *ib.* 13.7

**Desire for status**: Her. 5.3.11; CD 79.23.1; **Dignitas**: Balsdon (1960), 43-50; Julius Caesar, *BC* 1.9.2

**Unrest in army**: CD 79.28.1-29.2; Her. 5.3.2-3.1; cf HA, *Macr.* 12

**How to revolt in the Roman Empire**: MacMullen (1990)B, 198-203; 354-7.

**Blackmail by priests**: Lucian, *Alex.* 32

**August, at the earliest**: Caracalla was killed in April. It would have taken three months for word of the assassination to get to Rome, and for news of reactions there to return to Antioch, and another month for Domna to starve herself to death, and Maesa to move to Emesa.

**Religion of Elagabal**: Below, ch.8. **Emesene dynasty**: Below, ch.2. **Offerings and soldiers**: Her. 5.3.4-9.

**Oracles**: CD 79.31.1-2.

**Papyrus of coup, brilliantly reconstructed**: Davies (1974), 179-196; who, however, does not commit to the failure of the rebellion, 191-2.

**Marius Secundus**: Davenport (2012), 192-3; **Letters to governors**: CD 79.34.6-8

**Ulpianus Julianus**: Howe (1942), 73, no.27

**Maesa unaware**: McHugh (2017), 47

**Frumentarii**: Fuhrmann (2012), 152-5

#### IV The Acclamation

**Raphanea**: Gschwind et al (2009); Gschwind and Hasan (2014).

**Legio III Gallica**: Parker (1958), 264-5; 2<sup>nd</sup> Bedriacum and proud history, Tac. *Hist.* 3.24-5; Recruits, Campbell (2002), 25-32

**Hailed immediately**: Her. 5.3.12. In CD 79.31.3-4 Heliogabalus is admitted at night but acclaimed at dawn; c.f. HA *Mac.* 9.6.

**Command structure of a legion**: Webster (1985), 112-118.

**Verus**: CD 80.7.1.

**Army as 'total institution'**: Pollard (2000); examples, Dio *Or.* 12.18-20; Tac. *Ann.* 1.69; CD 60.19.2-3.

**Soldiers sentimental**: Tac. *Ann.* 1.41, on Caligula.

**Caracalla to Praetorians**: CD 78.3.1-2.

**Cloak from deity:** HA *Tyr. Trig.* 29, a fiction that illustrates the practice.

**Heliogabalus' sword:** CD 79.38.4.

**Sacramentum:** Campbell (1984), 19-32.

**Modern military oath:** Holmes (1985), 32-4.

**Number of legions:** Convenient chart at Luttwak (1976), 85.

**Greed of soldiers:** Her. 3.8.4-5; 5.3.11; CD 80.4.1-2

## V Maesa's Face

**Portrait bust:** discussed and well-illustrated by Romano (2007), 210-212, who, like most modern scholars, is inclined to doubt the identification.

**Maesa's coin types:** Rowan (2011), 265-7

## VI The Siege - 1

**'At no great distance':** CD 79.31.4, to be preferred to Herodian, 5.4.2, who has him sent from Antioch; **Raphaneae to Arca:** Talbert (2000), map 68.

**Praetorian Prefects:** Mennen (2011), 159-87, is an excellent overview of their role;

**Praetorian Guard:** de la Bedoyere (2017), offers a popular introduction; ***Quis custodiet:*** Juv. 6.347-8.

**Ulpus Julianus:** Howe (1942), 73, no.27; **Julianus Nestor:** Howe (1942), 74, no.28.

**Mamaea's daughter:** CD 79.31.4; **Gessius Marcianus:** See below, Chapter Two, with Family Tree.

**'As many soldiers':** CD 79.34.1; **Moors:** CD 79.32.1.

**Assault on camp:** CD 79.32.1-33.2; Her. 5.4.3-4; **Modern theory:** McHugh (2017), 47-8; **Cassius Dio's explanations,** 79.32.1-3; **disapproves of Julianus,** 79.79.15.1.

## VII Finding a Father

**Images of emperor everywhere:** Quote, Fronto, *Ad Marc.* 4.12; in general, Swift (1923), 286-301

**Tondo:** Hannestad (1988), 259-60; **Shit:** Gleason (2011), 33.

**Conceptual space:** Gleason (2011), 71, n.193

**Roman families:** Dixon (1992); and S.M. Treggiari in: *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 566-7, *s.v.* family, Roman, with further reading.

**Exposure:** Letter, *P.Oxy.* 744.G, translated, Lefkowitz, and Fant (2005), 187; in general, *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 735, *s.v.* infanticide.

**Contraception:** Hopkins(1965), 124-51

**Adoption: Overview**, S.M. Treggiari in: *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 13, s.v. adoption, Roman; **Severus**, Birley (1988), 117; **‘Finding a father’**: CD 77.9.4

**Identity theft**: Gleason (2011), 33-86; **Augustus’ nephew**, VM 9.15.2; **False Neros**: Millar (1964), 217-8

***The Return of Martin Guerre***: Brilliantly recreated in the book by Natalie Zemon Davis (1983); made into a superb film, starring Gerard Depardieu (1982), which was less successfully adapted to a film called *Sommersby*, set in the American Civil War, starring Richard Gere; **Greek Novels**: collected in translation in Reardon (1989); a good introduction, and a selection of important articles, in Swain (1999).

## VIII The Siege – 2

**Narrative**: CD 79.32.2-33.2; Her. 5.4.3-4.

**Festus identity theft**: Gleason (2011), 71, n.194; **Caracalla’s *a cubiculo***: CD 79.32.4; Her. 4.8.4-5.

**Heliogabulus’ speech**: CD 79.32.4-33.3; Scott, (2018)A, 91, thinks the section in the lacuna on soldiers and exiles, CD 79.33.1-2, was addressed not to the soldiers, but to the Senate and equestrians, which seems less probable as later Heliogabalus writes to the provinces and legions, CD 79.34.6-8, and the Senate, CD 80.1.2, both implicitly for the first time.

### Chapter Two: The Backstories

#### I Rome: The Children of the Wolf

**Romulus**: Cornell (1995), 57-73

**Citizenship**: Sherwin-White (1973) is the standard work on a vast and complex subject; Crawford in *OCD*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2012), 321, s.v. citizenship, Roman, offers a succinct overview.

**Auxiliaries: Diplomas**: Roxan (1994); **Numbers**: 130,000, Cheesman (1914), 49-50; 220,000, Campbell (2002), 48.

***Constitutio Antoniniana*: Two sources**: CD 78.9.4-5; *P.Giss.* 40, col. 1.1-12, translated Hekster and Zair (2008), II.20, p.123; **Recent discussions**: Potter (2004), 138-9; Hekster and Zair (2008), 47-55; Ando (2012), 93-7; **Dura Papyrus**: *P.Dura* 98

**Composition of Senate: Social**, Hopkins (1983), 31-200; **Geographic**, Hammond (1957), 74-81

#### II Emesa: The Children of the Sun

**Emesene Dynasty**: Sullivan (1977)A, 198-219, is fundamental; see also Chad (1972); Birley (1988), 221-4; Levick (2007), 6-22; **Murder of Antiochus**: DS 40.1a-1b

**Gaius Julius Sohaemus**: *IGLSyr* 2760; *contra* Millar (1993), 119-20; 302;  
**Sampsigeramus/Silas**: *IGLSyr* 2212

**Eastern Royal Families:** Sullivan (1990); **Client Kings:** Braund (1984)

**Inconvenient Argument:** Millar (1993), 303

**Julius Alexander:** CD 73.14.1-3; *HA Comm.* 8.3 (which has him kill his near kin); Birley (1988), 223, no.44

**Imperial Service: Julius Agrippa:** *Digest* 32.38.4; Birley (1988), 223, no.43; **Caius Julius Avitus Alexianus:** Birley (1988), 223, no.45; **Unknown Senator:** *Digest* 1.9.12; **Gessius Marcianus:** Birley (1988), 221-2, no.26; **Marcus Julius Gessius Bassianus:** Birley (1988), 221, no.35

