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A Revolutionary or a Man of his Time?

A Numismatic Iconographical Study of Julian the Apostate



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Department of Archaeology and Ancient History

Lund University

Author: Nicolas Frendin

Supervisor: Henrik Gerding

Abstract

Julian the Apostate's short rule has left in the historical records a clearly divisive picture. This thesis starts with that divisive nature of the reign of Rome's last pagan emperor and aims to analyse some of the Apostate's coinage iconography. Can the symbols used on the coins minted during his reign say something about his allegedly revolutionary rule?

By choosing to focus on a set of ten symbols found of Julian's coins, this thesis was subsequently divided in a three-phased analysis in order to approach the subject. Julian's coin iconography was first analysed in comparison to the totality of the Roman Emperors, stretching back to Octavian/Augustus. The second step was to put Julian's rule within its own context and compare his coinage iconography to that of his predecessors in his own family, the second Flavian dynasty. The last step was to observe the changes during Julian's two periods of time in power: being first a Caesar – subordinate to his cousin Constantius II – and later on the sole ruler/Augustus. Julian's iconography was also compared to Constantius'.

The results tend to show that most of Julian's coin iconography could be characterised as conventional. The true departures can be divided into either obvious or surprising ones.

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Introduction

The short and dramatic rule of the last pagan emperor of Rome, Julian 'the Apostate', has during the course of history been looked upon with either contempt or fascination, depending on whether the viewer was respectively a devout Christian or an enemy of the Church. Julian's many reforms at a time in which the empire went into dramatic changes were looked upon during subsequent periods as either a tragic and blessed short reign or God's punishment, by the time he had died in his early thirties. Supposedly being one of the most religiously divisive rulers, Julian has largely dominated the historiography, ancient and modern, by emotionally intense narratives rather than objectivity. The context of the Late Empire and looming catastrophe is also heavily present in the historiography, when narrating the rise and fall of the Apostate: was he sent by God to punish the sins of the Christians or was he the right man at the right time, sent by the old gods to save the Empire from a collapse? Can this alleged divisiveness be found upon Julian's coinage, a material with a great communicative potential?

Julian: Historical Background

Julian the Apostate was born in Constantinople, in either 331 or 332 A.D., son of Constantine the Great's half-brother Julius Constantius and Basilina. By the time Julian was around five years old (337), his uncle the Emperor Constantine died, leaving the throne to his three sons Constantine II, Constans and Constantius II. This succession to the throne was soon to be followed by a bloody massacre of the male relatives to Constantine's three sons, perceived as potential future rivals in a dynastical perspective.¹ Julian later on wrote about that episode, not making a secret that he suspected his cousin and by now rival cousin Constantius to be the main force behind this bloody business.² But having spared Julian's and his half-brother's (Gallus) lives because of their young ages, Constantius sent them away

¹ Hunt 1998, 44–47.

² Jul. *Ep. ad Ath.* 270.

from Constantinople to an imperial estate in a remote area of Asia Minor, where young Julian was to be tutored and receive a proper education.³

During his teen years, Julian started to become interested in old Hellenic polytheism. His half-brother Gallus was named Caesar in 351, which in the Late Roman Empire was the title assigned to the deputy-emperor and next in line to the title of Augustus.⁴ The young Julian continued to pursue his intellectual endeavours, adding to the Classics of literature even rhetoric and philosophy. Julian thus travelled and visited several different towns with renowned philosophers.⁵

Sometime during the period prior to the execution of his brother Gallus – on charges of treason – in the hands of his cousin Constantius, Julian renounced the Christian faith he had been brought up with and became an apostate. He was summoned to Milan in 354 to respond to suspicions of treason concerning him, treason for which Gallus had just paid with his life. It is during this summon to the imperial capital that he first came in contact with the emperor's wife Eusebia, who became a sort of a guardian angel to him during the course of the next months. He was later on allowed to travel to Athens, where he was initiated in the pagan mysteries, deepening thus his religious believes.⁶ Julian was summoned a second time to Milan in 355 to meet with his cousin Constantius. This time he feared for his life and, as he described it, cried many tears to the goddess Athena.⁷ His fears were to be proven wrong, though. After the court's staff had removed his philosophical mantle and shaved his beard to make him look more presentable, Julian was on the 6th of November 355 hailed by his cousin Constantius to the rank of Caesar, a proclamation hailed by the summoned troops.⁸

Constantius, needing to monitor the Eastern front by himself, sent Julian to Gaul to act as Caesar there, where he during the course of the next five years (356-361) dealt with many issues. He became during these years a very popular figure due to many successes, both fiscal and military. The most prestigious battle won by Julian was the Battle of Strasbourg (357), in which he was able with around 13,000 troops to defeat a coalition led by the

³ Hunt 1998, 44–47.

⁴ Bowman 2005, 74–76.

⁵ Bidez 1930, 50–62.

⁶ Hunt 1998, 47–49.

⁷ *Jul. Ep. ad Ath.* 275.

⁸ Bidez 1930, 123–29.

Germanic tribe of the *Allemanii* with up to 35,000 men.⁹ Julian's popularity within both the military and the civilians had a devastating effect on the paranoid emperor Constantius.¹⁰ In fact, after the Battle of Strasbourg, in which the troops had captured the king of the *Allemanii* Chnodomarius, Julian became so popular that he was hailed Augustus for the first time by his troops. Julian though, as a token of good-will, sent the captured king to his cousin, declared the victory to be Constantius' (as was protocol) and reassured him that he had refrained from accepting the title.¹¹

The following years saw the rise of tensions between Constantius and Julian, culminating in the troops hailing him as Augustus once again in February 360, which time Julian accepted. That proclamation was followed by an intense exchange of letters in which Julian tried to negotiate with his cousin, but to no avail. By the summer of 360, travelling to the town of Vienne, where he celebrated his *quinquennalia* – that is, his five years in office – Julian put himself in the celebration games as a full Augustus on display, thus finally breaking the stalemate with his cousin who by now had his mind set to remove Julian as a usurper.¹²

It is worth to mention that by this time, even though he was a pagan at heart, Julian was still a Christian outward, going so far as to preside the celebrations of the feast of the Epiphany in Vienne in January 361.¹³ But that was all to change soon. Seizing the initiative, Julian moved quickly with his troops eastward in order to meet his cousin in battle. Arriving in the Balkans by the middle of the summer, Julian waited for news regarding the movements of troops of his cousin. But somewhere along his way westwards, the emperor Constantius died, naming his cousin Julian as sole heir to the empire, saving it thus from civil war. The news reached a shocked Julian, who during the travel eastwards to seize the capital Constantinople for the first time openly sacrificed to the gods.¹⁴

The next 20 months or so between the moment of his arrival in Constantinople in December 361 and his death in June 363 saw Julian putting himself to the task of being emperor. He started to grow his beard again soon after the burial of Constantius (which he presided in

⁹ Amm. Marc. 16.12.2 & 26.

¹⁰ Hunt 1998, 49–51.

¹¹ Hunt 1998, 51–54.

¹² Hunt 1998, 56–59.

¹³ Amm. Marc. 21.2.4-5.

¹⁴ Hunt 1998, 60–63.

the Church of the Holy Apostles), thus making no secrets about his pagan faith anymore. He started to remove what he perceived as ramping corruption from his cousin's time in power, departing with a great number of civil servants – thus lowering taxes. He started attending senatorial meetings, presiding over debates and making himself available to senators and public alike, in the old fashion *princeps*-style of the early empire. He issued new religious laws: pagan temples which during the past two generations of Christian emperors had been closed were to be reopened; sacrifices to the gods that had been banished were to be restored; buildings belonging to the old rites and having due to past laws being transformed into churches or habitations were to be restored to the way they used to be; Christian teachers were to make a choice – either renounce their faith and be able to teach their pupils about Hellenic Classics or to “withdraw to the churches of the Galileans to expound Matthew and Luke”.¹⁵ But that was only one part of it, since Julian even had a new Tolerance edict towards all religions. In that way, not only ‘orthodox’ Christians, but even concurring Christian doctrines – such as the Arians – were to be tolerated, in a move that was perceived by Ammianus Marcellinus as a way of weakening Christianity, since, as he put it, Christians were “like animals to each other”.¹⁶ Julian enacted many more reforms, but these are the most important to name in this context.¹⁷

Julian left the capital to Antioch, from where he planned to take on the Sassanids later on. His time in that city was on the whole quite a disaster for Julian, realizing that his will to re-paganise the Empire would be harder than he thought. The residents of that city tended to be for the most part Christians, mocking the emperor for his many sacrifices, his beard and his generally asceticism during the celebrations of the New Year. Temples, which he re-opened, were either ignored by the city-council or even burned down during the emperor's time in Antioch, leading him to vow never to come back to the city when he left it. In March 363, Julian headed with an enormous number of troops eastwards to lead a campaign of aggression against the Persians, in the same way as illustrious predecessors such as Alexander and Trajan.¹⁸

¹⁵ Hunt 1998, 65–67.

¹⁶ Amm. Marc. 22.5.4.

¹⁷ For a broad overview over Julian's reforms, see Hunt 1998, 63–67.

¹⁸ Hunt 1998, 69–73.

While heading towards Mesopotamia, Julian spent his nights in intellectual endeavours, writing his two best known pieces: *Caesares* and *Contra Galilaeos*, targeting both preceding emperors and his contemporary faith-adversaries, the Christians. The “Galilean” is a clear reference to Jesus, since in the Gospel according to John “...out of Galilee ariseth no prophet”.¹⁹ The main target of his contempt among his predecessors was his uncle Constantine, whom Julian saw as a revolutionary for converting to Christianity.²⁰

After some initial victorious skirmishes, the enormous army found itself trapped, thus ordered to march back towards Roman territory. Constantly harassed by Persian troops, it was during one of these sorties that Julian acted recklessly. He did not take time to be properly cuirassed and was subsequently mortally wounded by a spear to his ribs, perforating his liver as well. His doctors were unable to stop the bleedings. Julian passed the last hours of his life discussing the nobility of the soul with his fellow pagan retinue, before dying during on one of the last days of June. He was by then only 31 or 32 years old.²¹

Julian: The Legacy

Julian’s last moments on earth are quite symptomatic to the general picture of anachronism the young emperor left as a legacy. Drama often meets the reader when one is confronted with the figure of the last pagan emperor of the Roman Empire. Legend has it that Julian’s dying words were “Thou hast conquered, O Galilean” (*lat.* “*Vicisti Galilaeae*”).²² The dramatic, impractical nature of some of Julian’s actions were epitomised on his death bed where instead of prefacing, naming a successor, and thus continuation of his dynasty, he engaged in a philosophical discussion of the nobility of the soul. Once Julian had died, the army’s general staff was forced to choose a new emperor who could take them out of the dire situation they were in.

But it is not only during the dramatic last hours of his life that Julian seems to puzzle the reader, seemingly lacking contact with the reality on the ground. It is worth citing the

¹⁹ John 7.52.

²⁰ Hunt 1998, 73.

²¹ Hunt 1998, 73–77.

²² Oxford Dictionary of Quotations: “Julian the Apostate c. AD 332-363”.

Cambridge Ancient History, regarding his sojourn in the Syrian capital: "Both in Antioch and elsewhere in the east the most obvious outcome of the attempt to implement Julian's religious programme was turning out to be polarized communities and social disorder".²³ Prior to that, while enacting his laws against the Christian teachers in Constantinople, even pagan contemporary writers such as Ammianus Marcellinus dismissed that as a "harsh act which should be buried in lasting oblivion".²⁴

The two main figures of the debate regarding Julian's legacy in the aftermath of his death were his mentor, counsellor and friend Libanius, and the Church Father Gregory of Nazianzus. According to the first, the moment Julian renounced the Christian faith was the "beginning of freedom for the world".²⁵ In Gregory's eyes, Julian, as a renegade to Christ was a damned figure, a supporter of Hell, making people renounce Christ, thus selling their souls to the Devil.²⁶ According to Gregory, everything Julian had done during his years as emperor was to be discarded; even the good results he achieved were done just because he wanted to become popular. Libanius, on the other hand, had it that already before his apostasy was known, the pagans began to look forward to Julian's future rule "with hidden prayers and secret sacrifices".²⁷ The situation was so tense in the years following Julian's death, that many of the deceased emperor's apologists were afraid to express sympathy towards their fallen hero.²⁸

When that situation had calmed down, and the factual death of the emperor finally had become a reality, the figure of Julian gradually shifted into the more mythical, fascinating figure it still is today. A pagan writer – Eutropius – working in the court of the Christian emperor Valens, wrote about Julian, comparing him to Marcus Aurelius.²⁹ Libanius wrote, after Julian's death had become reality, that the spear responsible for the death of his hero was none else's but a Christian soldier from the Roman army's own ranks.³⁰

²³ Hunt 1998, 71.

²⁴ Amm. Marc. 12.10.6; cf. 25.4.20.

²⁵ Lib. Or. 12.34.

²⁶ Greg. Naz. Or. 4–5.

²⁷ Lib. Or. 13.14.

²⁸ Bidez 1930, 332–37.

²⁹ Eutr. 10.16.

³⁰ Lib. Or. 16, 18, 24.

During subsequent periods, the life and deeds of Julian were continuously viewed in non-neutral and exaggerated ways. During the Middle Ages, one of the popular literature genres were the lives of saints and martyrs. It is not uncommon that Julian was there portrayed as the villain protagonist in many tales, performing all kinds of black magic, gaining the empire by buying it from the Devil, taking young children's blood, opening the wombs of pregnant women and so forth.³¹ Julian thus became a symbol of everything against what the Church was teaching.

A gradual shift towards a more neutral stance occurred during Renaissance, only to shift again during the Enlightenment, this time in the other direction. Julian was now hailed by figures such as Voltaire, Goethe and Gibbons, being seen as an enemy of the Church, thus by extension fighting the same enemy as the Enlightenment period was fighting.³² Even through modern times, writers such as the Greek poet Cavafy, saying that the last of the Flavian dynasty was boring and the only thing he accepted about him was that "he was a lost cause", and Gore Vidal's novel portraying Julian as an exuberant young philosopher king show that his figure largely belongs to the realm of biased fiction than to factuality.³³ Bidez himself tried to nuance that picture by writing "In reality, penetrated by Christian influences regardless of his paganism, Julian resembles a platonic August at least as much as he resembles the representatives of the archaic philosophy to which he claimed to adhere".³⁴ Julian as an historical figure could thus be labelled as what in psychology is described as 'projection', meaning that everyone sees in him something they wish to see.³⁵

Purpose

The anachronistic view of Julian as a socially and religiously polarizing figure has created a problem within the historical record to fully understand the nature of his rule and his character. The purpose of this thesis is to challenge this anachronistic view, through a partial analysis of primary source material, specifically the iconographic coins minted during his

³¹ Bidez 1930, 338–40.

³² Bidez 1930, 340–43.

³³ Murdoch 2004, 7f.

³⁴ Bidez 1930, 345.

³⁵ Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Psychology: Projection": <https://www.britannica.com/science/projection-psychology> .

reign as Caesar and Augustus. The advantage of coinage iconography is that – as a vehicle conveying for an ideology – it has the potential to reveal a great deal. The political and ideological mindset of the people minting it, wishing to ideologically influence the people on the receiving end of the transaction is one such potential. Coins have been described by Harold Mattingly, who was numismatist at the British Museum and started the *Roman Imperial Coinage* project, as the “newspapers of antiquity”, pinpointing its influence as a medium on people in ancient times.³⁶

Theory and Method

To understand what a comparative analysis of Julian’s coinage iconography bears as a potential, it is important to approach the subject with a theoretical perspective. The theoretical part discussed here is largely based upon the iconographical study made by Hedlund (2008), in which rulers of the so-called ‘Crisis of the 3rd century’ and their communicative aspirations on their coinage are explained.³⁷

Iconography on ancient Roman coins can be understood as signs associated with various ideals and thus interpreted in various ways, often dependent upon socio-cultural contexts, which social group or region they were being distributed in and the interrelationship between the symbols and text on the coin itself. While bigger state-monuments were more catering to the intellectual elite, home-altars of the *lares* were the lower classes’ monuments.³⁸ The chosen iconography applied to coins was a mix of images, associated with ideas that relied upon repetition and visual communication. The chosen images should not be understood as an absolute reality, but a representation of a chosen ideal with a specific message to be communicated by the ruler, the artist or the minter to the general population.³⁹ The choice of coins as a medium to convey the ruler’s messages to the masses was well-suited for the task, since its reduced area, its large distribution and the repetitiveness of symbols on different issues of coins could easily help the ruler to be

³⁶ *RIC I* 1923, 22.

³⁷ For a general overview over the communicative power of coinage in antiquity, see Hedlund 2008.

³⁸ Hedlund 2008, 21f.

³⁹ Hedlund 2008, 23f.

associated by the masses with certain ideas.⁴⁰ There also seems to be a correlation between the number of dies (explained later on) and the total amount of minted coins. A higher number of entries in the *Roman Imperial Coinage* catalogue probably means a larger issue of coins bearing the same symbol, enabling us thus to understand the importance of the conveyed messages.⁴¹ Finally, as to the identity of the person behind the coinage iconography, the middle-position within the academic debate tends to be that it was a negotiation between ruler and master of the mint issuing it.⁴² That view is of importance to bear in mind in such an iconographical analysis.

The method of this thesis will consist of a univariate comparative analysis of Julian's coinage iconography in a chronological framework consisting of three phases. The first phase will consist of comparing Julian's coinage iconography with that of the long sequence of Roman Emperors starting with Octavian/Augustus. The second phase will consist of contextualising Julian's reign to gain some hindsight as regarding the period in which he ruled the Roman Empire. That analysis will thus encompass the Apostate's predecessors within his own dynasty: his grandfather – and founder of the second Flavian dynasty – Constantius Chlorus (reigned 305-06), his uncle Constantine I 'the Great' (reigned 306-337), his cousins Crispus (Caesar 317-326), Constantine II (Caesar 317-337, co-Augustus 337-340), Constans (co-Augustus 337-350), Constantius II (Caesar 324-337, co-Augustus 337-350, sole Augustus 350-361) and finally his half-brother Gallus (Caesar 351-54). The third and last phase in this thesis will consist of Julian's own time in power: how is the Apostate's coinage iconography as a Caesar compared to when he becomes Augustus? How does his coinage relate to that of his cousin Constantius II?

Having thus set the framework of this thesis in chronological terms, it also needs a material framework, that is, a limitation in terms of symbols. The coinage iconography of Julian consists of a number of different symbols, being died on coins. This thesis will focus on a set of ten symbols found on the Apostate's coinage. 'Symbol', as a term, can mean many things.⁴³ What 'symbol' means in the present thesis is an imagery component, likely having a communicative function. The ten chosen symbols can thus consist of either primary or

⁴⁰ Hedlund 2008, 38–39.

⁴¹ Hedlund 2008, 43.

⁴² Hedlund 1998, 32–34.

⁴³ Cambridge English Dictionary, "symbol": <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/symbol>.

secondary images/attributes: they can be either the central figure or a part of the general composition, on obverses or reverses. In order to have some diversity of terms, words such as 'iconography', 'coinage iconography' and 'imagery' will also be used in this thesis, meaning in broad lines the same as how 'symbol' has been defined.

The first reason for the limitation of ten symbols is a time-constraint. During such a timeframe there is not enough time to analyse the totality of the symbols used by the Apostate, so a choice was needed to be done. Why specifically these ten symbols are chosen is a matter of representativity: some of these symbols are common, while some are rarer in terms of classification in the standard catalogue *Roman Imperial Coinage (RIC)*. The other reason is a chronological one: some symbols were only used by Julian when he was Caesar, some only when he was Augustus and some in both. These symbols are thus a compromise, aiming at including a set of symbols as broad as possible. The methodology, being based on a partial material, is of course taken into account as to the results of this thesis.

In order to make such comparison, a catalogue was created, consisting of the coins on which the chosen symbols appear. The online version of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, called the *Online Coinage of the Roman Empire (OCRE)* hence on) was used as a primary research-tool.⁴⁴ This online version is powered by institutions such as the American Numismatic Society and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University. As an online version, the *OCRE* enables one to search the whole catalogue based upon *RIC*-entries, then categorize the results in further sub-categories such as 'authority', 'denomination', 'material', 'portrait' and so on. There even is a possibility to search the catalogue by entering one's own keywords. That possibility was largely used during the conduct of this research. Keywords such as 'bull', 'eagle' and so forth were entered, thus enabling quick results showing both the coins of Julian as well as the whole of *RIC*-entries containing the same symbol. Having also had several tomes of the *Roman Imperial Coinage* (volumes VIII, VII and VI) as actual books, the reliability of the *OCRE* as compared to the original *Roman Imperial Coinage* could in some way be tested.

The coins of the other rulers (that is, those not being Julian) aren't individually identified in the thesis catalogue, since there is sometimes results in the thousands for only one symbol –

⁴⁴ <http://numismatics.org/ocre/?lang=en>.

making such a catalogue impossible to create with such time constraints. These coins are rather used in a quantitative way (using Microsoft Excel) pointing to the total amount of *RIC*-entries there is for each ruler in each one of the analysed symbols.

