

3.3-Persecution of the church under Julian (361-363)

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Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Julian begins to persecute the church		
<p>3.11.1 Although, at the beginning of his reign the Emperor Julian conducted himself mildly toward all men.</p> <p>3.11.2 But as he went on he did not continue to show the same fairmindedness. Most readily indeed, he granted the requests of the Christians when they tended in any way to cast hate upon the memory of Constantius. But when this was no longer the case, he made no effort to conceal the bitter feelings which he entertained towards Christians in general.</p> <p>3.11.3 Accordingly he soon ordered that the church of the Novatians at Cyzicus, which Euzoius had totally demolished, should be rebuilt, imposing a very heavy penalty upon Eleusius the bishop of that city, if he failed to complete that structure at his own expense within the space of two months.</p> <p>3.11.4 Moreover, he favored the pagan superstitions with the whole weight of his authority, and the temples of the heathen were opened, as we have before stated. But he himself also publicly offered sacrifices to Fortune, goddess of Constantinople, in the cathedral where her image was erected.</p>	<p>5.3.1 When Julian found himself sole possessor of the empire, he commanded that all the pagan temples should be reopened throughout the East; that those which had been neglected should be repaired; that those which had fallen into ruins should be rebuilt, and that the altars should be restored. He assigned considerable money for this purpose.</p> <p>5.3.2 He restored the customs of antiquity and the ancestral ceremonies in the cities, and the practice of offering sacrifice. He himself offered libations openly and publicly sacrificed; bestowed honors on those who were zealous in the performance of these ceremonies; restored the initiators and the priests, the hierophants and the servants of the images, to their old privileges; and confirmed the legislation of former emperors in their behalf; he conceded exemption from duties and from other burdens as was their previous right; he restored the provisions, which had been abolished, to the temple</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>guardians, and commanded them to be pure from meats, and to abstain from whatever according to pagan saying was fitting for him who had announced his purpose of leading a pure life.</p> <p>5.3.3 He also ordered that the nilometer and the symbols and the former ancestral tablets should be cared for in the temple of Serapis, instead of being deposited in the church, according to the regulation established by Constantine.</p> <p>5.3.4 He wrote frequently to the inhabitants of those cities in which he knew paganism was nourished, and urged them to ask what gifts they might desire. Towards the Christians, on the contrary, he openly showed his distaste, refusing to honor them with his presence, or to receive their deputies who were delegated to report about grievances.</p> <p>5.3.5 When the inhabitants of Nisibis sent to implore his aid against the Persians, who were on the point of invading the Roman territories, he refused to assist them because they were completely Christianized, and would neither reopen their temples nor resort to the sacred places. He threatened that he would not help them, nor receive their embassy, nor approach to enter their city before he should hear that they had returned to paganism.</p> <p>5.3.6 He likewise accused the inhabitants of Constantia in Palestine, of devotion to Christianity, and rendered their city subordinate to Gaza. Constantia, as we stated before, was formerly called Majuma, and was used as a harbor for the vessels of Gaza. But on hearing that the majority of its inhabitants were Christians, Constantine elevated it to the dignity of a city, and gave it the name of his own son, and a separate form of government; for he considered that it ought not to be dependent on Gaza, a city addicted to pagan rites. On the accession of Julian, the citizens of Gaza went to law against those of Constantia.</p> <p>5.3.7 The emperor himself sat as judge, and decided in favor of Gaza, and commanded that Constantia should be an appendage to that city, although it was situated at a distance of twenty stadia. Its former name having been</p>	

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	<p>abolished by him, it has since been called the maritime region of Gaza.</p> <p>5.3.8 They have now the same city magistrates, military officers, and public regulations. With respect to ecclesiastical concerns, however, they may still be regarded as two cities. They have each their own bishop and their own clergy; they celebrate festivals in honor of their respective martyrs, and in memory of the priests who successively ruled them; and the boundaries of the adjacent fields by which the altars belonging to the bishops are divided, are still preserved.</p> <p>5.3.9 It happened within our own remembrance that an attempt was made by the bishop of Gaza, on the death of the president of the church at Majuma, to unite the clergy of that town with those under his own jurisdiction. And the plea he advanced was, that it was not lawful for two bishops to preside over one city. The inhabitants of Majuma opposed this scheme, and the council of the province took note of the dispute, and ordained another bishop. The council decided that it was altogether right for those who had been deemed worthy of the honors of a city on account of their piety, not to be deprived of the privilege given to the priesthood and rank of their churches, through the decision of a pagan emperor, who had taken a different course of action. But these events occurred at a later period than that now under review.</p>	
Julian persecutes Cappadocian Caesarea and its Christians		
	<p>5.4.1 About the same time, the emperor erased Caesarea, the large and wealthy metropolis of Cappadocia, situated near Mount Argeus, from the catalogue of cities, and even deprived it of the name of Caesarea, which had been placed upon it during the reign of Claudius Caesar, its former name having been Mazaca.</p> <p>5.4.2 He had long regarded the inhabitants of this city with extreme displeasure, because they were zealously devoted to Christianity, and had formerly destroyed the temple of the ancestral Apollo and that of Jupiter, the patron god of the city. The temple dedicated to Fortune, the only one remaining in the city, was overturned by the Christians after his accession; and on hearing of the deed,</p>	

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	<p>he hated the entire city intensely and could scarcely endure it.</p> <p>5.4.3 He also blamed the pagans, who were few in number, but who he said ought to have hastened to the temple, and, if necessary, to have suffered cheerfully for Fortune.</p> <p>5.4.4 He caused all possessions and money belonging to the churches of the city and suburbs of Caesarea to be rigorously sought out and taken away; about three hundred pounds of gold, obtained from this source, were conveyed to the public treasury. He also commanded that all the clergy should be enrolled among the troops under the governor of the province, which is considered the most arduous and least honorable service among the Romans.</p> <p>5.4.5 He ordered the Christian populace to be numbered, women and children included, and imposed taxes upon them as burdensome as those to which villages are subjected. He further threatened that, unless their temples were speedily re-erected, his wrath would not be appeased, but would fall upon the city until none of the Galileans remained in existence; for this was the name which, in derision, he gave to the Christians.</p> <p>5.4.6 There is no doubt but that his menaces would have been fully executed had not death quickly intervened. It was not from any feeling of compassion towards the Christians that he treated them at first with greater humanity than former persecutors, but because he had discovered that paganism had derived no advantage from their tortures, while Christianity had been especially increased, and had become more honored by the fortitude of those who died in defense of the faith.</p> <p>5.4.7 It was simply from envy of their glory, that instead of employing fire and the sword against them, and mistreating their bodies like former persecutors, and instead of casting them into the sea, or burying them alive in order to compel them to a change of belief, he made use of argument and persuasion, and sought by these means to reduce them to paganism. He expected to gain</p>	

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	his ends more easily by abandoning all violent measures, and by the demonstration of unexpected benevolence.	
