

# Varian Studies

## Volume Two

*The Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome* was originally published under that same name in *Tsukuba Studies in Language and Literature*, 47, 2005. It was subsequently put on the web by Tsukuba University's Tulips platform with the URL:  
<http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M78/M782732/7.pdf>

*Elagabal's Idyll* was originally published under the name *Anaglyptica Variana: Column capitals with sculptural relief, and associated fragments, related to the cult of Elagabal*: in *Tsukuba Studies in Language and Literature* in three fascicles:  
Fascicles 1 & 2, *TSLL*, 43, 2003: 111-187;  
Fascicle 3, *TSLL*, 45, 2004: 139-221;  
Fascicle 4, *TSLL*, 46, 2004: 199-258.

It was subsequently put on the web by Tsukuba University's Tulips platform with the URLs:

AV1:  
<http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M63/M637420/7.pdf>  
AV2:  
<http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M71/M718576/5.pdf>  
AV3:  
<http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/limedio/dlam/M75/M756659/8.pdf>

Both texts are here republished in updated form with the permission of Tsukuba University's Department of Language and Literature.

# Varian Studies

## Volume Two:

*Elagabal*

By

Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado

and Raúl de la Fuente Marcos

Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing



Varian Studies Volume Two: Elagabal

By Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado and Raúl de la Fuente Marcos

This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2017 by Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado  
and Raúl de la Fuente Marcos

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without  
the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-7965-7

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-7965-1

Both main sections of this book have been previously  
published, in print and online.

DEDICATED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN LITERATURE  
AND LINGUISTICS, TSUKUBA UNIVERSITY

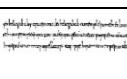


# TABLE OF CONTENTS

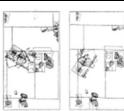
|   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| Table of Images .....   | ix                           |
| Preface .....   | xxvii                        |
| Acknowledgements .....  | xxxii                        |
| Conventions.....  | xxxiii                       |
| <b>The Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome</b>  |                              |
| The Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome .....   | 3                            |
| I. The state of the question .....  | 3                            |
| II. A Topographical approach to the question.....   | 18                           |
| III. Mathematical calculations by Dr Raúl de la Fuente Marcos.....  | 28                           |
| IV. Historical interpretation of the topography .....   | 29                           |
| V. An astronomical approach to the question: investigation<br>and calculations by Dr Raúl de la Fuente Marcos ..... | 35                           |
| VI. An astronomical approach to the question: historical<br>interpretations.....                                    | 39                           |
| <b>Elagabal's Idyll</b>   |                              |
| Introduction .....  | 51                           |
| Plates .....  | <i>See Colour Centrefold</i> |
| Physical Description of the Artefacts .....   | 59                           |
| Preliminary Classification of Questions .....   | 67                           |
| Critical review of the academic literature to date .....  | 73                           |
| First stage of the discussion, 1873-1902 .....  | 73                           |
| Second stage of the discussion, 1902-1962.....  | 117                          |
| Third stage of the discussion, 1962-2002 .....  | 137                          |
| Update to 2017 .....  | 206                          |

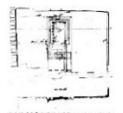
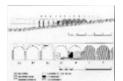
|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Fourth stage of the discussion. 2002-2017: A considered as a work<br>of art: Elagabal's Idyll ..... | 209 |
| Conclusion: Reconstruction of Elagabal's Idyll .....  | 253 |
| Chronological Bibliography of Works Critically Reviewed<br>in <i>Elagabal's Idyll</i> .....         | 275 |
| Bibliography: Varian Studies Volume Two: Elagabal .....   | 279 |
| Chronological List of Relevant Works of Early Modern<br>Antiquarians .....                          | 290 |
| Index.....  | 291 |

# TABLE OF IMAGES

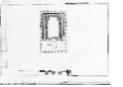
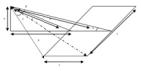
| Nº | IMAGE   | TEXT   | OBJECT SOURCE  | IMAGE SOURCE  | PAGE   |
|----|---|--|--|---|--------|
| 1  |    | Plan des Alten Rom   |  | <a href="https://www.dreamstime.com/stock-photo-vintage-map-ancient-rome-image23262720">https://www.dreamstime.com/stock-photo-vintage-map-ancient-rome-image23262720</a> | xxviii |
| 2  |    | Plan des Alten Rom   |  | <a href="https://www.dreamstime.com/stock-photo-vintage-map-ancient-rome-image23262720">https://www.dreamstime.com/stock-photo-vintage-map-ancient-rome-image23262720</a> | xxix   |
| 3  |    | TEMPLE OF JUPITER AT EMISA: ΕΜΙΣΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝ ΖΚΦ                           | Coin of Marcus Aurelius, showing the god Elagabal at Emesa in its temple | Donaldson, <i>Architectura Numismatica</i> , 1859, table 19   | 2      |
| 4  |   | THE BAETYL IN TRANSIT ON A QUADRIGA: SANCT DEO SOLI ELAGABAL           | RIC 195  | <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s7545.htm">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s7545.htm</a>   | 2      |
| 5  |  | The Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome: reconstruction of the complex   |  | P. Veltri, <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 85, Fig. 70.   | 3      |
| 6  |  | The Bamberg manuscript of Historia Augusta, Antoninus Heliogabalus 3.4 |  | Coarelli, 'Adonaea' MEFRA, 98-1, 1986, p.230-253,   | 5      |
| 7  |  | The ADONAEA fragment of FUR  |  | Rodríguez Almeida, E., <i>Forma Urbis Marmorea, Aggiornamento Generale</i> 1980, 1981, 48-53 & tav. xxxv.46 Adonaea.  | 6      |

