

3.1-Beginnings of the Reign of Julian (361)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Remembering Constantius		
		<p>3.3.6 For if Constantius, led astray by those under whose influence he lived, did not admit the term <i>μοούσιον</i>, at all events he sincerely accepted the meaning underlying it. For God the Word he called true Son, begotten of his Father before the ages. And those who dared to call Him a creature he openly renounced, absolutely prohibiting the worship of idols. I will relate also another of his noble deeds, as satisfactory proof of his zeal for divine things.</p> <p>3.3.7 In his campaign against Magnentius he once mustered the whole of his army and counselled them to take part all together in the divine mysteries. “For,” said he, “the end of life is always uncertain, and that not least in war, when innumerable missiles are hurled from either side and swords and battle axes and other weapons are assailing men, by which a violent death is brought about. Therefore, it’s advantageous for each to wear that precious robe which most of all we need in the life after this. If there be one here who would not now put on this garb, let him depart from here and go home. I shall not bear to fight with men in my army who have no part nor lot in our holy rites.”</p>
361 - Julian becomes emperor and changes religion		
	<p>5.1.1 Such were the transactions which took place in the Eastern Church. In the meantime, however, Julian, the Caesar, attacked and conquered the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine. Many he killed and others he took prisoners. Because the victory greatly added to his fame, and his moderation and gentleness had endeared him to the troops, they proclaimed him Augustus.</p> <p>5.1.2 Far from making an excuse to Constantius for this act, he replaced the officers who had been elected by Constantius and industriously circulated letters in which</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>3.1.1 The Emperor Constantius died on the frontiers of Cilicia on the 3rd of November [3 November, 361], during the consulate of Taurus and Florentius</p> <p>3.1.2 After Julian left the western parts of the empire about the 11th of December, under the same consulate, he came to Constantinople, where he was proclaimed emperor.</p>	<p>Constantius had solicited the barbarians to enter the Roman territories to aid him against Magnentius. He then suddenly changed his religion. Although he had previously confessed Christianity, he declared himself high-priest, frequented the pagan temples, offered sacrifices, and invited his subjects to adopt that form of worship.</p>	<p>3.1.1 Constantius, as has been narrated, departed this life groaning and grieving that he had been turned away from the faith of his father.</p> <p>3.1.2 Julian heard the news of his end as he was crossing from Europe into Asia and assumed the sovereignty with delight, for he had now no rival.</p>
Julian's boyhood		
<p>3.1.3 I must necessarily speak of the character of this prince who was eminently distinguished for his learning; but let not his admirers expect that I should attempt a pompous rhetorical style, as if it were necessary to make my portrayal correspond with the dignity of the subject.</p> <p>3.1.4 Because my aim is to compile a history of the Christian religion, it is both proper in order to be better understood and consistent with my original purpose to maintain a humble and unaffected style.</p> <p>3.1.5 However, it is proper to describe his person, birth, education, and the manner in which he became possessed of the sovereignty; and in order to do this it will be needful to enter into some antecedent details.</p> <p>3.1.6 Constantine, who gave Byzantium his own name, had two brothers named Dalmatius and Constantius, the offspring of the same father, but by a different mother.</p> <p>3.1.7 The former of these had a son who bore his own name: the latter had two sons, Gallus and Julian.</p>	<p>5.2.7b He was born of pious parents, had been initiated in infancy according to the custom of the Church, and had been brought up in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and was nurtured by bishops and men of the Church.</p>	<p>3.2.1a In his earlier days, while yet a lad, Julian had, as well as Gallus his brother, took in pure and pious teaching.</p>
<p>3.1.8a Now because, on the death of Constantine, who founded Constantinople, the soldiers had put the younger brother Dalmatius to death.</p>	<p>5.2.8 He and Gallus were the sons of Constantius, the brother by the same father of Constantine the emperor, and of Dalmatius. Dalmatius had a son of the same name, who was declared Caesar, and was slain by the soldiery after the death of Constantine.</p>	<p>3.2.1b In his youth and earlier manhood, he continued to take in the same doctrine. Constantius, fearing that his family might desire for imperial power, slew them. And Julian, through fear of his cousin, was enrolled in the order of Readers, and he used to read aloud the sacred books to the people in the assemblies of the church.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>3.1.8b The lives of his two orphan children were also endangered. But a disease which threatened to be fatal preserved Gallus from the violence of his father's murderers, while the tenderness of Julian's age—for he was only eight years old at the time—protected him.</p> <p>3.1.9 After the emperor's jealousy toward them gradually subdued, Gallus attended the schools at Ephesus in Ionia, in which country considerable hereditary possessions had been left to them. And Julian, when he was grown up, pursued his studies at Constantinople, going constantly to the palace, where the schools then were, in plain clothes, under the superintendence of the eunuch Mardonius.</p> <p>3.1.10 In grammar Nicocles the Lacedaemonian was his instructor, and Ecebolius the Sophist, who was at that time a Christian, taught him rhetoric.</p> <p>3.1.11 For the emperor had made the provision that he should have no pagan masters, lest he should be seduced to the pagan superstitions. For Julian was a Christian at the beginning.</p>	<p>5.2.9a His fate would have been shared by Gallus and Julian, who were then orphans, had not Gallus been spared on account of a disease under which he was laboring and from which, it was supposed, that he would soon naturally die. And Julian was spared on account of his extreme youth, for he was but eight years of age.</p> <p>5.2.9b After this wonderful preservation, a residence was assigned to the two brothers in a palace called Macellum, situated in Cappadocia. This imperial post was near Mount Argeus and not far from Caesarea. It contained a magnificent palace and was adorned with baths, gardens, and perennial fountains.</p> <p>5.2.10 Here they were cultured and educated in a manner corresponding to the dignity of their birth. They were taught the sciences and bodily exercises befitting their age by masters of languages and interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, so that they were enrolled among the clergy and read the ecclesiastical books to the people.</p> <p>5.2.11 Their habits and actions indicated no departure from piety. They respected the clergy and other good people and persons zealous for doctrine. They went regularly to church and rendered due homage to the tombs of the martyrs.