Maris Bishop of Chalcedon confronts Julian		
<p>3.12.1 About this time, when Maris bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia was led by the hand into the emperor’s presence—for on account of extreme old age he had a disease in his eyes termed ‘cataract’—he severely rebuked his impiety, apostasy, and atheism.</p> <p>3.12.2 But Julian answered with abusive words, calling him blind. ‘You blind old fool,’ said he, ‘this Galilean God of yours will never cure you.’</p> <p>3.12.3 For he was accustomed to term Christ as ‘the Galilean,’ and Christians as Galileans.</p> <p>3.12.4 Maris with still greater boldness replied, ‘I thank God for depriving me of my sight, that I might not behold the face of one who has fallen into such awful impiety.’</p>	<p>5.4.8 It is said that on one occasion, when he was sacrificing in the temple of Fortune at Constantinople, Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, presented himself before him, and publicly rebuked him as an irreligious man, an atheist, and an apostate. Julian had nothing in return to reproach him with except his blindness, for his sight was impaired by old age, and he was led by a child.</p> <p>5.4.9a According to his usual custom of uttering blasphemies against Christ, Julian afterward added in derision, “The Galilean, your God, will not cure you.”</p> <p>5.4.9b Maris replied, ‘I thank God for my blindness, since it prevents me from beholding one who has fallen away from our religion.’ Julian passed on without giving a reply, for he considered that paganism would be more advanced by a personal and unexpected exhibition of patience and mildness towards Christians.</p>	
Outrages committed by the Pagans against the Christians		
<p>3.13.1 He moreover prohibited those who would not renounce Christianity and offer sacrifice to idols, from holding any office at court. Nor would he allow Christians to be governors of provinces.</p> <p>3.13.2 ‘For,’ said he, ‘their law forbids them to use the sword against offenders worthy of capital punishment.’ He also swayed many to offer sacrifice, partly by flatteries, and partly by gifts.</p> <p>3.13.3 Immediately, as if tried in a furnace, it at once became evident to all who were the real Christians, and who were merely nominal ones. Those were Christians in integrity of heart, very readily resigned their office, choosing to endure anything rather than deny Christ.</p> <p>3.13.4 Of this number were Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, each of whom afterwards became emperor. But others of unsound principles, who preferred the riches</p>		<p>3.6.1 When Julian had made his impiety openly known the cities were filled with dissensions. Men fascinated by the deceits of idolatry took heart, opened the idols’ shrines, and began to perform those foul rites which ought to have died out from the memory of man. Once more they kindled the fire on the altars, defiled the ground with victims’ gore, and polluted the air with the smoke of their burnt sacrifices.</p> <p>3.6.2 Maddened by the demons they served they ran in unrestrained frenzy round about the streets, attacked the saints with vulgar insults, and with all the outrage and indecency of their impure processions.</p> <p>3.6.3 On the other hand, as the pious could not bear the blasphemies, they returned insult for insult, and tried to refute the error which their opponents honored.</p> <p>3.6.4 In their turn, the workers of iniquity took it ill; the liberty allowed them by the sovereign was an encouragement to audacity and they dealt deadly blows</p>

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<p>and honor of this world to true blessedness, sacrificed without hesitation.</p> <p>3.13.5 Of these was Ecebolius, a sophist of Constantinople who, accommodating himself to the dispositions of the emperors, pretended in the reign of Constantius to be an ardent Christian; while in Julian's time he appeared an equally vigorous pagan. After Julian's death, he again made a profession of Christianity.</p> <p>3.13.6 For he prostrated himself before the church doors, and called out, 'Trample on me, for I am as salt that has lost its savor.' Of so fickle and inconstant a character was this person, throughout the whole period of his history.</p> <p>3.13.7 About this time, as the emperor was planning to punish the Persians for the frequent invasions they had made on the Roman territories during the reign of Constantius, he marched with great haste through Asia into the East.</p> <p>3.13.8 But as he well knew what a train of calamities attend a war, and what immense resources are necessary to carry it on successfully and without which it cannot be carried on, he craftily devised a plan for collecting money by extorting it from the Christians.</p> <p>3.13.9 On all those who refused to sacrifice he imposed a heavy fine, which was exacted with great rigor from the true Christians, every one being compelled to pay in proportion to what he possessed.</p> <p>3.13.10 By these unjust means the emperor soon amassed immense wealth; for this law was put into execution both where Julian was personally present, and where he was not.</p> <p>3.13.11 The pagans at the same time assailed the Christians; and there was a great gathering of those who styled themselves 'philosophers.' They then proceeded to institute certain abominable mysteries; and sacrificing pure children both male and female, they inspected their entrails, and even tasted their flesh.</p> <p>3.13.12 These infamous rites were practiced in other cities, but more particularly at Athens and Alexandria.</p>		<p>among the Christians. It was indeed the duty of the emperor to consult for the peace of his subjects, but he in the depth of his iniquity himself maddened his peoples with mutual rage.</p> <p>3.6.5 The deeds dared by the violent against the peaceable he overlooked and entrusted civil and military offices of importance to savage and impious men, who, though they hesitated publicly to force the lovers of true piety to offer sacrifice, treated them nevertheless with all kinds of indignity. Moreover, Julian took away all the honors conferred upon the sacred ministry by the great Constantine.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>3.13.13 In which latter place, a slanderous accusation was made against Athanasius the bishop, the emperor being assured that he was intent on desolating not only that city, but all of Egypt, and that nothing but his expulsion out of the country could save it. The governor of Alexandria was therefore instructed by an imperial edict to apprehend him.</p>		
<p>Julian, the emperor's uncle, defiles a church in Antioch</p>		
	<p>5.8.1a It is said that when Julian, the uncle of the emperor, was intent upon removing the votive gifts of the church of Antioch, which were many and costly, and placing them in the imperial treasury, and also closing the places of prayer, all the clergy fled.</p> <p>5.8.1b One presbyter alone, by the name of Theodoritus, did not leave the city. Julian seized him, as the keeper of the treasures, and as capable of giving information concerning them, and mistreated him terribly. Finally, he ordered him to be slain with the sword, after he had responded bravely under every torture and had been well approved by his doctrinal confessions.</p> <p>5.8.2a When Julian had looted the sacred vessels, he flung them upon the ground and began to mock; after blaspheming Christ as much as he wished, he sat upon the vessels and increased his insulting acts.</p>	<p>3.12.1 Even when the wicked had become acquainted with these events they set themselves in array against the God of all; and the prince ordered the holy vessels to be handed over to the imperial treasury. Of the great church which Constantine had built he nailed up the doors and declared it closed to the worshippers who routinely assembled there. At this time, it was in possession of the Arians.</p> <p>3.12.2 In company with Julian, the prefect of the East, Felix the imperial treasurer, and Elpidius, who had charge of the emperor's private purse and property, an officer whom it is the Roman custom to call <i>Comes privatarum</i>, made their way into the sacred building.</p> <p>3.12.3a Both Felix and Elpidius, it is said, were Christians, but in order to please the impious emperor, departed from the true religion.</p> <p>3.12.3b Julian committed an act of gross indecency on the Holy Table and, when Euzoïus endeavored to prevent him, gave him a blow on the face, and told him, so the story goes, that it is the fate of the fortunes of Christians to have no protection from the gods.</p> <p>3.12.4 But Felix said, as he gazed upon the magnificence of the sacred vessels, furnished with splendor by the generosity of Constantine and Constantius, "Behold, with what vessels Mary's son is served." But it was not long before they paid the penalty of these deeds of mad and impious daring.</p>
	<p>5.8.2b Immediately his genitals and rectum were corrupted; their flesh became putrescent, and was changed into worms. The disease was beyond the skill of the physicians.</p>	<p>3.13.1 Without delay, Julian fell sick of a painful disease. His entrails rotted away, and he was no longer able to discharge his excrements through the normal organs of excretion, but his polluted mouth, at the instant of his blasphemy, became the organ for their emission.</p>

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	<p>5.8.3 However, from reverence and fear for the emperor, they resorted to experiments with all manner of drugs, and the costliest and the fattest birds were slain, and their fat was applied to the corrupted parts, in the hope that the worms might be thereby attracted to the surface, but this was of no effect; for being deeply buried, they crept into the living flesh, and did not cease their gnawing until they put an end to his life.</p> <p>5.8.4 It seemed that this calamity was an infliction of Divine wrath, because the keeper of the imperial treasures, and other of the chief officers of the court who had made sport of the Church, died in an extraordinary and dreadful manner, as if condemned by Divine wrath.</p>	<p>3.13.2 His wife, it is said, was a woman of conspicuous faith, and thus addressed her spouse: "Husband, you ought to bless our Savior Christ for showing you through your castigation his power. For you would never have known who it is who is being attacked by you, if with his usual tolerance he had refrained from visiting you with these heaven-sent plagues."</p> <p>3.13.3 Then by these words and the heavy weight of his woes the wretched man perceived the cause of his disease, and begged the emperor to restore the church to those who had been deprived of it. But he did not persuade the emperor, and so ended his days.</p> <p>3.13.4 Felix too was himself suddenly struck down by a heaven-sent scourge, and kept vomiting blood from his mouth, all day and all night, for all the vessels of his body poured their convergent streams to this one organ.</p> <p>3.13.5 So when all his blood was shed he died, and was delivered to eternal death. Such were the penalties inflicted on these men for their wickedness.</p>
362 - Flight of Athanasius		
