

ANTONINIANI OF JULIAN OF PANNONIA

The authors analyze antoniniani issued by Emperor Julian of Pannonia from the Siscia mint. The body of his bronze coins was assembled for the first time. After analysis the authors draw conclusions on iconography and some aspects of work in the Roman imperial mint in Siscia at the end of the 3rd century. Most of the specimens presented are known from literature, with three different reverse types, and the authors extended the list of sub-types and varieties.

Introduction

Julian (I) of Pannonia (*Marcus Aurelius Iulianus*) is one of the Roman emperors whose portrait has been preserved thanks to numismatic material. Scholarly works about his coinage are scarce in recent numismatic literature, however it is worth mentioning Pegan, Fleck and Houdart, while most of the work is in classical reference books, RIC and Cohen.

In AD 284 the Roman Empire was in deep crisis: the dynasty of Carus and his two sons, founded in 282, was disintegrating. Carus died in 283 during the Persian military campaign, and his younger son Numerian died on his return from the Persian wars in the autumn of 284. The older brother Carinus, who was in charge in the western provinces, remained as sole ruler. After the murder of Numerian, the military commander Diocles (later Emperor Diocletian) was hailed the new emperor in the East and became opposition to Carinus in the West. There was a third military commander between the two rivals, Julian of Pannonia (Sabinus Iulianus), who was governor of the Roman province of Venetia (*Corrector Histriae et Venetiae*) and was determined to make his bid for the throne. He had earlier been appointed commander of the upper Danube area by Carinus, then took the name Marcus Aurelius Iulianus and was hailed emperor in December 294. While carefully watching Diocletian's activities, Carinus quickly dealt with the geographically closer usurper Julian and defeated him at the beginning of 285 in northern Italy on the Verona Field. Julian was killed, his short rule ending in three months. All the coins issued by Julian, gold aurei (about 30 specimens known) and antoniniani, were minted in Siscia, which was the only mint under Julian's control. His coinage was of exceptional quality for so obscure and insignificant a ruler, for which he could thank the skilled mint workers and die engravers in the Siscia mint. Due to their rarity and attractive execution, Julian antoniniani are sought after by collectors and found a place in renowned collections such as Trau, Leo Benz, Bunker Hunt, De La Tour, Niggeler, Count Waldeck and Hildyard. His coinage has also been the target of unscrupulous counterfeiters, such as Becker, who made a Julian aureus in bronze. A fortunate circumstance for assembling this corpus was the fact that, due to their rarity, even poorly preserved specimens are offered at auctions and, without exception, illustrated in catalogues.

Antoniniani

In the new catalogue of the Venera hoard Gricourt dates all the types of antoniniani to the second half of December 284. The first officina (A) minted the reverse VICTO-

RIA AVG, the second (B) the reverse FELICITAS AVG, while the third (Γ) minted the reverse type PANNONIA AVG. Gold issue (December 284) belongs to one emission without a mintmark. Gricourt explains this emission as *donativum* for the army, after being hailed as emperor. According to the customary practice in Roman mints in the 3rd century, this emission can be assigned to the first officina (gold was minted in the first officina). Julian's coinage shows his political messages: happiness and prosperity in the empire, army loyalty and military victories. The Siscia mint was closed for a time after Julian's defeat and the elevation of Diocletian to the throne, while Rome, Ticinum and Lyons reopened in November 285. The Siscia mint resumed work in March 286, when Maximian came to power.

Houdart proposed different dating, assigning one year earlier to Julian's usurpation, after the death of Carus in 283. His theory is supported by the issue of the antoninianus FIDES EXERCIT AVGG (series S-5e, mid-August 284). This reverse type is known for Numerian (Venera 4390, RIC 460), and Houdart suggested that Carinus minted this series to glorify the troops that defeated Julian. Houdart further corroborates this dating with the Siscian emission of antoniniani for Numerian, which in the exergue bear the mintmarks SMSXIA-Γ, with the reverse VOTA PVBLICA (series S-5d, second half of August 284). The traditional *vota publica* ceremony took place on 3 January, therefore, in his opinion, Julian's usurpation had ended before January 284. This radically different dating, in our opinion, requires further numismatic and literature studies.

Smaller inaccuracies can be found in the corpus of Julian's coinage in older numismatic literature. Akerman lists among Julian's coins the bronze medallion MONETA AVGG N, three Monetae standing, which he took over from Mionnet. It would be interesting to discover the source of this information, since pre-Mionnet literature does not mention this medallion. For instance, Eckhel correctly lists three types of antoniniani and one type of aureus. It is therefore difficult to understand why Roman Imperial Coins (RIC) has a list of four obverse types for antoniniani, which was obviously taken from Cohen. All Julian antoniniani have the same obverse type, the emperor's bust to the right, with radiate crown, draped and cuirassed, and the legend IMP C M AVR IVLIANVS P F AVG.