Previous Research

Primarily academic discussion has largely focused on the symbols unique to Julian, how to interpret them and potentially understand the motivation behind using them. The most famous and ambiguous example is that of the bull, which has generated much discussion amongst numismatists. Kent (1959), starts by stating that Julian's reverse symbols are "disappointing" – the only interesting one in his eyes being the bull.⁴⁵ He continues further on by dividing up Julian's time since his proclamation as Augustus in February 360 until his death in June 363: the first period being characterised as "conventional", the second one as "militaristic", which he roughly divides as being February 360 to October 361 as the first period, and October-November 361 as the second one.⁴⁶ The discussion continues further in following Julian's beard on the coinage (that is, if the beard is there at all or not). The legend-shift – from a praise to the Gallic armies to the broader Roman armies later – is also discussed.⁴⁷

Five years later (1964), Gilliard discussed Julian's coinage iconography, targeting some of the symbols chosen on the reverses, both describing and giving explanations as to their meaning. This article has been a good starting point for this thesis, as a way to make sense of some of the symbols. Julian's beard-length is chronologically followed during his roughly 20 months of emperorship.⁴⁸ That might be seen as somehow mirroring female hairstyles on previous rulers as a dating tool. The vows ("vota") of the reigning Caesar and subsequently Augustus are explained: in Julian's case his first vows are by the time he still was Caesar of Gaul (360 – "Vota V"), vowing his person to the best of the Empire for the next five years ("Multis X). Then sometimes during his rebellion against Constantius he switched to "Vota X

⁴⁵ Kent 1959, 109.

⁴⁶ Kent 1959, 109f.

⁴⁷ Kent 1959, 111–15.

⁴⁸ Gilliard 1964, 135–36.

– Multis XX”. Gilliard’s article is interesting in putting Julian’s vows in relation to Constantius’.⁴⁹

The last two symbols discussed by Gilliard are of a more esoteric character: the eagle and the bull. The eagle – used only on Julian’s coins of Gaul during his period of Augustus – is explained as being an attribute of Jupiter, lending the power (wreath) to Julian. Sozomen wrote about Julian being on public images, taking care of showing himself next to Jupiter and other deities.⁵⁰ Gilliard shows that the eagle even appears on Constantine’s coins prior to his overtly use of Christian symbolism in the same way, thus strengthening the argument.⁵¹ Modern scholarship has also discussed the meaning of the enigmatic eagle on the coinage of Julian. Vanderspoel (1998), argues that the symbolism of the eagle is to be foremost understood as the association between the Roman emperor and the main deity Jupiter. To have the eagle minted on his coinage at Arelate prior to becoming sole emperor can even give the eagle some other, imperial, significance. Vanderspoel ties the eagle to either the apotheosis (the moment the emperor’s soul is carried to the skies) or to some progression on the scale of the mysteries of Mithraism. In that case, that would represent Julian’s reaching the highest initiate grade of ‘Father’, having thus visited Helios. But that explanation does not discard the Jupiter-connection, since only the Mithraic initiates would have understood the eagle in such a context, everyone else would still have seen it as Jupiterian in character.⁵²

The last symbol discussed is the bull. This is probably the most striking symbol on the whole of Julian’s coinage, or, as the *Oxford Handbook to Greek and Roman Coinage* puts it, “...the only numismatic testament to Julian’s character”.⁵³ The bull is already discussed by Julian, Socrates and Sozomen in the ancient literature, which all seem to point to the fact that the emperor was mocked for it. The academic discussion has been the largest with that symbol: Gilliard names several theories as to its meaning. It should be understood as either the great number of sacrifices (hecatombs) Julian offered during his short reign or as a symbol for the Apis bull, said to have been discovered in Egypt in 362.⁵⁴ Other explanations include an

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Sozom. 5.17.

⁵¹ Gilliard 1964, 137f.

⁵² Vanderspoel 1998, 117–19.

⁵³ Abdy 2012, 597.

⁵⁴ Amm. Marc. 22.14.6–7.

allegory to Julian as being described in ancient sources as being a “bull guarding a herd”, or as being a Mithraic bull.⁵⁵

Even later scholars have in great lengths focused on the Bull-symbol, largely ignoring the rest. Tougher (2004) discusses the possibility of the bull being understood as a solar symbol, since Julian is known to have been a devotee of the Sun-god Sol/Helios. In the light of new discoveries of a coin – part of an animal-series issued by Gallienus – in which Sol is represented as bull, the bull on Julian’s coins is thus to be understood as a presence of the Sun-god. The stars on top of the bull are there to signify a divine presence. But also the theory of the bull as leader of the herd is accepted by Tougher.⁵⁶

The academic discussion has thus in some way touched upon Julian’s coinage iconography, explaining the symbols in roughly political and/or esoterically meanings.

⁵⁵ Gilliard 1964, 138–41.

⁵⁶ Tougher 2004, 327–30.

Material

Numismatics: Short Introduction

Numismatics is the science of studying coinage. A coin is defined as “a piece of metal (or rarely, of some other material) certified by a mark or marks upon it to be of a definite exchange value, and issued by governmental authority to be used as money; also, such pieces collectively”.⁵⁷ The principle behind the monetary system involving coins is that said coins were historically anticipated by larger pieces of raw-material of metal (ingots). These ingots needed to be relatively scarce (thus having intrinsic value), but plentiful enough to be shaped into currency. The metals used to shape coins in the Roman Empire were gold, silver, and copper and in some cases an alloy of tin/zinc, called ‘orichalcum’. The coins in circulation had intrinsic value, that is, the coin’s value was the actual weight of the metal of the coin in question, which in the Roman world was valued as so many units (coins) per pound.⁵⁸ Both sides of the coins had symbols and legends; the obverse being defined as the ‘head’ of the coin (where the portrait of the emperor is found). The reverse consists of a legend describing a following symbol, often a god/goddess, a hero, a plant, a building etc. Even the mint (the town-authority responsible for each specific coin), defined as the ‘ethnic’, is found on the reverse.⁵⁹

In order to understand the relative chronology of a series of coins, numismatists have developed the study of the dies used to strike the coins. Coins were physically shaped by pouring a warmed, blank aggregate of metal into what has been called an ‘anvil’, containing an already engraved die and round borders to contain and shape the metal into a round coin. The engraved die contained the obverse; the reverse was found on a die held by one hand, while the other hand hammered the die on the warm metal.⁶⁰ Studies have been able to show that such dies had a finite lifetime, enabling thus to follow the chronology from it being new until showing signs of wear, cracks and finally discarded altogether.⁶¹ By studying

⁵⁷ Metcalf 2012, 2f.

⁵⁸ Metcalf 2012, 3.

⁵⁹ Metcalf 2012, 3f.

⁶⁰ Metcalf 2012, 5f.

⁶¹ For a broad overview over these studies, see Metcalf 2012, 3–11.

a sequence of coins produced by the exact same die, one can follow the relative chronology of the series, a method which has been of primary importance to numismatics as a science.⁶²

The general trend in the iconography of Late Antiquity is that coins reflect the image of the emperor as one whose office has gradually shifted from a position of *princeps* (first citizen, equal amongst others) to a more oriental, quasi-divine figure of the *dominate*. Religion is becoming much more important and that is reflected on the coinage, both in the pagan/Christian dichotomy, but also in more allusive ways, including the worship of several different Virtues such as the Emperor's Virtue, the Roman People's Virtue, etc. The second theme that is widely used is references to security, safety, the glory of the state and so forth. In such a context, the militaristic allusions are increasing. Even the office of the Emperor is becoming more distant, as Mattingly has it: "In general, we notice a great elaboration of ornament and ritual - the Emperor is represented less an individual than as the holder of a great symbolic office".⁶³

Limitations and critique

This thesis has chosen to focus on the study of ten symbols found on both obverses and reverses of Julian's coinage. By 'coinage' it is here meant regular coins as in currency, struck for monetary purpose – as opposed to medallions. Medallions in the Roman Empire were of different character, being not only commemorative but also donatives. That limited edition of "monetiform" (coin-like) pieces of metal were struck only on special occasions and intended to reach a limited group within the community.⁶⁴ That limitedness of impact in communicative terms is the main reason why symbols found on both Julian's and his predecessors' medallions are left outside of this thesis.

Each symbol is followed by its official description, as found in the reference catalogue *Roman Imperial Coinage* vol. VIII ('The Family of Constantine I'), as well as the number of catalogue-entries for each symbol.⁶⁵ It is important to stress here that each catalogue entry

⁶² Metcalf 2012, 4f.

⁶³ Mattingly 1960, 229–33.

⁶⁴ Toynbee 1944, 27–29; for more detailed overview over Roman medallions, see Toynbee 1944.

⁶⁵ *RIC* VIII, 1981.

(e.g. “*RIC VIII Lugdunum 204*”), does not necessarily mean one coin. Some entries consist of one coin (that is, one such known coin with its own specificities), while other consist of several coins – belonging thus to the same die. Where available, a picture will be added for each symbol. The ten symbols chosen for this thesis are thus:

- The consular robe
- The vows (“vota”) within wreath
- The standing soldier, holding shield and spear
- The bull
- The eagle
- The Hercules-club
- The star
- The crowning by Victory
- The three standards
- The Christogram

As for these symbols’ representativity, the author of this thesis has been able to discern a total of six other symbols on coins, not used in this analysis. These symbols are as follows:

Reverses

- The soldier spearing the fallen horseman
- The soldier placing his hand on kneeling captive, holding a trophy
- A trophy flanked by two sitting captives
- The emperor standing, holding globe and spear
- Victory standing, holding wreath and palm

Obverse

- Julian facing left, helmeted, diademed, holding spear and shield

The medallions, not used in this thesis, consist mainly of reverses depicting Egyptian gods and goddesses (*RIC* VIII Roma 463, 464, 467, 468⁶⁶, 489–492⁶⁷, 493–502⁶⁸)

It is important to bear in mind that archaeology as a discipline tend to study phenomena in past times using but fractions of the whole material it aims to understand. As such, the results of a thesis using only but a part of all Julian's coinage iconography might be seen as reaching but a partial result only. The use of the *OCRE* as the primary tool for this thesis is also subject to caution. While cross-checking the material found on the online platform with the content of the book *Roman Imperial Coinage* vol. VIII, some mistakes were found. That is why all of Julian's coinage has been checked manually on the *Roman Imperial Coinage* vol. VIII, but that procedure hasn't been able to be done on all the previous volumes. Generally speaking, the online catalogue *OCRE* tends to be reliable, but one must include the risk for errors there.

⁶⁶ *RIC* VIII, 298.

⁶⁷ *RIC* VIII, 302.

⁶⁸ *RIC* VIII, 303.

The Ten Symbols

The Consular Robe

This symbol is used on Julian's coinage on three different *RIC*-dies. The consular robe, which can be seen on *Figure 1*, is one of the few symbols used in this thesis that appears on both the obverse and the reverse of Julian's coins. An important feature to bear in mind is that this symbol is used on Julian's coinage only after he has become Augustus.

The official description given by the *Roman Imperial Coinage* is as follow:

"VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM. Emperor in consular robes, holding mappa and sceptre, enthroned facing." (*RIC* VIII Antioch 204).⁶⁹

"VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM. Emperor in consular robes, holding mappa and sceptre, standing to left" (*RIC* VIII Antioch 205 & 206).⁷⁰



Figure 1: reverse of RIC VIII Antioch 206. Julian in consular robe.

The vows ("Vota") within wreath

The vows within the wreath is the symbol that has the most entries for Julian in this thesis, reaching a total of 91 entries within *RIC* VIII. That symbol – with all its different types – is used on Julian's coinage during both his Caesarship and his sole reign as Augustus. Furthermore, the symbol is used on gold, silver and bronze coins within different periods. Being so common requires of course representativity in terms of descriptions. The vows in Julian's coinage can roughly be divided into three types.

⁶⁹ *RIC* VIII, 530.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

The first type, which can be seen on *Figure 2*, is plain, containing only the words “VOT V/X MVLTI X/XX”, which appears on the centre of the coin’s reverse. That formula is surrounded by a wreath, following the coin’s roundness.

Example 1: “VOTIS/V/MVLTI/X within a wreath” (*RIC VIII Treveri* 363, 364, 365).⁷¹



Figure 2: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Lugdunum 218. “Vota”, first type.

Example 2: “VOT/X/MVLT/XX within a wreath” (*RIC VIII Siscia* 414, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422).⁷²

The second type, which can be seen on *Figure 3*, consists of roughly the same as the first type, although the wreath is held by figures: the goddesses Roma and Constantinopolis (representations of the cities of Rome and Constantinople, respectively). In some cases, the “MVLTI” is absent.

⁷¹ *RIC VIII*, 168.

⁷² *RIC VIII*, 380.



Figure 3: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 238. "Vota", second type.

Example: "GLORIA - REI - PVBLICAE: Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath inscribed VOT/V/MVLT/X; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, her right foot on prow" (RIC VIII Thessalonica 194, 197).⁷³

The third type consists of roughly the same imagery as the second one, although instead of Roma and Constantinopolis, the figures are Victory on one side and a small genius on the other side, both supporting the wreath containing the vows. The "MVLTIS" does not appear on the third type.

Example: "VICTORIAE DD NN AVGG: Victory, winged, draped, seated right on cuirass, inscribing VOT/X on a wreath supported by a genius" (RIC VIII Lugdunum 207).⁷⁴

The standing soldier, holding shield and spear

This symbol, which can be seen on *Figure 4*, is found on the reverses only and appears on eight known dies. It features a helmeted, cuirassed and armed roman soldier. The position of the soldier's body and his head's position differ from issue to issue. The common feature

⁷³ RIC VIII, 420.

⁷⁴ RIC VIII, 193.

though is that the soldier holds an inverted spear in his right hand and a shield is placed on the ground, on top of which he's resting his left hand. This symbol is used on Julian's coinage in both of his reign-periods, although only on silver coins.



Figure 4: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Thessalonica 204. Standing soldier, holding spear and shield.

The *Roman Imperial Coinage's* official description of this symbol (with minor differences) is as follows:

“VIRTUS E-XERCITVS: Soldier, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head right, holding inverted spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield” (*RIC VIII Sirmium 101*).⁷⁵

The bull

As mentioned earlier, the bull is probably the coin that has been the most discussed. This symbol, which can be seen on *Figure 5*, appears on 50 different *RIC*-entries. It features Julian's coins only during his sole rule as Augustus and consists of a centrally placed bull on the coin's reverse. Above the bull appear two stars, one of them in between the bull's horns and the second above the bull's back. That symbol appears only on bronze coins, and has – with minor differences – been given the following official description by the *Roman Imperial Coinage*:

⁷⁵ *RIC VIII*, 392.

“SECVRITAS REI PVB: Bull, standing right, head right; above, two stars” (RIC VIII Aquilea 242 & 243).⁷⁶



Figure 5: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Aquilea 243. Bull.

The eagle

This symbol consists of several different applications of an eagle within a scene of already existing symbols, previously used on Julian’s coinage. The meaning of the eagle has already been discussed but it is important to be reminded of its generally accepted allegorical meaning as the presence of Jupiter, confining divine authority to the scenery. The eagle on Julian’s coins appears 22 times and could be described as a secondary motive, that is, it never stands as a primary figure for itself as does the bull, in comparison. A few important facts to bear in mind regarding the eagle symbol:

- It appears only on coins minted in Arelate (modern day Arles, France).
- Although it appears only on coins minted during Julian’s period as Augustus, it does appear early on within Julian’s usurpation
- The eagle appears on all three metals

⁷⁶ RIC VIII, 337.

The symbol of the eagle appears on roughly six different types:

The first type is the one already mentioned above, in which the goddesses Roma and Constantinopolis hold together a wreath, including the vows-inscription in it. That type is officially described as follow:

“GLORIA - RE-I - PVBLICAE: Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath inscribed VOT/*V*/MVLTX surmounted by eagle, standing left; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, her right foot on prow” (*RIC VIII Arelate 284, 285, 286, 287*).⁷⁷



Figure 6: reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 303. Eagle, second type.

The second type, as can be seen on *Figure 6*, consists of a soldier holding a captive in his right hand and a trophy over his left shoulder. Official description:

“VIRTVS EX-ERC GALL: Soldier, helmeted, cuirassed, standing right, head left, placing right hand on head of captive kneeling on one knee and holding trophy over left shoulder; in right field, eagle standing right, head left, wreath in beak” (*RIC VIII Arelate 303 & 304*).⁷⁸

The third type consists of two standards and a pole in the middle:

“FIDES - EXERCITVVM: Two standards, between them a pole with a wreath surmounted by an eagle, standing right, head right” (*RIC VIII Arelate 305*).⁷⁹

The fourth type, as can be seen on *Figure 7*, is also a type already described above, namely the standing soldier, holding spear and shield:

“VIRTVS - EXERCITVS: Soldier, helmeted, cuirassed, standing right, head right, holding inverted spear in right hand and resting left hand on shield; in right field, eagle standing right, head left, wreath in beak” (*RIC VIII Arelate 306, 307, 308*).⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *RIC VIII*, 226.

⁷⁸ *RIC VIII*, 226f.

⁷⁹ *RIC VIII*, 228.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*



Figure 7: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 308. Eagle, fourth type.

The fifth type, which can be seen on *Figure 8*, consists of an already described type, namely the plain “vows” within the wreath. This type does however have slight variations in the direction of the eagle’s head, but the following description is accurate for them all – besides the head’s direction:

“VOT/X/MVLT/XX within a wreath with medallion at centre containing an eagle, standing right, head left” (*RIC VIII Arelate 309, 310, 311, 324, 325, 326*).⁸¹



Figure 8: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 309. Eagle, fifth type.

⁸¹ *RIC VIII*, 228f.

The sixth and last type, which can be seen on *Figure 9*, consists of the abovementioned bull coinage, in which the eagle features as a secondary symbol:

“SECVRITAS REI PVB: Bull, standing right, head facing; above, two stars; in right field, eagle, standing right on wreath, head left, holding another wreath in its beak” (*RIC VIII Arelate 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323*).⁸²



Figure 9: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 318. Eagle, sixth type.

The Hercules-club

The Hercules-club appears on two known *RIC*-entries. As with the eagle above, it is not a primary symbol standing in its own merit. Rather, it features on bull's coins as a symbol besides the name of the mint (Arelate in that case). That feature has already been discussed above, and alongside the eagle, which also was minted only in Arelate, the Hercules-club is a feature that seems to figure chronologically early during the usurpation of Julian. As seen on *Figure 10*, the Hercules-club lies on the right side of the mint-name “PCON”, underneath the

⁸² *RIC VIII*, 229.

bull.⁸³



Figure 10: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 316. Hercules club.

The star

This symbol appears on four different types, on a total of sixteen known *RIC*-entries. The common feature of these four different types is that the star as a symbol always appears within a wreath. What differs is if said wreath is standing by itself or is held by personifications. As for its chronology, the star as a symbol is used only during Julian's Caesarship. It does not appear later, when he has become Augustus. Another interesting feature is this symbol's absence on bronzes: it features only on gold and silver coins.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

The first type, as can be seen on *Figure 11*, is plain: “Star within a wreath” (*RIC VIII Arelate* 255, 256, 257⁸⁴; cf. *RIC VIII Antioch* 185, 187⁸⁵).



Figure 11: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Antioch 187. Star, first type.

The second and third types are a repetition of the above, with the addition of the personifications of Roma and Constantinopolis holding the wreath. What differs between these two types is the legend following the symbols.

Second type: “FEL TEMP - RE-PARATIO: Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath inscribed with a star; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, her right foot on prow” (*RIC VIII Roma* 292 & 295).⁸⁶

Third type (see *Figure 12*): “GLORIA - REI - PVBLICAE: Roma, helmeted, draped, enthroned front, and Constantinopolis, draped, enthroned left, head left, supporting a wreath bearing a star; Roma holding spear in left hand; Constantinopolis holding sceptre in left hand, resting right foot on prow” (*RIC VIII Antioch* 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 171).⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *RIC VIII*, 223.

⁸⁵ *RIC VIII*, 527.

⁸⁶ *RIC VIII*, 276.

⁸⁷ *RIC VIII*, 525f.



Figure 12: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Antioch 187. Star, third type.

The fourth and last type consists of a star within a wreath, this time supported by Victory and a genius:

“VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM: Victory, winged, draped, seated right on cuirass with shield behind, supporting a shield bearing a star on her left knee; a small genius supports the shield” (RIC VIII Antioch 176, 178, 180).⁸⁸

The crowning by Victory

This symbol, which can be seen on *Figure 13*, features on the reverses of three *RIC*-entries, where Julian is crowned with a wreath by Victory standing beside him. The crowning by Victory appears only on silver coins, which are issued in Julian’s both reign-periods. Since there are just slight modifications of minor details, only one official description will follow here:

“VICTORIA ROMANORVM: Emperor, diademed, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head right, holding sceptre in right hand and globe in left hand; to right, Victory crowning him with

⁸⁸ RIC VIII, 526f.

wreath and holding palm; both figures standing under and arch supported by two spiral columns” (*RIC VIII Sirmium* 104⁸⁹; *RIC VIII Antioch* 182⁹⁰; *RIC VIII Antioch* 210⁹¹).



Figure 13: reverse of RIC VIII Antioch 210. Crowning by Victory.

The three standards

This symbol, appearing on four *RIC*-entries, consists of three standards standing beside each other on the reverses only. It seems to have been in use only on silvers and only during Julian’s period as Caesar, after which it does not reappear. There are two general types for this symbol, consisting of the different legends accompanying the symbols.

The first type, as seen on *Figure 14*, consists of a variation on the theme of Julian’s official titles.



Figure 14: obverse and reverse of RIC VIII Arelate 248. Three standards, first type.

⁸⁹ *RIC VIII*, 392.

⁹⁰ *RIC VIII*, 527.

⁹¹ *RIC VIII*, 531.

Example 1 (with slight variations): “D N IVLIANVS CAES: Three standards” (*RIC VIII Arelate 247, 248, 249*).⁹²

The second type has another legend with the standards.