**Intellectuality: Iamblichus, novelist:** Photius, *Bib.* 94; *Suda s.v.* Iamblichus; translated by G.N. Sandy in Reardon (1989), 783-97; overview by E.L. Bowie in *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 721-2, *s.v.* Iamblichus (1); see also Millar (1993), 489-92, including a translation (not in Sandy) of the marginal note

**Iamblichus, philosopher: Sampsigeramus:** Photius, *Bib.* 181; the same passage also lists another run of descendants of Sampsigeramus – Flavian, Eusebius, Diogenes – leading to the philosophically educated woman Theodora; introduction by D. O’Meara in *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 722, *s.v.* Iamblichus (2)

**Heliodorus:** Introduction by E.L. Bowie in *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 654-5, *s.v.* Heliodorus (4); translation by J.R. Morgan in Reardon (1989), 349-588; **Papinian:** *HA Car.* 8.2; introduction by T. Honore in *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 21, *s.v.* Aemilius Papinianus

**Religion: Easy assumption:** e.g. ‘the cult was administered by the priest-kings’, Whittaker (1970), 19, n.5

**Circumcision:** *Jos. AJ* 20.139; CD 80.11.1

**Elagabal, first appearance:** Starcky (1975-6), 501-20; **Elagabalus, name:** Millar (1993), 300-1

**Elagabal, first in Emesa (Pius):** Levick (2007), 16; **Julius Bassianus:** *Epit. de Caes.* 21.1; 23.2; Birley (1988), 223, no.46; date, Levick (2007), 19; **Temple (Caracalla):** Levick (2007), 21; **Crowds (Maesa):** *Her.* 5.3.4-10

**Horoscope:** *HA Sev.* 3.9; **Post factum propaganda:** Levick (2007), 29-31

**Astrology:** MacMullen (1966), 128-162, is an enjoyable overview; see now Beck (2007); **Law:** Paul, *Sent.* 5.21.4; **Oracle:** CD 79.8.6; **Ceiling:** CD 77.11.1;

**Indictment:** *HA Sev.* 4.3

**Severus as Legate:** Birley (1988), 68-73; **Domna/Domina:** Levick (2007), 18; 29

**Philopappus:** Smith (1998), 70-3; **Julia Balbilla:** Bowie (1990), 61-3; **Eastern dynastic priesthoods:** Sullivan (1977)B, 914-939

### Chapter Three: The Battle

## I Macrinus' Beard

**Portents:** CD 79.30.1; others in Rome, 79.25.1-26.1. There was an eclipse on 12 April, and Halley's comet was visible in AD218; Scott (2018)A, 83. **Minor insurrections:** Literary sources often enumerate these to illustrate the instability of 'bad' emperors (See below, Chapter 5). One suspects the systematic non-recording of those under rulers of whom they approve for the opposite reason. **Child's play:** Her. 5.4.2; **Mere boy:** CD 79.40.3.

**Prostitution etc:** HA, *Macr.* 4.1-8.

**In reality:** Scott (2008), 48-71, on Macrinus' origins and career. **Obscure parents:** CD 79.11.1. **Probably equestrian:** The name of Macrinus' son, Diadumenianus, suggests that Macrinus' wife could have been the daughter of the equestrian Haius Diadumenianus, who had been procurator of Mauretania some fifteen years earlier, Birley (1988), 191. The *Augustan History* invents a wife for Macrinus called Nonia Celsa, HA, *Diad.* 7.5; Celsus is a favoured name for its fiction, e.g. HA, *Tyr. Trig.*, 29. **Plautianus etc:** CD 79.11.2-3

**Macrinus shameless:** HA, *Macr.* 2.1; **'Meat market':** HA, *Macr.* 12.1-13.5.

**Macrinus integrity etc:** CD 79.11.1-3; **Privileges of troops:** 79.28.1-29.2; **Cowardice:** 79.12.4; 27.1; **Base men:** 79.13.1-15.1; **Equestrian on throne:** 79.41.1-4.

**Herodian's attitudes:** Sidebottom (1998), 2775-2836; **Cultivating his beard,** Her. 5.2.3.

**Bust of Macrinus:** Kleiner (1992), 361-2, no.319.

**Symbolism of beards:** Sidebottom (2009), 69-99.

**Dio Chrysostom:** *Or.*31; **Few words:** Apollonius, *Letters* 8; **Secundus:** Perry (1964); **Apollonius:** Phil. VA 1.14.

**Imitation of Marcus:** Her. 5.2.4; **Semblance of freedom:** Her. 5.2.2.

## II Death in Apamea

**Lacuna:** CD 79.33.2-34.1

**Sextus Varius Marcellus et al:** See below, notes to Ch.4

**Ascribed to Julianus:** McHugh (2017), 47; **Earlier Killings:** CD 79.31.4

**Legio II Parthica:** Balty (1988), 97-104.

**Comazon:** CD 80.3.5-4.2; Howe (1942), 74, no.30; **Prefect of II Parthica:** Icks (2011), 13; **Galley Slave:** McHugh (2017), 53; **Demotion to fleet:** Campbell (1984), 309-310

### III The Feast

**Emperors Travel:** See below, Ch.5

**Antioch to Apamea:** Talbert (2000), maps 67 and 68

**Apamea:** Balty (1988), 91-104

**Oracle:** CD 79.40.4 = Hom. *Il.* 8.102-3; cf CD 79.8.6; **Backing the revolt:** Potter (2004), 150; **Context:** Hom. *Il.* 8.99-171

**Diadumenianus:** Scott (2008), 87-95

**Feast: Events,** CD 79.34.1-5; cf. Her. 5.4.4; **Food:** Dalby (2003), 322

### IV Messages

**Preparations...Couriers:** CD 79.34.6-8; **Paranoia:** Cf. Her. 7.6.9

**Prosopography:** The technique was popularised in Anglophone scholarship by the work of Sir Ronald Syme, e.g. (1939) and (1958); For a balanced overview, A.J.S. Spawforth: *OCD* (Oxford, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 1225-6, *s.v.* prosopography; For criticism, Graham (1974), 136-57, applied to the Roman empire; and more generally, Stone (1971), 46-79

**Basilianus:** Davenport (2012), 193

**Secundus:** Davenport (2012), 192-3

**Agrippinus and Caesianus:** Davenport (2012), 191-2; **Timesitheus:** Howe (1942), 78-9. No.45

**Cerialis:** Davenport (2012), 189-91

**Aristo:** CD 79.39.5

**Legions:** Conveniently listed by B. Campbell: *OCD* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 816-9, *s.v.* legion

### V The March

**Barrington Atlas:** Talbert (2000)

**Village:** CD 80.37.3; **Identified as Immae:** Honigmann: *RE*, 1692; Downey (1961), 249-50, wrongly suggested there were two battles; **Atinius Ianuarius:** Balty (1988), 100

**Roman military intelligence:** Austin, and Rankov (1995) offers a robust reappraisal

**Heliogabalus outnumbers Macrinus:** Whittaker (1970), 31, n.3; Potter (2004), 151

**‘Great mass’ of Macrinus’ troops:** Her. 5.4.8; **Other troops at Apamea:** CD79.34.5



**Auxiliaries:** Cheesman (1914); supplemented by the studies collected in B. Campbell: *OCD* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 215, s.v. *auxilia*; **Tactical uses:** Gilliver (1999), 108-110

**Army groups:** Lutwak (1976); **Vexillations:** Le Bohec (1994), 30; **Apamea:** Balty (1988), 102-3; **Modern misunderstanding:** McHugh (2017), 49

**Gannys as Comazon, Two writers:** Zonaras (12.13) and Xiphilinus (347.23); followed by Jarde (1925), 57, n.2; and Stein (1927), 121-2; **Later passage:** CD 79.39.4