</p> <p>5.2.12 It is said that they undertook to deposit the tomb of St. Mammias the martyr in a large edifice, and to divide the labor between themselves. While they were trying to excel one another in a rivalry of honor, an event occurred which was so astonishing that it would indeed be utterly incredible were it not for the testimony of many who are still among us who heard it from those who were eyewitnesses of the transaction.</p> <p>5.2.13 The part of the edifice upon which Gallus labored advanced rapidly and according to wish. But a part of the section upon which Julian labored fell into ruin; another was projected upward from the earth; a third immediately on its touching the foundation could not be held upright, but was hurled backward as if some resistant and strong force from beneath were pushing against it. This was universally regarded as an anomaly.</p>	<p>3.2.1c He also built a martyr's shrine. But the martyrs, when they beheld his apostasy, refused to accept the offering. For in consequence of the foundations being, like their founder's mind, unstable, the building fell down before it was consecrated. Such were the boyhood and youth of Julian.</p>

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<p>3.1.12 His proficiency in literature soon became so remarkable that it began to be said that he was capable of governing the Roman empire. And when this popular rumor became circulated, it greatly disquieted the emperor's mind. As a result, he had him removed from the Great City to Nicomedia, forbidding him at the same time to frequent the school of Libanius the Syrian Sophist.</p> <p>3.1.14 For Libanius, because he was driven at that time from Constantinople by a combination of the educators there, had retired to Nicomedia, where he opened a school.</p> <p>3.1.15 Here he gave vent to his indignation against the educators in the treatise he composed regarding them. Julian was, however, forbidden from listening to him, because Libanius was a pagan in religion. Nevertheless, he privately obtained his orations, which he not only greatly admired, but also frequently and with close study perused.</p> <p>3.1.16 As he was becoming an expert in the rhetorical art, Maximus the philosopher arrived at Nicomedia. This was not the Byzantine, Euclid's father, but the Ephesian, whom the emperor Valentinian afterwards caused to be executed as one who practiced magic.</p> <p>3.1.17 This took place later; at that time the only thing that attracted him to Nicomedia was the fame of Julian.</p>	<p>The people, however, drew no conclusion from it till subsequent events manifested its import.</p> <p>5.2.14 There were a few who from that moment doubted the reality of Julian's religion and suspected that he only made an outward profession of piety for fear of displeasing the emperor, who was then a Christian, and that he concealed his own sentiments because it was not safe to divulge them.</p> <p>5.2.15a It is asserted that he was first secretly led to renounce the religion of his fathers by his relationship with diviners. For when the resentment of Constantius against the two brothers was abated, Gallus went to Asia, and took up his residence in Ephesus, where the greater part of his property was situated.</p> <p>5.2.15b Julian traveled to Constantinople and frequented the schools, where his fine natural abilities and ready attainments in the sciences did not remain concealed. He appeared in public in the garb of a private individual and had much company. But because he was related to the emperor, capable of conducting affairs, and expected to become emperor, considerable talk about him to this effect was prevalent. And as is wont to be the case in a populous and imperial city, he was commanded to retire to Nicomedia.</p> <p>5.2.16 Here he became acquainted with Maximus, an Ephesian philosopher, who instructed him in philosophy and inspired him with hatred towards the Christian religion. Moreover, Maximus assured him that the much talked of prophecy about him was true. Julian, as happens in many cases while suffering in misgiving of severe</p>	

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<p>3.1.18 From him Julian received, in addition to the principles of philosophy, his own religious sentiments, and a desire to possess the empire.</p> <p>3.1.19 When these things reached the ears of the emperor, Julian, between hope and fear, became very anxious to lull the suspicions which had been awakened. He therefore began to assume the external semblance of what he once was in reality. He was shaved to the very skin and pretended to live a monastic life.</p> <p>3.1.20 And while in private he pursued his philosophical studies, in public he read the sacred writings of the Christians, and moreover was constituted a reader in the church of Nicomedia. Thus, by these misleading pretexts he succeeded in averting the emperor's displeasure.</p> <p>3.1.21 Now he did all this from fear, but he by no means abandoned his hope. He told his friends that happier times were not far distant, when he should possess the imperial sway.</p> <p>3.1.22 In this state of affairs his brother Gallus, after being created Caesar, on his way to the East came to Nicomedia to see him.</p> <p>3.1.23 But not long after this Gallus was slain, Julian was suspected by the emperor. Therefore, he directed that a guard should be set over Julian. He soon, however, found means of escaping from them, and fleeing from place to place he managed to be in safety.</p> <p>3.1.24 At last the Empress Eusebia, when she discovered his retreat, persuaded the emperor to leave him uninjured and to permit him to go to Athens to pursue his philosophical studies.</p>	<p>circumstances, was softened by these favorable hopes and held Maximus as his friend.</p> <p>5.2.17 As these occurrences reached the ears of Constantius, Julian became apprehensive and accordingly shaved himself and adopted externally the monkish mode of life while he secretly held to the other religion.</p> <p>5.2.18 When he grew into adulthood, he was more easily captivated by these tendencies, yet was anxious about them. Because he admired the art (if there be such an art) of predicting the future, he thought the knowledge of it necessary. He conducted such experiments that are not lawful for Christians. From this period, he had as his friends those who followed this art. In this frame of mind, he came into Asia from Nicomedia. There he consorted with men of similar practices and became more ardent in the pursuit of divination.</p> <p>5.2.19 When Gallus, his brother, who had been established as Caesar, was put to death on being accused of revolution, Constantius also suspected Julian of cherishing the love of empire.</p> <p>5.2.19b He therefore put him under the custody of guards. Eusebia, the wife of Constantius, obtained for him permission to retire to Athens, and he accordingly settled there, under pretext of attending the pagan exercises and schools. But, as rumor says, he communed with diviners concerning his future prospects.</p>	
354-361 - Julian – From Caesar to Emperor		