“VIRTVS EXERCITVS: Three standards” (*RIC VIII Thessalonica 202*).⁹³

The Christogram

The last symbol, which is probably the most surprising when reflecting on Julian’s nickname of “the Apostate”, is the Christogram. This symbol (with four apparitions on the records of *RIC VIII*), which is seen on *Figure 15*, is an early way of condensing the name of Christos (Jesus) with the 2 letters of Chi (X) and Rho (P) of the Greek alphabet. The most interesting part is that the Chi-Rho appears on Julian’s coinage during both his Caesarship and even his emperorship. There exists only one known coin featuring a Christogram during the time of Julian’s usurpation (early 360-summer 361), on which that symbol appears on the obverse. There does not seem to be any available pictures, but that coin strikes as so unique that it is still named in the introduction of Lugdunum’s coinage on the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VIII.⁹⁴ All coins featuring a Christogram seem to be bronzes. Here is the official description of the coins on which the Chi-Rho appear on the reverses:



Figure 15: the Chi-Rho.

“GLORIA - RO-MANORVM: Emperor, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head left, holding standard with Chi-Rho on banner in right hand and spear in left hand” (*RIC VIII Siscia 387, 388, 389*).⁹⁵

⁹² *RIC VIII*, 222.

⁹³ *RIC VII*, 420.

⁹⁴ *RIC VIII*, 175f.

⁹⁵ *RIC VIII*, 375.

Analysis

The analysis of the results will be conducted in three phases, as mentioned earlier, in order to approach Julian's image of supposed political anachronism and religious cleavage. The first phase will consist of a long-perspective analysis: all the ten chosen symbols will be analysed and compared to the totality of the Roman emperors stretching all the way back to Octavian/Augustus. Julian, described as an emperor aiming to restore Rome's past days of *princeps*-style rule seems to fit such an analysis.⁹⁶ Being an Emperor of Rome meant in a political terminology that the ruler occupied a prestigious office, having its own rules and codes of conduct. The person in office was expected to live to certain standards.⁹⁷ The communicative power of the imperial ideology on coinage being thus at least as old as Augustus, comparing Julian's coinage all the way back to the first *princeps* can show itself of importance when trying to approach Julian's ideological mindset.⁹⁸

The second phase will consist of a more personal analysis of the emperor Julian and will aim at analysing the Apostate's coinage iconography in relation to his own dynasty, including major figures such as its founder Constantius Chlorus, Constantine the Great and Constantius II. Julian often took to words to talk about his relative predecessors, as seen above.⁹⁹ Such an analysis obviously yields some potential. Rulers throughout history don't just appear in a vacuum: they have their personal histories and their ideological backgrounds prior to accessing power. Then as rulers they act – sometimes ideologically, sometimes pragmatically – thus leaving behind them by the time their rule is over a specific image of their time in power. To understand an emperor such as Julian, one needs to get a broader picture of the state of the Empire by that period which has by historical standards been called 'Late Antiquity'.¹⁰⁰ That label is not neutral; it reveals something about the character of the times which it describes in contrast to a period prior to that, being of a different character. Such an analysis can be of interest, since both Julian and other contemporaneous writers saw him as directly criticizing some of his Flavian predecessors.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Hunt 1998, 65–67; see above, p.8.

⁹⁷ Mattingly 1960, 229–33; see above, p.19.

⁹⁸ *RIC I* 1923, 22; see above, p.12.

⁹⁹ Hunt 1998, 73; see above, p.9.

¹⁰⁰ For an excellent introduction to Late Antiquity, see Brown 1976.

¹⁰¹ Hunt 1998, 73; see above, p.9.

Late Antiquity is according to the academic consensus the period succeeding the so-called 'Chaos of the third Century', in which the state of the Roman Empire was close to collapse. The reforms led by the emperor Diocletian in many ways saved the Empire and set it on a new course.¹⁰² That is the world in which Julian was born and raised into.

Finally, this thesis will analyse Julian's own time in power, looking at how the coinage iconography evolves during his own career. The Apostate's short but dramatic time in power consists of basically three periods, of which two are easier to discern on the coinage. The period between Julian's elevation as Caesar and until his usurpation in February 360, together with the period between the death of Constantius up until Julian's own death (December 361-June 363) are somehow easier to trace on the coins. The period of roughly February 360 to December 361 is more complicated to discern, that is why it almost never appears as such in the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, where coins are divided by either *Caesar* or *Augustus*.¹⁰³ Julian, being a "product" of Constantius, will be compared to his cousin's use of the same symbols.¹⁰⁴ Julian's own time in power will be analysed, from his time as co-ruler, subordinate to the reigning Augustus to the time in which he was hailed as Augustus and thereon. This last chronologically analysis has a potential to reveal some of Julian's character, from a period of being a subordinate to becoming the actual man in power.

¹⁰² Brown 1976, 24–27.

¹⁰³ See relevant entries for Julian in the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VIII.

¹⁰⁴ Bidez 1930, 123–29; see above, p.6.

Analysis 1: Julian's iconography in comparison to all previous emperors

| Ruler/Symbol | Consular Robe | "Vota"/Wreath | Standing Soldier | Crowning by Victory | Christogram |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Julian Augustus | 3 | 78 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| Julian Caesar | 0 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| RIC VIII (337–364) | 15 | 381 | 35 | 27 | 305 |
| RIC VII (313–337) | 7 | 353 | 7 | 11 | 2 |
| RIC VI (294–313) | 7 | 105 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| RIC Vb (276–310) | 0 | 2 | 60 | 4 | 0 |
| RIC Va (253–276) | 0 | 4 | 79 | 0 | 0 |
| RIC IV c (238–253) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RIC IV b (217–238) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RIC IV a (193–217) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RIC III (138–192) | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| RIC II (69–138) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| RIC I (31 BC–69 AD) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 1: the five symbols with no or extremely rarely appearance prior to mid-3rd century.

When looking at the results of the ten chosen symbols stretching as far back as Rome's first *princeps*, the first visual result – as Table 1 shows – is that five out these symbols either don't or extremely rarely appear on the records prior to roughly the middle of the third century AD. The consular robe, the "vota" within the wreath, the standing soldier holding the spear and shield, the crowning by Victory and the Christogram all appear to be a product of a later period.

| Ruler/Symbol | Bull | Eagle | Hercules club | Star | 3 standards |
|---------------------|------|-------|---------------|------|-------------|
| Julian Augustus | 50 | 22 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Julian Caesar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 4 |
| RIC VIII (337–364) | 0 | 12 | 0 | 90 | 9 |
| RIC VII (313–337) | 0 | 259 | 0 | 291 | 9 |
| RIC VI (294–313) | 40 | 282 | 113 | 21 | 1 |
| RIC Vb (276–310) | 7 | 491 | 201 | 1 | 0 |
| RIC Va (253–276) | 16 | 83 | 61 | 3 | 0 |
| RIC IV c (238–253) | 1 | 28 | 10 | 18 | 0 |
| RIC IV b (217–238) | 13 | 122 | 0 | 189 | 1 |
| RIC IV a (193–217) | 19 | 72 | 36 | 14 | 10 |
| RIC III (138–192) | 23 | 134 | 38 | 30 | 5 |
| RIC II (69–138) | 91 | 151 | 31 | 24 | 2 |
| RIC I (31 BC–69 AD) | 31 | 37 | 1 | 17 | 2 |

Table 2: the five symbols that appears on the records all the way back to Augustus.

The other five symbols, which can be seen on Table 2 – the bull, the eagle, the Hercules club, the star and the three standards – do show results stretching back to the first volume of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, covering the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

By dividing the chosen symbols into two categories, esoteric and non-esoteric, the results can be sharpened a bit. Esoteric symbols mean “very unusual and understood or liked by only a small number of people, especially those with special knowledge”.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to that, non-esoteric symbol can include political symbols, dealing with present issues such as the ruler’s position within the state and the army’s role as securing the state.

Three out of these ten chosen symbols could be understood as being overwhelmingly political: the consular robe, the “vota” within the wreath and the standing soldier, which all can be seen in *Table 1*. The crowning by Victory is somewhat more problematic to put in either of the main categories with certainty. Although political in its meaning (the emperor being victorious), the worship of Victory as a goddess in the Roman world was of such a great character that about twenty years after the death of Julian, it still was the subject of controversy between pagans and Christians. There was in the Senate-house in Rome an altar to the goddess, which the Christian party petitioned the emperor Gratian to have it removed, successfully. Nevertheless, the worship of Victory was never completely eradicated, and as a symbol on coins, it continued long after the Christianisation of the Empire became a fact, now as a Christian angel of Victory holding the cross as one of her attributes.¹⁰⁶

A further sub-division can help to sharpen the picture even more. This thesis has chosen to sub-divide the esoteric symbols into:

- clearly pagan symbols
- religiously mixed symbols (that is, used both in pagan and Christian contexts)
- clearly Christian symbols
- less religiously-connotated symbols

The bull and the Hercules club are clearly straightforward pagan symbols, as have been discussed earlier. The eagle and the crowning by Victory have a somehow more mixed character, having both political and religious character: these two symbols, as discussed earlier, have a clear pagan allegory (Jupiter and Victory being pagan gods). By the time of Julian, many clearly pagan symbols have been assimilated to the Christian repertoire of

¹⁰⁵ Cambridge English Dictionary, “esoteric”: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/esoteric> .

¹⁰⁶ Mattingly 1960, 241f.

symbols.¹⁰⁷ The Christogram is obviously straightforward in its belonging to the Christian religion. The last two symbols – the star and the three standards – aren't as religiously-connotated as the other symbols, although they seem esoteric in their characteristics.

As *Tables 1 & 2* show, Julian's coinage iconography shows a remarkable balance between older and later symbols. With 'later' it is meant here as starting close to or during Late Antiquity. Out of the five relatively contemporary symbols, not surprisingly maybe, three are clearly political symbols: the consular-robe, the "vota" within the wreath and the standing soldier. Together with two other symbols – the crowning by Victory and the Christogram – we are here confronted with symbols that clearly are a product of the period. Although Victory is obviously a pagan goddess, its intense political use by rulers during the time of the Crisis of the 3rd century onwards has later been introduced within the Christian repertoire, as previously discussed. The five older symbols used on Julian's coinage are all esoteric in some way or another. Julian does indeed use two straightforward pagan symbols (the bull and the Hercules club), but even mixed (eagle) and less straightforward (the star and the three standards) in his repertoire.

Put together, the picture tends to show a surprisingly balanced result for an emperor vilified as being a monster and an anachronistic figure. Julian seems to be sensible to his time's preoccupations with the consolidation of the state and barbarian invasions by communicating modern ideological views on his coins.¹⁰⁸ Maybe the most surprising result is that Julian is not too active in enforcing pagan symbolism as the sole esoteric coinage iconography during his reign. Out of the two pagan symbols, the only symbol really standing centrally on the reverse is the bull. The Hercules-club, as discussed earlier, appears on the reverse as a secondary symbol. The five other esoteric symbols have a mixed character, either acceptable to both pagan and Christian alike, or being too unclear to explain.

An interesting feature would be to analyse possible influences on Julian's coinage iconography. For that analysis, it is important to stress here that all the following numbers of entries for each symbol are up until – and including – Julian. Later rulers aren't featured in

¹⁰⁷ Mattingly 1960, 238–42.

¹⁰⁸ Barbarian invasions: see Hunt 1998, 49–51; see above, p. 6–7.

this analysis for obvious reasons. The first analysed ‘block’ is the three non-esoteric, later symbols: the consular robe, the “vota” within the wreath and the standing soldier.

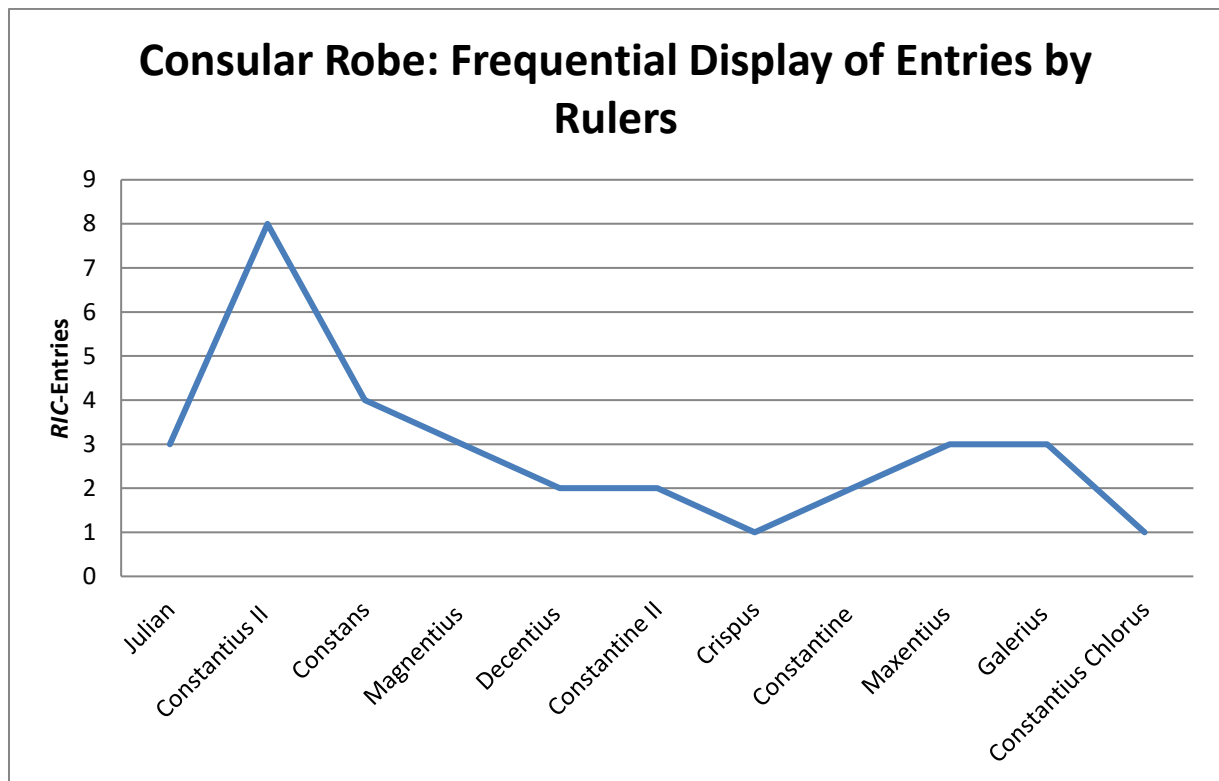


Figure 16: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Consular robe.

The consular robe and the “vota” are interpreted as imperial symbols, sending a message in which the emperor wants to communicate to the Roman people that he’s taking his role as emperor seriously, having their best as his primary concern. The consular robe, as seen on *Table 1*, appears only late in the coinage history of the Roman Empire, making its first appearance with Constantius Chlorus and Maximian in 300-01. As seen on *Figure 16*, there seems to be a total of 32 entries with that symbol. Constantius is the emperor for which there are the most entries for that symbol.

The “vota” as a symbol on coins has up to the time of Julian much more material in comparison to the consular robe, making a total appearance of 937 entries in the different volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage*. As a result, it also appears much more on Julian’s coinage iconography, which can clearly be seen on *Figure 17*. The “vota” seem to start appearing generally earlier than the consular robe, starting sometimes during the Crisis of the 3rd century. It starts to become significant during the reigns of Diocletian and Maximian

(295 onwards). As is the case with the consular robe, the figure with the most entries using that symbol is Julian's cousin Constantius.

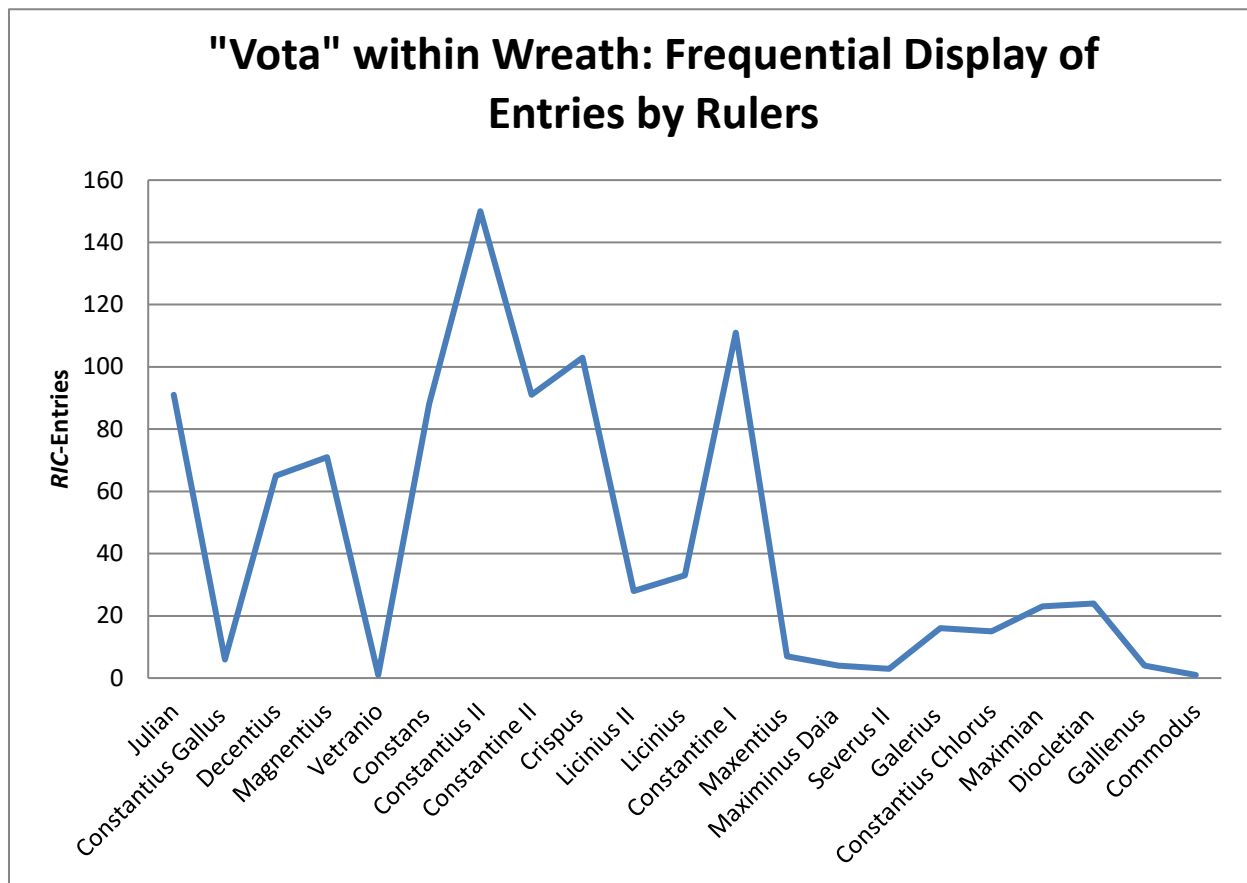


Figure 17: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. "Vota" within wreath.

The standing soldier, as showed on *Figure 18*, lies somewhere in between in terms of total entries on the RIC-records, with a total of 189 entries, thus larger than the consular robe, but lesser than the "vota". The nature of this symbol – communicating security through the army – shows itself to have a different trajectory than the previous two symbols. Whereas the consular robe and the "vota" both increase as time passes, reaching a peak during the second Flavian dynasty, the soldier has its beginnings and its peak during the same period, which is the heart off the Crisis of the 3rd century. The conclusion is thus not too far-fetched

to see an increase of a militaristic symbol during times of utter crises. That conclusion can be

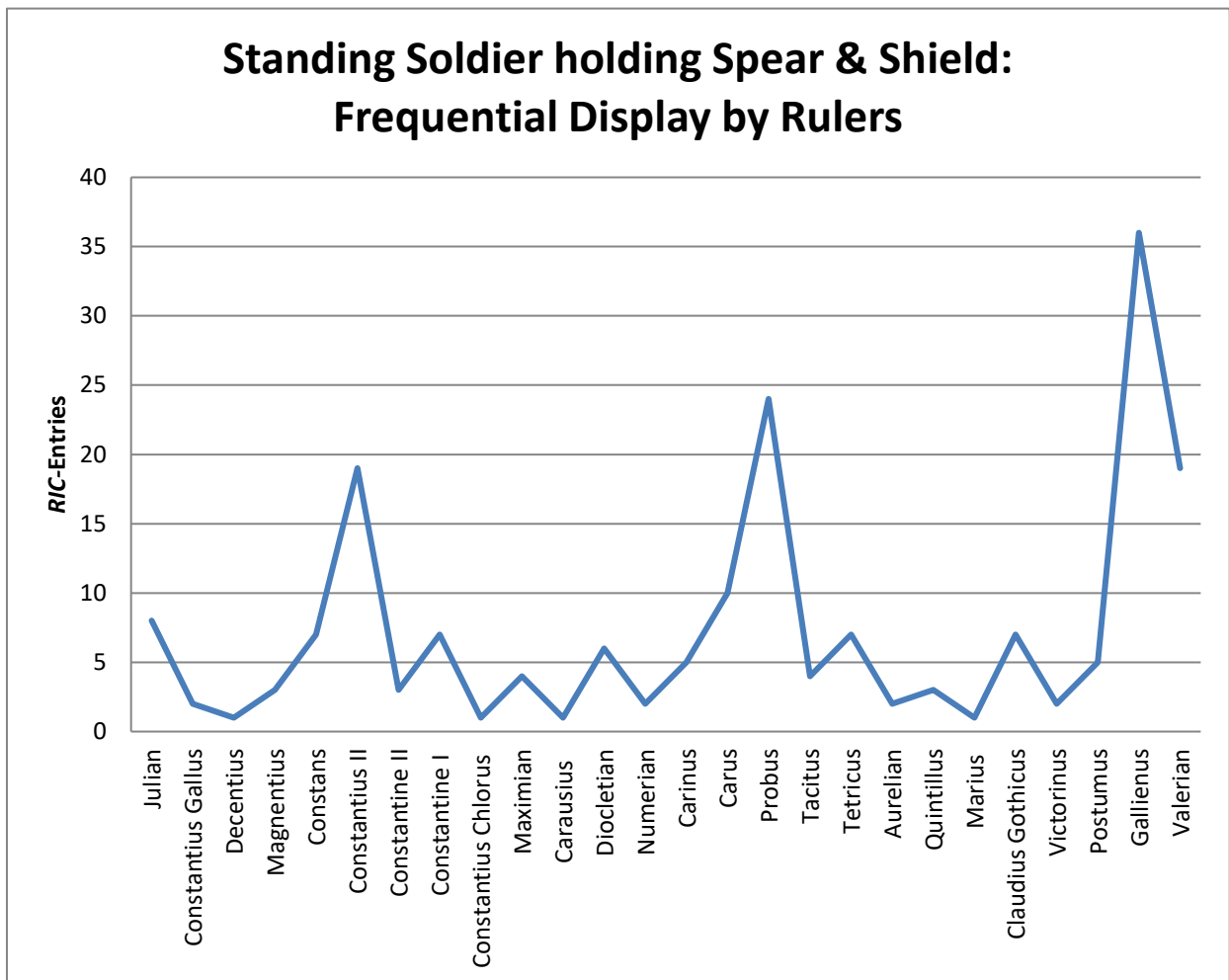


Figure 18: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Standing soldier.

somewhat confirmed by the fact that this symbol disappears during the time between Diocletian’s Tetrarchy and the time Constantine and Licinius stand as both masters of West and East respectively – a time of lesser external invasions (see Figure 19). But once again, Constantius appears to have a significant use of this symbol, being this time third in terms of entries. There appears thus to be a direct correlation between Julian and Constantius in politico-ideological symbols.

