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ANALELE ȘTIINȚIFICE  
ALE  
UNIVERSITĂȚII „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA”  
DIN IAȘI  
(SERIE NOUĂ)

# ISTORIE

TOM LXX  
2024

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași

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ISSN 1221-843X  
eISSN 2821-4617  
Printed in Romania

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*De Heliogabalo fertur (ferunt), dicitur...*\*\*

**Abstract.** The text analyzes the incidence of the verbs fertur (ferunt) and dicitur in the biography of Elagabalus from the *Historia Augusta*, reaching the conclusion that they are found almost entirely in chapters XVIII, 4-XXXIII – a “catalogue” of multiple and unbelievable excesses of Elagabalus, committed overwhelmingly as privatus; they introduce apocryphal dialogues, direct or indirect dicta principis, allusions, rumors that the anonymous hypocritically tries to avoid, calumnies, fabellae difficult to verify, lines reproduced from ancient poets, parodied after them or “originals”, omina imperii invented. Therefore, both expressions are part of the category of narrative tools that reveal the uncertainty of what is reported, the relative quality of the sources, the filtered, “secondary”, “retold”, “ambiguous” character of the historical narrative, the absence of documentary support in some columns of the biography, a fact that gave free rein to imagination and exaggerations.

**Keywords:** Elagabalus; *Historia Augusta*; fertur (ferunt); dicitur; narrative tools.

Sometimes, the historians of Antiquity tend to simplify things. When the underlying reason is not superficiality or the desire to amaze, it is due mainly to the two primary causes featured below. The first is the nature of the sources: they are scarce and thus insufficient for historical reconstruction or, on the contrary, abundant, but featuring divergent or contradictory data; they are contemporary to events but often with a specific ideological and moral orientation and written rhetorically or, on the contrary, they are late and thus suspect from the perspective of content value, etc. The second is the authors’ intention to unify conceptually a complex reality, which cannot always be considered a successful endeavour, as shown by numerous contributions with highly “restrictive” titles about Roman

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\*\* This article represents the introduction presented in the opening of the proceedings of the *Symposium Internationale «Varius Antoninus Tiberinus». Millesimo octingentesimo anno a nece Marci Aurelii Antonini (Heliogabali) (in civitate Iassiensis, IV Kal. Decembris A.D. MMXXII). International Symposium «Varius Antoninus Tiberinus». 1800 years since the murder of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Elagabalus) (Iași, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2022)*. Journal abbreviations are in accordance with *L’Année philologique*.

personalities, such as Scipio Africanus<sup>1</sup>, Julius Caesar<sup>2</sup>, Marcus Antonius<sup>3</sup>, Fulvia<sup>4</sup>, Tiberius<sup>5</sup>, Caligula<sup>6</sup>, Claudius<sup>7</sup>, Nero<sup>8</sup>, Domitian<sup>9</sup>, Traian<sup>10</sup>, Hadrian<sup>11</sup>, Sabina<sup>12</sup>, Marcus Aurelius<sup>13</sup>, Commodus<sup>14</sup>, Pertinax<sup>15</sup>, Septimius Severus<sup>16</sup>, Caracalla<sup>17</sup>, Zenobia<sup>18</sup>, Constantine<sup>19</sup>, Galla Placidia<sup>20</sup> etc.

In what concerns the sovereign to whom we have dedicated today's symposium – Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Heliogabalus) –, I do not believe to be wrong when I state (along with other specialists) that a part of modern historiography, starting with Edward Gibbon, proved overwhelmingly reverend and consensual with the Greco-Latin writings. They are ideologically and culturally tendentious, prone to sensational and eccentricities written in narrative and stylistic formulas, ignoring the events' chronology, causality, and reliability. They feature the emperor almost constantly through the lens of negativity, from the moral aspect

<sup>1</sup> Gastone Breccia, *Scipione l'Africano. L'invincibile che rese grande Roma*, Salerno Editrice, Roma, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Richard A. Billows, *Julius Caesar. The Colossus of Rome*, Routledge, London-New York, 2009 [2011].

<sup>3</sup> François Chamoux, *Marco Antonio. Ultimo principe dell'Oriente greco*, Rusconi, Milano, 1988; Paolo de Ruggiero, *Mark Antony. A Plain Blunt Man*, Pen and Sword, Barnsley, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Celia E. Schultz, *Fulvia. Playing for Power at the End of the Roman Republic*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Holger Sonnabend, *Tiberius. Kaiser ohne Volk*, Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt, 2021.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony A. Barrett, *Caligula. The Abuse of Power*, Routledge, London-New York, 2015 [2019].

<sup>7</sup> Ute Shall, *Claudius – der unterschätzte Kaiser und seine Zeit. Die Römische Reich 41-54*, Ibidem Verlag, Stuttgart, 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Holger Sonnabend, *Nero. Inszenierung der Macht*, Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt, 2016. But see now Silvia Stucchi, *Nerone. Verità e vita dell'imperatore più calunniato della storia*, Giunti Editore, Firenze-Milano, 2022.

<sup>9</sup> Pat Southern, *Domitian. Tragic Tyrant*, Routledge, London-New York, 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Julien Bennett, *Trajan. Optimus Princeps*, Routledge, London-New York, 1997 [2000]; Christophe Bourgeon, *Trajan. L'empereur soldat*, Perrin, Paris, 2019; Nicholas Jackson, *Trajan. Rome's Last Conqueror*, Greenhill Books, Barnsley, 2022.

<sup>11</sup> Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor*, Routledge, London-New York, 1987 [2000]; Yves Roman, *Hadrien, l'empereur virtuose*, Payot, Paris, 2008.

<sup>12</sup> T. Corey Brennan, *Sabina Augusta. An Imperial Journey*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Yves Roman, *Marc Aurèle, l'empereur paradoxal*, Payot, Paris, 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Eric Teyssier, *Commode. L'empereur gladiateur*, Perrin, Paris, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> Simon Elliott, *Pertinax. The Son of a Slave Who Became Roman Emperor*, Greenhill Books, Barnsley, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Anthony R. Birley, *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor*, Routledge, London-New York, 1971 [1999]; Alison Cooley, *Septimius Severus: the Augustan emperor*, in *Severan culture*, edited by Simon Swain, Stephen Harrison and Jaś Elsner, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (UK), 2007, p. 381-393.

<sup>17</sup> Pierre Forni, *Caracalla. Père de la citoyenneté universelle ?*, Ellipses, Paris, 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Nathanael J. Andrade, *Zenobia. Shooting Star of Palmyra*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Vincent Peuch, *Constantin. Le premier empereur chrétien*, Ellipses, Paris, 2011; Bertrand Lançon, Tiphaine Moreau, *Constantin, un Auguste chrétien*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2012; but Pierre Maraval, *Constantin le Grand. Empereur romain, empereur chrétien (306-337)*, Tallandier, Paris, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia. The Last Roman Empress*, Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York, 2011.

(the multifaceted scandalous behaviour) to the spiritual element (religious aberration, fanaticism), political and social aspect (reversal of political traditions, social transgression, and cruelty), or personal aspect (immaturity, mood swings, frivolity, and sexual flexibility)<sup>21</sup>. As a natural consequence, his reign would be „an aberration”<sup>22</sup>, „a mere lacuna”<sup>23</sup>, „history as carnival”<sup>24</sup>. Considered from this viewpoint, though, in both the ancient literary sources and the modern historiographical productions, Elagabalus is a historiographical construct, not a historical reality. He becomes some “fiction as history” – a phrase borrowed from Glen Warren Bowersock, who coined it while analysing the Greco-Latin literature of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>25</sup>.

