

University of Richmond

UR Scholarship Repository

Honors Theses

Student Research

5-2002

Julian as fanatic ideologue: an explanation for the Persian Invasion of A.D. 363 /

Dallas DeForest
University of Richmond

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses>



Part of the [Classics Commons](#), and the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

DeForest, Dallas, "Julian as fanatic ideologue: an explanation for the Persian Invasion of A.D. 363 /" (2002). *Honors Theses*. 351.

<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses/351>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND LIBRARIES



3 3082 00802 6196

His
Def

University of Richmond

JULIAN AS FANATIC IDEOLOGUE: AN EXPLANATION FOR
THE PERSIAN INVASION OF A.D. 363

An Honors Thesis Submitted to the
Faculty of the Arts and Sciences in
Candidacy for the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts

Departments of History and
Classical Studies

Supervisors:
Dr. Walter Stevenson
Dr. John Gordon

By
DALLAS DEFOREST

Richmond, VA
May 2002

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to answer the question of why Julian went on his ill-fated Persian expedition. It argues that Julian was a fanatical ideologue and that his reforms, foreign policy, and, most importantly, Persian campaign must be viewed through Julian's ideological framework. The paper asserts that Julian's fanatical nature drove him to invade Persia because he was witnessing the failure of his ideologically driven domestic initiatives, and these failures were shocking and unacceptable to him. This process of failure drove him to the foreign facet of his ideology, which centered on an Alexander the Great complex and an invasion of Persia in connection with that complex. Julian's Persian expedition occurred because of his fanatical ideology and his inability to deal realistically with his failed domestic initiatives.

a. Introduction

Ideas make history. Every historical human action recorded began as a simple idea in the mind of an individual. Many historians deal extensively with social constraints and the environments in which historical figures have been forced to conduct themselves when trying to answer the journalistic questions of what, when, where, why, and how events happened. These historians, however, leave out a very integral step in the process—the thought process. No action has ever been taken, no social environment ever created that was not first an idea in someone's mind. It seems erroneous, therefore, for historians to judge history to such a great degree from these parameters and not from a more ideological standpoint. Julian the Apostate serves as a quintessential example of someone who must be studied from an ideological viewpoint. It appears clear to this author that Julian was in fact a driven ideologue and that the social constraints placed upon him are secondary in importance to the fanatical ideological framework that Julian had adopted by the time of his accession in A.D. 361.

The heroic myth of the Roman emperor Julian has deep roots. In fact, historians, philosophers, and various other intellectuals throughout the last 1,600 years have propagated this idea so thoroughly that it is still representative in some modern scholarship. Edward Gibbon writes of Julian in a nostalgic tone, lamenting his lost battle with Christianity while dismissing Julian's more imprudent actions as the result of social, religious, and political constraints placed upon him.¹ The French satirist and Enlightenment figure Voltaire also wrote a small panegyric on Julian in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, which was published in 1764 in Geneva. Voltaire, who is known for his biased opinions and open criticisms of his contemporary society, very directly juxtaposes the virtuous Julian with the contemptuous Christians of the time. Voltaire

¹ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1960), 346. For Gibbon's entire appraisal of Julian, see chapters 22-24. Gibbon wrote his multi-volume history from 1776-87. His scandalous chapters (15, 16) about the rise of Christianity are a must-read for any Roman historian.

associates Julian with Roman heroes such as Trajan, Cato, and Marcus Aurelius, and explains that Julian possessed the qualities of Trajan, the virtues of Cato, and was an equal to Aurelius. He describes Julian as a chaste, sober, disinterested man who was consistently merciful to Christians, while his Christian contemporaries reveled in the blood of their own family members. Constantine, Constantius, and Theodosius were the brutes of the time to Voltaire while Julian represented everything that was desirable from the ancient world that was lost due to Christian influence.² The religious conflict of the fourth century certainly comes to the forefront in Voltaire's appraisal of the situation. Voltaire rightly states that the Christian triad mentioned above was canonized due to Christianity's favorable position in the fifth century and thereafter, while subsequent Church historians deemed the pagan Julian a monster. To some extent, this divisive religious rift still exists in modern scholarship, but it has become much more impartial as the professionalism of history has been established. But to understand why these stereotypes of Julian exist, one must find out who Julian was. Fortunately, Julian left behind voluminous writings that allow modern scholars the exciting opportunity to delve into his character, which is integral to understanding Julian and his actions during the turbulent fourth century.

In A.D. 363 the emperor Julian embarked for Persia on what would be his last campaign and only serious military defeat. Modern scholarship, due to the large amount of legislation Julian passed throughout his brief reign, dwells on Julian as a dedicated reformer. But when Julian the reformer and Julian the warrior are compared, there arises an obvious problem. Why did Julian leave for a haphazardly arranged eastern campaign when the domestic situation in Antioch, and the empire in general, was clearly deteriorating? If Julian had been ultimately concerned with the domestic reform of the empire then he surely would have placed more importance on that situation and not foreign goals. But the fact is that he did not, and on 5

² Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, trans. Theodore Besterman (London: Penguin Putnam Ltd., 1972), 265-72.

March A.D. 363 with Antioch in turmoil and Julian's domestic initiatives failing, he left for war with Persia. This thesis attempts to answer the question of why Julian went on his ill-fated Persian expedition. It argues that Julian was a fanatical ideologue and that his reforms, foreign policy, and, most importantly, Persian campaign must be viewed through Julian's ideological framework. The paper asserts that Julian's fanatical nature drove him to invade Persia because he was witnessing the failure of his ideologically driven domestic initiatives, and these failures were both shocking and unacceptable to him. This process of failure drove him to the foreign facet of his ideology, which centered on an Alexander the Great complex and an invasion of Persia in connection with that complex. Julian's Persian expedition occurred because of his fanatical ideology and his inability to deal realistically with his failed domestic initiatives.

b. Historiographical Framework

In order to assess Julian and his reform efforts on the empire, an historiographical analysis concerning the major sources for this thesis must be done. The sources are quite conflicting about Julian, his actions, and the effects of his reign, so a framework needs to be established from which the various, contradictory sources can be interpreted. It is a recurring problem that ancient history is often times conjectural, and late antique sources are no exception. In fact, in regards to the literature of this period the polarization that occurs between pagan and Christian sources is quite drastic. Arguably, however, pagans and Christians had much in common on the social level in late antiquity.³ As Peter Brown asserts, the Christianization of the Roman world was a "piecemeal" and "tentative" process, and by the fourth century there was

³ For a modern interpretation of this argument, see Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Professor Brown successfully argues that the pagans and Christians of the fourth century had much in common. He draws extensively from evidence such as communal social and political activities to make his point.

still little accomplished, from the Christian prospective, and far more to be accomplished.⁴ Yet the sources are very distinct and it is easy to discern from them who was a pagan and who was a Christian. The sources discussed here will be of primary relevance to Julian's fanatical ideology, his reform efforts, and the effects of those reforms on Julian and the empire. Therefore, the question that will be central to this analysis is how the sources can be interpreted in the context of Julian's ideology, his reforms, and their effects. Naturally, religion plays the central role here, as Christians tend to give a negative portrayal of him, while pagans are more inclined to give a positive appraisal.

The emperor Julian wrote much himself during his brief reign of nineteen months; these writings include numerous letters, speeches, panegyrics, and witty satires. Many of his writings, such as the letters, were never meant for the public's eyes, but the main body of his writings was. His panegyrics were delivered in public, and his work the *Misopogon* was actually posted in Antioch for all to see. Some of these works, especially the letters and religious tracts, give us a unique opportunity to assess the emperor quite intimately. The subsequent myths, fantasies, and polemics generated about Julian in the years and centuries after his reign made no use of Julian's own works. In this respect it is occasionally possible for Julian's works to check the heroic or anti-heroic tradition which sprang up around him over the subsequent generations.⁵

Indeed, in terms of reform efforts we see a visibly frustrated Julian in his work the *Misopogon*. Julian wrote this work while in Antioch and it was released for the public's viewing in early A.D. 363. Julian was responding to the personal ridicule and mockeries emanating from the people of Antioch. They poked fun at his beard extensively and so the "beard-hater" was Julian's response. This work is somewhat satirical, witty, and even funny, but the most

⁴ Ibid., introduction.

⁵ Glen Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 4.

important aspect to be gleaned from this tract is Julian's anger.⁶ He is truly angry that the Antiochenes are mocking him, and he is more vehemently angry because his policies are so evidently failing in the city, a city which he saw as a hotbed of Hellenism and his projected reforms. The lesson learned from this work, and Julian's writings, generally speaking, is that Julian's works must be viewed with respect to the personal bias toward his own ideological goals. When reform efforts proceeded accordingly for Julian, many of his works were written with a positive tone, but the negativity present in his works when the opposite occurred is even more prevalent. When Julian's anger and fanaticism were aroused, his writings reflected a bitter man, one who could and would not accept failure. We see this negativity in such works as *Against the Galileans*, in many of the letters he wrote near the end of his reign, and most especially in the *Misopogon*. Whether he knew it or not, Julian wrote according to his mood, and his writings reflect that quite well.

Libanius, who was one of the leading Sophists of his day and an ardent Hellene, was one of Julian's few friends. He wrote several orations about Julian and various others, while supplying a large amount of writing that helps to reconstruct the eastern area of the empire in which he lived. Libanius must be viewed carefully, however, when attempting an assessment of Julian's reform efforts. His writings about Julian constantly and consistently attempt to placate those whom Julian has injured, provide excuses for the emperor's harsher actions, provide praise for Julian's good deeds, give frequent salutations, as for his arrival in Antioch, and are highly partisan, like the panegyric given at Julian's funeral. A good example of this comes from Libanius' *Oration*s; in one of his orations he warns the citizens of Antioch that they must repent because the emperor's anger is running high due to the city's faults. Here he is making excuses

⁶ For a philological assessment of Julian's *Misopogon*, see Jacqueline Long, "Structures of Irony in Julian's *Misopogon*," *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 15-23. She argues that the *Misopogon* should be seen as an "imperial proclamation" given by Julian.

for Julian, very typical of Libanius, and informing the citizenry that its duty is to apologize to the emperor, who has tolerated their insults long enough.⁷ In short, Libanius is a highly partisan source and must be interpreted appropriately because of this, but his information is still quite accurate. He may place heavily biased spins on what he presents, but when the bias is sifted out and only the facts remain, they are reasonably accurate. When dealing with Julian's reforms, then, it is important to keep this bias and partisan nature in mind.

The single most accurate, unbiased source for the late fourth century is Ammianus Marcellinus. His Latin history provides us with a source of quality not seen since Tacitus in the early second century. The beginning books of his history are missing, and his work survives only because of two Carolingian manuscripts from the ninth century. But the portion that is extant, from A.D. 354 to the Battle of Adrianople in A.D. 378, provides a history of unmatched clarity and narrative for the period. His history is written in a fully classical manner, complete with full quotations from speeches and letters, which may or may not be the authors' own words. It is the mark of classical authors to embellish many of these so-called speeches they extract from other works—creativity and invention are hallmarks of classical historiography. His style is uniquely orientated to the fourth century and it appears that his work was written in a manner as to make it pleasurable to be read aloud.⁸ Publication of Ammianus' work occurred roughly in A.D. 391, possibly in Rome.

Ammianus was a pagan, to be certain, and did serve in Julian's army, and did admire Julian to a degree, but these factors do not color his history significantly, unlike many other sources of the period. Evidence of his impartiality comes from the heavy criticisms of Julian, which occur frequently throughout his work, for some of his more intolerant actions, such as the

⁷ Libanius, *Orations*, XVI.15-60.

⁸ John C. Rolfe, in his introduction to Ammianus' work in the *Loeb Classical Library* makes this point.

edict banning Christians from teaching at the schools and the execution of Ursulus, a man who was killed at the whim of the army after serving Julian loyally in Gaul and providing expert financial advice.⁹ However, though it is apparent that Ammianus was an impartial man with regard to his history, he was also a staunch conservative of Roman antiquity. In this respect, many of the reforms Julian initiated were very pleasing to Ammianus, who wished to see things such as city councils reestablished and the independence of cities reasserted. The factor of Ammianus' character is crucial to assessing Julian's reform efforts from an appraisal of Ammianus' history. Yet another important factor to consider in assessing Ammianus' history is his birthplace. He was a Syrian by birth, born in Antioch to a local aristocratic family. This meant that during the tumultuous time Julian spent at Antioch Ammianus not only had a front row seat for it all as a high ranking member of Julian's army, but also could assess Julian's efforts to reform from a native's perspective.¹⁰ This is, quite simply, an advantage that only one other source had, namely Libanius; however, Ammianus is hardly as partisan as he.