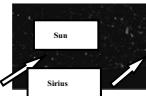
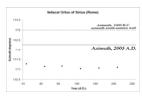
## Table of Images

|    |   |   |         |   |    |
|----|---|---|---------|---|----|
| 8  |    | Hypothetical position of the ADONAEA fragment in the presumed context of Forum and Palatine |         | Rodriguez Almeida, E., <i>Forma Urbis Marmorea, Nuovi elementi di analisi e nuove ipotesi di lavoro</i> , MEFRA, 89, 1977-1   | 7  |
| 9  |    | The Vigna Barberini ("Temple of Iuppiter Ultor," centre)                                    |         | Nash, <i>PDAI</i> , Vol.1, 537-541: <i>Iuppiter Ultor</i>   | 8  |
| 10 |    | ADONAEA   |         | Coarelli 'Palatium' 518-519   | 8  |
| 11 |    | DIAETA<br>ADONAEA   |         | Coarelli 'Palatium' 518-519   | 9  |
| 12 |    | Fig 184/5   |         | Coarelli 'Palatium' 518-519   | 9  |
| 13 |    | Froehner's drawing of a coin of Varius  |         | Froehner, W., <i>Variétés Numismatiques</i> , IV, <i>Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique</i> , XIV, 1890, 469-71 | 10 |
| 14 |   | Varius  | MKB 105 | Studniczka, <i>Pfeilercapitell</i>  | 11 |
| 15 |  | Severus<br>Alexander  |         | Studniczka, <i>Pfeilercapitell</i>  | 11 |
| 16 |  | Two coins of<br>Severus<br>Alexander<br>compared by<br>Bigot<br>Fig. 1                      |         | Bigot, <i>Temple</i>  | 12 |
| 17 |  | Two coins of<br>Severus<br>Alexander<br>compared by<br>Bigot<br>Fig. 2                      |         | Bigot, <i>Temple</i>  | 12 |

|    |   |   |         |   |    |
|----|---|---|---------|---|----|
| 18 |    | Ruins of the monumental entrance to the Vigna Barberini         |         | Nash, <i>PDAR</i> , "Juppiter Ultor."   | 13 |
| 19 |    | Reconstruction of the Hadrianic garden                          |         | N. André & J.-M. Gassend, <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 73, Fig 51  | 14 |
| 20 |    | Bartoli's plan of the temple revealed by his excavations        |         | Royo, Manuel, <i>Topographie ancienne et fouilles sur la Vigna Barberini (XIXe siècle-début XXe siècle)</i> , MEFRA, 98-2, 1986, 706-766. | 15 |
| 21 |    | Section showing the stratigraphy of part of the Vigna Barberini |         | Villedieu, Françoise, & Veltri, Patrizia, <i>MEFRA</i> , 111, 1999-2, 749-778.  | 16 |
| 22 |    | Der Palatin   |         | Otto Richter's <i>Topographie der Stadt Rom</i> , 1901,   | 19 |
| 23 |    |   |         | Tav. I of <i>Monumenti Minori del Foro Romano</i>   | 19 |
| 24 |    |   |         | Tav. VIII of <i>Roma Antica, Il Centro Monumentale</i> , 1946,  | 20 |
| 25 |    |   |         | <i>Forma Urbis Romae Imperatorum Temporibus, Iosephus Lugli delineavit MCMXXXIX-XVII.</i>   | 20 |
| 26 |  |   |         | Nash, <i>PDAR</i> , "Juppiter Ultor."   | 21 |
| 27 |  |   |         | B. Brizzi <i>Roma Imperatoris Constantini Aetate CCCVI-CCCXXVII</i>   | 21 |
| 28 |  |   |         | A.C. Caripecci, <i>Rome 2000 years ago</i> .  | 22 |
| 29 |  |   |         | Patrizia Veltri   | 22 |
| 30 |  | (Coin divided into three bands)                                 | MKB 105 | Studniczka <i>Pfeilerkapitell</i>   | 23 |

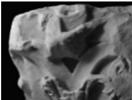
## Table of Images

|    |   |  |   |  |    |
|----|---|--|---|--|----|
| 31 |    | Map of the Palatine showing the line of sight referred to                  |   | (Fig 44 & Fig 69) in <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , scanned and edited by LAP   | 25 |
| 32 |    | Plan of the Vigna Barberini showing the church of San Sebastiano           |   | Castagnoli, F., Su alcuni problemi topografici del Palatino, <i>Linc R</i> , 34, 1979, 331 ss                                | 26 |
| 33 |    | View across the Clivus Palatinus   |   | LAP  | 27 |
| 34 |    | View across the Clivus Palatinus   |   | LAP  | 27 |
| 35 |    | Mathematical calculations  |   | Raúl de la Fuente Marcos   | 28 |
| 36 |    | P M TR P V<br>COS IIII P P   | MKB 105   | Münz Kabinett Berlin   | 30 |
| 37 |   | IOVI VLTORI P<br>M TR P III, COS<br>P P                                    | Gnechi 7 = Cohen<br>102 var.; Banti 23<br>var.; BMCRE 208 | <a href="https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=223247">https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=223247</a><br>CNG Coins | 30 |
| 38 |  | Reconstruction of the monumental gateway to the site in the Severan period |   | <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 104.<br>D. Theodorescu, <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 104, Fig 84.                         | 31 |
| 39 |  | Map of the Vigna Barberini   |   | Raúl de la Fuente Marcos<br>(based on FUR 29-1)  | 34 |