From this standpoint, it may be stated that our emperor is under the sign of *fertur* (*ferunt*) (< *ferre*) or *dicitur* (< *dicere*) (“it is said, it is related, it is quoted” etc.). I carried out a philological endeavour (to my knowledge, I am the only one interested in it). To assess how “Aelius Lampridius” – the “author” of *Vita Heliogabali* – takes in and disseminates the information found in his sources, I elaborated a comparative inventory of the occurrence – throughout the entire collection of imperial biographies – of the words *fertur* (sometimes as part of the phrase *dixisse fertur*) and *ferunt*. The words are featured 92 times in *HA*<sup>26</sup> – *Vita*

<sup>21</sup> Martijn Icks, *Heliogabalus, a Monster on the Roman Throne: The Literary Construction of a 'Bad'*, in *KAKOS. Badness and Anti-Value in Classical Antiquity*, edited by Ineke Sluiter and Ralph M. Rosen, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2008, p. 477-488; idem, *'Adorned by fancy and blackened by prejudice'. The 'vices and follies' of Elagabalus in modern historical research*, in L. de Arrizabalaga y Prado (ed.), *A Varian Symposium (185-204)* (*Varian Studies*, 3), Cambridge Scholars Publishers (<http://www.cantab.net/users/leonardo/Downloads/Varian%20Symposium/16%20The%20Vices%20and%20Follies%20of%20Elagabalus%20in%20Modern%20Historical%20Research,%20Icks.pdf>);

Paul Chrystal, *Emperors of Rome. The Monsters from Tiberius to Theodora, AD 14-548*, Pen and Sword, Barnsley, 2018; Maria Wyke, *The Pleasures and Punishments of Roman Error. Emperor Elagabalus at the Court of Early Cinema*, in *Roman Error Classical Reception and the Problem of Rome's Flaws*, edited by Basil Duffalo, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018, p. 209-232 (<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198803034.003.0011>); Michael Kerrigen, *Dark History of the Roman Emperors. From Julius Caesar to the Fall of Rome*, Amber Books, London, 2021, ch. 10: *Elagabalus: A Teenage Reprobate*; Phillip Barlag, *Evil Roman emperors. The shocking history of ancient Rome's most wicked rulers from Caligula to Nero and more*, Prometheus, Lanham, MD, 2021.

<sup>22</sup> Adam Kemezis, *The Fall of Elagabalus as Literary Narrative and Political Reality. A Reconsideration*, in *Historia*, 65/3, 2016, p. 352.

<sup>23</sup> John Crook, *Consilium principis. Imperial Councils and Counselors from Augustus to Diocletian*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge-New York, 1955, p. 86 – *apud ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> Gottfried Mader, *History as carnival, or methods and madness in the Vita Heliogabali*, *ClAnt*, 24/1, 2005, p. 131-181.

<sup>25</sup> G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History. Nero to Justinian*, University of California, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1994.

<sup>26</sup> In descending order, its incidence is: *Heliog.* = 11 (see below); *Tr. tyr.* = 9 (Ingenuus – 1: IX, 4; Regilianus – 1: X, 8; Aemilianus – 1: XXII, 13; Saturninus – 1: XXIII, 3 */dixisse fertur/* /Historians are unanimous in considering this usurper to be an invented character – cf. André Chastagnol, in *Histoire Auguste. Les empereurs romains des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles*, édition bilingue latin-français, traduction du latin par André Chastagnol, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1994, p. 852; François Paschoud, in *Histoire Auguste*, V/2, *Vies de Probus, Firmus, Saturnin, Proculus et Bonose, Carus, Numérien et Carin*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, second tirage, Les Belles Lettres,

*Heliogabali* tops the rank, with 11 occurrences<sup>27</sup>, followed by *Tyranni triginta* with nine, of which four for *Zenobia*<sup>28</sup>, and *Vita Aelii Caesaris* with eight mentions<sup>29</sup> – the last is an almost fictional biography, as proven by the specialists<sup>30</sup>.

Paris, 2002, p. 264; idem, *Historie Auguste*, IV/3, *Vies des trente tyrans et de Claude*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2011, p. XXXVIII, XL, XLII, 155/; *Tetricus senior* – 1: XXIV, 3; *Zenobia* – 4: XXX, 17; XXX, 23 /*dixisse fertur*/; XXX, 25; XXX, 27); *Ael.*: 8 (III, 8; IV, 3 /*dixisse fertur*/; IV, 5 /*dixisse fertur*/; V, 6; V, 9 /*dixisse... fertur*/; V, 11 /*dixisse fertur*/; VI, 2 /*dixisse fertur*/; VI, 7 /*dixisse fertur*/); *Car.* = 6 (XI, 3; XIV, 2; XIV, 3 /*dixisse fertur*/; XV, 4 /*dixisse fertur*/; XVII, 5 /*dixisse fertur*/; XX, 2); *Gord.* = 6 (X, 6; XVI, 1; XIX, 3; XX, 2; XXVIII, 5; XXVIII, 6); *Aur.* = 6 (XXII, 5 /*dixisse fertur*/; XXIV, 3 /*fertur... dixisse*/; XXX, 4; XXXIII, 3; XXXVII, 5; XLVIII, 3 /*dixisse fertur*/); *Diad.* = 5 (IV, 4; IV, 5; V, 4; VIII, 9; IX, 5); *Ver.* = 4 (IV, 6; V, 1; VII, 10; VIII, 2); *Geta* = 4 (II, 6 /*dixisse fertur*/; II, 8 /*dixisse fertur*/; III, 3 /*dixisse ioco fertur*/; IV, 2); *Gall.* = 4 (VI, 4 /*dixisse fertur*/; XI, 7 /*dixisse fertur*/; XIV, 9; XVII, 1 /*dixisse fertur*/); *Pesc. Nig.* = 3 (II, 7; III, 2 /*dixisse fertur*/; XII, 2 /*dixisse fertur*/); *Alex. Sev.* = 3 (XIII, 5; XXXVIII, 5; XLIII, 6); *Quadr. tyr.* = 3 (IV, 2; XI, 2; XII, 2); *Marc.* = 3 (XIX, 7; XIX, 8 /*dixisse fertur*/; XXVIII, 10); *Tac.* = 3 (IX, 6 /*fertur dixisse*/; XVI, 6; XVII, 4); *Ant. Pius* = 2 (IV, 1; IV, 8); *Carac.* = 2 (VIII, 8; X, 2); *Macr.* = 2 (III, 8; XI, 5); *Prob.* = 2 (VII, 5; XVII, 5); *Av. Cass.* = 1 (II, 6 /*dixisse fertur*/); *Clod. Alb.* = 1 (V, 2); *Sev.* = 1 (XXIII, 6); *Maxim.* = 1 (VI, 4 /*dixisse fertur*/); *Max. et Balb.* = 1 (V, 3); *Claud.* = 1 (II, 4). See C. Lessing, *Scriptorum historiae Augustae Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1901-1906, p. 206-207.

<sup>27</sup> *SHA*, *Heliog.*, II, 3: *Hic fertur occiso Macrini factione patre, ut dicebatur, Antonino in templum dei Heliogabali confugisse, velut in asylum.*; VII, 6; VII, 9; XI, 6: *ferunt multi*; XIII, 1: *Fertur in euripis vino plenis navales circenses exhibuisse...*; XIII, 2: *Serpentes per Marsicae gentis sacerdotes collegisse fertur eosque subito ante lucem, ut solet populus ad ludos celebres convenire...*; XIII, 6: *Fertur et promississe foenicem convivis vel pro eo libras auri mille, ut imperatorie eos dimitteret.*; XXVI, 1: *Primus Romanorum holoserica veste usus fertur...*; XXXI, 1: *Fertur et meretricem notissimam et pulcherrimam redemisse centum sestertiis eamque intactam velut virginem coulisse.*; XXXII, 3: *Idem dixisse fertur: «Si habuero heredem, dabo illi tutorem, qui illum haec facere cogat, quae ipse feci facturusque sum».*; XXXII, 9: *Fertur et una die ad omnes circi et theatri et amphitheatri et omnium urbis locorum meretrices tectus cucullione mulionico, ne agnosceretur, ingressus, cum tamen omnibus meretricibus sine effectu libidinis aureos donaret addens: «Nemo sciat, Antoninus haec donat».*

<sup>28</sup> *SHA*, *Tr. tyr.*, IX, 4 (Ingenius): *Fertur sane idem Ingenius civitate capta in aquam se mersisse atque ita vitam finisse, ne in tyranni crudelis potestatem veniret*; X, 8 (Regilianus): *gentis Daciae, Decibali ipsius, ut fertur, adfinis*; XXII, 13 (Aemilianus): *Fertur enim apud Memfim in aurea columna Aegyptiis esse litteris scriptum tunc demum Aegyptum liberam fore, cum in eam venissent Romani fasces et praetexta Romanorum*; XXIII, 3 (Saturninus): *Hic ea die, qua est amictus a militibus peplo imperatorio, contione adhibita dixisse fertur*; XXIV, 3 (Tetricus senior): *Versus denique illius fertur, quem statim ad Aurelianum scripserat: «eripe me his, invite, malis»*; *Zenobia*: XXX, 17; XXX, 23; XXX, 25; XXX, 27.