	<p>5.15.1 The emperor, on being informed that Athanasius held meetings in the church of Alexandria, and taught the people boldly, and converted many pagans to Christianity, commanded him under the severest penalties to depart from Alexandria.</p> <p>5.15.2 The pretext made use of to enforce this edict, was that Athanasius, after having been banished by Constantius, had reassumed his episcopal see without the sanction of the reigning emperor. For Julian declared that he had never contemplated restoring the bishops who had been exiled by Constantius to their ecclesiastical functions, but only to their native land.</p>	<p>3.9.1 At this time Athanasius, that victorious athlete of the truth, underwent another peril, for the devils could not bear the power of his tongue and prayers, and so they armed their ministers to abuse him. Many voices did they utter begging the champion of wickedness to exile Athanasius, and adding yet this further, that if Athanasius remained, not a heathen would remain, for he would win them all over to his side.</p> <p>3.9.2a Moved by these supplications Julian condemned Athanasius not merely to exile, but to death.</p>

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<p>3.14.1 But he fled again, saying to his companions, ‘Let us retire for a little while, friends; it is but a small cloud which will soon pass away.’ He then immediately set out, and crossing the Nile, he hastened with all speed into Egypt, closely pursued by those who sought to take him.</p> <p>3.14.2 When he understood that his pursuers were not far distant, his attendants were urging him to retreat once more into the desert, but instead he made use of a trick and escaped in the following way:</p> <p>3.14.3 He persuaded those who accompanied him to turn back and meet his adversaries, which they did immediately. And on approaching them they were simply asked ‘where they had seen Athanasius.’</p> <p>3.14.4 To which they replied that ‘he was not a great way off,’ and, that ‘if they hastened they would soon overtake him.’</p> <p>3.14.5 Being thus deceived, they started afresh in pursuit with quickened speed, but to no purpose; and Athanasius making good his retreat, returned secretly to Alexandria.</p> <p>3.14.6 And there he remained concealed until the persecution was at an end. Such were the perils which succeeded one another in the career of the bishop of Alexandria, as he was subjected to perils from Christians, and then at last from the heathens.</p> <p>3.14.7 In addition to these things, the governors of the provinces took advantage of the emperor’s superstition to feed their own greed, and committed more grievous outrages against the Christians than their sovereign had given them a warrant for; sometimes exacting larger sums of money than they ought to have done, and at others inflicting on them corporal punishments.</p> <p>3.14.8 When the emperor learned of these things he overlooked them. And when the sufferers appealed to him against their oppressors, he tauntingly said, ‘It is your duty to bear these afflictions patiently; for this is the command of your God.’</p>	<p>5.15.3 On the announcement of the command for his immediate departure, Athanasius said to the Christian multitudes who stood weeping around him, “Be of good courage; it is but a cloud which will speedily be dispersed.” After these words he bade farewell; he then committed the care of the church to the most zealous of his friends and quitted Alexandria.</p>	<p>3.9.2b His people shuddered, but it is said that he foretold the rapid dispersal of the storm, for he said “It is a cloud which soon vanishes away.”</p> <p>3.9.3 He however withdrew, as soon as he learned that the bearers of the imperial message had arrived. Finding a boat on the bank of the river, he started for the Thebaid. The officer who had been appointed for his execution learned of his flight, and strove to pursue him in haste. One of his friends, however, got ahead, and told him that the officer was advancing on him speedily. Then some of his companions pleaded that he take refuge in the desert, but he ordered the steersman to turn the boat’s bow to Alexandria.</p> <p>3.9.4 So they rowed to meet the pursuer, and on came the bearer of the sentence of execution, and he said, “How far off is Athanasius?” “Not far,” said Athanasius, and so got rid of his foe, while he himself returned to Alexandria and there remained in hiding for the remainder of Julian’s reign.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Persecution in the city of Gaza		
	<p>5.9.1 As I have advanced thus far in my history, and have given an account of the death of George and of Theodoritus, I deem it right to relate some particulars concerning the death of the three brethren, Eusebius, Nestabus, and Zeno. The inhabitants of Gaza, being inflamed with rage against them, dragged them from their house, in which they had concealed themselves and cast them into prison, and beat them.</p> <p>5.9.2 They then assembled in the theater, and cried out loudly against them, declaring that they had committed sacrilege in their temple, and had used the past opportunity for the injury and insult of paganism. By these shouts and by instigating one another to the murder of the brethren, they were filled with fury.</p> <p>5.9.3 And when they had been mutually incited, as a crowd in revolt is apt to do, they rushed to the prison. They handled the men very cruelly; sometimes with the face and sometimes with the back upon the ground, the victims were dragged along, and were dashed to pieces by the pavement.</p> <p>5.9.4 I have been told that even women quilted their distaffs and pierced them with the weaving-spindles, and that the cooks in the markets snatched from their stands the boiling pots foaming with hot water and poured it over the victims, or perforated them with spits.</p> <p>5.9.5 When they had torn the flesh from them and crushed in their skulls, so that the brain ran out on the ground, their bodies were dragged out of the city and flung on the spot generally used as a receptacle for the carcasses of beasts; then a large fire was lighted, and they burned the bodies; the remnant of the bones not consumed by the fire was mixed with those of camels and donkeys, that they might not be found easily. But they were not long concealed.</p> <p>5.9.6 For a Christian woman, who was an inhabitant, though not a native of Gaza, collected the bones at night by the direction of God. She put them in an earthen pot and gave them to Zeno, their cousin for safekeeping, for thus God had informed her in a dream, and also had</p>	<p>3.7.1 To tell all the deeds dared by the slaves of idolatrous deceit at that time would require a history of these crimes alone, but out of the vast number of them I shall select a few instances. At Askalon and at Gaza, cities of Palestine, those of priestly rank and women who had lived all their lives in virginity were disemboweled, filled with barley, and given for food to swine.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>indicated to the woman where the man lived. And before she saw him, he was shown to her, for she was previously unacquainted with Zeno; and when the persecution had been agitated recently he remained concealed.</p> <p>5.9.7 He was close to being seized by the people of Gaza and being put to death; but he had accomplished his escape while the people were occupied in the murder of his cousins, and had fled to Anthedon, a maritime city, about twenty stadia from Gaza and similarly favorable to paganism and devoted to idolatry.</p> <p>5.9.8 When the inhabitants of this city discovered that he was a Christian, they beat him terribly on the back with rods and drove him out of the city. He then fled to the harbor of Gaza and concealed himself.</p> <p>5.9.9 And here the woman found him and gave him the remains. He kept them carefully in his house until the reign of Theodosius, when he was ordained bishop; and he erected a house of prayer beyond the walls of the city, placed an altar there, and deposited the bones of the martyrs near those of Nestor, the Confessor. Nestor had been on close terms with his cousins, and was seized with them by the people of Gaza, imprisoned, and scourged.</p> <p>5.9.10 But those who dragged him through the city were affected by his personal beauty; and, struck with compassion, they cast him, before he was totally dead, out of the city. Some persons found him, and carried him to the house of Zeno, where he expired during the dressing of his cuts and wounds.</p> <p>5.9.11 When the inhabitants of Gaza began to reflect on the enormity of their crime, they trembled that the emperor might take vengeance on them. It was reported that the emperor was filled with indignation, and was determined to punish the people.</p> <p>5.9.12 But this report was false, and had no foundation save in the fears and self-accusations of the criminals. Julian, far from showing as much anger against them as he had against the Alexandrians after the murder of George, did not even write to rebuke the people of Gaza.</p> <p>5.9.13 On the contrary, he deposed the governor of the province, and held him as a suspect, and claimed that</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>clemency alone prevented his being put to death. The crime imputed to him was, that of having arrested some of the inhabitants of Gaza, who were reported to have begun the sedition and murders, and of having imprisoned them until judgment could be passed upon them in accordance with the laws. "For what right had he," asked the emperor, "to arrest the citizens merely for retaliating on a few Galileans the injuries that had been inflicted on them and their gods?" This, it is said, was the fact in the case.</p> <p>5.10.1 At the same period the inhabitants of Gaza searched for the monk Hilarion; but he had fled to Sicily. Here he employed himself in collecting wood in the deserts and on the mountains, which he carried on his shoulders for sale in the cities, and, by these means, obtained sufficient food for the support of the body.</p> <p>5.10.2 But as he was at length recognized by a man of quality out of whom he had cast a demon, he retired to Dalmatia, where, by the power of God, he performed numerous miracles, and through prayer, repressed an inundation of the sea and restored the waves to their proper bounds, and again departed.</p> <p>5.10.3 For it was no joy to him to live among those who praised him; but when he changed his place of abode, he was desirous of being unobserved and by frequent migrations to be rid of the fame which prevailed about him.</p> <p>5.10.4 Eventually he sailed for the island of Cyprus, but came to Paphos, and, at the request of the bishop of Cyprus, he loved the life there and practiced philosophy at a place called Charburis. Here he only escaped martyrdom by flight; for he fled in obedience to the Divine precept which commands us not to expose ourselves to persecution; but that if we fall into the hands of persecutors, to overcome by our own fortitude the violence of our oppressors.</p>	
Martyrs in Heliopolis, Arethusa, and other towns		
