



# Julian the Apostate, Claudius Mamertinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus: Filling in a “Blank Spot”?

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Much is known about the first half of the 4th century AD and the action-packed period between 360 and 363, which this paper is particularly diving into.<sup>1</sup> However, we propose to formulate a question of central importance for this treatise, namely the content of the (administrative) action that Emperor Julian the Apostate took during his months in Illyricum in the second half of 361. By examining key primary sources like Ammianus Marcellinus and Claudius Mamertinus, we endeavor to reconstruct a more comprehensive<sup>2</sup> understanding of Julian’s activities during his time in Illyricum.

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2 The paper builds upon some of my prior work. It presents new research inspired by my presentation “Julian and Illyricum” at the “Bałkany w kulturze Europy: Od starożytności po współczesność” conference on November 14, 2022 (Instytut Studiów Klasycznych i Sławistyki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego). While analyses of the chapters from Ammianus’ history and (some) inscriptions have been covered in a forthcoming conference paper, this work breaks new ground by offering a novel interpretation of Mamertinus’ panegyric (i.e. the chapters relevant to the topic of this paper), providing a distinct perspective on the subject matter.

On the first day of 362, Claudius Mamertinus<sup>3</sup> held a *gratiarum actio* (thanksgiving speech) for his consulship in 362. Delivered to the Senate in Constantinople, it served to express gratitude and praise – but also to justify Julian’s recent actions.<sup>4</sup> For context, a brief historical overview precedes this analysis.

Barely a decade after Constantine’s passing, the West relapsed into chaos. With Constans assassinated by the usurper Magnentius (350), Constantius II emerged as sole emperor in 353. Seeking a new heir after executing his previous choice, Constantius Gallus (executed in 354),<sup>5</sup> Constantius elevated Julian (Flavius Claudius Iulianus) to caesar in 355, solidifying the alliance through marriage.

Julian’s initial success in Gaul<sup>6</sup> as caesar may have been met with Constantius’ concerns over his growing power. At the beginning of 360, while wintering in Lutetia (modern Paris), Julian was asked to relinquish his army, presumably needed for the operations in the east, but also with a possible intent to diminish Julian’s influence.<sup>7</sup> This escalation resulted in Julian being proclaimed Augustus and his claim to the throne.

Julian took the initiative and moved first,<sup>8</sup> taking his small army toward the east through Illyricum. However, before the final face-off, Constantius died in November 361 near Tarsus, ending further hostilities: Constantius’ court accepted Julian as his legitimate successor.<sup>9</sup>

3 Jones, Martindale, and Morris, *Prosopography 1* (= *PLRE 1*), 540–41 (Claudius Mamertinus 2).

4 Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, 4–5; Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of the Roman Emperors*, 389.

5 Zosim. 2.55.2; Amm. 14.11; 15.1.

6 See Heather, “Gallic Wars,” 64–96, for details about Julian’s campaigns in Gaul.

7 Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 47; see Cox’s *Ascension of Julian*, 267–76, on the dilemma whether Julian really “engineered his acclamation” (Greenwood, “Five Latin Inscriptions,” 101–19, particularly 101) or whether he was forced into usurpation by the possibility of his troops’ revolt (Bleckmann, “From Caesar to Augustus,” 98–123, particularly 107).

8 This seems to be of no little embarrassment for Mamertinus who tries to make the connection between Julian’s operations against the German tribes in the western provinces and his march towards the east; cf. Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, 10–11, and Nixon, *In Praise of the Roman Emperors*, 390–91), which we shall briefly discuss further below.

9 For further reading on Julian’s life see Ricciotti, *L’Imperatore Giuliano l’Apostata*; Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*; among recent works Bringmann, *Kaiser Julian*; Teitler, *Last Pagan Emperor* (particularly 7–15 and 24–34). See Pająkowska-Bouallegui, “History of the Remains,” 333–49 (particularly p. 333, footnote 1) for a more detailed list of references.