Because of Ammianus' conservatism we must view Julian's conservative reforms more carefully in Ammianus' history, yet because of his clear impartiality, demonstrated by his frequent scolding of Julian, we may also trust Ammianus to be unbiased much more than other historians of his time or the next generations. His Syrian birth, coupled with his impartiality, provide a perspective that is unavailable elsewhere and a level of accuracy in the history that makes it the most valuable available in terms of accuracy and bias.

An immensely interesting, and well studied, source for late antiquity is the *Theodosian Code*. The code is a collection of all the imperial legislation from the time of Constantine until

⁹ For Ursulus see Ammianus, XXII.3.8; for the edict banning Christians see XXV.4.

¹⁰ T.D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1ff. Barnes' book is an authoritative work on Ammianus and provides substantial insight into the historian and his life and times, as well as significant errors in the text of Ammianus.

the reign of Theodosius II, ca. A.D. 430. It provides modern scholars with an impartial resource from which to judge many facets of social history. It serves as an authentic record of imperial edicts that were fully promulgated, without the usual need to sift through an author's peculiarities. As in all law, however, there is an "in practice" and "in theory" line to be drawn. The edicts in the code were pronounced, at least by the emperor, but to what extent were they spread throughout the provinces? It seems as though imperial governors were quite lackluster with their performance in this regard. Also, there is constant repetition of laws throughout the code. Modern scholarship has proven that this is evidence that those particular laws were not being enforced or obeyed.¹¹ The code, in theory, governed the actions of the citizens of the empire; however, in practice many of its laws were not followed, unenforceable, or simply ignored by imperial governors. Diocletian's edict on maximum prices makes this quite clear for us. This particular law assigned capital punishment to those who violated it, another sign of the inability of the administration to enforce its laws. The more laws went ignored, the more the imperial authorities at Constantinople felt the need for harsher penalties and repetition of the laws in the code. The essential thing to take away from the code regarding Julian is that it represents the legislation that he most desired to take effect upon the people of the empire; however, it does not provide an accurate appraisal as to whether the legislation was ever carried out in the provinces or whether it was followed by the majority of the citizens in the empire. For example, Julian restored pagan worship and ordered the reopening of the pagan temples, as both Libanius and Ammianus tell us, but it is clear that this process was not facilitated in the least.¹² For the purpose of analyzing Julian's reform efforts, the code supplies us with the bare-boned essentials

¹¹ Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 26-29. These pages contain a cogent, concise argument about the possibility that the code was, perhaps, less effective than scholars originally thought.

¹² Ammianus, XXII.5.2; Libanius, *Orations*, XVIII.126.

needed for the job plus some tenuous tools with which individual edicts can be analyzed; however, for deeper analyses, other sources must be relied upon.

Another pagan source integral to assessing Julian's reform efforts is the late fifth century historian, Zosimus. His history covers the period of the Roman Empire from Polybius until A.D. 410, at which point it is abruptly ended. Little to nothing is known of the author's life, except that he was a count in the imperial court and a fiscal advocate until the year A.D. 468, when an edict was passed banning pagans from such duties.¹³ This edict gave Zosimus a reason to be anti-Christian, and it is quite obvious throughout his work that he holds a grudge against those of the Christian faith. Zosimus' openly biased opinions against the Christians skew his perceptions of Julian heavily and make it difficult to interpret the text. Because of this, a conjectural approach must be taken with Zosimus, which helps to alleviate some of the epistemological problems with the text. Yet, when his bias is sorted out, the facts are often times accurate, and the author's section dealing with Julian's Persian expedition is quite lucid and detailed. Zosimus, however, cancels out any positive appraisal he might receive for his in-depth explanation of the Persian campaign because he neglects to mention any of Julian's domestic reforms in his work, except for the edict extending curial membership to those of the matrilineal line in Antioch. The exclusion of the most integral facts of Julian's reign make one reevaluate the truth content in Zosimus heavily. It is clear that Zosimus relied heavily on the work of the Neoplatonist Eunapius, who was a close associate of the emperor Julian and wrote of Julian and his Neoplatonic endeavors.¹⁴ This means that Zosimus has many of the facts he chose to include

¹³ *Codex Iustinianus*, II.6.8.

¹⁴ James J. Buchanan and Harold T. Davis address Zosimus' use of Eunapius in the introduction to their translation of Zosimus' *Historia Nova*, p x. For an article on Zosimus and Ammianus' possible uses of Eunapius' now fragmentary history, see C.W. Fornara, "Julian's Persian Expedition in Ammianus and Zosimus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 1-15. The article takes quite a circular argument that either Eunapius used Ammianus or Ammianus used Eunapius, but asserts that Zosimus must have used Eunapius.

correct, but that they are, quite plainly, heavily biased and need to be viewed from that angle. Interestingly enough, Zosimus begins his history from Polybius and harks back to the glorious pagan past; this is in stark contradiction to the fifth century Church historians, whose histories start as a continuation of Eusebius's *Church History*, which covers Roman history until the time of Constantine. Of all the pagan sources, Zosimus is, perhaps, the most unhelpful, simply due to the exclusion of the majority of Julian's reforms.

Now, however, comes the equally difficult task of interpreting the Christian sources that are relevant to Julian and his reform efforts. The historians central to this task are Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret; unfortunately, they operate in much the same way as Zosimus regarding their religious biases and overly negative appraisals of those who are of the other faith. This time, however, the proverbial religious coin is flipped. Socrates and Sozomen presumably wrote their Church histories around A.D. 440 in Constantinople. Theodoret was the bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria when he promulgated his history in the same manner ca. A.D. 450.

The two historians Socrates and Sozomen are similar in many ways. Both were lawyers in Constantinople, who wrote around the same period, in Greek, and were Christian. However, if we are to view these two historians in terms of objectivity, then Socrates is the better historian. There is plenty of evidence throughout his work that he was quite a conscientious historian when writing; this is especially evident because he cites certain historians whom he believes have made errors in their histories.¹⁵ Furthermore, Socrates' history begins in A.D. 305 because he wishes to give an account of Constantine's conversion to Christianity, but also because he believes Eusebius left out important facts for the period from 305 until 323. He chastises Eusebius for dismissing the Arian situation with such readiness and for being concerned more

¹⁵ Socrates, *EH*, II.1 discusses Rufinus' errors of chronology and asserts that he will attempt to fix the grievous error in his own history.

with rhetoric and praise of the emperor Constantine than with historical fact.¹⁶ But it is important to note that Socrates was operating under a patron and that his entire introduction is in the first person plural—the other person is the emperor Theodosius II. So though it may appear that Socrates is truly attempting to be a fully accurate, unbiased historian, he cannot be due to his precarious situation in Constantinople, for Theodosius II was the final editor of his history.

Sozomen's history assumes a different tone from its onset. The first paragraph of his history dedicates the work to the emperor Theodosius II, and gives the emperor final editing rights over the script to exclude anything he wishes. This, then, requires Sozomen to be quite careful about what he writes. Sozomen's dedication is basically a Byzantine form of writing history in an embryonic state. Socrates simply chose a more subtle method of identifying his patron. Yet, both historians are also heavily critical of Julian. Sozomen shows remarkable insight into Julian's reforms in his history. It seems that he realized what Julian was attempting to accomplish through his benevolence toward the Christians. He understood, while he was researching and writing his history, that Julian's non-violence toward Christians was not to help or further Christianity but to advance paganism.¹⁷ Throughout his history, Sozomen continually asserts that Julian attempted to destroy the Church and was obsessed with a vehement hatred for the faith.¹⁸ Socrates adopts a more direct approach and compares Julian's attempted reforms to the persecutions of Diocletian, which were arguably the worst in imperial history from the Christian perspective.¹⁹ The views these two historians adopted for assessing Julian naturally led them to appraise him in a negative manner; therefore, these two Church historians must be

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *EH*, I.1.

¹⁷ Sozomen, *EH*, V.4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, V.5.

¹⁹ Socrates, *EH*, III.19. Also, see Robert J. Penella, "Julian the Persecutor in Fifth Century Church Historians," *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 31-43. This article provides an evaluation of the trend in these Church historians to model Julian a Christian persecutor. For an article dealing specifically with the differences in the Church histories of Socrates and Sozomen, see Theresa Urbainczyk, "Observations on the Differences Between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen," *Historia* 46.3 (1997): 355-73.

interpreted carefully and much Christian rhetoric must be sifted through to find as accurate a picture as possible of Julian's reform efforts.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus is arguably the most ardently anti-pagan Church historian of the fifth century. He spent most of his 35 years as bishop fighting what he considered to be heresies in his bishopric, such as Judaism, heretical Christianity, and especially paganism.²⁰ The overriding purpose of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, which covers the period from A.D. 323 until A.D. 428, is to promote the triumph of orthodoxy over Arianism and to condemn all heretics while praising the Orthodox bishops who fought for the cause. The logical outcome of this work is therefore an extremely negative appraisal of Julian, since by Theodoret's day he was considered the ultimate apostate. In fact, Theodoret goes to great lengths to attempt to describe Julian as somewhat of a terrorist, who presides happily over his reign of terror with no regrets.²¹ Theodoret even gives a vivid account of a certain "agent" that Julian sent to kill the orthodox bishop, Athanasius, in order to vilify Julian in a complete manner.²² This idea is plausible, given Julian's views on Christians, but no other sources support it. Socrates says the agent was sent to arrest Athanasius, and Sozomen confirms this.²³ That Theodoret went to such great lengths to vilify Julian makes his history equally difficult to interpret as that of Zosimus' and just as religiously charged, but in the opposite direction. Theodoret is certainly the most difficult of the fifth century Church historians from whom to glean truthful information.

c. Julian's Ideology

Any attempt to decipher the emperor Julian's complex ideology must begin with his own writings. These writings provide a broad base from which to assess the emperor's complicated

²⁰ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht/Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers, 1966), 536.

²¹ Penella, pp. 40-43 for an overview of Julian as terrorist in Theodoret.

²² Theodoret, *EH*, III.9.

²³ Socrates, *EH*, III.13; Sozomen, *EH*, V.6.

fanaticism and lend rare insight into one of the most interesting minds of antiquity. As stated previously, Julian left behind voluminous writings, all of which were written in Greek and many of which profess quite explicitly his personal religious, philosophical, and political beliefs and motivations. It will be through an analysis of these works and other pertinent sources that the framework for this ideology will be drawn. The ideology for which I will argue in this paper can be broken down into three main categories: Neoplatonism, psychological complexes, and Hellenism.²⁴ Within these divisions there are further subdivisions, but the main features of Julian's personality, broadly speaking, are contained in these larger categories.

Central to every action, thought, or decision Julian took or made was Neoplatonism, specifically the branch to which Iamblichus, an influential disciple of Porphyry, belonged. It is important to note at this time that Neoplatonism contained two fundamental sects: one which based itself more on logical, rational actions to achieve spirituality and one which instead relied upon theurgy, or simply put magic, to achieve the same.²⁵ Eunapius relates that Julian attended school at Pergamum at the feet of Aedesius, who was a direct pupil of Iamblichus, the founder of the more illogical, magical Neoplatonic school to which Julian belonged.²⁶ Further, Eunapius describes how Julian initially met with Maximus and Priscus, who were former students of Aedesius and eventually became two of Julian's closest confidants.²⁷ Julian's writings show how much of a dedicated Iamblichean Neoplatonist he was even before his reign began. In the winter of A.D. 358-59 while Caesar in Gaul, Julian sent a letter to Priscus, by now one of his three intimates, asking for all of Iamblichus' writings he could possibly find; additionally, Julian

²⁴ These psychological complexes and Hellenism are integral aspects of Julian's ideology; they help make up the whole, but are not to be considered ideologies themselves. Neoplatonism, arguably, due to its religious, philosophical nature could be considered an ideology in itself, but here I am arguing that it is merely the most fundamental part of Julian's ideological framework.

²⁵ John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 122-23.

²⁶ Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, pp. 367, 429.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 430-31.

wrote several letters to Iamblichus himself lamenting the fact that he could not meet with the man in person due to his imperial duties.²⁸ Eunapius' accounts of Julian's education in Pergamum in A.D. 351 and Julian's admission of his conversion to paganism in A.D. 351 are ample evidence that Julian was a devoted Iamblichean Neoplatonist. Three letters Julian sent during his reign further solidify this. The first was sent to Maximus and confirms that Julian was openly worshipping the gods; the second stated that Julian was sleeping with Maximus' letters because they were so comforting to him; and the third was sent to Libanius and shows a frustrated, angry Julian because Priscus was not hastening quickly enough to Antioch to meet with him.²⁹ These letters reveal a Julian dependent on the presence and advice of two highly persuasive Neoplatonic philosophers and a Julian dependent himself on the presence of Neoplatonism in his life.