	<p>5.10.5a The inhabitants of Gaza and of Alexandria were not the only citizens who exercised such atrocities against the Christians as those I have described.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.10.5b The inhabitants of Heliopolis, near Mount Libanus, and of Arethusa in Syria, seem to have surpassed them in excess of cruelty.</p> <p>5.10.6 The former were guilty of an act of barbarity which could scarcely be credited, had it not been corroborated by the testimony of those who witnessed it. They stripped the holy virgins, who had never been looked upon by the multitude, of their garments, and exposed them in a state of nudity as a public spectacle and objects of insult. After numerous other inflictions they at last shaved them, ripped them open, and concealed in their viscera the food usually given to pigs; and since the swine could not distinguish, but were impelled by the need of their customary food, they also tore the human flesh into pieces.</p> <p>5.10.7 I am convinced that the citizens of Heliopolis perpetrated this barbarity against the holy virgins because of the prohibition of the ancient custom of giving virgins up to prostitution with any random man before being united in marriage to their betrothed. This custom was prohibited by a law enacted by Constantine, after he had destroyed the temple of Venus at Heliopolis, and erected a church upon its ruins.</p>	<p>3.7.2a At Sebaste, which belongs to the same people, the coffin of John the Baptist was opened, his bones burnt, and the ashes scattered abroad. And who could tell without a tear the vile deed done in Phoenicia?</p> <p>3.7.2b At Heliopolis by Lebanon there lived a certain deacon of the name of Cyrillus.</p> <p>3.7.3 In the reign of Constantine, fired by divine zeal, he had broken in pieces many of the idols there worshipped. Now men of infamous name, bearing this deed in mind, not only slew him, but cut open his belly and devoured his liver. Their crime was not, however, hidden from the all-seeing eye, and they suffered the just reward of their deeds.</p> <p>3.7.4 For all who had taken part in this abominable wickedness lost their teeth, which all fell out at once, and lost, too, their tongues, which rotted away and dropped from them. They were moreover deprived of sight, and by their sufferings proclaimed the power of holiness.</p> <p>3.7.5 At the neighboring city of Emesa they dedicated to the woman-shaped Dionysus, the newly erected church, and set his ridiculous androgynous image inside of it. At Dorystolum, a famous city of Thrace, the victorious athlete Aemilianus was thrown upon a flaming pyre, by Capitolinus, governor of all Thrace.</p>
	<p>5.10.8 Mark, bishop of Arethusa, an old man and venerable for his gray hairs and life, was put to a very cruel death by the inhabitants of that city, who had long entertained hostile feelings against him, because, during the reign of Constantine, he had more spiritedly than persuasively converted the pagans to Christianity, and had demolished a most sacred and magnificent temple.</p>	<p>3.7.6 But to relate the tragic fate of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, with true dramatic dignity, would require the eloquence of an Aeschylus or a Sophocles. In the days of Constantius, he had destroyed a certain idol-shrine and built a church in its place; and no sooner did the Arethusians learn the mind of Julian than they made an open display of their hostility.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.10.9 On the accession of Julian he saw that the people were excited against the bishop; an edict was issued commanding the bishop either to defray the expenses of its re-erection, or to rebuild the temple. Reflecting that the one was impossible and the other unlawful for a Christian and still less for a priest, he at first fled from the city.</p> <p>5.10.10 On hearing, however, that many were suffering on his account, that some were dragged before the tribunals and others tortured, he returned, and offered to suffer whatever the multitude might choose to inflict upon him.</p> <p>5.10.11 The entire people, instead of admiring him the more as having performed a deed befitting a philosopher, imagined that he was moved by contempt towards them, and rushed upon him, dragged him through the streets, pressing and plucking and beating whatever member each one happened upon. People of each sex and of all ages joined with rage and fury in this atrocious proceeding. His ears were severed by fine ropes; the boys who frequented the schools made game of him by tossing him aloft and rolling him over and over, sending him forward, catching him up, and unsparingly piercing him with their styles.</p> <p>5.10.12 When his whole body was covered with wounds, and he nevertheless was still breathing, they anointed him with honey and a certain mixture, and placing him in a fish-basket made of woven rushes, raised him up on elevated structure. It is said that while he was in this position, and the wasps and bees lit upon him and consumed his flesh, he told the inhabitants of Arethusa that he was raised up above them, and could look down upon them below him, and that this reminded him of the difference that would exist between them in the life to come.</p>	<p>3.7.7a At first, according to the precept of the Gospel, Marcus endeavored to make his escape.</p> <p>3.7.7b But when he became aware that some of his own people were apprehended in his stead, he returned and gave himself up to the men of blood.</p> <p>3.7.8a After they had seized him they neither pitied his old age nor revered his deep regard for virtue; but, conspicuous as he was for the beauty of both his teaching and his life, first of all they stripped and beat him, laying strokes on every limb. Then they flung him into filthy sewers, and, when they had dragged him out again, delivered him to a crowd of lads whom they charged to prick him without mercy with their pens.</p> <p>3.7.8b After this they put him into a basket, smeared him with pickle and honey, and hung him up in the open air in the height of summer, inviting wasps and bees to a feast.</p> <p>3.7.9 Their object in doing this was to compel him either to restore the shrine which he had destroyed, or to defray the expense of its erection. Marcus, however, endured all these grievous sufferings and affirmed that he would consent to none of their demands. His enemies, with the idea that he could not afford the money from poverty,</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.10.13 It is also related that the prefect who, although a pagan, was of such noble conduct that his memory is still honored in that country, admired the self-control of Mark, and boldly uttered reproaches against the emperor for allowing himself to be vanquished by an old man, who was exposed to innumerable tortures. And he added that such proceedings reflected ridicule on the emperor, while the names of the persecuted were at the same time rendered illustrious.</p> <p>5.10.14 Thus did the blessed one endure all the torments inflicted upon him by the inhabitants of Arethusa with such unshaken fortitude that even the pagans praised him.</p>	<p>remitted half their demand, and asked him to pay the rest. But Marcus hung on high, pricked with pens, and devoured by wasps and bees, yet not only showed no signs of pain, but derided his impious tormentors with the repeated taunt, “You are groundlings and of the earth; I, sublime and exalted.”</p> <p>3.7.10 At last they begged for only a small portion of the money; but, said he, “it is as impious to give an obol as to give all.” So utterly foiled, they let him go, and could not refrain from admiring his constancy, for his words had taught them a new lesson of holiness.</p>
Martyrs at Mergum in Phrygia		
<p>3.15.1 Amachius governor of Phrygia ordered that the temple at Mergum, a city of that province, should be opened, and cleared of the filth which had accumulated there by lapse of time. He also ordered that the statues it contained should be freshly polished. When this was acted upon, it grieved the Christians very much.</p> <p>3.15.2 Now a certain Macedonius and Theodoulus and Tatian, unable to endure the indignity thus put upon their religion, and impelled by a fervent zeal for virtue, rushed by night into the temple, and broke the images into pieces.</p> <p>3.15.3 The governor was infuriated at what had been done and would have put to death many in that city who were altogether innocent, but the authors of the deed voluntarily surrendered themselves, choosing rather to</p>	<p>5.11.1 About the same period, Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatian, who were Phrygians by birth, courageously endured martyrdom. A temple of Misos, a city of Phrygia, having been reopened by the governor of the province, after it had been closed many years, these martyrs entered therein by night, and destroyed the images.</p> <p>5.11.2 As other individuals were arrested and were on the point of being punished for the deed, they confessed themselves as the perpetrators of the deed.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>die themselves in defense of the truth, than to see others put to death in their stead.</p> <p>3.15.4 The governor seized and ordered them to make amends for the crime they had committed by sacrificing. On their refusal to do this, the judge threatened them with tortures.</p> <p>3.15.5 But they despising his threats, being endowed with great courage, declared their readiness to undergo any sufferings, rather than pollute themselves by sacrificing.</p> <p>3.15.6 After subjecting them to all possible tortures he at last laid them on gridirons under which a fire was placed, and thus he slew them.</p> <p>3.15.7 But even in this last extremity they gave the most heroic proofs of fortitude, addressing the ruthless governor thus:</p> <p>3.15.8 'If you wish to eat broiled flesh, Amachus, turn us on the other side also, so that we should not appear half cooked to your taste.' Thus these martyrs ended their life.</p>	<p>5.11.3a They might have escaped all further punishment by offering sacrifices to idols; but the governor could not persuade them to accept acquittal on these terms.</p> <p>5.11.3b His persuasions being ineffectual, he mistreated them in a variety of forms, and finally extended them on a gridiron, beneath which a fire had been lighted. While they were being consumed, they said to the governor, "Amachus (for that was his name), "if you desire cooked flesh, give orders that our bodies may be turned with the other side to the fire, in order that we may not seem, to your taste, half cooked." Thus did these men nobly endure and lay down their life amid the punishments.</p> <p>5.11.4 It is said that Busiris also obtained renown at Ancyra, a city of Galatia, by his brilliant and most manly confession of religion. He belonged to the heresy called Eucratites; the governor of the province apprehended and intended to mistreat him for ridiculing the pagans. He led him forth publicly to the torture chamber and commanded that he should be elevated.</p> <p>5.11.5 Busiris raised both hands to his head so as to leave his sides exposed, and told the governor that it would be useless for the executioners to lift him up to the instrument of torture and afterwards to lower him, as he was ready without this to yield to the tortures as much as might be desired.</p> <p>5.11.6 The governor was surprised at this proposition; but his astonishment was increased by what followed, for Busiris remained firm, holding up both hands and receiving the blows while his sides were being torn with hooks, according to the governor's direction. Immediately afterwards, Busiris was put in prison, but was released not long after, on the announcement of the death of Julian. He lived till the reign of Theodosius, renounced his former heresy, and joined the Catholic Church.