**Gannys new character:** Levick (2007), 147; McHugh (2017), 46, n.14

**Gannys as Eutychianus:** de Arrizabalaga y Prado (1999), 18; Scott (2018)A, 86-7

## VI The Battle

**Sunrise:** <https://www.timeanddate.com/sun/syria/homs> accessed 14/06/2021

**Temperature:** <https://en.climate-data.org/asia/syria/homs/homs-4951/> accessed 14/06/2021; **Praetorians:** CD 79.37.4

**Empty modern battlefield:** Holmes (1985), 148-75; **Changes in equipment:** Bishop, and Coulston (1993), 122-59

**Only senior officer:** Fabius Agrippinus, the governor of Syria Coele, may well have been with Macrinus, but he might have been sent to gather the other two legions of his province; **Women in carriages:** CD 79.38.4

**Generalship:** Sidebottom (2004), 99-111

**Duke of Wellington:** Holmes (1985), 9; **Battle Narratives:** Keegan (1976)

**Battle of Immae:** Her. 5.4.5-10; CD 79.37.4; 38.3-4

**Atinius Ianuarius:** Balty (1988), 100

## VII To Antioch

**Epagathus:** CD 79.39.1

**Macrinus in Antioch:** CD 79.39.1-2; Her. 5.4.7-8; the latter improbably has Macrinus shaving on the battlefield

**Violence:** *Homonoia*, A.J.S. Spawforth, in: *OCD* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 700, s.v. *homonoia*; *Pax Romana*, Woolf (1993)

**Alexandria:** CD 79.35.1-3; with 34.8

**Night on battlefield:** constructed from Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6.413-830; quote at 688-690; with Ogden (2008), 51-56

**'Sack' of Antioch:** CD 80.1.1-2; **Mogontiacum:** Aurelius Victor, 33.

**Antioch:** Downey (1961) is indispensable; the essays and pictures in Kondoleon (2000) are powerfully evocative; **Capital of the East:** Her. 4.3.7; although the scene probably is fiction, Sidebottom (1998), 2820

## Chapter Four: Identities and Racism

### I Classical Racism?

**Nineteenth Century:** Domaszewski (1895)

**Geographic Origins: Ceased to Exist:** Gruen (2011); **Proto-Racism:** Isaac (2004); **Reviewer:** Lambert (2005), 661

**Macrinus:** CD 79.27.1; **Caracalla:** CD 78.6.1; **Literary Commonplaces:** Gruen (2011) essentially takes this line, while highlighting all positive statements about other peoples

**Romans were racists:** Balsdon (1979) sets out the evidence with clarity and wit; now joined by Isaac (2004); but disputed by Gruen (2011)

**Spaniards:** Phil. VA 5.8-9

**Northern 'Noble Savages':** Dio, *Or.* 12.17-21; with Sidebottom (1990), 180-204; **Eastern Alien Wisdom:** Momigliano (1975)

**Before Color Prejudice:** Snowden (1983); see Gruen (2011), Ch.8, for a recent restatement of the axiom; **Ethiopian Hags:** HA, *Helio.* 32.5; **Appendix Virgiliana:** *Moretum* 31-5

**Septimius Severus:** HA, *Sev.* 22.4-5; **Army of Brutus:** Appian, *BC* 4.566; **Monkey:** Lucian, *Pseudol.* 17

### II The Identity of Emesa

**Inscriptions and Coins:** Millar (1993), 305; cf. Palmyra, Matthews (1984), 157-80; and Sidon and Arca, Aliquot (2019), 115; **Councillors:** CD 79.31.3; cf. Paus. 10.4; **Colonia:** Millar (1993), 308; Levick (2007), 11; **Constitutio Antoniniana:** Above, Chapter 2, Section I; **Games:** Levick (2007), 17; **Novelists:** Above, Chapter Two, Section II; **Temple:** The argument of Ball (2000), 37-47, that the temple was at Baalbek not Emesa, refuted by Young (2003), 159-62, has found little support, except Gonzalez Garcia (2013)

**Family of Heliogabalus:** See Above, Chapter Two, Section II; and Below, Section III; **Avitus Inscription:** AE 1962.229; **Estates in Italy:** Birley (1988), 145; **Velitrae:** *CIL* X, 6569 (= *ILS* 478); **Horti Variani:** Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 192, but see below, section III

**Greeks and Romans:** Swain (1996) started the sea change in scholarly thinking

**Philiopappus:** Above, Chapter Two, Section II

**Emesene Family:** Above, Chapter Two, Section II

**Syrophoenician:** Lucilius, *Sat.* 15.497-8; **Assyrian:** CD 80.1.1; 11.2

**Syria Phoenice:** Birley (1988), 114

**Phoenician Cruelty:** Isaac (2004), 334-5; **‘Phoenician Story’:** Plato, *Rep.* 435c-436a; **‘Play the Phoenician’:** Kaldellis (2019), 689; Adams (1982), 202; **Ancient Representations of Phoenicians:** Isaac (2004), 324-351; Gruen (2011), **Ch.12**; and Quinn (2019), 671-683, survey the evidence, the latter two stressing anything positive

**Fable of Arabs:** Aesop, 112; Luke Pitcher pointed out to me that not all references to Arabs were negative; Appian, fr. 19

**‘Orientalism’:** Said (1978); **Self-loathing:** Isaac (2004), 342-50

**Pomponius Mela:** Batty (2000), 70-94; quote *De Chron.* 1.65

### III The Making of Heliogabalus

**Fourteen in AD218:** Her. 5.3.3; supported by CD 80.20.2; Her. 5.7.4 gives an incompatible age; **Saecular Games:** Birley (1988), 156-160

**Sextus Varius Marcellus:** Birley (1988), 225, no.50

**Horti Variiani:** HA, *Aur.* 1.1-3; Platner, and Ashby (1926), 273, thought they might be an invention; Richardson (1992), 204, did not doubt their reality, but questioned if they were owned by Heliogabalus, as he had a large estate at *ad Spem Veterem* (below); **Varius Inventions:** HA, *Helio.* 2.2

**Horti Spei Veteris:** HA, *Helio.* 13.5-14.5; **Archaeology:** Claridge (2010), 379-83

**Velitrae Sarcophagus:** *CIL X*, 6569 (= *ILS* 478)

**Severus in Britain:** Birley (1988), 170-87; Levick (2007), 84-6

**British Sexual Mores:** CD 79.16.5

**York Skeletons:** BBC, *Timewatch*, April 2006

**Murder of Geta:** Levick (2007), 89

**Purge of Geta’s Supporters:** Levick (2007), 90-1

**Side-lining:** Cleve (1988), 196-206, makes the fascinating suggestion that Domna herself was responsible for keeping her relatives from power; if ultimately unconvincing, it does remind us that families were not necessarily united

**Governors of Numidia:** Birley (1981), 15-35

**School on the Palatine:** Her. 3.2.3-5

**Thyatira Inscription of Alcippilla:** *IGRRP*, 4, 1.287 (= *TAM* 5.943); Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 183-90; has a useful translation and discussion

**Two Late Fourth Century Writers:** Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 23; HA, *Helio.* 2.3;  
**Caracalla to Emesa?:** Potter (2004), 143-4

**Childhood Anecdotes:** HA, *Helio.* 2.2; 19.1; 28.1-2; 31.1-5; **Unusually Harnessed Chariots:** HA, *Helio.* 23.1; 28.1-2; cf. Aur. 22.2; 33.3

**Education:** J.V. Muir in: *OCD* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2012), 489-91, gives a succinct overview with modern bibliography; **Eutychnianus:** Rather than *Grammaticus*, Eutychnianus may have been Heliogabalus' instructor in the gymnasium at Emesa, as Cassius Dio says that Eutychnianus had 'given people pleasure in amusements and gymnastic exercises' (79.31.1); although that could just be a part of the senatorial historian's general disparagement of the participants in the revolt.