Now that it has been established to what sect of Neoplatonism Julian belonged, it is important to sift out a more precise version of Julian's Neoplatonism. For this purpose, Sallustius' *Concerning the Gods and the Universe* will be used. Indeed, there is much scholarly debate about exactly who the author of the small Neoplatonic treatise is, but the two names that are consistently raised are Flavius Sallustius and Saturninius Secundus Salutius. Interestingly enough, Julian knew, quite well, both of these characters. Sallustius was Julian's praetorian prefect of the Gauls and consul in A.D. 363, and Salutius was the prefect of the east, one of Julian's old friends.³⁰ The scholarly debate over exactly who wrote this treatise, however, is irrelevant for this paper. Julian knew both of these men, so whichever of them wrote this treatise

²⁸ Julian, *Letters* no. 2, p. 5 and no. 75, p. 241. Julian's other two intimates were Maximus, who as previously mentioned was also a Neoplatonist, and Oribasius, who was Julian's physician. These three were, arguably, the only three people whom Julian let into his inner circle throughout his reign.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 8, p. 25 for open paganism; no. 12, p. 31 for sleeping with letters; no. 52, p. 181 for Julian's rage over Priscus' absence.

³⁰ Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, Appendix II, p. 125.

it is safe to say that Julian would have been influenced by it. It was a treatise based on the Iamblichean sect of Neoplatonism to which Julian subscribed, and it shows us quite well the Neoplatonic, pagan world Julian envisioned for the Roman Empire. This treatise is filled with demons, spirits, theurgy, and sacrifice. It follows directly Iamblichus' argument that prayers without sacrifice are meaningless and that for one to achieve a union with the gods, sacrifices must be observed with strict regularity.³¹ This small portion of Sallustius' brief treatise is perhaps one of the most important for a complete understanding of the emperor Julian. It stresses that the gods provide everything for humans, and adds that humans must profess their thanks for all things divine, which is everything, by sacrifice. Further, Sallustius stresses that happiness of anything is found in its perfection and perfection stems from its origins, thus prayers with sacrifice must be given to the gods to achieve happiness in life because everything stems from the gods.³² This crucial line of Neoplatonic thought explains why Julian was so insistent on sacrifice and propagated it so often, and further explains why Julian so devoutly pursued a renewed pagan empire based on this Neoplatonic model.

The first main division of Julian's ideology, Neoplatonism, consisted of the above material. It has been made clear that Julian was an initiated member of the Iamblichean sect of Neoplatonism, a sect that stressed theurgy, ritual, and sacrifice in order to achieve union with the gods.³³ For these reasons, in Julian's mind, a pagan empire with open, frequent public sacrifice was clearly necessary for the betterment and continued prosperity of the empire. If the inhabitants of the empire were not sacrificing, then they were not giving thanks to the gods for all things divine—once again everything—and were not achieving union with the gods, which

³¹ Sallustius, XVI; and Iamblichus, V.5.

³² Sallustius., XVI.

³³ For an excellent article on the decline of blood sacrifice in late antiquity, see Scott Bradbury, "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice," *Phoenix* 49.4 (1995): 331-356. He addresses several important issues of the period, including the spiritual significance Neoplatonists placed on sacrifice.

was a crucial part of attaining happiness in one's life. Indeed, this portion of Julian's ideology drove him fervently toward a pagan empire based upon the Neoplatonic model contained within Sallustius.

Two other integral facets of Julian's ideological framework involved psychological complexes. Julian was quite openly fascinated with both Marcus Aurelius and Alexander the Great. He, in fact, wished to emulate these two figures to a great degree with his actions and his thoughts. Once again, the best surviving evidence for these two complexes comes from Julian's own pen. In December of 362, while residing in Antioch, Julian composed a small tract which is now commonly referred to as *The Caesars*. The small work is an outline of all the Roman emperors up until Julian's day; it naturally reveals the ideals and prejudices of the author behind it, while leaving large room for analysis.

The two figures who feature most prominently are Alexander the Great and Marcus Aurelius. A note should be added first, however, on the perception of Alexander the Great in late antiquity.³⁴ For the majority of antiquity Alexander was certainly viewed as the pinnacle of heroism as well as Hellenism, and to a large degree this view still pervaded the largely Greek east in the fourth century. In late antiquity Alexander was still viewed as one of the most charismatic men, capable leaders, and civilized Hellenes ever to inhabit Hellas.³⁵ It seems only natural then that a man of Julian's upbringing attached himself to this leader. Marcus Aurelius was also by this time viewed as one of the best Roman emperors to have ruled the empire, but more importantly, he was viewed as a thoroughly Hellenized Roman emperor, one who wrote his great Stoic work, *The Meditations*, in Greek. Julian identified with these two Hellenized figures

³⁴ For a thorough overview of Alexander the Great in late antiquity, see R.J. Lane Fox, "The Itinerary of Alexander: From Constantius to Julian." *CQ* 47.1 (1997): 239-52.

³⁵ Polymnia Athanassiadi, *Julian: An Intellectual Biography* (London: Routledge, 1992), 224.

quite heavily, both for their Hellenism and because of their inflated reputations during Julian's lifetime.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for Julian's identification with Alexander is the fact that Alexander is included in *The Caesars* to begin with. After all, this is a piece dealing with Roman emperors, and Alexander lived three hundred years before the Roman Empire existed. Quite plainly, Alexander was not a Roman emperor and logically should not have been included in the tract, but he was. The work begins with an introduction of all the Roman emperors in chronological order, beginning with Caesar, and proceeds until Heracles voices concern because Alexander has not been invited to attend.³⁶ The gods then decide that each emperor will have to argue his case before them to see which was the greatest of men. But oddly Julian's literary construction makes it Alexander with whom the Roman emperors are competing for victory.³⁷ This shows quite clearly Julian's bias toward Alexander's exploits, since he pits all of the emperors against Alexander. The Romans give speeches after the contest has been declared and most are then chastised for their minimal exploits in comparison to Alexander. Throughout this work, Julian identifies Alexander with military greatness and places him in a divine realm; at the end of the contest when the emperors are awaiting the gods' decision they are told to sit with a god to wait. Julian places Trajan with Alexander, thus identifying Alexander as a god.³⁸ Libanius and Socrates bolster Julian's positive appraisal of Alexander. Libanius writes that Alexander was very dear to Julian and Socrates goes as far as to say that Julian was attempting to exceed Alexander's exploits during the Persian campaign and alludes that Julian thought of himself as a reincarnated Alexander at the time.³⁹ A note should be made about what could be

³⁶ Julian, *Caesars*, 316B.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 316C.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 335D. Marcus Aurelius sits with Zeus, Octavian with Apollo, and Caesar with Aphrodite and Ares.

³⁹ Libanius, *Orations*, XVII.17; Socrates, *EH*, III.21.

perceived as negativity to Alexander in *The Caesars*. Julian openly criticizes Alexander for his intemperance and love of wine in the poem, but this does not detract from the point made earlier: Julian admired Alexander for his military exploits and his eastern victories, not for his personal life, which consisted of far too much sex, drinking, and intemperance for a man like Julian to accept.⁴⁰

The victor of the contest is Marcus Aurelius, who is Julian's clear favorite throughout the work. Julian even explains Marcus' poor decision of making Commodus his successor. Julian paraphrases the *Iliad* and asserts that it was Marcus' duty to love his son as Zeus loved Ares and therefore his right and the custom of ancestors to hand down rule to sons. Julian solidifies his point stating that Marcus did not know his son would become an evil, corrupt emperor and at the time he bequeathed the throne to him, he was not so.⁴¹ In Marcus, Julian sees the personal qualities he wishes to emulate, and so the third facet of Julian's ideology comes into play and is inextricably linked to the second. Marcus is quoted in *The Caesars* as needing nothing, except for the few needs of his wretched body.⁴² Furthermore, Julian admires Marcus' unadorned nature, his careless appearance, long beard, plain dress, soberness, disinterested look, his undernourished body, the obvious effects of his studies on his face, his Stoicism, and most of all his wisdom, sense of duty and temperance.⁴³ These characteristics that Julian writes of in *The Caesars* are those for which Marcus is well known, due to his work *The Meditations*, in which Marcus explicates his Stoic philosophy and displays his austere, ascetic nature—the nature Julian emulates in his life.⁴⁴ This will become more evident as Julian's various reform measures are explained and his ascetic nature becomes plain to see. Julian also admired Marcus' strong

⁴⁰ Julian, *Caesars*, 330B-C.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 334C-D. The *Iliad* paraphrase is taken from book V.897.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 334B.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 328B-D and 317C-D.

⁴⁴ Ammianus XVI.1.4 also writes that Julian hoped to emulate Marcus' character.

connection to duty, a Stoic principle Marcus ascribed to, and the manner in which he ruled the empire. Julian bears out that he thought it beneficial to attempt to rival Marcus in his accomplishments and excellence when he ruled the empire with “perfect virtue.”⁴⁵ Indeed, the figure of Marcus Aurelius was a large part of Julian’s life and many of his reform measures can be linked to this complex.

It is important at this point to tie together Julian’s two complexes with his overall ideology and add a final factor, Julian’s Hellenism, which was not standard. First of all, he was the Roman emperor and several times refers to “we Romans” throughout his letters to the cities of the empire.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Julian’s brand of Hellenism was based primarily on what he viewed as the Hellenic religion, which centered around his Neoplatonism, sacrifice, and paganism. He ignored many of the other cultural aspects of Hellenism, such as athletics.⁴⁷ Also, as explained above, Julian’s Neoplatonic paganism was far removed from traditional Greek polytheism, thus making his main Hellenistic concern irregular. Magic, theurgy, spirits and demons did not figure heavily in the traditional view. In fact, it seems Julian owed more to Christianity of the time than to traditional Greek polytheism. The Christians of the time surely subscribed to demons, spirits, and magic, but a true Hellene would not have done so.⁴⁸ In line with Julian’s austereness was his dislike of the theatre, circus, gymnasium, and the games.⁴⁹ Julian’s personality was not conducive to these things, due to his Marcus Aurelius complex, yet some of these things are thoroughly Hellenistic devices and integral parts of being a Hellene.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Julian, *Letter to Themistius the Philosopher*, 253A-C.

⁴⁶ Julian, *Letter*, no.47, p.147. Numerous other letters are written in this manner.

⁴⁷ Julian’s reform efforts make this obvious, as well as his multiple writings on the subject of his wishes for the Hellenic religion to prosper.

⁴⁸ Alan Cameron, “Julian and Hellenism,” *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 25-29, provides an excellent assessment of Julian and his similarities and differences with traditional Hellenic polytheism.

⁴⁹ Julian, *Misopogon*, 357D-358D.

⁵⁰ Marcus closed the games for a period of five years during his reign and detested the circus and theatre as well; these were things not fit for a philosopher and so not fit for either Marcus or Julian.

Julian also possessed some distinctly Hellenistic characteristics. He was educated based on the Hellenistic model, both in Athens and Pergamum; he wrote all of his works in Greek, something that Roman emperors as late as the fourth century were not accustomed to doing, and he practiced a philosophy which had deep Hellenistic roots going back to Plato, despite its radicalism. It is plain to see from these characteristics that Julian indeed possessed a slight amount of traditional Hellenism in himself, as his identifications with Marcus and Alexander illustrate, but it is also clear that Julian was not a strictly traditional Hellene. His religion was much different from traditional polytheism and his dislike of many things central to Hellenism makes him somewhat of an outcast. But in Julian's mind, he was the ultimate Hellene; this internal belief would lead to large conflict in the city of Antioch. This was Julian's brand of Hellenism, and it did not fit in very well with most, if not the majority, of Hellenes in the empire.