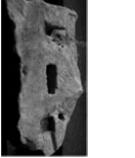
|    |   |  |                                     |   |    |
|----|---|--|-------------------------------------|---|----|
| 40 |    | Heliacal ortus of Sirius for Rome, July 19th, 150 A.D. (Gregorian calendar)                          |                                     | Raúl de la Fuente Marcos<br><i>Map produced on SkyChart III.</i>  | 36 |
| 41 | (table)   | Heliacal ortus of Sirius for Rome, on 0 to 250 AD  |                                     | Raúl de la Fuente Marcos<br><i>Data obtained with SkyChart III</i>  | 37 |
| 42 |    | Evolution of the azimuth of the dawn of Sirius on the heliacal ortus day from 0 to 250 AD            |                                     | Raúl de la Fuente Marcos  | 38 |
| 43 |    | Cecamore's hypothetical placement of Faustinae (?) fragments of FUR in the Vigna Barberini           |                                     | Cecamore, C., <i>MEFRA</i> , 111-1, 1999, 311-349.  | 43 |
| 44 |    | Reconstruction of the garden of the Temple of Elagabalus   |                                     | P. Veltri, J.-M. Gassend, <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 95, Fig. 75   | 47 |
| 45 |    | Rome: Ruins of the Forum, Looking towards the Capitol (1742) by Canaletto                            |                                     | <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=9660354">https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=9660354</a>       | 50 |
| 46 |    | The three capitals in the Museo del Foro Romano  | MFR: A:3318; B: 3319; C: 3320       | LAP   | 51 |
| 47 |   | IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG/ P M TR P V COS IIII P P  | RIC 53                              | <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/RIC_0053.jpg">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/elagabalus/RIC_0053.jpg</a> | 52 |
| 48 |  | The Vigna Barberini during excavation  | Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma | <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , Fig 2. p. 14  | 53 |
| 49 |  | Artistic rendering of the Palatine Temple of Elagabal  |                                     | <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , Fig 70. p. 85 Edizioni Quasar   | 54 |
| 50 |  | The three fragments in the Museo del Foro Romano   | MFR: D: 18168; E: 18169; F: 18167   | LAP   | 54 |
| 51 |  | Capitals A and C in the exhibition "Il Giardino dei Cesari", Museo delle Terme, autumn/winter 2001-2 | MFR: A:3318                         | LAP   | 55 |

## Table of Images

|    |   |  |                        |     |                |
|----|---|--|------------------------|-----|----------------|
| 52 |    | Capitals A and C in the exhibition "Il Giardino dei Cesari", Museo delle Terme, autumn/winter 2001-2   | MFR: C: 3320           | LAP | 55             |
| 53 |    | Bust in the Museo Capitolino, Rome, labelled "Eliogabalo" = Varius   | Museo Capitolino, Rome | LAP | 56             |
| 54 |    | 1: Capital A, side<br>□<br>Elagabal's Idyll:<br>Athena or<br>Minerva and<br>Elagabal   | MFR: A:3318            | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 55 |    | 2: Capital A, side<br>β.<br>Elagabal's Idyll:<br>scene of sacrifice<br>in a sacred grove:<br>Elagabal, Juno or<br>Venus, Victoria<br>Sacrificial Bull,<br>Infant, Tellus | MFR: A:3318            | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 56 |    | 3: Capital A, side<br>γ.<br>Acanthus foliage   | MFR: A:3318            | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 57 |   | 4: Capital A,<br>sides α and β.<br>Panoramic view<br>of Elagabal's<br>Idyll  | MFR: A:3318            | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 58 |  | 5: Capital A, side<br>α.<br>Athena/Minerva/<br>Allath  | MFR: A:3318            | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 59 |  | 6: Capital A, side<br>α.<br>Griffins   | MFR: A:3318            | LAP | centre<br>fold |

|    |   |  |              |     |                |
|----|---|--|--------------|-----|----------------|
| 60 |    | 7: Capital A, side<br>β.<br>Griffins   | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 61 |    | 8: Capital A, side<br>β.<br>Goddess on<br>plinth: Juno or<br>Venus/Atargatis | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 62 |    | 9: Capital A, side<br>β.<br>Victoria<br>sacrificing a bull.                  | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 63 |    | 10: Capital A,<br>side β.<br>Stump of flower,<br>garland or wreath           | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 64 |    | 11: Capital A,<br>side β.<br>Tellus with infant                              | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 65 |   | 12: Capital A,<br>side β.<br>Plinth with<br>possible<br>inscription          | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 66 |  | 13: Capital B,<br>sides β and γ.<br>Effaced relief<br>and Victoria           | MFR: B: 3319 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 67 |  | 14: Capital B,<br>side γ.<br>Victoria  | MFR: B: 3319 | LAP | centre<br>fold |

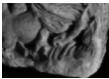
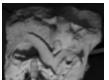
## Table of Images

|    |   |   |              |     |                |
|----|---|---|--------------|-----|----------------|
| 68 |    | 15: Capital C,<br>side $\alpha$ .<br>Caulis and helix   | MFR: C: 3320 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 69 |    | 16: Capital C,<br>side $\beta$ .<br>Helios as<br>charioteer   | MFR: C: 3320 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 70 |    | 17: Capital C,<br>side $\gamma$ .<br>Acanthus leaf<br>design with<br>helices  | MFR: C: 3320 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 71 |    | 18: Fragment D  | MFR D: 18168 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 72 |   | 19: Fragment E.   | MFR E: 18169 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 73 |  | 20: Fragment F.   | MFR F: 18167 | LAP | centre<br>fold |
| 74 |  | Dowel holes on<br>sides $\delta$ and $\zeta$ of<br>A; diagonal split<br>on side $\delta$ ; canal<br>on side $\zeta$ | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | 61             |
| 75 |  | Dowel holes on<br>sides $\delta$ and $\zeta$ of<br>A; diagonal split<br>on side $\delta$ ; canal<br>on side $\zeta$ | MFR: A:3318  | LAP | 61             |