MAMERTINUS' *GRATIARUM ACTIO* AND AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS 21.10-12 ON JULIAN IN ILLYRICUM

Having accepted the acclamation of his army, Julian's ascension to the throne became a *de facto* usurpation:<sup>10</sup> although there was probably a lull in the course of hostilities during which some negotiations may have taken place,<sup>11</sup> from the point of view of imperial legitimacy, his ascension to the throne was technically a usurpation since he was not recognized by Constantius.<sup>12</sup> Mamertinus makes some effort in his *Gratiarum Actio* to make this an issue of *saving the empire* rather than usurping power by way of strategic rhetorical comparison, contrasting Julian to such usurpers as Nepotianus and Silvanus: "Since the expulsion of the kings many men have desired to rule the entire State by themselves. ... Suppose they were temporarily restored to life, and God should address them: 'Ho, Nepotianus,' for example, 'and Silvanus, you sought imperial power through hostile swords and imminent death. But now the power to rule is given you spontaneously on the condition that you rule on Julian's terms ...'"<sup>13</sup>

Julian divided his army into three groups; while his army group south under *magister equitum* [Flavius] Flavius Iovinus and Iovius went toward Sirmium "along the familiar roads of [northern] Italy" (*per itinera Italiae nota quosdam properaturos cum Iovino misit et Iovio*),<sup>14</sup> and army group center under *magister equitum* Flavius Nevitta<sup>15</sup> pushed toward Illyricum through "the middle of Raetia" (*per mediterranea Raetiarum*) and Noricum,<sup>16</sup> Julian proceeded with his army group north "along the roads near the banks of the river Danube" (*per ... viasque iunctas Histri fluminis ripis*) toward the Second Pannonia and its capital, Sirmium.

Mamertinus treats this march in a highly mythicized, epic manner, which he otherwise claims to reject,<sup>17</sup> linking Julian's initiative in

10 The motifs for Julian's ascension to the throne received ample attention from ancient authors as well as modern researchers: see Cox, *Ascension of Julian*, 268-70, for a comprehensive overview of ancient and modern viewpoints.

11 Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, 10.

12 Bleckmann, "From Caesar to Augustus," 98-101.

13 Mamert. 13.1-4. This and all subsequent translations from Nixon, *In Praise of the Roman Emperors*.

14 See *PLRE* 1, 462-63 for Fl. Iovinus and 463 for Iovius.

15 *PLRE* 1, 626-27.

16 Amm. 21.8.2-3; see also Bleckmann, "From Caesar to Augustus," 117-20, for a detailed summary of the route of Julian's army to Illyricum.

17 Nixon, "In Praise of the Roman emperors," 391.

marching against Constantius with the war against Alemanni: “Consequently, he suppressed Alamannia at the outset of the attempted rebellion. Not long after he had wandered with his victorious army through regions, rivers, and mountains with unheard-of names, through the farthest kingdoms of wild races, flying over the trampled heads of kings, he suddenly appeared in the middle of Illyricum.”<sup>18</sup>

A brief geographical analysis may be of value at this juncture. The Constantinian era saw *Illyricum* transformed, referring to a distinct territory from its earlier organizational purpose.<sup>19</sup> Diocletian’s 293 reforms saw a significant reorganization of the provinces, with the newly created prefecture of Illyricum divided into the administrative units *Illyricum occidentale* (diocese of Pannonia) and the *Illyricum orientale* (diocese of Moesia).<sup>20</sup> By the end of the provincial administrative reforms (difficult to date with certainty, but possibly during the reign of Constantine),<sup>21</sup> the Empire comprised twelve dioceses and 95 provinces, as attested by the “Verona List” (*Laterculus Veronensis*) from 324.<sup>22</sup> According to the *Notitia dignitatum* (late 4th/early 5th c.),<sup>23</sup> the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum had already shrunk to

