

OBSERVATION OF PORTRAITS OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE

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ABSTRACT

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This research paper discussed some of the portraits of the last pagan Roman emperor, Julian, who reigned from A.D. 361 to 363. While proposing new comparisons and observations, the author analyzed images representing Julian in three different statuses: Caesar, Augustus, and the vanquished emperor. This paper describes his portraits in four aspects. Firstly, with his typical and documented long beard, his portrait now in Athens showed how his image as Augustus followed the portraits of bearded emperors of the second century A.D., commencing with Hadrian, and how his pagan beliefs were revealed in this sculpture by a specific crown. Secondly, as Caesar between A.D. 355–360, Julian borrowed the beardless iconography of the Constantinian Dynasty for his portraits, similar to representations of Emperor Constantius II and Gallus, Julian's older half-brother, who was Caesar before him. Thirdly, acclaimed as Augustus by his soldiers in A.D. 360 while in Gaul, he still presented himself on some coins to be beardless using a heavenward gaze. However, the beard was finally displayed in sculptures in Paris as a pagan priest, Thasos, and at the Hermitage Museum. Fourthly, after Julian died in A.D. 363 in the battle against the Sasanian kings, his slain corpse was carved at Taq-e Bostan I in Iran with a striking spiritual gesture that can be noticed in the sculptures in Paris and at the Hermitage Museum.

Keywords: Julian; portrait; Roman Empire; paganism

1. INTRODUCTION

Julian was the last pagan emperor of the Roman Empire, who revived paganism despite Constantine the Great's conversion to Christianity around A.D. 313. The Edict of Milan was established that same year, and Christianity received recognition under Roman law. During his reign between A.D. 361–363, Julian promoted anti-Christian politics. Nevertheless, Christianity became the state religion again soon after his death.

In ancient Rome, emperors' images were mostly produced on sculptures and coins. Julian's short reign and his pagan faith were crucial, as his portrait, especially on sculptures, are rare items. Scholars; such as García Ruiz (2018), Somville (2003), and Lévêque (1960; 1963) have studied Julian's iconography, while their valuable perspectives have been based on historic sources and context, as well as particular pieces of sculpture and coins. Hollard (2010) analyzed Julian's image on the bas-relief at Taq-e Bostan I in Iran, but with a symbolic perspective.

Taking these academic works as a basis for discussion, this research paper aimed to discuss a few of Julian's portraits in terms of the stylistic approach and comparison, as well as to propose some observations. Here, it was challenging to place or replace Julian's images in the evolution of the Roman emperor's portrait as

most general studies on Roman portraiture (Bažant, 1995; Fejfer, 2008; Baratte, 2011) rarely delve beyond images of Constantine the Great.

This qualitative research paper in the field of art history was mainly conducted by using the documentary research method. Primary sources including ancient texts and secondary sources from various studies that focused on Julian's life and representation were analyzed in parallel with the author's choices of Julian's images. Here, his portraits dated from the second half of the fourth century A.D. and presented three different statuses of the emperor as follows: Julian as Caesar and Julian as Augustus made by and for the Romans, and Julian as the vanquished made by his enemies and for their glory. These three statues can be portrayed in four aspects in the following sections.

2. PHYSIQUE DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPEROR: “(...) THIS LONG BEARD OF MINE (...)”

Many emperors were physically described by ancient authors. For example, Augustus' appearance was described by Suetonius Tranquillus (1909) in *De vita Caesarum*, published in A.D. 121. Thanks to *Historia Augusta*, first published in the fourth century A.D., the author had some of the emperors' biographies and details of their physiques. Although these descriptions could not be relied on entirely, they were still precious sources for ancient art history regarding the emperors' iconography.

For Julian, his physical appearance was described by his contemporary and comrade-in-arms, Ammianus Marcellinus in *Res gestae*, written at the end of the fourth century A.D. (1940, Book 25):

He was of medium stature. His hair lay smooth as if it had been combed, though his beard was shaggy and trimmed so as to end in a point. His eyes were fine and full of fire, an indication of the acuteness of his mind. His eyebrows were handsome, his nose very straight, his mouth somewhat large with a pendulous lower lip. His neck was thick and somewhat bent, his shoulders large and broad. Moreover, right from top to toe, he was a man with a straight, well-proportioned body frame and was strong as well as a good runner as a result.