**Elagabal Before AD218:** Below, Chapter Eight

*Realpolitik:* Kemezis (2016), 374-7

**Adolescent Rebellion:** Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 242-3

**Life of Mani:** Sundermann (2009); Lane Fox (2015), 91-125, is an enjoyable introduction through the eyes of Augustine

## Chapter Five: The Journey

### I Where was Macrinus?

**Allegiance of Governors:** See above, Chapter Three, Section IV

**Flight to Parthia: Julius Alexander:** See above, Chapter Two, Section II; **Niger:** CD 75.8.3; **Fugitives and Pursuit:** As far as I know no modern study draws together the material and considers the implications; it would make an interesting postgraduate thesis; **Antiochus the Cynic:** CD 78.19.1-2; 21.1

**To Rome:** CD 79.39.3-4; Luke Pitcher thinks I am being "a little (although only a little) unfair on Dio here"; the senate and plebs were to combine to overthrow Maximinus Thrax; but that was unique, and lay twenty years in the future

**Civil Wars: AD69-70:** Wellesley (2000); Morgan (2006); **AD193-7:** Birley (1988), 97-128; **Numbers:** Luttwak (1976), 85; **Martial Spirit:** Her. 2.9.11; 10.5

### II The Object of Reproach

**Boat Trip:** Her. 5.4.11-12

**Fiction:** Sidebottom (1998), 2820-2

**More likely Boat Trip:** CD 79.39.2-6

**Elite attempt Incognito:** Plut., *Crassus* 4-6

**Making for Rome:** CD 79.39.3; Her. 5.4.11

**Decapitation:** Her. 5.4.11; **In the Cart:** CD 79.39.5-40.2

**Byzantine Mutilation:** A. Kazhdan in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), s.v. Blinding, Pp.297-8; **Prejudice against Cripple:** In AD260 Macrianus declared himself ineligible for the throne because he was lame; J. Drinkwater in: *CAH* 12 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 2005), 44

**Epagathus:** CD 78.21.2; 79.39.1; 80.2.2-4; **Gellius Maximus:** Okon (2017), 136, no.526; **Claudius Aelius Pollio:** Okon (2017), 77, no.275

**Execution of Macrinus:** CD 79.39-40.2

**Execution of Diadumenianus:** CD 79.40.1; with Scott (2018)A, 99; cf. Her. 5.4.12; HA, *Diad.* 8.2; 9.4

**Fiction about Diadumenianus:** HA, *Diad.* 8.2-9.3

**Object of Reproach:** CD 79.40.3-41.4

### III Securing the East

**Herodian on new regime:** 5.5.1

**Purge: Iulianus Nestor:** CD 80.3.4; **Aurelius Nemesianus and Apollinaris:** CD 79.5.2; Her. 4.14.2; **Fabius Agrippinus:** CD 80.3.4; **Minutius Sulla Cerialis:** CD 80.4.6

**Claudius Attalus:** CD 80.4.5; **Julius Avitus Alexianus:** Birley (1988), 223, no.43

**Basilianus and Secundus:** CD 79.35.1-3; **Pica Caerianus:** CD 80.3.4

**Seven Dead:** Cassius Dio, 80.3.4, claims ‘the foremost knights among Macrinus’ followers’ were also killed; Basilianus, Nemesianus, and Apollinaris were all equestrians

**Timesitheus:** Howe (1942), 78-9, no.45; **Callistianus:** Davenport (2012), 193

**Flavius Julianus:** Okon (2017), 122, no.467; **Geminus Chrestus:** Howe (1942), 75, no.s34-35

**Theodorus:** Okon (2013), 99; Okon (2017), 248, no.1036

**Clonius:** Okon (2017), 46, no.129

**C. Iul(ius) Titi(anus):** Okon (2017), 155, no.608

### IV Securing the West

**Letters to Rome:** CD 80.1.2-2.2; with Scott (2018)A, 113-4

**Senatorial Reactions:** HA, *Helio.* 3.1; Her. 5.5.2; **Fulvius:** CD 79.36.5; Scott (2018)A, 95; and below, Chapters Seven and Eleven; **Silius Messalla:** CD 80.5.1-3; Scott (2018)A, 120-1; **Acquiescent:** CD 80.2.4-5

**Fear:** CD 80.2.5; **Acquaintance of the Caesars:** Ovid, *ex Pont.* 1.7.21; **Pliny and Trajan;** *Letters*, book 10, translated by B. Radice (1969); **Fronto and Marcus Aurelius:** translated by C.R. Haines (1919-19200)

**Pliny, *Panegyric*:** translated by B. Radice (1969)

**Reassure:** CD 80.1.2-4

**Senatorial Etiquette:** CD 80.2.2-3

**Claudius Aelius Pollio:** CD 79.40.1; 80.3.1; Okon (2017), 77. No.275

**Urban Cohorts:** Coulston (2000), 81; One cohort (XIV) may have been in the east, cf. Balty (1988), 102; **Adventus:** Birley (1981), 298-9; Scott (2018)A, 57

**Marius Maximus:** Birley (1997), 2678-757; **Unreliable Prism:** Sidebottom (2007)A, 56-8

**Censorinus:** CD 80.2.4-5; Scott (2018)A, 155

**Pollio in Germany:** CD 80.3.1; *CIL* 13.6807; **Million Sesterces:** It is often overlooked that when an emperor adlected (the term used by scholars for such direct imperial appointments) a man into the senatorial order, if he did not already possess the property qualification, it would have been necessary to equip him with the required capital. For Heliogabalus the same would have been true of Verus, and, as Praetorian Prefects were often ranked as Senators, also of Comazon. The outlay, of course, would have been offset by the confiscation of the estates of those members of the elite who were executed.

**Marcus Claudius Agrippa:** Davenport (2012), 186-8; Scott (2018)A, 55-6

**Aelius Decius Tricillianus:** Davenport (2012), 187-8; Scott (2018)A, 56

**Ulpian Victor:** Pflaum (1960-61), no.257; **Pontius Pontianus:** Okon (2017), 206, no.842; with 205-6, no.s 838; 841; 842; 843; Davenport (2012), 187, n.15; **Novius Rufus:** Okon (2017), 124, no.474; with 185, no.750

## V Heliogabalus' Face – 1

**Distribution of Portrait Busts:** Swift (1923); **Coin Portraits:** Below, Chapters 7, 8, and 9

**Type One Busts:** Fittschen and Zanker (1985), 1.114-5; Wood (1986), 49-51; Icks (2011), 63, n.3; all the busts that might be of Heliogabalus are illustrated in Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 133-9

**Almost all scholars agree:** Rowan (2012), 164-5; note my shifty 'almost', not all agree – e.g. Johnston (1982), 100-105 – when do they ever?; **Portraits of Caracalla:** Kleiner (1992), 322-5; **Numismatists:** Harl (1981), 163-84; Johnston (1982), 97-147

**Expenditure on the Army:** Campbell (2002), 83-9

## VI The Journey

**Months in Antioch:** CD 80.3.1

**Macrinus on the Run:** Whittaker (1970), 34, n.1

**Detained by Unrest:** Scott (2018)A, 116

**Took Elagabal to Rome:** Her. 5.2.3; **Procession:** Her. 5.6.6-9; **Neglect Duties:** If correct, this seriously undermines the modern idea of a ‘religious revolution’ in AD220, see below, Chapters Eight, Section IV.

**Not before September:** Heliogabalus arrived in Antioch on 9<sup>th</sup> June, ‘some months’, CD 80.3.1, implies that he remained until at least August

**Reconstructed Route:** Arrizabalaga y Prado (2003), 85; **Introduction of Cult:** Rowan (2012), 176-87

**Viewed the Corpse of Macrinus:** It would be a mistake to emphasise the psychological impact on Heliogabalus, cf. Arrizabalaga (2010), 242, the bodies of executed criminals were customarily exposed on the roads into towns

**Arrival of Emperor:** Millar (1992), 28-40

**Adventus:** Sommer (2010), 66-9; **Menander Rhetor:** edited and translated by Russell and Wilson (1981), the *Imperial Oration* at Pp.76-95

## VII In Nicomedia

**Lateness of Season:** Her. 5.5.3; **Seas Closed:** Casson (1995), 270-2

**Revolts in the East:** CD 80.7.1-4, with commentary by Scott (2018)A, 122-4; **Legio III Transferred:** Her. 5.3.9; nothing supports the often repeated modern assertion that it went with Heliogabalus to Nicomedia, much more likely it was sent to Danaba, near Damascus, where it was based when re-founded in the next reign; **Africa:** *ILS* 2657, 2314-2317

**Father of Gellius Maximus:** Nutton (1971), 262-72; **....ATVS:** Salway (1997), 127-53, presents all the evidence, but his attempt to re-date the career does not convince.