The ideology I have outlined above dictated Julian actions, thoughts, and decisions more so than any other factors he faced. This will be demonstrated in the subsequent reform section, in which I establish Julian's fanaticism for his ideology. Julian was dominated by a Iamblichean brand of Neoplatonism; Alexander the Great dominated his military objectives and desires for foreign exploits; he modeled his character traits, personal qualities, and administrative measures, to a degree, after Marcus Aurelius; and possessed some qualities entirely his own and very awkward for the time. His Hellenism was unique and somewhat outlandish. He was a character who did not fit well into the social, cultural, or political scene of the fourth century, and the failure of his policies in most areas, which were fanatically based on his unique ideology, proves this.

d. Reform and Ideology

The evidence for Julian's fanaticism comes from his various reform efforts, most of which were directed toward ideological goals. Julian did not pursue policies or reforms outside of his ideological framework, and if his reforms failed, he reacted quite violently to that failure. It will now be demonstrated to what degree Julian went about reforming the empire within his ideological framework and what his fanatical responses to the failures of these policies were, and why failure triggered the invasion of Persia. The mere fact that Julian's actions, legislation, and decisions involved, incorporated and were based on ideological grounds is ample evidence for his fanatical devotion to his personal ideology.

Almost immediately upon learning of the death of Constantius, Julian began his quest for the return of the gods to their ancient prominence. He declared, at the latest upon his arrival in Constantinople in December A.D. 361, the reopening of pagan temples and the restoration of pagan worship through sacrifice.⁵¹ Simultaneously, he declared a policy of religious toleration throughout the empire, including an amnesty for orthodox Christians who had been exiled by Constantius.⁵² These measures may seem genuine on their surfaces, but Julian did not truly have religious toleration in mind when he promulgated his edict. From the beginning, due to Julian's ideology, the eventual extinction of Christianity was being planned. However, at the beginning of his reign, he did not wish to do so using illegal, violent means, and a letter he wrote to a certain Atarbius makes this evident. In the letter he states his wish that the "Galileans," as he calls the Christians, not be "punished or put to death or beaten unjustly," but that the "god-fearing" peoples of the empire should certainly be given positive discrimination since everything good in the world is given by and due to the benevolence of the gods, according to Julian's

⁵¹ Ammianus, XXII.5.2; Libanius, *Orations*, XVIII.126.

⁵² Julian, *Letters*, no. 15 for Julian's pardon of orthodox Christians; Ammianus, XXII.5.3 for the edict of toleration; cf. Sozomen V.5

Neoplatonic beliefs.⁵³ More drastic evidence is available, however, for Julian's views of what to do with the Christians. Sometime in the early summer months of 362 Julian composed a hymn to the Mother of the Gods. Throughout this hymn he refers to stains of impiety and atheism and desires that the Roman people cleanse themselves of these. The context of the hymn makes it clear that the stains are the Christians and the Christian religion. Julian continues and writes about his yearnings for ultimate good and happiness in his life through gaining knowledge of the gods, while praying for the gods' blessing for the empire, since all things good are attained in that way.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Sozomen declares that another of Julian's true intentions regarding the edict of toleration was to set the Church at odds with itself.⁵⁵ During the reign of Constantius, who was an Arian, several orthodox bishops were sent into exile. By recalling them Julian was hoping to create turmoil within the Church and make it internally unstable. It is clear to see, therefore, that Julian's policy of open toleration was not intended as such. His goal, almost from the outset, though not wanting open violence upon the Christians, was to eliminate them. Violence against the Christians would come later, when Julian's ideological vision was failing and his fanaticism was growing, while his patience was shrinking.

It is quite plain to see how these two policies fit into Julian's ideological framework. Julian was a devoted Neoplatonist and therefore saw all good things in the world as given to humans by the gods after sacrifices had been properly apportioned. In Julian's mind, if the empire were to prosper and he were to live happily, the Christian religion must cease to exist so that all in the empire could worship the gods in a proper manner. Julian's ultimate goals were to recreate the pagan empire of old, to reinstitute sacrifice on a large, consistent scale, and to restore the gods to what he saw as their rightful place in the universe. These two initial measures were

⁵³ Julian, *Letters*, no. 37.

⁵⁴ Julian, *Hymn to Mother of the Gods*, 180B.

⁵⁵ Sozomen, *EH*, V.5.

Julian's first steps in the process of fulfilling his ideological dream of a pagan empire, which is also connected to his Hellenism, the primary goal of which concerned religion. Unfortunately for the Christians, in Julian's mind, this dream could only be accomplished if the "stain of atheism" was removed from the empire.

In line with Julian's efforts to reestablish paganism and sacrifice throughout the empire was his realization of the advantages the Christians of his time had over pagans. Julian recognized that the charity and humanitarianism the Christians gave out freely was hindering the pagan faith, and that if the pagans wished to compete with Christianity in the empire, they would have to emulate the Christians in these ways.⁵⁶ Throughout his reign he encouraged pagan priests to give charity and aid to the poor in order to spread the supposed benevolence of the pagan faith. It was Julian's attempt to make the pagan faith more of a popular religion, while at the same time an attempt to compete directly with Christianity in the areas in which Julian thought it had a monopoly. Also, Julian recognized the value of organizing the pagan church based on the Christian model. Julian proclaimed himself *pontifex maximus* in ancient fashion and set about organizing the provinces of the empire with a chief priest in each, all of whom were responsible to him. In a letter to the high priest of Asia, Theodorus, Julian professes his strong desire to see his policy of organizing paganism come to fruition, and tells Theodorus that it is "most dear to his heart."⁵⁷ But Julian, despite his thoughts about the restoration of paganism, was not doing so in classical fashion. He openly admits in a letter to a priest that inner, spiritual devotion is the single most important factor for appointment to priesthood, not a political career or prominence in public life.⁵⁸ It has been argued that Julian borrowed these beliefs about how his priests were supposed to behave from the Christians, but this does not

⁵⁶ Julian, *Letters*, no. 22, 429D-430B.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 20, 452C-D.

⁵⁸ Julian, fragment of a letter to a priest, 305.

make sense. Julian's conception of his priestly order was centered around his brand of Iamblichean Neoplatonism, and since Neoplatonism ultimately stressed the spiritual being of one's self, it makes it a more likely possibility for Julian's reasoning.⁵⁹ However, Julian did borrow the notions of charity and humanitarianism from the Christians, and organized the pagan church based on the Christian model. These realizations were quite perceptive of Julian, for he had grasped the fundamental reasons for Christianity's rapid success and hoped to duplicate that success with paganism through the same means the Christians had employed.

In terms of Julian's ideology, these reform measures fit nicely into the framework. Julian's dream of a pagan empire is the driving force for the organization of the pagan church and his perceived need for pagan charity and humanitarian aid. He adopted these policies to attempt to spread and make successful the resurgence of paganism in the Roman world. Furthermore, his Neoplatonic scheme dictated how he wished his priestly order to conduct itself; unfortunately, Julian's ideas about how priests should conduct themselves did not fit well into fourth century society and the inability of the priesthood to conduct itself according to Julian's model would eventually lead to conflict with the emperor. Here we can also see Julian's outlandish Hellenism at work. His views on the priesthood were radical to all except himself, yet he thought them perfectly compatible with the Hellenic religion.

A hotly debated reform Julian undertook was the immense downsizing of the imperial court. When Julian arrived in Constantinople in December 361, he found an imperial court that was inflated beyond reason. The scene Libanius paints is of "a thousand cooks, as many barbers, and even more butlers. There were swarms of waiters, eunuchs more in number than flies

⁵⁹ Oliver Nicholson makes the argument that Julian's conception of the pagan priesthood was not classical but rather more oriented to the Christian way of priestly life, cf. Nicholson, "The 'Pagan Churches' of Maximinius Daia and Julian the Apostate," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45.1 (1994): 1-10.

around the flocks in spring, and a multitude of drones of every sort and kind.”⁶⁰ Naturally Libanius is exaggerating the situation, but it is safe to say that by Julian’s standards the imperial court was far too large and opulent for his tastes, for the simplicity inherent in his Marcus Aurelius complex did not allow for such pomp. It should be added that this was a Christian court. For a man with such strong pagan convictions, working with so many of the perceived wrong, heretical faith was inconceivable. Also, the simple luxuriousness of the imperial court surely disgusted Julian, who was a man quite austere in his lifestyle. Wealthy eunuchs, highly ornate barbers, lavish use of silk, all of these things were not Julian’s way.⁶¹ Julian conducted himself in a simple manner, as the ideological framework has outlined, so it is easy to see why he emptied this oversized, overpaid, opulent court, especially when Christianity is taken into account. Financially speaking, Julian helped the imperial treasury greatly by his court reform, and it will be demonstrated that, arguably, Julian was a wise financial reformer, which is consistent with his personality.

One of the largest projects Julian initiated during his brief reign was an attempted revitalization of the cities of the empire and their town councils. The *Theodosian Code* provides the backbone of the evidence for this particular portion of Julian’s reforms. These many reforms were aimed at two fundamental things: alleviating the harsh financial burdens which cities were accumulating at the time, and reestablishing the prominence and functionality of the town councils. Julian hoped by these measures to attain a certain level of independence for the cities of the empire, and to once again make them the strong force they were in past years. These reform efforts involved Julian’s Marcus Aurelius complex. One of Marcus’ deep-rooted Stoic beliefs was a sense of duty, and in reverence for Marcus it was to this sense of duty that Julian

⁶⁰ Libanius, *Orations*, XVIII.130.

⁶¹ Ammianus, XXII.4 describes the lavishness of the imperial court.

attached himself when conducting these seemingly practical reforms. This point must be conceded; the city and town council reforms Julian initiated were practical, but they were ideologically driven.

Of the several reforms Julian initiated to alleviate the financial burdens of the cities, the reform of the *cursus publicus* was likely most helpful to the cities. In the fourth century the *cursus publicus* was the imperial courier system that provided animals and equipment for authorized persons traveling about the empire. The system had always been abused since the early days of the empire, and emperors were constantly endeavoring to arrest the situation. The majority of the time, those who had access to the government animals and transportation services worked these animals to a state of near death on their journeys, and it was the cities' financial burden to provision the costs for the system.⁶² In short, the abuse of this system was a large burden for the cities of the empire to bear, and Julian recognized this. The *Code* tells us that he issued stringent regulations on who could issue permits for use of the *cursus publicus*, limiting this ability to the praetorian prefect of the province, himself, and a few of the vicars of the provinces.⁶³ Julian also introduced regulations as to what specific types of journeys the imperial courier system could be used for, in a further attempt to control the system.⁶⁴ These measures were taken so that the financial burden of the imperial courier system would not be so heavy upon the cities. It may have been somewhat successful, too, as Libanius narrates an empire filled with healthy animals by the end of Julian's reign.⁶⁵

In a further attempt to lift some of the financial burdens of the cities, Julian made the tax collectors responsible for their actions. He issued an edict stating that tax collectors would be

⁶² Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, p.75.

⁶³ *Theodosian Code*, VIII.5.12; the vicars were lower ranking officials in the imperial civil service, while the praetorian prefects were the chief civil servants of their given province.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Libanius, *Orations*, XVIII.145.

audited every five years, in order that any malpractice could be discovered and proper punishment assessed.⁶⁶ The punishment for an offense was torture and Julian makes it quite clear in the *Code* that any citizen could bring a tax collector up on fraud charges. Julian's reasons for issuing this edict are simple. The tax collecting system was heavily corrupt by the time of his reign. Rapacious tax collectors were pillaging cities for more money than was needed by the imperial treasury, and then lying about their collections on the tax form in order to take a profit for themselves. This excessive taxing was a further burden on the cities and one Julian realized and acted against. Julian also attempted to involve himself more directly in the taxation of the empire. In yet another section of the *Code* Julian states that no one shall be taxed without the knowledge of Julian or the praetorian prefect of the province. He wished this to compel landowners to pay taxes on an equal basis and pay the taxes for which they were responsible.⁶⁷ These reforms of the taxation of the empire were intelligent, practical moves indeed, and ones which the empire badly needed, and ones which the cities of the empire required if they were to flourish once more.