- 18 Mamert. 6.2. This narrative serves its purpose (minimizing the aspect of usurpation), to which Julian himself was dedicated as well, i.e., to “polish” his (imperial) image where he *could* do so: see Conti, *Inscripfen Kaiser Iulians*, 103–109, for inscriptions (mostly on milestones) dedicated to Julian in Illyricum; the recurring epithet *victori ac triumphatori totiusque orbis Augusto bono rei publicae [nato?]* – a formulation generally restricted to the milestones in the province of Dalmatia (Conti, *Inscripfen Kaiser Iulians*, 103) is general and restrained enough.
- 19 See Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, 97–115, for the ancients’ idea of Illyria’s dimensions; for further notice on the geography of Illyricum (and the Roman diplomatic attitudes towards it), see Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics*, 26–43; see Šašel Kos, “Pannonia or Lower Illyricum?” 123–30, and Šačić Beća, “Issue of Origin and Division,” 87–110, on the important issue of the dissolution of the province Illyricum (and the question of its date) and its division into Pannonia and Dalmatia. See also Kuntić-Makvić, “Illyricianus,” 185–92, for an interesting debate about the use of the terms *Illyricus* and *Illyricianus*. For (some) ancient reports on Illyricum in the 4th c., see Cedilnik, *Ilirik*; also Gračanin, “Illyricum,” 287–98 for the representation of Illyricum in ancient authors.
- 20 For a detailed account of Diocletian’s (provincial) reforms see Barnes, *New Empire*, 140–74; Kuhoff, *Diokletian* (particularly 330–560).
- 21 Bratož, *Med Italijo in Ilirikom*, 60.
- 22 See Barnes, *New Empire*, 205, for the problems of dating the *Laterculus*.
- 23 See Scharf, *Dux Mogontiacensis*, 3–5, for the outline of problems related to the dating of the *Notitia dignitatum*.

the dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia;<sup>24</sup> however, in the mid-fourth c. AD and until the end of the reign of Valentinian I, the eastern and western Illyricum were still parts of one praetorian prefecture,<sup>25</sup> its western border running along the “western and southern borders of both Norican provinces.”<sup>26</sup>

Virtually unopposed,<sup>27</sup> Julian’s forces reached Sirmium, from where they moved on “with the dawn of the third day”<sup>28</sup> to the pass of Succia and “placed a force ... and entrusted its defense to Nevitta. ... After these arrangements had been made in a matter so momentous and so urgent, the emperor, leaving the commander of the cavalry there, returned to Naissus (a well-supplied town), from which he might without hindrance attend to everything that would contribute to his advantage.”<sup>29</sup>

Julian’s further action against Constantius was severely hampered by the revolt in Aquileia, which began in the summer/autumn of 361 and lasted until February 362, forcing Julian to extend his stay in Illyricum.<sup>30</sup>

This must have given Julian time to do regular “imperial business.” What was it – and how much could he have done in a limited space of time? In his correspondence to Libanius in 363 (*ep.* 98), Julian mentions *libelli* – official documents – that “traveled with him everywhere, following him like shadows” and too numerous to mention.<sup>31</sup> And how limited was Julian’s time in Illyricum anyway?

24 Notitia dignitatum: *Sub dispositione viri illustris praefecti praetorio per Illyricum sunt dioceses infrascriptae: Macedonia. Dacia. Provinciae Macedoniae sex: Achaia – Macedonia – Creta – Thessalia – Epirus uetus – Epirus noua et pars Macedoniae salutaris. Provinciae Daciae quinque: Dacia mediterranea – Dacia ripensis – Moesia prima – Dardania – Praeualitana et pars Macedoniae salutaris.*

25 Lippold, “Westillyricum und Nordostitalien,” 17–28; see also Weiler, “Zur Frage der Grenzziehung,” 123–43.

26 Weiler, “Zur Frage der Grenzziehung,” 133. Under Julian (after Dec. 361), the jurisdiction of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum extended over Italy and Africa as well (Amm. 26.5.5).

27 See Amm. 21.8.3 on Julian’s ploy to make his army seem bigger (and 21.9 on how the trick worked); also Cedilnik, *Ilirik*, 284–85.

28 Amm. 21.10.2.

29 Amm. 21.10.5. Julian had good reason to stay in Naissus instead of Sirmium, the seat of the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum and an important military hub (Mirković, “Sirmium,” 150); see quote above, ch. 21.11.22.