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.11.7 It is said that about this period, Basil, presbyter of the church of Ancyra, and Euppsychius, a noble of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who had but just taken to himself a wife and was still a bridegroom, terminated their lives by martyrdom.</p> <p>5.11.8 I believe that Euppsychius was condemned in consequence of the demolition of the temple of Fortune, which, as I have already stated, excited the anger of the emperor against all the inhabitants of Caesarea. Indeed, all the perpetrators of this deed were condemned, some to death, and others to banishment.</p> <p>5.11.9 Basil had long manifested great zeal in defense of the faith, and had opposed the Arians during the reign of Constantius; hence the followers of Eudoxius had prohibited him from holding public assemblies.</p> <p>5.11.10 On the accession of Julian, however, he traveled here and there, publicly and openly exhorting the Christians to cling to their own doctrines, and to refrain from defiling themselves with pagan sacrifices and libations. He urged them to account as nothing the honors which the emperor might bestow upon them, since such honors would last but a short while, and lead to eternal infamy.</p> <p>5.11.11 His zeal had already made him an object of suspicion and of hatred to the pagans, when one day he chanced to pass by and see them offering sacrifice. He sighed deeply, and uttered a prayer that no Christian might be allowed to fall into similar delusion. He was seized on the spot, and conveyed to the governor of the province. Many tortures were inflicted on him; and in the manly endurance of this anguish he received the crown of martyrdom.</p> <p>5.11.12 Even if these cruelties were perpetrated contrary to the will of the emperor, yet they serve to prove that his reign was known for its martyrs neither insignificant nor few. For the sake of clarity, I have related all these occurrences collectively, although the martyrdoms really occurred at different periods.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
Eleusius, Bishop of Cyzicus, and Titus, Bishop of Bostra		
	<p>5.15.4 About the same period, the inhabitants of Cyzicus sent an embassy to the emperor to lay before him some of their private affairs, and particularly to request the restoration of the pagan temples. He applauded their forethought, and promised to grant all their requests.</p> <p>5.15.5 He expelled Eleusius, the bishop of their city, because he had destroyed some temples, had desecrated the sacred areas, provided houses for the support of widows, erected buildings for holy virgins, and caused pagans to abandon their ancestral rites.</p> <p>5.15.6 The emperor prohibited some foreign Christians who had accompanied him, from entering the city of Cyzicus, apparently from the concern that they would, in conjunction with the Christians, cause a sedition within the city on account of religion. There were many persons gathered with them who also held similar religious views with the Christians of the city, and who were engaged in woolen manufactures for the state, and were coiners of money.</p> <p>5.15.7 They were numerous, and were divided into two populous classes; they had received permission from preceding emperors to dwell, with their wives and possessions, in Cyzicus, provided that they annually handed over to the public treasury a supply of clothes for the army and of newly coined money.</p> <p>5.15.8 Although Julian was anxious to advance paganism by every means, yet he deemed it the height of imprudence to employ force or vengeance against those who refused to sacrifice. Besides, there were so many Christians in every city that it would have been no easy task for the rulers even to number them. He did not even forbid them to assemble together for worship, as he was aware that when freedom of the will is called into question, constraint is utterly useless.</p> <p>5.15.9 He expelled the clergy and presidents of the churches from all the cities, in order to put an end to these assemblies, saying truly that by their absence the gatherings of the people would be effectually dissolved. If indeed there were none to convene the churches, and none</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>to teach or to dispense the mysteries, religion itself would, in the course of time, fall into oblivion. The pretext which he claimed for these proceedings was, that the clergy were the leaders of sedition among the people.</p> <p>5.15.10 Under this plea, he expelled Eleusius and his friends from Cyzicus, although there was not even a symptom nor expectation of sedition in that city.</p> <p>5.15.11 He also publicly called upon the citizens of Bostra to expel Titus, their bishop. It appears that the emperor had threatened to impeach Titus and the other clergy as the authors of any sedition that might arise among the people, and that Titus had then written to him, stating that although the Christians were near the pagans in number, yet that, in accordance with his exhortations, they were disposed to remain quiet, and were not likely to rise up in sedition.</p> <p>5.15.12 Julian, with the intention of exciting the enmity of the inhabitants of Bostra against Titus, represented in a letter which he addressed to them, that their bishop had slandered them, by stating that it was only by his exhortations rather than their own inclination that they refrained from sedition; and Julian exhorted them to expel him from their city as a public enemy.</p> <p>5.15.13 It appears that the Christians were subjected to similar injustice in other places, sometimes by the command of the emperor, and sometimes by the wrath and violence of the populace. The blame for these events may be justly given to the emperor; for he did not bring the transgressors of law under the force of law, but out of his hatred to the Christian religion, he only addressed the perpetrators of such deeds with verbal rebukes, while, by his actions, he urged them on in the same course. Hence although not absolutely persecuted by the emperor, the Christians were obliged to flee from city to city and village to village.</p>	
Sozomen mentions his ancestors		
	<p>5.15.14 My grandfather and many of my ancestors were compelled to flee in this manner. My grandfather was of pagan parentage; and, with his own family and that of Alaphion, had been the first to embrace Christianity in</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>Bethelia, a populous town near Gaza, in which there are temples highly revered by the people of the country, on account of their antiquity and structural excellence. The most celebrated of these temples is the Pantheon, built on an artificial eminence commanding a view of the whole town. The conjecture is that the place received its name from the temple, that the original name given to this temple was in the Syriac language, and that this name was afterwards rendered into Greek and expressed by a word which signifies that the temple is the residence of all the gods.</p> <p>5.15.15 It is said that the above-mentioned families were converted through the efforts of the monk Hilarion. Alaphion, it appears, was possessed by a devil; and neither the pagans nor the Jews could, by any incantations and enchantments, deliver him from this affliction; but Hilarion, by simply calling on the name of Christ, expelled the demon, and Alaphion, with his whole family, immediately embraced Christianity.</p> <p>5.15.16 My grandfather was endowed with great natural ability, which he applied with success to the explanation of the Sacred Scriptures; he had made some attainments in general knowledge, and was not ignorant of arithmetic. He was much beloved by the Christians of Ascalon, of Gaza, and of the surrounding country; and was regarded as necessary to religion, on account of his gift in expounding the difficult points of Scripture.</p> <p>5.15.17 No one can speak in adequate terms of the virtues of the other family. The first churches and monasteries erected in that country were founded by members of this family and supported by their power and generosity towards strangers and the needy. Some good men belonging to this family have flourished even in our own days; and in my youth I saw some of them, but they were then very aged. I shall have occasion to say more concerning them in the course of my history.</p>	
Julian begins to switch tactics in his persecution. A letter to the pagan High-Priests:		
	<p>5.16.1 The emperor was deeply grieved at finding that all his efforts to secure the predominance of paganism were utterly ineffective, and at seeing Christianity's</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>reputation excelling; for although the gates of the temples were kept open, although sacrifices were offered, and the observance of ancient festivals restored in all the cities, yet he was far from being satisfied. For he could plainly foresee that, on the withdrawal of his influence, a change in the whole aspect of affairs would speedily take place. He was particularly chagrined on discovering that the wives, children, and servants of many of the pagan priests had been converted to Christianity.</p> <p>5.16.2 On reflecting that one main support of the Christian religion was the life and behavior of its professors, he determined to introduce into the pagan temples the order and discipline of Christianity, to institute various orders and degrees of ministry, to appoint teachers and readers to give instruction in pagan doctrines and exhortations, and to command that prayers should be offered on certain days at stated hours. He moreover resolved to found monasteries for the accommodation of men and women who desired to live in philosophical retirement, as likewise hospitals for the relief of strangers and of the poor and for other philanthropical purposes.</p> <p>5.16.3 He wished to introduce among the pagans the Christian system of penance for voluntary and involuntary transgressions; but the point of ecclesiastical discipline which he chiefly admired, and desired to establish among the pagans, was the custom among the bishops to give letters of recommendation to those who traveled to foreign lands, where they commended them to the hospitality and kindness of other bishops, in all places, and under all circumstances.</p> <p>5.16.4 In this way, Julian strove to ingraft the customs of Christianity upon paganism. But if what I have stated appears to be incredible, I need not go far in search of proofs to corroborate my assertions; for I can produce a letter written by the emperor himself on the subject. He writes as follows:</p> <p>5.16.5 “To Arsacius, High-Priest of Galatia. Paganism has not yet reached the degree of prosperity that might be desired, owing to the conduct of its votaries. The worship of the gods, however, is conducted on the grandest and</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>most magnificent scale, so far exceeding our very prayer and hope; let our Adrastea be favorable to these words, for no one could have dared to look for so extensive and so surprising a change as that which we have witnessed within a very short space of time.