**Legio II Titles:** *ILS* 505, 2420, 9014

**Basilianus:** CD 79.35.1-3

**Sulla:** See above, Section III

**Castinus:** CD 80.4.3-4

**Julius Asper:** CD 79.22.3; 80.4.4

**Eutyhianus:** CD 80.6.1-3; **Modern Scholar:** Scott (2018)A, 121

**Lifestyle in Nicomedia:** HA, *Helio.* 5.1-5; Her. 5.5.3

**Caracalla and Plautianus:** CD 77.3.1-4.5

**‘A Literary Commonplace’:** Icks (2011), 15; **Saddam:** Coughlin (2002), 197

**Painting:** Her. 5.5.6

## Chapter Six: Power

## I The Legitimate Emperor: Above the Law

**Augustus and Monarchy:** Syme (1939), 313-524, gives an evocative, and now often undervalued, narrative

**Legal Powers of Emperor:** Brunt (1977), 95-116, is unsurpassed

**Impact of Monarchy:** Millar (1984), 37-60; including the lamplighters of Oxyrhynchus

## II The Passive Emperor: 'Petition and Response'

**'Proper Objective':** Millar (1977), xii; **'The Emperor was what the Emperor did':** Millar (1977), 7

**'Model':** Millar (1991), 644

**Emperor and Army:** As Campbell (1984) was in preparation, Millar excluded the subject (1991), 638-9; **1,500 Soldiers:** CD 73.9.2-4

**Imperial Cult:** Price (1984)

**Consilium:** Crook (1955); *Juv., Sat.* 10

**'Casual Sadism':** Beard (2020), 1

**'Aesthetic Pleasures':** Hopkins (1978), 185

## III The Active Emperor: 'Four Constituencies'

**Opposed Institutions:** Hopkins (1974); **Memory of Republic:** Gallia (2012); **New Men:** Hopkins (1983), 31-200; **Marxist Interpretation:** de Ste Croix (1981), 380-1

**Libertas:** Wirszubski (1968)

**Alexander Severus:** HA, *Alex.* 4.1-3

**Stepping Down:** Wallace-Hadrill (1982), 32-48

**Money:** Sidebottom (2005), 320-7

**Plebs Urbana:** Yavetz (1988); **Twenty Nine Outbursts:** Whittaker (1964), 361-2; **Cleander:** Her. 1.13.4

**Pressure Valve:** My position is controversial. The trend in modern scholarship, e.g. Millar (1998), is to emphasise the democratic elements in the Republic; **Bread and Circuses:** *Juv.* 10.81; Veyne (1990) is the classic study; **Appalling Conditions:** Brunt (1974)

**Soldiers:** Campbell (1984); Sidebottom (1993), 250-7

**Familia Caesaris:** Weaver (1972) is the fundamental study; see also Winterling (1999) and, for the Severans, Schope (2014); Friedlander (No Date) remains an enjoyable introduction.

**Haile Selassie:** Kapuscinski (1983), 5; **Felicio:** Epict. 1.17



**‘Told their Tale’**: Friedlnder (No Date), 43; **‘Imperial Pomp’**: HA, *Had.* 6.4

## Chapter Seven: In Rome

### I *Adventus*

**‘Made his Way’**: CD 80.3.2; *Antonine Itinerary*: van Berchem (1974), 301-7

**Carnuntum Statues**: Below, Chapter Ten; **Aquileia Relief Sculpture**: Balestrazzi (1985), 337-60

**Julius Flavianus**: *PIR2* I 312; Okon (2013), 92; not in Howe (1942), but probably the same man as Flavianus, 75, no.34; ....**ATVS**: Salway (1997), 127-53; **Aurelius Eubulus**: CD 80.21.1-2

**Magicians**: HA, *Hel.* 8.2; Zozimus, 1.11.

**July**: Eutropius, 8.22; Alexandrian Coins: Scott (2018)A, 117

**October**: *CIL* 3162 (= *ILS* 2188); Arrizabalaga y Prado (2017)A, 221-5

**Literary Cliché**: Her. 5.5.1; **Trajan**: M. Griffin, in: *CAH XI* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge, 2000), 102

**Altars**: *Pan.* III (II), 10.5 (Diocletian and Maximian to Milan); **The Whole City**: CD 75.1.3-5 (Severus into Rome)

**Constantius**: Amm. Marc. 16.10.1-17; **Priestly Robes**: Her. 5.5.7

**Septimius Severus**: HA, *Sev.* 7.1-2; **Constantius**: Amm. Marc. 16.10.13

### II Choices: Those Heliogabalus Rejected

**Septimius Severus**: CD 77.15.2; **Caracalla**: CD 78.17.3-4; **Letter**: Rea (1993), 130-1; **Speech**: CD 80.18.4; **Most Attached**: CD 80.17.1

**Marcomanni**: HA, *Hel.* 9.1-3

**Heliogabalus’ Words**: CD 80.18.4; **Northern Campaigns of Caracalla**: Syvanne (2017), 165-82; Macrinus had bought peace with the Dacians by returning hostages, CD 79.27.5; **Parthian Distractions**: Hartmann (2017), 1043-4

**Trajan to Dio Chrysostom**: Phil. *VS* 488; **Caracalla and Euripides**: CD 79.8.4; **Severus and Virgil**: 76.10.2; **Autobiographies**: Sidebottom (2007)A, 55; **Imperial Compositions**: Dilke (1957), 78-97

**Modern Dictators**: Kalder (2018); **Res Gestae**: Cooley (2009); **Meditations**: There are many English translations, including Stanforth (1964) in Penguin Classics. Luke Pitcher thinks I am “a little harsh on the likely quality of what some of the emperors wrote”, pointing out that “Tacitus (not exactly predisposed to be friendly) is actually

pretty complimentary about the early Julio-Claudians as orators (Tac. Ann. 13.3), although admittedly so that he can put the boot in the better when it comes to Nero”.

**Philostratus:** Levick (2007), 110

**Biographies of Diadumenianus:** HA, *Hel.* 8.4-5; **Anal Sex:** HA, *Hel.* 10.6

**Animula Vagula at the British Museum:** Opper (2008), 221

**Herodian:** Sidebottom (1998), 2810

### III Choices: Those Heliogabalus Accepted

**In Court:** CD 80.14.3; *Codex:* 4.44.1 (quoted); 9.1.3

**Secretary of Severus:** Phil. VS 607

**Mad Project:** Honore (1979), 51-64; (1981/1994); **Number Six:** Honore (1994), 44-6; **Doubts:** Watson (1982), 409-414

**Stencil Anecdote:** Procopius, *Secret History* 6.11-16

**Diplomacy:** Sidebottom (2007)B, 3-29; **Expansive like Winter Snows:** Pliny, *Ep.* 1.20.4; 22

**Caligula:** Philo, *De legatione ad Gaium*, translated by Smallwood (1961)

**Thyatira:** Robert (1937), 119-120; **Delphi:** Plassart (1970), no.332

**Julius Africanus:** Wallraff et al. (2007), xiii-xvii; evidence for embassy, 5-7; Wallraff et al. (2012), xi-xvii

**Historicity:** Carriker (2016), 9-12

**Comazon:** CD 80.4.1-2; 21.2; with Scott (2018)A, 119; 147; **Certain Others:** CD 80.15.3; **Aurelius Eubulus:** CD 80.21.1; with Scott (2018)A, 147; **Hierocles:** CD 80.15.1-16.6; 19.3-4; 21.1; with Scott (2018)A, 135-7; 146; **Zoticus:** CD 80.16.1-6; with Scott (2018)A, 136-7