<sup>29</sup> *SHA*, *Ael.*, III, 8: *Fertur denique ab his, qui Hadriani vitam diligentius in litteras rettulerunt, Hadrianum Veri scisse genituram et eum, quem non multum ad rem publicam regendam probarat, ob hoc tantum adoptasse, ut suae satisfaceret voluptati et, ut quidam dicunt, iuri iurando, quod intercessisse inter ipsum ac Verum secretis conditionibus ferebatur*; IV, 3: *Hadrianus dixisse fertur «Hos versus vita non capit Veri»*; *Ael.*, IV, 5: *Hadrianus dixisse fertur: «facile ista dicis tu, qui patrimonii tui, non rei p. quaeris heredem.»*; V, 3-4; V, 6: *fertur etiam aliud genus voluptatis, quod Verus invenerat*; V, 9: *Idem Apicii, idem Ovidii libros Amorum in lecto semper habuisse, idem Martialem, epigrammaticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse atque ad verbum memoriter <s>cisse fertur.*; V, 11: *Idem uxori conquerenti de extraneis voluptatibus dixisse fertur.*; VI, 2: *Sed cum eum videret homo paulo argutior, miserrimae valetudinis, ita ut scutum solidius iactare non posset, dixisse fertur.*

A similar situation concerns the word *dicitur* (sometimes, *dixisse* /*duxisse* /*dicitur*): of the 110 occurrences of this verbal form<sup>31</sup>, seven are featured in Elagabalus' biography, ranking it the third among the biographies of the collection, after *Tyranni triginta* (13 mentions), *Vita Veri* (a “brodè” biography with exaggerations and made-up aspects on topics inspired from Suetonius, Tacitus, Marius Maximus<sup>32</sup>), and *Vita Alexandri Severi* (the most comprehensive composition within the *corpus*) – the last two with nine occurrences each.

*Fertur* (*ferunt*) and *dicitur* are placed almost entirely in the second part of the biography (chapters XIX, 4-XXXIII) – a “catalogue” of multiple and unlikely excesses by Elagabalus<sup>33</sup>, committed especially as a *privatus*, according to “Lampridius”<sup>34</sup> (what did his sources know about what was going on *domi Heliogabali*?<sup>35</sup>). They introduce apocryphal dialogues<sup>36</sup>, direct or indirect *dicta principis*, allusions, rumours that the anonymous author hypocritically tries to avoid<sup>37</sup>, calumnies, *fabellae* that are hard to fact-check<sup>38</sup>, lines reproduced from

<sup>30</sup> See André Chastagnol, in *Histoire Auguste...*, p. 61, 66; J.-P. Callu, in *Histoire Auguste*, I/1, *Introduction générale. Vies d'Hadrien, Aelius, Antonin*, texte établi et traduit par J.-P. Callu, A. Gaden, O. Desbordes, deuxième tirage, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2002, p. 53-54.

<sup>31</sup> In descending order, the situation is as follows: *Tr. tyr.*: **13** (Postumus *iunior*: **1**: IV, 1; Marius: **4**: VIII, 1, VIII, 5; VIII, 6; VIII, 7; Maeonius: **1**: XVII, 2; Ballista: **1**: XVIII, 12; Piso: **1**: XXI, 2 /*dixisse dicitur*/; Zenobia: **3**: XXX, 11, XXX, 12; XXX, 27; Titus: **2**: XXXII, 1; XXXII, 8); *Ver.*: **9** (II, 7; II, 8; IV, 5; V, 1; V, 5; V, 6; V, 8; X, 1; X, 7); *Alex. Sev.*: **9** (III, 1; XIII, 1, XIV, 3; XVIII, 2; XXV, 3; XXVIII, 6 /*in foro divi Nervae, quod Transitorium dicitur*/; XXXVIII, 5; XL, 6); *Heliog.*: **7** (XXVI, 6; XXVIII, 5; XXX, 7 (2x); XXXI, 2 /*dixisse dicitur*/; XXXI, 5 /*dicitur duxisse*/; XXXV, 4); *Comm.*: **6** (I, 2; V, 8; VIII, 2; VIII, 6; XI, 1; XI, 12); *Maxim.*: **6** (I, 6; IV, 7; IX, 3; XI, 9; XVII, 5; XXXIII, 2); *Aur.*: **6** (XXIX, 3; XXX, 3 (2x); XXXIII, 3; XXXIX, 8; XLI, 14); *Had.*: **5** (II, 4; XI, 7; XIII, 3; XXIV, 3); *Pert.*: **5** (II, 3; IV, 2; IX, 6; XIII, 8; XIV, 4); *Av. Cass.*: **4** (I, 1; I, 5; VII, 3; VIII, 2: *dixisse dicitur*); *Pesc. Nig.*: **4** (I, 3; VIII, 1; VIII, 4; VIII, 5); *Maer.*: **4** (XV, 1; XV, 6; XXVII, 11; XXIX, 2); *Diad.*: **4** (II, 7; V, 5; VI, 8; VIII, 4); *Ael.*: **3** (II, 3; IV, 4; V, 4); *Sev.*: **3** (XXI, 10; XXII, 5; XXIV, 5); *Geta*: **3** (IV, 5: *dixisse dicitur*; VI, 6: *dixisse dicitur*; VII, 1); *Max. et Balb.*: **3** (XVI, 7; XVII, 8; XVIII, 1); *Clod. Alb.*: **2** (V, 4; IX, 7); *Carac.*: **2** (X, 6; XI, 3); *Gord.*: **2** (XX, 1; XXXIV, 5); *Gall.*: **2** (XIV, 9; XXI, 6); *Quad. tyr.*: **2** (III, 4; XV, 4); *Ant. Pius.*: **1** (IV, 2); *Did. Iul.*: **1** (VII, 11); *Maer.*: **1** (X, 4); *Tac.*: **1** (IX, 6); *Prob.*: **1** (XIV, 4); *Car.*: **1** (VII, 1). See C. Lessing, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>32</sup> André Chastagnol, in *Histoire Auguste...*, p. 165.

<sup>33</sup> Adam Kemezis, *op. cit.*, p. 361: “a marvelously imaginative catalog of Elagabalus' gastronomic, sartorial and interior-decorating excesses”; François Paschoud, in *AnTard*, 25, 2017, p. 497.

<sup>34</sup> *Heliog.*, IX, 3: *et haec quidem domi*; XII, 4: *in conviviis*; XXIII, 1: *in circo privato*; XXIII, 8: *in viridiario domus*; XXX, 1: *idque totum domi semper et exercuit*; XXXI, 2: *huic eidem privatus*; XXX, 4: *iter privatus*; XVIII, 4: *cum ipse privatus...*; XIX, 1: *primus omnium privatorum*; XXIII, 1: *in Vaticano*; XXIV, 2: *domi*; XXVIII, 1: *idque privatus in agris suis fecit*; XXV, 6: *fabulae privatae*; XXIII, 5: *et usus est domi* etc.

<sup>35</sup> Hence, the justified conclusion of Adam Kemezis, *op. cit.*, p. 383: “it was an easy matter to invent scandal about what they did there behind closed doors”.