Julian also saw the need to attempt a revival of the town councils in the cities. He recognized the need for the cities to be financially sound, but also recognized the need for cities to have competent local leadership. However, during this time it seems clear that it was quite a financial burden to assume the role of decurion in a city of the empire, and was more lucrative to avoid service in the town council. This development led in part to the stagnation of the cities of the empire because many of the most competent, wealthy people were not serving in their civic capacity. Julian needed to fix this situation and expresses so in the *Misopogon*, in which he relates to the Antiochenes that he enlarged their senatorial numbers, and spared no man from

⁶⁶ *Theodosian Code*, VIII.1.6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XI.16.10.

service.⁶⁸ This was done in order to make sure that those who were duty bound to service were not fleeing from it, and Julian felt he was duty-bound to make sure all were participating properly. Also, Julian lessened membership requirements for service in town councils, as to increase the numbers of participants, and made voluntary the traditional gift of *aurum coronarium*, which were gold wreaths donated by the cities to a new emperor.⁶⁹ The lowering of restrictions may have been done, however, because more wealthy landowners were moving to the country to avoid service and Julian was running out of prospective candidates for the positions. In order to further settle this problem Julian addressed the issue of Christian exemption from decurion service. Under Constantine the clergy had been given this privilege, but Julian summarily revoked it and made it compulsory for Christians, as well as pagans, to sit in the town council.⁷⁰ It was Julian's way of funneling the proper manpower into what he viewed as a very important role, but it was also a clever way for him to divert Christian funds to his pagan crusade, since the financial burdens of a city fell largely upon the town councils. Julian furthered this by revoking Constantine's edict that exempted Christian clergy from taxation, and restored some land to cities that was given to the Christian Church under the previous rulers.⁷¹

All of these measures were taken to restore the cities of the empire to a more economically successful level, while securing a strong political body within the cities which was competent enough to officiate policy at the local level. It was once again Julian's attempt to emulate Marcus Aurelius, but more specifically his Stoic sense of duty. I have made clear that Julian was heavily influenced by the figure of Marcus Aurelius, and that part of this admiration

⁶⁸ Julian, *Misopogon*, 367D

⁶⁹ *Theodosian Code*, XII.13.1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, XII.1.50.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, X.3.1.

had to do with Marcus' Stoic philosophy. First of all, Julian thought of himself as a philosopher, so his identification with another philosopher is only natural. Secondly, Julian makes it clear in *The Caesars* that, though not a Stoic himself, he holds Stoicism in high regard, stating that it is a wonderful doctrine when he is questioning Marcus.⁷² These reforms are attempts to mimic Marcus' sense of duty. Julian recognized the problems within the empire and acted to arrest the situations, not because he wanted to but because Marcus Aurelius' sense of Stoic duty compelled him to act. If Julian wished to rival Marcus, and indeed emulate Marcus, then these reforms had to be undertaken. Julian wished to do both of these things; Julian has also made this evident with his own pen in the *Letter to Themistius* mentioned earlier. The policies outlined above fit well with Julian's personality and ideology. Aside from the ideological grounds on which Julian based these reforms, they were also quite practical. He attempted to revive the cities, town councils, control and stabilize the spiraling taxation situation, and lessen the obvious corruption that was going on within the imperial system. Though primarily ideologically driven and closely related to his Marcus Aurelius complex quite heavily, Julian's policies were completely practical for the time.

But enough of the practical Julian, it is now time to mention a reform which was, as Ammianus remarks, an "inhumane" thing that "ought to be buried in eternal silence."⁷³ The reforms mentioned above were issued by the emperor prior to April 362; his edict banning Christians from teaching rhetoric, grammar or philosophy—the entire ancient educational curriculum—was issued in July 362.⁷⁴ This measure was completely based on Julian's wish to

⁷² Julian, *The Caesars*, 328B-C.

⁷³ Ammianus, XXII.10.7; cf. Socrates, *EH*, III.12, in which Socrates accuses Julian of persecution for forbidding the Christians from literary pursuits; this is further evidence for the ambiguity of Julian's edict. Cf. Socrates, *EH*, III.16—this section of the history contains Socrates' larger diatribe against Julian for his edict banning Christians.

⁷⁴ For an article on Julian's school laws, see Thomas Banchich, "Julian's School Laws: *Cod. Theo.* 13.3.5 and *Ep.* 42," *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 5-14. This article takes as its interpretive framework the actual practice of education in the fourth century, as opposed to the theory of classical education.

eliminate Christianity from the empire, but it was directed toward the next generation of Romans. Julian was aware that if he indoctrinated the youth of the empire during his reign, then the next generation of upper-class, educated, influential, politically active Romans would all be pagan. However, he ignored the fact that the educational system of the time was in no way biased toward religion. Pagan students were educated by Christian teachers and vice versa. Julian effectively barred many professionals from conducting their said profession, but Julian did not mind this, for it was yet another step in his ideological dream. Julian was well aware of his upbringing and the fact that his conversion to paganism was due in large part to the influence of his teachers. He was attempting, as much as he was to convert the youth of the empire to paganism, to prevent the conversion of impressionable youth to Christianity. But Julian had a deeper philosophical idea behind his promulgation. Simply put, he did not think that teachers should teach subjects and doctrines in which they did not believe wholeheartedly themselves.⁷⁵ Julian purposely left his edict vague, stating only that “masters of studies and teachers must first excel in character, then in eloquence.”⁷⁶ The mere fact that Julian needed to write a complementary letter to explain his edict is evidence of the edict’s vague nature. Julian explains his intentions best with his own pen, stating “...I give them [Christians] this choice; either not to teach what they do not think admirable, or, if they wish to teach, let them...persuade their students that neither Homer nor Hesiod nor any of these writers whom they expound and have declared to be guilty of impiety, folly and error in regard to the gods, is such as they declare.”⁷⁷ This reform, which was issued somewhat later in Julian’s reign, is a precursor of the more violent, fanatical things Julian will devolve toward in the late months of his rule. It is the

⁷⁵ Julian, *Letters*, no. 36. This is Julian’s explanatory letter for the edict, in which he states that Christians could not be teachers because of their inability to truly appreciate and believe in the pagan classics. The pagan classics made up the core of the educational curriculum at this time.

⁷⁶ *Theodosian Code*, XIII.3.5.

⁷⁷ Julian, *Letters*, no. 36, 423A-B.

beginning of the end of the practical, patient Julian, thus we begin to see the fanatic in a fuller form from this point on.

The reforms Julian initiated within the empire were ideologically based and show examples from all three central aspects of the framework, yet some of the reforms, those linked to Marcus Aurelius, surely had practical value, especially the monetary reforms and his efforts to revitalize the cities and local town councils. But Julian's reforms also make it quite clear that he had adopted a policy of Christian extermination, not by illegal, violent means, but nonetheless his wish for a pagan empire required the extinction of the godless Galileans. It will be later in Julian's reign when his patience wears thin and his fanaticism bursts into the open when he begins openly persecuting Christians and advocating violence against them. But his reforms all fit into the ideological framework I have outlined, and the speed at which he issued them—all within the first five months of his reign—shows his devotion to his vision and gives a glimpse of the fanaticism that lay buried within Julian during the first months of his reign. He was a devoted ideologue from the onset, and his reforms are evidence of that, but at this point, ca. July 362, his fanaticism was still largely dormant. When the failure of his dream became more and more evident over the course of his stay at Antioch, Julian's patience and practicality almost disappeared; and in the place of the once benevolent emperor who wished for a policy of nonviolence against the Christian population, we see a Julian extremely willing to turn to violence and open persecution and discrimination.

e. Antioch, Failure, Fanaticism and Persia

Antioch was founded in 300 B.C. by Seleucus I, who was the son of Antiochus, a Macedonian general of high rank in Alexander the Great's army. From the beginning, the city was the site of the imperial capital for the Seleucid kingdom, which was one of the four

Hellenistic kingdoms that formed out of Alexander's empire after his death. Its strategic location at the Orontes River gave the city excellent access to the Mediterranean Sea, and the inhabitants of the city prospered economically from its founding. In 64 B.C. Pompey the Great conquered and captured the city, and thereafter made it the capital of the new Roman province of Syria. The Romans lavished many great public works upon the city, including baths, a forum, theatres, and aqueducts in addition to the already impressive Greek structures. In the early first century, it was one of Paul's centers for the Christian movement, and it was in this city that the term Christian was first coined to describe the new religious sect.

Indeed, Antioch by the time of Julian was one of the most populous, prosperous cities in the eastern empire, perhaps exceeded only by Alexandria. The city boasted a cosmopolitan scene that blended deep-rooted Hellenism with its native Syrian culture, all of which was complemented by four centuries of Romanization. The religious scene was equally diverse, for the city had quite a large Christian population while maintaining a strong population of traditional pagans. Also, a noticeable Jewish population, which reported to the patriarch in Tiberias, resided in the city in relative peace with the surrounding peoples. The city was quite possibly the most energetic, lively city in the empire. It loved the games, circuses, the grotesquely sexual theatre, chariot racing, Olympic games, and the sheer pomp associated with being a booming city in the Roman Empire. Its deep Hellenism was more than a prevalent part of the city, for temples abounded, along with shrines to the gods and the famous oracle of Apollo at Daphne a few miles outside the city.⁷⁸ Julian entered this cosmopolitan city on 18 July A.D. 362. Though the immensely diverse nature of the city sounds quite appealing to modern Americans, for a fanatical ideologue it could only spell disaster. Julian's dream, his vision from which he never wavered and on which he never compromised, was unable to deal with such a

⁷⁸ The background information about the city of Antioch was taken from Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, pp. 94-95.

cosmopolitan place. For an uncompromising ideologue, who wished for nothing more than uniformity in his empire, the cosmopolitanism of Antioch was a curse.

When Julian entered Antioch, he entered with great expectations for the city. He admired its rich Hellenic past, its shrines, temples, and famous Greek rhetoricians, like Libanius, whom Julian respected greatly. Upon his entry he promptly sacrificed at various temples, including Demeter, Zeus, Fortune, and several times visited the oracle of Apollo at Daphne.⁷⁹ For Julian, Antioch was to be the place where his ideological vision would flourish the most—all the pieces that were needed were to be found there. Julian makes his intentions for the city clear in the *Misopogon*, stating that he “planned to make the city greater and more powerful.”⁸⁰ But Julian’s vision for the city was based on an erroneous assessment of the compatibility of his ideology to that of the needs, lifestyles, and characters of the people of Antioch. His dream was never fulfilled; in fact, the opposite occurred, and Julian found himself ostracized from the city entirely. The result of this, coupled with some external failures, was Julian’s campaign to Persia. The emperor suffered greatly in the city of Antioch, as he witnessed his ideological dream fail on all fronts. These failures left him with only one ideological choice, so he mounted his Alexander the Great complex and rode into Persia with swords blazing.

At the time Julian arrived at Antioch, the city was suffering from a grain shortage, and food shortage in general. Apparently the wealthy, landowning elites had been hoarding food until the market was dry, then selling it at inflated prices. As a result, a food shortage and inflation occurred in the city.⁸¹ Julian thought the problem would be best solved if left to the town council, who in his view were best suited to deal with local issues. So he did just that. He informed them that they should have no problems fixing the situation, since he had recently

⁷⁹ Julian, *Misopogon*, 346B-D.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 367D.

⁸¹ Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, p.96.

enlarged their numbers by two hundred.⁸² However, over the course of the months of July and August it became apparent to Julian that the town council was, in fact, filled with many people who did not belong in such service. Local townsmen were being bribed by the wealthy, so that they could avoid the financial burdens of service. Julian saw this shortage of manpower and bribery and acted, once again showing the sense of duty he derived from Marcus. He issued an edict enlarging the pool from which applicants could be drawn; the family line could now go through the maternal side of one's family, and local decurions from neighboring cities were asked to join Antioch's feeble council.⁸³ Yet from August to September the wealthy still avoided service by abusing their affluence, and Julian became increasingly frustrated with the town council's ineffectiveness. On 18 September 362 he issued another edict nullifying the curial nominations from the previous month, and ordering the Praetorian Prefect of the East to conduct an investigation into the matter.⁸⁴ This measure did not win Julian any friends on the town council, for he was hindering their efforts to avoid financial burdens and making it quite difficult for them to continue living in the manner to which they were accustomed.⁸⁵ By November 362 Julian had effectively ostracized himself from the council of Antioch, simply because he wished it to function properly and avoid corruption, and he was witnessing firsthand its ineffectiveness when dealing with the simplest of town matters. He was not seeing the Stoic sense of duty in the townsmen he wished for; this vexed him greatly in the coming months.

On his way to Antioch, Julian had stopped at the Anatolian city of Pessinus, and preached to the people there about the need to return to the immortal gods of old. As usual, it was his most earnest wish that the townsmen do so. After all, a great shrine to the Mother of the Gods,

⁸² Julian, *Misopogon*, 367D

⁸³ *Theodosian Code*, XII.1.51. This law pertained specifically to Antioch. Zosimus confirms this, see III.11.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, XII.1.53.