30 Amm. 21.11–12; see Gentili, “Politics and Christianity in Aquileia,” 198–200, for the summary of the revolt and the analysis of Aquileians’ political and religious allegiances; also Bratož, *Med Italijo in Ilirikom*, 128–30.

31 Millar, *Emperor in the Roman World*, 211.

A clear chronology of Julian's stay in Illyricum is particularly important because it allows us to assess whether his administrative and legislative measures were an ad hoc affair or, in fact, deliberate and well thought out. If we accept the (contested) assumption that he left Sirmium for Naissus in mid-May<sup>32</sup> or (more likely) as late as mid-July<sup>33</sup> and another (most reasonable) assumption that he left for Constantinople by the end of November that year so that he could be in Constantinople on December 11,<sup>34</sup> he spent anywhere between four months to about half a year in Illyricum. An interesting aspect of this chronology is of epigraphic nature. While the inscriptions on milestones in Dalmatia exhibit a "restrained" dedication (see footnote 18), the inscriptions along the road from Naissus to Constantinople via Serdica in the Dacia Mediterranea (the road Julian must have taken after having learned of Constantius' death) give Julian full imperial epithets:<sup>35</sup>

[Im]p(eratori) Caes(ari) [d(omino) n(ostro) Flavio Clau]=  
 dio Iuliano Pio Felici [victori]  
 venerabili ac triumphatori  
 semper Augusto, pontifici  
 maximo, German(ico) maximo,  
 Alaman(nico) maximo, Franc(ico)  
 maximo, Sarmat(ico) maximo,  
 imperatori ̄I, consuli III,  
 patri patriae, proconsuli,  
 recuperata re publica [[ - - ]]  
 [[ - - ]]  
 in antiquam ce(n)suram (?) dignita=  
 temque revocavit.

To Emperor and Our Lord Flavius Claudius Iulianus Pius Felix, the ever-winning and ever-triumphant Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, the vanquisher of Germans, the vanquisher of Alemanni, the vanquisher of the Franks and Sarmatians, emperor and consul for the third time, father of the fatherland, proconsul who, having restored the

32 Still accepted by some, e.g., Conti, *Inscripfen Kaiser Iulians*, 109.

33 Nixon, "Aurelius Victor and Julian," 118, for the date of Julian's journey from Sirmium to Naissus.

34 *Ibid.*, 115.

35 Conti, *Inscripfen Kaiser Iulians*, 100; also Sharankov, "Infectam usque fatale exitum," 41-70.

republic [which had been almost completely destroyed], returned it to the old faith and splendor.

A few textual instances will be inspected to explore this matter further. Mamertinus' account – a rhetorically embellished exercise but a fresh document nonetheless (it was delivered mere months after the events in question) – gives a picture of energetic action:

7.1 To restore the condition of the most faithful provinces and at one and the same time to rob all the barbarian world of its spirit by bringing terror nearer, he decided to make a lengthy voyage along the Danube. ... 7.3 All the cities which are situate upon the Danube were visited, the decrees of all were heard ... 9.1 At that very time the Dalmatians were relieved of the enormous taxes in horses, and the Epirotes weighed down and unable to move under the burden of an intolerable tribute, have by your forethought, Emperor, not only cast off their miseries, but have even grown strong in rich and abundant prosperity. ... 9.4 It is enough to know that after one or two letters of the greatest of Emperors all the towns of Macedonia, Illyricum, and the Peloponnesus suddenly assumed a youthful appearance ...

Although this particular passage shares the rhetorical grandeur of the prevailing panegyric style, a few points of interest touch upon what seems factual: the relief of the heavy taxation burden in Dalmatia and Epirus (9.1). But we will see echoes of this observation in Ammianus, too. Even though temporally more remote than Mamertinus' *gratiarum actio*, Ammianus provides some more detail<sup>36</sup> and substance in his chapters 21.10–12 outlining Julian's administrative action in Illyricum:<sup>37</sup>

10.6 There [sc. in Naissus] he made Victor,<sup>38</sup> the writer of history, whom he had seen at Sirmium and had bidden to come from there, consular governor of Pannonia Secunda, and honoured him with a statue in bronze, a man who was a model of temperance, and long afterwards prefect of the City. ... 12.21 Now these things happened later. But Julian was still at Naissus, beset by deep cares, since he feared many dangers from two quarters. For he stood in dread lest the soldiers besieged at Aquileia should by a sudden onset block the