Julian also described himself in *Misopogon*, a satirical essay written in A.D. 363 (1913):

For though nature did not make this any too handsome or well-favored or give it the bloom of youth, I myself out of sheer perversity and ill-temper have added to it this long beard of mine, to punish it, as it would seem, for this very crime of not being handsome by nature.

(...) As for eating greedily or drinking with my mouth wide open, it is not in my power (...) I shall eat up some of my own hairs along with my crumbs of bread.

(...) But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it. Well, I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands." And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, (...). (...) But as though the mere length of my beard were not enough, my head is disheveled besides, (...) my breast is shaggy, and covered with hair, like the breasts of lions who among wild beasts are monarchs like me, (...).

While Ammianus Marcellinus described Julian's overall appearance as a well-proportioned man of medium height with an unkempt beard, straight nose, pendulous lower lip, and thick neck, Julian considered himself “not being handsome by nature”. He insisted on mocking his physique, especially his rough and long beard. He also mentioned his messy head and hairy body. These two texts show how his “friend” and Julian himself projected their thoughts concerning how Julian looked. Although Julian's own words were ironic, these descriptions were written during Julian's highest status as the “long beard” emperor, and even after his death.

One of the most representative items of Emperor Julian's image, as described above, is the sculpture now at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (Figure 1). Wearing a tall netlike crown, he had a long, abundant, and tousled beard with curls of hair over his forehead and on the side of his head. In the second century A.D. and the first decade of the third century A.D., locks of hair and curly beards were commonly used for emperors' portraits, starting with Hadrian. As a Greek enthusiast, Hadrian was the first emperor to bear a beard (de Kersauson, 1996). His successors continued this Greek trend, while the beard gradually kept growing for the philosopher Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Commodus, and Septimius Severus, who presented themselves as such (Figure 2). Julian was a philhellenist who at a young age had been receiving education by Christian but most importantly pagan teachers (Elm, 2012), followed in the footsteps of those bearded emperors in terms of iconography.

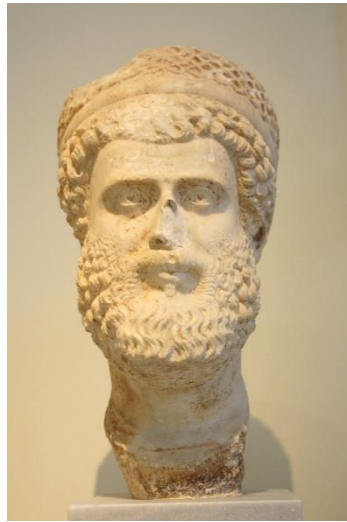


Figure 1: Bearded Julian, National Archaeological Museum of Athens. From 1901 - *Archaeological Museum, Athens – 4th Century Bust* - Photo by Giovanni Dall'Orto, Nov. 11, 2009, by Giovanni Dall'Orto (Dall'Orto, 2009)



Figure 2: Marcus Aurelius, Louvre Museum, Paris

Julian also presented himself with the *polos* crown (Lévêque, 1960) worn by goddesses, similar to Demeter in her images (Uhlenbrock, 2016) and by priests or devotees in real life (Ağtürk, 2014). His initiation to the Eleusinian Mysteries during his stay in Athens (Athanassiadi, 2014; Saradi, 2011), cults devoted to Demeter and Persephone, would explain the choice of this high headdress in this portrait. Demeter, as well as Rhea and Cybele, was worshiped under the name of the Mother of the Gods (Legge, 1917), whom Julian expressed his respect and admiration for in his discourse and hymn composed in spring A.D. 362. Taking this typical crown, also worn by Cybele (Figure 3), into consideration, it could also be seen that this portrait was a representation of Julian the pagan priest. Even more, this sculpture may represent Julian as *Pontifex Maximus*, the religious head of the empire. With his head covered with the pagan crown, he affirmed to his pagan cult that he brought back to life, once he was the sole Augustus, through this image.



