

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

JULIAN
VOLUME III



Translated by
WILMER C. WRIGHT

THE WORKS OF
THE EMPEROR

江苏工业学院图书馆

VOLUME III
藏 书 章

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

WILMER CAVE WRIGHT



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

First published 1923

Reprinted 1953, 1961, 1969, 1980, 1993, 1998, 2003

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

ISBN 0-674-99173-7

*Printed and bound by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan
on acid-free paper made by Glatfelter, Spring Grove, Pennsylvania*

INTRODUCTION

THE more important letters and edicts in this volume are hardly intelligible to a reader unfamiliar with the historical background. The following brief summary of Julian's career is intended to explain the allusions in the text and to supplement the Introduction in Vol. 1. In his more formal works, especially the manifesto *To the Athenians* written in 361 as an apologia for his rebellion against the Emperor Constantius, and the *Misopogon* written in 362, a satire on his own austere habits addressed to the citizens of Antioch, Julian himself relates the main incidents of his childhood and youth. For the last ten years of his life, 353-363, the best authority is Ammianus Marcellinus, the Latin historian, an eye-witness.

Flavius Claudius Julianus was born at Constantinople in 331, the only son of Julius Constantius, half-brother of Constantine the Great, and Basilina, a highly educated woman and devout Christian, who died when Julian was a few months old. From his father's earlier marriage there survived a son, Gallus, a daughter, probably named Galla, who married her cousin the Emperor Constantius II, and another son whose name is unknown. Soon after the death of the Emperor Constantine in 337, the Emperor Constantius removed possible rivals by the murder

INTRODUCTION

of certain relatives, among whom were Julian's father and half-brother. Gallus and Julian survived. The latter was sent to Nicomedia in charge of a relative, the Bishop Eusebius, and his education was entrusted to the Christian eunuch Mardonius, who had taught Basilina Greek literature. In *Misopogon* 353 B, Julian says that Mardonius was "of all men most responsible" for his literary tastes and austere morals.¹ Julian also studied at Constantinople with the Christian sophist Hecebolius.² During this period he used to visit his grandmother's estate in Bithynia, which is described in *Letter* 25. In 345, when Julian was fourteen, Constantius, who in the twenty-four years of his reign that followed the murder of Julius Constantius lived in apprehension of the vengeance of his sons, interned Gallus and Julian in the lonely castle of Macellum (Fundus Macelli) in Cappadocia. In his manifesto *To the Athenians* 271 c, D, Julian speaks of their six years of solitary imprisonment at Macellum, and says that the cruelty and harshness of Gallus, who proved to be a sort of Christian Caligula, were increased by his life there, while his own love of philosophy saved him from being equally brutalised. From *Letter* 23 we learn that he was able to borrow books from George of Cappadocia, who later became Bishop of Alexandria and was murdered by the Alexandrian mob in 361. Julian at once wrote *Letter* 23 to demand his library.

¹ For the influence of Mardonius see Vol. 2 *Oration* 8, 241 c; *To the Athenians* 274 D; *Misopogon* 352-353. Julian's knowledge of Latin was probably slight, though Ammianus, 16. 5. 7, describes it as "sufficiens."

² For Hecebolius see *Letter* 63, and below, p. xlvii.

INTRODUCTION

In 351 Constantius, who had once visited the brothers at Macellum, released them, raised Gallus to the rank of Caesar and gave him his sister Constantia in marriage. Constantius had married as his first wife Galla, the sister of Gallus; she had lately died. Gallus was sent to Antioch to govern the provinces of the East. There he and Constantia, whose cruel and suspicious temper matched his own, embarked on a four years' reign of terror which is described by Ammianus.¹ Constantius meanwhile, at Arles, where he spent the winter of 353, and later at Milan, was just as suspicious and ruthless, but in Gallus Caesar tyrannical conduct seemed to his cousin the prelude to usurpation. He was therefore recalled to Milan in 354. Constantia died of a fever on the journey, and Gallus, escorted by the Emperor's agents as a virtual prisoner, was taken by way of Constantinople to Pola (where in 326 Crispus, the son of Constantine, had been put to death by his father), and was there beheaded, towards the end of 354. Julian later avenged himself on those whom he believed to have been accessory to the death of his brother.