36 But see Lieu, *Emperor Julian*, 6–8, on the historical value of Mamertinus' panegyric.

37 All English translations from Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

38 *PLRE* 1, 960 (Sex. Aurelius Victor 13).

passes of the Julian Alps, and he should thus lose the provinces and the support which he daily expected from them. 22 Also he greatly feared the forces of the Orient, hearing that the soldiers dispersed over Thrace had been quickly concentrated to meet sudden violence and were approaching the frontiers of Succi under the lead of the count Martianus. But in spite of this he himself also, acting with an energy commensurate with the pressing mass of dangers, assembled the Illyrian army, reared in the toil of Mars and ready in times of strife to join with a warlike commander. 23 Nor did he at so critical a time disregard the interests of private persons, but he gave ear to their suits and disputes, especially those of the senators of the free towns, whom he was much inclined to favour, and unjustly invested many of them with high public office. 24 There it was that he found Symmachus<sup>39</sup> and Maximus,<sup>40</sup> two distinguished senators, who had been sent by the nobles as envoys to Constantius. On their return he received them with honour, and passing over the better man, in place of Tertullus made Maximus prefect of the eternal city, to please Rufinus Vulcatius,<sup>41</sup> whose nephew he knew him to be. Under this man's administration, however, there were supplies in abundance, and the complaints of the populace, which were often wont to arise, ceased altogether. 25 Then, to bring about a feeling of security in the crisis and to encourage those who were submissive, he promoted Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect in Illyricum, to the consulship, as well as Nevitta; and that too although he had lately beyond measure blamed Constantine as the first to raise the rank of base foreigners.

Despite the messed-up chronology,<sup>42</sup> Ammianus' chapters 21.10–12 are the most detailed account of Julian's administrative (and strategic) moves in Illyricum during the second half of 361.<sup>43</sup> Structurally, the events after Julian's acclamation to Constantius' death are given from two perspectives: Julian's (21.8–12) and Constantius' (21.13–15). Strictly speaking in narrative terms, "Julian's point of view" is marked by a significant narratorial intervention: the revolt in Aquileia (21.12.4–20) is a temporal parenthesis, which somewhat complicates the timeline of the events.

39 *PLRE* 1, 863–65 (L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus 3).

40 *PLRE* 1, 582 (Valerius (?) Maximus 17).

41 *PLRE* 1, 782–83 (Vulcacius Rufinus 25).

42 See Kóvacs, "Kaiser Julian in Pannonien," 171, footnote 10, for a list of works suggesting different chronologies.

43 For instance, Zosimus (3.11) is silent about Julian's administrative measures (or his military dilemmas).



This is what Ammianus tells us (21.10.6): Julian appointed – in late summer – Aurelius Victor (who had just finished his *Liber de caesaribus*) governor of Pannonia Secunda;<sup>44</sup> he received with honors the senators L. Aurelius Symmachus and Valerius (?) Maximus, who had been sent by the Senate as envoys to Constantius, supposedly at Antioch at the time.<sup>45</sup> In the (self-proclaimed and still disputed) capacity of Augustus, he appointed Maximus prefect of Rome (*praefectus urbi [aeternae]*). He made Claudius Mamertinus prefect of Illyricum (*praefectus pretorio Illyrici*) – Constantius’ prefect Florentius<sup>46</sup> had fled to Constantius when Julian’s army was approaching Sirmium<sup>47</sup> – elevating him (as well as Nevitta) to the rank of consul.<sup>48</sup> Still, despite our observation about the (more) detailed Ammianus’ account, a lot of substance comes from Mamertinus, too, despite the rhetorical veneer of his *actio*. Mamertinus was well informed – several of Julian’s laws directed exclusively at him have a common underlying theme, i.e., “to relieve the provincial population of the expenses (of the *cursus publicus*) through the intervention of the fisc,”<sup>49</sup> which may be a relevant argument in the style of his administrative reforms in Gaul<sup>50</sup> but also Illyricum. This is congruent with Ammianus’ observation that Julian paid attention to “the interests of private persons [and] gave ear to their suits and disputes, especially those of the senators of the free towns, whom he was much inclined to favor” (21.12.23). Although Ammianus makes no mention of Dalmatia or Epirus (Mamert. 9.1), they are on the same page: Mamertinus tells us that “all the cities which are situated upon the Danube were visited, the decrees of all were heard.” (Mamert. 7.3:

