

# Varian Studies

## Volume Three

Most of the texts in this book have previously been published online, on various websites.

Those deriving from the Varian Symposium held in Trinity College, Cambridge in summer of 2005 were most recently hosted by:

<http://www.cantab.net/users/leonardo/Varian%20Symposium.htm>

'The Face of Elagabalus?' was originally printed by Dundee University's Centre of Anatomy and Human Identification, as a thesis for the MSc Degree in Forensic Art.

'The Eunuchs Riddle: Gannys, Eutychianus and Comazon' was originally published as *Pseudo-eunuchs in the court of Elagabalus: The riddle of Gannys, Eutychianus, and Comazon, Collected Papers in Honour of the Ninety-fifth Anniversary of Ueno Gakuen*, Tokyo, 1999, p. 117-141. It was subsequently put online by Cambridge University Press as part of the support material for its print publication of *The Emperor Elagabalus: Fact or Fiction?*, as a PDF at the URL:

[file:///C:/Users/Leonardo/Downloads/8871\\_Pseudo-eunuchs\\_in\\_the\\_court\\_of\\_Elagabalus.pdf](file:///C:/Users/Leonardo/Downloads/8871_Pseudo-eunuchs_in_the_court_of_Elagabalus.pdf)

All these texts are now republished here as part of *Varian Studies, Volume Three, A Varian Symposium*, with the permission of the relevant authors and entities concerned.

# Varian Studies Volume Three:

*A Varian Symposium*

Edited by

Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado

Cambridge  
Scholars  
Publishing



Varian Studies Volume Three:  
A Varian Symposium

Edited by Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado

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 contributors

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): 1-4438-9576-8  
ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-9576-7

DEDICATED TO THE MASTER AND FELLOWS  
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Images .....	xi
Preface .....	xxxvii
Brief Biographies .....	xxxix
Acknowledgements .....	xliii
Conventions.....	xliv

## **VARIAN SYMPOSIUM ACTA 2005-2017**

Varian Symposium, Trinity College, Cambridge, 30-31 July, 2005 Programme .....	2
Opening Address to the Varian Symposium.....	5
Varian Studies: A Definition of the Subject Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado	
A Hitherto Unpublished Coin of Elagabalus .....	23
Curtis Clay	
Varius Dances.....	25
Frederick G. Naerebout	
Varius' Vestments .....	43
Elke Krenzel	
Vari-ations in the <i>Historia Augusta</i> .....	59
Samuel C. Zinsli	
Hans-Werner Henze's Symphonic Poem <i>Heliogabalus Imperator</i> .....	94

A Byzantine Perspective on the Varian Myth or Legend .....	95
Peter Sarris	
Varius en Italie .....	97
Cécile Bertrand-Dagenbach	
Cavalli's Opera L'Eliogabalo: A Victim of Musical Censorship .....	99
Mauro Calcagno	
Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema's Painting, <i>The Roses of Heliogabalus</i> .....	105
David Watkin	
Jean Lombard, Louis Couperus and Gustave Adolf Mossa: Three Artistic Interpretations of Varius.....	125
Caroline de Westenholz	
<i>L'Agonie</i> , by Jean Lombard .....	127
Shedding Light on The Mountain of Light: Louis Couperus' Novel <i>De Berg van Licht</i> .....	139
Gustav Adolf Mossa (1883-1971): <i>Lui</i> , A Portrait of Varius.....	159
A Meridional Manifestation: Déodat de Séverac's and Emile Sicard's <i>Héliogabale</i> as Produced at Béziers .....	167
Andrea Musk	
“Adorned by fancy and blackened by prejudice”: The “vices and follies” of Elagabalus in Modern Historical Research .....	185
Martijn Icks	
Louis Feuillade, <i>Héliogabale</i> (1911).....	205
Alexis D'Hautcourt	
The Cultural Reception of the Varian Afterlife in Japan: From Literary to Popular Culture .....	221
Itsuki Kitani	
Fulvio Caldini's Aria di Eliogabalo.....	235



**DUNDEE UNIVERSITY MASTERS' FAIR, 2010**

The Face of Elagabalus? ..... 239  
Katy Devine

**“NEITHER MAN NOR WOMAN”: EUNUCHS IN ANTIQUITY  
AND BEYOND, ABERDARE HALL, CARDIFF UNIVERSITY,  
26-28 JULY 1999**









The Eunuchs Riddle: Gannys, Eutychianus and Comazon ..... 313  
Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado









Appendix: Modern Sources for the Varian Avatar ..... 381

















## TABLE OF IMAGES








N°	IMAGE	TEXT	OBJECT SOURCE	IMAGE SOURCE	PAGE	PERMIT
1		23.09.88 Ritratto immaginario di Eliogabalo. Fulvio Caldini	Fulvio Caldini	Fulvio Caldini	4	OK
2		Heliogabalus, High Priest of the Sun, Simeon Solomon, 1866	<a href="http://www.preraphaelites.org/the-collection/artists-biography/simeon-solomon/">http://www.p reraphaelites. org/the- collection/art ist- biography/si meon- solomon/</a>	Birmingha m Museum	21	Birming ham Museum sent
3		...ANTONINVS...	"Curtis L. Clay, of Oak Park, Illinois"	BM 1992, 0509.364 Obv	22	Curtis L. Clay sent
4		CONSERVAT OR IMPERII	"Curtis L. Clay, of Oak Park, Illinois"	BM 1992, 0509.364 Rev.	22	Curtis L. Clay sent
5		'VARIUS DANCING', LAURA VAN DEN HENGEL	L.V.D. Hengel 2004	Arabesken, 23, 2004.	24	L.V.D. Hengel sent
6		Image from Phaidra- Heliogabalus, Ballet by Sylvano Bussotti			41	Sylvano Bussotti gave

7		Drawing of Heliogabal by Wolfgang Etterich			42	Wolfgang Etterich
8		1. Antoninianus of Elagabalus, Reverse, late A.D. 219, Rome		Numismatica Ars Classica, Auct. 29, 2005, 596	49	EK
9		2. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 218-219, eastern mint		Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auct. 134, 2004, 2950.	49	EK
10		3. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221-222, Rome	priv. coll.		50	EK
11		4. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221-222	priv. coll.		50	EK
12		5. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221, Rome	priv. coll.		51	EK
13		6. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221, Rome	priv. coll.		51	EK
14		7. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 222, Rome	priv. coll.		52	EK








15		8. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 222, Rome	priv. coll.		52	EK
16		9. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221-222	in commerce		53	EK
17		10. Detail of the Relief of Maqqai, Palmyra		H. Seyrig, Syria XVIII, 1937, pl. IV.	53	EK
18		11. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221-222, Rome		Numismatik Lanz München, Auct. 109, 2002, 674	54	EK
19		12. As of Elagabalus, Revers, A.D. 222, Rome		Münzkabinett Berlin	54	EK
20		13. Drawing according to a Relief from Wadi el Miyah, Palmyra region		A. Taha, AAAS 32, 1982, p. 125, fig. IX.	55	EK
21		14. Denarius of Elagabalus, Reverse, A.D. 221, Rome		Harlan J. Berk, 90 <sup>th</sup> Buy or Bid Sale, 1996, 336	55	EK
22		15. Part of the Relief of Aphlad, Dura Europos		M. I. Rostovtzeff, Dura and problems of Parthian Art; YCS V, 1935, p. 226, fig. 44.	56	EK








23		16 Denarius of Elagabalus of the INVICTUS-type, Obverse, A.D. 221-222, Rome	priv. coll.		56	EK
24		17 Reconstruction of Varius' priestly vestments		Elke Kregel	57	EK
25		Isaak Casaubon (1559–1614).	By Knorr, Georg Wolfgang - Alfred Gudeman: Imagines philologorum Berlin/Leipzig 1911, S. 9.,	<a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=801150">https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=801150</a>	58	Public Domain
26		Hermann Dessau	Ernst Sandau Digitale Sammlungen der HU Berlin	<a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18051197">https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18051197</a>	93	Public Domain
27		Hans-Werner Henze's symphonic poem Heliogabalus Imperator		PML: MMJ:92 / Pb.310.92 H.H1	94	Presentat ion Tape Sent by Hans-Werner Henze v ia Schott
28		Varius en Italie	Cécile Bertrand-Dagenbach		96	CBD
29		Francesco Cavalli	Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti, éd. Istituto Giovanni Treccani (1931)	<a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=186753">https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=186753</a>	98	PD