<p>3.1.25 From there—to be brief—the emperor recalled him, and after created him Caesar. In addition to this, he united him in marriage to his own sister Helen and sent him against the barbarians.</p> <p>3.1.26 For when the barbarians, whom the Emperor Constantius had engaged as auxiliary forces against the</p>	<p>5.2.20a Constantius recalled him, proclaimed him Caesar, promised him his sister Constantia in marriage, and sent him to Gaul.</p> <p>5.2.20b For when the barbarians whose aid had been hired by Constantius previously against Magnentius after</p>	

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<p>tyrant Magnentius, had proved of no use against the usurper, they began to pillage the Roman cities.</p> <p>3.1.27a And, because he was young, Constantius ordered him to undertake nothing without consulting the other military chiefs. Now these generals, after they obtained such authority, became lax in their duties, and the barbarians in consequence strengthened themselves. Julian, perceiving this, allowed the commanders to give themselves up to luxury and reveling.</p> <p>3.1.27b But he exerted himself to infuse courage into the soldiers, offering a stipulated reward to anyone who should kill a barbarian.</p> <p>3.1.28 This measure effectually weakened the enemy and, at the same time, won over the affections of the army to himself.</p> <p>3.1.29 It is reported that as he was entering a town a civic crown which was suspended between two pillars fell upon his head, which it exactly fitted. Upon this all present gave a shout of admiration, regarding it as an omen of his one day becoming emperor.</p> <p>3.1.30 Some have affirmed that Constantius sent him against the barbarians in the hope that he would perish in an engagement with them.</p> <p>3.1.31 I know not whether those who say this speak the truth; but it certainly is improbable that he should have first arranged so near an alliance with him, and then have sought his destruction to the harm of his own interests.</p>	<p>finding that their services were not required, had portioned out that country.</p> <p>5.2.21 Because Julian was very young, generals, to whom the practical affairs were turned over, were sent with him. But when these generals abandoned themselves to pleasure, he was assumed leadership as Caesar and for the war. He confirmed his soldiers in their spirit for battle and urged them in other ways to incur danger. He also ordered that a fixed reward should be given to each one who should slay a barbarian. After he had thus secured the affections of the soldiery, he wrote to Constantius, acquainting him with the frivolity of the generals.</p> <p>5.2.22a And when another general had been sent, he attacked the barbarians and obtained the victory. They sent embassies to beg for peace and showed the letter in which Constantius had requested them to enter the Roman dominions. He purposely delayed to send the ambassador back; he attacked a number of the enemy unexpectedly and conquered them.</p> <p>5.2.22b Some have said that Constantius, with designed enmity, committed this campaign to him, but this does not appear probable to me.</p> <p>5.2.23 For, as it rested with Constantius alone to nominate him Caesar, why did he confer that title upon him? Why did he give him his sister in marriage? Or hear his complaints against the inefficient generals and send a competent one in their stead in order to complete the war, if he were not friendly to Julian? But, as I guess, he conferred on him the title of Caesar because he was well</p>	

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<p>3.1.32 Let each form his own judgment of the matter. Julian's complaint to the emperor of the idleness of his military officers procured for him an associate in the command more in sympathy with his own eagerness. And by their combined efforts such an assault was made upon the barbarians,</p> <p>3.1.33 that they sent him an embassy, assuring him that they had been ordered by the emperor's letters, which were produced, to march into the Roman territories.</p> <p>3.1.34 But he cast the ambassador into prison and vigorously attacking the forces of the enemy, totally defeated them, After he took their king prisoner, he sent him alive to Constantius.</p> <p>3.1.35 Immediately after this brilliant success he was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. And because there was no imperial crown at hand, one of his guards took the chain which he wore about his own neck and bound it around Julian's head.</p>	<p>disposed to Julian. But after Julian had, without his sanction, been proclaimed emperor, he plotted against him through the barbarians on the Rhine. And this, I think, resulted either from the dread Constantius felt that Julian would seek revenge for the ill-treatment he and his brother Gallus had experienced during their youth or. as would be natural, from jealousy of his attaining similar honor. But a great variety of opinions are entertained on this subject.</p>	
Julian's plots against Constantius		
<p>3.1.36 Thus Julian became emperor: but whether he subsequently conducted himself as became a philosopher, let my readers determine.</p> <p>3.1.37 For he neither entered into communication with Constantius by an embassy nor paid him the least homage in acknowledgment of past favors.</p> <p>3.1.38 But constituting other governors over the provinces, he conducted everything just as it pleased him. Moreover, he sought to bring Constantius into contempt by reciting publicly in every city the letters which he had</p>	<p>5.1.3 Because an invasion of Roman territory by the Persians was expected, and Constantius had for this reason traveled to Syria, Julian conceived that he might without battle render himself master of Illyricum. He therefore set out on his journey to this province under pretense that he intended to present an apology to Constantius for having, without his sanction, received the symbols of imperial power.</p>	<p>3.3.1 At the period, however, when Constantius was setting out for the West, drawn there by the war against Magnentius, he made Gallus, who was gifted with piety, which he retained to the end, Caesar of the East. Now Julian flung away the apprehensions which had previously stood him in good stead and, moved by unrighteous confidence, set his heart on seizing the scepter of empire.</p>

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<p>written to the barbarians. And thus, after rendering the inhabitants of these places disaffected, they were easily induced to revolt from Constantius to himself.</p> <p>3.1.39 After this he no longer wore the mask of Christianity, but everywhere opened the pagan temples, offering sacrifice to the idols. Designating himself 'Pontifex Maximus,' he gave permission to those who would celebrate their superstitious festivals.</p>	<p>5.1.4 It is said that when he arrived on the borders of Illyria the vines appeared full of green grapes, although the time of the vintage was past, and the Pleiades had set. Also, that that there fell upon his followers a dashing of the dew from the atmosphere of which each drop was stamped with the sign of the cross.</p> <p>5.1.5 He and many of those with him regarded the grapes appearing out of season as a favorable omen. While the dew had made that figure by chance on the garments upon which it happened to fall. Others thought that of the two symbols, the one of the green grapes signified that the emperor would die prematurely and his reign would be very short. While the second sign, that of the crosses formed by the drops of dew, indicated that the Christian religion is from heaven and that all persons ought to receive the sign of the cross. I am, for my own part, convinced that those who regarded these two phenomena as unfavorable omens for Julian were not mistaken. The progress of time proved the accuracy of their opinion.