⁸⁵ Julian expresses the council's anger toward him for his actions in the *Misopogon*, 368B.

of whom Julian had written an entire oration, was there. Yet by early August, Julian had received reports that efforts to Hellenize the city were failing and that the people were not returning to the temples *en masse* as Julian wished. He wrote a letter to Arsacius, the high priest of Galatia, stating his frustration with the situation. His words reflect a man becoming less and less tolerant of dissension and those who contradict his desired policies. Julian speaks of his angst due to the fact that the Hellenic religion was not prospering as he wished, and he concludes with a blatant threat to the people of Pessinus, telling them that they can expect and deserve his enmity if they so chose to ignore the gods. He concludes that it is not “lawful of” him “to cherish those who spurn the immortal gods.”⁸⁶ In the early months of Julian’s stay at Antioch, then, he was seeing two of his ideological wishes fail: the Hellenistic religion at Pessinus and the council of Antioch were both failing to produce the desired results.⁸⁷

Another fascinating element of the cultural scene at Antioch for Julian was the oracle of Apollo at Daphne. For a man like Julian, who believed that the gods would reward him for sacrifice, the oracle was a place of beauty, great importance, and deep religious meaning. Sometime in late August, or perhaps early September, Julian went to the oracle to celebrate the annual festival given there. When he arrived he found that the priests had not made the proper arrangements. There were no libations, beasts for sacrifice, choruses being sung, incense being burned, or people around the shrine awaiting the event. One priest was there, and he had brought a single goose for sacrifice.⁸⁸ This outraged Julian and the tone of this portion of the *Misopogon* makes that evident; it violated the most important aspect of his ideology, and it was taking place in the city for which he had had the highest hopes. In this instance, Julian was privy to such a

⁸⁶ Julian, *Letters*, no.22, 432.

⁸⁷ Julian’s concept of what the “Hellenic religion” was involved his Iamblichean brand of Neoplatonism. In fact, as I argued in section B of this paper, Julian’s idea of Hellenistic religion was quite unique and not similar to what the majority of Hellenes at the time would have considered it to be.

⁸⁸ Julian, *Misopogon*, 361D-362B.

lack of religiosity in Antioch that he berated the town council for its failure to promote the festival and the lowly priest for not carrying out his duty. Julian was angry both because of the lack of religious enthusiasm and the obvious lack of duty the council, along with the priest, showed. But Julian's notion of how a pagan priest should live did not accord with actual practice; in fact, it was far removed from it. A fragment of a letter Julian wrote to a pagan priest survives, luckily enough, and allows a glimpse of how Julian wished his priestly class to conduct itself. In Julian's mind, the pagan priesthood needed to live a completely ascetic life to please the gods and conduct itself in proper fashion. He prescribed a life of chastity, one where jokes were not permitted since the gods may interpret them negatively, and a life utterly devoted to maintaining the temple and pleasing the gods with zeal. There was no room whatsoever for a priest to exercise freedom in this conception or to involve himself in any other walk of life. These demands Julian made upon the pagan priesthood were unreasonable, and he attracted many enemies for doing so, including the poor priest whom he chastised at Daphne. Julian's radical notions of how the pagan priesthood should operate, which was tied to his outlandish Hellenism, effectively alienated him from his most natural, ardent supporters. And Julian's failure to comprehend why the priests reacted negatively to his ideas doomed him to ultimate failure in this area.

Naturally enough, Julian did not have many Christian allies, but he exacerbated the situation on several occasions. In October 362, Julian wanted to consult the oracle of Apollo at Daphne; upon arriving, however, the priest informed him that the oracle had been silenced since the arrival of the Christian martyr Babylas' bones. Ironically enough, Gallus, Julian's brother, moved them there while Caesar of the east some years before. Julian was incensed and immediately ordered a purification of the temple, and the bones were removed by Christians

amidst much pomp to a new location. Shortly after this incident the temple at the oracle mysteriously burned down. Julian immediately cast blame to the Christians, whom even Ammianus admits were not to blame.⁸⁹ Julian responded by closing the Church of Antioch and confiscating the liturgical material contained therein.⁹⁰ This incident effectively terminated any hope Julian had of Christian cooperation with his policies, or possible Christian converts to paganism. The polarization now sharpened between Julian and his mortal enemies, the Galileans. Julian's step of summarily casting blame without evidence and closing the Church of Antioch indicate his deteriorating state. These are acts of open persecution, and Julian has now begun the downward spiral to worse aggression toward the Christians.

Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, gave Julian much frustration shortly after this time. Athanasius had recently left his Holy See because of Julian, but shortly thereafter the citizens of Antioch petitioned for his return. Julian was baffled by this, and a letter he wrote to them from Antioch bears this out. He states his frustration with the Alexandrians for having a Christian element at all in the city, and tells them openly that the one thing he wishes for is the suppression of the "impious faith," which is Christianity.⁹¹ He denies the petition to allow Athanasius to be reinstated to his Holy See, and thus the bishop spent the rest of Julian's reign hiding in the Sudan. If we can believe Theodoret, Julian ordered Athanasius' death upon hearing of the petition.⁹² Either way, Julian's response was a negative, frustrated one. Early in his reign, Julian professed a policy of open toleration of religion, and non-violence against Christians, promising to punish those who violated his orders. He violated his own orders in this case, by either

⁸⁹ For the Apollo at Daphne incident, see Ammianus, XXII.13.1-4.

⁹⁰ Theodoret, *EH*, III.6.

⁹¹ Julian, *Letters*, no.47, 433A-B;435B-C.

⁹² Theodoret, *EH*, III.5; cf. Socrates, *EH*, III.13-14, in which he states that Julian told the governor of Alexandria to apprehend Athanasius, not to kill him, though Socrates' tone does, perhaps, insinuate that the author thought Julian had arranged murder for the bishop.

ordering the death of Athanasius or ordering him to remain in exile. He would go on to violate his orders regarding violence when riots broke out against the Christians of Gaza and Emesa and the emperor did not act in any manner to arrest or convict the pagan parties involved. The pagans of Emesa burned the Christian churches of the city and converted the remaining one to a temple in honor of Dionysus, and yet Julian did not do anything, except mock the Christians in the *Misopogon* for the incident.⁹³ The pagan rioters at Gaza dragged several church members—Eusebius, Zeno and Nestabus—from their homes and summarily beat them to the point of death. The emperor's reaction was once again one of nonchalance. He, as Sozomen writes, derived pleasure from the incident.⁹⁴ These two events show a Julian who has completely turned from a policy of nonviolence against Christians to a man who, at the very least, is passively endorsing such action. An evident devolution is present here: as Julian's policies for revitalizing a pagan empire begin to fail, and this becomes clear to him, he begins to move away from his more practical, nonviolent measures and starts to advocate more drastic measures against the Christians. His ideological ideal is failing on many fronts; his rash reactions are worsening; and his fanaticism is growing.

Julian made a final attempt to alleviate the famine running through Antioch by the end of 362 via direct intervention on his part. He had now conceded that the town council was too ineffective to do its job, and saw this as an opportunity to spread the humanitarian, pagan message. In order to do this, Julian imported large quantities of grain from outlying provinces, mainly from Egypt. In an attempt to curb the rising prices on grain that the wealthy were charging, Julian placed a price ceiling on it. But none of this worked. The grain shipments arrived; however, the wealthy landowners simply hoarded the grain in the countryside and sold it

⁹³ Julian, *Misopogon*, 357C.

⁹⁴ Sozomen, *EH*, V.9.

for inflated prices in that region—the ceiling was only applicable to the city itself.⁹⁵ This further exacerbated the economic situation in Antioch, and ostracized Julian from the common people on all religious levels, since he was now to blame for the famine and not the council. This affair provided conclusive evidence for Julian that his humanitarian pagan crusade had failed, in this instance, and that the town council of Antioch simply could not be trusted to conduct its duties. It was a double-edged sword that cut through his ideology quite harshly.

These frustrations and failures culminated in Julian's writing of two satires, the *Misopogon* and *Against the Galileans*, early in 363. *Against the Galileans* is Julian's attempt to dismantle and satirize the Christian scripture. Essentially, Julian is trying to compare the major tenets of his religion with those of the Christian faith, and prove that the Christians are idiotic to believe such nonsense as the Bible.⁹⁶ He consistently quotes scripture verbatim in the tract and then provides amusing anecdotes afterward, but the tone of the work reveals a man who has nothing left but his pen. Julian by this time felt the fury of defeat and his frustrations with the Christians must have led him to the work. Naturally, he resorted to the thing with which he could best respond—the written word. The *Misopogon* is written for similar reasons, only against the vicissitudes of the Antiochenes and their vehement hatred for him. The work is satirical, indeed, but, like *Against the Christians*, it reveals a man broken and weak. I am inclined to agree with Glen Bowersock on this issue, simply because of Julian's own words: "Why, in the name of the gods, am I treated with such ingratitude?"⁹⁷ Because of his intense

⁹⁵ Julian, *Misopogon*, 368D-369D.

⁹⁶ Christoph Reidweg argues that Julian's criteria for a "philosophical theology" are three fold: a) gods exist b) they exercise providence over earth c) they do no evil to men. This assessment is misleading. Part 'c' is false. Julian surely believes, ardently, that the gods have the ability to inflict evil upon men, and do so to those who do not perform the proper observances, especially sacrifice. Julian's "philosophical theology" is based primarily on fear of the gods and their reprisals if certain practices are not followed. See, "With Stoicism and Platonism: Against the Christians: Structures of Philosophical Argumentation in Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*," *Hermathena* 166 (1999): 72.

⁹⁷ Julian, *Misopogon*, 370C. I reject the claim that Jacqueline Long has made in her article titled "Structures of Irony in Julian's *Misopogon*." She claims that Julian was in full control of his "discourse" throughout his satire, and

ideology, Julian could not fathom why so many had begun to dislike him; why so many refused to conform to the image of the empire he had made in his head. Was that not the correct way things ought to be? For Julian, there was only one world, and that was the world of his personal ideology; by early 363 in his mind this view was becoming more fanatical by the day.

Julian eventually overcame his reluctance to directly persecute Christians in the early months of 363. The Christians of Edessa were embroiled in a doctrinal conflict, resulting in some destruction of property. This angered Julian, or it gave him an excuse to act against the Christians—the motive is not important. His reaction was to confiscate all the Christians' wealth and property in the town for his own personal use and that of the army's. This, he said, was so that the Christians would be secured a place in heaven, since their scripture said poverty and humbleness were prerequisites for salvation. He further threatened them with torture if they caused any more disturbances.⁹⁸ This letter is short and curt; it is apparent that Julian has lost his patience with the Christians and their inability to see the "true" faith. There can be no doubt now that Julian is openly persecuting the Christians; his devolution to fanaticism and the failure of his ideological plan have been made clear, both in Antioch and elsewhere.

At this point, February 363, Julian was reeling from these ideological failures. While in Antioch, he witnessed the ineffectiveness of the town council, and his own inability to arrest the situation, both of which violated his sense of duty; this was complemented by his realization that the Hellenic, religious crusade in Anatolia, namely at Pessinus, was not proceeding accordingly, and was, in fact, failing miserably. His own people, the pagan priesthood at Daphne, disappointed him greatly due to their lack of religious fervor and inability to live up to the insanely high standards which Julian had set for them; concurrently, the Christians continued to

that he did not "withdraw in defeat" upon its completion. But when his other actions are considered, he was a defeated man, and I believe the *Misopogon* to be more revealing in this respect.

⁹⁸ Julian, *Letters*, no.40.

boggle him when the Alexandrians—people with yet another great Hellenic past—petitioned for the return of one of Julian’s foes, Athanasius. The burning of the temple of Apollo at Daphne did not help the situation. Julian devolved further into fanaticism when he closed the Church at Antioch and confiscated its belongings. But the persecution only grew worse as Julian’s situation became more precarious, thus we see his passive endorsements of the riots at Gaza and Emesa, at which many Christians were murdered. Julian’s policy of pagan humanitarianism was not even going well. His incompetency when dealing with the grain shortage directly earned him yet more enemies, and more ideological failure. The frustration flowed through Julian’s pen by January 363 in the *Misopogon* and *Against the Galileans*, and his seizure of the wealth of the Christians of Edessa complete with open threats of torture against them show the fanaticism Julian was partaking in by the end of his stay at Antioch. Indeed, the emperor had turned full circle since the beginning of his reign, when he professed a policy of religious toleration and nonviolence against the Christians. He was now a persecutor and condoning the violence himself.