<sup>36</sup> See François Paschoud, in *Histoire Auguste*, IV/1, *Vies des deux Maximins, des trois Gordiens, de Maxime et Balbin*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2018, p. 101: about *dixisse fertur*: “formule typique de l'auteur de l'*HA* quand il se met à affabuler en imaginant des dialogues; on la trouve 43 fois dans la collection”.

<sup>37</sup> *Vezi Heliog.*, XXVIII, 5: *Illud sane mirum videtur, quod dicitur ab eo factum, ut de croco sigma traverit, cum summos viros rogasset ad prandium, pro eorum dignitate se dicens fenum exhibere.*

ancient poets, parodied after them or “original” lines<sup>39</sup>, as well as invented *omina imperii*<sup>40</sup>. Consequently, both words belong to the category of narrative tools revealing the uncertain character of the aspects depicted, the relative quality of the sources (the imperial biographies of Marius Maximus, full of anecdotes and eccentricities<sup>41</sup>; *fiicta* created by the posthumous denigratory propaganda promoted by Severus Alexander’s entourage, which the author himself acknowledges in a moment of lucidity<sup>42</sup>). The two words also show the filtered, “secondary”, “recounted”, and “ambiguous” character of historical accounts (according to narratology theorists)<sup>43</sup>, the lack of documentary support in some sections of the biography, a fact that gave free rein to imagination and exaggerations.

The one interested in this three-sided character – the priest Varius Avitus Bassianus from Emesa, the emperor of the Roman Empire Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Heliogabalus, according to the etymological calembour created by the late Latin historians<sup>44</sup>), and the miserable damned *Tiberinus* or *Tracticius* – must

*Alex. Sev.*, XLVIII, 8: *Quod ideo addidi, ne quis vulgi magia famam sequeretur quam historiam, quae rumore utique vulgi verior repperitur.*

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Heliog.*, XXV, 6: *fabullae privatae*; *Gord.*, X, 6: *de cuius morte haec fabella fertur*; see François Paschoud, in *Histoire Auguste*, IV/1, p. 234: “le mot *fabella* est ici utilisé dans le sens de «récit anecdotique, ou romancé, dont tout les détails ne sont pas forcément exacts»”.

<sup>39</sup> The use of this verbal formula also leads to similar situations in other biographies in the collection, especially in those where the invention and imagination of the anonymous person predominate – cf. André Chastagnol, in *Histoire Auguste...*, p. CXXIII, 61, 66, 345-346, 401, 426, 448, 462 (note 1), 611 (note 52), 736 (note 1), 759 (note 8), 828 (note 1), 598 (note 1), 908 (note 1), 1158 (note 2); J.-P. Callu, in *Histoire Auguste*, I/1, p. 53-54, 149; Robert Turcan, in *Histoire Auguste*, III/1, *Vie de Macrin, Diaduménien, Héliogabale*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par Robert Turcan, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, deuxième tirage, 2002, p. 135-136 (les notes 61-62), 148-149 (note 24); Cécile Bertrand-Dagenbach, in *Histoire Auguste*, III/2, *Vie d’Alexandre Sévère*, introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire par Cécile Bertrand-Dagenbach, apparat critique établi par Agnès Molinier-Arbo et Cécile Bertrand-Dagenbach, Les Belles lettres, Paris, 2014, p. 73 (note 80), 142 (note 139); Stéphane Ratti, in *Histoire Auguste*, IV/2, *Vies des deux Valériens et de deux Galliens*, texte établi par Olivier Desbordes et Stéphane Ratti, traduit et commenté par Stéphane Ratti, deuxième tirage, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2002, p. 184 (note 1); François Paschoud, in *Histoire Auguste*, V/1, *Vies d’Aurélien et de Tacite*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par François Paschoud, deuxième tirage, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2002, p. 137, 138; idem, in *Histoire Auguste*, V/2, p. 127, 264, 268, 368, 377, 387, 405-406; idem, in *Histoire Auguste*, IV/3, p. 87, 92-93, 154, 160, 193-194, 195-196; idem, in *Histoire Auguste*, IV/1, 101, p. 245, 316.

<sup>40</sup> Robert Turcan, in *Histoire Auguste*, III/1, p. 149 (note 24).

<sup>41</sup> J.-P. Callu, in *Histoire Auguste...*, I/1, p. 141, note 23; Robert Turcan, in *Histoire Auguste*, III/1, p. 185, note 58.

<sup>42</sup> *SHA, Heliog.*, XXX, 8: *Sed et haec <et alia> nonnulla fidem transeuntia credo esse fiicta ab his, qui in gratiam Alexandri Heliogabalum deformare voluerunt.*

<sup>43</sup> Irene J. F. de Jong, *I classici e la narratologia. Guida alla lettura degli autori greci e latini*, Edizione italiana a cura di Andrea Cucchiarelli, Prefazione di Alessandro Schiesaro, Carocci editore, Roma-Torino, 2017, p. 55-58 (*La narrazione secondaria (il racconto nel racconto)*), 68-69 (*Narratori-focalizzatori primari e secondari*), 72 („l’inevitabile ambiguità che è propria della focalizzazione secondaria”).

<sup>44</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 23, 1: *Marcus Antoninus, Bassiano genitus, qui, patre mortuo, in solis sacerdotium, quem Heliogabalum Syri uocant, tamquam asyllum insidiarum metu confugerat, hincque*

be in a constant state of belligerence with the ancient literary sources. The goal is to distinguish accurately between „fictional truth” and „factual truth”<sup>45</sup>, “fact” and “fiction”<sup>46</sup>, to delimit literary and ideological stereotypes from authentic facts, and to differentiate suspicious information from reliable accounts. The artificial onomastic formula within the title of our symposium («Varius Antoninus Tiberinus»), created to exude a certain ludic spirit, compatible with the atmosphere of *vita Heliogabali* within *Historia Augusta*, is as serious as it gets, though, inviting us to such an epistemic behaviour.

There are promising premises in this respect, provided by the critical editions of historiographical sources (*The Roman History of Dio Cassius*, by Andrew G. Scott<sup>47</sup>; *Regnum post Marcum*, by Friedhelm L. Müller<sup>48</sup> and Filippo Cassola<sup>49</sup>; *Vita Heliogabali*, by Robert Turcan<sup>50</sup> and Samuel Christian Zinsli<sup>51</sup>) and the recent contributions signed, for example, by Max Wegner<sup>52</sup>, Andrea Scheithauer<sup>53</sup>, Lellia Cracco Ruggini<sup>54</sup>, Steven E. Hijmans<sup>55</sup>, Noël Duval<sup>56</sup>, Christer

*Heliogabalus dictus*; Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Epit. Caes.*, XXIII, 2: *Heliogabalum nominabant, a quo iste Heliogabalus dictus est*; SHA, *Macr.*, IX, 2: *quarum maiori filius erat Heliogabalus... Nam Heliogabalum Phoenices uocant solem*; *Hel.*, I, 6: *post Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali*. As André Chastagnol pointed out, the Heliogabalus spelling is preferred by Latinists, “plus attachés à leur sources propres”, “malgré son caractère artificiel” (André Chastagnol, in *Histoire Auguste*, p. 493). Also, Michel Festy emphasized that it had “no official value”, coming from “d’une confusion étymologique tardive sur le nom du dieu Élagabal” (Michel Festy, in Pseudo-Aurélius Victor, *Abrégé des Césars*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par Michel Festy, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1999, p. 135, note 1; also, p. 136, note 5).

<sup>45</sup> Phrases taken from Anthony Ellis, *Fictional Truth and Factual Truth in Herodotus*, in *Truth and History in the Ancient World Pluralising the Past*, edited by Ian Ruffell and Lisa Irene Hau, Routledge, New York and London, 2017, p. 104-129.

<sup>46</sup> Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado, *The Emperor Elagabalus. Fact or Fiction?*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Andrew G. Scott, *Emperors and Usurpers. An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio’s Roman History Books 79(78)-80(80) (217-229 a.d.)*, Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York, 2018 (with review by Barbara Saylor Rogers, in *BMCR* 2019.09.16).

