

Iter Principis: Elagabal's Route from Emesa to Rome?

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Fig. 100 ROME: Procession with the sacred stone of Elagabal (Elagabalus A.D. 218–9) BM.

Coin showing the god Elagabal in progress, on a cart drawn by four horses.¹

Introduction

It is alleged² that in late summer or early autumn of 971 by the Roman calendar, 218 by the Christian,³ an adolescent boy, recently proclaimed Roman emperor by legionary soldiers stationed near Emesa, in Syria,⁴ sets out on a journey overland to Rome.⁵ It is claimed⁶ that this boy is already, before his proclamation, despite his age, high priest of the Emesene temple of the sun god Elagabal.⁷ It is contended that the young priest-emperor travels together with his god, a large black stone.⁸ Supposedly, the journey

¹ 1 Price & Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, 1977, (Henceforth P&T).

² By Dio = *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 3, ed. Boissevain, Weidmann, 1901. The numbering of Dio's chapters adopted here is Boissevain's. English translations or paraphrases of this text follow *Dio's Roman History*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Cary, vol. 9.

³ For the dating see: Petrikovits, *Die Chronologie der Regierung Macrins*, *Klio* 31, 1938, p. 103–107.

⁴ Dio 79.31.4, ff.

⁵ Dio 80.3.2.

⁶ By Herodian = *Herodiani ab excessu Divi Marci libro octo*, ed. Stavenhagen, Teubner, 1922. English translations or paraphrases of this text follow *Herodian*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Whittaker, vol. 2.

⁷ Herodian, 5.3.4., asserts both youth and priesthood. Dio 79.31.2 alludes to youth, in the context of proclamation, but only much later, at 80.11.1, mentions priesthood, in the context of Rome, alleging it was conferred there, by the senate. This could, however, even if true, merely reflect the official Roman ratification of an existing hieratic status, rooted in Emesa. Dio 80.20.2 gives his age at his death (11 or 13 March 975=222) as eighteen, which would make him fourteen at the time of his proclamation.

occupies about a year, including a stop for the winter in Nicomedia, the capital city of Bithynia, in Asia Minor.⁹ His arrival in Rome, by late September of 972=219, is recorded in an inscription,¹⁰ and suggested by “an abrupt change in the reverse types” of his Roman coinage.¹¹

This alleged journey is the subject of the present enquiry. In order to proceed with it, one must decide by which of this boy’s many names to call him. Following a late antique text, posterity usually calls him Elagabal, Elagabalus, or Heliogabalus, after his god.¹² This is not only a solecism, but confusing. His coins and inscriptions call him by his official imperial nomenclature: Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. This is also confusing, since shared with two other emperors. His earliest historian, Dio, calls him Pseudantoninus, thus disparaging his claim, implicit in that nomenclature, to be the bastard son of the previous emperor but one, also officially Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, but better known as Caracalla.¹³ Later historians, including Herodian, and the author of the *Historia Augusta* (himself a man of many aliases) as well as Dio, at various other points in his narrative, call this boy by a variety of other names, including three that are not obviously insulting: Varius, Avitus, and Bassianus. For reasons fully discussed elsewhere,¹⁴ here he is called Varius.



Bust attributed to “Eliogabalo” (=Varius) in the Capitoline Museum, Rome

⁸ Robert, Louis, *La Deesse de Hierapolis-Castabala*, BIFB XVI, 1964, p. 79-82, & 99. Hereafter Robert, *Castabala*.

⁹ Dio 80.6.1.

¹⁰ BCAR 13.2, 1885, p. 155, nr. 1081.

¹¹ BMCRE 5, ccxxxv.

In this enquiry, I seek to identify what can be known, on the basis of evidence, and to distinguish this from what may merely be imagined, conjectured, or surmised, regarding certain questions raised by this alleged journey: whether it took place at all; the background and circumstances of its supposed undertaking; the identity and number of the putative travellers; its possible route and chronology; and its arguable significance within the reign of Varius as a whole, of which it may occupy as much as a quarter. In approaching these questions, I consider whether a certain array of coins and inscriptions, as well as of ancient historiography, constitutes evidence, or not, with respect to them. Although various scholars have written on related topics, no such comprehensive, rigorous enquiry into this journey as such has previously been undertaken. The recently published *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* greatly facilitates this task, by providing more precise geographical data than have ever been available before.¹⁵

This enquiry addresses questions, not only concerning the journey itself, but also concerning events alleged to take place in Syria, leading Varius to undertake it. Was there indeed, as is claimed, a conspiracy by women, living in Emesa, related to the recently deposed Severan dynasty, to overthrow the usurper Macrinus, and reclaim power and influence for themselves, by putting a boy from their own family on the throne? Did this lead, as is written, to a revolt of legionary soldiers, stationed near Emesa, abjuring Macrinus, and proclaiming Varius in his stead? Was a battle subsequently fought, as is asserted, between their respective armies? Was the battlefield, as is alleged by one source, near Antioch, or on the borders of Syria and Phoenicia, as is claimed by another? Such allegations fall within the scope of this enquiry, because they concern the first stage of Varius' possible journey: that from Emesa to Antioch, and the circumstances whereby he became Roman emperor, thus providing an occasion for him to go to Rome. In considering them, and those regarding subsequent stages of the journey, I shall view them and their sources through the methodically sceptical focus adopted throughout this enquiry.

¹² *Historia Augusta = Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. Hohl, vol. 1, ed. Samberger & Seyfarth, Teubner, 1971. English translations or paraphrases of this text follow *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Magie, vol. 2. References here to its various relevant vitae are: HA/AC = Antoninus Caracalla; HA/AH = *Antoninus Heliogabalus*; HA/AS = *Alexander Severus*.

¹³ Caracalla's tenure of that official nomenclature, modelled on the proper name of the philosophic emperor, author of the book we call "The Meditations" was also arguably spurious, but that is a matter I consider elsewhere, together with that of his alleged bastard's nomenclature and identity.

¹⁴ *Quaestiones Varianae 1: Existence, Identity, Nomenclature* (yet to be published).

¹⁵ *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton, 2000, henceforth *BA*.

The sources relevant to this enquiry fall into two main categories: ancient historiography, and a certain array of coins and inscriptions. Before drawing on those sources, in order to consider specific questions about this journey, its background, and circumstances, it is necessary to discuss their status, whether as evidence or otherwise, with respect to such questions. This involves considering the nature of their relevance.

Regarding the background and circumstances of the journey, its travellers, chronology and route, the only directly relevant sources, because explicitly alluding to these matters as such, are three texts of ancient historiography: those of Dio and Herodian, and, to a much lesser degree, both in terms of quantity and quality, the *Historia Augusta*. Apart from a single directly relevant inscription, that cited above, commemorating his arrival in Rome, one may draw on indirectly relevant inferences, deducible from comment in the ancient historiography on imperial journeys to Rome, or rather, on the consequences of failure to undertake them (indirectly relevant because referring to another emperor, Macrinus, but quite explicit nonetheless). Most of the remaining coins and inscriptions relevant to this enquiry are only indirectly so, because they do not explicitly refer to the journey, its background, or circumstances.

Most previous discussion of the journey's background and circumstances follows Dio's and Herodian's accounts, which are in places mutually contradictory. Seen through the focus adopted by this enquiry, these have the status of allegation, on which, alone, knowledge cannot be based. It is possible that one or both are true, with respect to given matters they discuss, but this is largely unverifiable, at least in detail. The nearer to being contemporary, and the more detailed, with respect to the military and political events alleged to occasion this journey, is Dio's,¹⁶ written probably within ten years of those events. Herodian's,¹⁷ expanding more on motives and intentions, was probably written within thirty years thereafter. As for the journey itself, only Dio names individuals, other than his grandmother and mother, allegedly travelling with Varius, and proposes a route and chronology; although Herodian also refers to a winter in Nicomedia. The *Historia Augusta*, written well over a century after Herodian's account, refers, in its *vita Heliogabali*, only tangentially to events preceding this journey, and only obliquely, in other vitae, to the journey itself, though it does make certain salacious allegations, concerning Varius' winter in Nicomedia.

¹⁶ Dio, 79.30.2-79.40.2.

¹⁷ Herodian, 5.3.1-5.4.12

The question of how far to trust ancient historiography concerning Varius is one I address elsewhere.¹⁸ Suffice it here to say that neither Dio nor Herodian, who both, though of different generations from each other, and from Varius, lived during his reign, claim any direct witness of him. Dio's virulent hostility to Varius, conditioned by the circumstances of his own political career, and Herodian's parsimony with regard to names, dates, and places, render both their accounts suspect. The *Historia Augusta* is best considered as a work of fiction posing as history, written to serve a late antique religious and political agenda, quite unrelated to Varius. It may sometimes, perhaps unintentionally, happen to contain some scraps of historical fact, mixed in with its curious blend of fantasy, anachronism, and pornography.

In addition to the ancient historiography, there exists an extensive array of coins and inscriptions, either dated to the relevant period, 971/972=218/219, or not otherwise dated, naming Varius or Elagabal, whose issueplaces or findspots lie along or near the route indicated by Dio. But they do not by that token confirm that either emperor or god actually visited any given site along that route. For with one exception, the cited inscription from Rome, none of the epigraphic or numismatic materials relevant to this enquiry explicitly claims, let alone proves, that either was ever present in its findspot or issueplace. Thus, they are only indirectly relevant to many of the questions considered here. One respect in which coins and inscriptions are, however, directly relevant to this enquiry, is that they do at least answer its first question: whether there is any imperial journey to discuss. For it is known, from discontinuities in the epigraphic and numismatic record, that Macrinus was succeeded by a boy styled Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, here called Varius, and from a Roman inscription, that this occurred in mid 971=218.¹⁹ It is, moreover, almost certain that the succession took place outside Rome, most likely in Syria. The argument for these last two points rests not only on the cited inscription, recording Varius' arrival in Rome in the autumn of 972=219, but on his earliest coinage. That of Rome uses a portrait which is certainly not that of the emperor, suggesting that he was not in Rome to be depicted.²⁰ The earliest coins with his own likeness are minted in Antioch, during 971=218.²¹ Thus, given that Varius had to come to Rome from somewhere, it is likeliest that he came from Syria.

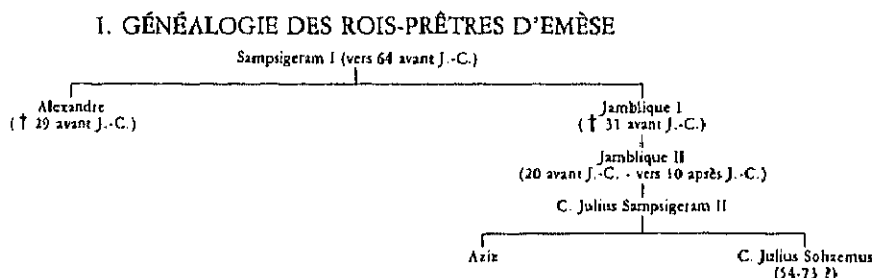
¹⁸ *Historiographia Variana*, in *Documenta Variana*, yet to be published.

¹⁹ Coins: Thirion, Marcel, *Le Monnayage d'Elagabal*, (218-222), 1968, p. 22-23, Nos. 1-14, mint of Rome from AD 218 (Henceforth: Thirion, *Monnayage*); Inscription: *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui Supersunt*, Ed. Scheid, John, 1998, p. 297, *precatio cooptationis dated pridie idus iulias* of 971=14 July, 218.

Emesa to Antioch.