Standing Soldier, Holding Spear & Shield: Chronological Overview

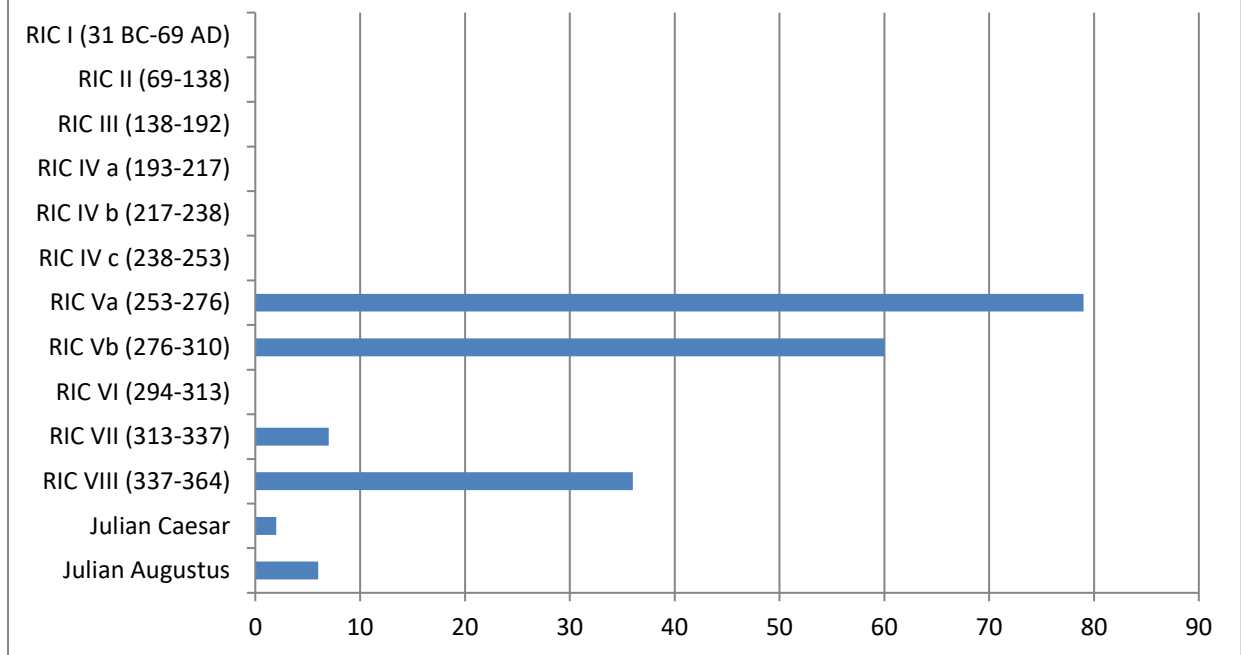


Figure 19: Chronological overview of the standing soldier.

The two other symbols that appear late on the records tend to follow the same pattern in terms of influences. The crowning of Victory, with a total of 49 entries throughout the volumes of the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, is briefly used during the Vespasian's rule, as seen on *Table 1*. It seems to disappear for almost 200 years, making its reappearance during the last decade of the Crisis of the 3rd century. The pattern is the same here as with the consular robe and the "vota": it increases as time passes, being more used by the important figures and reaches a peak during Julian's own period – with Constantius peaking again.

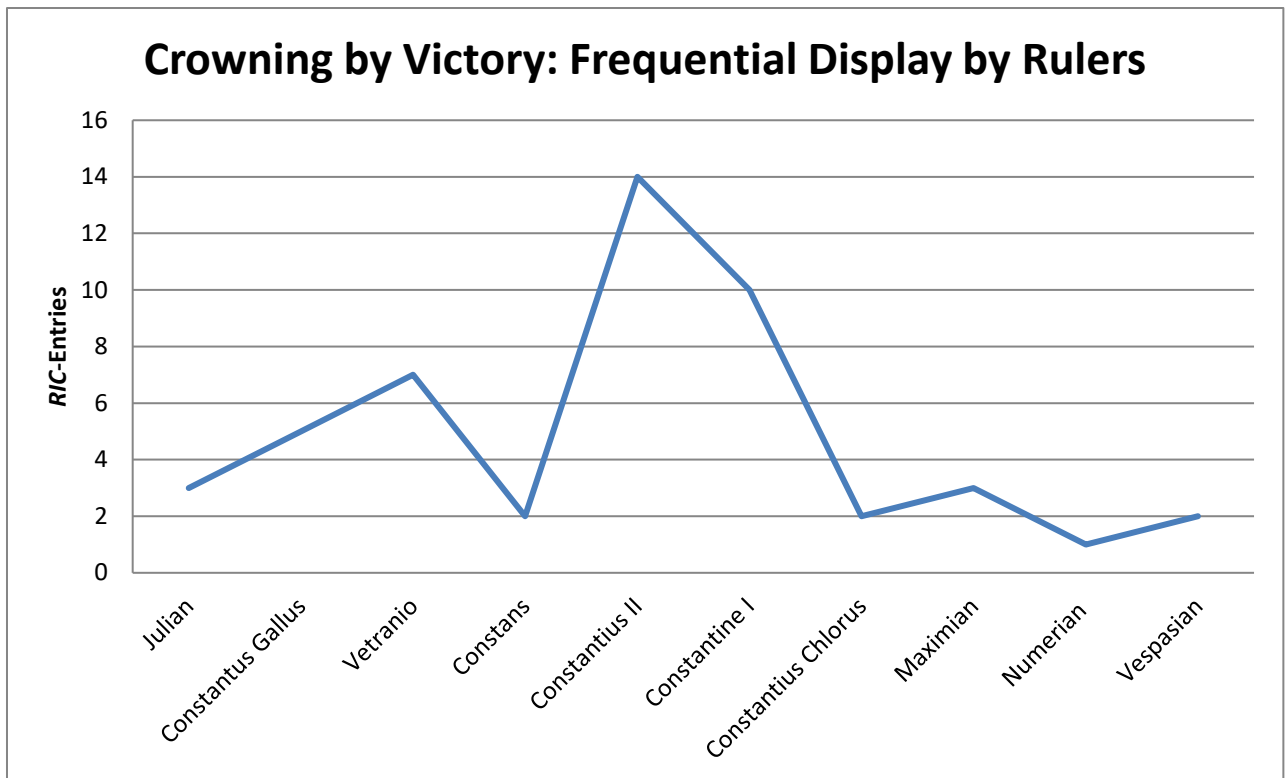


Figure 20: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Crowning by Victory.

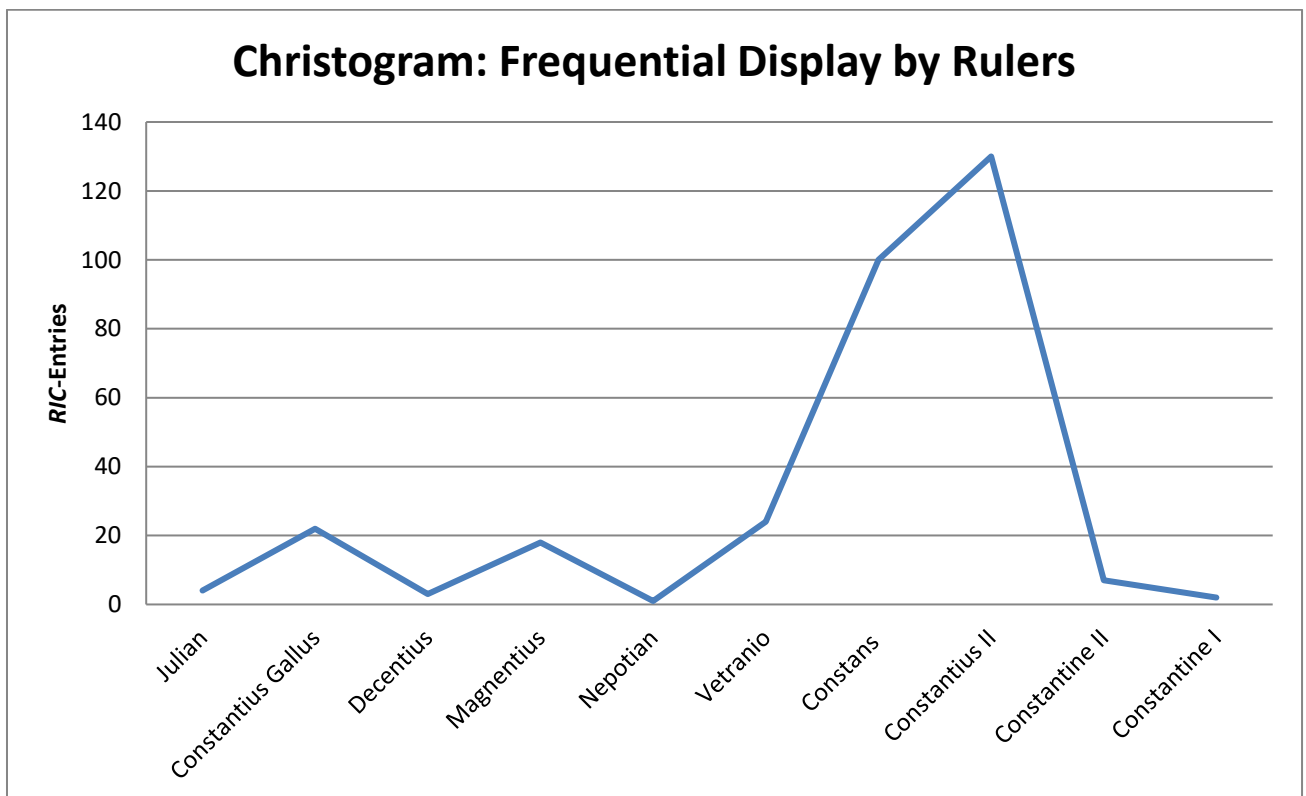


Figure 21: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Christogram.

The Christogram, reaching a total of 311 entries on the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, and which use has obviously been legitimized within the Roman state by Constantine I, does not appear on the records prior to RIC VII (313-337). Even here the pattern is the same: it peaks during RIC VIII, under Constantius. Julian can thus be said to have heavily been influenced by his cousin Constantius when looking at his contemporaneous/modern coinage iconography.

Let’s now turn our attention to the five older/anachronistic symbols. The first step will be to analyse the two symbols labelled as pagan: the bull and the Hercules club. These two symbols’ pagan character can further be strengthened while acknowledging the fact that Julian chose to put them on his coinage only after being acclaimed as Augustus. Another indication for these two symbols’ pagan exclusivity, which can be seen on both *Figures 22 & 23*, is the striking lack of records during the exact same periods of RIC VII (313-337) and RIC VIII (337-364), dominated by Christian rulers.

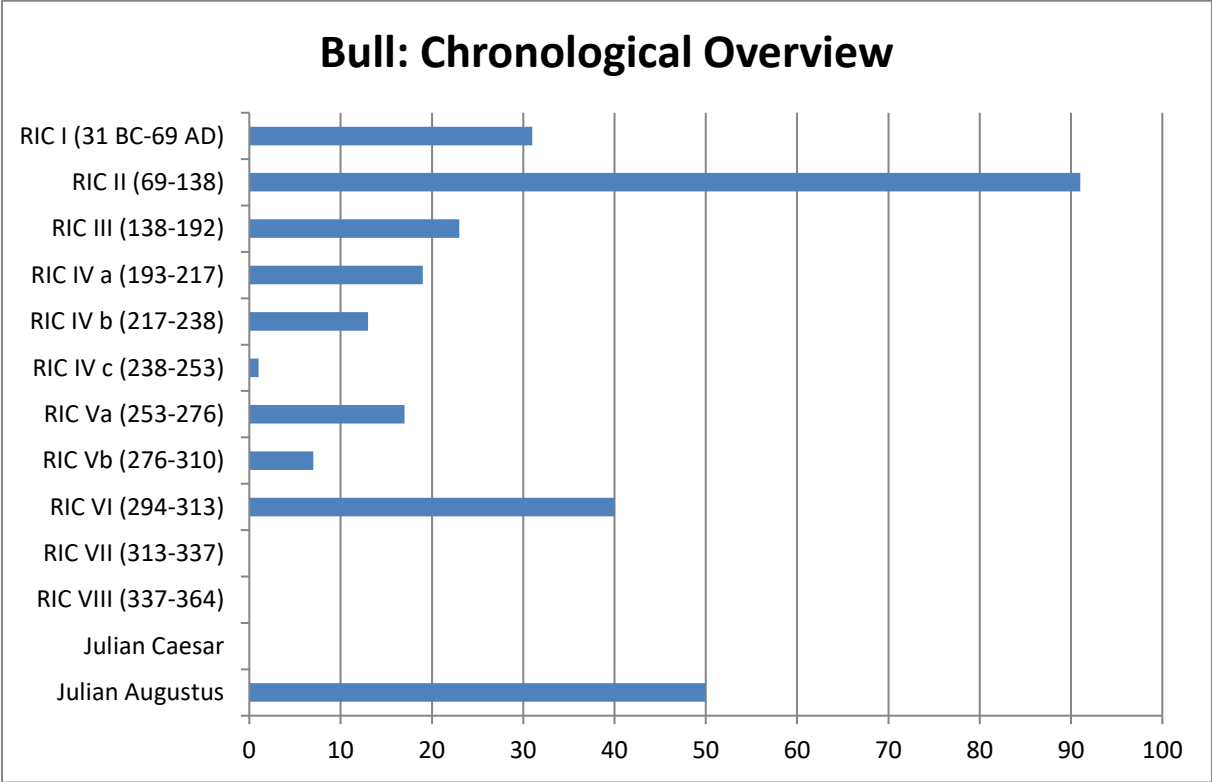


Figure 22: Chronological overview of the bull.

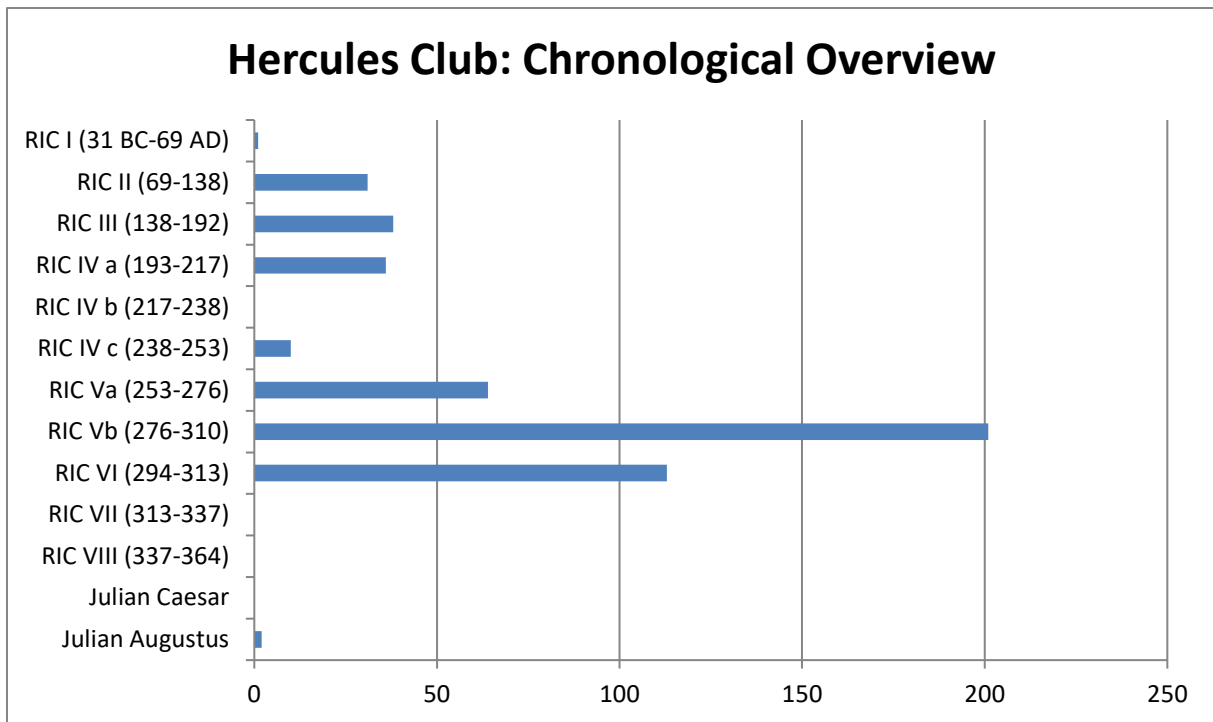


Figure 23: Chronological overview of the Hercules club.

The bull, as could be seen on *Figure 22*, appears to peak during *RIC II (69-138)*, which covers the reigns of Vespasian to Hadrian. With a total of 291 entries on the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, the bull peaks during Hadrian’s time in power, having 75 entries. Julian, being the all-time second figure behind Hadrian reaches 50 entries. It is interesting to note that these two rulers together combine to more than half of the grand total of entries on the *Roman Imperial Coinage*. Why the bull peaks both on Julian and Hadrian – as *Figure 24* shows – is unclear. But some possible explanation might lay in the common passion for everything Greek these two rulers are known to have had. Both emperors’ philhellenism was characterised by their love of philosophy and devotion to the gods. That philhellenism made them trend-breakers regarding their beards, both breaking traditions of clean-shaven emperors. What the bull actually means is still a debated subject, but it being involved with these two emperors’ philhellenic character seems to bear some potential.

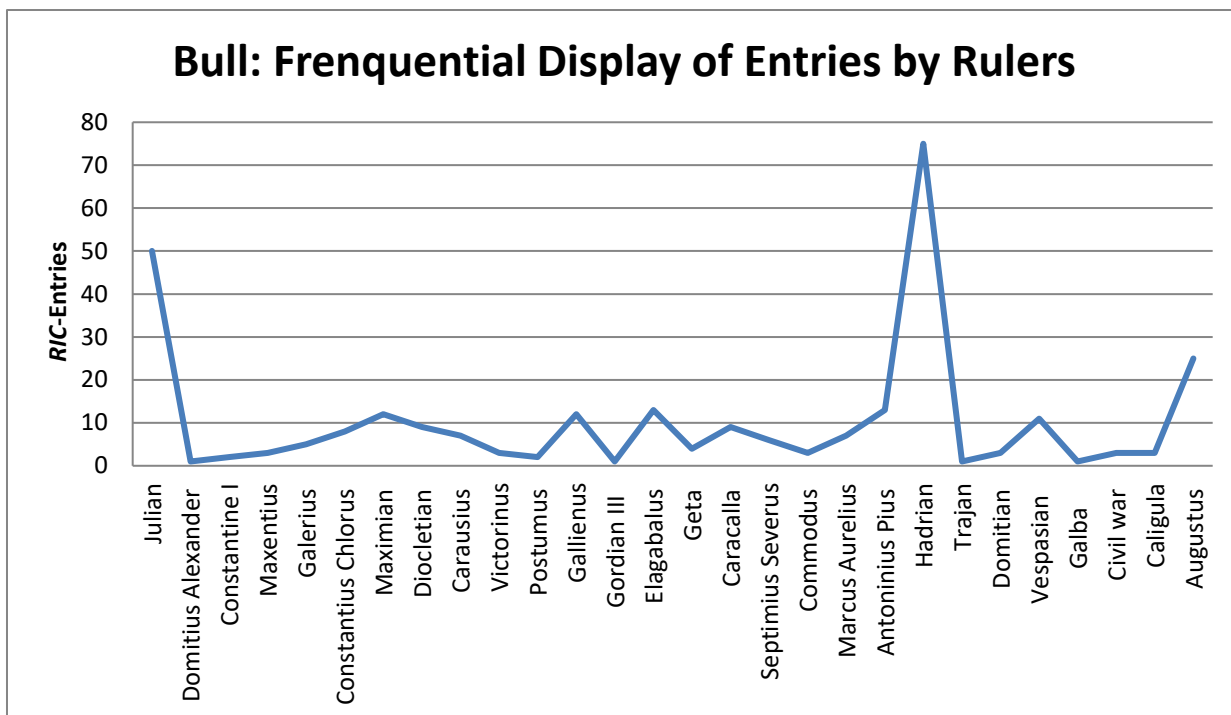


Figure 24: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Bull. See appendix 24.1. for more detailed list of rulers.