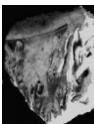
|    |  |  |              |   |    |
|----|--|--|--------------|---|----|
| 76 |  | Capital B, sides $\beta$ & $\gamma$ : Victoria (Plate 13)                      | MFR: B: 3319 | LAP   | 73 |
| 77 |  | Capital A, sides $\alpha$ , $\beta$ , & $\gamma$ (Plates 1-3)                  | MFR: A:3318  | LAP   | 74 |
| 78 |  | Eichler's drawing of the lower half of A                                       | MFR: A:3318  | BCAR 1883<br><i>Tabula</i>                            | 75 |
| 79 |  | Photograph of Capital A, side $\alpha$ : from Studniczka's Plate XII           | MFR: A:3318  | MKDAIRA 16, 1901                                      | 82 |
| 80 |  | Coin with reverse legend <i>Sanct Deo Soli Elagabal</i> from Cohen's catalogue |              | MKDAIRA 16, 1901<br>Cohen 2, Vol 4 p. 349,<br>no. 267 | 83 |
| 81 |  | Coins of Elagabalus (Varius) with baetyl drawn by quadriga:                    |              | Studniczka's Plate XII,<br>Nos. 1 & 2                 | 84 |
| 82 |  | Coin of Uranius Antoninus:   |              | Studniczka's Plate XII,<br>No. 3                      | 85 |
| 83 |  | Coin of Caracalla showing the sacred stone of Emesa in its Syrian temple:      |              | Studniczka's Plate XII,<br>No 5                       | 86 |
| 84 |  | Coin of Antoninus Pius with live eagle:  |              | Studniczka's Plate XII,<br>No. 4                      | 87 |
| 85 |  | Roman coins and sculptures showing Minerva holding the Archaic idol of Pallas  | 270: BM      | LIMC: Minerva<br>270: Hirmeyer<br>2009.09 OR          | 92 |
| 86 |  | Roman coins and sculptures showing Minerva holding the Archaic idol of Pallas  | 233BM        | LIMC: Minerva<br>233: Hirmeyer<br>2009.09 OR          | 92 |

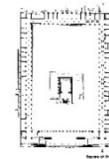
## Table of Images

|    |   |  |                        |  |     |
|----|---|--|------------------------|--|-----|
| 87 |    | Roman coins and sculptures showing Minerva holding the Archaic idol of Pallas      | 247:CM                 | LIMC: Minerva<br>247: Mus. A 3538  | 92  |
| 88 |    | Roman coins and sculptures showing Minerva holding the Archaic idol of Pallas      | 249:Sperlonga,<br>MAN. | LIMC: Minerva<br>249: B. Conticello  | 92  |
| 89 |    | Capital A, side β  | MFR: A:3318            | Studniczka's Plate XII.  | 93  |
| 90 |    | Coin of Elagabalus (Varianus) possibly representing the painting hung in the Curia | NAC 596r               | Baldus,<br>„Vorstellungsgemälde“,<br><i>Chiron</i> , 19, 1989, pp.<br>467-476. | 96  |
| 91 |    | Primaporta statue of Augustus in the Vatican Museum                                |                        |  | 98  |
| 92 |   | Armour of Primaporta statue showing Tellus watching the return of the standards    |                        |  | 99  |
| 93 |  | Coin of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus:  |                        | Studniczka's Plate XII,<br>Nos. 6 & 7.   | 102 |
| 94 |  | Froehner's drawing of the coin of Elagabalus                                       |                        | Froehner, W., « Variétés Numismatiques »,                                      | 103 |
| 95 |  | Coin of Elagabalus (Varianus) divided into three horizontal bands.                 | MKB 105                | Studniczka's Plate XII,<br>No. 6   | 105 |
| 96 |  | PM TR P V COS<br>III P P<br>Varianus   | MKB 105                |  | 111 |

|     |   |  |             |   |     |
|-----|---|--|-------------|---|-----|
| 97  |    | IOVI VLTORI<br>PM TR P III<br>COS PP<br>Severus<br>Alexander               |             | CNG 223247  | 111 |
| 98  |    | Capital A, side $\gamma$ ,<br>Acanthus leaves                              | MFR: A:3318 | Studniczka's Plate XII  | 113 |
| 99  |    | Map of part of<br>the Roman<br>Forum etc.                                  |             | Lugli, <i>Fontes<br/>Topographiae Romae</i> ,<br>Liber XIX, Tab. A                              | 114 |
| 100 |    | Photograph and<br>drawing of the<br>Cordovan<br>inscription to<br>Elagabal |             | Hiller von Gaertringen,<br>etc. <i>Syrische Gottheiten<br/>auf einem Altar aus<br/>Cordova.</i> | 123 |
| 101 |    | Victoria<br>sacrificing a bull   |             | Goethert, <i>Trajanische<br/>Friese.</i>  | 128 |
| 102 |    | Victoria<br>decorating an<br>incense burner                                |             | Goethert, <i>Trajanische<br/>Friese..</i>   | 128 |
| 103 |   | Strudniczka's<br>Plate XII N° 5  |             | Bartoli, <i>Tracce</i>  | 134 |
| 104 |  | Elagabal flanked<br>by goddesses<br>(Plate 4)                              | MFR: A:3318 | LAP   | 138 |
| 105 |  | The infant on<br>Tellus' right<br>shank (Plate 11)                         | MFR: A:3318 | LAP   | 139 |
| 106 |  | $\alpha$<br>Griffins on sides<br>$\alpha$ and $\beta$ of A.                | MFR: A:3318 | LAP   | 140 |