Varius' journey to the palace of the Caesars arguably begins in Emesa (now Homs), his home town. It is unknown if Varius was born there,²⁴ but it is known that Emesa was the site of the temple of Elagabal,²⁵ whose high priest he was.²⁶ It is alleged to be the seat of his mother's family, through which he inherits that priesthood.²⁷

An important agricultural and trading town on the river Orontes, 164 Roman miles (Rm) from its mouth, Emesa was distinguished from other Syrian cities in a number of ways. Its ruling family, at least, were Arab,²⁸ rather than Aramaic, although they and their subjects, like other Syrians of that period, left most of their inscriptional and literary records in Greek.²⁹ Emesa was famous for its temple of the sun god, Elagabal,³⁰ who was worshipped in the form of a large black stone, possibly an obsidian meteorite, known in Greek as a *βαίτυλος*, Englished as a baetyl.³¹ The temple and its cult were under the control of a dynastic priesthood.³²



Together with the rest of Syria, Emesa reportedly falls to Rome in 690=64 B.C.³³ The ruling family at that time of its dynastic priesthood, the Samsigeramids, are eventu-

²⁴ Pace Ammianus Marcellinus, 26.6.19, "ab Emesa Hellogabalus exsiluit Antoninus."

²⁵ Price, M.J., & Trell, B., *Coins and Their Cities*, 1977, p. 168-170, *Emisa, the Temple of Elagabal*.

²⁶ Thirion, *Monnayage*, p. 12.

²⁷ Herodian 5.3.2-5

²⁸ Benzinger, RE 5.10, 1905, col. 2496-2497: *Emesa*; Dussaud, Rene, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l' Islam*, 1907, Op. 10.

²⁹ IGLS passim, as well as the wealth of literature in Greek written by Syrians, including Lucian (of Samosata), Heliodorus (of Emesa), Eusebius (of Caesarea), and Herodian (probably of Antioch).

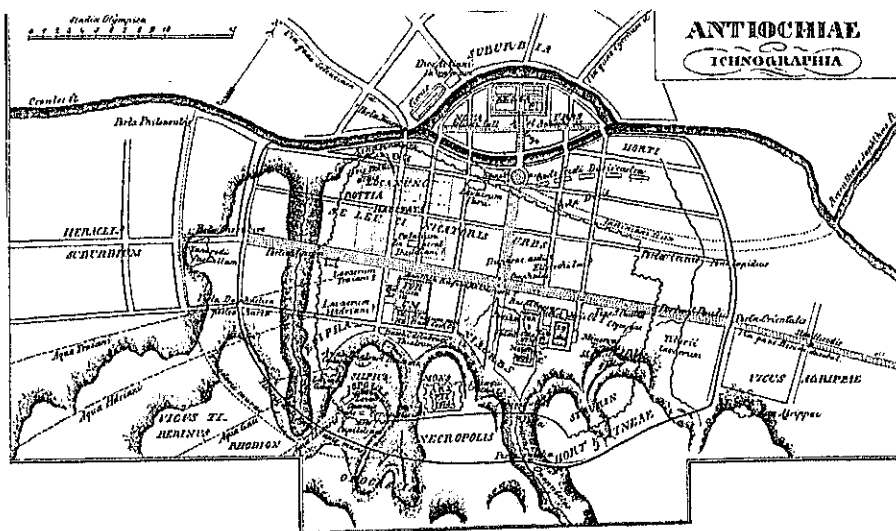
³⁰ Benzinger, RE 5.10, 1905, *Emesa*, col. 2497, l. 18-20.

³¹ Cumont, RE 5.10, 1905, *Elagabalus*, col. 2219, l. 48-63; Moore, G.F., *Baetylia*, AJA 7, 1903.

³² Chad, Carlos, *Les Dynastes d'Émèse*, 1972, p. 28-30; Sullivan, Richard, *The Dynasty of Emesa and its Relatives*, ANRW II, *Principat* 8, 1977, p. 198-199.

³³ Honigmann, *Syria*, RE2, 4.8, 1932, col. 1622, l. 25-45, citing exclusively historiographical sources.

ally granted Roman citizenship, and adopt the *nomen* Julius, possibly after that of Caesar.³⁴ It is not known if this dynasty survives as such into the time of Severus.³⁵ But following a posting to Syria, under Commodus, Severus marries a certain Julia Domna, reportedly a daughter of Julius Bassianus, high priest of Emesa.³⁶ This occurs some years before Severus seizes the Roman throne, following Commodus' murder (at hands other than his) and institutes the Severan dynasty.³⁷ During Severus' reign (96–193=193–211), and that of his son Caracalla (193–211=211–217), Syria is prominent in Roman politics, commerce, and letters, and Antioch is often, as the site of the emperor's residence, the effective capital of the empire. So it is at the time of Caracalla's reported murder, during the brief, but well documented, reign of Macrinus, and at the time of Varius' alleged proclamation.³⁸



Plan D. Antioche. Plan restitué d'après les textes antiques par K. O. MÜLLER

Allegations concerning the background and circumstances of that proclamation are made by both Dio and Herodian. In the spring of 197=217, while on campaign against the Parthians, in the mountains of northern Syria, Caracalla is supposedly murdered at the instigation of his praetorian prefect, Macrinus, who usurps the throne.³⁹ Caracalla's

³⁴ Sullivan, op. cit. p. 212–213, citing evidence for their use of the name Julius: IGLS 2760=ILS 8958.

³⁵ Millar, Fergus, *The Roman Near East*, 1993, p. 119.

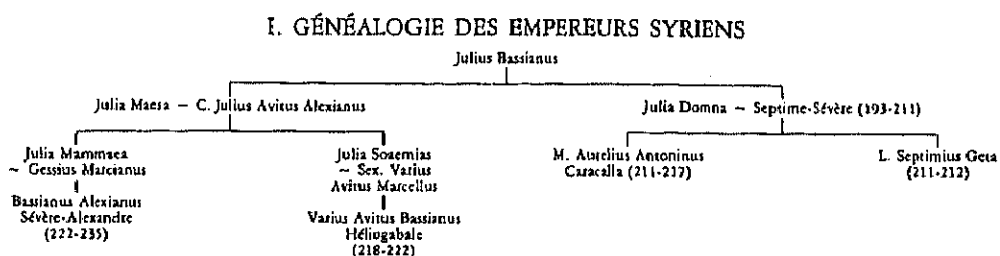
³⁶ For relationships and chronology see Millar, *ibid.*

³⁷ Dio, 74.14.3–74.17.6, and note 4 above. For Macrinus' documentation: BMCRE 3, Macrinus.

³⁸ Dio 79 & Herodian 5, *passim*; Downey, Glanville, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, 1961, p. 247–252.

³⁹ Dio 79.5 & 79.11.4–6

mother, the dowager empress Domna, and possibly his aunt, her sister, Maesa, are reportedly in Antioch at the time. Domna dies soon after, but Maesa survives, retiring to Emesa, her home town, with her considerable fortune intact.⁴⁰ With her are presumably her daughters, Soaemias and Mamaea, and their respective sons, Varius and Alexianus. By spring of 971=218, Maesa has allegedly hatched a plot to put Varius on the throne, and restore her family to power and influence. Seeing Varius much admired by the soldiers, on account of his beauty and grace in performing the dances of the ritual of Elagabal, she launches, with the collusion of Soaemias, the rumour that he is the son, not of Soaemias' husband, Sextus Varius Marcellus, recently dead, hence incapable of contradiction, but of her cousin Caracalla, dead, childless and heirless.⁴¹



At this point, one should note certain discrepancies between the historiographical sources, with respect to the circumstances underlying this alleged conspiracy. Herodian claims both beauty and grace in dancing, as well as rumour.⁴² Dio refers only to rumour, at this point in his narrative,⁴³ and to dancing only later, in the context of Varius' activities at Rome, only to denigrate it as unmanly.⁴⁴ He does not allude at all to Varius' alleged beauty, but only to his presumed resemblance to Caracalla, as moving the soldiers to support his cause.⁴⁵ Irrespective of which of these accounts, if either, may be the more likely – a subject I shall discuss elsewhere – the discrepancies between them remind us why we cannot base knowledge on the witness of ancient historiography alone. This becomes even clearer below, when I come to consider the location of the battle allegedly fought between the forces of Varius and Macrinus.

Concerning another circumstance conditioning the supposed conspiracy, the prior

⁴⁰ Herodian 5.3.2

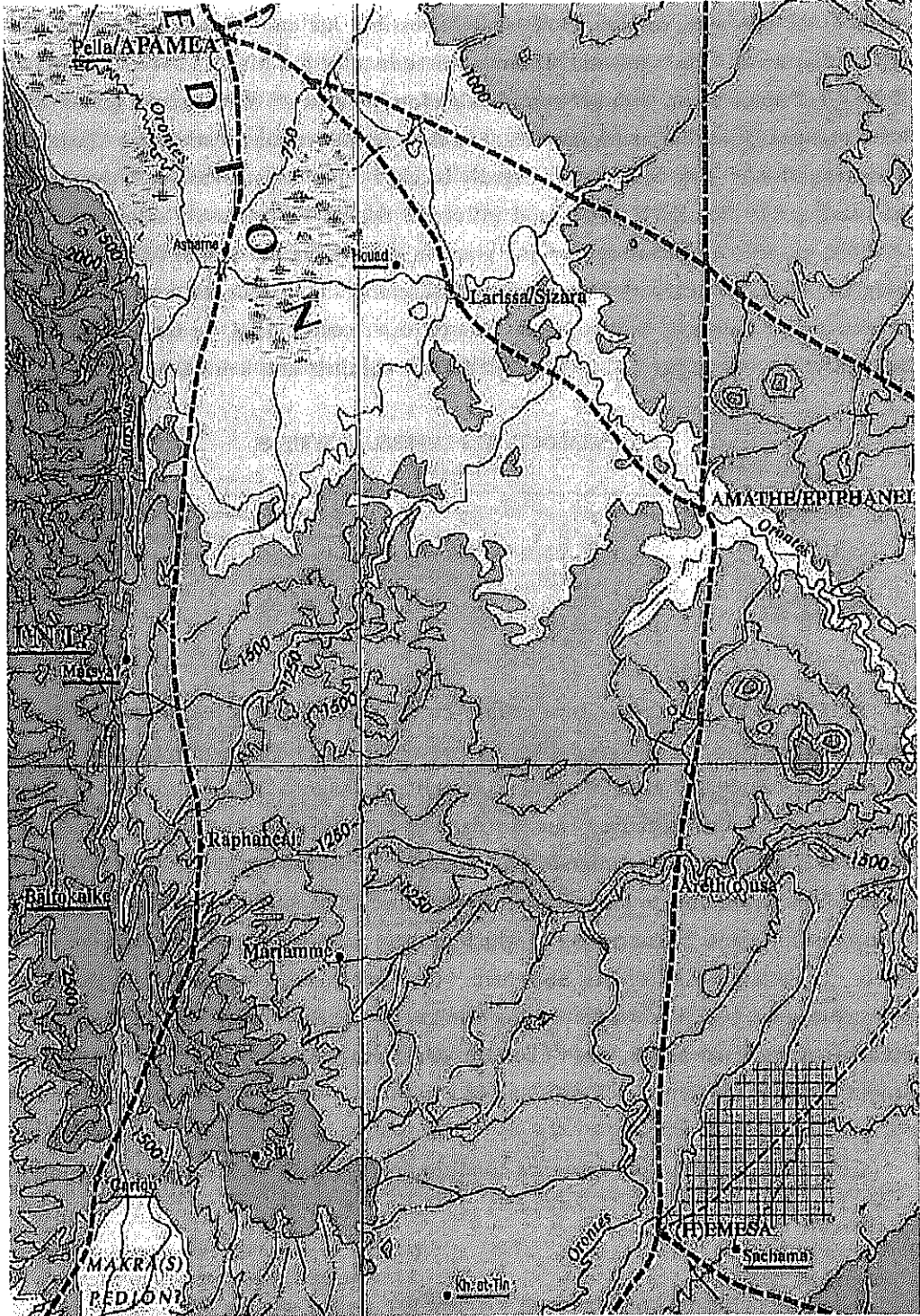
⁴¹ Herodian 5.3.8-12

⁴² Herodian 5.3.8-11.

⁴³ Dio 79.31.3.

⁴⁴ Dio 80.14.3.