Figure 3: Seated Cybele, J. Paul Getty Museum, California. From *Statue of a Seated Cybele with the Portrait Head of Her Priestess*, by J. Paul Getty Museum (J. Paul Getty Museum, n.d.)

3. CONSTANTINIAN DYNASTY: BEARDLESS CAESAR

Julian was a member of the Constantinian Dynasty. As the son of Julius Constantius, half-brother of Constantine the Great, he then married his uncle's daughter, Helena. She was also the sister of Constantius II, one of Constantine the Great's three sons, who all became emperors in A.D. 337 after the death of their father (Figure 4). Constantine the Great's iconography has been widely studied, and it is interesting to see how Julian presented himself as part of the dynasty, especially when he was appointed Caesar between A.D. 355 and 360.

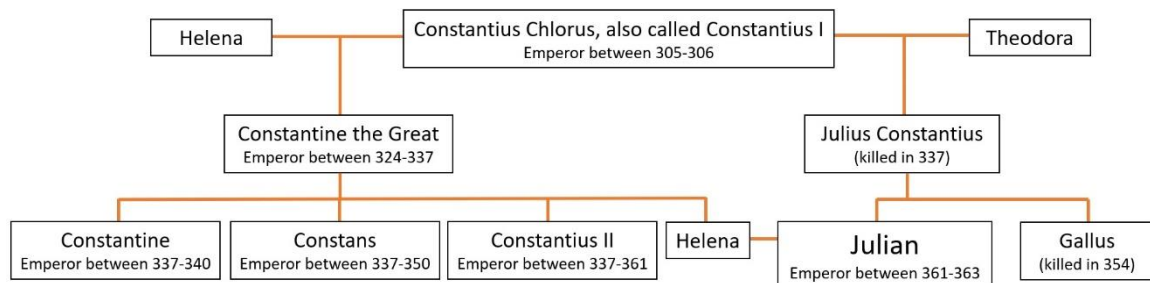


Figure 4: Julian's Family Tree

The tetrarchy finally fell apart in A.D. 324 when Constantine the Great defeated Licinius and ruled the Roman Empire as the sole sovereign. The chaotic political situation at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. was the main reason why Constantine the Great presented himself as having a close appearance to Trajan (Baratte, 2011). Trajan's reign from A.D. 98 to 117 was one of the most peaceful and prosperous in the history of the Roman Empire. For his portraits, Constantine the Great borrowed the hairstyle of Trajan who "simply let his hair drop militarily in strands onto the forehead" (Haas et al., 2005) as a sculpture in Munich now shows (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Trajan, Glyptothek, Munich. From *Traianus Glyptothek Munich 336*, by Bibi Saint-Pol (Saint-Pol, 2007)

Augustus, the first emperor of the Roman Empire, was also Constantine the Great's model for the "fabrication" of his image. A portrait of Augustus's short fringe hairstyle, prominent jawline, big almond-shaped eyes, and voluptuous lips, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, was later adopted in Constantine the Great's portrait, dated between A.D. 325 and 370, at the same museum (Figure 6). The same sentiments of youth from a clean-shaven visage with short hair, and somewhat new peaceful era spirits found in these two emperors' portraits were palpable (Greatrex et al., 2015).



Figure 6: Augustus, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From *Marble portrait of Emperor Augustus ca. A.D. 14–37*, by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.b) (Left); Constantine the Great, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From *Marble portrait head of Emperor Constantine I ca. A.D. 325–370*, by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.a) (Right)

At the same time, Constantine the Great's portraits showed how "realism" in artistic treatment moved towards the abstraction of forms, such as a rough fringe, simplified facial features, or straight forehead with horizontal wrinkles. This artistic direction found its roots in the tetrarchic period when the four emperors chose to present themselves as the most alike as possible. The simplification of forms, which then replaced the delicate details and characteristics of an emperor's portrait, helped to transmit the idea of the united power of not four leaders, but one, ruling a whole and unbreakable empire (Schnapp, 2011). A notable example of this process was the porphyry group of armored tetrarchs, carved around A.D. 300, now in Venice.