</p> <p>5.2.3 It is related that one day, as he was inspecting the entrails of a victim, he beheld among them a cross encompassed with a crown. This appearance terrified those who were assisting in the ceremony, for they judged that it indicated the strength of religion and the eternal duration of the Christian doctrines. It terrified them because the crown by which it was encircled is the symbol of victory and because of its continuity, for the circle beginning everywhere and ending in itself has no limits in any direction.</p> <p>5.2.4 The chief augur commanded Julian to be of good cheer, because in his judgment the victims were advantageous. For the crown surrounded the symbol of the Christian doctrine, and was indeed pushing into it, so that it would not spread and expand itself where it wished, since it was limited by the circumference of the circle.</p>	

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<p>3.1.40 In this manner he managed to agitate a civil war against Constantius. And thus, as far as he was concerned, he would have involved the empire in all the disastrous consequences of a war, for this philosopher's aim could not have been attained without much bloodshed.</p> <p>3.1.41 But God, in the sovereignty of his own councils, checked the fury of these antagonists without detriment to the state by the removal of one of them.</p> <p>3.1.42 For when Julian arrived among the Thracians, intelligence was brought him that Constantius was dead.</p>	<p>5.2.5 I have also heard that one-day Julian descended into a most noted and terrific sanctuary, either for the purpose of participating in some initiation or of consulting an oracle. And that there, by means of machinery which is designed for this end, or of enchantments, frightful specters were projected suddenly before him. Through confusion and fear he became forgetful of those who were present, for he had turned to his new religion when already a man. So unconsciously he fell into his earlier habit and signed himself with the symbol of Christ, just as the Christian surrounded with new dangers is used to doing.</p> <p>5.2.6 Immediately the specters disappeared and their designs were frustrated. The initiator was at first surprised at this. But when told of the cause of the flight of the demons, he declared that the act was a blasphemy. After exhorting the emperor to be courageous and to have no refuge in deed or thought to anything connected with the Christian religion, he again conducted him to the initiation.</p> <p>5.1.6a When Constantius heard that Julian was marching against him at the head of an army, he abandoned his intended expedition against the Persians and departed for Constantinople.</p>	<p>3.3.2 Accordingly, on his way through Greece, he sought out seers and soothsayers, with a desire of learning if he should get what his soul longed for. He met with a man who promised to predict these things, conducted him into one of the idol temples, introduced him within the shrine, and called upon the demons of deceit.</p> <p>3.3.3 When they appeared in their usual form, terror compelled Julian to make the sign of the cross upon his brow. They no sooner saw the sign of the Lord's victory than they were reminded of their own defeat and instantly fled away.</p> <p>3.3.4 When the magician figured out the cause of their flight he blamed him. But Julian confessed his terror and said that he wondered at the power of the cross, for the demons could not endure to see its sign and ran away. "Think not anything of the sort, good sir;" said the magician, "they were not afraid as you make out, but they went away because they abominated what you did."</p> <p>3.3.5 So he tricked the wretched man, initiated him in the mysteries, and filled him with their abominations. So, lust of empire stripped the wretch of all true religion. Nevertheless, after obtaining the imperial throne, he concealed his impiety for a considerable time; For he was specially apprehensive about the troops who had been instructed in the principles of true religion, first by the illustrious Constantine who freed them from their former error and trained them in the ways of truth, and afterwards by his sons, who confirmed the instruction given by their father.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Thus was the Roman empire at that time preserved from the intestine strife that threatened it.</p>	<p>5.1.6b But he died on the journey, when he had arrived as far as Mopsucrenae, which lies near the Taurus, between Cilicia and Cappadocia. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after reigning thirteen years conjointly with his father Constantine, and twenty-five years after the death of that emperor.</p> <p>5.1.7 A little while after the decease of Constantius, Julian, who had already made himself master of Thrace, entered Constantinople and was proclaimed emperor.</p> <p>5.1.8 Pagans assert that diviners and demons had predicted the death of Constantius, and the change in affairs, before his departure for Galatia, and had advised him to undertake the expedition. This might have been regarded as a true prediction, had not the life of Julian been terminated so shortly afterwards, and when he had only tasted the imperial power as in a dream.</p> <p>5.1.9 But it appears to me absurd to believe that, after he had heard the death of Constantius predicted, and had been warned that it would be his own fate to fall in battle by the hands of the Persians, he should have leaped into manifest death, —offering him no other fame in the world than that of lack of counsel and poor generalship,—and who, had he lived, would probably have suffered the greater part of the Roman territories to fall under the Persian yoke. This observation, however, is only inserted lest I should be blamed for omitting it. I leave everyone to form his own opinion.</p>	
<p>Julian's Behavior as Sole Emperor</p>		
<p>3.1.43 Julian forthwith made his public entry into Constantinople and considered with himself how he might best soothe the masses and secure popular favor.</p> <p>3.1.44 Accordingly he turned to the following measures: he knew that Constantius had rendered himself loathsome to the defenders of the <i>homoousian</i> faith by driving them from the churches and banning their bishops.</p> <p>3.1.45 He was also aware that the pagans were extremely discontented because of the prohibitions which prevented their sacrificing to their gods, and were very anxious to get their temples opened, with liberty to exercise their idolatrous rites.</p>	<p>5.2.1 Immediately after the death of Constantius, the dread of a persecution arose in the Church, and Christians suffered more anguish from the anticipation of this calamity than they would have experienced from its actual occurrence. This state of feeling proceeded from the fact that a long interval had made them unaccustomed to such dangers, and from the remembrance of the tortures which had been exercised by the tyrants upon their fathers, and from their knowledge of the hatred with which the emperor regarded their doctrines.</p>	