</p> <p>5.16.6 But are we to rest satisfied with what has been already accomplished? Ought we not rather to consider that the progress of Atheism has happened mainly on account of the humanity shown by Christians towards strangers, to the reverence they have shown towards the dead, and to the deceptive seriousness which they have assumed in their life? It is necessary that each of us should be diligent in the discharge of duty.</p> <p>5.16.7 I do not refer to you alone, as that would not suffice, but to all the priests of Galatia.</p> <p>“You must either put them to shame, or try the power of persuasion, or else deprive them of their priestly offices, if they do not with their wives, their children, and their servants join in the service of the gods, or if they support the servants, sons, or wives of the Galileans in treating the gods impiously and in preferring Atheism to piety.</p> <p>5.16.8 Then exhort the priests not to visit theaters, not to drink at taverns, and not to engage in any trade, or practice any nefarious art.</p> <p>5.16.9 “Honor those who yield to your rebukes, and expel those who disregard them. Establish inns in every city, so that strangers from neighboring and foreign countries may reap the benefit of our philanthropy, according to their respective need.</p> <p>5.16.10 “I have provided means to meet the necessary costs, and have issued directions throughout the whole of Galatia, that you should be furnished annually with thirty thousand bushels of corn and sixty thousand measures of wine, of which a fifth is to be devoted to the support of the poor who attend to the priests; and the rest to be distributed among strangers and our own poor. 5.16.11 For, while there are no persons in need among the Jews, and while even the impious Galileans provide not only for those of their own party who are in want, but also for</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>those who hold with us, it would indeed be disgraceful if we were to allow our own people to suffer from poverty.</p> <p>5.16.12 “Teach the pagans to co-operate in this work of generosity, and let the first-fruits of the pagan towns be offered to the gods. “Habituate the pagans to the exercise of this liberality, by showing them how such conduct is sanctioned by the practice of remote antiquity; for Homer represents Eumaeus as saying, ‘My guest! I should offend, treating with scorn The stranger, though a poorer should arrive Than even thyself; for all the poor that are, And all the strangers are the care of Jove.”</p> <p>5.16.13 “Let us not permit others to excel us in good deeds; let us not dishonor ourselves by violence, but rather let us be foremost in piety towards the gods. If I hear that you act according to my directions, I shall be full of joy. Do not often visit the governors at their own houses, but write to them frequently. When they enter the city, let no priest go to meet them; and let not the priest accompany them further than the vestibule when they attend the temple of the gods; neither let any soldiers march before them on such occasions; but let those follow them who will. For as soon as they have entered within the sacred bounds, they are but private individuals.</p> <p>5.16.14 For there it is your duty, as you well know, to preside, according to the divine decree. Those who humbly conform to this law demonstrate that they possess true religion; whereas those who despise it are proud and vain.</p> <p>5.16.15 “I am ready to give assistance to the inhabitants of Pessinus, provided that they will appease the mother of the gods; but if they neglect this duty, they will incur my utmost displeasure. ‘I would myself transgress, receiving here, and giving conduct to there; to one detested by the gods as these.” “Convince them, therefore, that if they desire my assistance, they must offer up supplications to the mother of the gods.”</p>	
Julian abolishes the Sign of the Cross and persecutions Christian soldiers		
	5.17.1 When Julian acted and wrote in previously mentioned manner, he expected that he would by these	3.15.1 Now Julian, with less restraint, or shall I say, less shame, began to arm himself against true religion, wearing

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>means easily induce his subjects to change their religious opinions. Although he earnestly desired to abolish the Christian religion, yet he plainly was too ashamed to employ violent measures, so that he would not be considered tyrannical. He used every means, however, that could possibly be devised to lead his subjects back to paganism; and he was more especially urgent with the soldiers, whom he sometimes addressed individually and sometimes through the medium of their officers.</p>	<p>indeed a mask of moderation, but all the while preparing snares and traps which caught all who were deceived by them in the destruction of iniquity.</p>
	<p>5.17.2 To habituate them in all things to the worship of the gods, he restored the ancient form of the standard of the Roman armies, which, as we have already stated, Constantine had, at the command of God, converted into the sign of the cross.</p> <p>5.17.3 Julian also caused to be painted, in juxtaposition with his own figure, on the public pictures, an image either of Jupiter coming out of heaven and presenting to him the symbols of imperial power, a crown or a purple robe, or on the other hand an image of Mars, or of Mercury, with their eyes intently fixed upon him, as if to express their admiration of his eloquence and military skill.</p> <p>5.17.4 He placed the pictures of the gods in juxtaposition with his own, in order that the people might secretly be led to worship them under the pretext of rendering due honor to him.</p> <p>5.17.5 He abused ancient usages, and endeavored to conceal his purpose from his subjects. He considered that if they would yield obedience on this point, they would be all the readier to obey him on every other occasion. But that if they dared to refuse obedience, he would have reason to punish them, as transgressors of the Roman customs and offenders against the emperor and the state.</p> <p>5.17.6 There were but very few (and the law had its course against them) who, seeing through his schemes, refused to render the customary homage to his pictures; but the multitude, through ignorance or simplicity, conformed as usual to the ancient regulation, and thoughtlessly paid homage to his image. The emperor derived but little advantage from this trickery.</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>3.15.2 He began by polluting with foul sacrifices the wells in the city and in Daphne, that every man who used the fountain might be a partaker of abomination. Then he thoroughly polluted the things exposed in the Forum, for bread and meat and fruit and vegetables and every kind of food were dispersed.</p> <p>3.15.3 When those who were called by the Savior’s name saw what was done, they groaned and wailed and expressed their disgust; nevertheless they partook, for they remembered the apostolic law, “Eat anything that is sold in the meat market without asking questions for conscience’ sake.”</p> <p>3.15.4 Two officers in the army, who were shield bearers in the imperial suite, at a certain banquet lamented in somewhat warm language the abomination of what was being done, and employed the admirable language of the glorious youths at Babylon, “You have given us over to an impious Prince, an apostate beyond all the nations on the earth.”</p> <p>3.15.5 One of the guests gave information of this, and the emperor arrested these right, worthy men and tried to find out by questioning them what kind of language they had used. They accepted the imperial enquiry as an opportunity for open speech, and with noble enthusiasm replied “Sir we were brought up in true religion; we were obedient to most excellent laws, the laws of Constantine and of his sons; now we see the world full of pollution, meats and drinks alike defiled with abominable sacrifices, and we lament.</p> <p>3.15.6 We mourn over these things at home, and now before your face we express our grief, for this is the one thing in your reign which we take ill.” No sooner did he, whom sympathetic courtiers called most mild and most philosophic, hear these words than he took off his mask of moderation, and exposed the face of impiety.</p> <p>3.15.7 He ordered cruel and painful scourging to be inflicted on them and deprived them of their lives; or shall we not rather say freed them from that sorrowful time and gave them crowns of victory?</p> <p>3.15.8 He pretended indeed that punishment was inflicted upon them not for the true religion, for the sake of which</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>they were really slain, but because of their insolence, for he claimed that he had punished them for insulting the emperor, and ordered this report to be published abroad, thus grudging to these champions of the truth the name and honor of martyrs.</p> <p>3.15.9 The name of one was Juventinus; of the other Maximinus. The city of Antioch honored them as defenders of true religion, and deposited them in a magnificent tomb, and up to this day they are honored by a yearly festival.</p> <p>3.16.1a Other men in public office and of distinction used similar boldness of speech, and won similar crowns of martyrdom.</p>
	<p>5.17.7 Yet he did not cease from his efforts to cause a change in religion. The next machination to which he employed was less subtle and more violent than the former one; and the fortitude of many soldiers attached to the court was thereby tested.</p> <p>5.17.8 When the stated day came about for giving money to the troops, which day generally fell upon the anniversary of some festival among the Romans, such as that of the birth of the emperor, or the foundation of some royal city, Julian reflected that soldiers are naturally thoughtless and simple, and disposed to be covetous of money, and therefore concluded that it would be a favorable opportunity to seduce them to the worship of the gods. Accordingly, as each soldier approached to receive the money, he was commanded to offer sacrifice, fire and incense having been previously placed for this purpose near the emperor, according to an ancient Roman custom.</p> <p>5.17.9 Some of the soldiers had the courage to refuse to offer sacrifice and receive the gold; others were so habituated to the observance of the law and custom that they conformed to it, without imagining that they were committing sin. Others, again, deluded by the glittering of the gold, or compelled by fear and apprehension on account of the test which was immediately in sight, complied with the pagan rite, and allowed themselves to</p>	<p>3.16.6 But the tyrant devised another plot against the truth, for when according to ancient custom he had taken his seat upon the imperial throne to distribute gold among the ranks of his soldiery, contrary to custom he had an altar full of hot coals introduced, and incense put upon a table, an ordered each man who was to receive the gold first to throw incense on the altar.</p> <p>3.16.7 And then to take the gold from his own right hand. The majority were entirely unaware of the trap thus laid; but those who were forewarned pretended illness and so escaped this cruel snare. Others in their eagerness for the money made light of their salvation while another group abandoned their faith through cowardice.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	fall into the temptation from which they ought to have fled.	