⁴⁵ Dio 79.32.2-3



Scan of map showing Emesa, Raphanae, Arethusa and Apamea⁵¹

death of Sextus Varius Marcellus, epigraphic evidence is relevant: his epitaph is dated to the reign of Caracalla.⁴⁶ On the subject of that emperor's childlessness and heirlessness, it may be presumed that Caracalla could not have left a legitimate child, since he is said to have murdered his only wife, Plautilla, with the marriage unconsummated.⁴⁷ He is not alleged, by anyone other than Varius and his family, to have fathered any bastard. Indeed, Dio says that he was impotent.⁴⁸ There is no mention anywhere of an adopted heir. According to Dio, the troops remember Caracalla fondly, despite his reputation as a fratricide, uxoricide, and tyrant, and dislike Macrinus, who, they fear, intends to cut their pay.⁴⁹ So they may be willing to believe, or at least to pretend to believe, this rumour, once they are persuaded by generous bribes that they will fare better under Varius.⁵⁰

On the night of 15th–16th May, 971=218, a group of legionary soldiers allegedly abjure their oath to Macrinus, and proclaim Varius as emperor in his stead. This takes place, according to Dio and Herodian, not in Emesa itself, but in a nearby fort, subsequently identified as the winter quarters of the Third Gallican Legion, at Raphanaeae,⁵² 27 Rm northwest.

Raphanaeae is located on a road leading southwest from Apamea towards the coast. Apamea is a town on the Orontes, some 62 Rm downriver and to the north of Emesa, on the road from Emesa to Antioch.⁵³ There is no record of any Roman road from Emesa to Raphanaeae,⁵⁴ so, by Herodian's account, the soldiers must have travelled over unpaved paths to watch Varius perform in the temple of Emesa; and Varius must have traversed those same paths to Raphanaeae, there to be proclaimed emperor. If the soldiers came on foot, the journey would take a whole day; if on horseback, at least five or six hours.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ CIL 6, 6569 = ILS 478 = IG 14, 911 = IGRR 1, 402. Pflaum, Hans Georg, *Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres Sous le Haut-Empire Romain*, nr. 237 : *Sextus Varius Marcellus*, p. 642.

⁴⁷ Dio 77.2.5 & 77.6.3.

⁴⁸ Dio 78.16.1–2 & 4.

⁴⁹ Caracalla's reputation: Dio 77 and 78 passim; soldiers' disaffection with Macrinus: Dio 79.20.4 and 79.28 & 29, Herodian 5.3.1.

⁵⁰ Dio 79.32.4.; Herodian 5.3.11 & 5.4.4.

⁵¹ *BA*, map 68.

⁵² Neither Dio 79.31.4 ff. nor Herodian 5.3.9 ff. mention the name of the legion or the location of the fort, but these have been deduced from other sources. See *Legio III Gallica* in RE 1.12.24, 1925, col. 1525, l. 44–45, col.1526, l. 14–17.

⁵³ *BA*, map 68.

⁵⁴ *BA*, map 68.

⁵⁵ Calculating on the basis of the data offered in Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* 2, 1.6.2., p. 333–342, *Die Schnelligkeit des Reisens zu Lande und zur See*, specifically p. 333–336. (Hereafter: Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*.)



Fig. 301 EMISA: The altar of the temple of Elagabal (Julia Domna A.D. 193-211) BM.



Fig. 297 EMISA. Temple of Elagabal opened to reveal the cult stone above a prominent altar (Caracalla A.D. 216) Munich.



Fig. 298 EMISA: Temple of Elagabal (Caracalla A.D. 216) Paris.



Fig. 299 EMISA: Temple of Elagabal in three-quarter view, emphasizing the high podium (Caracalla A.D. 216) Paris.

Coins of Emesa showing its temple²³

²³ P&T, Emisa.

From this one may deduce that, if Herodian is to be believed, their devotion to the cult whose high priest they allegedly made emperor must have been very considerable.

The chronology of events between Varius' reported proclamation, and the battle allegedly fought on 8th June between the rebels and the forces of Macrinus, as well as the location of that battle, have been discussed by modern historians of antiquity in terms of ancient historiographical accounts of them, invoking geographical data, relevant to calculations of time, in relation to distance. New maps in the *Barrington Atlas* allow one to reconsider that discussion, in the light of more precise geographical data. This reveals certain implausibilities in earlier theories, allowing one to formulate a new hypothesis concerning the possible location of the battle, assuming it took place at all. There are, in any case, two conflicting ancient accounts of the events leading up to the battle, and of its location: Dio's and Herodian's.

According to Dio,⁵⁶ Macrinus' prefect Julianus, hearing of the uprising whilst happening to be near Raphanaea, immediately attacks the fort with his soldiers. These, however, are soon persuaded by their comrades inside the fort to turn against Julianus, and join the revolt, whereupon Julianus flees. Macrinus, hearing of the uprising in Antioch, hastens to Apamea, headquarters of the Second Parthican Legion,⁵⁷ to rally its troops against the rebels. There, whilst feasting the populace, Macrinus allegedly receives a basket containing the head of Julianus, who has been caught by the rebels. Frightened, he immediately returns to Antioch.⁵⁸

Herodian, by contrast, does not have Macrinus, on hearing in Antioch of the revolt, hasten anywhere, but rather remain there indulging in his accustomed dalliance, sending Julianus to deal with it. Only when news reaches him of Julianus' death, does Macrinus muster his army and set out from Antioch, with the intention of laying siege to the rebels. But they are reportedly no longer in the fort, having themselves set out, eager to engage Macrinus in the field. By Herodian's account, the two armies meet and fight at the border of the provinces of Syria and Phoenicia.⁵⁹ If so, the rebels cannot have advanced much, or at all, towards Antioch – assuming that engagement with Macrinus was their goal – since the border between the recently separated provinces of Syria Coele and Phoenicia

⁵⁶ Dio 79.31.4

⁵⁷ Dio 78.34.2

⁵⁸ Dio 78.34.4

⁵⁹ Herodian 5.4.1-6

runs to the south of Raphanaeae, between there and Emesa, and crosses the road from Emesa to Antioch somewhere south of Arethusa.⁶⁰ Thus, for Herodian's account to be true, the rebels would have to set out southwards from Raphanaeae, towards the coast, or to Emesa, then turn northwards, to face Macrinus' army. A visit to Emesa is not inherently unlikely, given Varius' links to it; but there is no explicit mention of his going back there then, or ever again, in Herodian's account, or elsewhere.

According to Dio, the troops in Apamea (whom he calls the Alban Legion, after their headquarters near Rome) join the revolt after Macrinus returns to Antioch.⁶¹ The combined rebel force then presumably sets out, on the main road from Apamea towards Antioch, along the Orontes. This can only be presumed, because Dio's fragmentary text does not mention these troops again until he has them marching with such speed against Macrinus that "he [can] only with difficulty engage" [them] at a village 180 *stadia* (= 22.5 Rm=20.6 English miles=33 km) from Antioch.⁶²

Honigmann, in the context of defining the boundary between Syria Coele and Phoenicia, dismisses Herodian's theory, apparently merely because it differs from Dio's, and, following Dio's indication of distance, places the battle at Imma, a village some 180 *stadia* east of Antioch.⁶³ Petrikovits, also following Dio's account, likewise situates the battle 180 *stadia* from Antioch, but to the south, whilst arguing for the likelihood of Dio's chronology, which gives 8th June as its date.⁶⁴

If Herodian's account is rejected, and both Dio's chronology and measurement of distance – but neither Honigmann's nor Petrikovits' location of the battle – are assumed, various consequences follow. One is that the rebels proceeded slowly, not quickly, as claimed by Dio, since their progress from Raphanaeae, either to Honigmann's or to Petrikovits' choice of destination, a distance of about 120 Rm, would have taken them 24 days, from the 16th of May to the 8th of June, to traverse. This period could have included several days at Raphanaeae before setting out, and several more at Apamea, whilst joining with the Alban Legion.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Honigmann, *Syria*, RE 2.4.8, 1932, col. 1686, l. 27–30. *BA* Map 68.

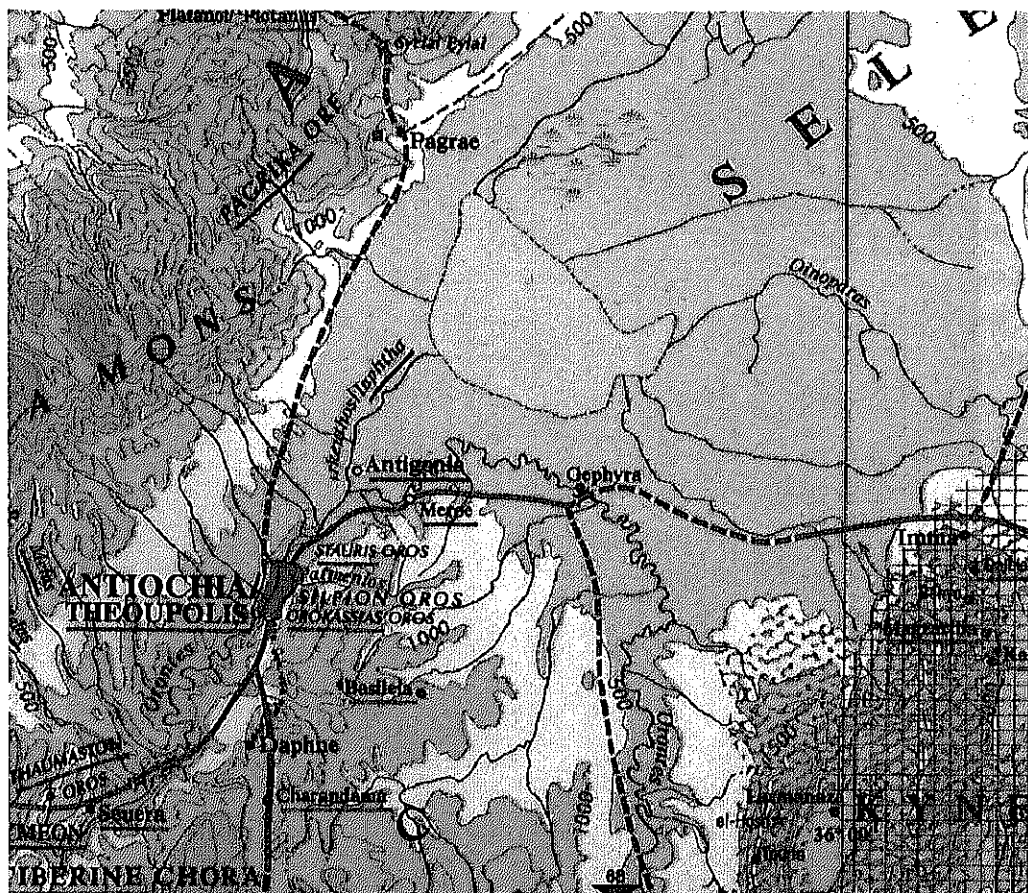
⁶¹ Dio 79.34.5

⁶² Dio 79.37.3

⁶³ Honigmann, *Syria*, RE 2.4.8, 1932, col. 1686, l. 32–42, & col. 1692, l. 14–26.

⁶⁴ Petrikovits, *Die Chronologie der Regierung Macrins*, *Klio* 31, 1938, p. 103–107.

⁶⁵ Petrikovits, *op.cit.* p. 106–107.

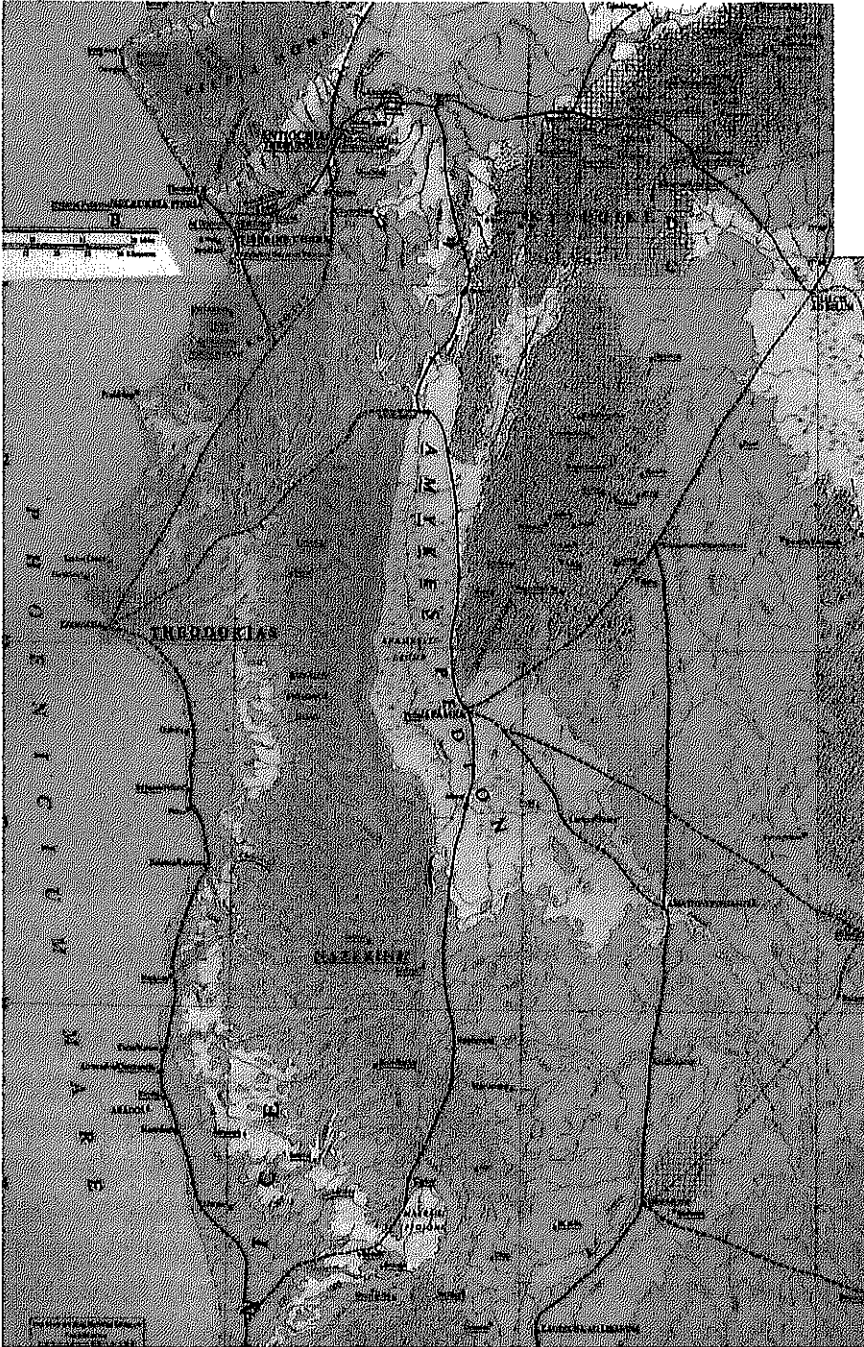


Scan of map showing Antioch, Gephyra, and Imma⁶⁶

Another consequence is that neither Honigmann's nor Petrikovits' location of the battle is plausible. Imma is not on the road from Apamea to Antioch, but on a detour from that road, running east, away from Antioch. The only road leading south from Antioch runs parallel to the coast, passing through Daphne, towards Laodicea, not along the Orontes, towards Apamea.⁶⁷ The road from Apamea to Antioch runs north, for 70 Rm to Gephyra, a village on the Orontes. There, this road joins another, from Imma to Antioch. For Antioch, turn left, then proceed south-westwards 12 Rm via Merpe; for Imma, right, then eastwards 14 Rm. An army marching from Apamea to Antioch by the most direct route on Roman roads would not pass through Imma.

⁶⁶ BA, map 67

⁶⁷ BA, maps 68 and 69.



Photomerge scan of map showing roman roads between Emesa and Antioch⁶⁸

⁶⁸ BA, maps 67 & 68.

A theory that could take it there, however, is that the rebels, wishing to seize Antioch, rather than engage Macrinus, and believing Macrinus' troops to be coming at them down the main road from Antioch, could have detoured east, on a road from Apamea to Chalcis ad Belum, and thence west towards Antioch, through Imma, only to be met there by the force they sought to outflank. Or they could have borne east up a nameless valley joining that of the Orontes, and so reached Imma quicker, but with the same result. A similar theory, involving a westward detour, would have the rebels turn left off the main road from Apamea to Antioch, perhaps at Seleucobelos, and travel on unpaved paths over the mountains, to join the road from Laodicea to Antioch, again only to be met by Macrinus at a point 180 *stadia* south from Antioch on that road.

An alternative hypothesis, which seems to me more likely than Honigmann's or Petrikovits', or than either of these two theories, because simpler, by virtue of not requiring the rebels to leave the main road from Apamea to Antioch, is that the battle, if indeed it took place, was joined at a point 180 *stadia* from Antioch, measured along that road. This would be some 10–11 Rm south of Gephyra, where the valley of the Orontes, seen from the north – the defenders' perspective – narrows, corresponding to Dio's mention of a pass at the site of the battle.⁶⁹ No village is mapped there, but being a fertile area, it was likely to be inhabited, if only by a riverside settlement whose name has not survived.

This hypothesis assumes preference for Dio's account over Herodian's; a preference based not on evidence, but on one's judgement of relative likelihood, given a further set of assumptions, themselves based on allegations uncorroborated by evidence. Among those allegations are that there was a battle, following a revolt, involving the proclamation of Varius as emperor. While these allegations, and hence the assumptions based on them, are not themselves implausible, in the absence of any independent confirmatory evidence, such as coins or inscriptions explicitly referring to a proclamation or a battle, all that can be known is, certainly, that Varius somehow succeeded Macrinus as emperor, in the spring or summer of 971 = 218, and, probably, that this took place in Syria.



25. Effigie "cornue" d'Héliogabale

Coin of Elagabalus (= Varius)⁷⁰

The circumstances of the journey: an initial choice of means.

It is alleged that Varius takes up initial residence in Antioch.⁷¹ It is said that he remains there for some months, until he has established his authority on all sides.⁷² This could mean that Varius' handlers wanted to be sure that Macrinus was dead, hence incapable of organising resistance to them, and also wished to ensure Varius' ratification by the senate in Rome, and the loyalty of the provinces through which they must travel, if they went overland. They would therefore have to wait at least till receiving replies from Rome and elsewhere, which could take a month or more;⁷³ as well as news of the capture and death of Macrinus.⁷⁴

All these precautions seem plausible, if, as is likely, given that they probably did so in fact, Varius' elders had already decided in principle to travel overland, through Anatolia and the Balkans; for this is a route along which they might have assumed Macrinus would flee, perhaps trying to reach Rome. The choice of going overland, rather than embarking on the far quicker journey by sea, which could have been completed in a few weeks,⁷⁵ must have been made for personal or logistical, rather than political reasons. These all argued for haste in reaching Rome, at least before Macrinus. Perhaps, therefore, the decision to travel overland was not finally taken till after receiving reliable news of his death. Allegedly, Macrinus' head remains unburied, in his place of execution, possibly Archelais, awaiting Varius' arrival, in order that he may gloat over it.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Dio 79.38.3

⁷⁰ Turcan, Robert, *Héliogabale et le Sacre du Soleil*, 1986. (Henceforth Turcan, *HSS*)

⁷¹ Dio 80.1.1

⁷² Dio 80.3.1

⁷³ Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, p. 333-342.

⁷⁴ Dio 79.39.1-6 & 79.40.1-2.

⁷⁵ Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, p.338-340.

⁷⁶ Re gloating: Dio 79.40.2; re Archelais: *Chronica Minora* 1, ed. Mommsen, p. 147, *Macrinus*.

Apart from that inducement, other possible personal reasons for choosing overland travel may have included fear of the sea, a propensity to seasickness, or fear of attack, either by naval units loyal to Macrinus, or by pirates, who, in that century, reportedly reinfest the Mediterranean, after a relative absence of two.⁷⁷ More positive reasons might include a wish for Varius to visit some of his empire, in particular certain religious sites on the way through Anatolia. Among possible logistical reasons for this decision might be an insufficiency of adequate vessels in Seleuceia Pieria, the port of Antioch, some 18 Rm southwest, near the mouth of the Orontes, for the number of people and goods to be transported.

The travellers, their escort, and impedimenta.

What that number was is a matter of conjecture, but not uninformedly so. Halfmann, in *Itinera Principum*, provides information, drawn mainly from earlier reigns, regarding the participants in an imperial progress, which may be applied to the present case.⁷⁸ The emperor, his grandmother, mother, aunt, siblings and cousins, together with their friends, lovers, favourites, confidants, and personal attendants, ranging from men and women of senatorial or equestrian rank, to freedmen and slaves, would make up the inner circle of the court. Its upper level might overlap with a median circle, consisting of the *comites Augusti*, the emperor's official counsellors and travelling companions. An outer circle would include numerous officials and their staff, in charge of security, procurement, accountancy, management, maintenance, correspondence and administration. Some of these would be in charge of making arrangements for the journey. This must also be reckoned among possible sources of delay in setting out, since it would involve planning the route in detail, corresponding in advance with the relevant officials in cities and towns on the way, in order to ensure the state of repair of the roads, and the provision of lodging, food, and water – a burden which fell on the local community – both for animals and humans. Of the latter, merely counting those listed so far, a number in the hundreds is probable.

What greatly multiplies that number is the military escort. This would consist, at least, of one cohort of praetorians, and another of *equites singulares*, both of whom escorted the emperor on his journeys. If at full strength, the former could number fifteen

⁷⁷ Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, p.337, text & n. 12.

⁷⁸ See Halfmann, Helmut, *Itinera Principum, Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart, 1986, chapter 3: *Die Reisebegleitung*, p. 90–110.

hundred men; the latter a thousand.⁷⁹ The composition, and hence the numbers, of these groups, in particular the *equites*, may have been affected by the regnal transition.⁸⁰ In addition to this regular escort, however, Dio tells us that Varius was accompanied by the Alban Legion. If so, and at full strength, this would add a further five to six thousand men.⁸¹ There is also an indication, from the papyri of Dura Europos, a military post in eastern Syria, that soldiers of the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort were seconded thence to accompany Varius to Rome.⁸² Finally, there is the question of the Third Gallican Legion. Did it return to Raphanea, escort Varius, or go elsewhere? Within an year of Varius' ascent to the throne it had been disbanded, possibly as the result of supporting two attempts to overthrow him.⁸³

Now if people involved in the journey numbered in the thousands, the amount of goods to be transported must have been very considerable. Even if the lower orders, foot soldiers and slaves, travelled light, their parsimony would have been more than counter-balanced by the lavishness of the imperial impedimenta, together with that of the wealthier courtiers.

Among the goods probably involved in this journey may be counted the baetyl, principal cult-object of Elagabal. Some modern historians of antiquity doubt this,⁸⁴ or claim it was sent for later;⁸⁵ for its removal from the temple of Emesa, and its transport to Antioch, there to continue its journey towards Rome, together with that god's high priest, now emperor, is not explicitly recorded by any of the ancient historiography, although its later presence in Rome, together with Varius, is so. Neither is its presence in Nicomedia, where the travellers allegedly wintered, explicitly recorded, but it is certainly implied by ancient accounts of Varius' celebration of religious ceremonies there, in honour of Elagabal.⁸⁶

Louis Robert, in *La Deesse de Hierapolis-Castabala*,⁸⁷ argues from a coin showing

⁷⁷ Friedlander, *Sittengeschichte*, p.337, text & n. 12.

⁷⁸ See Halfmann, Helmut, *Itinera Principum, Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart, 1986, chapter 3: *Die Reisebegleitung*, p. 90-110.

⁷⁹ Adkins, Leslie & Roy, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*, New York, 1994, p. 66-67. (*Handbook*)

⁸⁰ Dio, 80.3.4.

⁸¹ Adkins, *Handbook*, p. 53-55.

⁸² *Dura Final Report*, V 1 (1959) Nr. 100 & p. 41.

⁸³ RE 1.12.24, 1925, *Legio*, col. 1526, l. 35-64.

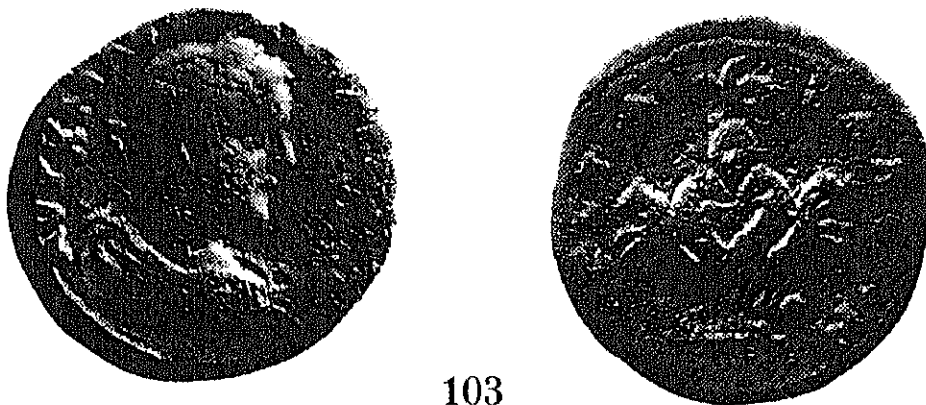
⁸⁴ Price, M.J., *Num. Chron.* 1971, p. 127.

⁸⁵ Besnier, *Histoire Romaine*, 3, p. 83.

⁸⁶ Herodian 5.5.3.

⁸⁷ Robert, *Castabala*. p. 79-82, & 99.

the baetyl on a cart drawn by four horses, for its visit, together with Varius, and the introduction of its cult, to that Cilician holy city. In that same work, and in *Une Fete a Sardes*,⁸⁸ Robert also adduces numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the presence of the cult of Elagabal in other parts of Anatolia. Ruprecht Ziegler, in *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik*,⁸⁹ argues from the same and similar materials for a joint visit by emperor and god to Anazarbus, near Castabala. Both these arguments also relate to the question of the route.



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Coin of Hiérapolis-Castabala showing the baetyl on a cart pulled by four horses⁹⁰

On the immediate question – whether god and priest-emperor travelled together, or separately – I have only this to add, in view of the numbers and nature of the travellers and their impedimenta: is it not both logical and simpler to suppose that Varius, given his recorded devotion to this stone, would have taken it with him, escorted by several thousand soldiers, rather than arranging separately for its secure transport to Rome? Would, moreover, its passage through Anatolia, if unaccompanied by that of an emperor – thus as a parcel, rather than as an honoured guest – have moved the cities on its way to mint coins or incise stones in its honour?

The question of the route: relevant materials and their limitations.

Robert Turcan, in *Héliogabale et le Sacre du Soleil*, writes about this journey as if

⁸⁸ Robert, Louis, RN 6.18, 1976, p. 49-56 & Plates 1&2. Hereafter: Robert, *Sardes*.

⁸⁹ Ziegler, Ruprecht, *Städtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik, Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, 1985, p. 85-90. Hereafter: Ziegler, *Prestige*.

⁹⁰ Robert, *Castabala*, Planche XXIX N° 103.

⁹¹ Turcan, HSS, p. 86-95, *Le Betyle en Voyage*.

its itinerary were approximately established.⁹¹ But the route that Varius may have taken from Antioch to Rome cannot be established; not even approximately. It can only be conjectured, imagined, and illustrated, in the light of certain relevant materials, epigraphic and numismatic, together with some help from ancient historiography. This last provides an initial overview of the putative journey as a whole.

According to Dio, Varius goes from Antioch to Bithynia, where he spends the winter.⁹² Dio later specifies his quarters as Nicomedia.⁹³ Herodian's account matches this, adding that Varius there commissions and sends ahead to Rome a picture of himself, dressed in his priestly vestments, sacrificing to his god; another reason, if true, to suppose that his god was with him there.⁹⁴ Thence, again by Dio's account, Varius proceeds through Thrace, Moesia, and both the Pannonias (Inferior and Superior), into Italy, where he remains until the end of his life.⁹⁵ To these texts must be added, with the strongest of reservations,⁹⁶ mention in the *Historia Augusta* of a stop in Faustropolis, in Cappadocia, where Varius reportedly rededicates to Elagabal a temple built by the original Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in honour of his wife, Faustina.⁹⁷

The route that emerges from this overview broadly corresponds to that known since late antiquity as *Itinerarium Burdigalense*,⁹⁸ or *Pilgrims' Road*,⁹⁹ from Jerusalem to Constantinople (Istanbul), thence to Aquileia (Trieste), and so to Rome. (The relevant manuscript also shows the way from Italy to Bordeaux; hence its name.) This route follows a network of Roman roads, built in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, and maintained throughout the Antonine and Severan, linking cities, towns, colonies, and camps along the way. There were also hostels, or *mansiones*, where couriers or officials on imperial business, or indeed emperors and their escort, could stop to eat and sleep; as well as way stations, or *mutationes*, where they could rest at midday, and refresh or exchange their mounts or dray horses.

⁹² Dio 80.3.2.

⁹³ Dio 80.6.1.

⁹⁴ Herodian 5.5.6.

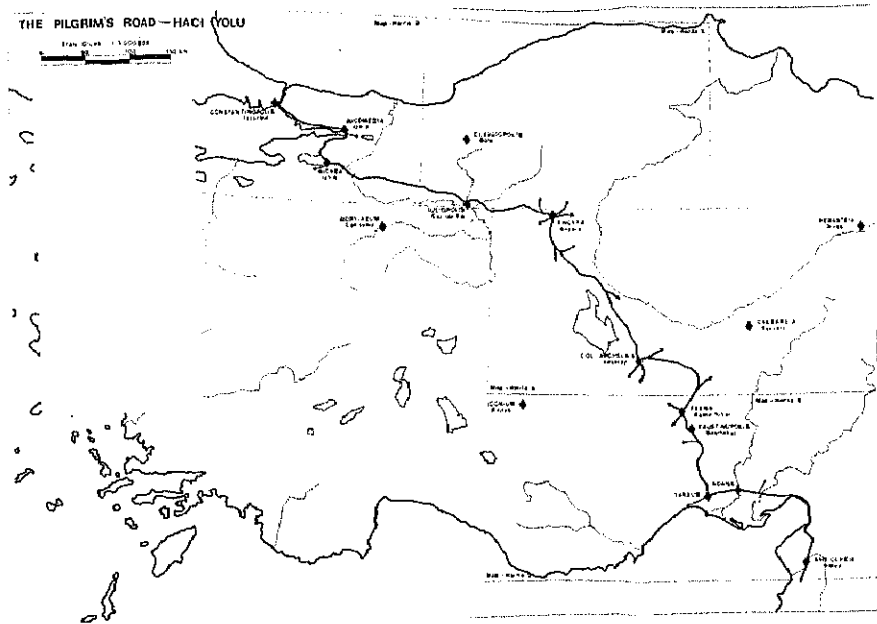
⁹⁵ Dio 80.3.2.

⁹⁶ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 81: "On a sur le culte du dieu en Asie Mineure un renseignement qui est suspect, parce qu'il est connu par l'Histoire Auguste."

⁹⁷ HA/AC 11.6-7.

⁹⁸ *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. Geyer, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 39, 1898.

⁹⁹ French, David, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, Fasc. I: *The Pilgrim's Road*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph No. 3, BAR International Series 105, 1981. Hereafter: French, *PR*.



The Pilgrim's Road¹⁰⁰

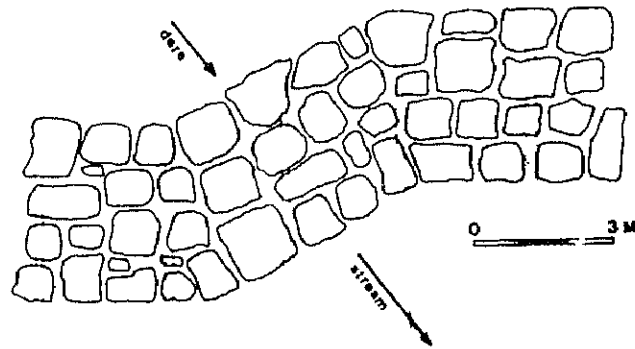


Fig. 5 : Schematic plan of a paved floor on a Roman road

Invariably the top layer of a Roman road has been lost but small stone or gravel, or even sand, was probably used as dressing.

Roman road construction¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ French, *PR.*

¹⁰¹ French, *PR.*

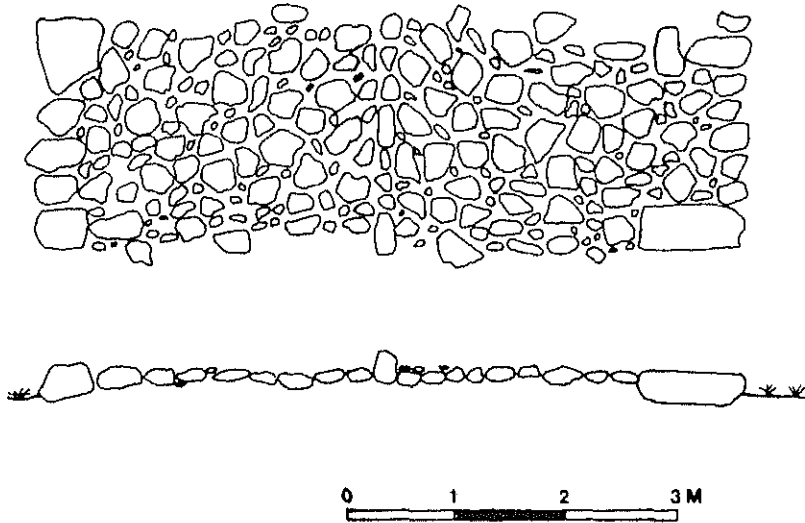


Fig. 1 : Schematic plan and section of a Roman road (cp. French 1980, 713 and Diagram 6).

Where the terrain demands, a road could be embanked, fig.2.

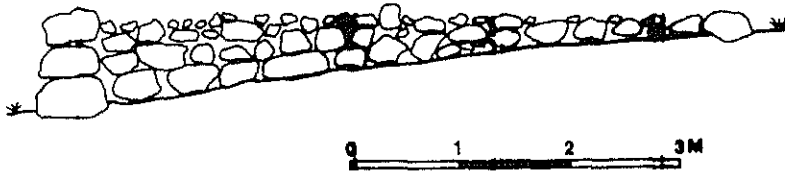


Fig. 2: Schematic section of an embanked Roman road.

In some situations it is clear that the engineers cut into the slope whether rock or earth, figs. 3 and 4. (See description of the Roman road in the Cilician Gates: Ramsay 1903, 375; he quotes Ritter, "Kleinasien II, p. 281": non vidi).

Roman road construction¹⁰²

¹⁰² French, *PR*.

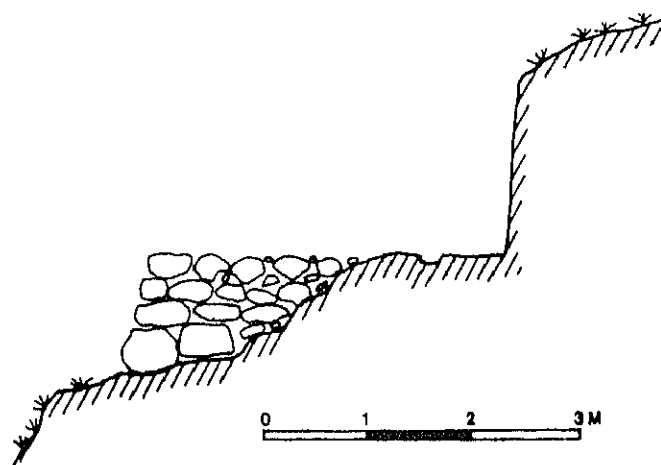


Fig. 3 : Schematic section of a Roman road cut into a rock slope.