30		Cast of Characters, L'Eliogabalo, 2004	Programme	La Monnaie De Munt	100-101	De Munt
31		Ancient and Modern Characters related to L'Eliogabalo, 2004	Programme	La Monnaie De Munt	102-103	De Munt
32		<i>The Roses of Heliogabalus</i> , Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema, 1888	private collection	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Roses_of_Heliogabalus#/media/File:The_Roses_of_Heliogabalus.jpg">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Roses_of_Heliogabalus#/media/File:The_Roses_of_Heliogabalus.jpg</a>	104	PD
33		<i>Spring</i> , Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1895		<a href="http://www.getty.edu/museum/media/images/web/download/00068001.jpg">http://www.getty.edu/museum/media/images/web/download/00068001.jpg</a>	110	
34		<i>In the Tepidarium</i> , Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1881		<a href="https://www.wikiart.org/en/sir-lawrence-alma-tadema/in-the-tepidarium-1881">https://www.wikiart.org/en/sir-lawrence-alma-tadema/in-the-tepidarium-1881</a>	111	
35		<i>The Roses of Heliogabalus'</i> hanging in Sir John Aird's Back Drawing Room	The Art Journal, 1890, p. 138		116	
36		Dionysus, Faun & Panther, Palazzo Altemps, Rome		<a href="http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Jastrow">http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Jastrow</a>	118	








37		<i>A Roman Emperor, A.D. 41, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1871</i>		<a href="http://art.thewalters.org/detail/637/a-roman-emperor-41-ad/">http://art.thewalters.org/detail/637/a-roman-emperor-41-ad/</a>	122	
38			Lawrence Alma-Tadema [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons		123	
39		Illustration from L'Agonie, Jean Lombard.			126	CDW
40		Titlepage of De Berg van Licht			137	PD
41		Auriga, Illustration from De Berg van Licht			138	
42		Louis Couperus		<a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Couperus.jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Couperus.jpg</a>	157	PD
43		Gustav Adolf Mossa (1883-1971): Lui, a portrait of Varius			158	CDW












44		Anselm Kiefer, Héliogabal, 1974	Collection of Fredrik Roos, Switzerland		165	Anselm Kiefer
45		Score of Héliogabale, by Sicard & Séverac			166	Sicard & Séverac
46		Théâtre des Arènes, Béziers – Héliogabale- La danse des Roses			182	PD
47		Cover of the CD L'Eliogabalo, Operetta Iperrealista, Emilio Locurcio, 1977		<a href="https://www.discogs.com/Emilio-Locurcio-L'Eliogabalo/release/3637981">https://www.discogs.com/Emilio-Locurcio-L'Eliogabalo/release/3637981</a>	183	
48		The Unchaste Heliogabalus <i>De onkuise Heliogabalus, Balthasar Sigmund Setletzky, naar Gottfried Bernhard Götz, 1730 - 1770</i>	Rijksmuseum , Amsterdam	<a href="https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=Heliogabalus&amp;p=1&amp;ps=12&amp;st=OBJECTS&amp;ij=0#/RP-P-1989-120.0">https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=Heliogabalus&amp;p=1&amp;ps=12&amp;st=OBJECTS&amp;ij=0#/RP-P-1989-120.0</a>	184	PD
49		Still images from “Héliogabale” (1911)		<a href="https://www.google.es/search?q=heliogabale+feuillade&amp;start">https://www.google.es/search?q=heliogabale+feuillade&amp;start</a>	204	PD
50		Still images from “Héliogabale” (1911)		<a href="https://www.google.es/search?q=heliogabale+feuillade&amp;start">https://www.google.es/search?q=heliogabale+feuillade&amp;start</a>	204	PD







51		Still frame from the first shot		via Wikimedia Commons ( <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%3A9liogabale_(1911).webm">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%3A9liogabale_(1911).webm</a> )	206	ADH
52		Ciné-Journal 92 (May 28 1910)			214	ADH
53		A still image from "La Nativité" (1911)			217	PD
54		La journée mémorable de Versailles			218	ADH
55		Gaumont-Palace Hippodrome – Aujourd'hui jeudi	P. Michelakis, M. Wyke, Introduction : Silent Cinema, antiquity and 'the exhaustless urn of time',	in The Ancient World and Silent Cinema ed. by P.M. and M.W. (Cambridge, 2013), p. 1-24, at p. 7	219	ADH.
56		A still image from "Aux lions les Chrétiens" (1911)			219	PD
57		Eikoh Hosoe, Ordeal by Roses, (Barakei) 1962			220	Eikoh Hosoe