The Hercules club appears on the records of the *Roman Imperial Coinage* 493 times, peaking during the Tetrarchy and Maximian’s ‘adoption’ of Hercules as his patron-deity. It is therefore not surprisingly that the club peaks on Maximian’s coinage (see Figure 25).

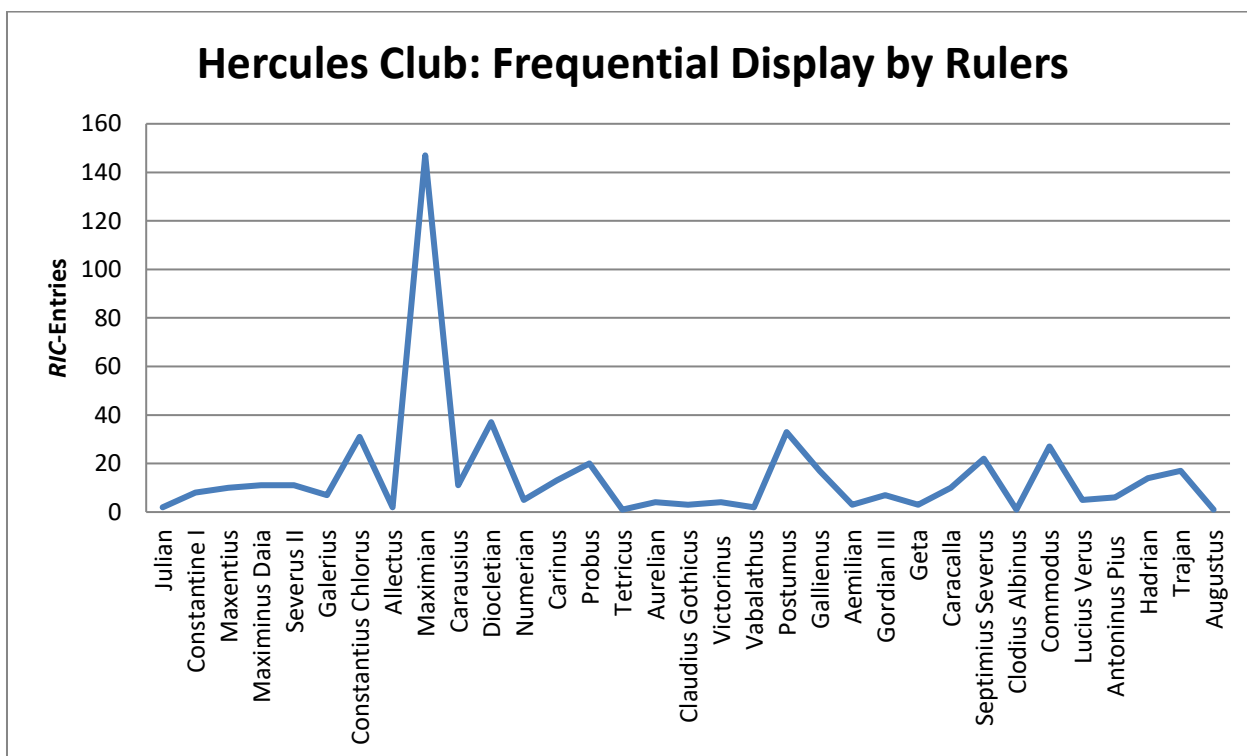


Figure 25: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Hercules club.

The eagle is thought to be Jupiter’s representation in the act of power-lending to the emperor. But the eagle is more than just a pagan symbol, since it also stands for the symbol of the Roman legions.¹⁰⁹ It is one of the symbols that have by the time of the 4th century been absorbed into the Christian new-born repertoire of symbols, which is important to bear in mind in our analysis. Not surprisingly, the eagle has yielded a great amount of material for all periods, reaching a total of 1693 entries on the *Roman Imperial Coinage* (see Figure 26). It peaks during the reign of Probus, by the last decade of the Crisis of the 3rd century.

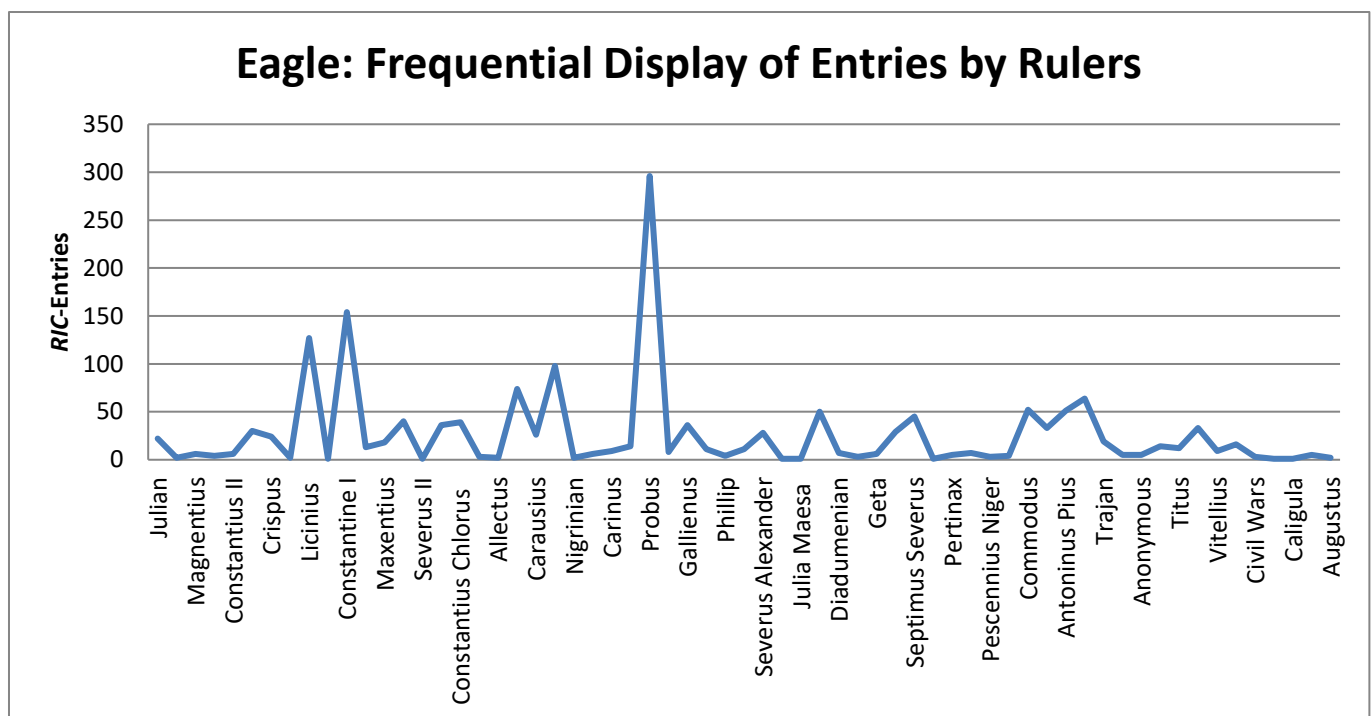


Figure 26: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Eagle. See appendix 26.1. for more detailed list of rulers.

The last two symbols, with a somehow more obscure meaning, are the star and the three standards. Both symbols appear early on the records, as early as *RIC I* (31 BC–69 AD). The star, with a total of 714 entries on the *Roman Imperial Coinage*, peaks during *RIC VII* (313–337, see Figure 27). As single ruler, it is Elagabalus who peaks the records, which is known to posterity as being a ruler devoted to esoteric, mystic endeavours to the cult of Helios/Sol. Constantius II is not too far behind in terms of entries.

¹⁰⁹ Ancient History Encyclopedia, “Roman Standard”: https://www.ancient.eu/Roman_Standard/.

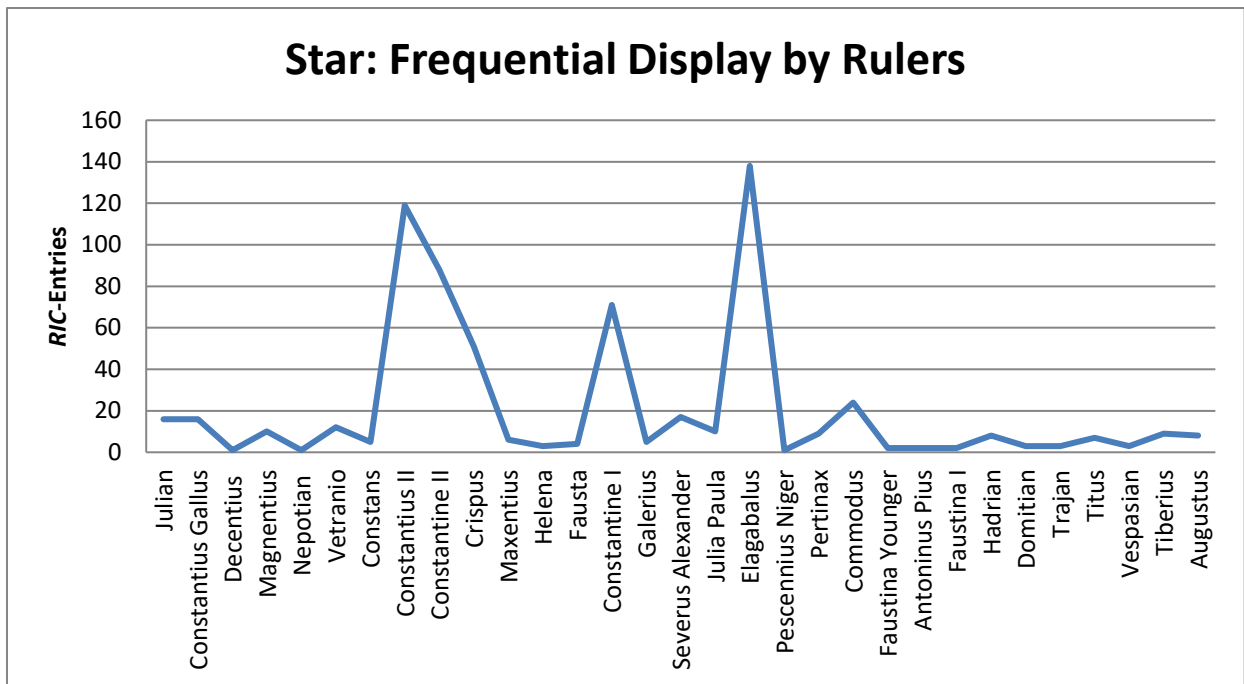


Figure 27: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Star.

The three standards have not left a presence on the records as big as the star, reaching only 43 entries on the records. It peaks as a symbol during roughly the first half of the Severan dynasty (RIC IV a, 193-217), regaining significance during the post-crisis entries of RIC VI, VII and VIII. An interesting feature is that this symbol seems to completely fall in disuse during the Crisis of the 3rd century. These two symbols will be discussed in more detail further on.

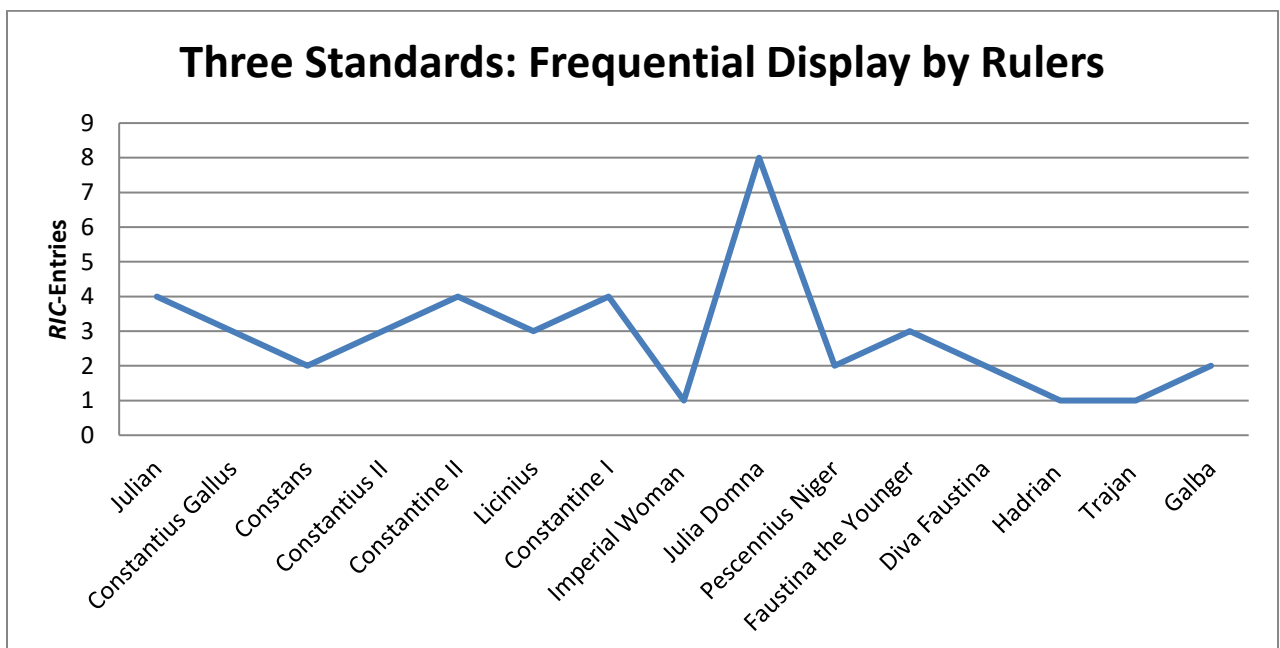


Figure 28: frequential display of RIC-entries by rulers. Three standards.

Some interesting trends appear while having a general look at the results. The first trend is that according to the symbols that start their appearance later (*Table 1*), Julian is clearly anchored in his own time. He communicates seriousness in his role as Roman emperor, choosing political as well as mixed esoteric symbols, acceptable to both pagans and Christians. Julian uses the crowning by Victory as politico-esoteric symbol, signalling to the Romans that the political role he's taking with great seriousness is even blessed by the gods (for the pagans) and by God (for the Christians). He even uses a much more straightforward Christian symbol of later character, the Christogram.

The second trend, while looking at the symbols used by Julian that appears earlier on the records (*Table 2*), is that besides the two clearly pagan symbols, the other three symbols are much less religiously cleaving. The eagle, the star and the three standards have by the time of Julian all been used by rulers of most of the previous dynasties, which makes them quite neutral in such a dichotomy. There is only cleavage in one clear case – the bull – which also was used by a previous philhellene (Hadrian) some 200 years earlier. The Hercules club, regardless of its clear pagan connotation, appears only as a secondary figure – not making a strong presence on the general scenery. Julian's supposed intolerance towards Christianity, probably heavily influenced by contemporary sources, does not seem to make a great impression on his coinage iconography. Religion, being the subject where Julian has been the most portrayed as a 'monster', shows itself on his coins in both pagan, Christian and mixed symbols. What's more, while the completely pagan symbols appear only during Julian's sole emperorship, it is the Christogram which is the greatest surprise here, since Julian has the Chi-Rho on his coins during both his periods of Caesar and Augustus. One would certainly expect either an ideological stance here – that is, only Christian symbols during his Caesarship and pagan symbols during emperorship – or a major pagan material during his both periods. But it is in fact the Christogram that is present in Julian's both periods, nuancing the Apostate's supposed religious divisiveness.

Regarding Julian's imagery as compared with the totality of his predecessors, Julian seems to be quite a banal ruler in terms of coinage iconography. His supposed anachronistic character and religious fanaticism and intolerance seem to make no great appearance on the records.

Analysis 2: Julian's iconography in comparison to the second Flavian dynasty

Comparing the material evidence from Julian with his own dynasty seems to yield some potential. Julian has been described as a rebel to his own time; he supposedly was politically anachronistic and religiously intolerant towards Christianity. During that period, in political terms, the emperor's persona had moved from the *princeps*-like model of earlier times to a more distant figure, the *dominate*. In religious terms, Christianity had benefited from Julian's predecessors within his own dynasty, boosting its stance from being a religion on the fringes of society (with a significant minority) to become the favoured religion of the state. Within this context, it is interesting to test Julian's coinage iconography against his own family, which largely implemented these shifts of Roman political and religious life.

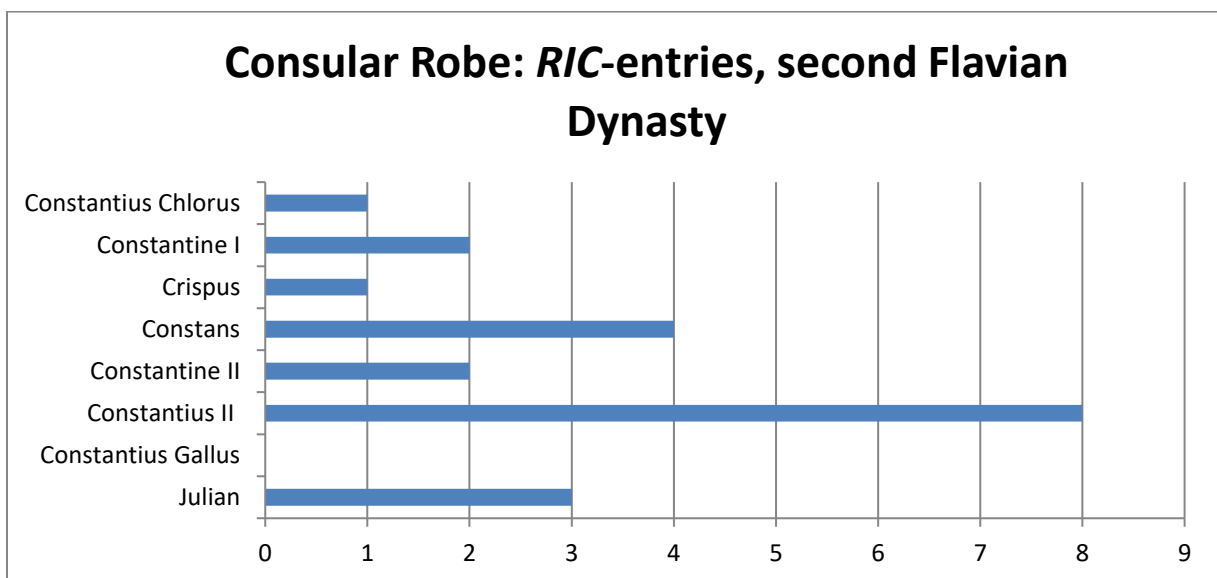


Figure 29: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Consular robe.

The first observation while looking at the three non-esoteric symbols (Figures 29, 30 & 31) is that the three main dominating figures of the dynasty (Constantius Chlorus, Constantine I and Constantius II) are present indeed present in the records. Both the consular robe and the standing soldier peak during Constantius II's reign, while the "vota" peaks with Constantine I. It appears that in political matters, Julian's coinage iconography is a product of its own time. Associating himself with the symbols used by his predecessors – especially while having the sole power as Augustus – does not point to a will to depart from their way

of communication as to politico-ideological matters.

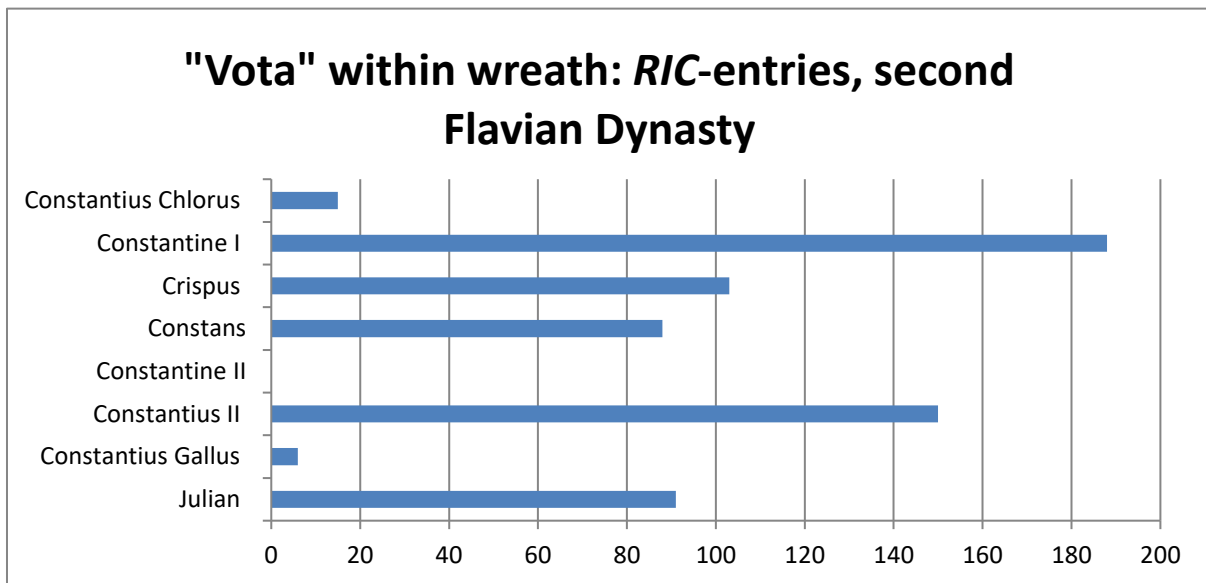


Figure 30: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. "Vota" within wreath.

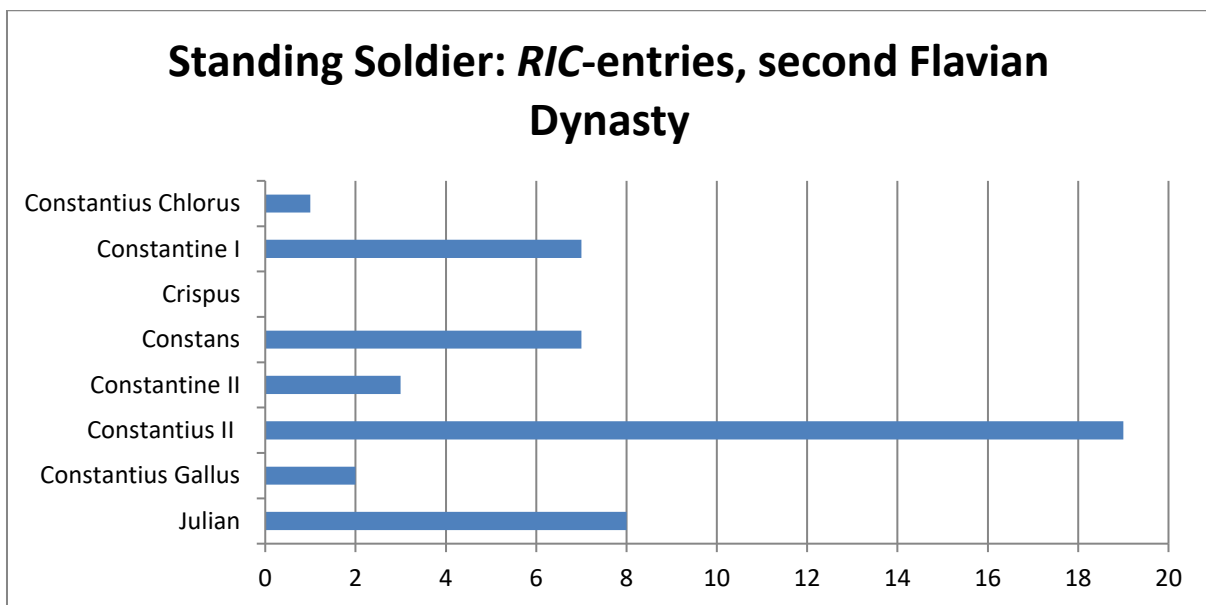


Figure 31: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Standing soldier.

Next: the esoterically-speaking more neutral symbols. The crowning by Victory, as seen on *Figure 32*, once again shows a peak with Constantius II, Constantine I being not too far behind. As mentioned before, such a symbol was acceptable to both pagans and Christians.

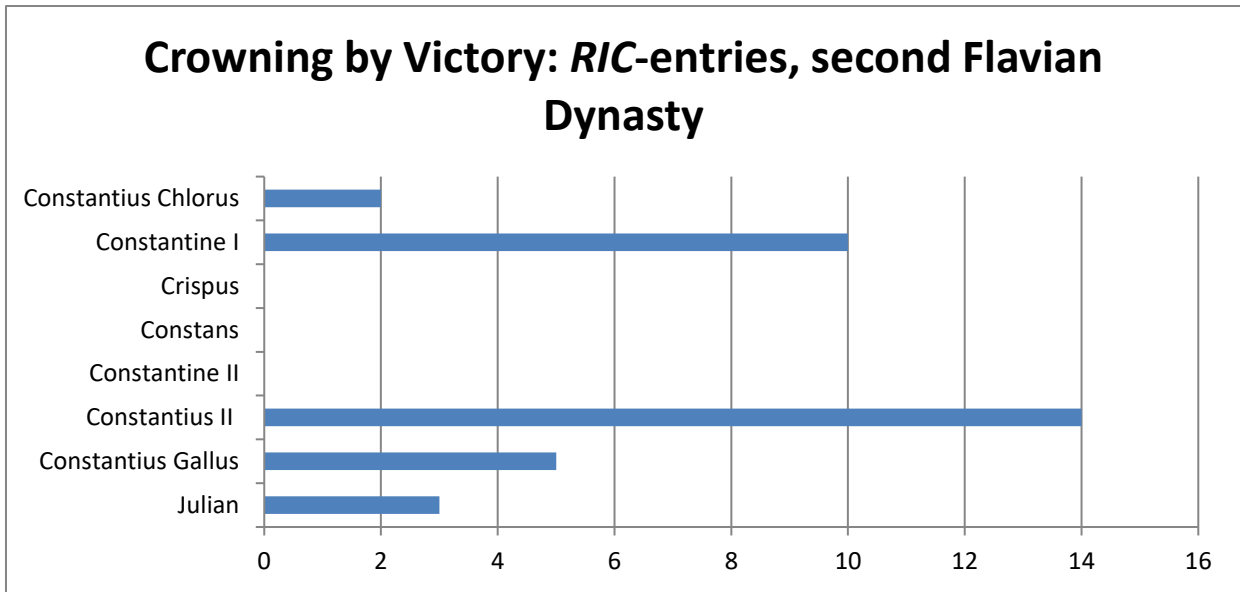


Figure 32: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Crowning by Victory.

The other more neutral symbols consist of the star, the three standards and the eagle. The two first, having apparently some kind of esoteric meaning that is harder with our modern eyes to understand than for people in antiquity, are once again peaking during Julian's two predecessors. The star especially, having a much larger material, shows that this symbol was heavily used by the central figures and Constantine II (see Figure 33). An interesting feature is that Constantius Chlorus features the star extremely meagrely (only three dies), and then also only as Caesar. The other interesting feature is that the founder of the dynasty does not use the three standards at all. These two symbols will be later on discussed in more details.

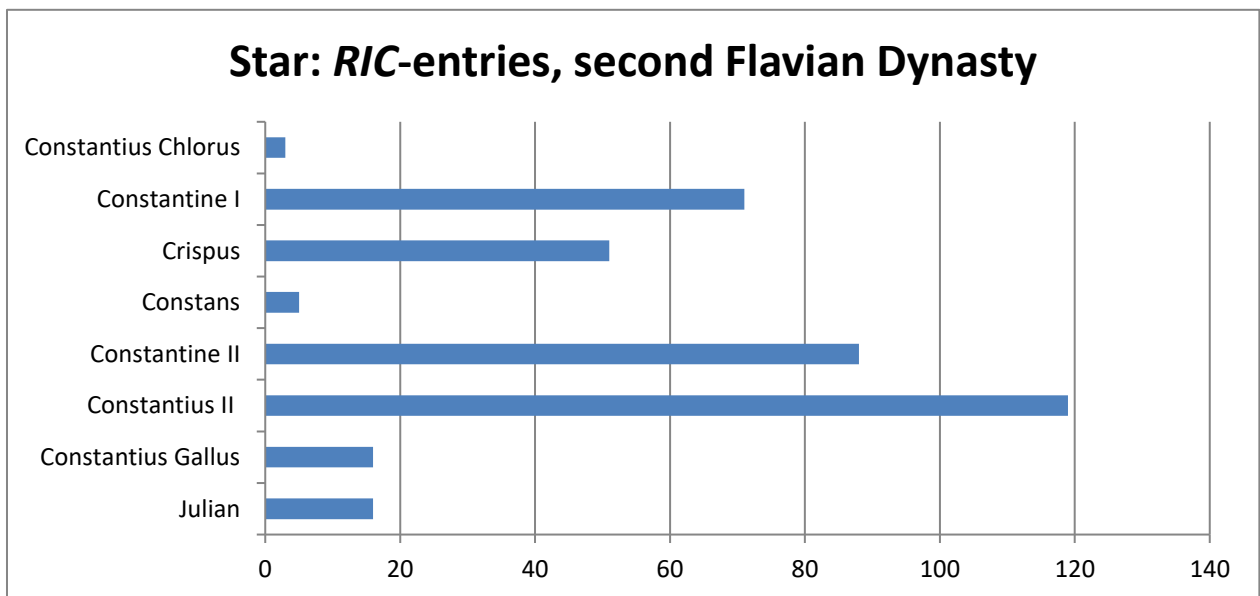


Figure 33: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Star.

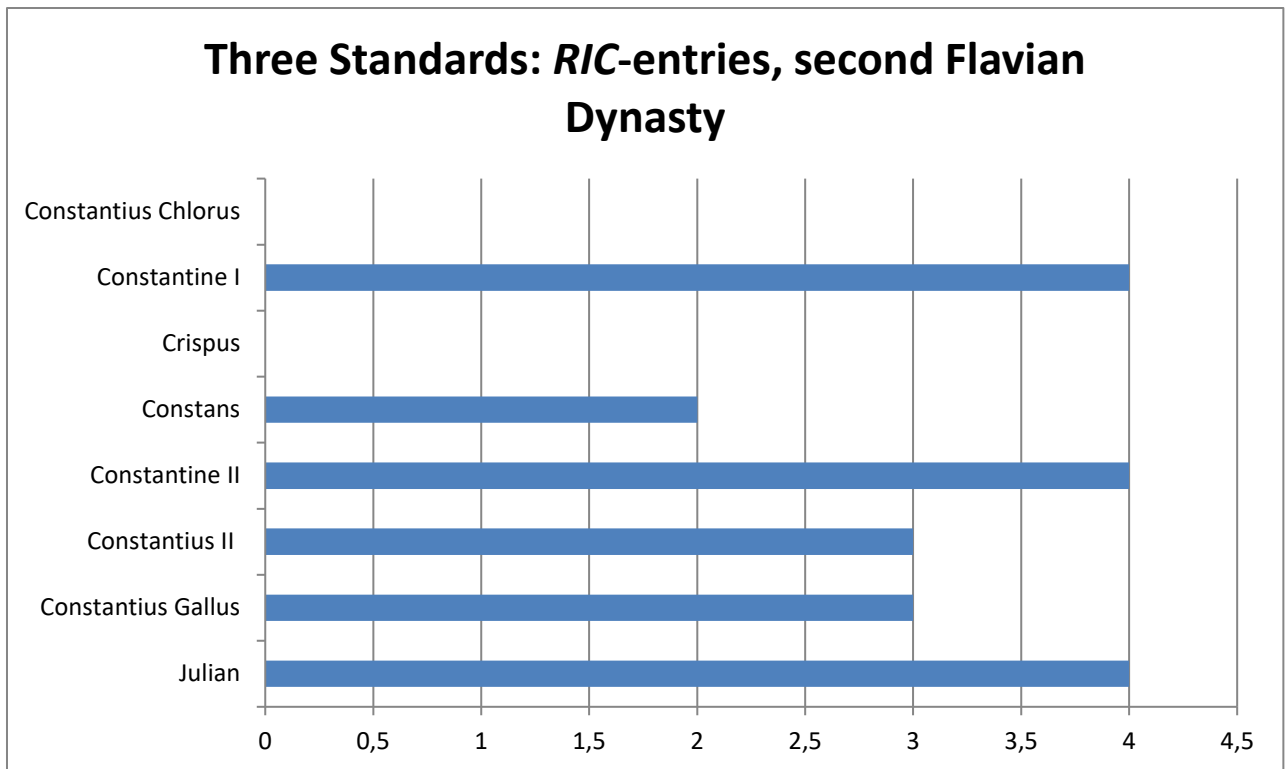


Figure 34: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Three standards.

The eagle, as discussed earlier, is somehow less neutral in religious terms. The record shows a larger peak during both Constantius Chlorus and Constantine I. The fact that Christian symbolism starts to appear only later in Constantine's reign tends to corroborate the hypothesis that the eagle still had strong pagan connotations by Julian's time.

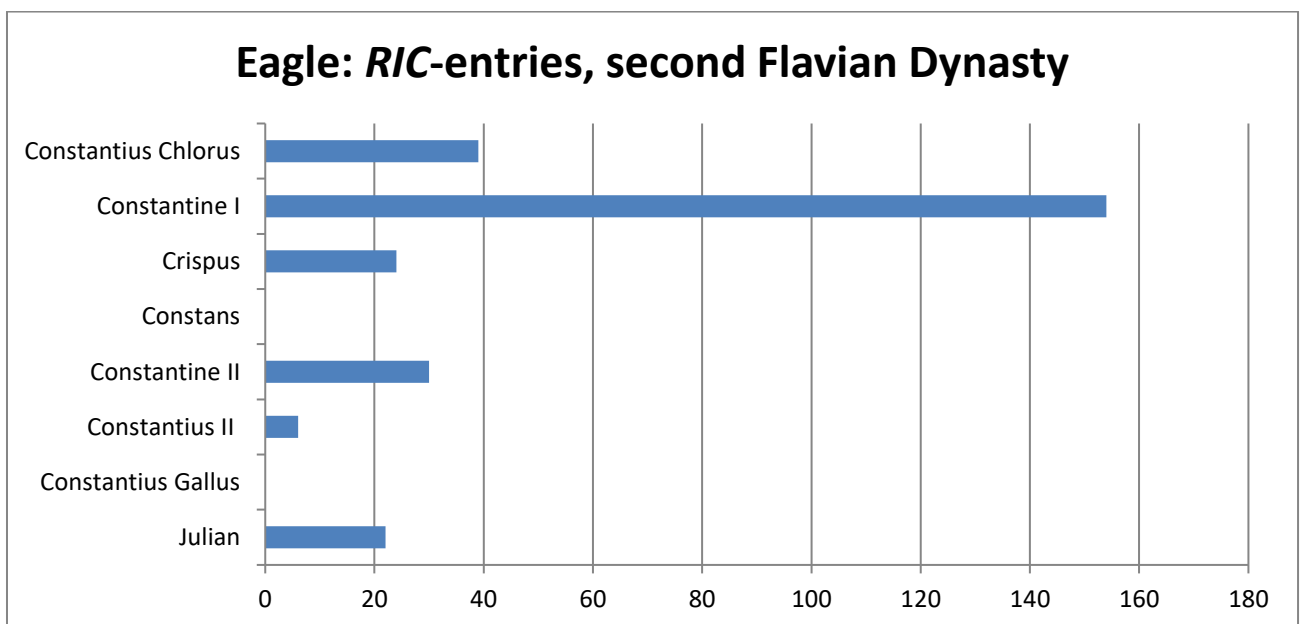


Figure 35: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Eagle.

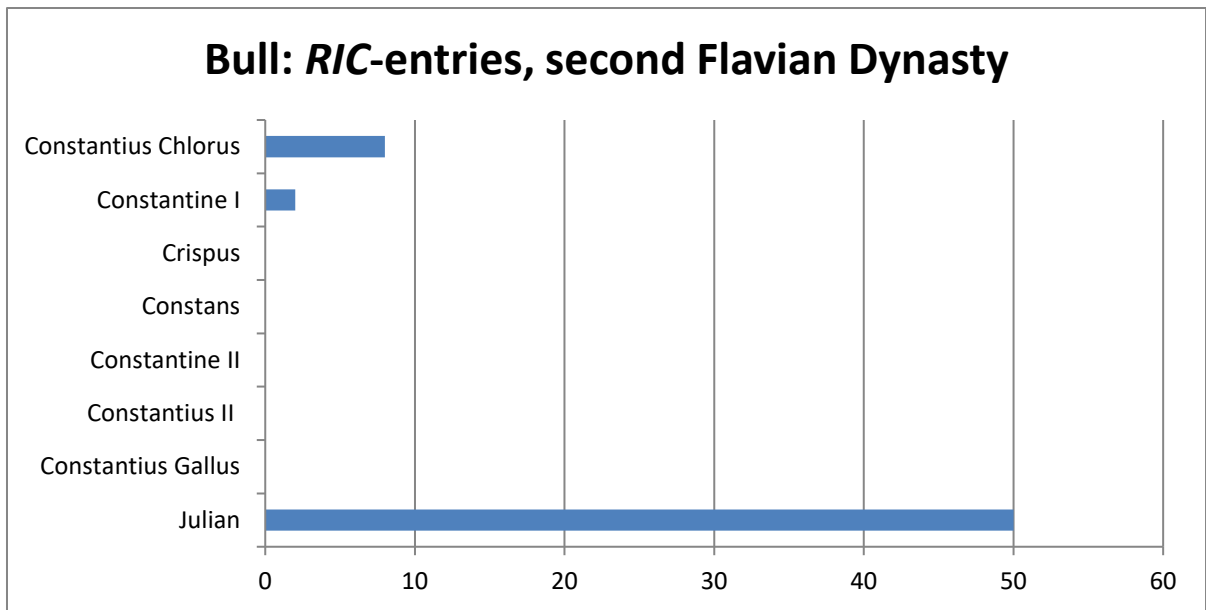


Figure 36: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Bull.

Finally, the more polarising symbols: the bull, the Hercules club and the Christogram. The results tend to once again corroborate the previous discussion. The clearly pagan symbols are, as can be seen in *Figures 36 & 37*, completely absent from both Constantius II's records. Constantine does appear on the record for the Hercules club, although very meagrely and only during *RIC* VI (294-313) – that is before his public use of Christian symbols. Constantius Chlorus peaks the record for the Hercules club and is second – behind Julian – in terms of entries for the bull.

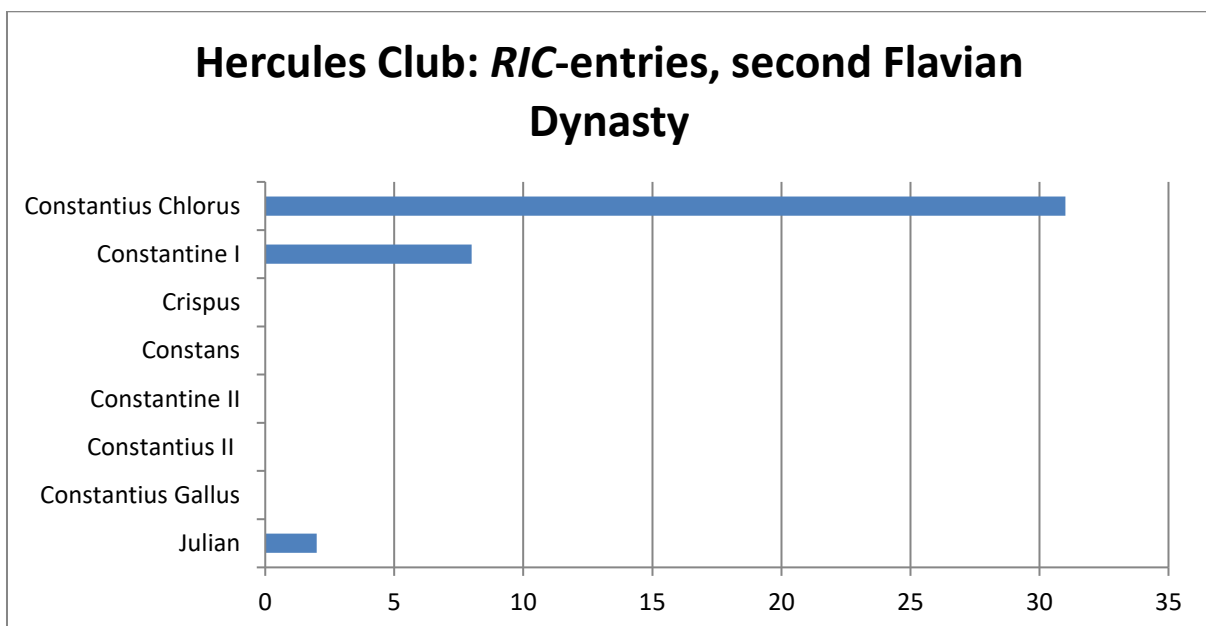


Figure 37: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Hercules club.

The last symbol, the Christogram, is first used minimally by Constantine, to later be immensely popular during the time of Constantius II. As discussed earlier, the fact that Julian if not actively, but at least passively, agrees to use the symbol even as Augustus tends to show a rather tolerant emperor, not a fanatic sectarian.

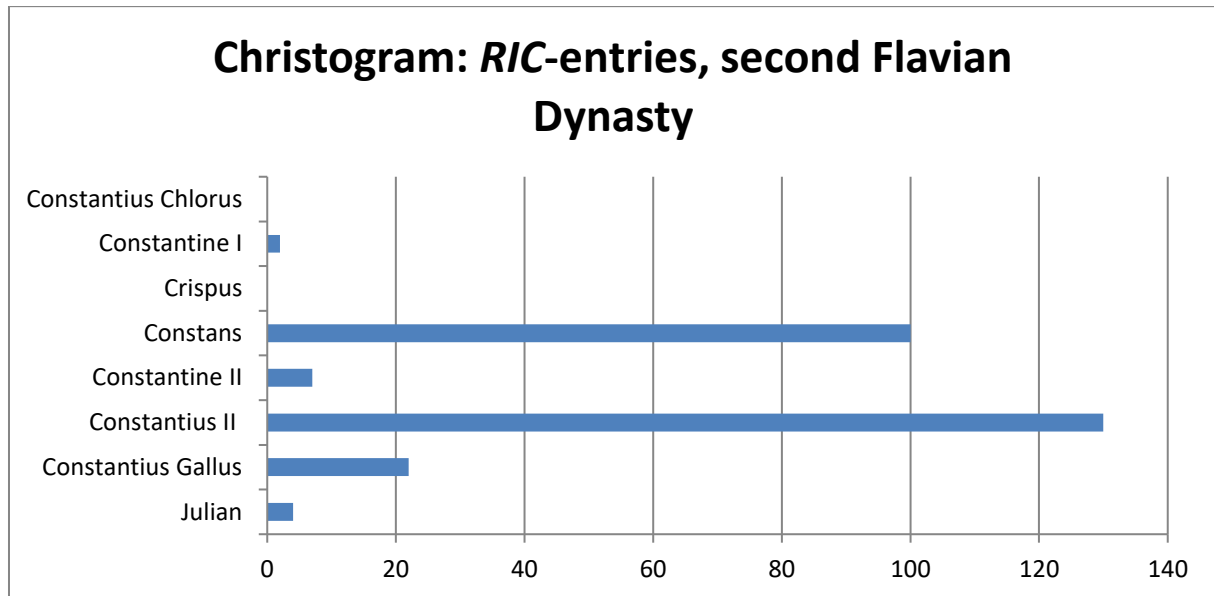


Figure 38: Entries by ruler, second Flavian dynasty. Christogram.

The results of this second analysis – having Julian compared to his Flavian predecessors – are for the most part once again quite banal for the Apostate. Politically he’s a man of his time, firmly anchored within his dynasty, from which he tends to seek his legitimacy by associating himself with their politico-military repertoire. Esoterically speaking, Julian is only departing from his Christian predecessor Constantius II by choosing the pagan symbols of the bull and the Hercules club, which are the only clear-cut changes in the dichotomy of pagan/Christian symbols. But by also choosing mixed esoteric symbols used by his predecessors does not portray Julian as sharply departing from their legacy either, leaving us with a somewhat more complex picture of the Apostate. One surprising fact in this analysis is that even though Constantius Chlorus – Julian’s sole pagan ancestor, the only ruler he really appreciated in his family – didn’t reign more than few years, one might expect Julian to have use his coinage iconography more heavily rather than those used by Constantine (a ‘revolutionary’) and Constantius II (murderer of his father and older brothers).

Analysis 3: Julian's own time in power/comparison with Constantius II

The last phase consists of trying and approach Julian as an individual. The meaning here is to look at the changes that occurred during Julian's own time in power, from being a subordinate ruler (Caesar) to becoming sole ruler (Augustus). That approach yields some potential in finding some traits of character for the last ruler of the second Flavian dynasty. Having restrained powers as a subordinate Caesar probably includes some kind of protocol as to one's freedom of expression in iconographical terms. It was not uncommon that previous Caesars had had their own symbols on coins, wishing to be associated with other ideals than their superior's.¹¹⁰ The difference in Julian's case is that we have different written sources – the Apostate's not least – which maybe affect our pre-conception of Julian's time as Caesar. We tend to think of this period as being one in which the young Caesar constantly was showing tokens of good will to Constantius, doing his best to avoid his cousin's wrath and keeping his religious beliefs to a limited circle of friends. But it is also important to not depart from the fact that Julian, as Roman Emperor, is a political 'creation' of his cousin Constantius. As such, and especially since Julian's first five years as a Caesar is under direct subordination to Constantius, he could not have been completely passive to his cousin's orders, wishes, and influence. Therefore, in this last phase, Julian's coinage iconography will be analysed regarding both of his periods of rule, with a perspective towards his relation to his cousin Constantius. In order to do that, the symbols are recorded in four different periods in following *Table 3*: Julian's sole rule ("Augustus"), Julian's Caesar-iconography, Constantius' time as Augustus during which Julian is his Caesar ("Constantius>Julian") and finally those used by Constantius prior to Julian's Caesarship.

As *Table 3* shows, the middle block of symbols, marked with grey, shows some kind of continuation. That block consists of two clear political symbols, one politico-religious symbol and one cleaving symbol. The "vota", the standing soldier and Christogram all have a smooth transition between the four periods. The crowning by Victory isn't used on Constantius' coins during the time Julian is his subordinate (although he uses that symbol on medallions). The only real surprise here is once again the Christogram, which, as has been discussed

¹¹⁰ See for example relevant Caesars in Abdy 2012.

before tends to nuance the picture of a fanatical sectarian who tried to eradicate Christianity.

| | Consular Robe | Bull | Eagle | Hercules club | Standing Soldier | "Vota"/ Wreath | Christogram | Crowning by Victory | 3 standards | Star |
|--------------------|---------------|------|-------|---------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|------|
| Julian Augustus | 3 | 50 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 78 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Julian Caesar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 16 |
| Constantius>Julian | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Constantius | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 14 | 125 | 129 | 14 | 2 | 113 |

Table 3: chronological progress of the ten symbols during four chronological phases.

The interesting parts happen on the corners of *Table 3*. The green part on the left consists of symbols that Julian innovated by his time of sole rule as Augustus. Not surprising, the clearly pagan symbols of the bull and the Hercules club figure there, having never been used by Constantius before. The consular robe does not seem to have been used by Julian as Caesar but was used by Constantius while Julian was Caesar, a fact which probably influenced Julian's later choice. Consular robes have previously been used by different Caesars under the Tetrarchy, for example Constantius Chlorus. Later on, Crispus and Constantius II also used this symbol while being Caesars. The eagle, being a somewhat more mixed symbol with pagan connotations, has indeed been used by Constantius, although before Julian's time as Caesar. It is tempting to think of Constantius knowing all about Julian's pagan sympathies and thus excluding this symbol during his time as Julian's superior on both his own coinage as well as his subordinate's.

The two symbols on the right – marked with red – were discarded by Julian when obtaining the sole rule of the Empire. These two symbols are the star and the three standards. It is interesting to see that both these symbols had a clear continuation in the first three chronological periods: they've all been first solely used by Constantius, later on by Constantius while having Julian as Caesar and finally by Julian himself while being subordinate to Constantius. For reasons unknown, Julian decided that these symbols needed to be discarded. The question of why is interesting, especially when analysing the results of these two symbols in a longer perspective.

| Ruler/At tribute | Consul ar Robe | B ul I | Eagle | Hercul es club | Standin g Soldier | "Vota" /Wreat h | Christ ogram | Crowning by Victory | 3 standards | Star |
|--------------------|----------------|--------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Julian Augustus | 3 | 50 | 22 | 2 | 6 | 78 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Julian Caesar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 16 |
| Constantius>Julian | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 25 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Constantius | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 14 | 125 | 129 | 14 | 2 | 113 |
| | | | Saloni na | | | | | | Imperial Woman | Fausta |
| | | | Julia Mamaea | | | | | | Julia Domna | Helena |
| | | | Julia Maesa | | | | | | Faustina the Younger | Julia Mamaea |
| | | | Julia Domna | | | | | | Diva Faustina | Julia Soaemias |
| | | | | | | | | | | Annia Faustina |
| | | | | | | | | | | Aquilia Severa |
| | | | | | | | | | | Julia Paula |
| | | | | | | | | | | Julia Maesa |
| | | | | | | | | | | Julia Domna |
| | | | | | | | | | | Faustina Younger |
| | | | | | | | | | | Faustina I |

Table 4: chronological progress of the ten symbols during four chronological phases, with addition of past female figures.

As Table 4 shows, the star and the three standards (alongside a minor use with the eagle) are the only investigated symbols in this thesis for which there is a heavy record of female members of imperial families in past times. There are eleven different imperial women for the star (49 out of 722 entries, ca 6%), but as individuals, these women represent ca 26% of the total amount of rulers (eleven different women out of a grand total of 41 rulers for the star, including males). There are also four imperial women for the three standards-symbol (14 out of 43 entries) reaching 32% of the grand total. Finally, there are only four imperial

women for the eagle (5 entries out of 1707, c 0.3%). That last, extremely minimalistic statistic must be acknowledged, but disqualifies the eagle to be taken into this discussion. The star is a symbol heavily used on Constantius' coinage during the pre-Julian period. During their shared period of use, it appears as if Julian uses this symbol more than Constantius. It is interesting to also note that it is indeed an imperial woman (Julia Domna) that peaks the symbol of the three standards (see *Figure 28*, above). That fact becomes even more interesting when noting that the emperor Elagabalus – a contemporary to Julia Domna – peaks the symbol of the star (see *Figure 27*, above). It gets even more interesting when taking into consideration that Elagabalus is said to have been controlled by Julia Domna's sister, Julia Maesa.¹¹¹

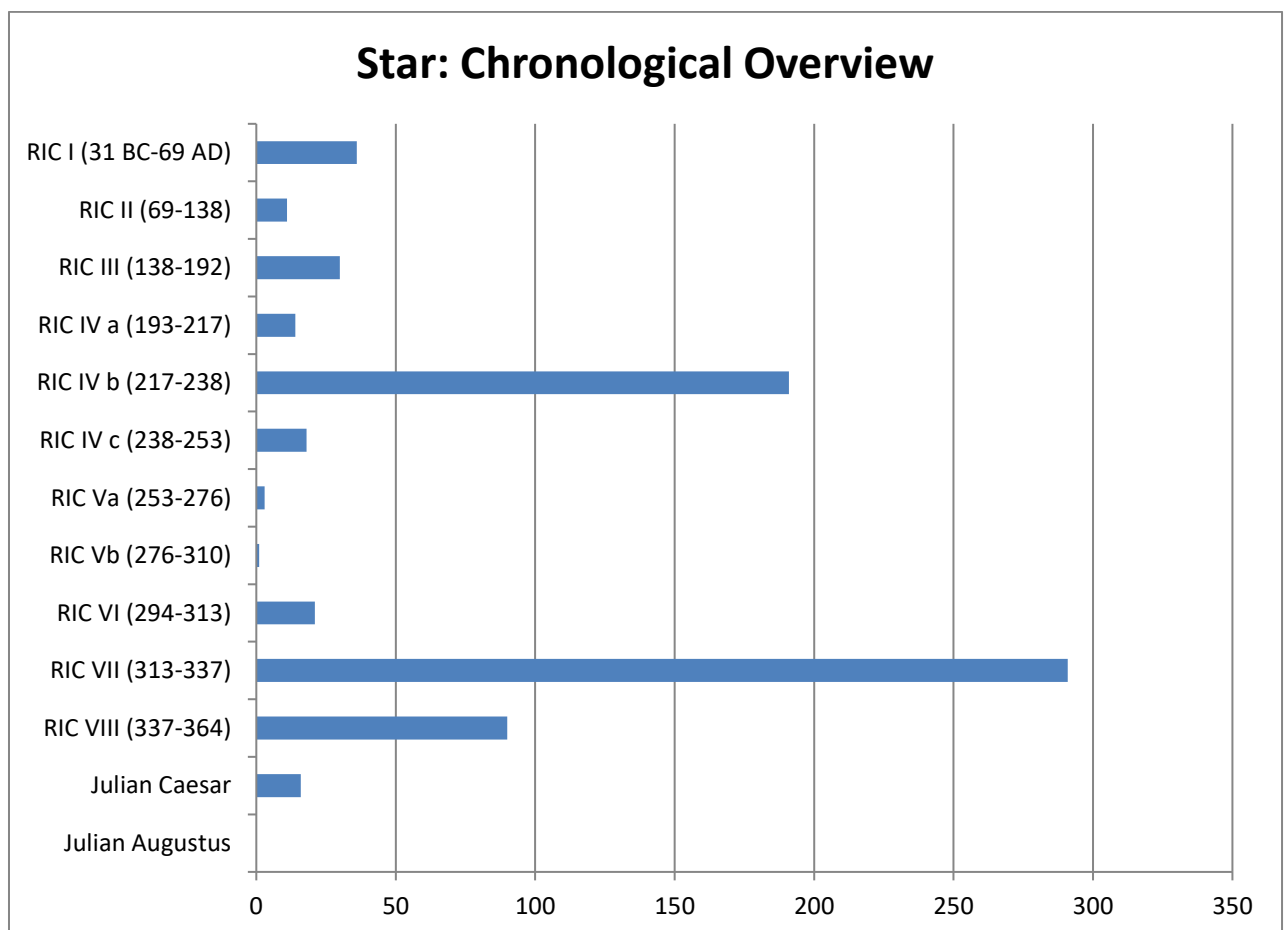


Figure 39: Chronological overview of the star.

¹¹¹ Campbell 2005, 20–27.

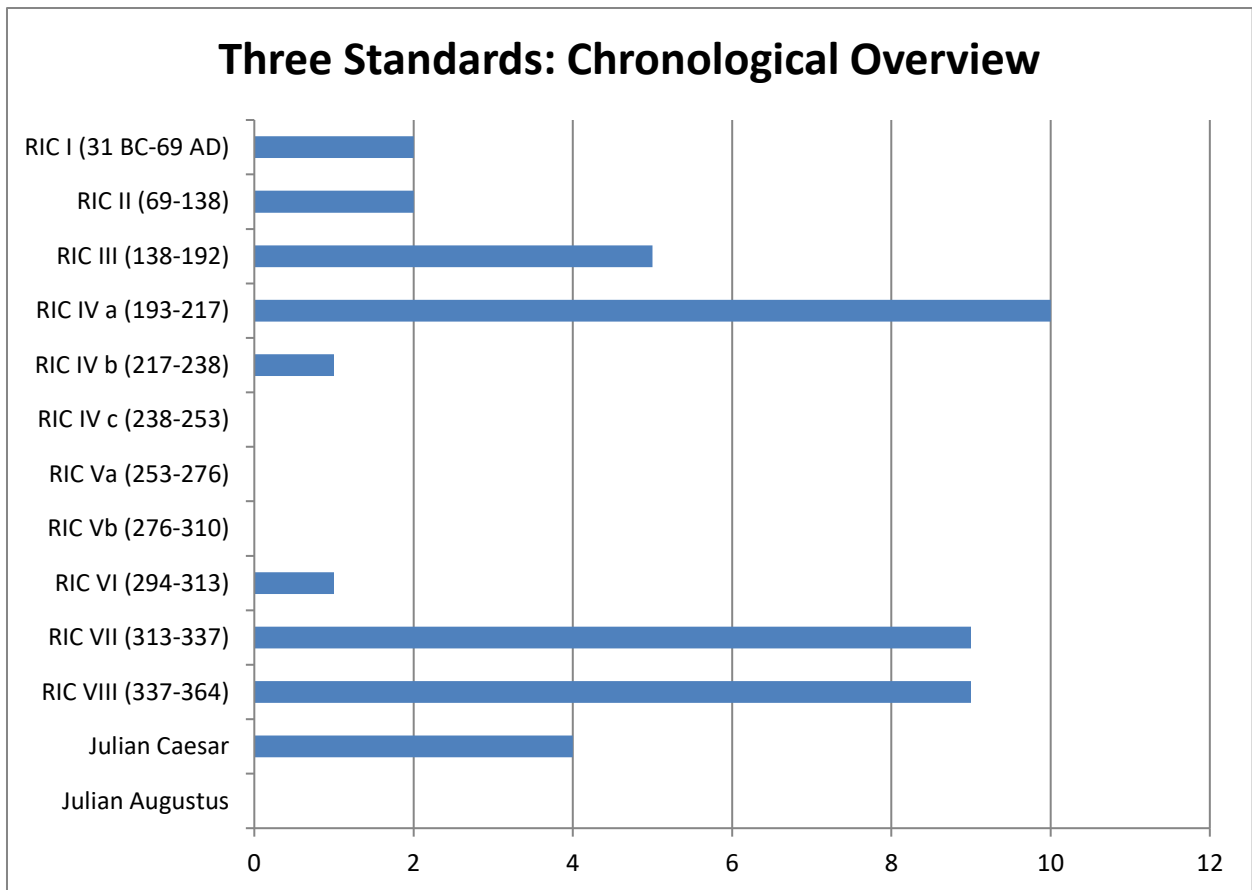


Figure 40: Chronological overview of the three standards.

These two symbols do share some general trend of use, as can be seen on *Figures 39 & 40*: they both peak during both the Severan and the second Flavian dynasties. The significant fall into disuse during the Crisis of the 3rd century and a minor reuse during the Tetrarchy is even shared by these two symbols. The star symbol appears on the coinage of eleven imperial women, the last of which are Helena and Fausta (of the second Flavian dynasty). One possible explanation, as discussed earlier, could lay in Julian’s increased militarism and re-virility of the Roman state during the last part of his short reign, finishing his life with the disastrous campaign against the Sassanids. Feminine connotations in such case might be seen as a negative thing.

Another possible explanation might lie in Julian’s own relationship with women. The first woman of his life – his mother Basilina – died a few months after Julian’s birth.¹¹² There doesn’t appear to be any kind of relationship with any other woman until Eusebia (Constantius’ wife) acted as his guardian angel during the year prior to his ascension to

¹¹² Baynes 1936, 63.

Caesarship. Julian's wife is named only a couple of times in Julian's own writings, having apparently never made such an impact on him. After her death, Julian became committed to chastity, as Ammianus Marcellinus notes, "...he was so conspicuous for inviolate chastity that after the loss of his wife it is well known that he never gave a thought to love..."¹¹³ The general picture of Julian's relationship with women appears to be more complicated than the average would suggest, neither seeking – like previous widowed emperors – a new consort for dynastical matters, nor engaging in sexual relationship of any kind. The author of these lines never sensed any kind of misogyny from the part of the Apostate, rather a more mystical approach to women, which could explain some of his choices. Julian's peculiar relationship to women could have – by the time he accessed the throne – affected him to distance himself from these two symbols with feminine connotations. The reader is here confronted with a clear case of 'what if', meaning that Julian – if the outcome of his aggression-war had been different – might have wanted to re-associate himself with these symbols, maybe in a dynastical perspective.

There could even lay something in the aforementioned facts that the two heavily-feminine symbols of the three standards and the star were either peaking with a woman (as with the three standards) or peaking with a man – Elagabalus – said to be under domination of another woman (the star). These two women, as named earlier, are sisters: Julia Domna and Julia Maesa, respectively.

Generally speaking, the relationship on the coinage of the Roman Empire between a female member of the imperial family and the emperor issuing it is to be understood twofold: either in a dynastical, biological way, or in an extensional way, where the emperor wishes to indirectly associate himself with the symbols/virtues found on the 'female' coin.¹¹⁴

Julian – insatiable reader – could have had some knowledge we lack about the strong women behind the throne of the Severan dynasty and the weak males sitting on that throne, which could have made him want to dissociate himself altogether with such symbols. Even the fact that his beloved ancestor Constantius Chlorus also either completely discarded or barely used these symbols (the three standards and the star, respectively) tend to

¹¹³ Amm. Marc. 25.4.2.

¹¹⁴ Yarrow 2012, 432–34.

strengthen the argument for these symbols having a special negative meaning to the Apostate. By discarding these symbols and choosing others, he might have wanted to be associated with the men peaking the other esoteric symbols.

On the other hand, the fact that Julian, by the time of his accession to the sole emperorship already had lost his wife and had decided to refrain from other women, the discard of these two symbols might want to signify an acknowledgement that he wouldn't have any further dynastical pretensions, nor any 'female' virtues to be indirectly associated with, as Yarrow (2012) explains the interrelationship between the 'female' and the male to be associated with.¹¹⁵ That discussion as a whole – how to interpret Julian's active choice regarding these two female-connotated symbols – might well become the sole topic of a further analysis.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Discussion

So how does one make sense of the results of this thesis? By using a three-phased analysis, this thesis has been able to analyse Julian's iconography on a set of ten symbols in different perspectives. Julian as emperor, compared to the totality of his predecessors, hasn't yielded a revolutionary iconography as one would have expected of such a polarizing figure. In fact, his coinage iconography is a mix of ancient and newer symbols, with a relatively surprising balance. 'A ruler firmly anchored within its own period of time' one could say, while looking at Julian's politico-military iconography. The same could be said to almost all of his esoteric symbols. His true departure from his age is really only with the bull, which as discussed earlier peaked with the two best known philhellene rulers of the Roman Empire.

Julian is a surprisingly balanced ruler in terms of iconography, and it would be interesting to further analyse the remaining symbols that this thesis hasn't touched upon. Compared to other rulers of past periods, Julian appears to have used a mix of symbols, wanting to associate himself with both present concerns and past ideas. That mix is a shared feature for most of the previous rulers, as can be seen on the *Oxford Handbook to Greek and Roman Coinage*.¹¹⁶ As for Julian's religious break, one could argue that said break with Christianity wasn't of such a character as described by his enemies and Fathers of the Church. These Christian writers, writing through the lens and premises of a world divided between the forces of God and the forces of the Devil, could easily influence the later Middle Ages with such a dichotomy. But one needs to remember that Christianity, by the age of Julian, even though its privileged stance within the state was in no way the totalitarian intolerant religion which it later became during the reign of Theodosius and further on.¹¹⁷

Although the written sources do tend to point out just Julian as being a ground-breaking revolutionary, it is often deformed in a way that appeals to our modern historic views. It is for the modern reader a fact that the Roman Empire (at least its Western half) fell a little more than a century later, which does highlight Julian with such hindsight as a romantic hero, a man seeing the future crumbling of the state etc., but these facts weren't known by

¹¹⁶ See for example the other rulers in Abdy 2012; see also Abdy 2012, Yarrow 2012, Beckman 2012, Carradice 2012.

¹¹⁷ Brown 1976, 103–06.

neither Julian nor his contemporaries – them being as pessimistic as they could have been. Julian's tragic figure and 'last chance to save the empire' is in other words maybe what the modern reader chooses to see, instead of what the actual situation was.

This moderate standpoint regarding Julian's polarized picture tends to be strengthened while looking at the results of his iconography compared to his own dynasty. In politico-ideological terms there are no ground-breaking changes; Julian seeks recognition and legitimacy by associating himself with the politico-military repertoire used by his Flavian predecessors. Even more surprisingly, Julian uses symbols that for the most are heavily used by both Constantius II and Constantine, which in written sources he criticized for different reasons. He could have chosen a repertoire mainly focusing on his pagan grandfather Constantius Chlorus, or at least balance the scale a bit, but the fact remains that the coinage iconography he chooses to associate himself with within his own dynasty are those of Christian, rather than pagan emperors.

Again, it's only with the bull that Julian truly revolutionizes in the Christian/pagan dichotomy, using a symbol not having been used since his grandfather Constantius Chlorus. But when put into a somewhat larger perspective, Julian is really a revolutionary in comparison to his family only when it comes to that one symbol only, and even then only in comparison to Constantius and the second half of Constantine's reign. The Hercules club was a much more discreet symbol, used at Arelate only, and even that was used by his grandfather. The Christogram was on the other hand one of the true revolutionizing symbols when put into the context of Julian's stigmata and personal context. The fact that it was used on both his periods of rule is far from pointing towards general fanaticism, intolerance and polarizing.

The last part of the analysis showed that four out of ten symbols had a rather smooth transition between the four chronological periods of Julian's and Constantius' mutual chronological rule-relationship. The true surprises were:

- the eagle's lack of records during Constantius' time of power while having Julian as Caesar and vice-versa
- the discard of the star and the three standards, lacking straightforward connotations

The eagle, with its mixed (though still more pagan) symbolism could be explained as suggested earlier, that Constantius knew all of his cousin's pagan sympathies and thus chose to discard this symbol for himself and Julian. The two other symbols yielded a surprising connection as having somewhat feminine connotations. As noticed earlier, these two symbols are also either extremely meagrely represented on the coinage of Julian's grandfather Constantius Chlorus (the star) – but even then only as a Caesar – or not represented at all (the three standards). That interesting feature concerning these two symbols and how they correlate to Julian's only beloved ancestor is maybe also the only "(new) testimony to Julian's character" – to paraphrase the *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*¹¹⁸. By both basing his political iconographical repertoire to his two hated predecessors (Constantine I and Constantius II) in order to seek political legitimacy and simultaneously discarding symbols also discarded by his beloved predecessor (Constantius Chlorus), some traits of character of the Apostate do appear.

These connections to both femininity and lack of correspondence to loved ancestors would be interesting to further investigate, but as for the general aim of this thesis it suffices to say that, as Mattingly had it, the state of the empire was in a general course towards militarism and re-virility.¹¹⁹ That means that although these finds are interesting in themselves, they don't portray Julian as being somewhat of a revolutionary; only that by discarding these symbols he made an active choice, which choice is rather hard to understand with the available knowledge.

Another interesting feature, which was touched upon during a previous chapter ('Theory and Method'), concerns the academic debate regarding who lays behind the choice of the symbols. As seen earlier, the middle-ground theory seems to be that symbols on coins were the results of a negotiation between emperor and the master of the particular mint.¹²⁰ This middle-ground theory seems to have been partially confirmed while analysing the results of this thesis, specifically with the symbols of the eagle and the Hercules-club, which appear only on Julian's coinage from Arelate. Julian's close relationship with the province of Gaul, where he acted as Caesar five years prior to his emperorship, seems to be articulated on the

¹¹⁸ Abdy 2012, 597; see above, p. 16.

¹¹⁹ Mattingly 1960, 229–33.

¹²⁰ Hedlund 1998, 32–34; see above, p.13.

struck coinage by the decision of the mint-master of Arelate. That feature would also be interesting to further investigate, in a study looking at the negotiation between ruler and master of the mint.

As mentioned earlier, the romantic view of Julian as the 'empire's last chance' seems to again be somewhat moderated by these analyses. *The Cambridge Ancient History* – rather adding to the general view of Julian as a polarizing figure – wrote that his period in Antioch was only creating more divisions.¹²¹ But that critique of Julian, naming the results of his reforms in the East, fails to mention how his rule was perceived elsewhere in the Empire. In an interesting article by Greenwood (2014), primarily focusing on inscriptions dedicated to Julian, the picture becomes even more problematic. Indeed, by analysing five different inscriptions found in geographically different places (Northern Africa, Arabia and Phoenicia), it appears that Julian might indeed have enjoyed some support from the local populations, thus rendering the generally accepted view – in which Julian's reforms and rule in general were largely condemned, by Christians and pagans alike – as even more problematic.¹²² The general picture of a somewhat more accepted rule and less polarised ruler – based upon both said inscriptions and the result of this analysis – is also shared by the author of these lines. Julian the Apostate's dramatic person seems to belong much more to the realm of fiction than to the realm of facts.

¹²¹ Hunt 1998, 71; see above p.11.

¹²² Greenwood 2014, 118–19.

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to investigate Julian's legacy-image as a revolutionary ruler, being anachronistic in many of his political choices and a religious fanatic intolerant against Christianity. Through a choice of ten symbols, being somewhat representative of the totality of the symbols used on Julian's coinage, the choice was made to conduct the analysis. The method chosen consisted of comparing the coinage iconography in a three-phased chronological framework: the first phase being a general comparison of Julian's iconography to the totality of the rulers of the Roman Empire back to Octavian/Augustus (31 BC onwards). The next phase was a somewhat more personal step, which consisted of testing Julian's iconography against his family predecessors of the second Flavian dynasty. The last phase was to analyse Julian's own time in power in comparison to the man without whom he'd never had reach the position of Roman Emperor – his cousin Constantius II.

The results of this thesis have shown a surprisingly balanced – maybe even banal – use of symbols on Julian's coinage. The Apostate's coinage iconography stands out only in a few points. The bull is the most striking example, being used as a primary iconography of his bronze-reverses after the time he'd secured the power and started his pagan-friendly reforms. By being the second ruler in terms of general use of this symbol – behind another philhellene, Hadrian – this thesis has suggested a common ideological ground between these two bearded, trend-breaking rulers. The eagle has also showed itself falling into discard by Julian's cousin Constantius during their shared time of rule, leading the author of this thesis to suggest a possible lack of naivety on the part of Constantius as to his cousin's pagan sympathies.

Two symbols, with a more obscure meaning, have shown to have somewhat female connotations: the star and the three standards, which have both shown to be heavily associated with imperial women in the past and discarded by Julian while arriving to sole power. One possible suggestion was Julian's increase of militaristic imagery, culminating at his own violent death on the battle-field of Persia. In such a possibility, the re-virilisation of the state might lead to the want to discard female connotations. Another suggestion, of a more private and even psychological character, laid within Julian's personal relation to women during the course of his young life. According to both ancient and modern sources,

Julian seems to have been more of an ascetic character, committing himself to chastity after the death of his wife Helena. A third suggestion was that these two symbols, peaking with strong women and weak male rulers of the Severan dynasty, might have led Julian to discard these. The last suggestion laid within Julian's lack of dynastical pretences, since 'female' symbols often were to be understood as the males' wish to be associated with strong Roman values of family and piety.

Finally, a surprising feature of Julian's coinage iconography is the use of the clearly Christian symbol of the Christogram, nuancing the picture of a fanatical intolerant.

On the less polarised end of the matter, the great majority of Julian's coinage iconography consists of either contemporary politico-ideological symbols or of religiously accepted iconography to both pagan and Christian, thus once more problematizing the alleged cleaving image of the last ruler of the second Flavians.

Based upon the results of this thesis, and together with epigraphic evidence, the author of this thesis has suggested that the legacy-image of Julian the Apostate might be a result of heavily relying on literary sources alongside later reconstructions, rather than contemporary truths.

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I finally want to thank Sandy for all the patience and support during all this time.

Catalogue

| Name | Symbol | Metal | Date | Julian's Position |
|--|----------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 204</i> ¹²³ | Consular Robe | Gold | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 205</i> ¹²⁴ | Consular Robe | Gold | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 206</i> ¹²⁵ | Consular Robe | Gold | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 205</i> ¹²⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 206</i> ¹²⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 207</i> ¹²⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 218</i> ¹²⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 219</i> ¹³⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 225a</i> ¹³¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 227</i> ¹³² | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 228</i> ¹³³ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 229</i> ¹³⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 230</i> ¹³⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 231</i> ¹³⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 232</i> ¹³⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 233</i> ¹³⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 234</i> ¹³⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 235</i> ¹⁴⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 239</i> ¹⁴¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Treveri 362</i> ¹⁴² | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Treveri 363</i> ¹⁴³ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Treveri 364</i> ¹⁴⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |

¹²³ *RIC VIII*, 530.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *RIC VIII*, 192.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *RIC VIII*, 193.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *RIC VIII*, 194.

¹³² *RIC VIII*, 195.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *RIC VIII*, 195f.

¹⁴² *RIC VIII*, 168.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Treveri</i> 365 ¹⁴⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 231 ¹⁴⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 232 ¹⁴⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 233a ¹⁴⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 235 ¹⁴⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 237 ¹⁵⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 239 ¹⁵¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 260 ¹⁵² | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 263 ¹⁵³ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 264 ¹⁵⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 265 ¹⁵⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 281 ¹⁵⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 282 ¹⁵⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 283 ¹⁵⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 284 ¹⁵⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 285 ¹⁶⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 286 ¹⁶¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 287 ¹⁶² | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 292 ¹⁶³ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 293 ¹⁶⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 295 ¹⁶⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 296 ¹⁶⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 297 ¹⁶⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate</i> 309 ¹⁶⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *RIC VIII*, 220f.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *RIC VIII*, 221.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *RIC VIII*, 223.

¹⁵³ *RIC VIII*, 224.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *RIC VIII*, 225.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *RIC VIII*, 226.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *RIC VIII*, 227.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *RIC VIII*, 228.

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 310</i> ¹⁶⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 311</i> ¹⁷⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 312</i> ¹⁷¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 324</i> ¹⁷² | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 325</i> ¹⁷³ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 326</i> ¹⁷⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Rome 328</i> ¹⁷⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Rome 329</i> ¹⁷⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Rome 330</i> ¹⁷⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Aquilea 244</i> ¹⁷⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Aquilea 245</i> ¹⁷⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 414</i> ¹⁸⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 415</i> ¹⁸¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 416</i> ¹⁸² | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 420</i> ¹⁸³ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 421</i> ¹⁸⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 422</i> ¹⁸⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 67</i> ¹⁸⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 102</i> ¹⁸⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 103</i> ¹⁸⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 108</i> ¹⁸⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 194</i> ¹⁹⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 197</i> ¹⁹¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 206</i> ¹⁹² | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *RIC VIII*, 229.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *RIC VIII*, 280.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *RIC VIII*, 336.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *RIC VIII*, 380.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *RIC VIII*, 389.

¹⁸⁷ *RIC VIII*, 392.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *RIC VIII*, 393.

¹⁹⁰ *RIC VIII*, 420.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *RIC VIII*, 421.

| | | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 221</i> ¹⁹³ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 227</i> ¹⁹⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 228</i> ¹⁹⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Heraclea 105</i> ¹⁹⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Heraclea 106</i> ¹⁹⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 159</i> ¹⁹⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 165</i> ¹⁹⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 166</i> ²⁰⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 167</i> ²⁰¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 102a</i> ²⁰² | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 122a</i> ²⁰³ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 123</i> ²⁰⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 124</i> ²⁰⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 125</i> ²⁰⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 129</i> ²⁰⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 130</i> ²⁰⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 131</i> ²⁰⁹ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 211</i> ²¹⁰ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 212</i> ²¹¹ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 213</i> ²¹² | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 214</i> ²¹³ | "Vota" within wreath | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 219</i> ²¹⁴ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 220</i> ²¹⁵ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |

¹⁹³ *RIC VIII*, 423.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *RIC VIII*, 438.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *RIC VIII*, 462.

¹⁹⁹ *RIC VIII*, 463.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *RIC VIII*, 481.

²⁰³ *RIC VIII*, 484.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *RIC VIII*, 501.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *RIC VIII*, 531.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *RIC VIII*, 532.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

| | | | | |
|--|----------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 221</i> ²¹⁶ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Alexandria 90</i> ²¹⁷ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Alexandria 91</i> ²¹⁸ | "Vota" within wreath | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 236</i> ²¹⁹ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 237</i> ²²⁰ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 238</i> ²²¹ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 313</i> ²²² | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 314</i> ²²³ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 315</i> ²²⁴ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 316</i> ²²⁵ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 317</i> ²²⁶ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 318</i> ²²⁷ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 319</i> ²²⁸ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 320</i> ²²⁹ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 321</i> ²³⁰ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 322</i> ²³¹ | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 323</i> ²³² | Bull | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Aquilea 242</i> ²³³ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Aquilea 243</i> ²³⁴ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 411</i> ²³⁵ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 412</i> ²³⁶ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 413</i> ²³⁷ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 417</i> ²³⁸ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 418</i> ²³⁹ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *RIC VIII*, 546.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *RIC VIII*, 195.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *RIC VIII*, 229.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *RIC VIII*, 337.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *RIC VIII*, 380.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

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|---|------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 419</i> ²⁴⁰ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 105</i> ²⁴¹ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 106</i> ²⁴² | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 107</i> ²⁴³ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 222</i> ²⁴⁴ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 223</i> ²⁴⁵ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 224</i> ²⁴⁶ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 225</i> ²⁴⁷ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 226</i> ²⁴⁸ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Heraclea 101</i> ²⁴⁹ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Heraclea 102</i> ²⁵⁰ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Heraclea 103</i> ²⁵¹ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Heraclea 104</i> ²⁵² | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 161</i> ²⁵³ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 162</i> ²⁵⁴ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 163</i> ²⁵⁵ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Constantinople 164</i> ²⁵⁶ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 118</i> ²⁵⁷ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 119</i> ²⁵⁸ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 120</i> ²⁵⁹ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 121</i> ²⁶⁰ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Nicomedia 122</i> ²⁶¹ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 125</i> ²⁶² | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *RIC VIII*, 105.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *RIC VIII*, 423.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *RIC VIII*, 438.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *RIC VIII*, 462.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *RIC VIII*, 463.

²⁵⁷ *RIC VIII*, 483.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *RIC VIII*, 484.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² *RIC VIII*, 500.

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|--|-------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 126</i> ²⁶³ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 127</i> ²⁶⁴ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Cyzicus 128</i> ²⁶⁵ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 216</i> ²⁶⁶ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 217</i> ²⁶⁷ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 218</i> ²⁶⁸ | Bull | Bronze | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 284</i> ²⁶⁹ | Eagle | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 285</i> ²⁷⁰ | Eagle | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 286</i> ²⁷¹ | Eagle | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 287</i> ²⁷² | Eagle | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 303</i> ²⁷³ | Eagle | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 304</i> ²⁷⁴ | Eagle | Gold | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 305</i> ²⁷⁵ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 306</i> ²⁷⁶ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 307</i> ²⁷⁷ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 308</i> ²⁷⁸ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 309</i> ²⁷⁹ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 310</i> ²⁸⁰ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 311</i> ²⁸¹ | Eagle | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 318</i> ²⁸² | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 319</i> ²⁸³ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 320</i> ²⁸⁴ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 321</i> ²⁸⁵ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 322</i> ²⁸⁶ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ *RIC VIII*, 531f.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *RIC VIII*, 226.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ *RIC VIII*, 227.

²⁷⁵ *RIC VIII*, 228.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *RIC VIII*, 229.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

| | | | | |
|---|--|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 323</i> ²⁸⁷ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 324</i> ²⁸⁸ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 325</i> ²⁸⁹ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 326</i> ²⁹⁰ | Eagle | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 315</i> ²⁹¹ | Hercules-Club | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 316</i> ²⁹² | Hercules-Club | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 209</i> ²⁹³ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 251</i> ²⁹⁴ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 290</i> ²⁹⁵ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 306</i> ²⁹⁶ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 307</i> ²⁹⁷ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 308</i> ²⁹⁸ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 360-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 101</i> ²⁹⁹ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 204</i> ³⁰⁰ | Soldier standing, holding spear & shield | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 255</i> ³⁰¹ | Star | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 256</i> ³⁰² | Star | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 257</i> ³⁰³ | Star | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Rome 292</i> ³⁰⁴ | Star | Gold | 355-57 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Rome 295</i> ³⁰⁵ | Star | Gold | 355-57 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 163</i> ³⁰⁶ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 164</i> ³⁰⁷ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 166</i> ³⁰⁸ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 167</i> ³⁰⁹ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 169</i> ³¹⁰ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *RIC VIII*, 193.

²⁹⁴ *RIC VIII*, 223.

²⁹⁵ *RIC VIII*, 226.

²⁹⁶ *RIC VIII*, 228.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *RIC VIII*, 392.

³⁰⁰ *RIC VIII*, 421.

³⁰¹ *RIC VIII*, 223.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ *RIC VIII*, 276.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ *RIC VIII*, 525f.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 171</i> ³¹¹ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 176</i> ³¹² | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 178</i> ³¹³ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 180</i> ³¹⁴ | Star | Gold | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 185</i> ³¹⁵ | Star | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 187</i> ³¹⁶ | Star | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Sirmium 104</i> ³¹⁷ | Crowning by Victoria | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 182</i> ³¹⁸ | Crowning by Victoria | Silver | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Antioch 210</i> ³¹⁹ | Crowning by Victoria | Silver | 361-63 | Augustus |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 247</i> ³²⁰ | Three Standards | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 248</i> ³²¹ | Three Standards | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Arelate 249</i> ³²² | Three Standards | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Thessalonica 202</i> ³²³ | Three Standards | Silver | 355-60 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 387</i> ³²⁴ | Christogram | Bronze | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 388</i> ³²⁵ | Christogram | Bronze | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Siscia 389</i> ³²⁶ | Christogram | Bronze | 355-61 | Caesar |
| <i>RIC VIII Lugdunum 204</i> ³²⁷ | Christogram - Obverse | Bronze | 360-63 | Augustus |

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² *RIC VIII*, 526.

³¹³ *RIC VIII*, 527.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ *RIC VIII*, 392.

³¹⁸ *RIC VIII*, 527.

³¹⁹ *RIC VIII*, 531.

³²⁰ *RIC VIII*, 222.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *RIC VIII*, 420.

³²⁴ *RIC VIII*, 378.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *RIC VIII*, 192.

Appendix

Appendix 24.1: Rulers using the Bull

| Ruler | RIC-entries |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Julian | 50 |
| Domitius Alexander | 1 |
| Constantine I | 2 |
| Maxentius | 3 |
| Galerius | 5 |
| Constantius Chlorus | 8 |
| Maximian | 12 |
| Diocletian | 9 |
| Carausius | 7 |
| Victorinus | 3 |
| Postumus | 2 |
| Gallienus | 11 |
| Gordian III | 1 |
| Elagabalus | 13 |
| Geta | 4 |
| Caracalla | 9 |
| Septimius Severus | 6 |
| Commodus | 3 |
| Marcus Aurelius | 7 |
| Antoninus Pius | 13 |
| Hadrian | 75 |
| Trajan | 1 |
| Domitian | 3 |
| Vespasian | 11 |
| Galba | 1 |
| Civil war/Unknown | 3 |
| Caligula | 3 |
| Augustus | 25 |

Appendix 26.1: rulers using the eagle

| Ruler | RIC-entries |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Julian | 22 |
| Decentius | 2 |
| Magnentius | 6 |
| Martinianus | 4 |
| Constantius II | 6 |
| Constantine II | 30 |
| Crispus | 24 |
| Valerius Valens | 2 |
| Licinius | 127 |
| Domitius Alexander | 1 |
| Constantine I | 154 |
| Maxentius | 31 |
| Maximinus Daia | 40 |
| Severus II | 1 |
| Galerius | 36 |
| Constantius Chlorus | 39 |
| Domitius Domitianus | 3 |
| Allectus | 2 |
| Maximian | 74 |
| Carausius | 26 |
| Diocletian | 98 |
| Nigrinian | 2 |
| Numerian | 6 |
| Carinus | 9 |
| Carus | 14 |
| Probus | 296 |
| Florian | 1 |
| Tacitus | 5 |
| Tetricus | 3 |
| Aurelian | 5 |
| Quintillus | 2 |
| Claudius Gothicus | 13 |
| Victorinus | 7 |
| Vabalathus | 1 |
| Postumus | 10 |
| Quietus | 1 |
| Macrianus Minor | 1 |
| Uranus Antoninus | 2 |
| Salonina | 2 |
| Saloninus | 1 |
| Valerian II | 7 |
| Gallienus | 36 |

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| Trajan Decius | 11 |
| Phillip | 4 |
| Gordian III | 11 |
| Severus Alexander | 28 |
| Julia Mamaea | 1 |
| Julia Maesa | 1 |
| Elagabalus | 50 |
| Diadumenian | 7 |
| Macrinus | 3 |
| Geta | 6 |
| Caracalla | 29 |
| Septimus Severus | 45 |
| Julia Domna | 1 |
| Pertinax | 5 |
| Clodius Albinus | 7 |
| Pescennius Niger | 3 |
| Didius Julianus | 4 |
| Commodus | 52 |
| Marcus Aurelius | 33 |
| Antoninus Pius | 51 |
| Hadrian | 64 |
| Trajan | 19 |
| Nerva | 5 |
| Anonymous | 5 |
| Domitian | 14 |
| Titus | 12 |
| Vespasian | 33 |
| Vitellius | 9 |
| Galba | 16 |
| Civil Wars/Unknown | 3 |
| Claudius | 1 |
| Caligula | 1 |
| Tiberius | 5 |
| Augustus | 2 |

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