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<p>3.1.46 In fact, he was sensible that while both these classes secretly entertained rancorous feelings against his predecessor, the people in general were exceedingly exasperated by the violence of the eunuchs, and especially by the rapacity of Eusebius the chief officer of the imperial bed-chamber.</p> <p>3.1.47 Under these circumstances he treated all parties with subtlety: with some he dissimulated; others he attached to himself by conferring obligations upon them, for he was fond of affecting beneficence; but to all in common he demonstrated his own disposition for the idolatry of the heathens.</p> <p>3.1.48 And first, in order to brand the memory of Constantius by making him appear to have been cruel toward his subjects, he recalled the exiled bishops and restored to them their confiscated estates. He next commanded the suitable agents to see that the pagan temples should be opened without delay. Then he directed that such individuals as had been victims of the extortionate conduct of the eunuchs should receive back the property of which they had been plundered.</p> <p>3.1.49 Eusebius, the chief of the imperial bed-chamber, he punished with death, not only on account of the injuries he had inflicted on others, but because he was assured that it was through his machinations that his brother Gallus had been killed.</p> <p>3.1.50 The body of Constantius he honored with an imperial funeral, but expelled the eunuchs, barbers, and cooks from the palace. The eunuchs he dispensed with because they were unnecessary in consequence of his</p>	<p>5.2.2 It is said that he openly renounced the faith of Christ so entirely that he by sacrifices and offerings, which the pagans call renunciatory, and by the blood of animals, purged himself of our baptism. From that period he engaged himself in auguries and in the celebration of pagan rites, both publicly and privately.</p> <p>5.2.7a The zeal of the king for such matters saddened the Christians not a little and made them extremely anxious, more especially as he had been himself formerly a Christian.</p>	

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<p>wife's decease, as he had resolved not to marry again; the cooks, because he maintained a very simple table; and the barbers, because he said one was sufficient for a great many persons.</p> <p>3.1.51 These he dismissed for the reasons given. He also reduced the majority of the secretaries to their former condition and appointed for those who were retained a salary befitting their office.</p> <p>3.1.52 The mode of public traveling and conveyance of necessaries he also reformed, abolishing the use of mules, oxen, and asses for this purpose and permitting horses only to be so employed.</p> <p>3.1.53 These various actions were highly lauded by some few, but strongly criticized by all others, as they tended to bring the imperial dignity into contempt by stripping it of those appendages of pomp and magnificence which exercise so powerful an influence over the minds of the vulgar.</p> <p>3.1.54 Not only that, but at night he was accustomed to sit up composing orations which he afterwards delivered in the senate, though in fact he was the first and only emperor since the time of Julius Caesar who made speeches in that assembly.</p> <p>3.1.55 To those who were well-known for literary accomplishments, he extended the most flattering patronage, and especially to those who were professional philosophers.</p> <p>3.1.56 In consequence of this an abundance of pretenders to learning of this sort resorted to the palace from all quarters, wearing their palliums. They were more conspicuous for their costume than their erudition. These impostors, who invariably adopted the religious sentiments of their prince, were all unfavorable to the welfare of the Christians.</p> <p>3.1.57 And Julian himself, whose excessive vanity prompted him to deride all his predecessors in a book which he wrote entitled "The Caesars."</p> <p>3.1.58 This was led by the same haughty disposition to compose treatises against the Christians also. The expulsion of the cooks and barbers is in a manner becoming a</p>		

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<p>philosopher indeed, but not an emperor. But ridiculing and caricaturing of others is neither the part of the philosopher nor that of the emperor.</p> <p>3.1.59 For such personages ought to be superior to the influence of jealousy and detraction. An emperor may be a philosopher in all that regards moderation and self-control. But should a philosopher attempt to imitate what might become an emperor, he would frequently depart from his own principles.</p> <p>3.1.60 We have thus briefly spoken of the Emperor Julian, tracing his extraction, education, temper of mind, and the way in which he became invested with the imperial power.</p>		
Julian begins his persecution of the church		
<p>3.5.1 About the same time Lucifer and Eusebius were by an imperial order recalled from banishment out of the Upper Thebais. The former was bishop of Carala, a city of Sardinia, the latter of Vercellae, a city of the Ligurians in Italy, as I have said previously.</p> <p>3.5.2 These two prelates therefore consulted together on the most effectual means of preventing the neglected</p>	<p>5.5.1 It was from these motives that Julian recalled from exile all Christians who, during the reign of Constantius, had been banished on account of their religious sentiments, and restored to them their property that had been confiscated by law. He charged the people not to commit any act of injustice against the Christians, not to insult them, and not to constrain them to offer sacrifice unwillingly. He commanded that if they should of their own accord desire to draw near the altars, they were first to appease the wrath of the demons, whom the pagans regard as capable of averting evil, and to purify themselves by the customary course of offering.</p> <p>5.12.1 After the return of Athanasius, Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, and Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, a city of Liguria in Italy, returned from the upper Thebais. They had been condemned by Constantius to perpetual exile in that country. For the regulation and general systematizing of ecclesiastical affairs, Eusebius came to Alexandria and there, in concert with Athanasius, held a</p>	<p>3.4.1 Julian had clear information on these points and did not make known the impiety of his soul. With the object of attracting all the bishops to accept his rule, he ordered even those who had been expelled from their churches by Constantius, and who were living in the furthest edge of the empire to return to their own churches.</p> <p>3.4.2 Accordingly, on the proclamation of this edict, back to Antioch came the divine Meletius, and to Alexandria the far-famed Athanasius. But Eusebius, Hilarius of Italy, and Lucifer, who presided over the flock in the island of Sardinia, were living in the Thebais on the frontier of Egypt, to where they had been relegated by Constantius.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>canons and discipline of the church from being in the future violated and despised.</p>	<p>council for the purpose of confirming the Nicene doctrines.