Meanwhile he had devoted four years to study, first at Pergamon with Aedesius and Chrysanthius, the disciples of Iamblichus; but on hearing from Aedesius of the marvels wrought by his pupil Maximus of Ephesus the theurgist, he hastened to Ephesus.² Julian had been under Christian influences from his childhood, but he was an ardent admirer of Greek literature and philosophy and

¹ Book XIV.

² See the account of his studies at Pergamon and Ephesus in Eunapius, *Lives*, pp. 429-435, Wright.

INTRODUCTION

naturally inclined to superstition. With Maximus he studied the teachings of Iamblichus the Neoplatonist, and though he did not openly profess paganism until 361, he says in *Letter 47*, written in 362, that for twelve years he has ceased to be a Christian.

The Syrian Neoplatonism of the fourth Christian century which followed the teachings of Iamblichus was a religion rather than a philosophy, and was well suited to his love of the mystical and marvellous; for the rest of his life he was the devoted disciple of Maximus. But his apostasy from Christianity was carefully concealed, and his first panegyric on Constantius, *Oration 1*, written in 355, is entirely non-committal, refers vaguely to "the deity" and "providence," and might have been composed by a Christian.

In the second panegyric, *Oration 2*, written in Gaul at a safe distance, he frequently invokes Zeus, and assumes the reality of the gods of Homer in language that goes beyond what was allowed by literary etiquette in rhetorical works of this sort. It could not have been written by a Christian. His brother Gallus, some time between 351 and 354, heard rumours of his devotion to Maximus, and sent his own spiritual adviser Aetius to remonstrate with Julian. *Letter 82* (Gallus to Julian), the earliest letter in this volume that can be dated, expresses the relief of Gallus at the reassuring report of Aetius as to Julian's adherence to the Christian faith.

On the death of Gallus in 354 Julian was summoned to the court at Milan, and on the way thither visited Troy and had the interview with Pegasus

INTRODUCTION

which is described in *Letter* 19. Ammianus says¹ that Julian's life was in danger at Milan from the plots of enemies, who accused him to Constantius of having met Gallus at Constantinople in 354, and of having left Macellum without permission. Julian denies the first of these charges in *Oration* 3. 121A, and in *To the Athenians* 273 A. He was saved by the intercession of the second wife of Constantius, the Empress Eusebia, who, after seven months of suspense, obtained for him his single audience with the Emperor and permission to go to Athens to study. We know little of his brief stay of about two months in Athens in 355, but he was almost certainly initiated into the Mysteries at Eleusis,² and probably attended the lectures of the aged Christian sophist Prohaeresius, to whom in 361 or early in 362 he wrote *Letter* 14. Among his fellow-students were two Cappadocians, Gregory Nazianzen, who after Julian's death wrote bitter invectives against the apostate and an unflattering description of his appearance and manners, and Basil the Great, to whom Julian addressed *Letter* 26. From Athens the Emperor recalled Julian³ in September to Milan, where after some delay he was raised to the rank of Caesar on November 6, 355, given the task of pacifying the Gallic provinces, and married to Helena, the sister of Constantius. She was much older than he, had little influence on his life, and died in Gaul, without issue, not long after Julian

¹ 15. 2. 7.

² The evidence for this is Eunapius, *Lives*, p. 437, Wright.

³ For his grief at leaving Athens see Vol. 2, *To the Athenians*, 275 A.

INTRODUCTION

had been proclaimed Augustus by the army. The motives of Constantius in making Julian Caesar are not clear. Eunapius says that he hoped his cousin would be killed in Gaul. Eusebia may have persuaded the Emperor that their childlessness was a punishment for his treatment of his relatives. The Gallic provinces were overrun by barbarians, and Constantius could not go there himself because he was occupied on the Danube with the Sarmatians and the Quadi, and by the threat of the Persians in Mesopotamia. Julian set out for Gaul on December 1, 355, with a small troop of 360 men who "only knew how to pray," as he says in *frag.* 5. Eusebia gave him a library of books which he took with him. His task was to expel the hordes of Germans who, having been invited by Constantius to assist in suppressing the usurper Magnentius, had remained to overrun and devastate the country, and had destroyed the Roman forts on the Rhine. In his five years of campaigning in Gaul,¹ though he was continually thwarted by the officers whom Constantius had sent to watch his movements, Julian pacified the provinces and restored their prosperity, recovered 20,000 Gallic prisoners from Germany, expelled the Germans, defeated the Franks and Chamavi, restored the Roman forts, and crossed the Rhine four times. In August 357 he won the famous battle of Argentoratum (Strasbourg), which was fought somewhere between Saverne and Strasbourg, and sent Chnodomar, the king of the Alemanni, captive to Constantius. He spent the winter of 358-359 at Paris, whence he wrote to his

¹ For the condition of Gaul and his achievements there see Vol. 2, *To the Athenians*, 278-280.