A rare sculpture of Constantius II, considered also as Constans' portrait, now in the Capitoline Museums in Rome (Figure 7), had very similar facial features to those found in Constantine the Great's portrait, especially the Colossus Constantine. Even the father's gaze looking up to the sky, a sign of his duty as a spiritual leader of the Empire under one god (Thompson, 2007), was found in his son's portrait.



Figure 7: Constantius II, Capitoline Museums, Rome. From *Colossal Head of Constantius II or Constans*, by Musei Capitolin, (Musei Capitolin, n.d.)

The transition of power through images carried on when Emperor Constantius II promoted Gallus, the older half-brother of Julian, Caesar of the East in A.D. 351 (Blockley, 1972) and, according to two chronicles of the seventh century A.D., made him share his name (Hilkens, 2014). At the time, Gallus's portrait on coins included the name Constantius. In addition to the name, they also shared the same hairstyle and facial features, such as big eyes, a straight nose, and a prominent chin (Figure 8). However, Gallus was represented as bareheaded while Constantius II wore a double diadem. Deposed and killed in A.D. 354, Gallus was never Augustus. In A.D. 355, Julian then received recognition when Constantius II promoted him as Caesar.



Figure 8: Constantius II, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number 1982, 1034.171*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.f) (Left); Constantius Gallus Coin, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number 1950, 1006.1490*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.b) (Right)

Between A.D. 355 and 360, the coins that existed were cast with Julian's profile, including inscriptions such as "DN IVLIANVS NOB CAES" or "DN IVLIANVS NOB C", - CAES or C meaning Caesar. Bareheaded and beardless, he had a straight nose, bangs, and curly locks on the back of his neck (Figure 9). Overall, there was a striking likeness compared to the coins with effigies of Constantius II and Constantine the Great (Figure 10). Sharing the same blood, they systematically shared almost the same image, particularly the clean-shaven face, which Julian would maintain until he finally grew a beard at the very end of his "official" status as Caesar in the last months of A.D. 361 (Bowersock, 2008).

Not long before being appointed Caesar, Julian, who was in his early twenties, went to study in Athens. One could easily imagine Julian growing his beard during that time, immersing himself in Greek traditions and culture. To follow the imperial protocol once he became Caesar (Lévêque, 1960), his beard then had to be removed according to his own words, and he saw himself "transformed (...) into a highly ridiculous soldier", a beardless man with a military cloak (Julian, 1913). The beard must have meant much more to him for it could have been considered his "Hellenistic" identity, something that reminded him of his education, passion, and faith.



Figure 9: Beardless Julian Caesar, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number 1981, 0907.1*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.d)



Figure 10: Constantius II, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number B.3800*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.g) (Left); Constantine the Great, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number 1971, 0610.46*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.c) (Right)

4. FROM CLEAN-SHAVEN TO SHORT BEARDED: THE “NEW” AUGUSTUS

There are existing coins bearing inscriptions such as “FL CL IVLIANVS PP AVG” or “FL CL IVLIANVS PF AVG” with Julian’s beardless profile. With AVG meaning Augustus, Julian was self-proclaimed an emperor through these coins wearing a “double-round pearl diadem”, a crown reserved only for an emperor (Figure 11). García Ruiz (2018) dated these coins to circa A.D. 360 and A.D. 361, a period of differences and challenges between Julian and Constantius II. Her argument was well-documented and convincing, as Julian seemed to negotiate his position as “Co-Augustus” through these images; in February A.D. 360, he was proclaimed Augustus by his troops in Gaul.