As I established in the “Reform and Ideology” section, Julian’s actions were entirely directed at his ideological goals. He was a man incapable of acting outside of his own character and intense fanatical ideology. This is evident both because of the speed at which he promulgated the reforms, the amount he attempted to reform in such a short time, and also can be seen in how quickly he devolved into fanaticism, less than one year. The failures Julian incurred while staying at Antioch, outlined above, attacked the man of all ideological fronts. His most cherished dream of a return to a pagan empire, with flourishing Hellenism, and independent cities and town councils with a strong sense of duty was failing in Antioch and elsewhere in the empire. His visions for a decisive victory over Christianity were not happening, and much to

Julian's dismay the Christians were ever more united due to his crusade. The ascetic lives he wished for his priests, the idea of which came from the emulation of the simple nature of Marcus Aurelius, was not reasonable and being utterly neglected, and his complete alienation from the populace of Antioch was all too obvious.⁹⁹ His reforms were failing on all fronts, except one. The foreign aspect of his ideology was fresh. In his mind it was new and vibrant; there was hope there. Julian had never suffered a serious military defeat by March 363, and his Alexander the Great complex was the only ideological factor he had left from which to draw confidence and, indeed, anticipation. Julian's work, *The Caesars*, written in January 363 shows that Alexander was increasingly a subject in Julian's mind at the time. For a fanatic, one who was incapable of acting against his ideology and one who clearly could not accept the obvious failure of his reforms, acting in this manner was dictated for him. So on 5 March 363 Julian appointed a cruel man named Alexander of Heliopolis to administer Antioch and took the only ideological route left open to him, and invaded Persia.¹⁰⁰ Julian thought he would return victorious, vindicated, and glorious in a fashion not seen since Alexander the Great.

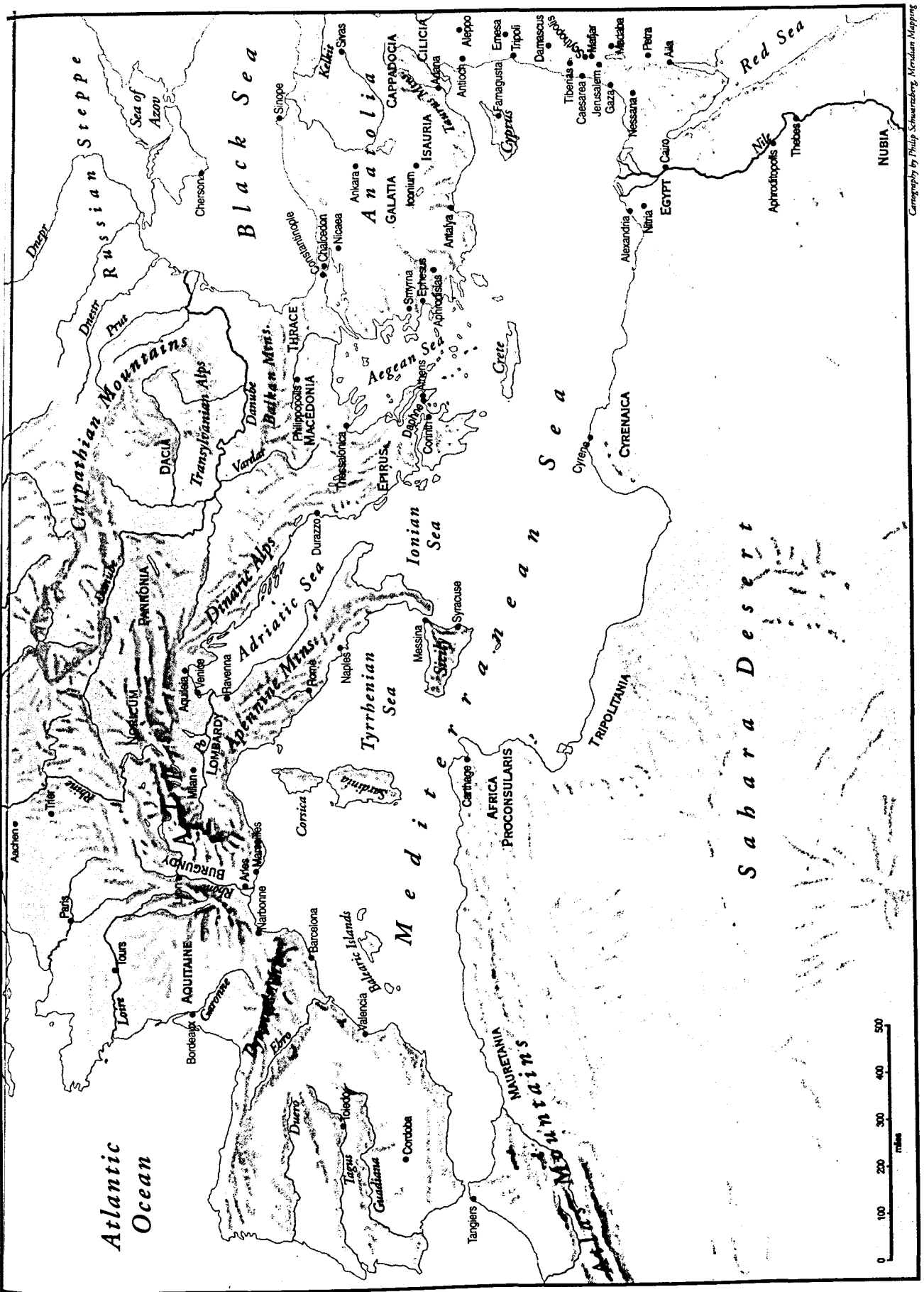
f. Conclusion

On 26 June 363 the emperor Julian died, wounded by an unknown spear, thrown by an unknown person. His reforms crumbled with his death, and his ideological dream, which was already failing during his lifetime, completely disappeared after his death. Unfortunately for Julian, he simply did not fit into the political, cultural, or social scene of the fourth century empire. His brand of Hellenism was unique and different from the traditional brand; his Iamblichean Neoplatonism was quite outlandish, and the rampant sacrifices which he performed

⁹⁹ Julian, *Misopogon*, 357D—here Julian openly admits that he has angered people of all social levels during his stay at Antioch.

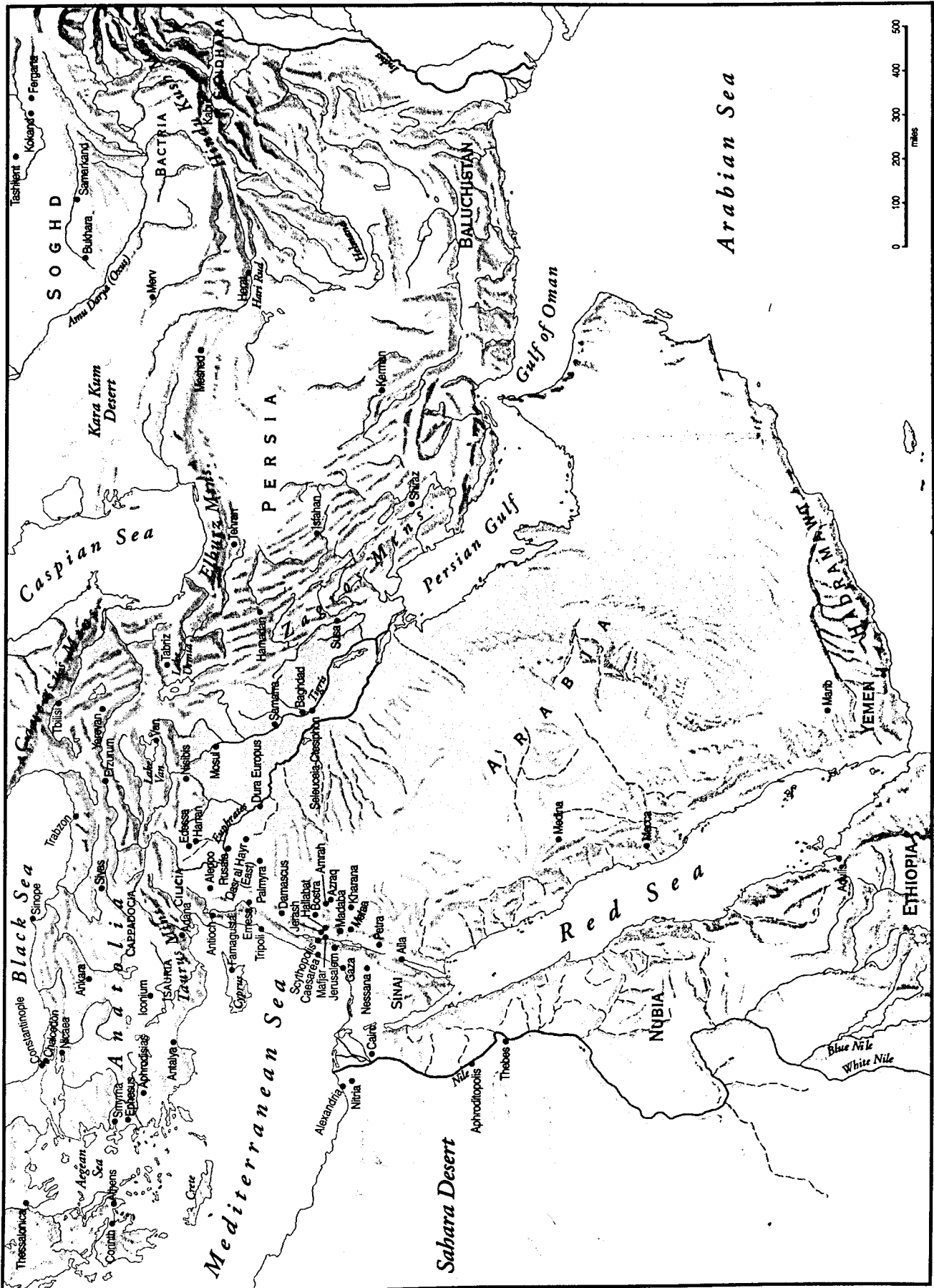
¹⁰⁰ Ammianus, XXIII.2.3. Ammianus tells us that Julian appointed this cruel man because he felt he would rule the "avaricious and rebellious" people of Antioch properly.

because of it were horrifying, even to the pagan priesthood of the time. The ascetic way of life he prescribed for his priests and his religious converts was one that simply did not match with the luxurious, pompous atmosphere of the Roman empire. He was a misfit, an outcast, and his fanatic ideology found few recipients within the empire, and the quick, harsh failure of his reforms is evidence for that. Julian did not know it, but he was not a traditional Hellene, or a traditional pagan, and he certainly was not a Christian. The brand of life he advocated for the subjects of his empire was irrational to many and was inconceivable for most. Julian's invasion of Persia was merely a response to his realization that all his other ideological fronts had collapsed; for Julian, it was the only plausible course of action left to him.



Cartography by Philip Schwarzberg, Miridan Mapping

The Roman World in the Fourth Century



The Near East in the Fourth Century

Cartography by Philip Schurzhöfer, Meridian Mapping

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquite classique</i>
<i>AHB</i>	<i>The Ancient History Bulletin</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>The Ancient World: A Scholarly Journal for the Study of Antiquity</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CEA</i>	<i>Cahiers des etudes anciennes</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>American Patristics Society: Continuation of the Second Century</i>
<i>JRMES</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift fur antikes Christentum</i>

JULIAN TIMELINE

3 November 361: Constantius dies

December 361: Julian enters Constantinople

18 July 362: Julian arrives in Antioch

Winter 362-363: Julian writes *Caesars*, *Against the Galileans*, *Misopogon*

5 March 363: Julian leaves Antioch for Persia

26 June 363: Julian is wounded by a Persian spear and dies

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Ammianus Marcellinus. *Res Gestae*. Trans. by John C. Rolfe in the *Loeb Classical Library*. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

The late fourth century Roman historian Ammianus published his work, the *Res Gestae*, around A.D. 390. When originally published, the history included the period from A.D. 96-378 but only the part covering A.D. 354-378 survives. The *Loeb* edition provides parallel English and Latin text for readers, along with commentary and a thorough introduction.

Blockley, R.C. *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983.

This compilation includes original Greek and Latin texts of the four authors, as well as parallel English translations. Bibliographies and supplementary English commentaries are included.

Eunapius. *Lives of the Philosophers*. Trans. by Wilmer Cave Wright in the *Loeb Classical Library*. London: William Heinemann, 1922.

Eunapius was a pagan Greek historian from Sardis who wrote a history from A.D. 270-404 (see Blockley) and authored the *Lives*, which contains pertinent information about Julian's early life. The *Loeb* edition includes parallel English and Greek text with commentary.

Iamblichus. *On the Mysteries*. Trans. by T. Taylor. 2nd ed., London: Bertram Dobell, 1895.

A Neoplatonic figure with whom Julian identified heavily, Iamblichus' treatise *On the Mysteries* influenced him greatly. The translation in this edition is quite dated but still useful for students.

Julian. *Collected Works*. Trans. by Wilmer Cave Wright in the *Loeb Classical Library*. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

The *Loeb* edition provides a complete collection of Julian's voluminous works, with parallel Greek and English text. Commentary and an introduction are supplied.