</p> <p>5.5.2 He deprived the clergy, however, of the immunities, honors, and provisions which Constantine had conferred, repealed the laws which had been enacted in their favor, and reinforced their statute liabilities. He even compelled the virgins and widows, who, on account of their poverty, were reckoned among the clergy, to refund the provision which had been assigned them from public sources.</p> <p>5.5.3 For when Constantine increased the earthly assets of the church, he devoted a sufficient portion of the taxes raised upon every city to the support of the clergy everywhere. And to ensure the stability of this arrangement he enacted a law which has continued in force from the death of Julian to the present day.</p>	<p>3.4.3 For they not only suffered from the assaults of their opponents, but were at variance with one another. In Antioch the sound body of the church had been split in two. At one and the same time they who from the beginning, for the sake of the right worthy Eustathius, had separated from the rest were assembling by themselves; and they who with the admirable Meletius had held aloof from the Arian faction were performing divine service in what is called the Palaea.</p> <p>3.4.4 Both parties used one confession of faith, for both parties were champions of the doctrine laid down at Nicaea. All that separated them was their mutual quarrel and their regard for their respective leaders. And even the death of one of these did not put a stop to the strife.</p> <p>3.4.5 Eustathius died before the election of Meletius, and the orthodox party, after the exile of Meletius and the election of Euzoius, separated from the communion of the impious and assembled by themselves. With these the party called Eustathians could not be persuaded to unite.</p> <p>3.4.6 The Eusebians and Luciferians sought to discover a means to form a union between them. Accordingly, Eusebius asked Lucifer to travel to Alexandria and take counsel on the matter with the great Athanasius, intending himself to undertake the labor of bringing about a reconciliation.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.5.4 They say these transactions were very cruel and rigorous. This is apparent by the receipts given by the receivers of the money to those from whom it had been extorted, and which were designed to show that the property received in accordance with the law of Constantine had been refunded.</p> <p>5.5.5 Nothing, however, could diminish the enmity of the ruler against religion. In the intensity of his hatred against the faith, he seized every opportunity to ruin the Church. He deprived it of its property, votives, and sacred vessels, and condemned those who had demolished temples during the reign of Constantine and Constantius. They were to rebuild them or to defray the expenses of their re-erection. On this ground, since they were unable to pay the sums and also on account of the inquisition for sacred money, many of the priests, clergy, and the other Christians were cruelly tortured and cast into prison.</p> <p>5.5.6 It may be concluded from what has been said that if Julian shed less blood than preceding persecutors of the Church, and that if he devised fewer punishments for the torture of the body, he was severer in other respects. For he appears as inflicting evil upon it in every way, except that he recalled the priests who had been condemned to banishment by the Emperor Constantius.</p> <p>5.5.7 But it is said he issued this order on their behalf not out of mercy, but that through contention among themselves the churches might be involved in fraternal strife and might fail of her own rights, or because he wanted to defame Constantius. For he supposed that he could render the dead monarch loathsome to almost all his subjects by favoring the pagans who were of the same sentiments as himself, and by showing compassion to those who had suffered for Christ, as having been treated unjustly.</p> <p>5.5.8 He expelled the eunuchs from the palaces because the late emperor had been favorably disposed towards them. He condemned Eusebius, the governor of the imperial court, to death from a suspicion he held that it was at his suggestion that Gallus his brother had been slain.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.5.9 He recalled Aetius, the leader of the Eunomian heresy, from the region from which Constantius had banished him, who had been otherwise suspected on account of his intimacy with Gallus. To him Julian sent letters full of goodwill and furnished him with public conveyances. For a similar reason he condemned Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, under the heaviest penalty, to rebuild, within two months, and at his own expense, a church belonging to the Novatians which he had destroyed under Constantius. Many other things might be found which he did from hatred to his predecessor, either himself implementing these or permitting others to accomplish them.</p>	
<p>361 - Athanasius returns to Alexandria</p>		
<p>3.4.1 Not long after this, Athanasius returned from his exile and was received with great joy by the people of Alexandria. They expelled at that time the Arians from the churches and restored Athanasius to the possession of them.</p>	<p>5.6.1 At this period, Athanasius, who had long remained in concealment, after hearing of the death of Constantius, appeared by night in the church at Alexandria. His unexpected appearance excited the greatest astonishment. He had escaped falling into the hands of the governor of Egypt who, at the command of the emperor, and at the request of the friends of George, had formed plans to arrest him, as before stated, and had concealed himself in the house of a holy virgin in Alexandria.</p> <p>5.6.2 It is said that she was endowed with such extraordinary beauty that those who beheld her regarded her as a phenomenon of nature and that men who possessed self-restraint and prudence kept aloof from her in order that no blame might be attached to them by suspicious. She was in the very flower of youth and was exceedingly modest and prudent, qualities which are wont alone to adorn the body even to a refinement of beauty when nature may not be helpful with the gift.</p> <p>5.6.3 For it is not true, as some assert, that “as is the body, so is the soul.” On the contrary, the habit of the body is imaged forth by the operation of the soul, and anyone who is active in any way whatever will appear to be of that nature as long as he may be thus actively engaged.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>This is a truth I think admitted by all who have accurately investigated the subject. It is related that</p> <p>5.6.4 Athanasius sought refuge in the house of this holy virgin by the revelation of God, who designed to save him in this manner. When I reflect on the result which ensued, I cannot doubt that all the events were directed by God, so that the relatives of Athanasius might not have distress if anyone had attempted to trouble them about him, had they been compelled to swear. There was nothing to arouse suspicion of a priest being concealed in the house of so lovely a virgin.</p> <p>5.6.5 However, she had the courage to receive him and through her prudence preserved his life. She was his most faithful keeper and diligent servant. For she washed his feet and brought him food, and she alone served in every other necessity which nature demands in her exacting uses. The books he stood in need of she cared for through the help of others; during the long time in which these services were rendered, none of the inhabitants of Alexandria knew anything about it.</p>	