Figure 11: Beardless Julian Augustus, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number 1981, 0910.38*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.e)

While he dared to represent himself as such, Julian still remained beardless in the coins, continuing to label himself a Constantinian, as if he would not intend to radically challenge Constantius II. He chose to keep presenting himself this way by using this ideal iconography for the duration. Interestingly enough, A.D. 360 was also the fifth anniversary of his status as Caesar. Therefore, this was another occasion for minting coins with his “new” title (Bowersock, 2008). Nevertheless, the emperor’s image as the “beardless” Augustus with more or less the same visage in the coins remained almost unchanged from Constantine the Great to Constantius II then Julian. Only the name at the beginning of the inscription differed. Wisely keeping the “same” image, Julian was strategically careful, so it seemed, before making the next move.

Starting his imperial legitimacy campaign with images, Julian's *Letter to the Senate and People of Athens* seemed to concur with his earlier claim and at the same time show how he was finally finished with Constantius II. Written in the late summer or early fall of A.D. 361, Julian mentioned his Constantinian lineage, alluding back to his grandfather whom he shared with Constantius II. Then, in this same letter, he exposed the emperor for his cruelty, especially for the massacre of Julian's family in A.D. 337 after the death of Constantine the Great. By the time he had finished the letter, Julian and his soldiers were in Naissus, now in present-day Serbia, where he planned to stay until December A.D. 361. However, Constantius II had suddenly died in November of that same year.

García Ruiz (2018) proposed to date some coins with a short-bearded Julian at the very end of the war between him and Constantius II and the beginning of his reign in A.D. 361 and A.D. 362 (Figure 12). Wearing a double diadem, Julian had a side beard that started from the ear, thus framing his jawline down to the chin. The title "AVG" finished the inscription. Distancing himself from the Constantinian iconography with a bearded portrait, Julian declared through images that he was no longer part of the family. However, the author found that he gazed upward in some coins; surprisingly, Julian had borrowed this expression popularized by Constantine the Great. As Guidetti (2015) studied the reverse of the coins, he proposed, without mentioning the gaze, that Julian had Constantine the Great "as his iconographical model" and saw himself as Constantine the Great and Constantius II as Licinius. In that case, this gaze did not seem to contain any Christian connotation and could be interpreted as what Julian had ascertained from the heroism and strength of Constantine the Great. By giving himself the same expression, he was therefore invincible like Constantine the Great. On the other hand, as he wrote in his *Letter*, the gaze could also mean that Julian "called on Zeus and all the gods" for help in this inevitable conflict in opposition to Constantius II.



Figure 12: Bearded Julian Augustus, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number 1936, 0601.4*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.a) (Left); Bearded Julian Augustus British Museum, London. From *Museum Number B.5280*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.h) (Right)

Two identical sculptures in Paris, presently considered portraits of a priest of Serapis, were once thought to be portraits of Julian (Figure 13). Both showed a man with prominent cheekbones, thick eyelids, average-sized almond-shaped eyes, an aquiline nose, and a pouty lower lip. The fringe structure looked somewhat like the Roman sculpture of Constantius II (Figure 7) and, surprisingly, of Trajan in Munich (Figure 5), while the hairstyle and goatee reminded those in the coins with a short-bearded Julian as Augustus. The Louvre's portrait left the impression that he looked up from the head's movement, while the one in the Cluny Museum had his face straighter, turning a little to the side. If they were to be Julian's portrait, as Lévêque (1960) believed, the one in the Louvre would follow Constantine the Great's iconographic model with the heavenward gaze. Wearing a *pallium* and notably a *Stephane*, an ancient Greek crown worn by goddesses, Julian then represented himself as a pagan priest, with his expression and tilted head elegantly revealing the spiritual register.



Figure 13: Bearded Julian, Cluny Museum, Paris. From *Prêtre de Sérapis, dit Julien l'Apostat*, by Musée de Cluny (Musée de Cluny, n.d.) (Left); Bearded Julian, Louvre Museum, Paris. From *Statue d'un prêtre de Sérapis (Ancienne identification: Statue en pied de Julien l'Apostat)*, by Musée de Cluny (Querrec, n.d.) (Right)

These portraits also shared some iconographic similarities with a marble head found in the ancient Agora of Thasos. Wearing a *Stephane* as well, this portrait had almost the same arrangement of bangs and the same facial features, particularly the eyes, aquiline nose, and cheekbones (Figure 14). Lévêque (1960) convincingly compared the fringe, which would suggest that they all represented the same man, who was most possibly Julian, again as a pagan priest.