**Herodian's Account:** 5.7.6-7; **Procurator a censibus:** Whittaker (1970), 65, n.2; cf. Oliver (1946), 314-318

**Augustan History:** *Hel.* 6.1-5; 10.2-3; 11.1; 12.1-2; 15.1-2

**Cordius/Gordius:** Prefect of the Watch accepted as true by Scott (2018)A, 135; although rightly doubting the suggestion that he is the future emperor Gordian; Hubbard (2003), 495, n.1; ...**ATVS:** Above, Chapter 5, Section VII; **Protogenes:** HA, *Hel.* 6.3; **Identified:** Barnes (1972), 59; **Tertullian:** *advers. Valent.* 7.5; **Freedman of Caligula:** CD 59.26.1-2; 60.4.5

**Claudius the Barber:** HA, *Hel.* 12.1; **Fictions using Claudius:** HA, *Car.* 18.5; *Max. Th.* 4.6; 68.1; *Max. et Bal.* 17; **Mirissimus:** HA, *Hel.* 15.2; the nearest attested name is Myrsimus, Scott (2018)A, 136

**Continuity and Traditionalism:** Okon (2013), 94; **Quintus Tineius Sacerdos:** Okon (2017), 232, no.963; **Quintus Atrius Clonius:** Okon (2017), 46. No.129

**Statistics:** Okon (2013), 98; Hammond (1957), 77

**Julia Cornelia Paula:** Okon (2013), 80; **Celebrations:** CD 80.12.1-2

**Coinage:** Rowan (2011), 258-61; Rowan (2012), 214-5

**Julia Aquila Severa:** Okon (2013), 80-81; **Justifications:** CD 80.9.3-4; Her. 5.6.2

**Vestals:** Beard (1980), 12-???

**Regnal Years on Alexandrian Coins:** Butler (1910), 77, n.1; **Calculation:** Rea (1993), 130-1

**Letter:** Rea (1993), 127-132

**Annia Aurelia Faustina:** Scott (2018)A, 129-130; **Pomponius Basus:** Okon (2017), 203, no.827; **Son:** CD 79.21.3-3

**Seius Carus:** CD 80.4.6; Okon (2017), 220, No.906; **Valerianus Paetus:** CD 80.4.7; Okon (2017), 234, No.973

**Factions:** Butler (1910), 86-88

**Expectation of son with Faustina:** CD 80.19.1; **Licentious in Marriages:** CD 80.5.5; **Lost Salacious Details:** Scott (2018)A, 121; **Improve Technique:** CD 80.13.1

**Congiaria:** van Berchem (1939), 136; 161; Duncan-Jones (1994), 82

**Vespasian:** Suet., *Vesp.* 18.2; the anecdote's historicity doubted by Levick (1999), 129

**Colosseum:** CD 79.25.2; HA, *Hel.* 17.8-9; **Baths of Caracalla:** HA, *Hel.* 17.8-9; to parade arcane knowledge, quite possibly invented, they are described as in the *Vicus Sulpicius*; **Baths of Plautinus:** HA, *Hel.* 8.6

**Golden statue:** CD 80.12.2 (2); **Many Circuses and Theatres:** Her. 5.6.6; **Circus ad Spem Veterem:** Claridge (2010), 379-383; **One Use Baths:** HA, *Hel.* 30.7; **Porphyry Paving:** HA, *Hel.* 24.6

**Grain to Whores:** HA, *Hel.* 27.6

**Helix:** CD 80.10.2-3; Phil., *Gym.* 46; Her. 15.9-10, has a different story of his failure to win both events at Olympia; mosaic, Jones (1998), 293-8

**Imagined Popularity According to Herodian:** 5.6.6; **Real According to the Augustan History:** *Hel.* 22.4

**Throwing Gifts:** Her. 5.6.6; HA, *Hel.* 8.3; 211-22.4; **Always Spin Such Actions:** Suet., *Gaius* 18.2; *Nero* 11.2

**Sortes:** HA, *Hel.* 22.2-3

**Luxurious Dinners:** HA, *Hel.* 29.9; **Awning Shifted:** HA, *Hel.* 21.5; **Dangerous Beasts:** HA, *Hel.* 21.1; **Physical Peculiarities:** HA, *Hel.* 29.3-4; **Deflating Couches:** HA, *Hel.* 25.2-3; **Fake Food:** HA, *Hel.* 25.9; 27.4; **Out of Window:** HA, *Hel.* 27.6; **Extraordinarily Exotic:** HA, *Hel.* 20.4-7; **Out of Season:** HA, *Hel.* 23.8; **One Ingredient:** HA, *Hel.* 32.4; **One Colour:** HA, *Hel.* 19.2-3; **Inedible but Expensive:** HA, *Hel.* 21.3-4; **Sauces:** HA, *Hel.* 29.6-7; **‘Chances’:** HA, *Hel.* 22.1-2; **Gifts:** HA, *Hel.* 21.7; **Perverts:** HA, *Hel.* 12.4; **Chariots:** HA, *Hel.* 27.1; **‘Hay’:** HA, *Hel.* 28.5; **Sex and Venues:** HA, *Hel.* 30.3-4

**Drinking Bouts:** HA, *Hel.* 20.1-2; 21.6; **Vintage-festival:** HA, *Hel.* 11.2-6

**Theatre:** HA, *Hel.* 32.7

**‘Semiotics’:** Mader (2005), 153

**Zoticus at Dinner:** CD 80.16.5; **Chariot Racing:** CD 80.14.2; Her. 5.6.6

**Naked Women:** HA, *Hel.* 29.2; see Chapter 10, II.

#### IV Heliogabalus’ Face – 2

**Type Two Portraits:** Icks (2011), 66-7; 74-5; Illustrations of all possible examples usefully collected by Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 136-9

**Capitoline Portrait Bust:** Fittschen and Zanker (1985), vol. 1, no. 98;

**Hair Antonine/Augustus:** Icks (2011), 66-7

**Ethnic Features:** Fittschen and Zanker (1985), vol. 1, no. 98; Unconvinced: Icks (2011), 66; **Oscar Wilde:** Quoted by Barrow (2001), 135

### Chapter Eight: Religion

#### I Seeing the Gods

**Paganism on Last Legs:** Beard and Crawford (1985), 25-39, sets out and criticizes the traditional view

**Paul and Barnabas:** *Acts* 14.8-18; Lane Fox (1986), 99-101

**Inscriptions of Confession:** McMullen (1981), 32; Lane Fox (1986), 127-8

#### II Emperors: Between Men and Gods

**Sibylline Books:** Potter (1994); **Augustus:** Suet., *Aug.* 31; **Tiber Flood:** Tac., *Ann.* 1.76

**Emperor as Pontifex Maximus:** Millar (1992), 359-61; **Caligula and Jupiter:** Suet., *Gaius* 22; **Domitian and Minerva:** Girard (1981), 322-45

**Imperial Cult:** Price (1984)

**Lactantius:** *Div. Inst.*, 5.19; **Dio Chrysostom,** *Or.* 3.51-4

**Pausanias:** 8.2.4-5

**Tacitus:** *Ann.* 6.18; **Cassius Dio:** 52.35.3-36.4

### III The Black Stone of Elagabal

**Coin of Temple:** de Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 89; **Picture of the Sun:** Her. 5.3.5; **Three-quarter View:** Price, and Trell (1977), 168, no.299

**Coin of Altar:**

[https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/julia\\_domna/emisa\\_BMC\\_10\\_2.jpg](https://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/julia_domna/emisa_BMC_10_2.jpg); Levick (2007), 16