Of the Sedition exalted at Alexandria, and how George was slain		
<p>3.4.2 Meanwhile the Arians, assembling themselves in low and obscure buildings, ordained Lucius to supply the place of George. Such was the state of things at that time at Alexandria.</p>	<p>5.7.1 After Athanasius had been preserved in this way and appeared suddenly in the church, no one knew from where he came. The people of Alexandria, however, rejoiced at his return and restored his churches to him. The Arians, being thus expelled from the churches, were compelled to hold their assemblies in private houses and appointed Lucius, in the place of George, as the bishop of their heresy.</p> <p>5.7.2a George had been already slain.</p>	
	<p>5.7.2b For when the magistrates had announced to the public the death of Constantius and that Julian was sole ruler, the pagans of Alexandria rose up in sedition. They attacked George with shouts and reproaches as if they would kill him at once. The wicked perpetrators of this hasty attack then put him in prison.</p> <p>5.7.3 Early in the morning, a little while after, they rushed to the prison, killed him, flung the corpse upon a camel, and, after exposing it to every insult during the day, burnt it at nightfall.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>3.2.1 It is now proper to mention what took place in the churches under that same emperor. A great disturbance occurred at Alexandria in consequence of the following circumstance.</p> <p>3.2.2 There was a place in that city which had long been abandoned to neglect and filth, in which the pagans had formerly celebrated their mysteries and sacrificed human beings to Mithra.</p> <p>3.2.3 Because this was empty and otherwise useless, Constantius had granted it to the church of the Alexandrians. And George, because he wished to erect a church on the site of it, gave directions that the place should be cleansed.</p> <p>3.2.4 In the process of clearing it, an adytum of vast depth was discovered which unveiled the nature of their heathenish rites.</p> <p>3.2.5 For there were found there the skulls of many persons of all ages, who were said to have been sacrificed for the purpose of divination by the inspection of entrails, when the pagans performed these and such like magic arts whereby they enchanted the souls of men.</p> <p>3.2.6 The Christians, on discovering these abominations in the adytum of the Mithreum, went forth eagerly to expose them to the view and abhorrence of all. And they therefore carried the skulls throughout the city, in a kind of triumphal procession, for the inspection of the people.</p> <p>3.2.7 When the pagans of Alexandria beheld this, unable to bear the insulting character of the act, they became so</p>	<p>5.7.4 I am not ignorant that the Arian heretics assert that George received this cruel treatment from the followers of Athanasius; but it seems to me more probable that the perpetrators of these deeds were the pagans. For they had more cause than any other body of men to hate him, especially on account of the insults be offered their images and their temples. In addition, he had prohibited them from sacrificing or performing the ancestral rites. Besides, the influence he had acquired in the palaces intensified the hatred towards him; and as the people are wont to feel towards those in power, they regarded him as unendurable.</p> <p>5.7.5 A calamity had also taken place at a spot called Mithrium. It was originally a desert, and Constantius had bestowed it on the church of Alexandria.</p> <p>5.7.6a While George was clearing the ground in order to erect a house of prayer, a shrine was discovered.</p> <p>5.7.6b In it were found idols and certain instruments for initiation or perfection which seemed bizarre and strange to the beholders.</p> <p>5.7.6c The Christians caused them to be publicly exhibited and marched through the city in order to insult the pagans.</p> <p>5.7.7a But the pagans, after arming themselves with swords, stones, and whatever weapon came first to hand,</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>exasperated that they assailed the Christians with whatever weapon chanced to come to hand. In their fury they destroyed numbers of them in a variety of ways.</p> <p>3.2.8 Some they killed with the sword, others with clubs and stones; some they strangled with ropes, others they crucified, purposely inflicting this last kind of death in contempt of the cross of Christ: most of them they wounded.</p> <p>3.2.9 And as it generally happens in such a case, neither friends nor relatives were spared, but friends, brothers, parents, and children drowned their hands in each other's blood.</p> <p>3.2.10 Therefore the Christians ceased from cleansing the Mithreum. Meanwhile the pagans, after dragging George out of the church, fastened him to a camel, and when they had torn him to pieces, they burnt him together with the camel.</p>	<p>gathered together a large group and rushed upon and attacked the Christians.</p> <p>5.7.7b They slew many of the Christians, and, in derision of their religion, crucified others, and they left many wounded.</p> <p>5.7.7c This led to the abandonment of the work that had been commenced by the Christians, while the pagans murdered George as soon as they had heard of the accession of Julian to the empire.</p>	
The Emperor, indignant at the murder of George, rebukes the Alexandrians by Letter		
<p>3.3.1 The emperor, highly indignant at the assassination of George, wrote to the citizens of Alexandria, rebuking their violence in the strongest terms. A report was circulated that those who despised him because of Athanasius perpetrated this outrage upon George.</p> <p>3.3.2 But as for me, I think it is undoubtedly true that those who cherish hostile feelings against particular individuals are often found identified with popular commotions; yet the emperor's letter evidently attaches the blame to the populace, rather than to any among the Christians.</p> <p>3.3.3 George, however, was at that time, and had for some time previously been, exceedingly obnoxious to all classes, which is sufficient to account for the burning indignation of the multitude against him.</p> <p>3.3.4 The fact that the emperor charges the people with the crime may be seen from his letter which was expressed in the following terms.</p>	<p>5.7.8a This fact is admitted by that emperor himself, which he would not have confessed unless he had been forced by the truth.</p> <p>5.7.8b For he would rather, I think, have had the Christians, whoever they were, than the pagans to be the murderers of George. But it could not be concealed. It is apparent in the letter which he wrote on the subject to the inhabitants of Alexandria, in which he expresses severe opinions.</p> <p>5.7.9 In this epistle he only rebukes them, passing over the punishment. For he said that he feared Serapis, their tutelary divinity, Alexander their founder, and Julian, his own uncle, who formerly was governor of Egypt and of Alexandria. This latter was so favorable to paganism and hated Christianity so exceedingly that, contrary to the</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	wishes of the emperor, he persecuted the Christians unto death.	