Figure 14: Bearded Julian from the Ancient Agora of Thasos (Lévêque, 1960: 106)

A small bust in chalcedony in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg has been identified as Julian (Figure 15). This sculpture presented him as being short bearded with a groove running around the head, likely destined for a diadem (Lévêque, 1963). Despite its simplified form and awkward proportions between the head, torso, and the right hand pressed to the chest, which recalled the two Parisian sculptures, this portrait should be classified as the same type of specific iconography, the short-beard Emperor Julian.

With the overall similarities, the Parisian sculptures and the head of Thasos must have followed the same prototype of Julian's portrait, doubtlessly an official one. It represented him as a pagan priest, with a short beard, wearing a *Stephane*, and his right hand touching his chest. Like the Athenian portrait (Figure 1), the Parisian sculptures and the head of Thasos, most probably created between the very last period of his war with Constantius II and the very beginning of Julian's reign, could project his image as the *Pontifex Maximus*. As for the small bust at the Hermitage Museum, it possibly was carved after this prototype, as well. Nevertheless, it was most likely that this Julian wore a diadem, which suggests his portrait here as the emperor before any other role.



Figure 15: Bearded Julian, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. From *Portrait of Emperor Julian*, by the State Hermitage Museum (The State Hermitage Museum, n.d.)

5. FROM THE ENEMY'S EYES: BAS-RELIEF AT TAQ-I BUSTAN I IN IRAN

Apart from the Roman perspective, Julian was presented from a completely different perspective by the Sasanian Empire. On June 26, A.D. 363, he was hit in the abdomen by a lance while pursuing the retreating enemy. The wound was fatal, and he died soon after. Reigning from A.D. 309 to 379, the Persian emperor Shapur II had been leading campaigns against the Romans since Constantine the Great's death in A.D. 337. After the passing of Constantius II from fever, the new and sole emperor Julian, from Ammianus Marcellinus's words (1940, Book 22), driven by the desire to punish the Persians, refused the negotiation offer from Shapur II and advanced his military expedition into Antioch. Reaching the Persian city Ctesiphon, his troops eventually had to retreat. Julian then directed his army towards the Tigris River, in the north of Ctesiphon, to rest. In one of the Sasanians' attacks, Julian rushed to fight with only a shield and was finally hit (Bowersock, 2008).

Although the identity of Julian's killer had been problematic since the period following his death, the spire of the weapon was characteristically Saracen. Therefore, Julian was most probably killed by one of the Saracens who belonged to the Arab unit of the Persian warriors. His image was carved in honor of the Sasanian Empire for he was presented as the defeated Roman emperor on the ground in the bas-relief at Taq-i Bustan, expressly called Taq-i Bustan I, in Iran (Figure 16). His head and left arm were under the feet of Shapur II, standing on the right. Overlaet (2012; 2013) saw his image as a mixture of Shapur II, the emperor, and Ahura Mazda, the supreme god. Since it was Shapur II who finally had Julian killed, undoubtedly due to his divine power as Ahura Mazda, it would make sense that his feet were over Julian's head and arm. Ardashir II, who reigned after Shapur II in A.D. 379, stood on Julian's legs. The whole scene which presented the investiture of Ardashir II by Shapur II, included Mithra, the God of Light, on the left, whom Julian worshipped as Greco-Roman Sol-Mithra or Helios (Hollard, 2010; Scaife, 2017).