	<p>5.17.10 It is said that, as some of them who had ignorantly fallen into this sin were seated at the table and drinking to each other, one among them happened to mention the name of Christ over the cups. Another of the guests immediately exclaimed: "It is extraordinary that you should call upon Christ, when, but a short time ago, you denied him for the sake of the emperor's gift, by throwing incense into the fire."</p> <p>5.17.11 On hearing this observation, they all became suddenly conscious of the sin they had committed; they rose from the table and rushed into the public streets, where they screamed and wept and called upon all men to witness that they were and would remain Christians, and that they had offered incense unawares, and with the hand alone, and not with the assent of the judgment.</p> <p>5.17.12a They then presented themselves before the emperor, threw back his gold, and courageously asked him to take back his own gift, and pleaded him to put them to death, protesting that they would never renounce their beliefs, whatever torments might, in consequence of the sin committed by their hand, be inflicted on the other parts of their body for the sake of Christ.</p>	<p>3.17.1 After this fatal distribution of money, some of the recipients were feasting together at an entertainment. One of them who had taken the cup in his hand did not drink before making on it the sign of salvation.</p> <p>3.17.2 One of the guests found fault with him for this, and said that it was quite inconsistent with what had just taken place. "What," said he, "have I done that is inconsistent?" Whereupon he was reminded of the altar and the incense, and of his denial of the faith; for these things are all contrary to the Christian profession.</p> <p>3.17.3 When they heard this the greater number of the feasters moaned and lamented, and tore out handfuls of hair from their heads. They rose from the banquet, and ran through the Forum exclaiming that they were Christians, that they had been tricked by the emperor's schemes, that they retracted their apostasy, and were ready to try to undo the defeat which had befallen them unwittingly.</p> <p>3.17.4 With these exclamations they ran to the palace loudly protesting against the wiles of the tyrant, and imploring that they might be committed to the flames in order that, as they had been corrupted by fire, by fire they might be made clean. All these words drove the villain out of his senses.</p> <p>3.17.5 And on the impulse of the moment he ordered them to be beheaded, but as they were being conducted outside the city the mass of the people started to follow them, wondering at their fortitude and glorying in their boldness for the truth.</p> <p>3.17.6 When they had reached the spot where it was usual to execute criminals, the eldest of them asked the executioner that he would first cut off the head of the youngest, that he might not be unmanned by beholding the slaughter of the rest.</p> <p>3.17.7 No sooner had he knelt down upon the ground and the executioner bared his sword than up ran a man announcing a reprieve, shouting out to stop the execution while he was still a far way off. Then the youngest soldier was distressed at his release from death. "Ah," said he,</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>5.17.12b Whatever displeasure the emperor might have felt against them, he refrained from slaying them, so that they would not enjoy the honor of martyrdom. Therefore, he merely deprived them of their military commission and dismissed them from the palace.</p>	<p>“Romanus” (his name was Romanus) “was not worthy of being called Christ’s martyr.” 3.17.8 What influenced the vile trickster in stopping the execution was his envy. He grudged the champions of the faith their glory. Their sentence was commuted to banishment beyond the city walls and to the remotest regions of the empire.</p>
Valentinian proves his strong faith		
		<p>3.16.1b Valentinian, who shortly afterwards became emperor, was at that time a Tribune and commanded the Hastatii quartered in the palace. He made no secret of his zeal for the true religion. 3.16.2 On one occasion when the infatuated emperor was going in solemn procession into the sacred enclosure of the Temple of Fortune, on either side of the gates stood the temple servants purifying, as they supposed, all who were coming in, with their sprinkling whisks. 3.16.3 As Valentinian walked before the emperor, he noticed that a drop had fallen on his own cloak and gave the attendant a blow with his fist, “for,” said he, “I am not purified but defiled.” For this deed he won two empires. On seeing what had happened Julian the accursed sent him to a fortress in the desert, and ordered him there to remain. 3.16.4 But after the lapse of a year and a few months he received the empire as a reward of his confession of the faith. 3.16.5 For not only in the life that is to come does the just Judge honor them that care for holy things, but sometimes even here below He bestows recompense for good deeds, confirming the hope of rewards yet to be received by what he gives in abundance now.</p>
Julian forbids Christians from literary pursuits		
<p>3.12.5 The emperor suffered this to pass [i.e. Maris of Chalcedon standing up to him, cf. 3.12.1-4 above] without further notice at that time; but he afterwards had his revenge. Observing that those who suffered martyrdom under the reign of Diocletian were greatly honored by the Christians, and knowing that many among them were eagerly desirous of becoming</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>martyrs, he determined to wreak his vengeance upon them in some other way.</p> <p>3.12.6 Abstaining therefore from the excessive cruelties which had been practiced under Diocletian, he did not however, altogether abstain from persecution (for any measures adopted to disquiet and molest I regard as persecution).</p> <p>3.12.7 This then was the plan he pursued: he enacted a law by which Christians were excluded from the cultivation of literature; ‘lest,’ said he, ‘when they have sharpened their tongue, they should be able the more readily to meet the arguments of the heathen.’</p>	<p>5.18.1a Julian entertained the same feelings as those above described towards all Christians, as he demonstrated whenever an opportunity was offered.</p> <p>5.18.1b Those who refused to sacrifice to the gods, although perfectly blameless in other respects, were deprived of the rights of citizenship, and of the privilege of participating in assemblies, and in the forum; and he would not allow them to be judges or magistrates, or to share in offices. He forbade the children of Christians from attending the public schools, and from being instructed in the writings of the Greek poets and authors.</p>	<p>3.8.1a Countless other deeds were dared at that time by land and by sea, all over the world, by the wicked against the just, for now without disguise the enemy of God began to lay down laws against true religion.</p> <p>3.8.1b First of all, he prohibited the sons of the Galileans, for so he tried to name the worshippers of the Savior, from taking part in the study of poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy.</p> <p>3.8.2 For, said he, in the words of the proverb “we are shot with shafts feathered from our own wing,” for from our own books they take arms and wage war against us. After this he made another edict ordering the Galileans to be expelled from the army.</p>
Literary labors of the two men named Apollinaris		
<p>3.16.1 The imperial law which forbade Christians to study Greek literature, rendered the two men named Apollinaris, of whom we have above spoken, much more distinguished than before.</p> <p>3.16.2 For both being skilled in polite learning, the father as a grammarian, and the son as a rhetorician, they made themselves serviceable to the Christians at this crisis.</p> <p>3.16.3 For the former, as a grammarian, composed a grammar consistent with the Christian faith: he also translated the Books of Moses into heroic verse; and paraphrased all the historical books of the Old Testament.</p> <p>3.16.4 He put them partly into dactylic measure, and partly reducing them to the form of dramatic tragedy. He purposely employed all kinds of verse, that no form of expression peculiar to the Greek language might be unknown or unheard of amongst Christians.</p> <p>3.16.5 The younger Apollinaris, who was well trained in eloquence, expounded the gospels and apostolic</p>	<p>5.18.2 He entertained great resentment against Apollinaris the Syrian, a man of manifold knowledge and philological attainments, against Basil and Gregory, natives of Cappadocia, the most celebrated orators of the time, and against other learned and eloquent men, of whom some were attached to the Nicene doctrines, and others to the dogmas of Arius.</p> <p>5.18.3a His sole motive for excluding the children of Christian parents from instruction in the learning of the Greeks, was because he considered such studies conducive to the acquisition of argumentative and persuasive power.</p> <p>5.18.3b Apollinaris, therefore, employed his great learning and ingenuity in the production of a heroic epic on the ancients of the Hebrews to the reign of Saul, as a substitute for the poem of Homer. He divided this work into twenty-four parts, to each of which he appended the name of one of the letters of the Greek alphabet, according to their number and order.</p> <p>5.18.4 He also wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies resembling those of Euripides, and odes on the model of Pindar. In short, taking themes of the entire circle of knowledge from the Scriptures, he produced within a very brief space of time, a set of works which in manner, expression, character, and arrangement</p>	

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>doctrines in the way of dialogue, as Plato among the Greeks had done.</p> <p>3.16.6 Thus showing themselves useful to the Christian cause they overcame the subtlety of the emperor through their own labors.</p>	<p>are well approved as similar to the Greek literatures and which were equal in number and in force.</p> <p>5.18.5 Were it not for the extreme partiality with which the works of old are regarded, I do not doubt that the writings of Apollinaris would be held in as much esteem as those of the ancients. The comprehensiveness of his intellect is more especially to be admired; for he excelled in every branch of literature, whereas ancient writers were proficient only in one.</p> <p>5.18.6 He wrote a very remarkable work entitled “The Truth” against the emperor and the pagan philosophers, in which he clearly proved, without any appeal to the authority of Scripture, that they were far from having attained right opinions of God.</p> <p>5.18.7 The emperor, for the purpose of casting ridicule on works of this nature, wrote to the bishops in the following words: “I have read, I have understood, and I have condemned.” To this they sent the following reply, “You have read, but you have not understood; for, had you understood, you would not have condemned.”</p> <p>5.18.8 Some have attributed this letter to Basil, the president of the church in Cappadocia, and perhaps not without reason; but whether dictated by him or by another, it fully displays the integrity and learning of the writer.</p>	