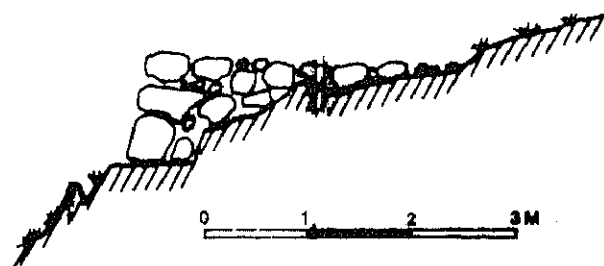


Fig. 4 : Schematic section of a Roman road with embankment and footing cut into a rock slope.

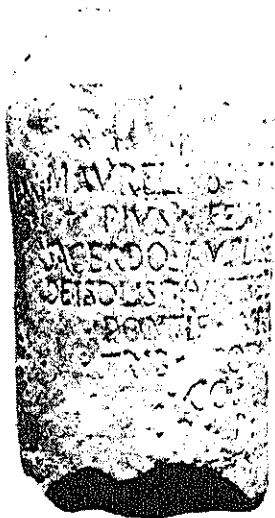
The width of the road, in normal circumstances, *i.e.* in favourable terrain, was never less than 6.50 m. and in some instances was nearly 10 m. wide. In unfavourable terrain, in narrow, steep-sided valleys, where the road was confined, or, of necessity, embanked, the road width was less. No precise measurements are available (because no section is preserved intact); tentatively one may suggest a width of c. 3.00 - 3.50 m.

Roman road construction¹⁰³

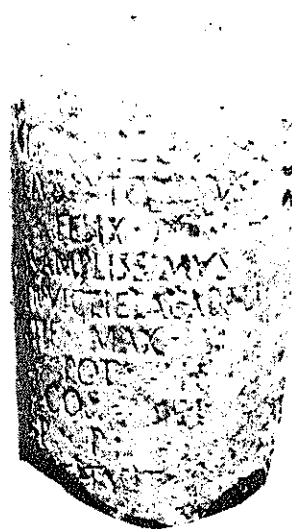
¹⁰³ French, *PR.*

Upkeep of this network under Varius is attested by inscriptions on milestones, recording repairs made during his reign, some perhaps before his passage. The wish to wait for these to be completed could have been a further factor contributing to his delay in setting out from Antioch. It would have been a paramount concern of Varius, as deducible from his reported solicitousness, later, in Rome, towards the baetyl,¹⁰⁴ to ensure its safe and dignified transport; to minimise any risk of its cart getting stuck in a ford, or hitting a pothole, breaking an axle, and overturning, thus spilling his god onto the ground. So the condition of the road would have been a major consideration, both in the choice of route, and in scheduling the imperial party's passage over it. The transport of the baetyl, as well as that of the courtiers, in open carts or covered wagons, together with an escort of thousands of foot soldiers, horsemen, and perhaps even elephants,¹⁰⁵ with the consequent need to encamp and decamp every day, would dictate the pace: slow and stately. About 25 Rm a day,¹⁰⁶ the average distance between *mansiones*,¹⁰⁷ may be supposed to be likely.

a



b



Roman milestone with official nomenclature and titles of Varius:
 M AURELIVS ANTONINVS/PIVS FELIX/SACERDOS AMPLISSIMVS/
 DEI SOLIS INVICTI ELAGABALI/PONTIF MAX/TRIB POT/COS¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Herodian, 5.6.7.

¹⁰⁵ Elephants; Ziegler, *Prestige*, p. 89, n. 149.

¹⁰⁶ Procopius, cited by Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, p. 335, n. 7,8,&9.

¹⁰⁷ *Itinera Hierosolymitana, passim*.

¹⁰⁸ Ceka, Hasan, *Dega jugore e rrugës Egnatia, Monumentet*, 2, 1971, p. 27.

Such milestones do not, however, constitute evidence of Varius' passage. They do not even claim it. At most, they claim that their stretch of road was repaired, either by Varius (= at his command), or by a local notable or citizenry, on his behalf (= at their expense).¹⁰⁹ This does not, however, mean that Varius passed over that stretch of road, since such milestones exist in North Africa and Western Europe outside Italy, where nobody suggests that he ever set foot.¹¹⁰ Apart from milestones, at least two inscriptions honouring Bithynian notables list escorting Varius, one during his hibernation, among their accomplishments.¹¹¹ But they do not say where that escort, or wintering, take place. That referring to Varius' hibernation is from Nicaea, but Dio says that he wintered in Nicomedia.

The coins in this array claim and prove no more than do the inscriptions, regarding Varius' possible presence, or that of his god. They allude to the celebration of games in honour of Elagabal, or to their institution at Varius' command,¹¹² but do not thereby constitute proof of either's presence, since such games were also celebrated elsewhere in the empire. Coins from Greek-speaking cities show the emperor in poses associated with the Latin legend *Adventus Augusti*, thought to record an imperial visit to the issueplace, but do not bear that legend, or its Greek equivalent.¹¹³ Other coins show the baetyl on a two-wheeled cart, suggesting, but not, in their legends, actually proclaiming its passage.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, a coin issued in the name of any one of the Greek cities of Anatolia was not necessarily minted there, since there were fewer mints than cities, and they often shared dies, both obverse and reverse.¹¹⁵

It is thus theoretically sustainable that neither emperor nor god ever visited any of these sites; though to have avoided those, at least, along the direct route, would have required such far-ranging detours, possibly involving passing through some of the outlying sites, that avoidance is less likely than presence. The same ratio of likelihood does not, of course, hold for the outlying sites; it may even be inverted. For the sake of illustration, then, rather than of argument – for I believe that that one cannot argue

¹⁰⁹ Such as that from Himmetoglu in *Pilgrim's Road*, p. 61.

¹¹⁰ CIL 2, CIL 8, & CIL 13, *passim* (see indices under *imperatores*, *Elagabalus*).

¹¹¹ Koerte, A., M(K)DAIA 24, 1899, p. 426-428, nr. 23; SEG 29, 1979, p. 322-323, nr. 1281 = Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium, ed. Amelung, 1985, p. 67, nr. 12.

¹¹² Robert, *Castabala*, p. 80; Sardes, p. 49-56.

¹¹³ Ziegler, *Prestige*, p. 87, & n. 135-139.

¹¹⁴ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 79, item no. 41; two-wheeled cart: Baldus, Chiron, 19, 1989, p. 473..

¹¹⁵ Kraft, Konrad, *Das System der Kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien*, 1972. (Kraft, *System*)



Anatolian coins of Elagabalus (Varius) with shared obverse die¹¹⁶

conclusively from these materials, for or against any given route - I shall first list sites along the direct route, providing coins or inscriptions relevant to Varius or his god, then some of the outlying sites.

It should be noted at this point, that making these lists involves locating the places cited on a map, which in turn involves comparing the names of issueplaces and findspots given in the cited sources, mainly numismatic and epigraphic catalogues and corpora, as well as archaeological articles and monographs, with those found on maps. This is rendered particularly complex by a number of circumstances. The best maps of the ancient world, from a purely geographical point of view, are undoubtedly those of the *Barrington Atlas*. But its editors adopt, though not consistently, the recently fashionable practice of giving, for the eastern part of the Roman empire, place names transliterated directly from Greek, rather than, as was long the norm in classical scholarship, their Latinised equivalents. Besides this, in that work's gazetteer, no concordance between these differing names is provided. Thus place names in the *Barrington Atlas* do not always correspond to those in the standard catalogues and corpora of coins and inscriptions, particularly in the east.

Another complicating factor arises from my attempt to provide, where it exists, the modern place name. Due to the vicissitudes of modern history, virtually all the territories relevant to this enquiry have undergone political and cultural change, since the time

¹¹⁶ Kraft, *System*.

when the standard catalogues and corpora were published. Thus, even where these give a modern name alongside the ancient, it has usually been changed, often from a German name to one in some other language. In addition, Turkish place names, though remaining in that language, have undergone repeated change, in response to political events. As a result, in attempting to provide the modern names I have had to compare and collate maps from several different periods. Any resulting errors are, of course, my own.



Fig. 460 SIDON. Phoenicia: Car of Astarte (Elagabalus A.D. 218-222) BM.



Fig. 461 ANAZARBUS. Cilicia: Elephants drawing carriage on which replica of temple (Julia Maesa A.D. 222-235) ANS.

Coins showing vehicles with religious cargoes¹¹⁷

Antioch to Nicomedia.

Setting out from Antioch (Antakya), a minor detour – *pace* Robert's assertion to the contrary¹¹⁸ – allows for the inclusion of Hierapolis-Castabala (Bodrum)¹¹⁹ and Anazarbos (Anavarza).¹²⁰ Then follow Mopsus (Misis),¹²¹ Adana,¹²² Tarsus,¹²³ Lulum (Porsuk),¹²⁴ and Ancyra (Ankara).¹²⁵ After Ancyra, there are two roughly parallel roads to Nicomedia (Izmit), for both of which such materials exist: one through Ceratae (Himmetoglu),¹²⁶ and Nicaea (Iznik);¹²⁷ another, further north, through Claudiopolis (Karakoy).¹²⁸ Sahin suggests that the progress split in two at Ancyra, part of it going by each

¹¹⁷ P&T

¹¹⁸ Robert, *Sardes*, p. 49: "Castabala est sur la route qui vient de la Syrie pour entrer dans la Cilicie."

¹¹⁹ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 79, item no. 41.

¹²⁰ BMCGC Lycaonia etc., p. 34, nrs. 17 & 18; Robert, *Castabala*, p. 81 n.2: Inventaire Waddington 4138: "cavalier allant au pas" sur une monnaie à l'effigie de Cornelia Paula.

¹²¹ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 80, n. 9: Aulock, H. von, *Die Munzprägung der kilikischen Stadt Mopsos*, Sonderdruck aus *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1963, 267-268, n. 70, pl. 4. 52 (p. 266).

¹²² BMCGC Lycaonia etc., p. 18, nr. 17.

¹²³ BMCGC Lycaonia etc., p. 200-201, nrs. 206-207.

¹²⁴ French, *PR*, p. 90, no. 60(A), Porsuk 1.

¹²⁵ French, *PR*, p. 71-72, items (H), Ankara 8 & (I), Ankara 9.

¹²⁶ French, *PR*, p. 61, item (B), Himmetoglu 2.

¹²⁷ BMCGC Pontus, etc., p. 167, nrs. 91-93; SEG 29, 1979, p. 322-323, nr. 1281.

¹²⁸ Sahin, Sencer, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 3, 1984, p.101, nr. 1 = *Die Inschriften von Klaudiu Polis*, ed. Becker-Bertau, 1986, p. 60, nr. 54.

route.¹²⁹ With which half did the emperor go? There is no evidence on which to base an answer to that question. There are also materials from Nicomedia,¹³⁰ where the progress reportedly stopped for the winter, and where this list may also pause, to allow one to look back over Anatolia, before entering the Balkans.



For there are also similar materials from Attaleia (Antalya),¹³¹ Perge (Evrinsar),¹³² Aphrodisias (Geyre),¹³³ Ephesus (Selcuk),¹³⁴ Apollonia (Cumali),¹³⁵ Pergamum (Bergama),¹³⁶ Sardis (Sart),¹³⁷ and Thyatira (Akhisar),¹³⁸ on the one hand, and from Cerasus (Giresun),¹³⁹ Caesarea (Kayseri),¹⁴⁰ Ablastha (Albistan),¹⁴¹ Cucusi (Guksun),¹⁴² and

¹²⁹ Sahin, *ibid.* p. 101-102.

¹³⁰ TAM vol. 4, p. 21, no. 54.

¹³¹ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 80, n. 1, 2, & 3: (1) Bosch, E., *Türk tarih Belleten*, 11 (1947), 89, n. 1 (Bulletin Épigrafiqque 1948, 229); (2) Bean, G.E., CRAIBL 1955, p. 211, n. 2; (3) Bean, G.E., *Belleten*, 22 (1958), p. 84, n. 112 (Bulletin Epigrafiqque 1958, 410; 1959, 447, *ad n.* 1).