INTRODUCTION

friend the physician Oribasius, at Vienne, *Letter 4*, of which the first part, with its dream,¹ is highly sophistic but expresses vague fears that he and Constantius may be involved in ruin together; the second part describes his opposition to the pretorian prefect Florentius, his persistent enemy, whom he forbade to recommend to Constantius increased taxes on the Gallic provincials. In this letter Julian wishes that he may not be deprived of the society of Sallust, his pagan friend and adviser, but Sallust was recalled by the suspicious Constantius in 358.

While he was in Gaul, Julian continued his studies, corresponded with sophists and philosophers such as Maximus, Libanius and Priscus, wrote *Oration 2*, a panegyric of Constantius; *Oration 3*, a panegyric of Eusebia; *Oration 8*, to console himself for the loss of Sallust; an account of the battle of Strasbourg which has perished; and perhaps the treatise on logic which we know only from the reference to it in Suidas.² To some of these works he refers at the end of *Letter 2, To Priscus*. That he wrote commentaries on his Gallic campaigns has been maintained by some scholars but cannot be proved.

Constantius, who had already suppressed four usurpers, either full-blown or suspected of ambition, Magnentius, Vetranio, Silvanus and Gallus Caesar, was alarmed at the military successes of his cousin, who had left Milan an awkward student, ridiculed by the court, and had transformed himself into a skilful general and administrator, adored by the Gallic

¹ Julian's dream may be, as Asmus thinks, an echo of Herodotus, 1. 108, but the parallel is not close.

² s.v. 'Ιουλιανός.

INTRODUCTION

army and the provincials. The Emperor was on the eve of a campaign against Sapor, the Persian king, and needed reinforcements. It was an opportune moment for weakening Julian's influence by withdrawing the flower of his troops for service in the East. Accordingly, in the winter of 359-360, Julian received peremptory orders, brought by the tribune Decentius, to send to the Emperor, under the command of Julian's officers Lupicinus and Sintula, the finest of his troops, in fact more than half his army of 23,000 men. Many of these were barbarian auxiliaries who had taken service with Julian on condition that they should not serve outside Gaul, and the Celtic troops, when the order became known, were dismayed at the prospect of leaving their lands and families at the mercy of renewed invasions of barbarians. Florentius was at Vienne, and refused to join Julian in Paris and discuss the question of the safety of Gaul if the troops should be withdrawn. Meanwhile two of the legions requisitioned by Constantius were in Britain fighting the Picts and Scots. But when the others reached Paris from their winter quarters in February 360, on their march eastwards, their discontent resulted in open mutiny, and Julian, whose loyalty towards Constantius up to this point is unquestioned, failed to pacify them. They surrounded the palace¹ at night, calling on Julian with the title of Augustus, and when, after receiving a divine sign,² he came out

¹ Julian was lodged in what is now the Musée des Thermes.

² See *To the Athenians*, 284 c, and cf. *Letter 2*, p. 5. Ammianus 20. 4 gives a full account of the mutiny and of Julian's speeches to the army and letter to Constantius.