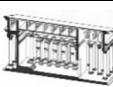
## Table of Images

|     |   |   |                                  |  |     |
|-----|---|---|----------------------------------|--|-----|
| 107 |    | $\beta$<br>Griffins on sides<br>$\alpha$ and $\beta$ of A.                  | MFR: A:3318                      | LAP  | 140 |
| 108 |    | Helix behind<br>Tellus  | MFR: A:3318                      | LAP  | 141 |
| 109 |    | Stump of an<br>acanthus flower  | MFR: A:3318                      | LAP  | 142 |
| 110 |    | Sides $\gamma$ and $\delta$ of<br>A   | MFR: A:3318                      | LAP  | 143 |
| 111 |    | Capital B   | MFR: B: 3319                     | LAP  | 144 |
| 112 |    | Capital C   | MFR: C: 3320                     | LAP  | 147 |
| 113 |    | Fragments D<br>and E  | MFR: D:18168,<br>E: 18169        | Mercklin, <i>Antike<br/>Figuralkapitelle</i>   | 149 |
| 114 |   | Fragments F and<br>G  | MFR: F: 18167                    | Mercklin, <i>Antike<br/>Figuralkapitelle</i>   | 149 |
| 115 |  | Bigot's Figures 1<br>and 2, showing<br>two coins of<br>Severus<br>Alexander |                                  | Bigot, BCAR 39, 1911.  | 157 |
| 116 |  | Bigot's Figures 1<br>and 2, showing<br>two coins of<br>Severus<br>Alexander |                                  | Bigot, BCAR 39, 1911.  | 157 |
| 117 |  | Aquileia, Museo<br>Archeologico, La<br>“pompa del<br>magistrato”            | Aquileia, Museo<br>Archeologico. | Balestrazzi, <i>Aquileia<br/>Nostra</i> , 56, 1985, col.<br>338-360, esp. col. 344<br>text & n.44. | 158 |
| 118 |  | The coin of<br>Elagabalus<br>drawn for<br>Froehner                          |                                  | Froehner, W., « Variétés<br>Numismatiques »,   | 160 |

|     |   |  |  |  |     |
|-----|---|--|--|--|-----|
| 119 |    | The same coin photographed for Gnechi              | MKB 105  | Gnechi, F., <i>I Medagliioni Romani</i> , 1912, Vol 2.2, <i>Bronzo: Moduli Minori</i> , p. 41, & Tav. 152, N. 11.  | 160 |
| 120 |    | Stela  |  | Starcky, J., <i>Stèle d'Elahagabal</i> , MUSJ, 49, (1975-76), 1976   | 165 |
| 121 |    | Statuette  |  | Dussaud, René, RA 4.1, 1903.   | 165 |
| 122 |    | Illustrations of some coins from LIMC "Elagabalos" |  | 3a: BMC Galatia pl 27, 8;<br>3b: BMC Galatia pl 27, 9;<br>7: BMC Galatia pl 27, 12;<br>14: BMC Galatia pl 28, 2;<br>8a: BMC Palestine pl 10, 14;<br>8b: Palestine pl 6, 15;<br>11b: RM 16, 1901, pl 11.1;<br>15: BMC Palestine pl 10, 13 | 167 |
| 123 |    | Sol 204  | Copenhagen, Musée Thorvaldsens I 628                   | LIMC 'Helios' Phot Mus.  | 169 |
| 124 |   | Sol 291  | Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 31.184-185             | LIMC 'Helios' Phot. Mus.   | 169 |
| 125 |  | Part of the Roman Forum, by the Temple of Vesta    |  | Roma Antica, Il Centro Monumentale, 1946   | 181 |
| 126 |  | The location of several <i>stationes</i> in Ostia  |  | Ostia Antica, Guide to the Excavations, 2000   | 182 |
| 127 |  | Imperial Fora in Rome                              | <i>Geographische Anstalt Wagner &amp; Debes</i> , 1901 | Hijmans, BaBesch   | 183 |

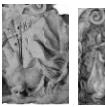
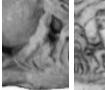
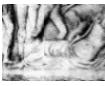
## Table of Images

|     |   |  |  |  |     |
|-----|---|--|--|--|-----|
| 128 |    | Column and entablature of a reconstruction of the Temple of Elagabal             |  | <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 100                                    | 189 |
| 129 |    | Reconstruction of the Temple of Elagabal, showing the <i>cella</i> in the centre |  | <i>Il Giardino dei Cesari</i> , 101                                    | 190 |
| 130 |    | Coin of Varius with Elagabal on a cart   |  | <i>CNG Coins. (See Bibliography for link.)</i>                         | 198 |
| 131 |    | Sol Propugnator (118) and a more common depiction of Helios/Sol (119)            | 118: Calco London, BM Da; 119: Esemplare Basel Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., | <i>LIMC IV.2</i><br>118: BMC Emp V, tav. 91.9;<br>119: Phot MuM. Basel | 199 |
| 132 |    | Helios/Sol as charioteer   | <i>Berlin, Staatliches Museum SK 71-72</i>                                 | Hijmans 'Sol Invictus', Fig. 9, p 133                                  | 201 |
| 133 |    | Circumambulation of A,   |  | LAP  | 212 |
| 134 |    | Angular view of A  | MFR: A:3318  | MKDAIRA 16, 1901   | 213 |
| 135 |   | Photocomposition triptych of A   | MFR: A:3318  | LAP  | 214 |
| 136 |  | The Idyll of Elagabal  | Private Collection   | LAP  | 215 |
| 137 |  | Some abstract shapes and patterns visible in A                                   | Private Collection   | LAP  | 225 |
| 138 |  | Victoria sacrificing a bull  |  | Goethert, ,Fries   | 226 |
| 139 |  | Palacio del Infantado, Guadalajara   |  | Esta foto de Palacio del Infantado es cortesía de TripAdvisor          | 227 |