<p>3.16.7 But Divine Providence was more potent than both their labors and the craft of the emperor. For not long afterwards, in the manner we shall soon explain, the law became entirely useless; and the works of these men are now of no greater importance, than if they had never been written.</p> <p>3.16.8 But perhaps someone will vigorously reply saying: ‘On what grounds do you affirm that both these things happened by the providence of God? That, the emperor’s sudden death was very advantageous to Christianity is indeed evident, but surely the rejection of the Christian compositions of the two men named Apollinaris, and the Christians beginning once more to saturate their minds with the philosophy of the heathens works out no benefit to Christianity. For pagan</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>philosophy teaches Polytheism, and is injurious to the promotion of true religion.’</p> <p>3.16.9 This objection I shall meet with such considerations as at present occur to me.</p> <p>Greek literature certainly was never recognized either by Christ or his Apostles as divinely inspired, nor on the other hand was it entirely rejected as pernicious.</p> <p>3.16.10 And this, as I conceive, they did not without thinking. For there were many philosophers among the Greeks who were not far from the knowledge of God.</p> <p>3.16.11 And in fact these being disciplined by logical science, strenuously opposed the Epicureans and other contentious Sophists who denied Divine Providence, proving their ignorance.</p> <p>3.16.12 And for these reasons they have become useful to all lovers of real piety. Nevertheless, they themselves were not acquainted with the Head of true religion, being ignorant of the mystery of Christ which ‘had been hidden from generations and ages.’</p> <p>3.16.13 And that this was so, the Apostle in his epistle to the Romans thus declares: ‘For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness, because that which may be known of God is manifest in them.</p> <p>3.16.14 For God has shown it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead, that they may be without excuse; because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.’</p> <p>3.16.15 From these words it appears that they had the knowledge of truth, which God had manifested to them; but were guilty on this account, that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.</p> <p>3.16.16 For this reason, by not forbidding the study of the learned works of the Greeks, they left it to the discretion of those who wished to do so. This is our first argument in defense of the position we took; another may be put in the following way.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>3.16.17 The divinely inspired Scriptures undoubtedly teach doctrines that are both admirable in themselves, and heavenly in their character. They also clearly tend to produce piety and integrity of life in those who are guided by their precepts, pointing out a walk of faith which is highly approved of God. But they do not instruct us in the art of reasoning, by means of which we may be enabled successfully to resist those who oppose the truth.</p> <p>3.16.18 Besides, adversaries are most easily foiled when we can use their own weapons against them. But this power was not supplied to Christians by the writings of the two Apollinarises.</p> <p>3.16.19 Julian had this in mind when he, by law, prohibited Christians from being educated in Greek literature. For he knew very well that the fables it contains would expose the whole pagan system.</p> <p>3.16.20 Even Socrates, the most celebrated of their philosophers, despised these absurdities, and was condemned on account of it, as if he had attempted to violate the sanctity of their deities.</p> <p>3.16.21 Moreover, both Christ and his Apostle implore us ‘to become discriminating money-changers,’ so that we might ‘prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good’: directing us also to ‘watch out that no one should spoil us through philosophy and vain deceit.’</p> <p>3.16.22 But this we cannot do, unless we possess ourselves of the weapons of our adversaries, taking care that in making this acquisition we do not adopt their beliefs, but testing them, reject the evil while retaining all that is good and true. For good, wherever it is found, is a property of truth.</p> <p>3.16.23 Should any one imagine that in making these assertions we wrest the Scriptures from their legitimate construction, let it be remembered that the Apostle not only does not forbid our being instructed in Greek learning, but that he himself seems by no means to have neglected it, inasmuch as he knows many of the sayings of the Greeks.</p>		

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
<p>3.16.24 Whence did he get the saying, 'The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow-bellies,' but from a perusal of The Oracles of Epimenides, the Cretan Initiator?</p> <p>3.16.25 Or how would he have known this, 'For we are also his offspring,' had he not been acquainted with The Phenomena of Aratus the astronomer?</p> <p>3.16.26 Again this sentence, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' is a sufficient proof that he was conversant with the tragedies of Euripides.</p> <p>3.16.27 But what need is there of enlarging on this point? It is well known that in ancient times the doctors of the church by unhindered usage were accustomed to exercise themselves in the learning of the Greeks, until they had reached an advanced age: this they did with a view to improve themselves in eloquence and to strengthen and polish their mind, and at the same time to enable them to refute the errors of the heathen. Let these remarks be sufficient in the subject suggested by the two Apollinarises.</p>		
The son of a pagan priest		
		<p>3.14.1 A young man who was a priest's son, and brought up in impiety, about this time went over to the true religion. For a lady remarkable for her devotion and admitted to the order of deaconesses was an intimate friend of his mother. When he came to visit her with his mother, while yet a tiny lad, she used to welcome him with affection and urge him to the true religion.</p> <p>3.14.2 On the death of his mother the young man used to visit her and enjoyed the advantage of her usual teaching. Deeply impressed by her counsels, he enquired of his teacher by what means he might both escape the superstition of his father and have part and lot in the truth which she preached.</p> <p>3.14.3 She replied that he must flee from his father, and honor rather the Creator both of his father and himself; that he must seek some other city wherein he might lie hidden and escape the violence of the impious emperor; and she promised to manage this for him.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>3.14.4 Then, said the young man, “from now on I shall come and commit my soul to you.” Not many days afterwards Julian came to Daphne to celebrate a public feast. With him came the young man’s father, both as a priest, and as one accustomed to attending the emperor; and with their father came the young man and his brother, being appointed to the service of the temple and charged with the duty of ceremonially sprinkling the imperial dishes.</p> <p>3.14.5 It is the custom for the festival of Daphne to last for seven days. On the first day the young man stood by the emperor’s couch, and according to the prescribed usage distributed the meats, and thoroughly polluted them. Then at full speed he ran to Antioch, and making his way to that admirable lady, he said, “I have come to you; and I have kept my promise. But now, save both of us and fulfill your pledge.”</p> <p>3.14.6 At once she arose and conducted the young man to Meletius the man of God, who ordered him to remain awhile upstairs in the inn.</p> <p>3.14.7 His father after wandering about all over Daphne in search of the boy, then returned to the city and explored the streets and lanes, turning his eyes in all directions and longing to find his lad.</p> <p>3.14.8 At length he arrived at the place where the divine Meletius had his inn; and looking up he saw his son peeping through the lattice. He ran up, laid hold of him, got him down, and carried him off home. First, he beat him many times, then applied hot spits to his feet and hands and back, then shut him up in his bedroom, bolted the door on the outside, and returned to Daphne.</p> <p>3.14.9 So I myself have heard the man himself narrate in his old age, and he added further that he was inspired and filled with Divine Grace, and broke in pieces all his father’s idols, and made mockery of their helplessness. Afterwards when he thought of what he had done, he feared his father’s return and pleaded with his Master Christ to nod approval of his deeds, break the bolts, and open the doors. “For it is for your sake,” said he, “that I have suffered and acted in this way.”</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>3.14.10 “Even as I thus spoke.” he told me, “out fell the bolts and open flew the doors, and back I ran to my instructress. She dressed me up in women’s garments and took me with her in her covered carriage back to the divine Meletius. He handed me over to the bishop of Jerusalem, at that time Cyril, and we started by night for Palestine.”</p> <p>3.14.11 After the death of Julian this young man led his father also into the way of truth. This act he told me with the rest. So in this fashion, these men were guided to the knowledge of God and were made partakers of Salvation.</p>
Artemis the Duke and Publia the Deaconess		
		<p>3.18.1 Artemius commanded the troops in Egypt. He had obtained this command in the time of Constantine, and had destroyed most of the idols. For this reason, Julian not only confiscated his property but ordered his decapitation.</p> <p>3.18.2 Such were the deeds of the man whom the impious describe as the mildest and least passionate of men. I will now include in my history the noble story of a right excellent woman, for even women, armed with divine zeal, despised the mad fury of Julian.</p> <p>3.19.1 In those days there was a woman named Publia, of high reputation, and illustrious for deeds of virtue. For a short time she wore the yoke of marriage, and had offered its most goodly fruit to God, for from this fair soil sprang John, who for a long time was chief presbyter at Antioch, and was often elected to the apostolic see, but from time to time declined the dignity.</p> <p>3.19.2 She maintained a company of virgins vowed to virginity for life, and spent her time in praising God who had made and saved her.</p> <p>3.19.3 One day the emperor was passing by, and as they esteemed the Destroyer an object of contempt and derision, they struck up all the louder music, chiefly chanting those psalms which mock the helplessness of idols, and saying in the words of David “The idols of the nations are of silver and gold, the work of men’s hands,” and after describing their insensibility, they added “like them are those who make them and all those who trust in them.” Julian heard them, and was very angry, and told them to hold their peace while he was passing by.</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>3.19.4 She did not however pay the least attention to his orders, but put still greater energy into their chant, and when the emperor passed by again, she told them to strike up “Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered.” On this Julian in wrath ordered the choir mistress to be brought before him.</p> <p>3.19.5 And, though he saw that respect was due to her old age, he neither had compassion on her gray hairs, nor respected her high character, but told some of his escort to box both her ears, and by their violence to make her cheeks red.</p> <p>3.19.6 She however took the outrage for honor, and returned home, where, as was her habit, she kept up her attack upon him with her spiritual songs, just as the composer and teacher of the song laid the wicked spirit that vexed Saul.</p>
The Boldness of the administrator of Berea		
		<p>3.22.1 After starting with these threats he was put down by one single Berean. Illustrious as this man was from the fact of his holding the chief place among the magistrates, he was made yet more illustrious by his zeal. On seeing his son falling into the prevailing paganism, he drove him from his home and publicly renounced him.</p> <p>3.22.2 The youth made his way to the emperor in the near neighborhood of the city and informed him both of his own views and of his father’s sentence. The emperor encouraged him to ease his mind and he promised to reconcile his father to him. When he reached Berea, he invited the men of office and of high position to a banquet. Among them was the young suppliant’s father, and both father and son were ordered to take their places on the imperial couch.</p> <p>3.22.3 In the middle of the entertainment Julian said to the father, “It does not seem to me to be right to force a mind otherwise inclined and having no wish to shift its allegiance. Your son does not wish to follow your doctrines. Do not force him. Even I, though I am easily able to compel you, do not try to force you to follow mine.”</p> <p>3.22.4 Then the father, moved by his faith in divine truth to sharpen the debate, exclaimed “Sir,” said he, “are you</p>

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
		<p>speaking of this wretch whom God hates and who has preferred lies to truth?"</p> <p>Once more Julian put on the mask of mildness and said "Cease your insults, my fellow," and then, turning his face to the youth, "I," said he, "will have care for you, since I have not been able to persuade your father to do so."</p> <p>3.22.5 I mention this circumstance with a distinct wish to point out not only this worthy man's admirable boldness, but that very many persons despised Julian's influence.</p>