44 See Nixon, “Aurelius Victor and Julian,” 119–25, on the possibly complex relationship between Julian and Victor.

45 The chronology of this event is difficult to establish and therefore calls for some questioning. Ammianus enigmatically tells us Julian “found Symmachus and Maximus in Naissus” (Amm. 21.12.24: “Ibi Symmachum *reperit* et Maximus, senatores conspicuos ...”). When exactly did the return from Antioch? If we accept the established dates of Julian’s travels to and fro in Illyricum – from Sirmium to Naissus and then to Succus and back – it would mean he came back to Naissus sometime in the first half of August. It remains to be verified whether Symmachus and Maximus were already at Naissus when Julian returned there from Succus: did they reach out to Constantius on his outward journey or when he was returning from Edessa?

46 *PLRE* 1, 365 (Flavius Florentius 10).

47 Amm. 21.9.4.

48 Note Ammianus’ criticism of Julian’s largesse in this case (Amm. 21.10.8 and again 21.12.25).

49 *Ibid.*

50 Amm. 16.5.14.

*omnes urbes quae Danubium colunt aditae, omnium audita decreta, levati status instaurataeque fortunae.*)

Another clue we are looking for may come from a further epigraphic source, i.e., Mamertinus' honorary inscription for Julian from Iulia Concordia in the province of Venetia and Histria (362/3 AD)<sup>51</sup> speaks of such care and regard (*insignis singularisque erga rem publicam favor*):

Ab (!) insignem singula=  
remque erga rem publicam  
suam faborem (!)  
d(ominus) n(oster) Iulianus Invictissimus Prin=  
ceps remota provincialibus cura  
cursum fiscalem breviatis mutationum spa=  
tiis fieri iussit,  
disponente Claud[i]o Mamertino v(iro) c(larissimo) per Ita=  
liam et Inlyricum praefecto praetorio,  
curante Vetulenio Praenestio v(iro) p(erfectissimo) corr(ectore)  
Venet(iae) et Hist(riae).<sup>52</sup>

Because of the outstanding and unique good-will towards his res publica, our master Julian, Undefeated Prince, relieving the provincials of such a burden, ordered that a postal service with shortened distances between the relay stations be established, according to the plan of Claudius Mamertinus, of *clarissimus* rank, for Italy and Illyricum praetorian prefect, under the execution of Vetulenius Praenestius, of *perfectissimus* rank, corrector of Venetia and Histria.

Albeit the inscription refers to the improvement of the *cursus publicus* and the shortening of the intervals between the relay stations (*mutationes*) in the province of Venetia et Histria (after Constantius' death, Mamertinus' jurisdiction extended over Illyricum and Italy (*per Italiam et Inlyricum praefecto praetorio*) – and possibly Africa),<sup>53</sup> it has some bearing on the question of Julian's administration in Illyricum in 361. The inscriptions on the milestones posted in Illyricum in 361<sup>54</sup> suggest that Julian may have undertaken similar tasks (delegating them to his subordinates) during his stay in Naissus.

51 CIL 5.08658.

52 Translation and inscription analysis Andrea Bernier; see Bernier, "Inscription of the emperor Julian on the cursus publicus from Iulia Concordia made by the praet. prefect Mamertinus," available online in the PPRET Inscriptions database.