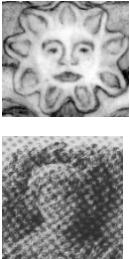
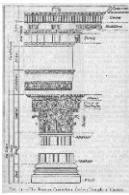
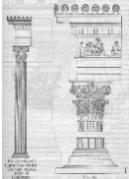
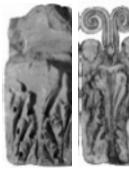
|     |   |  |                           |   |     |
|-----|---|--|---------------------------|---|-----|
| 140 |    | Vajrayogini in a ring of fire  | Rubin_Museum_of_Art       | <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File</a>   | 231 |
| 141 |    | Perspectival rendering of Elagabal's Idyll                           | <i>Private Collection</i> | LAP   | 233 |
| 142 |    | Giorgio de Chirico.<br>La Musa della Storia,<br>Nikola Rukaj Gallery |                           | La Musa Della Storia,<br>Hebdomeros (Muse of...<br>Nikola Rukaj Gallery   | 243 |
| 143 |    | Pygmalion and Galatea, Ernest Normand, 1886                          |                           | <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pygmalion_and_Galatea_(Normand).jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pygmalion_and_Galatea_(Normand).jpg</a> | 244 |
| 144 |    | Axonometric section of the Severan temple (reconstruction)           |                           | Patrizia Veltri   | 250 |
| 145 |   | Caracalla presiding over a sacrifice at Pergamon                     |                           | <a href="http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_pergamum_SNGFr_2230.jpg">http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_pergamum_SNGFr_2230.jpg</a>             | 252 |
| 146 |  | Elagabal's Idyll   |                           | LAP   | 253 |
| 147 |  | Photocomposition triptych of the Idyll of Elagabal                   | MFR: A:3318               | LAP   | 254 |
| 148 |  | Drawing based on the photocomposition triptych.                      |                           | LAP   | 254 |
| 149 |  | Elagabal   | MFR: A:3318               | LAP   | 255 |

## Table of Images

|     |   |              |  |                                       |     |
|-----|---|--------------|--|---------------------------------------|-----|
| 150 |    | Griffin      |  | LAP/Goethert                          | 256 |
| 151 |    | Athena on A  | MFR: A:3318                                    | Elke Krenge                           | 257 |
| 152 |    | Athena       | Museum of Anatolian Civilisations              | LAP/                                  | 258 |
| 153 |    | Menerva 114  | Paris, Louvre, Br. 296                         | LIMC 2.2, p.777 ; Phot Chuzeville     | 259 |
| 154 |    | Minerva 303  | Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum 16171     | LIMC 2.2 p. 807; Phot. Mus 2502       | 260 |
| 155 |   | Minerva 195  | Avenches, Musée Romain                         | LIMC 2.2, p.801 Phot. Mus. 45         | 260 |
| 156 |  | Minerva 419a | Roma, Palazzo Conservatori Braccio Nuovo, 2402 | LIMC 2.2 p.813 Phot . DAI Rom, 69.983 | 261 |
| 157 |  | Allath 14    | Damas, Musée Nat'l                             | LIMC 1.2 p. 425 Phot Mus.             | 261 |

|     |   |   |                                   |   |     |
|-----|---|---|-----------------------------------|---|-----|
| 158 |    | Allath 3  | Palmyre, Musée                    | LIMC 1.2 p. 424<br>Phot C.Dunant  | 262 |
| 159 |    | Allath 44   | Damas, Musée<br>Nat'l 2351 (4834) | LIMC 1.2 p.<br>Phot LIMC  | 263 |
| 160 |    | Venus Caelestis<br>or Urania on A<br>Venus Caelestis<br>or Urania | MFR: A:3318;<br>Firenze, Uffizi   | LAP/ Haskell, F., &<br>Penny, N., <i>Taste and the<br/>Antique, The Lure of<br/>Classical Sculpture</i> ,<br>1981, p. 320 | 264 |
| 161 |    | Victoria and the<br>bull, with Tellus<br>and infant               | MFR: A:3318                       | LAP   | 266 |
| 162 |    | Victoria<br>sacrificing a bull                                    |                                   | Goethert, ,Fries*   | 266 |
| 163 |   | Infant  | MFR: A:3318                       | LAP   | 267 |
| 164 |  | Tellus  |                                   | LAP   | 268 |
| 165 |  | Tellus<br>68  | Vaticano, Braccio<br>Nuovo 2290   | LIMC<br>Photo Mus IX.10.20  | 269 |
| 166 |  | Tellus<br>81  | Amalfi, Catedrale                 | LIMC<br>Phot DAI Rom 65.1213  | 269 |

## Table of Images

|     |  |   |   |  |     |
|-----|--|---|---|--|-----|
| 167 |   | Helios<br>325                               | <i>Trier, Rheinisches<br/>Landesmuseum<br/>1882</i> | LAP/LIMC<br>Phot Mus B 1646  | 270 |
| 168 |   | Roman<br>Corinthian Order                   |   | <i>Encyclopaedia<br/>Britannica</i> , eleventh<br>edition, 1910-1911,<br>'Order' | 271 |
| 169 |   | Greek Corinthian<br>Order                   |   | <i>Encyclopaedia<br/>Britannica</i> , eleventh<br>edition, 1910-1911,<br>'Order' | 272 |
| 170 |   | Acanthus flower                             |   | LAP/   | 273 |
| 171 |  | Acanthus foliage,<br>volutes, and<br>flower | <i>MFR: A:3318</i>                                  | LAP  | 273 |

## PREFACE

This second volume of *Varian Studies* is about the Syrian sun god Elagabal's architectural and sculptural legacy in Rome. Elagabal was, and maybe still is, an ovoid black stone, reportedly a meteorite, larger than an eagle standing spread-winged before him. Historiographical tradition identifies this stone with sun worship. The stone is not a representation of the god, such as a statue. It is the god himself, an aniconic cult object.