¹³² BMC GC Lycia, etc., p. 127-128, nrs. 41-43.

¹³³ BMC GC Caria, etc., p. 45, nrs. 121-122.

¹³⁴ BMC GC Ionia, p. 90-92, nrs. 299-307.

¹³⁵ BMC GC Mysia, p. 12, nr. 28.

¹³⁶ BMC GC Mysia, p. 157, nrs. 331-332.

¹³⁷ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 80 & *Deux Concours Grecs à Rome*, CRAIBL 1970, p. 25, n. 5, p. 27, n. 3.

¹³⁸ D(K)ÖAW-PH 54-2, 1911, p. 55 nr. 116 = IGRR 4.1287 = OGIS 517 = TAM 5.943; BCH 11 (1887) p. 455, n. 18 = D(K)ÖAW 54, 1911, p. 35, no. 64 = IGRR 3, 1251.

¹³⁹ BMC GC Pontus, etc., p. 26, nr. 1.

¹⁴⁰ BMC GC Galatia, etc., p. 84, nrs. 286 & 287.

¹⁴¹ CIL 3S1, 6903.

¹⁴² *Ephemeris Epigrafiqque*, 5, 74.

Sirica (Kemer),¹⁴³ on the other, to name but a few of the relevant outlying sites. These are not on, or even near, the Pilgrim's Road – which crosses Anatolia roughly diagonally, southeast to northwest – but are distributed throughout Asia Minor at more or less considerable distances to the west and south, or to the north and east of it.¹⁴⁴

In view of the inconclusive nature of these materials, due to the absence of explicit claims of Varius' or Elagabal's presence, and to their wide distribution, how is one to frame the question of whether emperor or god either visited, or did not visit, any of these sites, and if so, when?

There are three theoretically possible answers to this question: either Varius followed the direct route, and did not visit outlying sites; or he somehow managed to include some or all of them in his journey from Antioch to Nicomedia, crisscrossing back and forth across the Anatolian peninsula; or he visited at least a few of them on a separate journey, after he had reached Nicomedia. The final two are not mutually exclusive.

One's preference for one over another, or for any combination of the final two, might be based on a comparison of the nature of the materials linking outlying sites to Varius or Elagabal, and of the nature of the linkage, with those of material links to sites along the direct route, in the light of relevant facts of geography and chronology. Such detailed comparison might be worth undertaking, as an exercise in practical methodology, but it would be unlikely to produce a certain answer to the question of whether Varius or his god ever visited any of the sites under consideration. Given the nature and distribution of the materials, that question is probably unanswerable. At most, assuming that he set out from Syria, and given the facts of geography, one may suppose that Varius must have crossed Anatolia on his way to Rome, and that he must have passed through Bithynia, in order to cross the Bosphorus.

This understood, one may, having renounced any pretension of thereby establishing the route, take a closer look at some of the more striking materials from Anatolia, for some are worth comment in their own right. Apart from coins or inscriptions mentioning the names of local notables, together with those of Varius or his god – thus useful in establishing and dating the prosopography of Asia Minor in this period – there are materials relevant to Varius' religious, political, and dynastic policies.

¹⁴³ CIL 3S2, 12214.

¹⁴⁴ BA, maps 52, 56, 61-67, & 86-87.



Bronzo del diametro medio di mm. 37,5 del peso di gr. 23,35 dello spessore medio al bordo di mm. 2,4.

Coin of Elagabalus with reverse type of emperor on horseback, facing right¹⁴⁵



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Coin of Elagabalus from Mopsus with reverse type of emperor on horseback, facing left¹⁴⁶



Fig. 2. - Monnaie d'Hlypnipa à Vienne.

Coin of Elagabalus with the god Elagabal on a cart drawn by a quadriga.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Missere, Gianluigi, *Cenni su di una moneta di Saitta dell'epoca di Eliogabalo*, RIN, 14.5.68, 1966.

¹⁴⁶ Aulock, Hans von, *Die Münzprägung der Kilikischen Stadt Mopsos*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1963.

¹⁴⁷ Robert, Louis, *Monnaies grecques de l'époque impériale*, RN 6.18, 1976.

Robert proposes that the cited coin of Castabala, a city dedicated to Perasia, the goddess of the starry night, commemorates the introduction into that city of the cult of the sun god Elagabal, by means of the baetyl's sacred marriage with its patroness.¹⁴⁸ Since it is alleged¹⁴⁹ that Varius later gives his god two further divine brides, Pallas Athene, and Urania Caelestis, this does not seem out of character. Ziegler sees a political motive for visiting Castabala, and neighbouring Anazarbus, in the rivalry between Anazarbus and Tarsus for primacy within their province.¹⁵⁰ If so, this would suggest that Varius' and his god's minor detour to that corner of Cilicia, if indeed it took place, did so at the behest of their hosts, and probably involved inducements, whether spiritual, material, or both.

An inscription on a statue base from Attaleia, in Pamphylia, considerably further west, on the southern coast of Anatolia, refers explicitly to Elagabal, suggesting the implantation of his cult in that province.¹⁵¹ A coin from Sardis, in Lydia, in the far west of Anatolia, records the celebration of *Elagabalia*, or games in honour of this god.¹⁵²

An inscription from Thyatira, also in Lydia, is perhaps the most curious item of all.¹⁵³ It refers to an occasion, when the emperor Caracalla, together with Varius, his son, allegedly grants a new forum to that city. But it is dated to the reign of Varius, and thus incorporates – whether knowingly, or merely through the pious repetition of official formulae – a propaganda message, asserting that Varius is the son of Caracalla. One wonders whether Varius ever visited in person the obliging city whence it springs. Whether he did so or not, in this case, or in any of the others – and by now it should be clear that this is something we cannot expect to know, on the basis of the available materials – these materials do at least suggest, rather than establish, that he may have done so in some cases.

Winter in Nicomedia.

Dio writes that a certain Pollio, presumably while Varius is still in Antioch, subdues

¹⁴⁸ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 81.

¹⁴⁹ Dio, 80.12; Herodian, 5.6.3-5

¹⁵⁰ Ziegler, *Prestige*, p. 87-90.

¹⁵¹ Robert, *Castabala*, p. 80., & *Sardes*, p. 49.

¹⁵² Robert, *Sardes*, p. 51 ff.

¹⁵³ BCH 10, 1886, p. 416, n. 26 = D(K)ÖAW-PH 54-2, 1911, p. 55 nr. 116 = IGRR 4.1287 = TAM 5, 943 = OGIS 517.

Bithynia, and that Varius only then goes there himself.¹⁵⁴ As Bithynia had been subdued, though not yet fully subsumed, by Rome, since before the time of Julius Caesar, Pollio's "subduction" must mean eliminating loyalty to Macrinus, and replacing it with loyalty to Varius. This is followed by a catalogue of men whom Varius allegedly slays, not only in Syria, Bithynia, and Rome, but also in Arabia, Egypt, and Cyprus.¹⁵⁵ It is not clear from Dio's syntax whether he claims that Varius, or only his victims, were in those places at the time of their death. If the former, Varius' travels would be reputed to be far more extensive than is usually supposed.

One alleged killing that Dio unequivocally locates – in Nicomedia, the capital city of Bithynia – is that of Gannys, Varius' mother's lover, and his own tutor, supposedly for seeking to moderate his pupil's behaviour.¹⁵⁶ This death, if indeed it took place as described, is, as I shall argue elsewhere, a turning point in Varius' reign, where he shakes off his handlers' grip, and begins to make decisions for himself.

Among these, according to Dio, is his refusal, while acting as consul in Nicomedia, to wear the (Roman) triumphal dress on the Day of Vows.¹⁵⁷ Herodian places in the context of Varius' preference for Oriental silk, rather than cheap (and itchy) Roman wool, his alleged commission, aforementioned, of a portrait of himself, dressed in his priestly garments, to be sent ahead from Nicomedia to Rome, there to be hung in the Senate house, in order to prepare the Romans for the spectacle of his appearance.¹⁵⁸ A rare Roman coin may bear witness to this painting.¹⁵⁹



Coin possibly depicting Varius dressed in his priestly garments,
hung in the Senate house in Rome¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ Dio 80.3.1.

¹⁵⁵ The catalogue: Dio 80.3.4 –80.5.4; Arabia: 80.3.4; Cyprus: 80.3.5.

¹⁵⁶ Dio 80.6.1-3

¹⁵⁷ Dio 80.8.3

¹⁵⁸ Herodian 5.4.6-7.

The *Vita Heliogabali* in the *Historia Augusta* says of Varius' winter in Nicomedia only that it was spent "living in a depraved manner and indulging in unnatural vice with men."¹⁶¹ It cites the soldiers' regret at having made him emperor. One wonders, in connection with this allegation, whether either the author of that biography, or Varius himself, spending the winter in the imperial palace at Nicomedia, was in any way influenced by the story that Julius Caesar, as a young emissary from Rome to Nicomedes, the last king of Bithynia, may have induced that kingdom's definitive legacy to Rome at the price of his own virtue.¹⁶² In any case, Dio dates to this winter one of several aborted attempts - by sailors stationed at nearby Cyzicus - to overthrow Varius. He goes on to reveal that during this time he himself was governor of neighbouring Pergamum and Smyrna, having been appointed by Macrinus. He does not, however, record any visit from Varius to himself, or vice-versa.¹⁶³

Nicomedia to Aquileia.



Map of the Balkan Peninsula in Roman times¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Baldus, Hans Roland, *Das "Vorstellungsgemälde" des Heliogabal, Ein bislang unerkanntes numismatisches Zeugnis*, Chiron, 19, 1989, p. 467-476. Henceforth Baldus, *Vorstellungsgemälde*.

¹⁶⁰ Baldus, *Vorstellungsgemälde*.

¹⁶¹ HA/AH 5.1

¹⁶² Suetonius, 1.2

¹⁶³ Dio 80.7.3-4.

¹⁶⁴ CIL 3

Although there is no record, historiographical or otherwise, of Varius' sailing, he must somehow, if he had come thus far by land, have crossed the waters of the Thracian Bosphorus. The volume of epigraphic and numismatic materials, relevant to this enquiry decreases sharply after leaving Anatolia, and entering the Balkan peninsula. After an initial westward progress on the Via Egnatia, through the relatively civilised province of Thracia, where old Greek cities long subject to Rome still issued their own coinage, the party must, if Dio's account be true, somewhere have turned north off that road onto another, in order to pass through the relatively less Hellenised, less populated, more recently Romanised provinces of Moesia and Pannonia, to enter Italy at Aquileia (Trieste). There are several routes they could have taken.

Again one wonders at Varius' motives for eschewing - if indeed he did - the much shorter journey offered by taking the Via Egnatia, running from Byzantium (as it was still called) to Dyrrhachium (Durres), followed by sailing to Brundisium (Brindisi). Again, the *Iter Burdigalense* describes a possible, but longer route, along the Danube and the Drava. Again, there are materials referring to Varius or his god, both on and off that route, in the relevant provinces. And again, none of them explicitly claims, let alone proves, their presence in a given place, within the given time frame. Relevant sites also listed in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* include Perinthus/Heraclea (Marmaraereglesi),¹⁶⁵ Philippopolis (Plovdiv),¹⁶⁶ Serdica (Sofia),¹⁶⁷ Mursa (Eszeg),¹⁶⁸ and Celeia (Celje).¹⁶⁹ Sites to the southwest of that route include Amphipolis,¹⁷⁰ Thessalonika (Saloniki),¹⁷¹ Pautalia (Kyustendil),¹⁷² and Servitium (Bosanska Gradiska).¹⁷³ None of proper date seem to lie to the northwest. Indeed Jenö Fitz, in *Les Syriens a Intercisa*, remarks on the curious fact that, of several inscriptions to Elagabal at that Pannonian site, none pertain to the reign of Varius.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ BMCGC Tauric Chersonese...Thrace, etc., p. 155-157, nrs. 53-57.