**Coin of Chariot:** Krenzel (2017), 49, No.1

**Heliogabalus' Costume:** Rowan (2012), 208, No.69; Her. 5.3.6; 5.3-4

**Ceremonies:** Her. 5.3.3-8; 5.8-10; 6.6-10; CD 80.11.1-13.1

**Divine Triad:** Frey (1989), 50-4

**Scholarly Infilling:** Optendrenk (1969); Frey (1989); Mader (2005), 136-8

**Imagination in Overdrive:** de Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 141-3; 238

**Widespread Worship of Elagabal:** Halsberghe (1972), 89

**Inscriptions:** Badaracco (2017)

### IV The Most High Priest of the Invincible Sun

**Wintering in Nicomedia:** Her. 5.5.3-7; CD 80.8.3-11.2; **Day of Vows:** Campbell (1994), 127-8; **Some Scholars:** e.g. Icks (2011), 26

**Arriving In Rome:** Her. 5.5.7; **Temples:** Rowan (2012), 189-201

**Late Sources: AD220:** Jerome, *Chronicle* 296g (ed. Helm); **AD221:** Cassiodorus, *Chronica* (ed. Mommsen 1961), p.145: 221

**Temple in Trastevere:** Icks (2011), 28; *Ad Spem Veterem:* Claridge (2010), 379-83; **Towers:** Her. 5.6.9

**Palladium to Palace:** Her. 5.6.3; **Fictitious Passages:** HA, *Hel.* 3.4; 6.7; **Gold with Statue of Urania:** Her. 5.6.5; CD 80.12.2; **Wedding Gifts:** CD 80.12.1; Her. 5.6.5

**Sacrifices:** Her. 5.5.8-10; CD 80.11.1

**AD220 Change in Religious Policy:** Advocated by Frey (1989), 80-86; Icks (2011), 25-30; Rejected by Rowan (2012), 212-3; Scott (2018)A, 107-8

**Coin Types:** Usefully collected by Thirion (1968)

**No Variation left to Chance:** Krenzel (2017), 44; **Emperors Choosing Coin Types:** Examples collected by Brunt (1979), 173; and Price (1979), 278; **Normal Choosing of Coin Types:** Wallace-Hadrill (1981), 298-323

*Interpretatio Romana*: Rowan (2012), 187-9

**Advice in Panegyrics**: Sidebottom (2006), 131-2

**Tarragona Inscription**: AE 1990, 654

## V The Offense: What Went Wrong?

**Apollo**: F. Graff, in: *OCD*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2012), 118-119; **Cybele**: Satterfield (2012), 373-91; **Mithras**: R. Beck, in: *OCD*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2012), 964-5

**Circumcision and Abstention from Pork**: CD 80.11.1 (both); Her. 5.6.9 (just no pork); **Anti-Semitic Stories**: Isaac (2004), 440-91; **Sacrificed Boys**: CD 80.11; HA, *Hel.* 8.2

**Monotheism**: HA, *Hel.* 3.4-5; 6.7

**Other Gods at Emesa**: Millar (1993), 300-1; **Arval Brothers**: Potter (2004), 157, suggests he may have refused to join lesser colleges of priests; **'By Jupiter!'**: CD 80.18.4; **Invention of the Fourth Century AD**: See below, Chapter Thirteen; **Monotheism of Some Scholars**: Krill (1978), 41

**The Offense**: CD 80.11.1

**Empire Without End**: Virgil, *Aen.* 1.278-9; **Pax Deorum**: Wissowa, *RK* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) 380-409

**Midsummer Procession**: Her.5.6.7-8; **Evoking Triumph**: Potter (2004), 156-7; who thinks the evocation was deliberate; **Triumph**: Beard (2007)

**Jupiter Ultor**: Rowan (2012), 223-33

## Chapter Nine: In the Provinces

### I Talking About God in Anazarbus

**October 29<sup>th</sup> AD219**: Above, Chapter 7, Section I; arguing against the alternative date of July or earlier; **Alsium**: Bruun (1997), 1-5; **Velitrae**: Above, Chapter Four, Section III; **Population**: M. H. Crawford, in: *OCD*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2012), 1187; 'a plausible guess'

**Coins Images Offered Up**: Above, Chapter Eight, Section IV; **Popular Anecdote**: Millar (1992), 3-4

**Chart**: Rowan (2012), 166, Fig.56

**Provincial Coinage**: Harl (1987) is an excellent introduction to the general topic; also succinct and useful are Howgego (2005), 1-17; and Weiss (2005), 57-68; an analysis of civic coinage issued under Heliogabalus, as well as the relevant inscriptions, with

full references, is provided by Rowan (2012), 175-187, from which my discussion draws extensively, although with somewhat different conclusions

**Literary Source:** HA, *Marc.* 26.9; *M. Ant.* 11.6-7

**Inscriptions:** Numbers usefully collected by Arrizabalaga y Prado (2010), 106-119;  
**Governor of Arabia:** *AE* 1991, 1594

**Imperial Instructions:** Her. 5.5.7; CD 80.11.1

**Emperor and Law:** See, Above, Chapter Six, Section I

**Persecution in Gaul:** Eus. *HE* 5.1.4-3.4

## II Money, a *Daemon*, and a Scribe

**Alexander's Letter:** *PFay* 20; translation at <http://www.attalus.org/docs/select2/p216.html>

**Crown Gold:** Millar (1992), 140-2

**Wedding 'Gifts' and 'Dowries':** Her. 5.6.5; CD 80.12.1; **Toga of Manhood:** Carriker (2016), 25

**Heliogabalus' Weddings:** See above, Chapter Seven, Section III; **Elagabal's Weddings:** See above, Chapter Eight, Section IV; **Buildings:** See above, Chapter Seven, Section III; **Congiaria:** See above, Chapter Seven, Section III; **Severus:** CD 77.1.1; **Donatives:** Campbell (1984), 165-71; **Antioch:** Chapter Three, Section VII; **Jewels on Shoes:** HA, *Hel.* 23.4; **Bokassa:** Titley (2002), 82-98

**Daemon:** CD 80.18.1-3; **Two Contexts:** Millar (1964), 214-218; McHugh (2017), 71, ignores the Roman contexts, and removes the supernatural, to see the *daemon* as a political ploy by Maesa; which is completely unconvincing.

**Scribe:** *POxy.* 49.3475; Parsons (2007), 70-71

**Nicaean Coin:** Varner (2004), 189

**Astrological Papyri:** *POxy.* 46.3299; 3298; Parsons (2007), 71

## Chapter Ten: Sex

### I Paralysed by Prohibitions?

**'Paralysed':** Veyne (1987), 202; Clarke (1998) provides a brilliant introduction to Roman sexuality, and is a joy to read.

**Import from Greeks:** McMullen (1982), 484-502; **Roman Army:** Phang (2008), 93; **Dio Chrysostom:** *Or.* 7.133-52

**Theory One:** Veyne (1987); Foucault (1979)

**Theory Two:** Developed by me after reading Swain (1999)B

## II ‘Not Lord, but Lady’

**Domna’s ‘adultery’:** HA, *Sev.* 18.8; Levick (2007), 76; **Iamblichus, *A Babylonian Story*:** Reardon (1989), 794-6

**Herodian and Sex:** 5.5.5; 5.8.1

**Cassius Dio and Sex:** 80.3.3; 5.5; 6.3; 11.1; 13.1-16.7; 21.1

**Penis Size:** Clarke (1998), 21-2; 211-2; Martial, 9.3

**Transgressive Marriages: Nero:** Williams (2010), 279; **Messalina:** Tac., *Ann.* 11.26

**Antaphrodisiacs:** Dalby (2003), 14

**Zoticus on Mosaic:** Caldelli (2008), 469-74

**‘Bad Emperors’ and Brothels:** Scott (2018)A, 133, collects the references, dismissing them as ‘part of the tradition’

**Vagina:** CD 80.16.7

**Augustan History and Sex: Disclaimer:** 18.4; **congenial theme:** 5.1-5; 6.5-6; 7.2; 8.6; 9.1-3; 10.2-7; 12.1-4; 13.5; 15.1; 15.4; 17.1; 18.4; 19.3; 23.5; 24.2-3; 25.4-5; 26.3-5; 31-2; 32.5; 32.9; 33.1