53 Bernier, "Inscription of the emperor Julian."

54 Conti, *Inscriften Kaiser Julians*, 103–109.

Unfortunately, Julian's letters written in Illyricum reveal almost nothing of what Mamertinus and Ammianus tell us summarily about his dealings with the provincials (Amm. 21.12.23: *nec privatorum utilitates in tempore adflagranti despiciens litesque audiens controversas maxime municipalium ordinum* ...). However, something about Julian's (at times inconsistent) style in the discussed matters<sup>55</sup> may be perhaps surmised from his *Letter to the Thracians* concerning their petition to cancel their debt due to unpaid taxes, an amalgam of leniency and pragmatism ("not my goal to collect in taxes as much as possible from my subjects; instead I want to be the source of their benefit ... So I remit, down to the third part the sum owed for the preceding period. But from now on, you will contribute as usual"),<sup>56</sup> congruent to Mamertinus' observation about relieved taxation or Ammianus' assessment of "many undoubted tokens of [Julian's] generosity"<sup>57</sup> as well as his subsequent proactive reforms in the prefecture *Oriens* on the restitution of unspecified possessions.<sup>58</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Julian's reputation as an energetic lawgiver and administrator, even if disseminated initially by his own court<sup>59</sup> (but propped up by his own confession to Libanius in ep. 98 about the official dealings), calls for a *statistical* conclusion.

The extensive archive of Julian's administrative, reformist, and judicial actions, spanning his term as Caesar in Gaul to his demise in Persia, presents a compelling subject of inquiry. Notably, even during periods of significant pressure arising from his precarious position against Constantius, Julian appears to have maintained a remarkable level of administrative activity, undeterred by the evident dangers.

55 See Harries, "Julian the Lawgiver," 123–24.

56 *Ep.* 27: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὅ, τι πλείστα παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀθροΐζειν πεποιήμεθα σκοπόν, ἀλλ ὅτι πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ ὑμῖν ἀπολύσει τὰ ὀφλήματα. ... τοιγαροῦν μέχρι μὲν τῆς τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεως ἀφίεμεν ὑμῖν πάντα, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ φθάνοντος ἐλλείπει χρόνου· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰσίοιστε κατὰ τὸ ἔθος (Wright).

57 Amm. 25.4.15.

58 Schmidt-Hofner, *Reform, Routine, and Propaganda*, 131–37.

59 *Ibid.*, 125.

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## ABSTRACT

Flavius Claudius Julianus, often referred to as “Julian the Apostate,” ruled the Roman Empire from early 360 AD until his death in battle on June 26th, 363 AD. Despite his brief reign, Julian undertook significant reforms targeting various aspects of public life, including the administration and provincial governance. This paper focuses on his administrative activities in Illyricum, where he resided in 361 AD while campaigning against Constantius II. While facing immediate tactical concerns during his campaign, Julian reportedly engaged in imperial administrative duties within Illyricum, as documented by historian Ammianus Marcellinus and panegyrist Claudius Mamertinus. This research delves into Ammianus’ account to analyze Julian’s administrative acts in Illyricum and subsequently across the Roman Empire.

**KEYWORDS:** Flavius Claudius Julianus, Constantius II, Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudius Mamertinus, Illyricum

Julijan Odpadnik, Klavdij Mamertin in Amijan Marcelin:  
Zapolnitev »praznega mesta«?

## IZVLEČEK

Flavij Klavdij Julijan, pogosto imenovan »Julijan Odpadnik«, je vladal rimskemu cesarstvu od začetka leta 360 do svoje smrti v bitki 26. junija leta 363. Kljub kratki vladavini je Julijan izpeljal vrsto pomembnih reform, usmerjenih v različne vidike javnega življenja, vključno z upravljanjem provinc. Članek se osredotoča na njegove upravne dejavnosti v Iliriku, kjer je leta 361 po Kr. bival med kampanjo proti Konstanciju II. Medtem ko se je Julijan med kampanjo soočal z neposrednimi taktičnimi težavami, je v Iliriku opravljal cesarske upravne naloge, kot poročata zgodovinar Amijan Marcelin in panegirist Klavdij Mamertin. Raziskava se osredotoči na Amijanovo poročilo in analizira Julijanove upravne dejavnosti v Iliriku ter v celotnem rimskem cesarstvu.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** Flavij Klavdij Julijan, Konstancij II., Amijan Marcelin, Klavdij Mamertin, Ilirik