Libanius. *Orations*. Trans. by A.F. Norman in the *Loeb Classical Library*. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

A famous rhetorician and prolific writer, Libanius taught primarily at Antioch but also in other cultural centers such as Constantinople during the fourth century. He authored many orations that deal directly with Julian and his policies. The *Loeb* edition provides parallel Greek and English text along with commentary and an introduction.

Pharr, Clyde, ed. *Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*. Trans. by Clyde Pharr, Theresa Davidson and Mary Pharr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.

The code is a collection of imperial legislation and edicts from A.D. 312 until ca. A.D. 430. It was promulgated under Theodosius II (emperor 408-450). This edition provides a full translation and some explanatory notes.

Rufinus of Aquileia. *Ecclesiastical History of Rufinus of Aquileia: Books 10 and 11*. Trans. by Philip R. Amidon, S.J. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Rufinus lived during the late fourth and early fifth centuries and translated nine books of Eusebius into Latin, adding two original books (10 and 11) to the end of the history. This translation of books 10 and 11 provides copious notes and an ample introduction to Rufinus' life and times.

Sallustius. *Concerning the Gods and the Universe*. Trans. by A.D. Nock. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926.

This treatise is based on the Iamblichean sect of Neoplatonism and is filled with demons, spirits, theurgy, and sacrifice. It most accurately represents the religious goals Julian had in mind for the empire. Nock provides an extensive commentary on the work along with parallel Greek and English texts.

Socrates Scholasticus. *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates*. Trans. by A.C. Zenos. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Vol. II, *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Reprint, Edinburgh: T. and T. Publishing, 1989.

Socrates was a church historian of the fifth century who wrote his history in Constantinople. It covers the period from Diocletian's abdication in A.D. 305 to A.D. 439. His work is a continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and was written in Greek. The Nicene edition contains a full translation of the work with some bibliographical information about the author and commentary.

Sozomen. *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*. Trans. by Chester D. Hartranft. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Vol. II, *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Reprint, Edinburgh: T. and T. Publishing, 1989.

Sozomen was also a church historian of the fifth century writing from Constantinople. His history begins where Eusebius leaves off in A.D. 324 and continues into his own day A.D. 421. A full translation is included here as well, along with some bibliographical information and commentary.

Theodoret. *The Ecclesiastical History, Dialogues, and Letters of Theodoret*. Trans. by Rev. Blomfield Jackson. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Vol. III, *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Reprint, Edinburgh: T. and T. Publishing, 1989.

Theodoret completes the trinity of fifth century church historians. His history starts at the same point Sozomen's does and concludes in A.D. 428. Theodoret wrote many works outside of his *Eccl. Hist.* and the Nicene provides translations of many, along with bibliographical information and commentary.

Zosimus. *Historia Nova: the Decline of Rome*. Trans. by James J. Buchanan and Harold T. Davis. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1967.

A pagan historian who wrote in the late fifth century, Zosimus relied heavily upon the now fragmentary history of Eunapius. His history covers the period until A.D. 410. There are few translations of Zosimus available and this edition, though lacking commentary, is still quite useful.

Secondary Sources

Athanassiadi, Polymnia. "A Contribution to Mithraic Theology: The Emperor Julian's *Hymn to King Helios*." *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): 360-71.

-----, *Julian: An Intellectual Biography*. London: Routledge, 1992.

-----, "Dreams, Theurgy, and Freelance Divination: The Testimony of Iamblichus." *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 115-30.

Banchich, Thomas M. "Julian's School Laws: Cod. Theod. 13.5.5 and Ep. 42." *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 5-14.

Barlow, Jonathan and Peter Brennan. "Tribuni Scholarum Palatinarum A.D. 353-64: Ammianus Marcellinus and the Notitia Dignitatum." *CQ* 51.1 (2001): 237-254.

Barnes, Timothy D. "Ammianus Marcellinus and His World." *Classical Philology* 88 (1993): 55-70.

-----, *Athanasius and Constantius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

- . *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Baynes, N.H. "The Death of Julian the Apostate in Christian Legend." *Journal of Roman Studies* 27 (1937): 271-81.
- Bird, Harry Wesley. "Julian and Aurelius Victor." *Latomus* 55.4 (1996): 870-874.
- Blockley, R.C. "Constantius, Gallus and Julian as Caesars of Constantius II." *Latomus* 31 (1972): 433-68.
- . *Ammianus Marcellinus: A Study of His Historiography and Political Thought*. Brussels: Latomus, 1975.
- . "Ammianus Marcellinus and the Persian Invasion of A.D. 359." *Phoenix* 42 (1988): 244-260.
- . "Ammianus Marcellinus and his Classical Background." *IJCT* 2.4 (1996): 455-466.
- Bowder, D. *The Age of Constantine and Julian*. London: Elek, 1978.
- Bowersock, Glen. *Julian the Apostate*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- . "The Emperor Julian on His Predecessors." *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982): 159-72.
- . *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Bradbury, S. "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice." *Phoenix* 49.4 (1995): 331-356.
- Braunch, Thomas. "The Political Philosophy of the Emperor Julian as found in his Writings, Administration, and Propaganda." Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1980.
- Bregman, Jay. "Judaism as Theurgy in the Religious Thought of the Emperor Julian." *AncW* 26.2 (1995): 135-149.
- . "Julian the Byzantine and Synesius the Hellene." *AncW* 29.2 (1998): 127-138.
- Brown, Peter. *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- . *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996.
- . *Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Browning, R. *The Emperor Julian*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976.
- Buck, David F. "Some Distortions in Eunapius' Account of Julian the Apostate." *AHB* 4.5 (1990): 113-115.
- . "Did Sozomen use Eunapius' Histories?" *MH* 56.1 (1999): 15-25.
- Cameron, Alan and Averil Cameron. "Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire." *CQ* 14 (1964): 316-28.
- Cameron, Alan. "Paganism and Literature in Late Fourth Century Rome." *Fondation Hardt Entretiens* 23 (1976): 1-30.
- . "Julian and Hellenism." *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 25-29.
- Cameron, Averil. *History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- . *The Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Chesnut, G.F. "Kairos and Cosmic Sympathy in the Church Historian Socrates Scholasticus." *Church History* 44 (1975): 161-66.
- . *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- Collingwood, R.G. *The Idea of History*. 2nd ed., New York: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Cracco, Ruggini. "The Ecclesiastical Histories and the Pagan Historiography: Providence and Miracles." *Athenaeum* 55 (1977): 107-26.
- Croke, B. and A. Emmett. *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1983.
- Crump, Gary A. "Ammianus and the Late Roman Army." *Historia* 23 (1973): 91-103.
- Curta, Florin. "Atticism, Homer, Neoplatonism, and Furstenspiegel: Julian's Second Panegyric on Constantius." *GRBS* 36.2 (1995): 177.

- Drijvers, Jan Willem, ed. *The Late Roman Army and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Elliott, T.G. "Eunapius' Account of Julian the Apostate." *AHB* 5.3 (1991): 88.
- Fornara, CW. "Julian's Persian Expedition in Ammianus and Zosimus." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 1-15.
- Fowden, Garth. "Polytheist Religion and Philosophy." *CAH* XIII (1998): 538-561.
- Gibbon, Edward. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1960.
- Hammond, C.P. "The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of His Move South from Aquileia." *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): 372-429.
- Hargis, Jeffrey. *Against the Christians. The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemic*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Hunt, David. "Julian." *CAH* XIII (1998): 44-78.
- Isaac, Benjamin. "The Eastern Frontier." *CAH* XIII (1998): 437-461.
- Juneau, J. "Pietas and Politics: Eusebia and Constantius at Court." *CQ* 49.2 (1999): 641-644.
- Kaegi, W.E. "Constantine's and Julian's Strategies of Strategic Surprise against the Persians." *Athenaeum* 59 (1981): 209-213.
- Kondoleon, Christine, ed. *Antioch: The Lost City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Lamberigts, Mathijs. "Julian and Augustine on the Origin of the Soul." *Augustiniana* 46.3-4 (1996): 243-260.
- Lane Fox, R.J. "The Itinerary of Alexander: Constantius to Julian." *CQ* 47.2 (1997): 239-252.
- Limberis, Vasiliki. "'Religion' as the Cipher for Identity: The Cases of Emperor Julian, Libanius, and Gregory of Nazianzus." *HThR* 93.4 (2000): 373-400.
- Long, Jacqueline. "Structures of Irony in Julian's Misopogon." *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 15-23.
- , Robert J. Penella. "Emperor Julian: The Man, the Writer and the Legacy." *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 3.

MacMullen, Ramsey. "Provincial Languages in the Roman Empire." *American Journal of Philology* 87 (1966): 1-17.

----- . *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Matthews, John. "The Origin of Ammianus." *CQ* 44 (1994): 252-69.

----- . *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins
University Press, 1998.

Momigliano, A., ed. *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

Mortley, R. "The Hellenistic Foundations of Ecclesiastical Historiography." In *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke, B. Croke, A.E. Nobbs and R. Mortley. Rushcutters Bay: Australian National University Press, 1990.

Murphy, F.X. *Rufinus of Aquileia: His Life and Works*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945.

Negev, A. "The Inscription of the Emperor Julian at Ma'ayan Barukh." *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969): 170-73.

Nicholson, O. "The So-Called Pagan Churches of Maximinus-Daia and Julian the Apostate." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45.1 (1994): 1-10.

Pack, R.A. "Ammianus Marcellinus and the *Curia* of Antioch." *Classical Philology* 48 (1953): 80-92.

Penella, Robert J. "Julian the Persecutor in Fifth Century Church Historians." *AncW* 24.1 (1993): 31-43.

----- . "Emperor Julian, the Temple of Jerusalem and the God of the Jews." *Koinonia* 23.2 (1999): 15-31.

Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology*. Vol. III, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature: From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon*. Utrecht/Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers, 1966.

Reidweg, Christoph. "With Stoicism and Platonism Against the Christians: Structures of Philosophical Argumentation in Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*" *Hermathena* 166 (1999): 66-91.

- Riciotti, Giuseppe. *Julian the Apostate*. Trans. by Joseph Costelloe. Rockford: Tan Books, 1999.
- Ridley, R.T. "Notes on Julian's Persian Expedition (363)." *Historia* 22 (1973): 317-330.
- Seager, R. "Perceptions of Frontier Policy in Ammianus, Libanius, and Julian." *CQ* 47 (1997): 253.
- Sirinelli, Jean. "Problemes de la Paideia." *CEA N* 31 (1996): 135-46.
- Smith, Rowland. *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Tougher, Shaun. "The Advocacy of an Empress: Julian and Eusebia." *CQ* 48 (1998): 595-99.
- "Ammianus Marcellinus on the Empress Eusebia: a Split Personality." *G&R* 47.1 (2000): 94-101.
- Urbainczyk, Theresa. "Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen." *Historia* 46.3 (1997): 355-373.
- *Socrates of Constantinople: Historian of Church and State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Vanderspoel, John. "Julian and the Mithraic Bull." *AHB* 12.4 (1998): 113-119.
- "Correspondence and Correspondents of Julian Julianus." *Byzantion* 69.2 (1999): 396-478.
- Voltaire. *Philosophical Dictionary*. Trans. by Theodore Besterman. London: Penguin Putnam Ltd., 1972.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A., ed. *Patronage in Ancient Society*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan. "The Cities." *CAH* XIII (1998): 371-411.
- Whitby, Mary, ed. *The Propaganda of Power: the Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*. Boston: Brill, 1998.
- Wilson, Andrew. "Water-Mills at Amida: Ammianus Marcellinus 18.8.11." *CQ* 51.1 (2001): 231-236.
- Wiseman, T.P. "Practice and Theory in Roman Historiography." *History* 66 (1981): 375-93.

Wiseman, T.P. and C. Holdsworth, eds. *The Inheritance of Historiography: 350-900*.
Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986.

Woods, David. "Julian, Arbogastes, and the Signa of the Ioviani and Herculiani."
JRMES 6 (1995): 61-68.

-----, "Ammianus and Some Tribuni Scholarum Palatarum, ca. 353-364." *CQ*
47 (1997): 269-91.

-----, "The Emperor Julian and the Passion of Sergius and Bacchus." *J ECS* 5.3
(1997): 335-367.

-----, "The Role of the Comes Lucillianus During Julian's Persian Expedition."
AC 67 (1998): 243-48.

Zachhuber, Johannes. "The Antiochene Synod of A.D. 363 and the Beginnings of Neo-
Nicenism." *ZAC* 4.1 (2000): 83-101.