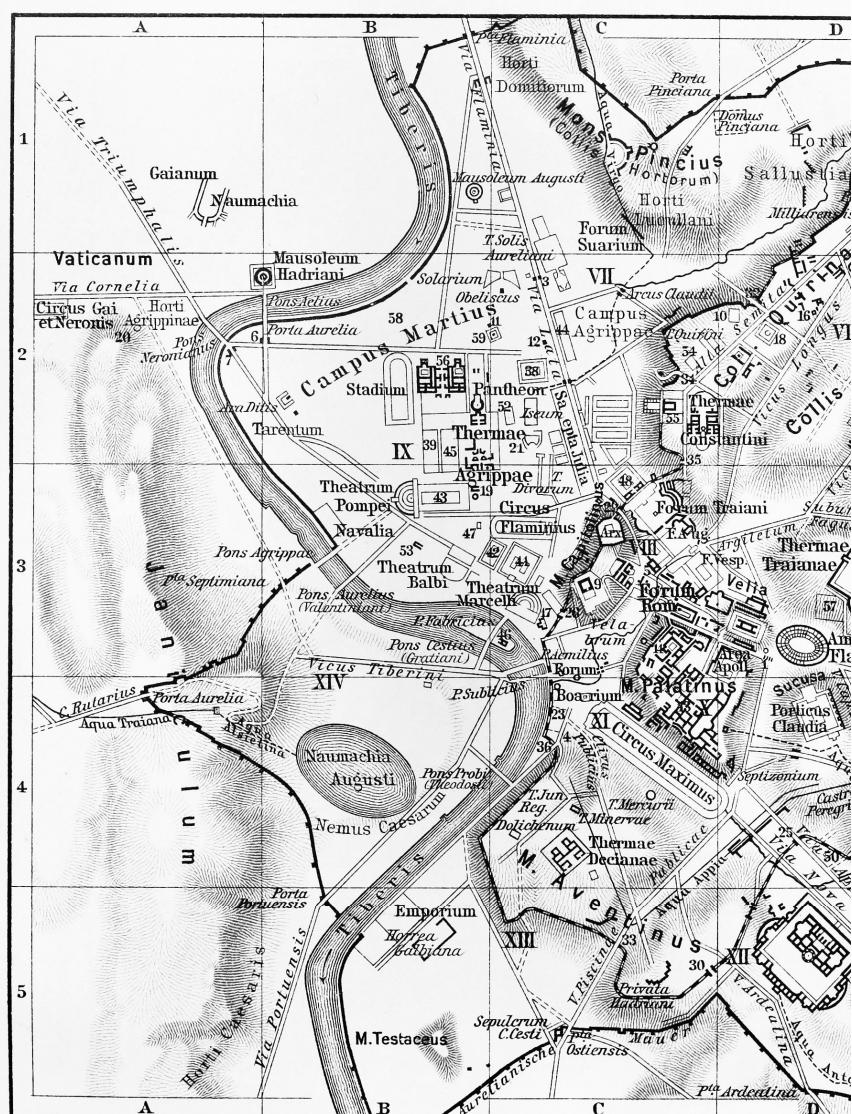
Elagabal was brought to Rome from his Temple of Elagabal at Emesa, Syria, by the Roman emperor reigning in a.u.c. 972 by the Roman calendar, A.D. 219 by the Christian. He was sent back to Emesa by that emperor's successor, after that emperor's murder in 975=222. Both journeys are mentioned by ancient historiography. Moreover, Elagabal is depicted on the coins of the emperor who brought him to Rome, in a cart drawn by four horses: a *quadriga*. After the Islamic conquest of Emesa in Hijri 16, A.D. 637, Elagabal disappears. Since he is probably obsidian, almost as hard as diamond, there is a good chance that he still exists, somewhere.

The emperor who brought Elagabal to Rome ruled fraudulently 971-975=218-222 under the usurped and assumed name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He appears as Elagabal's High Priest on some of his coins. He is erroneously known to posterity by two variant versions of the name, based on that of his god, of his posthumous legendary or mythical avatar: Elagabalus or Heliogabalus. This avatar has been the object of blame for eighteen centuries, more recently of praise, for actions and passions attributed without proof to the emperor preceding him.

There is no evidence that the priest-emperor generating the avatar ever bore either form of his god's name during his lifetime. His original name, before becoming emperor under false pretences, was Varius. That is why this series of books, dedicated to discerning fact from fiction about Varius, his god, and his avatar, is called Varian Studies.