58		Heliogabalus played by the Snow Troupe of the Takarazuka Revue from Les Collages: An Arabesque of Sounds (2003).			226	Takarazuka Revue
59		Cut from Elagabalus, Ataru Cagiva			228	Ataru Cagiva
60		Vassalord (by Chrono Nanae) from a Drama CD (Frontier Works, 2012)			229	Frontier Works
61		Wallpaper from Vassalord:			230	Frontier Works
62		Lychee Light Club Chapter1 'Elagabalus Dream' by Usamaru Furuya	(Ohta Publishing Company)		231	Ohta Publishing Company
63		Cover Illustration of Vita Arcana (vol.1) by Mami Ito		(Kodansha Comic Plus < <a href="http://kc.kodansha.co.jp/product?isbn=9784063759976">http://kc.kodansha.co.jp/product?isbn=9784063759976</a> >)	232	kodansha.co.jp
64		Eliogabalo, Op. 15, Fulvio Caldini			234	FC

65		University of Dundee			236	UD
66		Dundee Masters Show			236	UD
67		The face of Elagabalus?	Katy Devine		238	KD
68		Fig.1 an example of clothing worn by Assyrian priests and Kings		<a href="http://www.siue.edu/costumes/images/PLATELAX.jpg">www.siue.edu/costumes/images/PLATELAX.jpg</a>	240	SIUE
69		Fig.2 Sculpture of Alexander.		Kleiner, D. E. E., 1992. Roman Sculpture. US: Yale University Press	242	YUP
70		Fig.3 The roses of Heliogabalus, Sir Laurence Alma-Tadema		'The Roses of Heliogabalus'	243	PD
71		Fig.4 Sculpture of Caracalla.		Bianchi Bandinelli. Ranuccio. 1996., Sculpture: The Great Art of Antiquity from the Eighth Century BC to the Fifth Century AD. Cambridge: Taschen	244	Taschen









72		<p>Fig.5 Sculpture of Caracalla as a child.</p>		<p>Bianchi. Bandinelli. Ranuccio., 1996. Sculpture: The Great Art of Antiquity from the Eighth Century BC to the Fifth Century AD. Cambridge: Taschen</p>	244	Taschen
73		<p>Fig.6 Reverse of coin (Elagabalus)</p>		NAC 596r	246	NAC
74		<p>Fig.7 Bust wearing military attire</p>		<p>Fejfer, J., 2008. Roman Portraits in Context. (s.l.) Walter de Gruyter &amp; Co</p>	247	Walter de Gruyter & Co
75		<p>Fig.8 Laurel wreath displaying 'horn'</p>	BNF 9 ARMAND-VALTON 1200m		248	BNF
76		<p>Fig.9 Radiate Crown</p>	BNF 5 7324m		248	BNF









77		Fig. 10 Man holding family death masks		Bianchi Bandinelli, Ranuccio., 1996. Sculpture: The Great Art of Antiquity from the Eighth Century BC to the Fifth Century AD. Cambridge: Taschen	249	Taschen
78		Fig. 11 Roman realism sculpture		Goldscheider, L., 1940. Roman Portraits. Phaidon ed. London: George allen +Unwin Ltd	250	George allen +Unwin Ltd
79		Fig. 12 Example of hairstyle		Bianchi Bandinelli, Ranuccio., 1996. Sculpture: The Great Art of Antiquity from the Eighth Century BC to the Fifth Century AD. Cambridge : Taschen	251	Taschen
80		Fig.13 Bearded depiction of Macrinus on coin			252	


81		<p>Fig.15 Heavily worn coin</p>	<p>BNF 6 7314m</p>		<p>253</p>	<p>BNF</p>
82		<p>Fig.14 Sculpture of Elagabalus (body) and Alexander (head)</p>	<p>Museo Nazionale, Naples</p>	<p>Bianchi Bandinelli, Ranuccio., 1996. Sculpture: The Great Art of Antiquity from the Eighth Century BC to the Fifth Century AD. Cambridge : Taschen</p>	<p>254</p>	<p>Taschen</p>
83		<p>Fig. 16 Illustration of anatomical landmarks</p>			<p>256</p>	<p>KD</p>
84		<p>Fig. 17</p>	<p>BNF 4 7300m</p>		<p>257</p>	<p>BNF</p>
85		<p>Fig. 18</p>	<p>BNF 4 7319m</p>		<p>257</p>	<p>BNF</p>
86		<p>Fig.19</p>	<p>BNF 4 7289m</p>		<p>258</p>	<p>BNF</p>


87		Fig. 20	BNF 4 7221m		258	BNF
88		Fig. 21	BNF 4 7288m		258	BNF
89		Fig. 22	FWM3.24d		258	FWM
90		Fig.23	FWM2.16d		259	FWM
91		Fig. 24	FWM 2.20d		259	FWM
92		Fig.25	BNF 4 7218m		259	BNF
93		Fig.26	BNF4 elagabale 7291term		259	BNF
94		Fig.27	FWM3.23d		260	FWM
95		Fig. 28	FWM3.26d		260	FWM






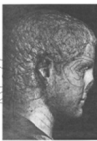







96		Fig. 29	BNF 4 Elagabale 7218m		261	BNF
97		Fig. 30	FWM1.17d		261	FWM
98		Fig. 31	BNF 4 1966- 512-3m		262	BNF
99		Fig. 32	FWM1.16d		263	FWM
100		Fig. 33	BNF 3 7238m		263	BNF
101		Fig. 34	BNF 4 Elagabale coh 61m		264	BNF
102		Fig. 35	FWM 1.14d		264	FWM
103		Fig. 36	FWM3.20d		264	FWM

104		Fig. 37	BNF4 7302m		264	BNF
105		Fig. 38	BNF 6 1984-403 X.L. 2.79m		264	BNF
106		Fig. 39	BNF 4 7284m		264	BNF
107		Fig. 40	BNF 3 7237m		265	BNF
108		Fig. 41	FWM2.14d		265	FWM
109		Fig. 42	FWM3.18		266	FWM
110		Fig. 43	BNF 1.01.06d		266	BNF
111		Fig. 44	FWM2.21d		266	FWM
112		Fig. 45	FWM1.09d		266	FWM

113		Fig. 46	BNF 3 7336m		267	BNF
114		Fig. 47	BNF 3 7334m		267	BNF
115		Fig. 48	BNF 3 Y28.8023.52 m		267	BNF
116		Fig. 49	FWM3.07d		267	FWM
117		Fig. 50	FWM3.37d		268	FWM
118		Fig. 51	BNF 1.01.07d		268	BNF
119		Fig. 52	BNF 3 7237BK1508 m		268	BNF
120		53 = Fig. 43:	BNF 1.01.06d		272	BNF

121		54	BNF 1219d		272	BNF
122		55	BNF 1.01.02d		272	BNF
123		56	BNF 1.01.01d		272	BNF
124		57 = Fig. 27:	FWM3.23d		272	FWM
125		58 = Fig. 22:	FWM3.24d		272	FWM
126		59 = Fig. 30:	FWM1.17d		272	FWM
127		60 = Fig. 25:	BNF 4 7218m		272	BNF
128		Fig. 61. Above: Construction stages			272	KD

129		Fig. 61 Below: final image of composite coin			273	KD
130		Fig.62:			274	KD
131		Fig.63 Heavily worn sculpture thought to be Elagabalus	Musei Capitolini, Magazzino Teatro Marcello, Rome.		275	Musei Capitoli ni, Magazzi no Teatro Marcello , Rome.
132		Fig.64a Head:	Landesmuseum, Württemberg Inv. Nr Arch 68/1		277	Landesm useum, Württem berg Inv. Nr Arch 68/1
133		Fig.64b Bust:	Museo Torlonia, Rome, Inv. N° 574		278	Museo Torlonia , Rome, Inv. N° 574
134		Fig.64c Bust:	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 756a (Inv.2073)	Ole Haupt	279	Ny Carlsber g Glyptote k, Copenha gen, 756a (Inv.207 3)

135		Fig.65a Head:	The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo, Inv. N° 1434		281	The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo, Inv. N° 1434
136		Fig.65b Head:	The Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Inv. N° MTh 855		282	The Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Inv. N° MTh 855
137		Fig.65c Head:	Museo Capitolino, Rome, Inv. N° 470		283	Museo Capitolino, Rome, Inv. N° 470
138		Fig.65d Bust:	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, N° 77.337		284	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, N° 77.337
139		Fig.66a Bust:	Farnborough Hall, Warwickshire		285	Farnborough Hall, Warwickshire