Figure 16: Investiture of Ardashir II, Taq-e Bostan I. From *Taq-e Bostan - High-relief of Ardeshir II Investiture*, by Philippe Chavin (Chavin, 2006b) (Left); Defeated Julian with a Hand Pattern. From *Taq-e Bostan - Fallen Roman*, by Philippe Chavin (Chavin, 2006a) (Right)

Following Sellheim (1994) and Overlaet (2012), it is believed that Julian's portrait was carved after Julian's coins, especially with a long beard (Figure 17). Lying down, his head was represented on the side like in the coins, while the torso faced the viewer. He wore the diadem of Augustus with a large gemstone in the center over his fringe. Composed of thin straight lines, it had the same treatment compared to his beard, which came straight down. Interestingly, the slightly curly effect, particularly in the beard, was absent here, while it was common in coins. With a sharp turn of the elbow, the position of Julian's left arm, where he rested his head, was awkward. Vanquished, it is believed that he was presented as dead, with a broken arm, which contrasted those of the three protagonists performing the ceremony (Figure 16). Underneath them, Schmandt-Besserat (2005) saw a prostrate enemy; the contrast between a standing group in action and a figure lying flat strongly suggested the idea of life and death. This representation of a dead enemy lying down also followed earlier Sasanian bas-reliefs with the investiture scene; such as the ceremony of Ardashir I at Naqsh-e Rostam, Shapur I at Bishapur I, or Bahram I at Bishapur V, sculpted in the third century A.D. (Overlaet 2013).



Figure 17: Long-bearded Julian, British Museum, London. From *Museum Number B.6022*, by the British Museum (The British Museum, n.d.i)

In addition, the hand and fingers seemed to have repeated those from the two Parisian sculptures depicting a short-bearded Julian (Figure 13). The comparable movement of the long thumb in the opposite direction of the rest of the curved fingers was striking. This gesture was also similar to the one in the small bust of Julian at the Hermitage Museum (Figure 15). Moreover, Julian's gesture was unique and unprecedented considering the hands and fingers of the defeated enemies in the earlier Sasanian bas-reliefs mentioned above. In the drawing of the ceremony published by Tanabe (1985) and then Overlaet (2013), the thumb was missing and blended with the lines of Julian's attire, while it was well presented in the modern photographs but did not horizontally align with his four fingers. For the author, it appeared to be something typical to representations of Julian and undoubtedly a spiritual gesture if confirmed that the two Parisian pieces represented Julian the pagan priest. As the investiture scene was a religious one, with Ahura Mazda, although combined with Shapur II and Mithra, Julian's right hand with a spiritual connotation was then in agreement with the whole representation; he was physically defeated because he distorted the Persian divinity by Romanizing Mithra for his own beliefs (Hollard, 2010).

Consequently, the author's observation of this gesture seemed to confirm that the two Parisian sculptures likely represented Julian. In addition, statues of Julian with this hand type and a short beard might have been so commonly produced that the Sasanian court would have been aware of and finally used them, blending with the long beard for Julian's portrait at Taq-i Bustan I.

Like Overlaet (2013) succinctly confirmed, the author thought that this bas-relief depicted Julian's portrait metaphorically. However, it also projected the reality of an enemy who had died, following the iconographical tradition mentioned above. Dead as a result of a mortal wound from a lance in A.D. 363, Julian's presence as a slain corpse evoked the honor and majesty of the vanquishers, the Sasanian kings, presented in the moment of the prestigious transition of royal power. Finally, further study about the ground level of this type of scene with dead enemies, if there should be any significance, may shed more light on the interpretation. Here, Julian was represented almost completely under the ground, as if the ceremony had taken place above his tomb. In such a case, it could reinforce the idea of the Sasanian court's grandeur. On the contrary, some enemies in earlier investiture scenes were depicted as lying on the ground line.

6. CONCLUSION

Throughout this research, the author came to realize that Julian's image was more complicated than previously thought, especially in terms of its interpretation and classification, which has been studied

previously by numerous scholars. Starting by legitimizing himself through Constantinian iconography, Julian gradually changed his portrait most importantly through the treatment of his beard, as he went from being appointed Caesar, and finally to officially being proclaimed Augustus. At the same time, iconographic inspiration from previous emperors' portraits, such as Trajan and the bearded ones of the second century A.D. like Marcus Aurelius, was echoed in Julian's representation. The author's observations concerning details like a specific crown on the Athenian head and a particular gesture in the Iranian bas-relief thus make it possible to look at some of his portraits from a slightly different perspective.

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