**Oral Sex:** Clarke (1998), 221-6; **‘Play the Phoenician’:** Adams (1982), 202

**Cameo:** Megow (1987), no.A164, pl.50.5; Varner (2004), 194

**Carnuntum Statue:** Baldus (1989), 471; Carriker (2016), 19-23

**FVTVTOR Inscription:** Selinger (2018), 264-272

**Philostratus Letter:** *Ep.* 19; Icks (2011), 81-2; cf *Ep.* 38

## Chapter Eleven: Death

### I Finding a Son

**Turning Against Heliogabalus:** Her. 5.7.1, to be understood in the context of 5.6.1-7.1; CD 80.17.1, again to be read in context, 80.15.1-17.1

**‘Silly Young Man’:** Her. 5.7.1

**Temperature:** <https://en.climate-data.org/europe/italy/lazio/rome-1185/t/june-6/#climate-table-year>, accessed 30/12/2021; **Birds:** CD 79.37.5; **Augurs:** J. Linderski, in: *OCD*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2012), 205

**Maesa and Soemias:** CD 80.17.2; **Agrippina:** Tac., *Ann.* 13.5.2

**Joke:** CD 80.17.2; the non-Senator Herodian blames the Senate for introducing the element of farce by voting as they were told, 5.7.4

**Omens:** CD 80.17.3-18.3; **Modern Theory:** McHugh (2017), 71



**Nobilissimus Caesar:** *AE* (1964), 269; Dusanic (1964), 495-6

**Designated Consul:** Campbell (1994), 129; *Sodales Antoniniana:* Whittaker (1970), 58, n.1

**Heliogabalus Turns Against Alexander:** CD 80.19.1; Her. 5.7.4-6

**Alexander's Teachers:** Her. 5.7.5-6; HA, *Hel.* 16.2-4; *Alex.* 3.2-3

**Herodian and *Paideia*:** Sidebottom (1998), 2803-2812

**1<sup>st</sup> January AD222:** HA, *Hel.* 15.5-7; **Daylight:**

<https://www.timeanddate.com/sun/italy/rome?month=1> , accessed 30/12/2021

## II The Power of Women

**Women in Roman Politics:** Levick (2007), 57-65; MacMullen (1986)

**Greek Women Magistrates:** MacMullen (1980)

**Macedonian Women:** Carney (2010), 409-27, provides an introduction

**Zenobia:** Stoneman (1992); **Mavia:** B. Isaac in: *CAH XIII* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge, 1998), 447-9

**Coins:** Rowan (2011), 241-73; Rowan (2012), 215-7; **Herodian Invents Importance of Women:** Kettenhofen (1979)

**Women as *Hostes*:** CD 79.38.1

**Imperial Activities and Access:** Compare when the ruler could best be approached at the courts of the Italian Renaissance, Bertelli, Cardini, and Zorzi (1986), especially the brilliant visualisation at pp. 26-7; of Haile Selassie, Kapuscinski (1983), and of Stalin, Sebag Montefiore (2003)

## III To the Tiber

**'Trustworthiness' of *Augustan History*:** Quotes from Scott (2018)A, 138; 140;

**Marius Maximus and Herodian in *Augustan History*:** Sidebottom (2007)A, 56-8

**Fictions in *Augustan History*: Sabinus and the Deaf Centurion:** HA, *Hel.* 16.1-4;

**The Silence of the Senate:** HA, *Hel.* 13.1-2

**Narratives:** CD 80.17.1-21.3; Her. 5.7.1-8.10; HA, *Hel.* 13.1-17.3

**Paternity of Caracalla?:** Whittaker (1970), 23, n.3, collects the references

**Prefects of the City:** Scott (2018)A, 147, gives a list; to which Okon (2013), 93, adds Sacerdos; and I have added Censorinus

**Praetorian Prefects:** Mennen (2011), 264-5, with references, but not identifying, as I do, Iulius Flavianus, pr. pr., AD218, with Flavianus, pr. pr. AD222

**Soemias' Coins:** Rowan (2012), 215-6

**Run-up to 13<sup>th</sup> March:** Her. 5.8.3-9; CD 80.20.1-2; HA, *Hel.* 16.517.3

**Aemilius Fiction:** HA, *Avid. Cass.* 5.1

## Chapter Twelve: The Reckoning

### I The Trappings and the Name of Emperor

**Alexander *Dies Imperii*:** Campbell (1994), 128, for a translation of the evidence; Whittaker (1970), 74, n.1, for a discussion

**Trappings:** Her. 6.1.1

**Appointments:** Whittaker (1970), 81, n.3

**Senatorial Committee:** Crook (1955), 86-91

***Damnatio* Coins:** Varner (2004), 189-90

**Alexander Statue:** Varner (2004), 90-1

**Soaemias:** Varner (2004), 193-5

**Aquila Severa:** Pikoula (2001), 425-9; Varner (2004), 190, n.299

**Elagabal:** Rowan (2012), 217-8; **Ares:** Lane Fox (1986), 133; ***Evocatio*:** M. Beard, in: *OCD*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford, 2012), 559, *s.v. evocatio*

### II The Hatred of Everyone

**Quote:** HA, *Hel.* 18.8

**Plebs and Jupiter:** CD 79.20.1-4

**Plebs and Imperial Family:** Yavetz (1988), 103-29

**Chapter Thirteen: The Afterlife of Heliogabalus: Tyrant, Aesthete, Queer Icon, Fashionista, art Criticism, and a Roman Lady**

**Aelian:** Phil. *VS* 625

**Poem:** Phil. *Ep.* 19; Above, Chapter Ten, Section II

**Cassius Dio like Tacitus:** Sidebottom (2007)A, 76-8

**Herodian:** Introduction, Sidebottom (2007)A, 78-82; **Alps:** Her. 2.11.8; **'Imperial and civic service':** Her. 1.2.5; **Ex-slave:** Alföldy (1971), 204-33

**Herodian and *Paideia*:** Sidebottom (1998), 2822-6; **Leaping and Dancing:** Her. 5.7.4

**Herodian as Historical Novelist:** Sidebottom (1998), 2820-2

**Sibylline Oracles:** Sidebottom (2007)A, 65-7

**Eutropius:** 8.20, translation by H.W. Bird (Liverpool, 1993); **Aurelius Victor:** 1.23, translation by H.W. Bird (Liverpool, 1994); ***The Epitome*:** 157, translation by T.M. Banchich (2009), online at <http://www.roman-emperors.org/epitome.htm>

**Augustan History:** For **modern scholarship** see above, Introduction; **Celsus:** HA, *Trig. Tyr.* 29.1-4; *Claud.* 7.4; **Firmus:** HA, *Firm.* 6.2-5

**Zosimus:** 1.10-11, translation by R.T. Ridley (Canberra, 1982); **Zonaras:** 12.223 (the excellent translation and commentary of T.M. Banchich, and E.N. Lane (London, and New York, 2009) unfortunately starts with Alexander Severus); **Theodorus**

**Skutariotes:** Icks (2011), 119-120

**Renaissance:** Icks (2011), 126-7

**Line of Descent:** Gaiman; online at [https://thedreaming.moteofdust.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/helio\\_01.gif](https://thedreaming.moteofdust.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/helio_01.gif)

**Decadent Movement:** Barnes (2019) conjures up a brilliant portrait of the *fin-de-siècle* in which the Decadent Movement flourished; **A Rebours:** translated by Robert Baldick (Harmondsworth, 1959)

**Alma Tadema:** Barrow (2001), 132-7; 184-7; Watkin (2017), 105-24

**Queer Icon:** Nugent (2008), 171-196; Icks (2011), 180-213

**Fashionista:** <https://poembangkok.com/collections/timeless-chapter-i/>; <https://weheartit.com/entry/322469105>

**Art Criticism:** <https://www.petermcinish.com/The-Roses-of-Heliogabalus>

**Roman Lady:** Bartman (2001), 2; Varner (2004), 193