INTRODUCTION

at dawn, he was raised on a shield and crowned with a standard-bearer's chain in default of a diadem. Julian sent by Pentadius and the loyal eunuch Eutherius a full account of these events to Constantius, who replied that he must be content with the title of Caesar. Constantius had already gone to Caesarea to prepare for his Persian campaign, and decided to meet the more pressing danger from the East before he reckoned with Julian. The prefect Florentius fled to the Emperor and was made consul for 361. Constantius sent Nebridius the quaestor to succeed Florentius in Gaul, and Julian accepted him as prefect. Julian left Paris for Vienne by way of Besançon, which town he describes in *Letter 8*. Thence he led his troops to another victory, this time over the Attuarii, who were raiding Gaul, and on November 6, 360, he celebrated his quinquennalia or fifth year as Caesar. He had not yet declared his change of religion, and in January 361 at Vienne, where he spent the winter, he took part in the feast of the Epiphany. In July he set out for the East, determined to win from Constantius recognition of his rank as Augustus, either by persuasion or by force. His troops were divided so as to march by three different routes, and he led the strongest division through the Black Forest (see *frag. 2*) and along the Danube. Sirmium (Mitrovitz) welcomed him with acclamation in October, and he went into winter quarters at Naissa (Nish). Thence he addressed to the Roman Senate, the Spartans, Corinthians and Athenians manifestos justifying his conduct towards Constantius and proclaiming his design to restore the Hellenic religion. Of these documents only the letter to the Athenians sur-

INTRODUCTION

vives, and a brief fragment of the letter to the Corinthians (*frag.* 3). Meanwhile, as he informs Maximus in *Letter* 8, he and his soldiers openly sacrificed to the gods. He now regarded himself as conducting a war in the name of Hellenism. Some time in 361 he wrote the *Kronia* (*Saturnalia*), and says in *Oration* 4. 157 c that he sent it to his friend Sallust. Of this work Suidas has preserved a few lines (*frag.* 4).¹

Meanwhile Constantius, who had achieved nothing conclusive against the Persians, had married, at Antioch, his third wife Faustina. Their only child, a daughter, was married later to the Emperor Gratian, but died young. Constantius had now no choice but to lead his army to defend Constantinople against Julian. But at Tarsus he fell ill, and on November 3, 361, died of a fever at Mopsucrene in Cilicia. When Julian heard the news he wrote *Letters* 8 and 13, in which he thanks the gods for his escape from civil war. He entered Constantinople in triumph as Emperor on December 11, 361.

The greater number of the letters in this volume that can be dated were written after Julian's accession, in 362, from Constantinople and Antioch. He lost no time in inviting to his court his friends Maximus from Ephesus (*Letter* 8), Chrysanthius from Sardis,² Eutherius the eunuch, his trusted court chamberlain (*Letter* 10), Eustathius (*Letter* 43), Priscus,³ and Basil (*Letter* 26). Chrysanthius and Basil did not accept this invitation, and Julian, when

¹ Suidas, *s.v.* Empedotimus.

² See Eunapius, *Lives*, p. 441, Wright.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

INTRODUCTION

he had failed to persuade Chrysanthius to follow the example of Maximus and disregard the omens which were unfavourable to their journey, appointed him high priest of Lydia.

In contrast with the wholesale butchery with which Constantius had begun his reign, Julian appointed a commission, partly composed of former officers of Constantius, to sit at Chalcedon across the Bosphorus and try his enemies, especially those who had abetted the cruelties of Constantius or were accessory to the death of Gallus. Ammianus, 22. 3, describes the work of this commission, on which were Sallust, Mamertinus and Nevitta the Goth. Among those condemned to death were the notorious informer and agent of Constantius, Paul, nicknamed "the Chain,"¹ the eunuch Eusebius, chamberlain of Constantius (see *Letter 4*, p. 11). and the ex-prefect, the consul Florentius, whose oppression of the Gallic provincials is described in the same letter. Florentius managed to conceal himself till after Julian's death.

On February 4, 362, Julian proclaimed religious freedom in the Empire, and ordered the restoration of the temples. All who had used them as quarries or bought portions of them for building houses were to restore the stone and marble.² This often caused great hardship to individuals, and even Libanius, a devout pagan, more than once in his letters³ intercedes with local officials on behalf of those affected by Julian's edict. The Emperor recalled the ecclesiastics who had been exiled by the Arian Constantius,

¹ See *Letter 53*; Ammianus 14. 5. 6; 19. 12.

² See *Letter 29*, to Count Julian, p. 99.

³ e. g. *Letter 724*, Foerster.

INTRODUCTION

among them Aetius, to whom he wrote *Letter* 15, and the famous orthodox prelate Athanasius, for whom see *Letters* 24, 46, 47.¹ It was perhaps easier to restore the temples than the half-forgotten ritual of the gods, but Julian enlisted the aid of a learned pagan, the Roman antiquarian and senator, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, whom in 362 he appointed Proconsul of Achaia, while for the rites appropriate to the oriental cults he certainly consulted Maximus of Ephesus, who initiated him into the Mysteries of Mithras.