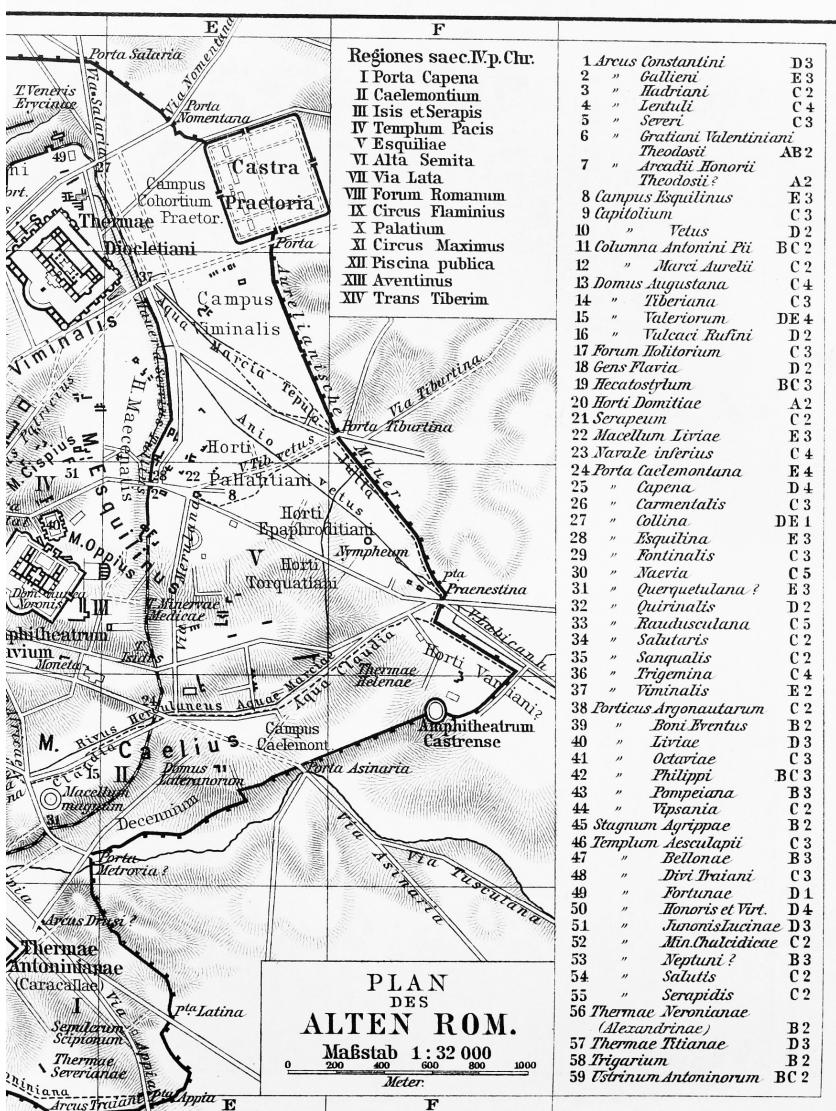
We are told by ancient historiography that during Elagabal's brief stay in Rome, a Palatine temple was dedicated to him by Varius. Here it is called the Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome (VTER).

This is to distinguish it from a Transtiberine temple where, as we know from archaeology, Elagabal was worshipped alongside other Syrian deities before Varius' reign. That temple is here called the Syrian Temple in Trastevere (STT). STT is the subject of study by others, cited here.



Plan of ancient Rome<sup>1</sup> Trastevere: A/B x 3/4; Area Apollinis D3 southwest corner

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.dreamstime.com/stock-photo-vintage-map-ancient-rome-image-23262720>



Roman Forum: C3; Horti Variani: F3/4.

There is also mention of a possible third temple to Elagabal in Rome: one at the *Horti Variani*, near the Porta Praenestina, where Varius allegedly had a palace including a racetrack, the *Circus Varianus*. We are told by ancient historiography that during Varius' reign Elagabal was ceremonially paraded in a *quadriga* between two temples: one on the Palatine, another in the suburbs. It is debated whether the putative Suburban Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome [SVTER] is the STT, or one at the *Horti Variani*. If the existence of [SVTER] is proven and its location established, VTER should come to be designated in these studies as PVTER: The Palatine Varian Temple of Elagabal in Rome.

While VTER's location on the Palatine has been debated for centuries, it is now virtually certain that it was on an artificial platform, on this map *Area Apollinis*, now known as the *Vigna Barberini*. The study dedicated to VTER in the first part of this book argues for that location on grounds different from, but complementary to, those argued for it by its most recent excavators, archaeologists from the French school in Rome.

Downhill from that location, in the Roman Forum, late nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeologists from the Austrian and German schools in Rome found and described three Corinthian column capitals with relief sculpture, one of which is clearly related to the cult of Elagabal. Depicting a scene of worship and sacrifice set in a sacred grove, it shows the ovoid stone fronted by a spread eagle standing on a platform, flanked by two goddesses on plinths. Elagabal is being worshipped in an act of taurine sacrifice by a third goddess, watched by a fourth playing with an infant boy. Here this scene is called Elagabal's Idyll.

The three column capitals were obviously part of a structure. Given their relatively modest size they were probably interior, in a courtyard or *cella*. It has been debated whether they belonged to VTER, or to a *statio* of the Emesenes somewhere in the Forum. If to VTER, they would most likely have been commissioned by Varius as part of that temple's decoration. If to a *statio*, they could predate Varius' reign, as does STT.

The second part of this book, devoted to those three column capitals and four smaller fragments of sculpture found near them, announces a possible inscription on one of the goddess's plinths. It also gives a full account of what scholars have said about them. This reveals ideological prejudice affecting scholarship concerning Varius, his god and his avatar.

This book does not resolve the debate over their origin and date. Only archaeology can do that. It does, however, study the iconography of the capital most clearly related to the cult of Elagabal in detail and depth, as a work of religious art. In so doing, it formulates original hypotheses concerning that god's cult: its cosmology, theology and ritual.