<sup>48</sup> Herodian, *Geschichte des Kaisertums nach Marc Aurel*, griechisch und deutsch, mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Namenindex von Friedhelm L. Müller, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1996.

<sup>49</sup> Erodiano, *Storia dell’impero romano dopo Marco Aurelio*, a cura di Filippo Cassola, prefazione di Luciano Canfora, Giulio Einaudi editore, Torino, 2017.

<sup>50</sup> *Histoire Auguste*, III/1, p. 59-114, 155-236.

<sup>51</sup> *Kommentar zur vita Heliogabali der Historia Augusta*, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, Bonn, 2014 (with the observations of François Paschoud, in *AnTard*, 25, 2017, p. 495-499).

<sup>52</sup> Max Wegner, *Elagabalus*, in *Das römische Herrscherbild*, herausgegeben von Max Wegner, Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1971, p. 146-152.

<sup>53</sup> Andrea Scheithauer, *Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Elagabal in der Darstellung von Cassius Dio und Herodian*, in *Hermes*, 118, 1990, p. 335-356.

<sup>54</sup> L. Cracco Ruggini, *Elagabalo, Costantino e i culti „siriaci” nella Historia Augusta*, in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Parisinum*, a cura di Giorgio Bonamente e Noël Duval, Edipuglia, Macerata, 1991, p. 123-146.

<sup>55</sup> Steven E. Hijmans, *The Sun which did not rise in the East; the Cult of Sol Invictus in the Light of Non-Literary Evidence*, in *BaBesch*, 7, 1996, p. 118-123.

Bruun<sup>57</sup>, Dominique Lenfant<sup>58</sup>, Giunio Rizzelli<sup>59</sup>, Stéphane Ratti<sup>60</sup>, Michael Sommer<sup>61</sup>, Erika Manders<sup>62</sup>, Martijn Icks<sup>63</sup>, Samuel C. Zinsli<sup>64</sup>, Lucinda Dirven<sup>65</sup>, Francesco Citti and Lucia Pasetti<sup>66</sup>, Markus Handy<sup>67</sup>, Clare Rowan<sup>68</sup>, Leonardo de

<sup>56</sup> Noël Duval, *Le lit semi-circulaire de repas : une invention d'Héliogabale ?* (Hel. 25, 1. 2-3), in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Bonnense*, a cura di Giorgio Bonamente, Klaus Rosen, Edipuglia, Bari, 1997, p. 129-152.

<sup>57</sup> Christer Bruun, *Kaiser Elagabal und ein neues Zeugnis für den Kult des Sonnengottes Elagabalus in Italien*, in *Tyche*, 12, 1997, p. 1-5.

<sup>58</sup> Dominique Lenfant, *De Sardanapale à Élagabal : les avatars d'une figure du pouvoir*, in *Images et représentations du pouvoir et de l'ordre social dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque, Angers, 28-29 mai 1999*, Édités par Michel Molin avec la collaboration de Jean-Yves Carrez-Maratray, Patricia Gaillard-Seux et Édith Parmentier-Morin, De Boccard, Paris, 2001, p. 52-55 (extrait).

<sup>59</sup> Giunio Rizzelli, *In margine ad Hist. Aug. Heliog. 2,1*, in *Iurisprudentia universalis. Festschrift für Theo Mayer-Maly zum 70. Geburtstag*, herausgegeben von Martin J. Schermaier, J. Michael Rainer und Laurens C. Winkel, Böhlau Verlag, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2002, p. 617-630.

<sup>60</sup> Stéphane Ratti, *Réponses de l'Histoire Auguste aux apologistes Tertullien et Lactance*, in *MH*, 59/4, 2002, p. 229-232.

<sup>61</sup> Michael Sommer, *Elagabal-Wege zur Konstruktion eines 'schlechten' Kaisers*, in *SCI*, XXIII, 2004, p. 95-110; idem, *The Challenge of Aniconism: Elagabalus and Roman Historiography*, in *MediterrAnt*, XI/1-2, 2008, p. 591-590.

<sup>62</sup> Erika Manders, *Religion and coinage. Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus: two extremes?*, in *Talanta*, XXXVI-XXXVII (2004-2005), 2006, p. 123-138.

<sup>63</sup> Martijn Icks, *Priesthood and Imperial Power. The Religious Reforms of Heliogabalus, 220-222 AD*, in *The Impact of imperial Rome on religious, ritual and religious life in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Fifth workshop of the international network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. – A.D. 476), Münster, June 30 – July 4, 2004*, edited by Lukas de Blois, Peter Funke, Johannes Hahn, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2006, p. 169-178; idem, *Empire of the Sun? Civic Responses to the Rise and Fall of Sol in Elagabal in the Roman Empire*, in *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007)*, edited by Olivier Hekster, Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, Christian Witschel, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2009, p. 111-120; idem, *From priest to priest-emperor: The failed legitimization of Elagabalus*, in *Private and Public Lies The Discourse of Despotism and Deceit in the Graeco-Roman World*, edited by Andrew J. Turner, James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard and Frederik Juliaan Vervaeke, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2010, p. 331-341; idem, *The crimes of Elagabalus. The Life and Legacy of Rome's Decadent Boy Emperor*, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, London-New York, 2011 [2013]; idem, *Elagabal. Leben und Vermächtnis von Roms Priesterkaiser*, Philip von Zabern, Darmstadt, 2014.

<sup>64</sup> Samuel C. Zinsli, *Gute Kaiser, schlechte Kaiser. Die eusebische Vita Constantini als Referenztext für die Vita Heliogabali*, in *Wiener Studies*, 118, 2005, p. 117-138.

<sup>65</sup> Lucinda Dirven, *The Emperor's New Clothes: A Note on Elagabalus' Priestly Dress*, in *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt. Gesammelte Studien zu Ehren Jiirgen Tubachs anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags*, herausgegeben von Sophia G. Vashalomidze und Lutz Greisiger, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 21-33.

<sup>66</sup> Francesco Citti e Lucia Pasetti, *Un rifiuto della storia: Eliogabalo, l'imperatore che morì nella cloaca*, *Griseldaonline. Una rivista letteraria nell'era digitale*, a cura di Elisabetta Menetti, Copyright Archetipolibri – Gedit Edizioni, 2008, p. 76-92 (<https://www.academia.edu/25505084/>).

<sup>67</sup> Markus Handy, *Die Severer und das Heer*, Verlag Antike e.K., Berlin, 2009, especially p. 50-60, 111-113, 146-160, 237-238.

<sup>68</sup> Clare Rowan, *Becoming Jupiter: Severus Alexander, The Temple of Jupiter Ultor, and Jovian Iconography on Roman Imperial Coinage*, in *AJN*, Second Series, 21, 2009, p. 123-150; idem, *Under*

Arrizabalaga y Prado<sup>69</sup>, Antonio Baldini<sup>70</sup>, Maria Beatrice Bittarello<sup>71</sup>, Christophe Lemardelé<sup>72</sup>, Achim Lichtenberger<sup>73</sup>, A. Greco<sup>74</sup>, Saverio Gualerzi<sup>75</sup>, Andrew G. Scott<sup>76</sup>, Andrea Gariboldi<sup>77</sup>, Attilio Mastrocinque<sup>78</sup>, Snežana Vukadinović<sup>79</sup>, Matthias Haake<sup>80</sup>, Adam Kemezis<sup>81</sup>, Josiah Osgood<sup>82</sup>, Vincent N'Guyen-Van<sup>83</sup>,

*Divine Auspices. Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2021, p. 164-218 (Elagabalus, *summus sacerdos Elagabali*).