Constantius, fully occupied with the persecution of non-Arian Christians, had not persecuted pagan intellectuals such as Libanius and Themistius the philosopher, while even pagan officials such as Sallust had been promoted in his reign. But Julian gave instructions that pagans should be preferred to Christians for public offices (*Letter* 37), and, as the progress of "Hellenism" proved slower than he had hoped, he grew more intolerant. For evidence of definite persecution of the Christians in his brief reign we depend on Gregory Nazianzen, Socrates, Sozomen and other historians of the Church. But certain administrative measures referred to in the letters were aimed at the Christians. As a part of Julian's general policy of exacting service in their local senates from all well-to-do citizens, he deprived Christian clerics of their immunity from such service;² funerals were no longer allowed to

¹ Cf. the account of the life of Athanasius, p. xxxix.

² See *Letter* 39, *To the Byzacians*. Libanius, *Oration* 18. 148, praises this reform. For Julian's increase of the Senate at Antioch cf. *Misopogon* 367 D. *Codex Theodosianus* 12. 1. 50-56.

INTRODUCTION

take place in the daytime according to the Christian custom¹; and one of his earliest reforms in connection with the use of the public post, the *cursus publicus*, directly affected Christian ecclesiastics. The privilege of free transport and the use of inns, horses and mules at the expense of the State had been granted to ecclesiastics by Constantine in 314; and in the reign of Constantius, when the bishops were summoned from all parts of the Empire to one synod after another, the system of public transport broke down under the burden.² In an edict preserved in *Codex Theodosianus* 8. 5. 12, dated February 22, 362, Julian reserves to himself, except in certain cases, the right of granting *evectio*, or free transport. In *Letters* 8, 15, and 26 he authorises his correspondents to use State carriages and horses. Libanius says that this reform was so thoroughly carried out that often the animals and their drivers had nothing to do.

But such withdrawals of privileges were pin-pricks compared with the famous edict³ in which Julian reserved to himself the control of the appointments of teachers, and the rescript, *Letter* 36, in which he forbade Christians to read the pagan authors with their pupils. This meant that they must cease to teach, since all education was based on the reading of the poets, historians and philosophers. The Christian sophist Victorinus, who was then lecturing at Rome, and Prohaeresius at Athens, must resign their chairs. Julian offered a special exemption to

¹ See *Letter* 56, the edict on funerals.

² See Libanius, *Oration*, 18. 143; Ammianus 21. 16. 18.

³ The Latin edict, dated June 17, 362, survives in *Codex Theodosianus* 13. 3. 5.

INTRODUCTION

Prohaeresius, but the sophist, says Eunapius,¹ refused the privilege. He could afford to wait in patience, for, like many another distinguished Christian, he consulted the omens through the pagan hierophant of Greece, and learned indirectly, but to his own reassurance, that Julian's power would be short-lived. Even Ammianus the pagan historian deplored the bigotry and malice of Julian's attempt to suppress Christian educators. "It was," he says, "a harsh measure, and had better be buried in eternal silence."² The Christians interpreted it as excluding their children from education; Theodoret, 3. 4. 2, says as much, and quotes a saying of Julian's (*frag.* 7), whose context is lost, to the effect that the Christians arm their intellects to oppose Hellenism by means of the Hellenic masterpieces. Socrates, 3. 12. 7, quotes another saying of the same sort (*frag.* 6). These two quotations perhaps belong to lost rescripts aimed at Christian teachers, which followed the extant edict and rescript. Well-educated Christians can hardly have been consoled by the enterprise of a father and son named Apollinarius, who "within a very brief space of time," says Sozomen, 5. 18, converted the Bible into epics, tragedies, comedies, odes and dialogues for the education of Christian youths. But Christian teachers did not suffer much inconvenience, for Julian's prohibition can hardly have been enforced in the few months that preceded his

¹ *Lives*, p. 513, Wright.

² 22. 10. 7: *illud inclemens . . . obruendum perenni silentio*. He repeats this criticism in 25. 4. 20. Libanius, however, was delighted, and taunted Basil and Gregory as "barbarians."