<p>Emperor Caesar Julian Maximus Augustus to the Citizens of Alexandria.</p> <p>3.3.5 Even if you have neither respect for Alexander the founder of your city, nor, what is more, for that great and most holy god Serapis,</p> <p>3.3.6 yet how is it you have made no account for both the universal claims of humanity and social order, but also of what is due to us, to whom all the gods, and especially the mighty Serapis, have assigned the empire of the world, for whose attention therefore it became you to reserve all matters of public wrong?</p> <p>3.3.7 But perhaps the impulse of rage and indignation, which, after taking possession of the mind, too often stimulates it to the most atrocious acts, has led you astray.</p> <p>3.3.8 It seems, however, that, when your fury had in some degree moderated, you aggravated your guilt by adding a most heinous offense to that which had been committed under the excitement of the moment. Nor were you, although but the common people, ashamed to perpetrate those very acts on account of which you justly detested them.</p> <p>3.3.9 By Serapis I conjure you tell me, for what unjust deed were you so indignant at George? You will perhaps answer, it was because he exasperated Constantius of blessed memory against you,</p> <p>3.3.10 because he introduced an army into the sacred city, because in consequence the governor of Egypt despoiled the god's most holy temple of its images, votive offerings, and such other consecrated apparatus as it contained.</p> <p>3.3.11 Who, when you could not endure the sight of such a foul desecration, but attempted to defend the god from sacrilegious hands, or rather to hinder the pillage of what had been consecrated to his service, in infringement of all justice, law, and piety, dared to send armed bands against you.</p> <p>3.3.12 This he probably did because he dreaded George more than Constantius: but he would have consulted better for his own safety had he not been guilty of this tyrannical</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>conduct, but persevered in his former moderation toward you.</p> <p>3.3.13 Because you were on all these accounts enraged against George as the adversary of the gods, you have again polluted your sacred city, although you ought to have impeached him before the judges.</p> <p>3.3.14 For had you thus acted, neither murder, nor any other unlawful deed would have been committed. But justice, equitably dispensed, would have preserved you innocent of these disgraceful excesses, while it brought on him the punishment due to his impious crimes. Thus too, in short, the insolence of those would have been curbed who condemn the gods and respect neither cities of such magnitude nor so flourishing a population, but make the barbarities they practice against them the prelude, as it were, of their exercise of power.</p> <p>3.3.15 Therefore, compare this, my present letter, with that which I wrote you some time since. With what high commendation did I then greet you!</p> <p>3.3.16 But now, by the immortal gods, with an equal disposition to praise you I am unable to do so on account of your heinous misdoings.</p> <p>3.3.17 The people have had the audacity to tear a man in pieces, like dogs. Nor have they been subsequently ashamed of this inhuman procedure, nor desirous of purifying their hands from such pollution, that they may stretch them forth in the presence of the gods undefiled by blood.</p> <p>3.3.18 You will no doubt be ready to say that George justly merited this chastisement, and we might be disposed perhaps to admit that he deserved still more acute tortures. Should you farther affirm that on your account he was worthy of these sufferings, even this might also be granted.</p> <p>3.3.19 But should you add that it became you to inflict the vengeance due to his offenses, that I could by no means agree to. For you have laws to which it is the duty of every one of you to be subject, and to evince your respect for both publicly, as well as in private.</p> <p>3.3.20 If any individual should transgress those wise and salutary regulations which were originally constituted for</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>the well-being of the community, does that absolve the rest from obedience to them?</p> <p>3.3.21 It is fortunate for you, ye Alexandrians, that such an atrocity has been perpetrated in our reign, who, by reason of our reverence for the gods, and on account of our grandfather and uncle whose name we bear, and who governed Egypt and your city, still retain a fraternal affection for you.</p> <p>3.3.22 Assuredly that power which will not suffer itself to be disrespected, and such a government as is possessed of a vigorous and healthy constitution, could not devise at such unbridled licentiousness in its subjects without unsparingly purging out the dangerous distemper by the application of remedies sufficiently potent.</p> <p>3.3.23 We shall however in your case, for the reasons already assigned, restrict ourselves to the more mild and gentle medicine of remonstrance and exhortation.</p> <p>3.3.24 To this mode of treatment we are persuaded you will the more readily submit, inasmuch as we understand you are Greeks by original descent and also still preserve in your memory and character the traces of the glory of your ancestors.</p> <p>3.3.25 Let this be published to our citizens of Alexandria. Such was the emperor's letter.</p>		
Lucifer goes to Antioch and consecrates Paulinus		
<p>3.6.1 It was decided therefore that Lucifer should go to Antioch in Syria and Eusebius to Alexandria, in order that by assembling a Synod in conjunction with Athanasius, they might confirm the doctrines of the church.</p> <p>3.6.2 Lucifer sent a deacon as his representative, by whom he pledged himself to assent to whatever the Synod might decree.</p> <p>3.6.3 But he himself went to Antioch, where he found the church in great disorder, the people not being in agreement among themselves. For not only did the Arian heresy, which had been introduced by Euzoius, divide the church, but, as we before said, the followers of Meletius also, from attachment to their teacher, separated themselves from those with whom they agreed in sentiment. When therefore</p>	<p>5.12.2a Lucifer sent a deacon with Eusebius to take his place in the council.</p> <p>5.12.2b And he went himself to Antioch, to visit the church there in its disturbances. A schism had been caused by the Arians then under the guidance of Euzoius and by the followers of Meletius, who, as I have above stated, were at variance even with those who held the same opinions as themselves. As Meletius had not then returned from exile, Lucifer ordained Paulinus bishop.</p>	<p>3.5.1 Lucifer, however, did not go to Alexandria, but traveled to Antioch. There he urged many arguments on behalf of peace on both parties. The Eustathians, led by Paulinus, a presbyter, persisted in opposition. On seeing this Lucifer took the improper course of consecrating Paulinus as their bishop.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>Lucifer had appointed Paulinus as their bishop, he again departed.</p>		<p>3.5.2 This action on the part of Lucifer prolonged the feud, which lasted for 85 years, until the episcopate of the most praise-worthy Alexander. No sooner was the helm of the church at Antioch put into his hands than he tried every means and employed all his zeal and energy for the promotion of peace; and thus, he joined the severed limb to the rest of the body of the church.</p>