<sup>69</sup> Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado, *op. cit.*; idem, *Varian Studies*, 3, *A Varian Symposium*, edited by Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

<sup>70</sup> Antonio Baldini, *Varie su Zosimo, 2,29 e la Vita Heliogabali della Historia Augusta*, in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Genevense in honorem F. Paschoud septuagenarii. Les traditions historiographiques de l'Antiquité tardive: idéologie, propagande, fiction, réalité*, a cura di Lavinia Galli Milić e Nicole Hecquet-Noti, Edipuglia, Bari, 2010, p. 13-35.

<sup>71</sup> Maria Beatrice Bittarello, *Otho, Elagabalus and The Judgement of Paris: the literary construction of the unmanly emperor*, in *DHA*, 37/1, 2011, p. 93-113 (DOI: 10.3917/dha.371.0093).

<sup>72</sup> Christophe Lemardelé, *Le dieu Sol à Rome : interpretatio ou dissimulatio ?*, in *SemClass*, 4, 2011, p. 229-232 (DOI: 10.1484/j.seC.1.102518).

<sup>73</sup> Achim Lichtenberger, *Severus Pius Augustus. Studien zur sakralen Repräsentation und Rezeption der Herrschaft des Septimius Severus und seiner Familie (193-211 n. Chr.)*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2011, *passim*, especially p. 147-151.

<sup>74</sup> A. Greco, *Atque ex re, quae acciderat, Tiberinus Tractitusque appellatus est: una rilettura delle fonti sulla fine del regno di Elagabalo*, in *BSL*, XLII/1, 2012, p. 29-42.

<sup>75</sup> Saverio Gualerzi, *Né uomo, né donna, né dio, né dea. Ruolo sessuale e ruolo religioso dell'imperatore Elagabalo*, Pàtron editore, Bologna, 2005.

<sup>76</sup> Andrew G. Scott, *The Legitimation of Elagabalus and Cassius Dio's Account of the Reign of Macrinus*, in *JAH*, 1/2, 2013, p. 242-254 (DOI 10.1515/jah-2013-0012); idem, *Misunderstanding History: Past and Present in Cassius Dio's Contemporary Books*, in *Cassius Dio and the Principate*, edited by Christopher Burden-Strevens, Jesper Majbom Madsen, Antonio Pistellato, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venezia, 2020, p. 165-188, especially p. 182-184 (DOI: 10.30687/978-88-6969-472-1/007); idem, *Civil War and Governmental Change: From the Achievements of Augustus to the Failures of the Severans*, in *Cassius Dio: The Impact of Violence, War, and Civil War*, edited by Carsten H. Lange, Andrew G. Scott, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2020, p. 334-354, especially p. 334-335, 348-349 (DOI: 10.1163/9789004434431\_016); idem, *An Age of Iron and Rust Cassius Dio and the History of His Time*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2021, p. 193-199 (*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Elagabalus): Making Mockery?*); idem, *The Images of Young Tyrants: Representation and Reality in Herodian's Roman History*, in *Studies in Contemporary Historiography*, edited by Andrew G. Scott, Oxford-Edmonton-Tallahassee, 2023 (*Histos Supplements* 15), p. 191-217, especially p. 204-207 (*Elagabalus, Eastern Priest in Rome*).

<sup>77</sup> Andrea Gariboldi, *Elagabalo invictus sacerdos: l'imperatore fanciullo e la centralizzazione del sacro attraverso lo specchio delle monete*, in *The Roman Empire during the Severan Dynasty: Case Studies in History, Art, Architecture Economy and Literature*, edited by Eric C. De Sena, Gorgias Press LLC, Piscataway, NJ, 2013, p. 515-540 (<https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463214340-021>).

<sup>78</sup> Attilio Mastrocinque, *Heliogabalus, Saturnus and Hercules*, in *Divinizzazione, culto del sovrano e apoteosi tra Antichità e Medioevo*, a cura di Tommaso Gnoli e Federicomaria Muccioli, Bononia University Press, Bologna, 2014, p. 321-329.

<sup>79</sup> Snežana Vukadinović, *An imperial biography dedicated to Constantine the Great*, in *International symposium Constantine, Sirmium and early Christianity (2013, Sremska Mitrovica) (Proceedings)*, Sremska Mitrovica, 2014, p. 46-55.

<sup>80</sup> Matthias Haake, *'In Search of a Good Emperor.' Emperors, Caesars, and Usurpers in the Mirror of Antimonarchic Patterns in the Historia Augusta*, in *Antimonarchic Discourse in Antiquity*, edited by Henning Börm, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2015, p. 269-303.

Agnès Bérenger<sup>84</sup>, Semíramis Corsi Silva<sup>85</sup>, José Ignacio Sánchez Sánchez<sup>86</sup>, Juan Ramón Ballesteros Sánchez<sup>87</sup>, Pedro David Conesa Navarro<sup>88</sup>, Robert Suski<sup>89</sup>, Nicole Belayche<sup>90</sup>, Jussi Rantala<sup>91</sup>, Eckhard Meyer-Zwiffelhofer<sup>92</sup>, Chrysanthos S.

<sup>81</sup> Adam Kemezis, *op. cit.*, p. 348-390; idem, *Greek narratives of the Roman Empire under the Severans: Cassius Dio, Philostratus and Herodian*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, *passim*, especially p. 81-86, 245-247; idem, *Narrative Technique and Genre: Herodian the Novelist?*, in *Herodian's World. Empire and Emperors in the III Century*, edited by Alessandro Galimberti, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2022, p. 21-46, especially p. 24-26, 33-34 (DOI: 10.1163/9789004500457\_003).

<sup>82</sup> Josiah Osgood, *Cassius Dio's Secret History of Elagabalus*, in *Cassius Dio. Greek Intellectual and Roman Politician*, edited by Carsten Hjort Lange, Jesper Majbom Madsen, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2016, p. 177-190 (DOI: 10.1163/9789004335318\_011).

<sup>83</sup> Vincent N'Guyen-Van, *Démontrer sa légitimité : le lien dynastique dans les monnaies sévériennes*, in *Cahiers « Mondes anciens »* [En ligne], 8 | 2016, mis en ligne le 21 juin 2016, consulté le 02 mai 2019. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/1636>; DOI: 10.4000/mondesanciens.1636.

<sup>84</sup> Agnès Bérenger, *Empire et légitimité dans le livre V d'Hérodiens: Macrin et Elagabal*, in *Erodiano tra crisi e trasformazione*, a cura di Alessandro Galimberti, Vita e Pensiero, Milano, 2017, p. 143-159; idem, *Se vêtir comme un empereur: les déviances d'Élagabal*, in *RH*, 693, 2020, p. 3-24.

<sup>85</sup> Semíramis Corsi Silva, *Barbaridade versus Humanitas no Principado Romano: a política e a construção da imagem do imperador Heliogábalo (século III EC)*, in *Revista Alêtheia – Estudos sobre Antiguidade e Medieval*, 2, 2017, p. 114-136; idem, *A corrupção e os crimes de Heliogábalo: aspectos da governabilidade imperial romana e as práticas políticas do princeps sírio vistas por seus detratores (século III EC)*, in Semíramis Corsi Silva, Carlos Eduardo da Costa Campos (Organizadores), *Corrupção, crimes e crises na Antiguidade*, Desalinho, Rio de Janeiro, 2018, p. 193-216; idem, *Identidade cultural e gênero no principado romano: uma proposta de análise interseccional das representações do imperador Heliogábalo (século III e.C.)*, in *Phoenix*, Rio de Janeiro, 24/2, 2018, p. 142-166; idem, *Cultuando divindades solares: Apolônio de Tiana versus Heliogábalo (Século III EC)*, in Arlete José Mota, Carlos Eduardo da Costa Campos (Orgs.), *Sistemas de crenças, mitos e rituais na Antiguidade*, Desalinho, São João de Meriti [RJ], 2019, p. 209-233; idem, *Heliogábalo vestido divinamente: a indumentária religiosa do imperador sacerdote de Elagabal*, in *Arys*, 17, 2019, p. 251-276 (<https://doi.org/10.20318/arys.2019.4595>); idem, *“Por que de galo, então, chamamos quem se castra [...]?”. Interseccionalidade em representações de sacerdotes castrados no Império Romano, in Mare Nostrum*, São Paulo, 11/1, 2020, p. 287-316; idem, *“Não me chame de senhor, pois eu sou uma senhora”: a performatividade transgênero do imperador Heliogábalo (218-222)*, in Semíramis Corsi Silva, Moisés Antiquiera (organizadores), *O Império Romano no Século III: crises, transformações e mutações*, Desalinho, São João de Meriti, RJ, 2021, p. 89-118.