¹⁶⁶ BMCGC Tauric Chersonese...Thrace, etc., p. 167, nrs 43-48.

¹⁶⁷ IGRR 1, 686, 687.

¹⁶⁸ CIL 3S1, 10263

¹⁶⁹ Sasel, *Ziva Antika*, 6, 1951, p. 269 ff.

¹⁷⁰ BMCGC Macedonia, etc., p. 59, nr. 131

¹⁷¹ BMCGC Macedonia, etc., p. 122, nr. 103.

¹⁷² IGRR 1, 670.

¹⁷³ AE 1973, p. 127, nr. 441 = Bojanovski, I., *Vjesnik Arheoloskog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 6-7, 1972-72. p. 163, photo.

¹⁷⁴ Collection Latomus, vol 122, p. 192.



Fig. 1 - Aquileia. Museo Archeologico. La "pompa del magistrato".

Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi, in *La Pompa del Magistrato*,¹⁷⁵ links to Varius and his cousin, Alexianus, later known as Alexander Severus, a relief sculpture, found in Trieste, showing a procession, led by two notables, possibly an emperor and his "caesar," or designated heir, followed by others, carrying on their shoulders a portable shrine with an idol, whose shape is similar to that of a baetyl, but whose size is much smaller, relative to other figures, than that of Elagabal, as depicted on coins. Could this be a record of their passage, through that city, into Italy?

The route taken after Aquileia could have been along a combination of the coastal viae Annia and Popillia, through Ravenna to Ariminum (Rimini), then on the Flaminia to Fanum Fortunae (Fano), and thence inland; or on unnamed roads across Aemilia to Bononia (Bologna), then along the Cassia through Florentia (Florence) and Arretium (Arezzo), to Rome. There is no evidence for one route rather than another.

Rome.

Varius' arrival is recorded by the only inscription, of all those relevant to this enquiry, which actually claims the emperor's presence in a given place, on a given date: *III Kal. Oct.* (29 September), in the year of the second consulship of our lord, the emperor Antoninus Augustus (Varius), and also of the priest, Tineius (972=219). A group of *equites singulares Antoniniani*, knights of the Antoninian order, Thracian or

¹⁷⁵ *Aquileia Nostra*, 56, 1985, col. 337-360.

Batavian (Roman) citizens, adlected from Germania Inferior, willingly and rightly, in fulfillment of a vow, dedicate an altar to Hercules Magusanus, *ob redditum*, for the homecoming (that is, to Rome) of our lord, the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius Felix Augustus (Varius).¹⁷⁶

H E R C V L I · M A G V S A N O
 O B R E D I T V M D O M I N I N O S T R I
 M · A V R E L I · A N T O N I N I · P I I ·
 F E L I C I S · A V G · E Q V I T E S · S I N G V L A R E S
 A N T O N I N I A N I · E I V S · C I V E S ·
 B A T A V I · S I V E · T H R A C E S A D L E C T I
 E X · P R O V I N C I A · G E R M A N I A ·
 I N F E R I O R I V O I V M · S O L V E R A N T ·
 L I B E N T E S · M E R I T O · I I I K A L · O C T ·
 I M P · D · N · A N T O N I N O A V G · P I E T ·
 T I N E I O S A C E R D O T E P I C O S ·

The wording on this altar is typical of inscriptions commemorating the return of an emperor to Rome from a military campaign. This may seem odd, since Varius did not set out, as emperor, from Rome. (There is no evidence that he had ever been there before, although he may have been born there.¹⁷⁷) So what is meant by his “return” to Rome? And why would these knights have been summoned all the way from Germany, to escort him thither, since his journey presumably began in Syria? The answer to these questions lies in understanding that it is the office, rather than the person, of the emperor, that is deemed to have come home. For Rome is whence the emperor’s *imperium* emanates, and whither that power must eventually return. It last left Rome in the custody of Caracalla; was seized, and lost, in Syria, by Macrinus; and has now, at last, come home, in the person of Varius, escorted by these knights.

Henzen,¹⁷⁸ Mommsen,¹⁷⁹ and Marucchi¹⁸⁰ write about this inscription soon after its excavation, and initial publication. It emerges from their discussion that Caracalla, leaving Rome for what will turn out to be the last time, goes to the German frontier, and

¹⁷⁶ BCAR 13.2, 1885, p. 155, nr. 1081.

¹⁷⁷ His possible birthplace is the subject of one of my *Quaestiones Varianae* (yet to be published).

¹⁷⁸ *Bullettino di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (=M(K)DAIR), 1885, p. 272-277, item 25.

¹⁷⁹ *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift*, 1886, p. 51-52.

¹⁸⁰ BCAR, 1886, p. 132-134, item 2.

there probably adlects to his guard a group of Batavian soldiers, enrolled in a regiment originally made up of Thracians, and bearing that official appellation. Batavians, a people from Germania Inferior, near the mouth of the Rhine, are the only known worshippers of Hercules Magusanus. These soldiers accompany Caracalla on his journey to the East, wintering in Nicomedia, residing in Antioch, and are with him on campaign against the Parthians, in the mountains of northern Syria, when he is murdered at the instigation of Macrinus. Having presumably guarded that usurper's life as well as they did that of their original "dominus," they are now, at the time of this inscription, in charge of the safety of Caracalla's alleged bastard and avenger.

The priest Tineius is identified by Henzen as one co-opted, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, into the order of the *Salii*, who served as *suffect consul* under Commodus, and held a proconsulship under Severus. If so, he must have been seventy or so during this, his second consulship, coinciding by chance in number with that of Varius. (Varius, refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of Macrinus' consulship, shared with Adventus, assumed it, keeping Adventus as his partner, and numbered it as his own first. His second is that he assumed on the 1st of January of 972=219, presumably in Nicomedia.) The choice of Tineius as his partner seems significant, since Tineius, like Varius, is a priest, but not one of Elagabal.

According to his ancient historiographers, Varius remains in Rome, together with Elagabal, from then until his murder, at the hands of the praetorians, on the 13th of March 975=222.¹⁸¹ Macrinus' failure to "come home" allegedly contributes to his fate. Varius' performance of at least this imperial duty (for he is claimed to have neglected many others) may well have sealed his. For it is by outraging the political and religious establishment of the capital, with his headstrong adolescent fanaticism and licentiousness, that he is reported to have alienated all support but that of his mother. He succumbs, together with her, to a plot, sponsored by his grandmother, Maesa, replacing him with his cousin, the son of her other daughter, Mammaea: Alexander Severus, a far more docile boy.¹⁸²

As for the baetyl of Elagabal, we are told that after Varius' death it is banished from Rome.¹⁸³ It reappears in Emesa ca. 1005=252, on the coins of Uranius Antoninus.¹⁸⁴ He

¹⁸¹ Dio 80.3.2-3; Herodian (Loeb edition, ed. Whittaker) 5.8.10, p. 74-75, n.1.

¹⁸² Dio 80.17.2-80.20.2; Herodian 5.8; HA/AH 13.1-17.2

¹⁸³ Dio 80.21.2

is one of several ephemeral pretenders to the purple, in the long period of strife that follows the murder of Alexander Severus, together with his mother, in 988=235.¹⁸⁵

Conclusion and Context.

In sum, it may fairly be said that what can be known about this journey is relatively little, compared with what may be imagined, conjectured, or surmised. This is also true of almost every other aspect of the reign of Varius, as I shall demonstrate in further, related studies. Despite this, however, there is sense to be made of what there is that can be known. This is best done by regarding this journey in the context of Roman imperial journeys in general, as described in Halfmann's *Itinera Principum*, to which this enquiry owes more than just the inspiration of its name.

The journeys on which Halfmann's study is based, mainly from earlier reigns, were mostly undertaken by existing emperors, for specific political or military purposes, and usually involved a formal *profectio*, or departure from Rome, and a *reditum*, or homecoming. Due to the circumstance of Varius' succession to the throne taking place most likely in Syria, possibly involving a military engagement, his personal *profectio*, as opposed to that of the *imperium* he embodied – which had left Rome with Caracalla – probably had to be undertaken from Antioch, spurred by the political and institutional need to return that *imperium* to Rome, in order to secure his personal hold on it. Despite its apparent urgency, it seems that he may have taken advantage of this journey to engage in diverse activities, both imperial and personal, along the way.

The sorts of activities suggested by the materials relevant to Varius' journey, are both like and unlike those Roman emperors typically engaged in outside Rome. The way in which Varius' possible activities may resemble those of other emperors is that they may have involved interaction with the elites of individual cities, and the granting of favours and status to them, in return for inducements, material or otherwise. The respect in which they may differ is the preponderance, in Varius' case, of the religious over the secular, and in particular, his apparent promotion through such activities, if indeed he undertook them, of the cult of Elagabal. This concords, furthermore, with what is known, from his coinage and inscriptions, about his activities in Rome.

¹⁸⁴ Baldus, Hans Roland, *Uranus Antoninus Münzprägung und Geschichte*, *Antiquitas* 3.11, 1971, p. 143–145, nrs. 2, 6, 7, 12; Tf V, 47, 48; Tf. VI, 53, 54; Tf. VIII, 85–87.

¹⁸⁵ Herodian 6.9; HA/AS 49–50.

Conversion of measures of distance:

Roman miles to English miles = $n \text{ Rm} / 1.08731$

Roman miles to kilometres = $n \text{ Rm} \times 1.48$

1 Rm = 8 *stadia*.

Abbreviations and references:

Dio = *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 3, ed. Boissevain, Weidmann, 1901. The numbering of Dio's chapters adopted here is Boissevain's. English translations or paraphrases of this text follow *Dio's Roman History*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Cary, vol. 9.

Herodian = *Herodiani ab excessu Divi Marci libro octo*, ed. Stavenhagen, Teubner, 1922. English translations or paraphrases of this text follow *Herodian*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Whittaker, vol. 2.

HA = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. Hohl, vol. 1, ed. Samberger & Seyfarth, Teubner, 1971. English translations or paraphrases of this text follow *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. Magie, vol. 2. HA/AC = *Antoninus Caracalla*; HA/AH = *Antoninus Heliogabalus*; HA/AS = *Alexander Severus*.

AE = *L'Année Épigraphique*.

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*.

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*.

BCAR = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*.

BIFB = *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth*.

BIFI = *Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul*.

BMCGC = *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*.

BMCRE = *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*.

CRAIBL = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

D(K)ÖAW-PH = *Denkschriften der (Kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*.

IGLS = *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*.

IGRR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*.

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.

M(K)DAI = *Mittheilungen des (Kaiserlich) Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*. M(K)DAIA =
Athenische Abtheilung; M(K)DAIR = *Roemische Abtheilung*.

OGIS = *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*..

RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. The numbering of volumes is
by Band & Halbband. RE2 = *Zweite Reihe*.

RIN = *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze affini*

RN = *Revue Numismatique*.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

TAM = *Tiuli Asiae Minoris*.

次ページの正誤表は 2007 年 5 月 16 日に追加されました。

The corrections were added on 16 May 2007.

CORRECTIONS:

In *Iter Principis: Elagabal's route from Emesa to Rome?* By Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado, in *Area Studies Tsukuba*, No. 21, 2003, there are two errors which are here corrected.

1: On p. 90, the lowest illustration, 'Coin of Elagabalus with the god Elagabal on a cart drawn by a Quadriga' should show the following picture, and footnote 147 should be amended to read

"Cohen 2, Élagabale No. 267."



267. ANTONINVS FEL. PIVS. AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite..... F.A.R.

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2: On p. 97, the second paragraph should be amended to read:

Tineius Sacerdos (the *cognomen* Sacerdos here being a name, rather than an office) is identified by Henzen as co-opted, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, into the order of the Salii, who served as suffect consul under Commodus, and held a proconsulship under Severus. If so, he must have been seventy or so during this, his second consulship, coinciding by chance in number with that of Varius. (Varius, refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of Macrinus' consulship, shared with Adventus, assumed it, keeping Adventus as his partner, and numbered it as his own first. His second is that he assumed on the 1st of January of 972=219, presumably in Nicomedia.)