RIC 2: FELICITAS TEMPORVM, Felicitas standing left, holding *caduceus* and sceptre (Cohen 1), all have the mintmark S-B/XXI.

RIC 3: IOVI CONSERVAT, Jupiter standing right, holding thunderbolt and sceptre (Cohen 2, *coll.* Rollin), mintmark S-B/XXI.

RIC 4: PANNONIAE AVG, two Pannoniae standing, one facing right, the other to the left, both have left arms stretched out. The Pannonia on the right holds a *labarum* (Cohen 5,6). RIC further mentions that the left Pannonia sometimes holds an object which may be either a *labarum* or a palm branch. Seven mintmarks are listed: S-/XXIIΓ, -S-/XXIIΓ, S-Γ-/XXI, --/XXIIΓS, -Γ-/XXI, ISI/XXIIΓ and S-A/XXI.

RIC 5: VICTORIA AVG, Victory facing left standing or walking, holding wreath and palm branch (Cohen 7,8), all with mintmark S-A/XXI.

An examination of the large number of specimens that are collected in this article (table 1, photos **1-150**), and recent numismatic works on this subject, allowed us to make some corrections to RIC.

RIC 2: A new obverse image, previously unpublished (the emperor cuirassed) was discovered on three specimens (photos **25**, **39** and **51**).

RIC 3: The greatest correction is the wrong attribution of antoniniani with the IOVI CONSERVAT reverse legend, which is found in older literature. This is, in fact, an antoninianus of Emperor Diocletian (see photo **160**, Venera hoard 7650, RIC 161), which was minted in Siscia at the beginning of his rule (286-287). The likeness of Diocletian's portrait to those of Julian is obvious, indicating that the attribution of this obverse to Julian resulted from an incorrect reading of a poorly preserved specimen of Diocletian.

RIC 4: It was not possible to confirm that the left Pannonia sometimes holds an object, a *labarum* or palm branch, by examining a large number of photographs (44 specimens, photos **54-97**). The only specimens (made from the same reverse dies) on which the Pannonia standing on the left side is certainly holding an object are **84** and **85**. Although it is not possible to be sure what this object is, it could be a *patera* with fruit or something similar. Furthermore, of the seven mintmarks mentioned in RIC we could not confirm the existence of three: -Γ-//XXI, ISI//XXII and S-A//XXI. In our opinion these arose from the incorrect reading of poorly preserved specimens. RIC also does not list the obverse bust variant of the emperor in a cuirass (antoninianus **72**).

We may conclude the list of Julian antoniniani with three reverse types, since no new reverses have been found in the last hundred years. There are numerous variants of die-breaks and mintmark positions, which are systematically presented in Table 1. The antoniniani FELICITAS TEMPORVM (53 specimens) and VICTORIA AVG (53 specimens) are the more common types, while there is a relatively smaller number of the PANNONIA AVG type (44 specimens). There are six die-breaks on the reverse of the FELICITAS TEMPORVM type, in combination with two bust types. The PANNONIA AVG type can be divided in nine subtypes with respect to die-breaks and mintmark position. Furthermore, the VICTORIA AVG type is divided in two main subtypes, the major difference being Victory standing (33 specimens) or the rarer subtype of Victory walking (20 specimens). The type with Victory standing has six die-break variants, while the type with Victory walking has only three die-break variants.

On the basis of subtypes and variants the numismatic material assembled indicates large emissions, which were minted in a very short period of time (several months). Therefore, many specimens are die-linked: FELICITAS TEMPORVM: Reverse: **2/22**; **3/4**; **7/11/20**; **13/24**; **14/26**; **5/6/12**; **1/16/18**; **33/34**; **28/31**; **32/36**; **45-49**; **41/42** (lower-case 'O'); Obverse/Reverse (identical obverse and reverse dies): **26/14**; PANNONIAE AVG; Reverse: **61-65** (mintmark 'S' and lower-case 'O'); **66-67** (letter 'N' deformed); **54/55**; **57/58**; **80/81**; **77-79**; **86-88**; **91-97** (lower-case 'O', space between 'TS'); Obverse: **67/68** ('C' lower-case); **70/73** (lower-case 'G' squeezed in, 'V' is larger than the other letters); **77/78**; **95-97**; Obverse/Reverse (identical obverse and reverse dies); **63/64**; **84/85**; **89/90**; **92/93**; **86/87** ('I'MP' moved inward, AV'G' inward); VICTORIA AVG: Reverse: **103/114**; **107/109/110/111/112**; **116-118**; **119-121**; **124/125** (S-A 'S' is lower than 'A'); **127/130**; **131/132**; **141/144**; **145/147/148/149** ('T' aligned, 'VG' has space); **146/150**; Obverse: **134/136**; Obverse/Reverse (identical obverse and reverse dies): **106/109**; **126-128**; **134/135**; **139/140/143**; **145/148/149** (IM'P' lowered, 'G' inward, **145** 'R' is not visible).

Some other minor differences from the standard are noted, for instance on the type FELICITAS TEMPORVM a dot appears after the word TEMPORVM on the reverse of specimen **19**. Furthermore, on the reverse of specimens **15** and **38** on the S-B mintmark, the letter 'S' is positioned lower than the letter B. Antoninianus **9** is interesting, with a mint-error on the mintmark, which could be read as B-S/XXI or S-S/XXI, instead of the usual S-B. Specimen **37** could be a fake, which is indicated by the fact that it was withdrawn from auction and the surface texture is different than usual. In addition, on the reverse of specimen **75** of the PANNONIAE AVG type, a mint-error was found for the officina mark, where 'II' stands instead of 'I'.

Portrait style

All Julian's coinage shows the emperor facing right, his bust turned three-quarters to the front. The emperor wears a radiate crown, a *paludamentum* over a cuirass, which is the standard depiction, and a short military beard (the field-beard). In times when emperors had to remain in power by force, some of them ruled for several months only, depending entirely on army support. Julian too became emperor with the support of his army. In his portraits he used the iconographic tradition showing the emperor as a powerful general capable of leading the army and securing peace to the people of the empire. This iconography is characterized by a short military hair style and short beard, with a firm facial expression, and it came from the later portrait types of Caracalla. Caracalla's mature portrait became the standard model for 3rd-century emperors. A short beard and tightly cut hair represent military emperors, particularly from the time of Claudius II, when this depiction came into use by all emperors until Licinius.

Several portrait subtypes can be recognized on the bronze coinage of Julian, some of which are due to the work of different die-engravers. Illustration 1 shows six characteristic portrait subtypes. Subtypes **I-IV** have a serious, resolute, military facial expression, with smaller differences in the details. Portrait subtype **I**: large eyes, straight elongated nose, long neck, longer chin (**40**); portrait subtype **II**: smaller, thicker neck, hooked nose, additional line on the neck, longer chin (**43**); portrait subtype **III**: smaller thicker neck, hooked nose, with additional line on neck, the line of the forehead is extended over the nose, longer chin (**11**); portrait subtype **IV**: similar to subtype **III**, but the chin is inward (**20**, **115**). On the other hand, portrait subtypes **V-VI** have a milder look: portrait subtype **V**: long neck, smaller eyes, shorter military beard (**22**); portrait subtype **VI**: long neck, smaller eyes, elongated chin, with a smile (**75**). Similar portrait variations can be noted on aurei, and the main difference is that the emperor wears a laurel wreath (Numismatica Ars Classica 24 (2002), No. 231, RIC I; NAC 34 (2006), No. 73; NAC 33 (2006), No. 583; Leu 87 (2003), No. 96).

The other possibility for the differences in portrait styles noted is that they were copied from the coinage of earlier emperors, where for instance the portrait on antoninianus **40** is identical to the portrait of Numerian on antoninianus **151** VIRTVS AVGG (Venera 4291, 3rd phase, beginning December 282 – beginning March 283, series 3b, first half December 282, RIC not listed) and VOTA PVBLICA: **152** Venera 4378 (series S5-e, second half August 284, RIC 461), **153**, **154** and **155**. Issue with these portraits could be considered as a pre- or first emission. There is also great similarity with the

portrait of Probus (**156**, RIC 684, Alföldi 30, n° 1, 2nd emission 277), and with the Carus antoninianus FIDES MILITVM (**157**, RIC 102var, Estiot Venera Caro-Diocleziano series-2d, beginning November 282).

It was common practice for the first emissions, until the arrival of the official imperial *imago* from the central mint, to use the portrait of the former emperor. In the Siscia mint we find the portraits of the predecessor emperor in the first emissions of the new ruler for Aurelian (portrait of Claudius, **158**, CONCORDIA MILI, RIC 199, 1st emission, November 270), Probus/Florianus (**159**, FELICITAS AVG, RIC 682, 1st emission, November 276), Diocletian/Julian (**160**, IOVI CONSERVATORI, RIC 161, 1st emission, March 286 – beginning 187), and Maximian/Probus (**161**, CONSERVATOR AVGG, RIC 579var, 1st emission, March 286 – beginning 287). In the case of Julian this portrait copying is somewhat surprising, taking into account his presence in Siscia or its vicinity, where the die-engravers could quickly get access to the official *imago* of the new ruler. We suppose that this was quickly done, however, the urgent demand for large sums of money for army payments, and the need for the urgent legalization and media promotion of the new emperor, dictated the immediate minting and release in circulation of money with the name (and subsequently image) of the new ruler.

A new obverse variant was found on three antoniniani (**25**, **39** and **51**), all with the reverse FELICITAS TEMPORVM. The emperor is wearing only a cuirass, which is a variant RIC does not record. All three specimens were struck from different dies. Specimens **39** and **51** have identical cuirasses, while the cuirass on antoninianus **25** is somewhat different. RIC also does not list the cuirassed bust for the PANNONIAE AVG type (antoninianus **72**), which is identical to the cuirass on specimen **39**. Analogies of this depiction of the imperial cuirass can be found on the Siscian antoniniani of Carinus (**166** and **167**, PRINCIPI IVVENT, RIC 216, VOTA PVBLICA) and Numerian (**168**, VOTA PVBLICA, emission S5-e, second half July 284, RIC 461).

Reverse types

The coinage of Julian has iconographic similarity with the coinage of his predecessors. The depiction of Liberty on his aurei **162-164**, holding *pileus* and cornucopia, appears more rarely on the coinage of other emperors, where Liberty more commonly holds a *pileus* and sceptre (spear). A depiction almost identical to that of Julian's can be found on the silver denarius of Severus Alexander PM TR P COS PP (**165**, mint of Rome, 222, RIC 11). In addition, the reverse PANNONIAE AVG with the depiction of two Pannoniae was not used on Siscian coins until Julian, and the iconography known from the coinage of Trajanus Decius was probably used. He was the only emperor who used the depiction of two Pannoniae on his coinage. The Decius antoninianus **169** (mint of Rome, 149-251) shows two Pannoniae, both holding the standard (*Standarte*, *signum*), unlike on the Julian coins. An identical depiction can be found on a Decius dupondius from the Rome mint (249-251, RIC 124) and on aureus **170** (249-252, RIC 21a).

Felicity is a typical Siscian reverse, which this mint issued for most of the emperors. Depictions identical to those of Julian's can be found on the antoniniani of Probus (**171**, FELICITAS AVG, AD 277, RIC 684) and Florianus (**172**, FELICITAS AVG, RIC 60

(Ticinum), BN1955). There are smaller differences on the rare double antoninianus of Carus, where Felicity leans on a column (**173**, FELICITAS REIPUBLICAE, RIC 99, November 282).

The representation of Victory turned to the left, holding a laurel wreath in the right and a palm branch in the left hand, cannot be found on Siscian coinage of the second half of the 3rd century. This depiction is common in other mints, and the Julian antoninianus has similarities to the VICTORIA AVG coinage of Carus produced in several mints: Cyzicus (**174**, RIC 120Cvar., 1st emission), Lugdunum (**175**, Bastien 457, second emission, November 282) and Ticinum (**176**, RIC 304, emission July 283).

Coin finds

Kos lists the hoards of Mokronog, Zgornje Gorče, Vipava and Globasnitz/Globasnica, which all end with the coinage of Carinus. According to Pegan, the latest coin in the Vipava hoard is a Carus antoninianus from the mint of Rome in 283/284. The concealment of the Vipava hoard, as well as of the Mokronog and Zgornje Gorče hoards, must be connected with the proclamation of Julian as August in the autumn of 284 and his advance through the area from Pannonia to northern Italy, where in the spring of 285 Carinus defeated him near Verona. The Globasnitz hoard was found near the main route of Julian's advance and was also probably hidden under the same historical circumstances. The hoards and single finds of Julian's coinage lead to the conclusion that all the coins were found on territory under his control or in the near vicinity. The Petrijanec hoard from 1805 (one Julian aureus), with *terminus post quem* in 285, must also be directly connected to the same historical events. There are several hoards containing Julian's coinage that cannot be directly related to his political and military activities: the Petrijanec hoard from 2005 (*tpq.* 294, 5 specimens) and the Venera hoard (*tpq.* 287, 6 specimens). The concealment of the Venera hoard was probably connected to the Allemani invasion in 287. The relatively large number of Julian antoniniani in the Venera hoard may be connected to the large sums of money needed for troop payments, which Julian carried with him during his advance to Italy. Stray finds came from Sisak (**39**, **47**, **94** and **141**) and Slavonia (**104**, and also most likely **28**).



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