<sup>86</sup> José Ignacio Sánchez Sánchez, *La introducción del culto de El Gabal en Roma*, Signifer, Madrid-Salamanca, 2017; idem, *El Gabal en Roma. Convulsión social e inestabilidad política*, in *Revista Historia Autónoma*, 12, 2018, p. 43-60 (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15366/rha2018.12.002>).

<sup>87</sup> Juan Ramón Ballesteros Sánchez, *Una cigüeña en una higuera, un potro en un tejado, el espejo de Didio Juliano y la máscara de Heliogábalo*, in *Arys*, 16, 2018, p. 382-387 (<https://doi.org/10.20318/arys.2018.4421>).

<sup>88</sup> Pedro David Conesa Navarro, *Julia Maesa y Julia Soemias en la corte de Heliogábalo: el poder feminine de la domus severiana*, in *SHHA*, 37, 2019, p. 185-223 (DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14201/shha201937185223>).

<sup>89</sup> Robert Suski, *Senaculum, czyli senat kobiet w Historia Augusta – dyskurs antychrześcijański czy mizoginizm?*, in *Czasopismo Naukowe Instytutu Studiów Kobiecych*, 6, 2019, p. 174-189 (DOI: 10.15290/cnisk.2019.01.06.08).

<sup>90</sup> Nicole Belayche, *« Sur les épaules » des empereurs : deux dieux Sol introduits à Rome par Élagabal et Aurelien*, in *Migrations et mobilité religieuse Espaces, contacts, dynamiques et*

Chrysanthou<sup>93</sup>, Miriam Bastian<sup>94</sup>, Antonio Pistellato<sup>95</sup>, Riccardo Bertolazzi<sup>96</sup> etc.<sup>97</sup> With renewed methodological tools, they approach the information within the Greco-Latin literary sources from a much deeper perspective and confront them constantly with those provided by archaeology, numismatics, epigraphy, art, and glyptic. Thus, many aspects of the life and reign of Elagabalus – such as the perception of the sources and their audience, religious cults, especially the cult of the Sun, the type of principate within the structure of the Roman imperial monarchy, the shortcomings of the government (corruption, crimes, social inversions, etc.), the priesthood exercised by the emperor, the initial support groups and opposition factors, the role of the empress at court, the real causes of his downfall, etc. – have found appropriate explanations and interpretations.

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*interferences*, sous la direction de Bassir Amiri, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2020, p. 187-206.

<sup>91</sup> Jussi Rantala, *Ruling in Purple... and Wearing Make-up: Gendered Adventures of Emperor Elagabalus as seen by Cassius Dio and Herodian*, in *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*, edited by Allison Surtees and Jennifer Dyer, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2020, p. 118-128.

<sup>92</sup> Eckhard Meyer-Zwiffelhofer, ‚Caesarenwahn‘ oder politische Vision? Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Elagabal und die Struktur der römischen Monarchie, in Thomas Blank, Christoph Catrein, Christine van Hoof (Hg.), *Caesarenwahn. Ein Topos zwischen Antiwilhelminismus, antikem Kaiserbild und moderner Popularkultur*, Bohrlau Verlag GmbH & Cie. KG, Köln, 2021, p. 185-216.

<sup>93</sup> Chrysanthos S. Chrysanthou, *Reconfiguring the Imperial Past. Narrative Patterns and Historical Interpretation in Herodian's History of the Empire*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2022, *passim*, especially p. 48-51, 105-112, 170-172, 208-211, 239-246, 284-295.

<sup>94</sup> Miriam Bastian, *Virtues and Vices of Condemned Emperors of the 3rd Century*, in *Qualités et vertus de l'empereur dans les inscriptions d'Auguste au début du règne de Constantin. « Miroirs au prince » ? The Emperor's Qualities and Virtues in the Inscriptions from Augustus to the Beginning of Constantine's Reign. "Mirrors for Princes" ?*, édité par / edited by Anne Gangloff, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2022, p. 133-150 (DOI: 10.1163/9789004515093\_007).

<sup>95</sup> Antonio Pistellato, *Antoninum habemus, omnia habemus: The nomen Antoninorum Issue between the Historia Augusta and Cassius Dio*, in *The Intellectual Climate of Cassius Dio. Greek and Roman Pasts*, edited by Adam M. Kemezis, Colin Bailey, Beatrice Poletti, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2022, p. 138-169 (DOI: 10.1163/9789004510517\_007).

<sup>96</sup> Riccardo Bertolazzi, *Cassius Dio, Julia Maesa and the Omens Foretelling the Rise of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander*, in *ibidem*, p. 279-300 (DOI: 10.1163/9789004510517\_012).

<sup>97</sup> Lucia Sagui, Matilde Cante, Francesco Quondam, *Le "terme di Elagabalo". I risultati delle ultime indagini*, in *Scienze dell'Antiquità*, 20/1, 2014, p. 211-230 (estratto).

## ABREVIERI

<i>AARMSI</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice
<i>AARMSL</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Literare
<i>AARPAD</i>	= „Analele Academiei Române”, seria II, București, 1879-1916
<i>AA.SS.</i>	= <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Bollandisti, III <sup>a</sup> edițiune, Parigi 1863-1870
<i>AB</i>	= Arhivele Basarabiei
<i>ACNSAS</i>	= Arhivele Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității
<i>AE</i>	= L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
<i>AIR</i>	= Arhiva Istorică a României
<i>AIAC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj
<i>AIIAI</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>AIIC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj
<i>AIINC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională, Cluj
<i>AIIX</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>ALIL</i>	= Anuarul de Lingvistică și Istorie Literară, Iași
<i>ALMA</i>	= <i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i> . Genève.
<i>AM</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<i>AMAE</i>	= Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe
<i>AmAnthr</i>	= <i>American Anthropologist</i> , New Series, Published by Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association
<i>AMM</i>	= <i>Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis</i> , Vaslui
<i>AMMB</i>	= Arhiva Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, Iași
<i>AMN</i>	= <i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i>
<i>AMR</i>	= Arhivele Militare Române
<i>AMS</i>	= Anuarul Muzeului din Suceava
<i>ANB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, București
<i>ANC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Cluj
<i>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Municipiului București
<i>ANG</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Galați
<i>ANI</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Iași
<i>ANIC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale
<i>ANR-Cluj</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ANR-Sibiu</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Sibiu
<i>ANRM</i>	= Arhivele Naționale ale Republicii Moldova, Chișinău
<i>ANRW</i>	= <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin-New York
<i>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Municipiului București
<i>ANV</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Vaslui
<i>AO</i>	= Arhivele Olteniei
<i>AP</i>	= <i>Analele Putnei</i>
<i>APH</i>	= <i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> , Varșovia
<i>AqLeg</i>	= <i>Aquila Legionis. Cuadernos de Estudios sobre el Ejército Romano</i> , Salamanca
<i>AR</i>	= Arhiva Românească
<i>ArchM</i>	= Arhiva Moldaviae, Iași
<i>ArhGen</i>	= Arhiva Genealogică
„Arhiva”	= „Arhiva”. Organul Societății Științifice și Literare, Iași
<i>ArhMold</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei

- ASRR = Arhiva Societății Române de Radiodifuziune  
AȘUI = Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași  
ATS = Ancient Textile Series, Oxbow Books, Oxford și Oakville  
AUAIC = Arhiva Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași  
AUB = Analele Universității „București”  
BA = *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice  
BAR = Biblioteca Academiei Române  
BArchB = Bundesarchiv Berlin  
*BAR int. ser.* = British Archaeological Reports, International Series  
BBRF = Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg  
BCIR = Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României  
BCMI = Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice  
BCU-Iași = Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, Iași  
BE = Bulletin Epigraphique  
BF = Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam  
BJ = Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn  
BMI = Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice  
BMIM = București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie  
BNB = Biblioteca Națională București  
BNJ = Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher  
BOR = Biserica Ortodoxă Română  
BS = Balkan Studies  
BSNR = Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române  
*ByzSlav* = Byzantinoslavica  
CA = Cercetări arheologice  
CAI = Caiete de Antropologie Istoriceă  
*CartNova* = *La ciudad de Carthago Nova 3: La documentación epigráfica*, Murcia  
CB = Cahiers balkaniques  
CBI = *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken. Corpus des griechischen und lateinischer Beneficiärer – Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart  
CC = Codrul Cosminului, Suceava (ambele serii)  
CCAR = Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, CIMEC, București  
CCh = *Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout  
CChSG = *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*  
CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, Turnhout, Brepols  
CDM = *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhivele Centrale de Stat*, București, vol. I-V; supl. I.  
CDȚR = *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului*, București, vol. II-VIII, 1974-2006  
Chiron = Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1971  
CI = Cercetări istorice (ambele serii)  
CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin  
CL = Cercetări literare  
CLRE = *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, eds. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, Atlanta, 1987  
CN = Cercetări Numismatice  
CNA = Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București  
CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain  
CSEA = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice  
CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien, De Gruyter  
CSPAMI = Centrul de Studii și Păstrare a Arhivelor Militare Centrale, Pitești  
CT = Columna lui Traian, București

- CTh* = *Codex Theodosianus*. Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmundianis, I, edidit adsumpto apparatu P. Kruegeri, Th. Mommsen, Hildesheim, 1970-1971
- Cv.L* = Convorbiri literare (ambele serii)
- „*Dacia*”, *N.S.* = Dacia. Nouvelle Série, Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
- DGAS* = Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului
- DI* = Diplomatarium Italicum
- DIR* = *Documente privind istoria României*
- DIRRI* = *Documente privind Istoria României. Războiul pentru Independență*
- DOP* = Dumbarton Oaks Papers
- DTN* = *Din trecutul nostru*, Chișinău
- DRH* = *Documenta Romaniae Historica*
- EB* = *Études Balkaniques*
- EBPB* = *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*
- EDCS* = *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/>)
- EDR* = *Epigraphic Database Roma* (<http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php>)
- EpigrAnat* = Epigraphica Anatolica, Münster
- ERAsturias* = F. Diego Santos, *Epigrafiya Romana de Asturias*, Oviedo, 1959.
- EuGeSta* = *Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity*
- Gerión* = Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua, Madrid
- GB* = Glasul Bisericii
- GCS* = *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897-1969
- GLK* = *Grammatici Latini Keil*
- HEp* = *Hispania Epigraphica*, Madrid
- „*Hierasus*” = *Hierasus*. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani, Botoșani
- HM* = Heraldica Moldaviae, Chișinău
- HU* = Historia Urbana, Sibiu
- HUI* = Historia Universitatis Iassiensis, Iași
- IDR* = *Inscripțiile din Dacia romană*, Bucurști-Paris
- IDRE* = *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie*, I-II, Bucarest, 1996, 2000
- IGLN* = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae*, Bordeaux
- IGLR* = *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România*, București, 1976
- ILLPecs* = *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften*, Pecs, 1991
- ILAlg* = *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, Paris
- ILB* = *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae*, Sofia, 1989
- ILD* = *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, București
- ILN* = *Inscriptions latines de Novae*, Poznan
- ILLPRON* = *Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices*, Berlin, 1986
- ILS* = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 1892
- IMS* = *Inscriptiones Moesiae Superioris*, Belgrad
- IN* = „Ioan Neculce”. Buletinul Muzeului Municipal Iași
- ISM* = *Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine*, București, vol. I-III, 1983-1999
- JGO* = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*
- JL* = Junimea literară
- JRS* = *The Journal of Roman studies*, London
- LR* = Limba română
- Lupa = *Ubi Erat Lupa* (<http://lupa.at/>)
- MA* = *Memoria Antiquitatis*, Piatra Neamț

- MCA = Materiale și cercetări arheologice  
 MEF = *Moldova în epoca feudalismului*, vol. I-XII, 1961-2012, Chișinău  
 MEFRA = *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité*, Roma  
 MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum auspiciis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medii aevi*, Berlin 1877-  
 MI = Magazin istoric, București  
 MIM = Materiale de istorie și muzeografie  
 MM = Mitropolia Moldovei  
 MMS = Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei  
 MN = Muzeul Național, București  
 MO = Mitropolia Olteniei  
 MOF = Monitorul Oficial al României  
 Navarro = M. Navarro Caballero, *Perfectissima femina. Femmes de l'élite dans l'Hispanie romaine*, Bordeaux, 2017.  
 NBA = *Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana*, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum  
 NDPAC = *Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, I, A-E, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2006; III, P-Z, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2008  
 NEH = Nouvelles études d'histoire  
 OI = Opțiuni istoriografice, Iași  
 OPEL = *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*, vol. I-IV, Budapesta-Viena, 1994-2002  
 PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1886-1912  
 PIR = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I.II.III*, editio altera, Berlin.  
 PLRE = *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vol., eds. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, Cambridge, 1971-1992  
 RA = Revista arhivelor  
 RBAR = Revista Bibliotecii Academiei Române, București  
 RC = Revista catolică  
 RdI = Revista de istorie  
 REByz = Revue des Études Byzantines  
 RER = Revue des études roumaines  
 RESEE = Revue des études Sud-Est européennes  
 RGI = Revista Generală a Învățământului  
 RHP = *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften*, Viena  
 RHSEE = Revue historique de Sud-Est européen  
 RI = Revista istorică (ambele serii)  
 RIAF = Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie  
 RIB = *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Londra  
 RIM = Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău  
 RIR = Revista istorică română, București  
 RIS = Revista de istorie socială, Iași  
 RITL = Revista de istorie și teorie literară  
 RIU = *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapesta  
 RJMH = The Romanian Journal of Modern History, Iași  
 RM = Revista muzeelor  
 RMD = *Roman Military Diplomas*, Londra  
 RMM = *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, Mainz  
 RMM-MIA = Revista muzeelor și monumentelor, seria Monumente istorice și de artă  
 RMR = Revista Medicală Română  
 RRH = Revue roumaine d'histoire

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<i>RRHA</i>	= Revue roumaine de l'histoire de l'art
<i>RRHA-BA</i>	= Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux Arts
<i>RSIAB</i>	= Revista Societății istorice și arheologice bisericești, Chișinău
<i>Rsl</i>	= Romanoslavica
<i>SAHIR</i>	= Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae, București
<i>SAI</i>	= Studii și Articole de Istorie
<i>SANIC</i>	= Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale
<i>SCB</i>	= Studii și cercetări de bibliologie
<i>SCh</i>	= <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Paris
<i>SCIA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istoria artei
<i>SCIM</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie medie
<i>SCIV/SCIVA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)
<i>SCN</i>	= Studii și Cercetări Numismatice, București
<i>SCȘI</i>	= Studii și cercetări științifice, Istorie
<i>SEER</i>	= The Slavonic and East European Review
<i>SHA</i>	= <i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<i>SJAN</i>	= Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale
<i>SMIC</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană, București
<i>SMIM</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie medie, București
<i>SMIMod</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie modernă, București
<i>SOF</i>	= Südost-Forschungen, München
<i>ST</i>	= Studii Teologice, București
<i>StAntArh</i>	= <i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Iași
<i>T&amp;MBYZ</i>	= <i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines</i>
<i>ThD</i>	= Thraco-Dacica, București
<i>TR</i>	= Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca
<i>TV</i>	= Teologie și viața, Iași
<i>ZPE</i>	= Zeitschrift für Papyralogie und Epigraphik
<i>ZSL</i>	= Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde