

THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR

JULIAN THE APOSTATE

(6 NOVEMBER 331 - 26 JUNE 363)

BY

BEKAM DİNÇ TÜMERKAN

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BEKAM DİNÇ TÜMERKAN

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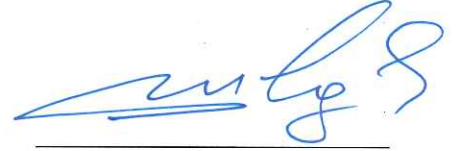
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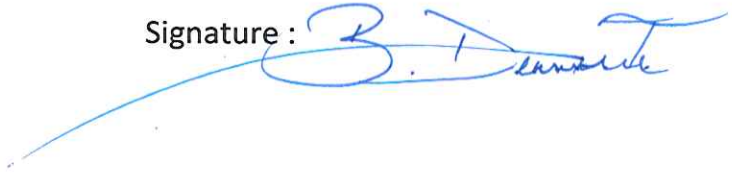
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ABSTRACT

Flavius Claudius Julianus was born in Constantinople in 6 November 331 A.D. He had a tragic childhood, he saw all his family massacred except his brother Gallus when he was only 6 years old. He had to grow up far from his hometown, far from everybody, controlled by his parent's killers, keeping hate and rage that he always held hidden in his heart against the royal family, from the people who killed his parents and from their religion. Thus he became pagan at his young age when he was in exile, he kept his belief secret from people around him. And then when he was 24 years old he became Ceasar, he played the game according to his enemies rules, despite the lack of military training he became a perfect soldier, earned the trust and the respect of his soldiers and with the death of Constantius II he became the Augustus of the Roman Empire in 361. Feeling no longer the necessity to hide his true religion, he declared his pagan beliefs, became an enemy of the Christian religion and Church, tried to re-establish the pagan religion in Roman Empire and long before this task could be finished, tragically got killed on battlefield when he was only 32 years old.

Keywords: Tragic childhood, Pagan, Perfect soldier, Augustus

ÖZET

Flavius Claudius Julianus, 6 Kasım 331'de Konstantinopolis'te doğdu. Trajik bir çocukluk geçirdi, sadece 6 yaşındayken, ağabeyi Gallus hariç tüm ailesinin katledildiğine şahit oldu. Memleketinden ve herkesten uzak büyürken ailesinin katilleri tarafından kontrol altında tutuluyor ve içinde onlara ve dinlerine karşı hiç bitmeyen bir öfke ve nefret duyuyordu. Böylece sürgün hayatı esnasında genç yaşta putperest oldu, inancını etrafındaki insanlardan sakladı. Bir gün 24 yaşında Ceasar oldu, oyunu düşmanın kurallarına göre oynadı, askeri eğitimin olmamasına rağmen mükemmel bir asker oldu, askerlerinin güvenini ve saygısını kazandı ve II. Konstantius'un ölümünden sonra 361 yılında Roma İmparatorluğu'nun Augustus'u oldu. Artık gerçek dinini gizleme zorunluluğunu hissetmediğinden, putperest inancını ilan etti, Hristiyan dini ve Kilisesi'nin baş düşmanı haline geldi, putperest dinini Roma İmparatorluğu'nda yeniden kurmaya çalıştı. Fakat bu amacını gerçekleştiremeden savaş alanında yalnızca 32 yaşındayken trajik bir şekilde öldürüldü.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Trajik çocukluk, Putperest, Mükemmel asker, Augustus

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Also I would like to thank to my lovely wife Çiğdem Tümerkan for her support and my children Zeynep Defne and Ömer.

When I decided to take life of Julianus, the roman emperor, as my thesis subject, first I tried to expand my library about the late Roman Empire in other words first centuries of the Byzantine Empire. When I focused on contemporary writers who best describe the fourth century in different languages like English, French, Italian and Spanish I found many sources about Julianus. I focused especially over Marcellinus Ammianus, Libanius and Eutropius, pagan historians and sources with close relationship to the emperor, Eusebius of Caesarea, Philostorgius and Salaminius Hermias Sozomenus as christian church historians and Joseph Bidez, modern historian of twentieth century. I red all the books that he wrote, “Vita di Giuliano Imperatore” (2004) and the original French edition “La Vie de l’empereur Julien” (1930), “La Tradition manuscrite et les éditions des discours de l’empereur Julien”

(1929), “Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien” (1898), “L'empereur Julien. Oeuvres complètes” (1924), “Julian, Emperor of Rome, 331-363, Epistulae, leges, poemata, fragmenta varia” (1922). Between all this books, the one which was reflecting my thoughts about how to write this thesis about biography of Julianus was *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*” (2004) and the original French edition “*La Vie de l'empereur Julien*” (1930). I made huge benefit from this book and it gave me main skeleton of my thesis.



PREFACE

Between all of the emperors of Rome Flavius Claudius Julianus offers incredible material for a biography. He is usually called the "traitor", the "renegade" (this in fact means the Apostate, pejorative epithet given to him by his Christian adversaries). We have many contemporary testimonies - the testimonies of those who knew him personally, who loved him, admired him, or that they were hostile, to the stories of historians, men of culture or of the Church, we also have a fair number of his writings: works of various kinds, discourses, letters and panegyrics. Then there is the wide mythology that has accumulated over the centuries on the romantic story of the last paladin of dying paganism. Biographies, therefore, are not short supply. Nor are studies lacking, literary compositions, novels, theatrical dramas whose theme is Julianus or single moments of his life. But all this does not mean that we know Julianus well. There are many disagreements and factionalisms about him, many distortions created by his legend, the ability to attract sympathy or dislike have always made the analysis and judgment on the Apostate difficult, it is quite difficult studying Julianus. In the past and today the way to observe him has many differences. It can be affirmed that today's Julianus is very different from Julianus who was imagined even just hundred years ago. The new perspectives and studies about paganism have changed all the context.

Here obviously I can not tell the whole story of Julianus, what I will try to do is to write his life from his birth to his childhood, from his youth to his adulthood and to his death. His tragic childhood, his exile, his acquaintance with paganism, his

successes as Caesar and Augustus, his difficulties, good and bad people in his life and his sudden tragic death, briefly I will try to explain the general biography of his life.



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1.THE CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF JULIANUS

1.1.The Family Heritage

In the autumn of 332, a royal child was born in Constantinople. This royal child, who was born lucky, was actually a child who had started a very tragic life. This child was called Julianus. The complete name of this child was Flavius Claudius Julianus: Julianus as his grandfather; Flavius like all members of the Constantinian family; Claudius, finally, as the presumed founder of the dynasty, the emperor Claudius II the "*Gothic*" (many years before Constantinus had claimed his descendants from this glorious "*restorer*" of the III. century). Of a Greek mother and a Latin father, Julianus boasted a truly extraordinary ancestry: nephew of Constantius II Chlorus and therefore of Constantine, great-grandson of Maximianus, cousin of the four Caesars (Tantillo, I. (2010). *L'imperatore Giuliano*, p. 3). He was linked to the municipal elites of the Hellenized East, to which that prefect grandfather and the Arian bishop Eusebius belonged; moreover Julianus could claim indirectly, a relationship with the best Roman senatorial aristocracy (Gardner, A. (1906). *Julian, Philosopher and Emperor and the Last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity*. p. 25). It is often and rightly repeated that Julianus always brought with him the mark of that traumatic childhood experience. It should be added that since that summer of 337 he has been carrying another mark: that of exclusion, of the promised and then usurped royalty. Although he has always refused to recognize himself as such, Julianus always remained a Constantinide and therefore a potential heir to the family heritage. In the Constantinian era, in fact, belonging to the imperial family meant much more than in the past could have meant being related to a ruling family. Because the Constantinus's one was, or wanted to be, an authentic dynasty, an imperishable dynasty, desired and protected by God.

In dealing with the succession within the Flavian dynasty, using an expression such as "*family heritage*" seems to be particularly indicated. The Constantinian age will not be understood, neither Julianus's age, without understanding what fate the emperor had imagined for himself and for his lineage. Constantinus was a great innovator: he was converted to the new religion, and converted the empire, modified it or even radically transformed the institutional and economic structures, laying the foundations for a new society. But Constantinus was also the author of an original attempt to redefine the imperial ideology and, consequently, of solving once and for all the delicate problem of succession.

Constantinus, the last of the tetrarchs, found himself the only lord of the empire: he was a Christian and was reading the Bible. He exhumed and readjusted the biblical concept of "*Covenant*" to the empire and the Christian emperor: The Lord wanted to reward Constantinus with an eternal monarchy. In other words, Constantinus felt invested by his God of a mission, and in exchange for his service received the promise of an eternal basileia, that is, of an imperishable dominion that will be transmitted to his natural descent until the end of time. This is why the Constantinian family possesses the kingdom "*as a legacy*". From Constantinus onwards this expression ("*like an inheritance*"), and similar expressions, meet very frequently in the authors. Eusebius thus comments on the succession of the three sons of Constantinus to his father:

"in the manner in which the royal throne came to him from his father, so, by law of nature, it was put in reserve for his sons and their descendants, prolonged forever as a family good"(Cameron, A. & Hall, S. (Ed.). (1999). Eusebius' Life of Constantine. 1, 9)

All this has considerable relevance for those seeking to understand the choices of the last of the Constantinids. Since, even in this respect, the Constantinian experience will weigh as a fatal and ineluctable destiny on Julianus. Although he has stubbornly refused this heritage brought by the hated uncle, he too will not be able to free himself completely from this "*legacy*". And this will be part of his tragedy.

1.2. The First Years of Julianus

Julianus came to the World before the winter of 331. At the time of birth, a dream came to disturb his mother, just as she was waiting to give birth; she had seemed to have generated Achilles in her dream. So, at the first opportunity, she told her husband Julius Constantius II about her dream, she gave birth to Julianus without any pain. But the dream should have made them suspicious; and unfortunately at the end of his life he ends like Achilles, also Julianus had to succumb prematurely on the battlefield, hit by a persian's javelin. Basilina's dream was therefore prophetic (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 15-3-23).

Julianus did not know his mother: Basilina died when the eyes of his only son began to look for her. Julianus then surrounded his memory of a loving cult. Although he hated luxury, he kept his mother's jewels for a long time and, in order to revive her name, he called Basilinopolis a city that he had founded near Nicaea. (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 37-3)

After six years in the gynaeceum, Julianus went to school (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 259 B). The first impression he had of the city was admiration. Starting from 330, Constantinus, wishing to emulate the splendor and magnificence of Rome, began to gather in the Christian capital of his Empire the best works of art left in Greece. When Julianus was crossing the squares of his hometown, he was admiring all the pagan splendors coming from Athens, Delphi,

Dodona, from the forests of the Elicona and from all corners of Greece, from Chios, Smyrna, Ephesus and even from Rhodes and Crete. In the forum, the famous porphyry column that still today, not far from the dome of Hagia Sofia raises its torso blackened by the thunderbolt and then, supported the weight of the statue of Constantinus, haloed from the seven mystical rays of the Sun God, represented with the attributes of Apollo, whom the boy saw Christians and Pagans bowing respectfully (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 8 A).

The city then was having a brilliant and peaceful life, since the emperor covered it with favors and privileges. After having killed his antagonists Martinianus and Licinius (324), then the young son of the latter (326), then, in an excess of jealousy, his own son Crispus, and still his own wife Fausta, suffocated in the bathroom, the despot, finally appeased by so many executions, he thought to be able to grant finally a gentil policy. One by one, those whom his rancor had spared, were admitted to participate in power. The first-born of Theodora, the censor Dalmazius, received the console signs in 333 and his son of the same name was proclaimed Caesar shortly thereafter. On the occasion of the celebrations for the thirtieth anniversary of the reign, in 335, five years after the return of Julianus's father to Constantinople, and this "noble patrician" was now treated as a prince of blood. The family order, drawn up by Constantinus around this period and constituting a first project of partition of the Empire, naturally favored the three presumed heirs: Constantinus II, Constantius II and Costante. But, together with them, this project included Cesare Dalmazius, and his brother Annibalianus, awarded the title of King of Kings, who was entrusted with the governorship of Pontus and Armenia with capital in Caesarea, waiting for it to reign over a Romanized Persian empire. This association with the power of the Flavis was also consolidated by two alliances. A daughter of Julius Constantius - half-sister

of Julianus - married Constantius II and Constantinus granted to Annibalianus the hand of his daughter Constance who became later Gallus's wife. Thus In difficult moments the emperor could surround himself with his brothers as a kind of council of state. Constantinus could not do more to ensure the loyalty of the various representatives of the dynasty. Order and calm seemed to have been restored to all intents and purposes (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 2-39).

1.2.1. The Death of Constantinus The Great

This tranquility did not last long. In the year 336, before Julianus had turned seven, the problem suddenly came from the east. The Persian danger reappeared after forty years of peace. Constantinus received from King Shapure II an insolent embassy claiming the retreat of the Empire from the province of Tigris conquered by Diocletianus. A war of claims was thus emerging. The emperor replied that he himself had expressed his feelings in Shapure II and in fact, in spring, marched at the head of his troops. He had a tent in his luggage form of a portable church and behind it a host of bishops charged with praying for the success of the expedition. But soon during the march Constantinus felt bad. Then, passing near the thermal waters of Helenopoli in Bithynia, he stopped there to cure himself. Then he went to prostrate himself before the relics of the martyr Lucian of Antioch, to whom his mother was very devoted. But neither the spa nor the prestigious sanctuary restored health of the sick emperor. On the contrary, his indisposition degenerated into a violent fever. Hastily he was transported to his villa in Aciro, near Nicomedia, and after six days of suffering, during the pentecost period, he gave his soul to God. Fortunately, the dying man had time to receive the water of baptism. (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). The

History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great. 13-4).

We don't know if Constantinus, during his last moments had lucidity necessary to regulate his succession. Did Bishop Eusebius receive the confidence of his last will when he was on the bed where he died (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. *Historia ecclesiastica*. 208-25)? Eusebius never transmitted this to the historiographers of his time.

His sudden death caused a deep emotion. Constantinus was much loved by his soldiers and, especially among the troops, the condolences were impressive. His officers placed the body in a sumptuous coffin and transported him to Constantinople to render him the honors of the apotheosis. The dead man was exposed in one of the finest rooms in the palace, on a tall catafalque surrounded by chandeliers and curtains of gold, covered with purple and crowned with the diadem. In fact, all the senators and magistrates, sumptuously dressed, went to greet the embalmed cadaver who also used to paralyze the intrigues, awaiting the arrival of one of the heirs to the throne (Cameron, A. & Hall, S. (Ed.). (1999). *Eusebius' Life of Constantine*. 3-65). It would have been dangerous for Julianus's father to withdraw and abstain from being present. Along with his sons, he had to pay tribute to the deceased emperor.

Informed of the events by a trusted delegation, Constantius II could not arrive at Constantinople anyway. On August 2, 337, a law was enacted bearing the name of the deceased. After this date, however, he proceeded to the funeral which Constantius II assisted and he then buried his father in the Basilica of the Holy Apostles. Finally, on September 9th, the three sons of Constantine made themselves proclaimed Augustus and considered themselves as the sole masters of the Empire (Pharr, C.

(Ed). 1952. The Theodosian code. 13-4-2). At the same time, with the probable connivance of Constantius II, disturbing rumors began to circulate.

1.2.2. Bloody Conspiracy And Surviving Brothers

It was said that, hidden under the funeral cloak, the dead man held a will in which he claimed to have been poisoned by his brothers and left the Empire to his three sons, with the recommendation to take the utmost precautions against his murderers (Bidez, J. 2004. Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 27). The effects of these allegations were sudden. The soldiers rushed to the house of the brothers of Constantinus and the history witnessed one of those dynastical slaughters that, from then on, often repeated up to the kingdoms of the last sovereigns. An uncle and several cousins of Julianus were massacred, as well as his father and his first-born brother. As for Gallus, he was spared because he was ill. When they arrived in front of Julianus, the murderers were detained by his young age. (Zosimos. (1992). Nueva Historia. 11-40). While the soldiers hesitated or before they had time to kill him, priests came to save him, leading him through a secret passage to the shelter of an altar of a nearby church (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. 229-11). Julianus kept an obsessive memory of that day. Then, at the place of the priests of Christ, he intervened the god who presided over his apostasy: it was in fact Helios who led him "*far from the blood, the tumult, the cries and the dead*" (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 228 B).

1.3. The Years in Exile

The new emperor of the East, Constantius II, he led the orphan after the death of his father to Nicomedia, a decayed capital in which the sovereigns were now rarely staying, the city was still one of the "*pearls*" of Asia. In such a beautiful residence one

could be watched closely, without feeling prisoner (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 61-10).

The bishop of the city Eusebius saw the young exiled arrive, stripped of everything and threatened by ill-concealed grudges. Take charge of forming the spirit of one of the last Flavis and at the same time surround him with careful surveillance it meant making Constantius II a friendly service. Eusebius accepted the task, but in the presence of Julianus he could not avoid having a sympathetic and circumspect behavior at the same time. (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-9-4) However, it does not seem that a relationship of particular intimacy had developed between the two.

While reserved on the account of the tutor Eusebius, Julianus on the contrary speaks abundantly of Mardonius, the pedagogue who had reached him at Nicomedia. This old shiite eunuch had already been a master for Basilina and was therefore able to answer the anxious questions of the child concerning his mother. He was sympathized with the orphan king who had been entrusted to him. For his part, Julianus became very attached to him and the influence that Mardonius had on his training can be explained. At the same time we can notice some particular characteristics of his education. While in fact his most illustrious contemporaries - the two Gregorius, Basilus, Ioannes Crisostomos and Agostinus - had their deepest feelings for family influences, and in particular to that of their mothers, for Julianus we can almost say that he was the spiritual son of his pedagogue. He always spoke with veneration of Mardonius, called him his educator and declared that it was he who led him to the propylaea of philosophy. (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 233) Indeed it was

Mardonius who awakened in him that noble enthusiasm for the greatness of Hellenism to which he owed that which is highest in the motives of his undertakings. We know where the young prince loved to spend his holidays. His grandmother had given him an estate consisting of a country house and four farms that was probably in Chalcedonia, in view of Constantinople and of the sea. Since it was used as a holiday resort for a patrician family related to that of the emperors, this residence was to resemble the Roman villas of which the latin writers list the comforts and splendors. Julianus delights in describing it in one of his letters: it had various addictions: the baths, mills and cellars, large woods, a park and various springs. In this rural living he felt such joys as to remember it forever. From his writings we learn that he had learned from his work in the vineyard how to plant the shrubs, how to tear up the earth around young shoots with special tools how to stretch the yarns to which the branches are attached, in order to run the tree vineyard in the tree and keep the clusters above the ground, exposed to air and light (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 31).

1.3.1. Julianus in Macellum and Gallus

Julianus, about ten years old, came suddenly transferred to Macellum, at the bottom of Anatolia, under the snowy peaks of Mount Argeus there is an area of wooded spurs, which is one of the wildest regions of the rugged Cappadocia. In this area there was, on the plain of Caesarea, a pleasant residence: the imperial estate of Macellum. Surrounded by pastures and forests and far from the busy cities of the coast, this palace was the ideal place to keep prisoners without a spirit of revolt.

At that moment Constantius II had to fight against the dangerous interference of his brother Costante, who became the sole master of the West. Between Persian

danger and the threat of internal complications, the suspicious despot did not feel at all safe and it is therefore understandable that he tried to remove his two young cousins, of whom, one day or another, he might have to suffer the nascent ambition. He therefore did not need any special advice to get Gallus and Julianus in Macellum.

Leaving Nicomedia for his new home, Julianus was forced to abandon his first teacher. Moving the boy away from Mardonius meant pulling him away from what he held dearest. The blow was in fact very hard for him and caused him a hard suffering (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History. 5-29), even if he had the consolation finding again his brother. After four years of hard exile, Gallus appeared to him as a robust and insolent young man. But if Julianus had some emotional impulse towards him, soon became disappointed. Gallus was not a young man to return tenderness. In spite of the pleasing appearances, he concealed a nature imbued with violent and coarse instincts. Not only for this, however, Julianus disliked his brother. (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 14-1-10)

What could the two brothers talk about when they were lucky enough to be alone in some corner of the castle or on their walks? Certainly not of Homer or of committed literature. Gallus had not frequented Mardonius and was one of those who preferred "*horses, birds and beasts*" to books (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898).

Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 185).

Exercises and violent pastimes; perhaps sometimes a chance to play with the eunuchs, this is what Julianus had to take an interest in not remaining completely alien to his brother. On the other hand, the two orphans faced together the boredom caused by the common imprisonment and by a surveillance with obsequious attentions; the same rancor made them fraternized and they often had to remember each other, in their stealthy encounters, what they had seen on the day their father had been massacred.

During their imprisonment their life was as private as possible, no free talks, not allowing them to be visited by any friend, they had no other playmates but their slaves. (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 230 A)

1.3.2. The Visit Of The Augustus Constantius II

However, one day Macellum's palace was in turmoil by the arrival of important people. Going back to Ancarra in 347, Constantius II had the curiosity to visit his estate, where he was able to control the application of the instructions given to the two prisoners (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 274 A). Since it was a great sportsman, an agile racer, a skilled knight and an archer who was sure of the blow, took advantage of the opportunity to go to a hunting party. Julianus saw him break down, in the castle's reserves, bears, lions and panthers (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great*. 13-11). Of the two brothers, it was certainly Gallus to enjoy more the show. As for Julianus, if he had the privilege of speaking to the emperor, he was only mediocre fascinated by the appearance of that solemn character who was studying not to let any trace of emotion appear on his face. Constantius II made only a brief stop at Macellum. Soon the magnificent escort of the sovereign left and the halls and vestibules of the palace fell back into the same monotonous stillness. Such isolation had long depressed Julianus, he then retreated into himself and his seriousness and concentration became accentuated in a sort of spiritual exaltation (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 36).

We know one of those who participated in his education: George of Cappadocia, the Arian bishop who for a time replaced Athanasius in Alexandria. The son of a worker, this adventurer had quickly made himself road thanks to its energy

and its intrigues. When he was put in touch with Julianus, he already had to enjoy the favor and confidence of the emperor who managed to preserve thanks to a constant work of delusion and his ability to justify even the most evil deeds through a distorted interpretation of the law. This insolent upstart of power ended up becoming one of the most unpopular bishops of the emperor's friends. With his lack of discretion and his sectarian attitudes, he probably contributed to giving his pupil the impression that Christians behaved like wild beasts (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-5-4). As far as we know, Julianus never showed any kind of sympathy for him.

1.3.3. First meetings with Hellenism

George of Cappadocia was having a beautiful library and allowed the young prince to attend it. Julianus found it well supplied, although naturally composed mainly of works by Christian authors. Surely Origenes, Lucianus of Antioch and Eusebius of Caesarea occupied a place of honor. But, besides this type of literature, Julianus discovered another one, no doubt newer to him. In fact George possessed a collection of rhetoricians, philosophers and commentators of all kinds. The last Platonists, Porfirius and Giamblicus, could not fail to be part of it. Instead of neglecting these full volumes of such devilish influences, Julianus paused to make discoveries of which he will speak again fifteen years later. In 362, after the death of George, killed and torn by an angry population, Julianus wrote to the prefect of Egypt to beg him to send the remains of that precious library to Antioch and pointed out to his official that he personally knew George's books. *"if not all, at least in large part because - and with this declaration ends his letter - already when he was in Cappadocia, George had lent him several volumes allowing him to take a copy"* (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de I

'empereur Julien. p. 106, 107). With a student with such a daring curiosity, the masters of Macellum risked to have one day some big disappointments.

However, despite the danger that his faith might be compromised by the ardor of his Hellenism and his incursions into disturbing regions, Julianus, during the first part of his youth, never stopped behaving as if animated by a sincere fervor (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 174 B). His last writings are still full of impressions received and observations made during the initiation into the mysteries of the Christian faith. When later Julianus tried to regenerate paganism, he tried magnifying the institutions common to the Eastern mysteries, those of Cybele, Isis, or Mithra. Once he became the sovereign pontif of a reformed paganism, Julianus will never cease to encourage his clergy to imitate the good works to which his first educators had made him participate. He will write encyclicals to show that men are all brothers; that they must love and help each other; that you must clothe the naked and feed the hungry, even if they are enemies or convicts locked up in prisons. He claims to have practiced this love for his neighbor in himself into an age which he was not rich and who never regretted such generosity, but which on the contrary has always been rewarded abundantly. Certainly he does not use the language of the Fathers of the Church in these recommendations and is careful not to refer to the Bible or the Gospel. When this is possible, he refers to both the verses of Homer and the oracles of Apollo. He removes from his vocabulary words like piety, almsgiving and charity, to speak, with the terms of Greek philosophy, of convenience, of fraternity and of philanthropy. But the experiences that he reports are Christian experiences and it is the Christian practice of charitable works that he indicates as a model (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 98, 104).

As has been said, Julianus never speaks of the Gospels or of Jesus except in derogatory terms. One never finds in him that melancholy tenderness which, before the figure of the Savior, sometimes takes possession of those who have abjured him. He had loved Christ without love and abandoned him without regret.

However, nowhere does Julianus give any doubt to the sincerity of his first convictions. More than once he is reproached for having taunted, in his youth, the rituals of the pagan mysteries, which he eventually ends up practicing with fanatic devotion. He speaks of his stay in Macellum as a period of his life subjected to enchantment. "Let us address those darkness to oblivion" he will write one day, recalling a past full of confusion and remorse. A remorse which is vain anyway, since an early religious education always leaves an indelible mark (Bidez, J. 2004. *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 43).

1.4. The End of Exile

At the end of 347 to Macellum came the order to free Gallus and to send him to court. This had to happen, when the emperor was not in Constantinople but probably in Antioch or somewhere in Mesopotamia. The young prince was treated at the beginning with a certain diffidence. He was kept under observation and was told that Constantius II was full of good intentions towards him, trying to dispel his rancor, but without leaving him the least freedom of movement. With the passage of time, however, this delivery ended up becoming less severe (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 47).

As for Julianus, it was emphasized that he was too absorbed by his books to constitute a danger and George of Cappadocia himself could testify that Julianus spent his time snooping around in libraries. It was therefore decided - not without some hesitation - that the best thing was to leave him to his beloved studies (Giangrande, J.

(1956). Eunapius. *Vitae sophistarum*. 473-50). There is some doubt as to whether the authorization to leave Macellum had been granted in formal terms. In fact, some time later he tried to accuse him of leaving without permission, but in any case Julianus managed to exonerate himself (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-2-7).

Then he began a new life and there was once again one of those changes of fortune that characterize his entire life. After the darkness and anguish of a confinement in which he felt suffocated, liberation finally arrived and, with it, the possibility of speaking without hesitation and of choosing friendships according to their own sympathies; it was the joy of a life without spies and without restrictions. Now, celebrated and fondled, the young prince could satisfy his anxiety to know and attend the most renowned schools (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 48).

1.4.1. Julianus in Constantinople

From Macellum Julianus went directly to Constantinople (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History*. 5-2-15). This was indeed a place to which he felt particularly attached. His grandmother had died, but Mardonius no doubt was waiting for the return and confidences of his beloved pupil, whose absence he had regretted for six years. Without delay and without being distracted by the temptations of the hippodrome or theater, Julianus took advantage of the resources that the great city offered him to devote himself to his studies (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 15-27). In this regard, Constantine and Constantius II had in fact greatly enriched their capital. In the luxurious premises of the Royal Basilica there were public schools and also an already considerable library,

destined to become one of the richest in the world. Julianus thus learned to know it and, having become emperor, considered it his duty to enlarge it. In his youth, he certainly had to spend lot of his time there, before and after classes. He could thus admire the work of the numerous writers (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 57).

He joined in the grammar class the lessons of Laconianus Nicocle, renowned professor who gathered in his auditorium the young people of the highest aristocracy. Nicocle was pagan. His colleague, the famous Libanius, seemed to take his talent and morality into account, calling him "*a priest of justice*" and declaring that he knew no other than the secrets of the thought of Homer and of the other poets. In the rhetoric, Julianus followed the lessons of a Christian named Ecebolius, a second-rate character who owed all his fame to his immediate audience, in the absence of other particularly significant merits. After the death of Constantius II, he began to adore the gods to please Julianus and, after the death of Julianus, to make up for this apostasy, he publicly humiliated himself with his forehead in the dust before the portal of a church (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 18-12).

Constantius II did not want his cousin to receive the education of a future man of state (Giangrande, J. (1956). *Eunapius. Vitae sophistarum*. 473-50). On the contrary, thanks to the direction given to his studies, he wanted to distract him from any political ambition. It is therefore unlikely that Julianus had occupied Constantinople with other things other than his courses of rhetoric and grammar. He was not allowed to practice sports in which he had to excel the principles intended to show himself at the head of the troops and he did not even have to learn the language of the army, the law and the administration. Applying himself totally to his literary

exercises, the prince continued his religious practices by attending churches in Constantinople as well as in Macellum.

Despite the piety and scholarly docility shown by Julianus, Constantius II's spies did not lose sight of him. On the contrary, more than ever they had the reasons to keep an eye on him. In fact, he was too well seen in the capital and people was speaking of him with a sympathy which could arouse concerns (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 59).

1.4.2. Growing Popularity of Julianus and exile in Nicomedia

Indeed, Julianus, approaching the twentieth year of age, appeared in all the beauty of adolescence. Of medium height, he had broad shoulders, a well-proportioned body and above all an attractive physiognomy. His eyes were full of charm and he had the moving look of a burning youth ready to exalt itself for everything that could seem right and noble. Add to this that he was as open, lively and cheerful, as simple and affable; that on the way he let himself be approached by the humblest people without showing arrogance and the hieratic rigidity with which Constantius II showed himself in public, the agitation and worry of the emperor can be understood, when he learned from his informers of the growing popularity of his cousin. Then at this point he decided to put an end to these intrigues from the beginning. Soon then Julianus was ordered to leave the big city and retire to Nicomedia (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-8-16).

For the second time Julianus was forced to cross the Bosphorus to go to confine himself in a retreat. Far from the noise of the world, in the ancient imperial residence Julianus had to devote himself to the works of piety to which his first educators had destined him. It is claimed that it was right in the churches of

Nicomedia that Julianus exercised the functions of reader (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). Sozomenus. Ecclastical History. 5-2-10).

To console himself for his new exile, he had the opportunity to make the most opportune meetings. Libanius then was teaching in Nicomedia. Surrounded by students, with a talent in full bloom "*spring*", this master alone was able to overshadow all the rhetoric of New Rome (Libanius. (1969). Orations. 1-51).

Ecebolius however, took his precautions and Julianus had to promise not to follow the lessons of the pagan professor. But the prince succeeded in obtaining, in exchange for some gift, that a student brought him every day a copy of the lessons of the unbelieving rhetorean (Libanius. (1969). Orations. 18-14). Julianus was in fact one of the first and most enthusiastic of his disciples. The letters of the master always constituted for him a cause of joy; he thus proved his good taste because these letters are such models for their concise shape and their distinct elegance. Libanius, on the other hand, professed a living admiration for the strength and clarity of the style of his young friend in whom he almost seemed to find himself, and this explains how Julianus can be accepted as his student, even though he had never witnessed his lessons (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-15).

In his clandestine relations with the friends of Libanius, Julianus did not abandon himself solely to literary purposes. It is in Nicomedia, in fact, in the circle of the rhetorician, that for the first time the prince was put in contact with the gods. Fatally, the curiosity that had made him search for the notes related to a prohibited course, attracted the attention of those who were aware of his acquaintances. Even if his life was jeopardized in this way, the admirer of the pagan rhetorician was introduced into the initiatory societies following their secret practices despite the police of Constantius II (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 63).

Julianus was an enthusiast. By inculcating in him a living admiration for ancient literature, his first educators had deposited dangerous ferments in his mind. Little by little, his love for Greece had become fanatical and exclusive. It was a sort of intoxication. Gained so to the ardor of the neo-Hellenism of which one has tried to describe the renewal, he considered the race that had created the ancient civilization as the one elected by God, and Libanius one day, addressing him a solemn tribute, realized that, to exalt him in his own eyes, it was necessary to tell him that he was a Greek and that he commanded the Greeks (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works.* 15-25).

The beginnings of Julianus' pagan life were marked by scenes in which the gods turned to him to speak to his heart, first suffering, then joyous and vigorous, in which they made him cry, moan or be enraptured, and soon they made him attest to his filial devotion, his love and his admiration. Thus he found a great piety among the various motives that resolved him to choose between Hellenism and the Church, between Jesus and Helium. It is in the Sun-King indeed that later he will recognize the god Savior (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore.* p. 67).

1.5. Gallus New Caesar

1.5.1. The Murder Of Constant

The Emperor Constant had been detested by the Gallic troops. He surrounded himself with effeminate and low-grade favorites and cared only for his pleasures. A conspiracy was organized, of which Marcellinus was the soul and the inspirer of finance. On January 8th 350, while Costante was having fun to hunt in the forests of the country, the intendant took advantage of his son's birthday party to offer a large banquet at Autun, inviting the senior Gallic officers. The meeting was animated and

around midnight, when a sweet drunkenness was beginning to warm the guests, one of them, Magnentius, good-looking pagan and commander of the imperial guard, went away for a moment and then reappeared in the room with the diadem on his head and the purple on the shoulders. He was then acclaimed Augustus and all the army stationed in the country rejoiced at this election, demonstrating, with this unanimous consensus, how the Empire was still exposed to a resumption of power by the pagans. Ten years later, the military sedition would be repeated in Paris, with an even more picturesque staging, to deliver the Gallia and Alliance to the Apostate (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 68).

When Constant's amusements were interrupted and he was informed of what was happening, he immediately escaped. But the emissaries of the usurper reached him at Helena, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and there they killed him without trial (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. *Nueva Historia*. 2-47). Soon after, Magnentius was the master of the whole West.

1.5.2. Vetranione's and Nepozianus' rebellions

Constantius II had an intelligent, altered and determined sister as princess, Constance. After having received the title of Augusta from his father Costantinus, after the murder of her husband Annibalianus, she was living now in Pannonia in a state of sad widowhood. At the news of the uprising that threatened power of her brother, she emerged from her place. Among the generals of Danube, she knew one of the most loved by the legions: the old Vetranione, out of their ranks and who had known how to make himself popular. He knew his job as a soldier well, but nothing more. Totally illiterate, He had even less spirit than culture Constance availed of his title of Augusta and the ever-increasing prestige that surrounded his father's name

Constantinus to influence the decisions of the troops and she acted so well that, at the beginning of the spring of 350, the soldiers proclaimed Caesar the old Vetranione. The old soldier accepted and, despite his advanced age, took up his duties so seriously that he began to learn to read and write; then he sent a letter to Constantius II, to ask him for reinforcements and even for his sister's hand. In secret, the cleaver Constance sent his brother a report explaining that the election of Vetranione was intended to prevent the Danube armies from going to reinforce the party of Magnentius and that for the rest the new Caesar was just an old simpleton of whom not to be afraid. With this message, Constantius II, adequately briefed, operated with considerable skill (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 69).

After putting order in his affairs of the East, he headed for Pannonia. His troops and those of Vetranione, which in the meantime claimed the title of Augustus, met on December 25 in Naisso (Nisch) and there Constantius II proposed to appoint arbitrators of the matter the same legions and Vetranione accepted. Constantius II first spoke eloquently reminding the soldiers of the favors bestowed on him by his father Constantinus and the oaths that bound the legions to his dynasty. The soldiers applauded him and Vetranione himself was so impressed that he ended up throwing himself at Constantius II's feet begging for his grace. The emperor was contented to take back the insignia of power, then embraced him calling as his father, welcomed him to his table and sent him to finish his days in Prusia (Brousse), in a palace where the pretender withdrew could lead a pious and comfortable life (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. *Nueva Historia*. 2-44).

This period of civil wars was marked by another episode from which we can also see the prestige of those who had the blood of the Flavis in their veins. Nepozianus, one of Constantinus's nephews, believed himself authorized to claim the

purple for his birthright. Proclaimed emperor on 3 June 350, he succeeded in becoming master of Rome. But his reign lasted only 28 days: defeated by Marcellinus, Nepozianus was killed and his head carried through the whole city on top of a pike (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). CANDÁU MORÓN, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 2-44). Perhaps as a result of these events, Magnentius, wanting to make his party adhere to all the people of Rome, granted to the pagans his coreligionists the possibility of making night sacrifices, which constituted a complete freedom to practice the secret cults and magic (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great. 13-8).

1.5.3. The Rise of Gallus and Marriage with Constance

Vetranione and Nepozianus disappeared, it remained to defeat of Magnentius. Now, in the eastern part of the Empire, borders were dangerously threatened. Faced with the gravity of the situation, according to the expression of an ancient historian, Constantius II was seized by vertigo (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 51).

He understood that soon he had to make those who remained of the dynasty participate in the power. He then explained to Gallus how regrettable he was about what had happened to his father Julius Constantius and of which he felt strong remorse, then, when he thought he had dispelled the last rancor of his young cousin, he freed him from that state of seeds. - to which he was still subjected to court and, March 15, 351, appointed him Caesar, granting him the hand of his sister, the authoritarian Constance (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 11-40). The two princes exchanged promises of mutual good harmony, confirming them with solemn oaths before Theophilus the Indian, the venerable

missionary bishop; Gallus then left for Antioch, with the task of governing the East. Anyway Constantius II had taken care to surround him with a staff of officers and officials loyal to him (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 51).

Gallus took advantage of this trip to visit his brother in Bithynia. Julianus probably met him at Nicomedia (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-17, 1969). Subsequently, Julianus asked Constantius II permission to move freely to continue his studies. *"The emperor, by divine will, granted him the authorization: he preferred to see him wandering through books and living in idleness, rather than rethinking his family (destroyed) and the Empire"* (Giangrande, J. (1956). Eunapius. Vitae sophistarum. 473-48).

Thus Julianus found freedom; at the same time he regained the wealth of his grandmother's heritage (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 158). By now he could circulate with a truly imperial status. But where to look for new lessons? He had nothing left to learn from the rhetoricians, and the philosophy of public teaching attracted him very little. It is that mystical spark glimpsed by Nicomedia that attracts him and he already knew that, to see it turn into real light, so he would have to penetrate into the secrets of neo-platonic theurgy (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 70).

1.6. The birth of Paganism, Happy Days

1.6.1. Julianus in Pergamum

At the time when Julianus left Nicomedia, Giamblicus of Calcide who was a Greek-speaking Syrian philosopher who lived between 250-330 A.D, and who moved away from his teacher Platonus's doctrine to formulate his own interpretation of

Platonism which emphasized the separation of soul and body, and the soteriological mission of philosophy, which aims to guide man to mystical union with immaterial principles, through the practice of theurgy, was already dead and his students were all missing. The most revered of them, Edesius, was living in Pergamum. It is at this gate that Julianus knocked first. But Edesius was then in old age and sick and perhaps even feared the clamor that was about to cause the arrival of a prince of blood near him (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 74.) Nevertheless he began to admit Julianus among his own listeners. His new disciple that *"in an adolescent body already possessed the wisdom of an old man, sensed the divine genius of his teacher"*. To this end, he delivered princely gifts to Edesius, but they were never accepted by the master. Instead he summoned the adolescent to beg him not to bother his old age and to turn instead to his spiritual children. Then he told him to find Maximus who was here, but he was sent to Ephesus. sailing for Greece, so he said that only Eusebius and Crisante remain close to him of his closest friends, so he could listen to their lessons (Giangrande, J. (1956). *Eunapius. Vitae sophistarum*. 474).

Eusebius was teaching archaic Platonism. Instead of trying to save souls through the theurgy of the mysteries, he was recommending the spiritual liberation that is achieved through philosophical reasoning. After one Eusebius's new lecture, Julianus found the courage to ask him the meaning of his habitual refrain. Then the philosopher confessed that it had happened one day to follow Maximus in a shrine of Hecate and that Maximus, after burning a grain of incense and having recited a certain song to himself, he had realized wonders. The statue of the goddess was animated, a smile had appeared on her lips and a flame had sprung from the torches she held in her hands. As soon as Eusebius had finished speaking, Julianus got up and said, *"Stay bent over your books: you have just revealed what I was looking for."* Then he kissed

Crisante's forehead and left for Ephesus (Giangrande, J. (1956). *Eunapius. Vitae sophistarum*. 474).

1.6.2. Moving to Ephesus to Meet Maximus

Convinced that he had finally found the man he was looking for, Julianus went to Ephesus to meet Maximus in 351 and he was first instructed, together with Crisanzius, to the Giamblica theurgy (Tantillo, I. (2010). *L'imperatore Giuliano*. p. 22). As Libanius writes, Julianus heard about the gods and demons, the beings who, in truth, have created this universe and keep it alive, learned what the soul is, where it comes from, where it goes, what that makes it fall and what raises it, what depresses it and what exalts it, what captivity and freedom are for it, how it can avoid one and reach the other. Then he rejected the nonsense he had believed until then to settle in his soul the splendor of the truth and it was finally initiated into the mysteries of Mithras.

Returning from Ephesus to Nicomedia, Julianus continued to behave like a Christian (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclastical History*. 5-2-17). However, he did not manage to divert all suspicion from him. He was guarded and Gallus learned that his brother had lingered by Maximus and other theurgists of the Pergamon school. It was obtained by the young Caesar who sent it to Julianus a man of God capable of strengthening a perhaps faltering faith.

Among the priests of Gallus's followers, there were few who were in spiritual union with the Pope and Athanasius. Most were composed of those emancipated spirits who had passed through the Hellenistic and professing schools a rational faith. In the first place among these theologians soaked more in the logic of Aristotle than in the spirit of the Gospels, figured Aetius, the founder of the sect of the Anomei, the leader of the Arian extremists, who clearly stated that Jesus was a man, far from being

the same essence of God, his father, he was subordinated to him as the servant is subordinated to the master (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclastical History*. 7-5-8). Equipped with a fighting spirit and a constitution of iron, this Aetius, for his busy career, can give us an idea of the ardor and the ambitions that produced then the most active existences.

1.6.3. Aetius Testing Julianus' Faith

When it was learned at court that the faith of Julianus was in danger, to strengthen it, this Arian priest was sent to him. Perhaps Aetius volunteered to drive out the demon of doubt that Julianus was attempting. According to some authors, it is in Ionia that the self-confident theologian and the weakened Christian met (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). *Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica*. p. 53). Julianus received Aetius with many regards, at first he also gave him reason and Aetius could send a favorable report to Gallus (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 92). In fact, Julianus had convinced him both with his faith and his ways. The holy man perhaps did not even suspect that the prince had deceived him. Good dialectics do not necessarily have the sharpness of an observer.

In the deference with which Julianus treated Aetius and agreed to see him again- because the meetings were repeated - not all was fiction (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). *Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica*. p. 53). This reasoner, with his wealth of encyclopedic knowledge, with his trust in pure logic and his contempt for every form of superstition, was a character capable of interesting Julianus, in the state of mind in which he was then. When the time came for him to work to reconcile the spirits in the practice of mutual tolerance, he did not fail to summon Aetius among the first to court, amiably reminding him of their ancient intimacy. He put at his disposal an imperial car and finally, to finish conquering it, he gave him, as to many of his pagan

friends, a beautiful property in the island of Mytilene (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 39, 65).

Aetius's intervention warned the prince that he had to hide even more accurately some of his new relationships. Under the guise of a cleric, he used since then a simulative art such that Libanius said that if Aesop had known his story, instead of imagining the fable of the donkey dressed in a lion's skin, he would have spoken of a lion dressed in a donkey skin (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 18-19).

1.6.4. Secret Pagan Reunions

His pagan friends were probably as cautious as he was, for he was able to maintain uninterrupted relations with them. He received them at his home in Nicomedia and, during the holidays, in his villa on the shore of the Propontide (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 2, 13). He was offering them the wine of his vineyard in a "*tempering*" cup, discussed with them questions of literature or philosophy and gave free rein to his dreams and hopes.

We know by name many of the pagans who then went to visit Julianus without fear of compromising him or compromising themselves. Among the guests that the prince gathered in his country house, next to Alipius, whom we will soon find again, was the rhetor Evagrius, a friend of Maximus of Ephesus. On this occasion, Libanius received news of his old pupil through a certain Seleucus, probably the same one who was later appointed by the high priest of one of the provinces of Asia and who composed a work in two books on the last campaign of the Prince. Libanius asks Julianus for an invitation to his messenger Entrechius, who also pagan like him.

Another pagan, Pompeianus, in charge of an embassy of the city of Antioch, crossed the Bithynia to meet Julianus and speak to him of an injustice of which he had been a victim, immediately obtaining the promise of a prompt satisfaction. So it was formed around Julianus, in the ruling classes of the Asian cities, a party able to determine a movement of opinion in his favor. He was waiting for the opportune moment to come out and impose, with his coming to power, a pagan reform of the government. However, these hopes they could be fed only in the greatest secret (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 5, 14).

This happy period of free studies and of nascent popularity was for Julianus the spring of his life, the era in which, to put it in his own words, Hermes led him along a calm road, away from the vice and the ugliness of life, under clusters of fruits, amidst beautiful flowers, of those that are dear to the gods and mingled with the foliage of ivy, laurel and myrtle in the gardens of the Muses (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 174 B, 259 C). In this succession of carefree and delicious days, the bad moments were rare. Just as he worked harder at the service of his friends, he forgot, as he himself reports, the misery and boredom of his childhood (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 174 B, 259 D).

1.7. Gallus's Execution and Eusebia

1.7.1. The Cruelties Of Gallus And Constance

These happy moments seemed to have a sharp and definitive end. Gallus was behaving badly in Antioch, although he certainly reported some military success. He reprimanded the brigandage of the saurians in Cilicia; he stifled a revolt of the Jews in blood and the Persians were kept at bay by his armies (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). *Candáu*

Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-1). The young Caesar was well served by the generals who had been given him by his cousin and brother-in-law, but was unable to have good personal initiatives. His wife, the proud and ruthless Constance, had a very bad influence on him and allowed him to terrorize the city with a series of summary executions (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 15-1-2). As for him, gaudy, unexpected and frivolous, he seemed to look for nothing more in power than opportunities to make up for all the bitterness that destiny had reserved for him until then. He was passionate about the bloody tournaments of gladiators and tamers of ferocious beasts and, when night was falling, in the light of the lamps that brightened the streets of the city as in broad daylight, it was often seen wandering around with a band of masked guards to surprise the secrets of the crossroads and taverns, thus checking the reports of its informers (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 174 B, 340 A).

The prefect of the East, Talassi, was soon obliged to send to the emperor some troubling reports concerning the account of his cousin, the young Caesar. Very restless for these conspiratorial tendencies, Constantius II began to deprive Gallus of most of the troops and, at the same time, sent him mellifluous letters, begging him to come and confer with him in Milan on the affairs of the Empire. In the meantime Talassi died and was replaced by a certain Domizius, whose roughness and provocations exasperated Gallus and Constance. Soon the prefect, as well as the police chief Monzius, were delivered to the fury of the soldiers who tied ropes to their legs, dragged their battered bodies through the streets of the city, they beat them and ended up throwing them into the waters of the Oronte. Many of these assassinations followed (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 14-71-11).

Forced to take action, Constantius II continued to use cautious ways. In a letter full of gentle expressions, he begged Gallus not to delay in reaching him and invites him to take his bride with him, his dear sister Constance, who wishes to see again. Counting on her influence to calm the brother, the princess decided to accompany Gallus. But, as soon as he had set foot in Bithynia, she died of a fever attack. Her body was buried in a mausoleum near Rome that still bears her name and where, later, it was honored as a virgin and a saint. Those who visit the Vatican Museums can admire the porphyry sarcophagus in which they rested long the remains of this singular heroine, who made it flow, alone, more human blood than they would have poured many wild beasts (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 98).

1.7.2. Gallus Behaving Wrong in Constantinople And His Execution

As for Gallus, indifferent and resigned, he accepted his destiny. He took the path of Italy. In Constantinople, he took advantage of his passage to enjoy the spectacle of the great chariot races and, with his hands, in front of the whole hipodrom, he wore the front of the victorious aura (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 14-11-12). This act of carelessness reached the emperor's ear that saw in it a new proof of the intrigue: it seemed to him undoubted that his cousin wanted at all costs to interest the crowd to his fate, to provoke a revolt and to seize the supreme power. From this moment Gallus was surrounded by an escort watching him on sight and his journey began to resemble that of a condemned man. When he arrived at Petovio (Pétav), the city of Noricum, a cordon of sentries was arranged around the palace where he was a prisoner. Then, towards evening, Count Barbation entered his apartment, put on his shoulders, instead of the regal robes, an ordinary robe and cloak, he got him on a car to take him to Fianona, near Pula, where 40 years earlier there, already another Caesar, Crispus, son of Constantine, had been condemned to death. While Gallus

awaiting his fate in the prison and his frightened imagination anticipating the horrors of the end, Eusebius, a great chamberlain, and Mallobaudus, a military tribune, charged by the emperor, arrived in a hurry to immediately make him a special interrogation on each of the murders committed on his order at Antioch. Gallus, then, became pale and gathered just enough strength to attribute his misdeeds to the intrigues of his wife Constance. When the emperor learned this insult done in memory of his sister, he was seized with a ruthless rage; no longer waiting, he sent Serenianus, the notary Pentadius and his intendant Apodemus with the order to proceed with execution. Caesar was bound as an evildoer, and at the end of the year 354 his sword cut off his head. A painful end of this young prince who had not yet turned thirty (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 14-11-13).

Julianus knew the details of the incident and was moved by it to the point that he often thought he saw the decapitated corpse of his brother. For a long time, this memory filled him with funeral omens (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 21-1-2).

1.7.3. Julianus in Milan

When Gallus's head was falling, Julianus was begged to go to Milan near the emperor and, to bring him to safety, he was also provided with a military escort. However, the delivery of the case, at least at the beginning, it was not particularly rigorous. The prince could also take advantage of a break from the trip to visit a famous city as a tourist, Ilius in one of his letters, discovered recently, reports the curious incidents of this excursion (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 12-35). During his trip to Italy, Julianus stopped also in Alexandria. Than sailing towards Italy, near Milan, where Constantius II was waiting for him.

After signing Gallus's death sentence, Constantius II was suddenly taken by repentance. In a hurry he sent a letter to Fianona canceling his cousin's conviction. But Eusebius kept watch; he made sure that the messenger did not meet the executioners before the execution. After that, Constantius II saw himself appear before one of his secret agents, Apodemus. This sinister figure had removed the ceremonial shoes from the feet of Gallus, still alive, and with a rush that caused the death of several horses, he went to Milan, ran to the palace and went to throw these remains at the foot of his lord (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great*. 13-9).

Upon Julianus's arrival in Milan, he found himself in the presence of an indictment containing two precise grievances. First of all he reproached himself for having left Macellum without authorization and, moreover, for having had reconciliation with his brother when the unfortunate Caesar had passed through Constantinople. The accused defended himself with energy. He proved that he had acted only with the emperor's consent and his defense was so effective to dispel the threat (Rolfe, J. C. (1963).

Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 15-2-7). However, any attempt by Julianus to have a meeting with the emperor was in vain. The eunuch Eusebius feared the ascendancy he might have had on his cousin if he had known him more closely.

It was better for the chamberlain to have nothing to do but one owner. So many months passed before Julianus got a hearing. The prince bitterly complained about the imprisonment he was then forced to do (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 274 A B). One may wonder whether, in his desire to impose Constantius II, perhaps he does not exaggerate. It is probable, however, that he must have felt his life in danger. From one day to the next, Eusebius could reach his goals and get rid of him as he had unraveled his brother. In any case, Julianus never gives

the impression in his descriptions that life is hard for him. He was treated with regards to his birth, allowing him also to write to some of his friends: we know that he sent more than one letter to Temistius (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 105). Naturally, these letters did not contain too many complaints: in fact, they were almost certainly read in the secret police offices. In spite of everything, the events of Julianus could have evolved negatively without such a decisive but unexpected intervention. For the first time we see the graceful figure of a princess, whom he has always admired, appearing in his life, who was surrounding him unhappy youth with solicitude. This woman was Empress Eusebia, wife of Constantius II.

1.7.4. The Empress Eusebia, Wife Of Constantius II

Constantius II was passionately in love with the empress Eusebia, whom he married after the death of his first wife. Beautiful, young and very cultured, generous and energetic, daring on the occasion and ready to get busy, surrounded even from expert followers in the art of intrigue, this Macedonian woman of high nobility knew, when she wanted, - and she often wanted it - to dominate Constantius II's mind, according to what was said by those familiar with court intrigues (Rolfe, J. C. (1963).

Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 18-3-2).

Suffering from a mysterious illness, she obtained from Constantius II, while Julianus was in Milan, who recalled from exile his old miracle worker healer, Teofilus the Indian. To this holy man it was enough to impose his hands upon her propitiatories to heal it (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great*. 13-11). We already know that the faithful protector of Aetius had to know Julianus. Did the Empress feel for the oppressed young man one of those romantic feelings where piety soon gives rise to an

ardent sympathy? Did she believe that it was in her interest to tie him to herself, now that she had not given an heir to the emperor? The fact is that she suddenly liked to show her benevolent influence. In spite of the eunuch Eusebius, she declared that it was finally necessary to receive and listen to him. She insisted so much that the hearing was granted. The result of this meeting was what it was meant to be; Constantius II dropped his prejudices and returned to his cousin (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 118 A B, 273 A).

Julianus had only one desire: to find his mother's home in Nicomedia. Eusebia knew in confidence the desire he had and, soon indeed, his protégé was authorized to resume the journey to Asia. However, he was given a safe escort and, before leaving, he could not get a meeting that had been promised (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 118 B C, 274 A).

From Milan, Julianus went first to Como. But only a short time passed the bad fate that again came on him and came to question everything and make him suffer by the new change of mood of Constantius II.

It was at the same time when Constantius II was rejected by fate in new accesses of suspicion and terror because of the events in Gaul, that Julianus arrived in Como. Immediately the emperor sent him the order to stop the journey. In fact, it was not necessary to expose the young prince to the danger of encountering some outbreaks on the street of military conspiracy. But, in this new storm, Eusebia did not abandon his protégé. Although the emperor was far from her - busy fighting against the Germans at the borders of the Rezia - she was able to obtain from him for Julianus permission to go and study for a while at the University of Athens (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 18-27).

In fact, there was no fear that he would come into contact with seditious officers and that he would be persuaded to present himself as a rival of Constantius II. Julianus accepted this decision with uncontrollable joy; he was finally about to see the city of his dreams, his true homeland. For a long time he aspired to this happiness.

Pretending to leave for a new exile, he actually was blessing his fortune as on a day of great celebration. Like his teacher Libanius, he would have preferred the pleasure of seeing even the smoke of the chimneys in Athens into the bed of a goddess (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 260 A).

1.8. In Athens

Julianus arrived in Athens in the summer of 355. Already from the time of Lucianus, it was sufficient for a ship of some importance to dock at Piraeus to put the city in turmoil. The arrival of a prince of the beloved Flavian family could therefore provoke the cheers of a delirious crowd. But his journey was guarded, and even Julianus, like the agents of Constantius II, was interested in preventing his presence from being noticed too much. He found his young Celsus, a patrician of Antioch, a great friend of Libanius, to welcome him discreetly into his elegant home (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 15-51).

Evidently Julianus was exempted from the harassment that the novices of the university life had to suffer and did not waste his time playing, feasting, discussing and applauding the exploits of the charioteers from the highways of the racetracks. He preferred the beauties of which the city was still adorned. Sacked by Silla and then by the Goths in 267, stripped over the centuries to cover Roman palaces and villas, and finally by Constantinus for its new capital, Athens had lost many of the wonders that had given it during the art of gold centuries. However, it had preserved intact the most impressive monuments of its past. The Acropolis, the shrine of Asclepius, the theater

of Dionysus and, again, before the golds and the polychrome of the Parthenon colonnades, Athena Pallade, on the other hand, certain traditions remained in Athens in spite of the times. It is natural for paganism to endure in a city destined to live in the cult of memories (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 110).

When Julianus entered it, the university was animated by a life that was perhaps fictitious, but nonetheless worthy of interest where pagans and christians could live side by side in good harmony. In Athens as in Constantinople, Julianus was not assiduous in the conference rooms. He devoted his time to philosophy, the road he was traveling. The name of the neo-platonic Priscus had been given to Julianus by Edesius at the time of the talk of Pergamum, which had so much impression on him. This theurgist recommended by the philosopher was then in Greece. It is certainly in this country that the prince made his acquaintance. Julianus was seduced by his occultism as it had been by Maximus's. He always treated him with great respect. He called him "*His Goodness*", he loved and venerated him.

Julianus probably passed through the Peloponnese. In the panegyric of Eusebia, wanting to thank the empress for the distinguished benefit of having granted him permission to visit Greece, he enumerates the cities where philosophical studies they were held in honor. "*In Greece, says Libanius (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-29), we saw Julianus always surrounded by swarms of young people, elders, philosophers and rhetoricians. The gods themselves turned their eyes towards him, knowing that he would re-establish ancient traditions in their favor*".

So, in a country still rich in survivals and pagan monuments, statues, chapels and temples erected along all the roads, in the woods and near the sources, on the tops of the mountains and deep in the valleys, well soon, as previously in Bithynia, Julianus

saw around him the sympathies of the men remained faithful to the cult of the gods and willing to prepare their return.

Suddenly, at the beginning of the autumn, Julianus received the order to return to Milan. This news saddened him, frightening him at the same time. He wondered if he was not about to suffer the same fate as his brother. In fact he did not have a clean and quiet conscience. In fact, if his contacts with many pagan priests and philosophers had been reported, he would certainly have been put under serious accusation (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 115).

When later, remembering his happy stay in Greece, Julianus will always praise the country and its inhabitants.

2. JULIANUS CAESAR: NEW CEASAR IN GAUL

2.1. Usurpation of the General Claudius Silvanus

Julianus arrived to the coasts of Italy. But he still had to spend a few bad days before entering that period of his life in which his secret faith would make him perform prodigies. In Milan, Constantius II was again dominated by gloomy thoughts.

General Claudius Silvanus was then, charged with defending Gaul against the barbarians. He was in Cologne when he received the news of the false letters and the imposture set by Dinamius to ruin him. Knowing too much the pusillanimous and fickle spirit of Constantius II, he learned to be treated as a criminal without being heard or judged. He dealt with the chief leaders of his troops, incited them with tantalizing promises, and, wrapping himself with pieces of purple torn from the banners, made himself elected emperor (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 119).

The news of the usurpation came to court towards evening. At nightfall, Constantius summoned his council to the palace, to which all the great dignitaries went. But, when it was time to express an opinion, only a few words were said in a low voice on the military talent of the head of the infantry Ursicinus and on wrongs that had been done lightly, accusing him a year before he had woven ambitious intrigues (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-5-15).

2.1.1. Julianus Being Caesar And Marriage With Elena

It certainly was not that Constantius II saw with pleasure another beside him on the Imperial throne and with the purple robes, because, even in his dreams, that sight would have been insupportable to him. Then why did he call another to participate in his power? On all sides he was threatened by the barbarians, but especially in the

West. A general was not sufficient to restore order, and he felt that the prestige of an Emperor was necessary to stop the current. Now, the Emperor, not wishing to go himself, and, on the other hand, it was being necessary for him to take a colleague, he chose, putting aside all others, the one whom he had so greatly injured, certainly not forgetful of the blood he had shed, but because he had more faith in the one who had the right to accuse him than in those whose duty it was to be grateful to him. Nor was he mistaken. But he soon felt an unreasonable regret for what he had done, and, in consequence of this, he placed at his side, in the position of counsellors, men who, instead of encouraging him, would prevent him from accomplishing any noble action. Ammianus, who was probably an eye-witness, describes the solemn ceremony that took place in Milan when Julianus was invested with the office of Caesar (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-8). The Emperor Constantius II, in the presence of the army, made an address that was both flattering and encouraging to Julianus. The soldiers welcomed with wild enthusiasm the new Caesar, and, as a proof of their joy, beat their shields on their knees. Resplendent in the Imperial purple, he returned to the palace, seated in the same coach with the Emperor.

Constantius II was not content to eliminate every suspicious element from the house of the young Caesar; to try to control him in his own hearth, he had his sister Elena to marry him. This princess was probably older than Julianus and died a short time after the contrasts between his brother and his husband began, in 360. Julianus had only a stillborn child from her, victim of the practices of a midwife who was said to have been hired by Eusebia (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 16-10-18). Leaving aside what is true in this rumor, Elena passed into the life of Caesar as a shadow; she had no influence on him and left no regrets. Julianus talks about her just once or twice and, moreover, in a tone of singular indifference.

For a long time Eusebia wanted to receive the young prince whom she surrounded with her caring solicitude. But already at that time, in a palace where everything was regulated by an oriental label, the gynaeceum in which the sovereign was living locked up with her retinue and her eunuchs, was not at all accessible. But having installed Julianus in the palace, the interview was almost necessary; indeed it was Constantius II himself who begged his Caesar to go to pay his respects to Augusta. As soon as the prince found himself before her, he believed to see the statue of wisdom sitting just like in a temple. Quite literate to appreciate the value of the books, the empress then gave her protegee a gift with which she could best conquer her sympathy (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 126).

2.1.2. Tortuous Ways of Caeful Diplomacy of Constantius II

Meanwhile the preparations for the departure of the new Caesar were feverishly urged. First of all Constantius II delimited his powers. Although apparently very extensive, these powers were actually very narrow. Nominally Julianus had the task to govern Spain, Britain and Gaul; but, in fact, he was trying to put him under guardianship, which could have been justified by his lack of experience, but he went further: in fact he was held far, in a ridiculous and humiliating situation, and he was refused any means that would allow him to create any form of participation in the management of business. He was not even made known, before leaving, of the true situation of Gaul and it was decided that he should not intervene in the direction of military operations. The high command was soon taken from Ursicinus to be entrusted to the mediocre Marcellus, who also received the task of closely monitoring everything the young prince was doing Jullian, C. (1920). *Histoire de la Gaule*.. (Vol. 6). p. 187). Florentius was appointed prefect of Gaul and Sallustus the quaestor: these officials were receiving orders from Constantius II and Julianus could not exercise

any form of control over them (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-2). The emperor calculated in detail the expenses that his cousin would have had the right to do. Perhaps out of fear that surpluses of funds could provide him with the means of granting gifts to the soldiers, he went so far as to determine the composition of the meals that should have been served him. According to Ammianus, the general superintendent of the treasure, Ursulus, would later take responsibility for nullifying the effect of these meanness by writing to the treasurer of Gaul to deliver to Julianus all the money he had asked for. As a last measure, the espionage service from which he was surrounded was reinforced.

Disturbed by so many precautions and so much distrust, Julianus ended up complaining to his cousin: grabbing his right hand and his knee as a suppliant, he asked rather to give him precise orders, a kind of written laws containing what the sovereign forbade and what he ordered to do. In the face of these frank declarations, Constantius II once again preferred the tortuous ways of careful diplomacy. Covering Julianus of attestations of friendship, he did not actually use it to listen to him and understand his reasoning. So it was possible to say and write that he did not send a sovereign to Gaul, but a simple delegate, charged with circulating the holy image of the Augustus ruler among those populations and thus emphasizing that everything was governed by the "*reflection of his sacred person*" (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-42). Julianus clearly saw the inconsistency of the role that had been assigned to him. He was mortified and the rapprochement desired by Eusebia only apparently took place. In this way Constantius II began again with his second Caesar the same game he had conducted with the first (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 53). Only this time he would have to deal with a much stronger opponent.

The departure was quick. Three weeks after his election, on December 1st 355, Julianus left Milan with an escort of 360 soldiers, all Christians. A small group of people who only knew how to mumble prayers, here is the only force that he had the power to command, as he himself says (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-3).

On January 1st, 355, Julianus received from Constantius II the insignia of the consulate and soon, his name appeared at the bottom of the decrees which demonstrated his perfect impotence. At the beginning, he signed with Constantius II the laws that gave privileges to the Christians or punished with death those who were continuing to sacrifice and adoring idols, as he himself was clandestinely doing. Moreover, although the theological questions of Christians left him indifferent, he was obliged to send Ilarius from Poitiers into exile, the saint defender of the symbol of Nicea. The power of the Caesar was still too supposed because he was not able to refuse to collaborate in the persecutions of Constantius II (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-10-6).

2.1.3. Barbarian Raids And First Military Success

Meanwhile, with the arrival of summer, the Germans had begun their raids and had gone to the country of the Edui (Morvan), in the heart of Gaul. Yet these countries had been attacked many times and already under Constantinus, they had taken on the appearance of a land dotted with marshes (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-43). In the midst of a series of incessant voices, Julianus received the news of a sudden attack by the barbarians against the ancient city of Augustudunum (Autun), defended by walls of considerable length, but eroded by time and almost dropping. The fear had paralyzed the garrison and this would have

remained trapped if, thanks to one of those interventions timely bringing salvation in times of crisis, some veterans had not intervened spontaneously to help the besieged ones (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-43).

Towards the summer solstice, the prince received from Constantius II the order to bring the army to Reims. Without listening to the bad advice of his collaborators who were urging him to take it easy, on June 24th he arrived at Autun. From there, impatient to complete his march, followed a short cut without fear of the dangers that made the journey dangerous. Bringing only the cataphractarii (knights with horses covered by an armor) - and the balistarii (armed with crossbows), to assault, if necessary, the positions occupied by the barbarians - with this escort quickly reached Autosudorum (Auxerre), then, capturing and dispersing all the bands of German predators that infested the country, appeared before the fortress of Troyes. His presence was so little awaited that the gates of the city were opened to him after many hesitations. Finally, in a hurry, from Troyes he headed for Reims (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-2-7). Only there he was informed about the operation's plan. An armed troop, commanded by the emperor himself, had to pass the Rhine near the lake that still bears his name, and to carry out an energetic raid towards the Black Forest while the troops of Marcellus and Ursicinus would have carried out a parallel action on the side of the borders, so as to prevent the barbarians from pouring out from the Rhine into Gaul. This program was faithfully performed on both sides (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-12-15).

After a sharp attack launched against the rear of the legions - a surprise from which the Romans could defend themselves thanks to the help of the auxiliary bodies - Julianus learned that Strasbourg, Brumath, Saverne, Seltz, Spira, Worms and Mainz had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, but that they only occupied the

surroundings, so much was their reluctance to stop inside the cities, after having reduced them *"like tombs surrounded by nets."* Brumath was reconquered in the beginning, then, opened the way, he marched directly on Cologne, through a country where there was no longer a single parade ground, except for Koblenz, Remagen and a fort left standing near Cologne. The great city of the Rhineland was resumed almost without a blow (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-2-9).

Fearful of this campaign, which he witnessed as a brilliant maneuver, the Caesar resumed the road to Trèves, to spend the winter in Senones (Sens), a very important city that lent itself well to a prolonged stay (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-3-3).

His campaign of 356 had the appearance of success. In fact, it was not possible to defeat the bulk of the enemy forces, in the astutely programmed encirclement. The same fortress of Saverne, which could block one of the main routes of the invasion, it had been dismantled. In short, after the military parade that Julianus was a spectator, Gaul came to be only partially released, so that, following the winter campaigns they suffered, just as before, looting from the barbarian bands. Again it was necessary to disperse the troops in the cities of the interior, in order to ensure both the livelihood of the soldiers and the safety of the inhabitants. At Sens, Julianus could not keep his knights of his guard in tow, since their presence was too much needed elsewhere (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-3-3).

2.1.4. Julianus Revealing His Talents And Eutherius

Informed by the deserters of the weakness of the garrison of which the Caesar was available, the barbarians attacked in forces. They thought they were sure to win the garrison with a coup. But Julianus, in the face of danger, revealed his talents. The city

gates were immediately closed and the less secure points of the walls were reinforced. Day and night, at the top of the walls, the prince hastened to the various defense posts to repel, at the head of his soldiers, the assaults that were following each other without respite. Marcellus, who was encamped not far from there, refrained from bringing him help; he thought that Julianus was trapped and certainly was not saddened to see the Germans give a good lesson to the young fool, who believed himself capable of carrying out the action alone. However Marcellus was bitterly disappointed. After thirty days of vain efforts, the discouraged barbarians took the siege away (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 12-44). Marcellus's singular behavior disturbed Constantius II, who, when he was informed, hastened to recall a general who seemed so indifferent to the fate of who wore the imperial purple. Knowing how much the court was open to the delation, the commander fell into disgrace, he went there immediately. Admitted to the emperor's advice, he blamed the insolent presumption of Julianus, who - he said "*expressing himself with appropriate expression to the words*" - wanted to make wings to fly higher (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-7-1).

Some Christian writers present Constantius II as a sort of God-elect, whose victories were accompanied by apparitions of angels and illuminations of the sky, as marvelous as the legend of Milvian Bridge and the defeat of Maxentius (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 217, 221). Julianus does not mention these miracles at all, nor he does about the battle of Mursa, nor about the defense of Nisibis. Moreover, he shows that he speaks of God not as a Christian, but with the attitude towards the divine of a rhetor who desires to respect all religious opinions (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 7 B, 19 C). He also had regard for the pagan party, on which he counted in view of future eventualities, and he

could then send his friend Libanius a copy of his panegyrics, sure to be understood and approved by his ancient master.

The eunuch Euterius, made suitable, for his own qualities, to penetrate the secrets of the antechambers, could not fail to oppose the intrigues of Marcellus with an effective resistance. After being informed, Julianus's chamberlain demanded an audience with the emperor. He got it, proved the falsehoods that spoiled the report of the dishonest general. He highlighted above all how Caesar's personal intervention saved a desperate situation. *"As long as Julianus has life" he said "he will be the most loyal subject to the emperor."* Eutherius answered by swearing on his own head (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-7-3). His speech was complete, perhaps thanks to the intervention of Eusebia. Unmasked, Marcellus was sent back to Sardica (Sofia), his hometown. His place in Gaul was taken by Severus, while Ursicinus was ordered to leave for the eastern borders with his staff, of which Ammianus continued to be a part (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-2).

After these changes, in the spring of 357, Julianus was able to direct autonomously the military operations in the provinces assigned to him. He felt then "full of contentment in seeing his armies under the orders of Severus, broken to the difficulties of his profession, neither litigious nor arrogant, but ready to follow the directives of the Caesar, as a good soldier obeys his general (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-11-1).

2.2.Philosopher or soldier?

2.2.1. Count Barbation And Julianus' Victories

In the left band we saw the maneuvers in the last moments of Gallus, an officer of the imperial guard, Count Barbation, who was one of the fiercest in the attempt to ruin the young Caesar. At the time when Julianus emancipated himself from the inconvenient protection of Marcellus and became free to command the armies of Gaul as he pleased, Barbation took the place of Ursicinus with the title of commander of the infantry (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-11-2). Once again Constantius II played the double game. He increased the powers of his Caesar and, to nullify the effects of this promotion, forced Julianus to collaborate with a lieutenant so ill-disposed towards him as he had been towards his brother. In fact, Barbation behaved as if he had the mission to prevent his superior's movements any longer than those of the enemy (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 142).

Broadly speaking, the tactics adopted in the 357 campaign did nothing but follow the plan of the previous year. It was a question of launching two armies, one from the south and the other from the west, against the barbarians (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-11-3). While Julianus, after leaving Sens, marched from Reims to the Vosges, and Barbation, for its part, led an army corps of 25,000 men in the direction of Basel, the Leti of Alsace - a sort of German colonists - always ready to plunder the regions they had pledged to defend, pressed between two armies and suddenly fell on Lugdunum (Lyon). Immediately, at the news of this setback, Julianus had his cavalry occupied by the three roads through which the retreat of the looters necessarily had to be carried out. It was so clever that all the predators who returned on those roads were massacred and their booty fully recovered. Then Julianus took care of restoring the fortress of Tres Tabernae (Saverne), of which he understood the strategic importance (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 15-11-4).

As for Barbation, instead of operating in agreement with Julianus, he preferred to maneuver on his own and decided to pass his troops on the right bank of the Rhine. To this end, he began to build a bridge of boats on the river. But the barbarians, placed upstream of the river, threw into the stream large amount of tree trunks that destroyed the bridge built by the Romans (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-48). Warly defeated, Barbation perhaps thought that if he continued in the fight, he would contribute to the success of Julianus, making his failure even more humiliating, and brought back the troops. Immediately, a swarm of barbarians, anticipating with great speed the announcement of their march, they rushed to the rear of the retreating army, they pursued it to Basel and seized most of the household goods, pack animals and auxiliary service personnel. Exalted by this easy victory, the Germans then rejoined with the bulk of their troops and Barbation, *"as if he had completed the campaign in the happiest of the ways, displaced his troops in the winter quarters; then he returned to the emperor's court to prepare, as usual, some accusations against Julianus"* (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-11-14).

The humiliating defeat of Barbation, which left Julianus alone in front of Saverne, was soon known to all barbarians. The German kings Cnodomarius and Vestralpus, then Urius, Ursicinus, Serapione, Suomarius and Orarius, who had not agreed the previous year, thought it was time to join forces to annihilate the troops that Caesar had around Saverne, that is, 13,000 men in all. Without delay, ordering a lever in mass, the Germans began to cross the Rhine (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-12-1).

Instead of losing courage and being impressed by the intimidation that the arrogance of the barbarians addressed him, Julianus immediately adapted his plans for the

unexpected situation. At the beginning he let it go. He did not want a simple confrontation that would only give him a victory without consequences, but he did not even want to expose himself to the danger of being overwhelmed by the number (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-54). In the height of summer - the crops were still high - when he learned that the German kings had already concentrated a sufficient army to offer him the chance of a definitive success, he put his troops marching along the Roman road that led directly from Saverne to Strasbourg (Argentoratum) (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-3).

Arriving in front of a hilly terrain - perhaps the one that extends south of Mundolsheim - Julianus saw an enemy guard patrol, which, as soon as it was discovered, withdrew, abandoning the hill, from the top of which the Roman explorers discovered the barbarian army. The Caesar then, sheltered from this height, ordered his troops in order of battle. He placed his infantry in the middle and on the left wing, while the right wing, which would have acted in the open field, placed the bulk of the cavalry. But an enemy detachment that had hidden in some ditches - sheltered by an aqueduct - suddenly emerged from its shelter and, despite the ability of Severus, caused a slight heeling in the Roman left wing. Julianus galvanized his men with his presence, addressing each energetic words of encouragement. The intervention of his presence was enough to turn the situation upside down and paralyze the barbaric maneuver (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 143).

On the right wing, the Roman squadrons saw against them all the German cavalry, led by the feared Cnodomarius *"with the forehead encircled by a flame-red bandage, erected on a crotch horse, full of confidence in the prodigious strength of his arm*

ready to hurling a javelin of enormous dimensions” (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-12-24). To be correct for the Roman cataphractarii, he had cleverly insinuated among his knights some agile veils, ready to slip under the sides of the horses the iron harnesses, to disembowel an apparently invulnerable adversary.

Meanwhile, the cataphractarii saw their commander slightly injured when they were correcting their alignment, then one of them, whose horse had been landed, was crushed under the weight of the animal and his armor. The panic spread and the Roman knights became scattered; they would have swept the infantry in a disorderly escape, if the latter had held up. Seeing from a distance the disorientation of the cavalry, the Caesar, spurred on the horse, rushed in front of the fugitives, to bar them. The tribune of a squadron recognized him, seeing the purple dragon waving on the top of the shaft, teaching that he made his presence recognizable. Paling ashamed, this officer ran again to gather his soldiers and the order was restored (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 144).

Also in the center, at the beginning, the Germanic impulse was irresistible and the front gave way. Fortunately, Julianus had resources that he could use with great cold blood. Supported by the troops of the second row, the legionaries did not yield; the Gauls heard their barrito (it was the name of their war cry), *"preceded by a slight murmur, it gradually increases similar to the roar of the waves crashing on the rocks"* (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 15-12-43). Then the Batavi (Germanic tribe) and other bodies no less feared were thrown into the most threatened places. The enemy forces then tried one last effort. A passage opened up to the legion choice of Primani (a legio palatina of the Late Roman army) who in the battle formed what was called the Praetorian fortress. Faced with the invincible armament of this phalanx, amid the screams of the wounded and the dying, the last Germanic impulse

was shattered. The center of the Roman army was unshakable (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 144).

On the other hand, the left wing of Julianus, recovered from the first heel, progressed continuously, so that the opposing troops, immobilized across the board, at a certain point realized that their right side was about to be encircled. The Knights of Cnodomarius were disoriented by intrepid resistance that prevented them from advancing; renouncing to take the Roman infantry behind, they felt themselves in danger. Their commander, given the desperate situation, ordered the retreat. For the Germans, the game was now lost. Then began the massacre and the pursuit towards the Rhine. The fugitives drowned there by the thousands, trying to cross the current by swimming. The same Cnodomarius ended up being discovered and captured. He was sent as a trophy to Constantius II (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 279 B C, 19 C). The combat in which the army of the Confederate Germans which had been annihilated had lasted only half a day.

The number of Roman personnel was probably between 13,000 and 15,000 men; as for the opposing forces, they were probably two or three times more numerous. Ammianus says that the barbarians lost six thousand men, Libanius eight thousand. Zosimos speaks of sixty thousand killed and sixty thousand drowned (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. *Nueva Historia*. 3-3). To obtain plausible figures, it would be necessary to know what Julianus, who had a loyal, homogeneous, fiercely and magnificently equipped army, would have considered, among the enemies, as an invincible numerical superiority.

After such a success, having rejected the last invaders that were still stationed outside of Gaul, anyone would have believed that the game had been won. But Julianus,

indefatigable as he was, far from having illusions, understood that it was necessary to try to restore the Roman superiority and bring the war in the same enemy territory. At first, the army seemed ill-disposed to follow the will of its commander. But he soon convinced them with the eloquence of his persuasive word. From Saverne, the road was bravely taken for Mainz. A bridge of boats was thrown over the Rhine. The river was crossed and, while a flotilla of light boats set fire to the villages beyond the Rhine, the legions reached the heights where the Germans had been posted. Then, Barbarians continuing to retreat, huge whirlwinds of smoke signaled the reprisals that Julianus's army carried out as he passed. Barbarians continued to flee. They went back to Main (Meno) to come to the aid of their families. The Romans pursued them relentlessly, taking care of the grain and livestock of the villages they were meeting. But above all, they liberated all the countrymen they could discover from captivity (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-1-1). By force of advance, the Romans found themselves in front of the Ercinia forest. The cold became icy and trees and fields covered themselves with snow. The soldiers felt surrounded by dangers. Nonetheless, their commander always dragged them along. They penetrated the darkness of the insidious undergrowth, avoiding with long turns the fallen trees that barred their way. Finally they arrived in front of an old fort built once by Trajan and of which only the ruins remained. Repairing it and filling it with provisions, they were entrenched there. So the times of the Antoninis seemed to have returned: the legionaries occupied a post in the heart of Germany. So Julianus soon found himself in the presence of an embassy of the German commanders, who were humbly begging for peace. Needing a little "*breathing*" to bring in strong defense materials, Julianus granted a ten-month truce. Shortly thereafter, the same kings swore to him, with the ritual expressions of the barbarian oath, that they would respect and, if necessary,

supplied the garrison installed in the reconquered fort of Trajan. And their promises were punctually maintained (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-1-8).

This time Julianus was able to return to Gaul; his army, commanded by the vanguard from Severus, passed through Cologne, Juliacum (Juliers) and Maastricht (Traiectum ad Mosam), in order to then take the route of Bavai, leaving the Ardennes forest to his left. But near the Meuse, Severus came across a large group of Franks who were plundering the countries they believed abandoned to their fury. In fact, winter did not interrupt the raids of these barbarians "*who saw the snow as much as flowers*" (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-70). Surprised by the arrival of Julianus's forces, the predators took refuge in two forts abandoned on the river bank. It was the month of December. The Meuse was covered with a sheet of ice and the siege was difficult. Julianus had to content himself of a tight siege, waiting for the enemies to choose between surrender or death by starvation. Only in January, after seven or eight weeks of stubborn resistance, the Franks surrendered. Julianus sent them, chained, to Constantius II, who enlisted them in his troops, happy to recruit, so cheaply, soldiers "*strong as towers*" (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 280 C D).

Julianus's activity during this interminable campaign might seem incredible if we did not know his style, made of quick and at the same time prudent decisions. One wonders how some historians have been able, in this regard, to put forward the influence of his staff. Wanting to diminish the merits of the prince, his ancient detractors asserted that his personal "*psychological*" motivations existed. They have maintained -we know from Ammianus (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-1-14)- that the audacity of his command derives from the desire to come to

death, *"because he aspired to a glorious death in battle, for fear of having to suffer the fate of a condemned one day, as it happened to his brother Gallus."*

2.2.2. Great Soldier And Great Tactician

After all these operations in great style, in January, Julianus believed that it was time to rest, for him and his soldiers, and it is in Paris (Lutetia) that the winner of Strasbourg went to wait for the end of the bad season (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-2-4).

Despite the success of the first expeditions, Julianus knew it well, Gaul was not out of danger. To remove the possibility of revenge from the enemy, the defense of the Rhine had to be strengthened and, above all, to reoccupy the lower course of the river; having done this, ensure the procurement of the garrisons along the border; finally, for the repopulation and reconstruction of the devastated regions, obtain from the enemy the provision of food, compensation in kind and, above all, the repatriation of all deportees reduced to slavery and dispersed in inaccessible regions (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 149).

Instead of listening to the advice that urged him to buy the freedom of navigation in the waterways of Batavia, in 358, ready and determined as always, without even waiting for the convoys of food shipped from the Aquitaine, Julianus anticipated the season of military operations two months and surprised the enemy. He left Paris in May and fell on the Franks Salii settled in Toxiandria (Flanders) and had them sign a treaty in which they recognized that they were subject to the Empire and forced themselves to defend its integrity. Then he passed the Meuse, penetrating the territory of the Camavi, another Franca tribe, and he imposed his conditions on them too (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 280 A).

In order to ensure the safety of navigation, Julianus requested hostages. The barbarians objected. To which Julian replied that the vanquished had been the promoters of the war, and he demanded from them an effective security, fearing that their promises of peace were only a maneuver. Since the barbarians complained that they did not have to ask them what was impossible and that they were unable to resurrect their dignity, Julianus advanced the king's son, who had been taken prisoner, and declared that he would keep him with him as guarantor, treating him with all generosity (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-7).

Then, without wasting time, he began to garnish the lower reaches of the rivers. However it was not enough to rebuild the fortresses, it was also necessary to ensure the existence of the garrisons in charge of defending them. For this reason, given that Belgium was devastated and unproductive, it was important to rebuild the fleet, called "*British*", in order to transport the wheat from Britain to the boats of the Rhine and the Meuse. In fact, when Julianus reconquered the mouths of the two rivers, he found only two hundred vessels out of order that rotted in the ports. In just ten months, he had these old boats repaired and he had four hundred new ones built (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-82). In this way he procured a not indifferent help to Gaul. There would have been no need now to take this part of his crops and carriages to supply the defenders of the borders. To complete his task and repopulate the deserted countryside of the country, Julianus imposed on the Germans the reconstructions and repairs that were theirs and the liberation of thousands of men who held prisoners. It is the execution of this part of the program that demanded from him the most patient efforts (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 150). Before resuming his journey towards Germany, Julianus had to repress a military uprising. Having undertaken a campaign with sufficient food only

for a few weeks, forced to give up some of its rations to the detachments left as garrisons of the strong rebuilt and, not finding in the countries before him that were put too many greens to be collected, the soldiers ended up protesting. They uttered violent threats and seized it with the same Caesar: Asian, Greek effeminate (Graeculus), deceiver, imbecile pedantic, these were the epithets that were heard throwing in the ranks of the soldiers against a commander who had made him accept so well, and suffer himself, the labors of the previous campaign. Then, increasing the dose, the troop speakers accused Julianus of not having distributed either the gold or the silver of the treasures, since he had taken the lead (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-9-3). These complaints were partly founded. Julianus did not have the public treasure. Although the Minister of finance, Ursulus, had given orders to his subordinates not to refuse him anything, he had little money available, and Constantius II kept him in narrowness, more out of mistrust than economics (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-10-1). One day it was possible to realize it. A simple soldier having asked Julianus about the money to be shaved, the prince gave him only small change; this pitiful donation was enough for Gaudenzius, the spy of the emperor, to take a false accusation, based on alleged corruption of the army, seriously at court (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-9-7). To confuse the seditious, Julianus could have reminded them of the examples of resistance to fatigue he had provided. Perhaps they had not seen him so often during the campaign, eating standing up like the troops and being satisfied with a thin dish and then, at night after a short sleep, going in person to go around the guard posts, to return immediately to sit down at the work table (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 25-4-4). But it was not necessary to give much weight to the recriminations of exhausted soldiers. Julianus proved to be sympathetic and available,

and his condescension soon had the effect of calming the riot. Shortly after his army passed the Rhine on a bridge of boats, and he set foot in the territory of the Germans (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 17-10-1).

At this point it was a matter of reaching the domains of another little king, called the Ortarius. A young German was chosen, forced to act as a guide, then the army of Julianus continued his raid, mercilessly breaking down all resistance. The king was shocked by this demonstration of power. The number of the legions and the fires made him presage what his fate would be. This defeated king also pleaded for pardon and, under oath, promised to free all the prisoners (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 10-5-7).

Fortunately, Julianus had taken precautions. He had previously summoned the men in Gaul who in every city and village had escaped from the barbarians or had managed to return from captivity, and had them count all those they had seen taken away or enslaved. Each gave the name of the prisoners he knew by kinship or friendship, because they were neighbors or to have met them, and the imperial offices took note of these statements. When the German king Ortarius claimed to have maintained the promise, the Caesar mounted on a high platform behind which his chancellors had their registers. Then he had the liberated prisoners paraded before him, asking for their name and place of origin, so that the scribes could remove them from the lists. At the end, a note given to Julianus showed him how far they were from a complete restitution. Immediately the Caesar turned to the barbarians and solemnly announced to them the resumption of hostilities, since they had not come to terms. Then the scribes told him the names one by one and he repeated them aloud, enumerating also the prisoners who, for each city and village, still lacked the appeal, and added, for the most part, the place where they were detained. Astonished, the barbarians believed

that a divine force had revealed to Julianus their innermost secrets; they asked for a last extension and a few days later, all the prisoners were returned (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-4).

However, he felt himself imposing a condition which, moreover, was not the exercise of a right acquired with so many victories: he had to provide at his own expense the means and material necessary to rebuild the cities destroyed by his fury (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-10-9). It was then possible to see the wood and iron needed, says Libanius to the rebuilding of the houses, and those who, just before, whipping the prisoners, now brought them back, filling them with kindness, fearing reprisals. As for those whom the Germans said were dead, they hurried to it to check the veracity of the affections by consulting the freed prisoners (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-78).

Still in 359, Julianus had to get back to work and continue to rebuild supply stores on the ruins of those who had been burned; then he put seven cities in a state of defense, in particular Kellen, Neuss, Bonn, Andernach and Bingen, and that was then the ascendant that his popularity he had procured for him among his soldiers that the proudest of his assistants were carrying fifty feet and more on their shoulders, and lent their aid to the masons in the reconstruction of the walls (Rolfe, J. C. (1963).

Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 18-2-6).

After massing the grain convoys arrived from Britain in the warehouses, Julianus succeeded, after a nocturnal attack, to cross the Rhine again, heading towards the lands of the last recalcitrant. Vadamarius, in turn terrified, and then Urius, Ursicinus, and Vestralpus, implored peace. Their contrition, though forced, brought them peace with the usual treaties (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 18-2-18).

2.2.3. Consequences Of Julianus' Victories

One might wonder if the results obtained by Julianus, following his victories, have had long lasting consequences. In fact, a century and a half later, Siagrius was routed by Clovis and the Gauls were lost by the Empire. However, just in the Gauls, thanks to Julianus, the effect of the last invasions was singularly attenuated. The victories obtained in the North ensured the tranquility of the center and midday of those provinces and allowed the civilization to remain uninterrupted. Without its counter-offensive, the barbarians, from the middle of the fourth century, would have occupied an unpopulated Gaul. So then, if the invasions did not lead to a complete Germanization of those regions, if, in 358, Gallia found itself in the condition of being able to preserve its language and its culture, if the provinces of Belgium are on a linguistic frontier that gives them a special mission in the exchange of ideas, these results are due in part to the intelligent and obstinate energy that made the victory of Strasbourg an event fraught with consequences (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 153).

In the defense of Gallia, Julianus proved to be worthy of sympathy? Did not the Germans violence respond with too much violence? Has it not been content to oppose a better armed rapacity to their rapacity? Of course, from the strictly moral point of view, the means of pressure that he judged legitimate in war can not be recommended. However, it should be stressed, to be fair, that our humanitarian desires were what he himself felt; who did not lack idealism and who, detesting brutality at heart, did not resort to it reluctantly. We realize this by reading the instructions that he gives his officials many times to discourage violence (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 153).

He was a fervent and convinced adept of Mithraism and knew exactly what the commandments of Mithra were. This God demanded from his faithful, first of all, the courage to remain always in the place assigned to them; then, in regard to themselves, they had to practice continence and purity, since the resistance to sensuality was one of the forms of combat that the mithraic had to stand against the principle of evil. Finally, with regard to other men, it was necessary to show sincerity, loyalty, justice, and above all of humanity or philanthropy. The dream of universal brotherhood thus pleased Julianus, who found it worthy to nourish and dress even the enemies of war. Thus, what he sought, in his expedition against the Germans, was the salvation of the threatened provinces and not the annihilation or the subjugation of the vanquished; practicing the commandments of his god, he worked to treat those who were subject to him, with loyalty and concern as if they were brothers and willingly treated the Germans in the same way (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 154). At the court of Constantius II, meanwhile, the bulletins announcing the defeat of the enemies were not at all received with joy. At the beginning the Caesar was called "*Victorinus*", because, by sending his war trophies to the emperor, he did not hide that his personal intervention had been the main architect of the successes. And those successes were turned against him to ridicule him. In this regard, the courtiers pronounced only sentences impertinent: "*We have enough of the goat and its victories!*" targeting the hirsute figure of the prince. Then they gave him all sorts of nicknames: mole-chatter, purple monkey, missed Greek scribbler, teasing that the emperor enjoyed provoking and listening to. The virtues of Caesar were also impudently misrepresented as he was described as weak, timid, effeminate, a word able only to bring out his enterprises

with the its magniloquence (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 17-11-1).

2.3. Julianus in Paris

Three times in a row, after the battle of Strasbourg, Julianus spent the winter in Paris; surely he was not attracted to either pleasure or comfort. At that time, Paris did not have the resources of a capital and the residence in which the young Caesar went to live was of mediocre comfort. The Prince himself tells us that one day he was about to suffocate, because, during an exceptional frost in which the Seine was carrying "*sheets of ice similar to the Phrygian stone*", he had been forced to light a fire in the room whose plasters they were not yet dry (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). The Works of The Emperor Julian. 341 B D).

Previously the Augustis or Caesars who had to rule those regions, had more often inhabited the palace of Trèves. Constantius Chlorus was buried in this city. Constantinus and his sons, Constantinus and Constant, often stayed there. When they wished to approach the south, they usually settled in the imperial residences of Lyons, Yienne or Arles. Why did Julianus do differently from them?

Perhaps, by establishing its winter quarters in Paris rather than Trèves or in Lyon, it sought a city that, without being too far from the Rhine, was central enough to allow it to oversee the administration of Gaul and Britain. We wonder why he did not prefer Reims. Indeed, Reims was on the great road that connected Marseille to Boulogne, or, through a fork, it led to Trèves and the Rhine. But the center of the city, on the contrary, was located at a crossroads of roads leading to Rouen, Soissons, Troyes, Orléans and Chartres. In addition the waters of the Seine and its tributaries - we derive from the antiquity of the guild of boatmen - have long been used as well-frequented transport routes (Jullian, C. (1920). Histoire de la Gaule. (Vol. 6). p. 205). In the

century of Augustus, Strabon tells that the loads coming from the East through the Rhone and the Saona - navigable rivers and capable of carrying large loads - then transported on land from the Saône to the Seine, descended this river to the mouth, and thence, across the ocean, in less than a day, reached the island of Britannia. With reverse path, the pond, the cattle, the hunting dogs and the slaves from beyond the sea, after reaching the port of Lutetia, they departed from here to the East or the South (Jullian, C. (1920). *Histoire de la Gaule*. (Vol. 6). p. 236). In short, the choice of Julianus is explained by the reasons that made the capital of the Franks in Paris: the city was well protected on the land, near the point where the valleys of the Seine, the Marne and the Oise converged. Its own position was destined to become a commercial and military center (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 157).

Certainly, with his offices and his numerous officials - prefect of the praetorium, quaestor, great chamberlain, war ministers, count of the guard and other commanders of offices and services - Julianus had to feel sacrificed in that improvised residence (Jullian, C. (1920). *Histoire de la Gaule*. (Vol. 6). p. 206). But they were certainly not the comforts he dreamed of this real ascetic. With his predilection for rural places, the view that opened beyond the plains and marshes, on the tree-lined hills of the right bank, or, on the other side, the laughing aspect of the Lutetia hill, already strewn with monuments, gardens and villas, were a joy for his eyes when he had a moment of rest. In the passage in which he sketches the first description we have of the city's nascent fascination, when it boasts the mildness of the climate tempered by the West breezes and the proximity of the ocean to the point of allowing the cultivation of the vine and fig, when it speaks of clarity, of the taste, and also of the regular water level of the Seine, so much so that the inhabitants of the city could drink it, we find certain

impressions that he experienced in his "*dear Lutetia*" (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 340 D). He settled there for reasons of state, but he also found the pleasure of the simple life he could lead.

The writings of the pagan authors, one could hardly believe that Julianus was been able to succeed so well to decrease the oppression of taxation and to make more equitable judicial proceedings. With love, in a restless, woke up the trust and the energy in a country exhausted by a long series of terrible trials. Considering to be at the dawn of a new era of happiness, the people they compared his Caesar to the sun "*that spreads serenity in the sky and disperses the horror of a sad darkness*".

Winter and summer, during the military campaigns, just as in Paris, since the beginning of the day, Julianus was at work or engaged in the labours of the military. If he was having time, sometimes, he was reading Caesar, in Plutarch or other writers in what he was discovering the many aspects of the history of his country and of foreign countries; some time, drew up a report of his various undertakings; or studying the treaties of the military art; at other times, "*along the top of the most arduous of science, lifted his spirit up to philosophical speculation*" (Rolfe, J. C. (1963).

Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 16-5-5). While being in that period fully dedicated to the action, had, however, preserved a very great interest for the pleasures of the spirit.

On the other hand, he cared too much to his reputation as a lover of letters, not to show off with a certain amount of ostentation that he knew at the same time success with the weapons and with the eloquence. Libanius, which sent all his literary works, he thanked him recognizing that he was beating as if he had not had anything else to do, and that he was living in the middle of the book as if it had been on the field of battle (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 164).

Time has not destroyed everything that Julianus has written or dictated in Gaul during his hours of rest. In his treatise on war machines, we still have some line, with some testimonies which confirm the authenticity of these fragments. In the ancient tales we now have to reconstruct the unfolding of the military operations, we found traces of his memories. In addition to his good-bye to Sallustius and to the panegyrics in honour of Constantius II and Eusebia, we can still read an epigram in verse, which he composed to make fun of the claims, the virtues of bacchus beer. There is nothing better. In his correspondence we find fifteen letters, in part confidential, written while in Gaul, both to friends who are far away, and to co-workers (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 165).

2.4. The Panegyrics Of Julianus

The one for his friend Salustius is the fourth of the panegyrics composed by Julianus.

The other three were composed, always in Gaul, one for the empress Eusebia and two for Constantius II. In 356 Eusebia had expressed her gratitude for the protection she had granted him and for the interest shown for what he loved: the possibility of settling in Athens, the philosophical studies, the books received as a gift.

If the prayer for Eusebia is sincere, these can certainly not be considered the two orations dedicated to Constantius II, which nevertheless still maintain interest. In the first, composed at the same time as that for Eusebia, he painted Constantius II as "*a citizen subjected to the law, not a monarch above it*" (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 1-45 D).

The second panegyric for Constantius II was composed shortly after the victory of Strasbourg, which Constantius II had attributed to his own merit. On the other hand, Julianus admonishes himself and together guarantees Constantius II his loyalty when he recalls that "*Homer warns the generals not to react to the insolences of kings and*

invites them to endure their criticism with self-control and serenity" (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 1-50 B C).

On the other hand, however, the law arises from Dike and is therefore *"the sacred and completely divine fruit of the most powerful of the deities"*, while the king is not the *"incarnation of the law"*, but only the guardian of the divine word.

The panegyric also contains an open profession of faith, which also seems a threat:

"Often men have stolen the votive offerings of Helios and destroyed his temples: some have been punished, others have been abandoned to themselves because they are deemed undeserving of punishment that leads to repentance". According to Julianus, it is true that popular religion supports the real existence of deities, but the wise man does better, neoplatonically, to consider the deities symbolic expressions of spiritual reality and truths. Julianus concludes by inviting Constantius II not to give in to arrogance and not to give credit to the slanders of the councilors: *"What a terrible slander! It devours the heart and wounds the soul, more than iron can hurt the flesh!"*

Soon the disagreement would become manifest, whatever care Julianus put in respecting the friendship pact concluded in Milan with Constantius II.

2.5.The Death of the Augustus

2.5.1. Friendship With Doctor Oribasius

Knowing that too many people at court were determined to make him suffer the same fate as his brother Gallus, and beginning to find the insecurity of his situation intolerable, Julianus let himself be taken a little at a time by impatient ambitions.

From the year 359, we see him exchange with his doctor Oribasius significant confidences. Oribasius had told him a dream in which he had believed to recognize ominous omens for the emperor. Coming from an intimate person who, even then, had

much influence on his thoughts, this confidence stimulated Julianus's imagination. In turn he had a dream, coming from that ivory door which, according to Homer, makes only true visions pass. He wrote to his doctor that he had been transported to a large enclosure, where a very tall tree bent as if it were about to fall to the ground. From its roots rose a small flowering virgulto. In his nightmare, Julianus had trembled at the idea that this young plant, full of promises, could have been eradicated together with the big tree. A stranger had reassured him: "*When the root is planted on the ground, the small shoot will survive intact and will only strengthen*" (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 21). The meaning of the dream was clear: the root represented the lineage of the Flavii and the great tree the staggering power of Constantius II. Instead of thinking of supporting his threatened emperor, Julianus did aspire to take his place.

2.5.2. Relations Between Julianus And Constantius II

In 358, however, the relations between Julianus and Constantius II were not yet particularly tense. When the emperor rebuilt the spas of Spoleto, destroyed by fire, he magnanimously engraved on the building, next to his name, that of his "*three times victorious Caesar*" (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 170). But a year later, Eusebia died and since then his fickle spirit was left without a brake to the detractors of the brilliant Caesar who eclipsed him with the splendor of his triumphs. For their part, impatient to ruin the brother of Gallus of which guessed the secrets grudges, the informers, with Eusebius in mind, waited more than ever the opportunity propitious to harm them, and these occasions only multiplied. Paulus "*Catena*", Gaudenzius and the countless agents of the eunuch Eusebius stood with their eyes open. Not to hear anything of what was said in the East, not to suspect anything of the messages that circulated on the roads that led towards the Seine and the Rhine, their

secret police would have to prove strangely inattentive. How could he not have noticed, on the one hand, the popularity of Caesar among the Hellenes and, on the other, the curious circle of philosophers and rhetoricians who had taken Sallustius's place alongside the Gauls' defender. There was to worry about, and it was a miracle that Constantius II carelessly neglected the reports presented to warn him. Soon he was so irritated that to end up exasperating him against Julianus, they substituted for denigration a simulated admiration. The enemies of the young prince talked about the misery he had found in Gaul. And of the prosperity that had returned him. They indicated the vanquished Germans, the reconstructed cities, the liberated prisoners and the Caesar *"who was in the summer on the battlefield and in the courts in winter"* (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. 3-8). It was like turning the knife into the wound of a wounded lover; it was to give Constantius II the impression that soon there would be only praises for Caesar ready to become his competitor.

2.5.3. Problems On East And Call Of Constantius II

On October 6, 359, after losing thirty thousand men in front of the recently fortified Amida (Diarbekir) heights, the king of the Persians had conquered the city and captured the six legions that had valiantly resisted during seventy-three days. Constantius II, proud of having rejected the Sarmatians beyond the Danube, went to Constantinople to prepare the expedition of revenge that this success of the invader imposed on him for the following year. A new attack from the enemy was indeed imminent. The Roman explorers had been warned by the unanimous reports of the deserters (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-4-1).

The eastern border was quite unguarded. In order to strengthen its defense, Constantius II decided to add new contingents to the Gallic militia. During the siege of Amida, some detachments of these troops had been covered of glory for a sortie of incredible audacity. It was said of these militias that only Fortuna could have defeated them (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 20-6). Constantius II had the right to appeal to such auxiliaries, but he was too angry with his Caesar to use his right with a minimum of good grace. For more it was badly informed. In fact, he ignored the extent to which the western provinces were still exposed. In the last months of the year 359, the Pittis and the Scotis had poured into Britannia, and Julianus had to make the strait cross quickly and to send his General Lupicinus to the island with the chosen corps of the Herulis and the Batavis (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 20-1).

As if the liberator of Gaul had not deserved the slightest respect, overtaking him, the emperor sent his messenger - a secretary named Decenzius - to two subordinates of Julianus: General Lupicinus and the great squire Sintula. He asked the first to give him urgently, for the spring campaign, the Herulis and the Batavis together with the Petulants and the Celts - two other of the best auxiliary corps - and in addition a third of the rest of the staff. Sintula had to take care of taking the best of the corps, made up of Scutaris and Gentilis. As for Julianus, who was deprived of half or two-thirds of his troops, he had been ordered to leave (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: *Zósimo. Nueva Historia*. 3-8). He had been deprived of his prerogatives before the eyes of the whole army. From this moment, between the authoritarian despot and the ambitious Caesar, the fight began, and Julianus will conduct a tight game in which he will take advantage of every little error of the adversary.

2.5.4. The Mutiny And The Army Proclaiming Julianus “Augustus”

Arriving in Gaul in the month of January of 360, Decenzius at the beginning was probably disconcerted: the provisions he had to enforce were clumsy and constituted an abuse. The Germans from beyond Reno, enrolled in the Roman auxiliaries, were engaged only on the condition of never having to go beyond the Alps and their companions, for the most part fathers of families, feared shipments to distant countries (Jullian, C. (1920). *Histoire de la Gaule*. (Vol. 6). p. 221). Removing more than half of its defenders from Gaul meant that the successes with which they had just saved their homes were in vain. What to do, during the absence of Lupicinus, to present such exorbitant demands to the troops? Decentius had to resign himself to negotiating with the Caesar who had been ordered to ignore. Julianus was asked to transmit to his soldiers the mobilization order which was very likely to exacerbate them. The prince was careful not to accept this position immediately; he would also have had the right to entrench himself behind the text of the orders received and to refuse himself, leaving his subordinates to act. But it did not reach this point. He only objected that on such a serious occasion he should consult his praetorium prefect, Florentius, who was at that time in Yienne. The Caesar wrote to him, begging him to help him with his advice, but Florentius, obstinately, remained calm in his offices (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 20-4-2).

Meanwhile time was tightening. Already Sintula felt obliged to leave with the best elements of the corps. Finally, in agreement with his friends, Pentadius and Gaudenzius, Decentius pointed out to Julianus that, if he had prevaricated, he would lose, in the eyes of their lord and sovereign, the merit of spontaneous obedience and would have confirmed the worst suspicions, providing clear evidence of his rebellion; that if, on the contrary, he would acted as a faithful Caesar, the attitude of Constantius

II would once again be benevolent towards him. Julianus decided to sacrifice everything good to agree with Constantius II. He sent the emperor a letter in accordance with the suggestions of his correspondent. He could not have shown more condescending docility (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-4-3). But already the troops were in mutiny. Near the insignia or the barracks, the soldiers found incendiary pamphlets: *"They relegated them to the world as evildoers or condemned."* Again the enemy's yoke weighed on those who loved and who, at the cost of so many bloody battles, had freed from a previous slavery. "In order to calm the spirits, Julianus made it known that the women and children of the mobilized could follow them with the chariots of the imperial mail. Then it was discussed where it was convenient to concentrate the requisite troops, Decentius proposed Paris, where the presence of the authorities would have prevented any riots. Julianus first found the place poorly chosen, then, renouncing these objections that perhaps were moved only in order to see them disregarded by the distrust of the imperial agent, he joined this opinion (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-96). The dices were drawn. By gathering the militias in the residence of the beloved protector of the Gauls, Decentius had played the most suitable role to serve those ambitions he had been charged with to cut off.

In all the camps from which the troops set off to obey the orders received, only complaints were heard. Upon arrival of the troops in the suburbs of Lutetia, according to the customs, the Prince went to meet them and mounted on the grandstand set up in the Field of Mars for the great parades. With the familiarity that made the great leaders often popular, Julianus challenged those he recognized; He reminded everyone of their successes and urged them to start to reach the emperor: *"there they would have found a power as vast as they were generous and worthy rewards of their*

sacrifices." To honor the militias that were leaving for such distant countries, he gathered the commanders for a farewell feast, and invited them to introduce their requests (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 174). The affability of such a welcome increased the bitterness of regret. The officers returned to their neighborhoods complaining about the inclemency of fate that drove them away from such a benevolent boss and, at the same time, from their native country. Soon they ran to the weapons, with great noise they headed for the palace, the exits were blocked and incessant acclamations called Julian Augustus, insistently asking him showing himself (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). *Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia*. 3-9).

On that day, Julianus showed himself to the soldiers and begged them to calm down: none of them should have descended the peaks of the Alps and the rebels had his promise that they would be exonerated with the emperor. "*The great wisdom and prudence of the Augustus will know how to understand.*" Despite these conciliatory speeches increased the shouts, which were also mixed with insults. The Caesar could only give in to the riot. It was hoisted over a soldier's shield the first time a Roman emperor was carried on the shields - then, in unison, everyone proclaimed him Augustus (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 175). For to confirm the proclamation according to the usual rules, it was still necessary to place the diadem on the head of the prince. When asked by the soldiers if he had one, Julianus replied that he did not possess it; they asked him for a diadem or a necklace of Elena; to this proposal the Caesar refused to consider a female ornament unseemly to inaugurate the kingdom. It was thought then to use one of those metal chains with which the riders adorn the necks of the horses, but Julianus replied again that this badge would have been dishonorable. Eventually a spearman took off the necklace that qualified him as a sign and placed it boldly on Caesar's head. The ceremony was completed. Julianus

had the supreme power. Conforming to customs, he promised the soldiers five gold and one silver barks each. He then returned to the palace and stayed there for the whole day. He wanted perhaps to make sure that he had not been the laughing-stock of an army momentarily angry. His abrupt disappearance ran in the barracks of the Petulants and the Celts, the rumor that the newly elected had been treacherously killed. Again the soldiers went angry and invaded the palace, calling in a loud voice to Julianus. Their fury subsided only when the prince showed himself to them in the boardroom, dressed in the imperial insignia (194/Libanius, Julianic Orations 18-98, 1969). Shortly after Decenzius left Gaul to inform Constantius II of his woes, followed by the prefect Florentius who left his wife and children to Julianus. Julianus took care to send them to him with the wagons of the imperial mail, as well as he went so far as to ensure the escape of the spies and informers of whom the enraged soldiers would have wanted to take revenge in a hurried manner (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-8-4).

To the news of this revolt, the guards, who - as we have seen - were already on the march, hurried back with their commander Sintula in the head and returned safely to Paris. The next day, in front of all the troops gathered in the Field of Mars, *"more solemnly of the usual"*, he mounted on the decorated tribune of eagles, signs and banners and spoke to the soldiers with a martial voice like a trumpet call, he promised that, from that moment on, for every civil and military advancement, he would count only personal merit. *"With these words, enthusiastic, the soldiers expressed their joy by beating their shields with their spears."* In the preparation of this coup, the prince had intervened personally only with skillful timing and with some deception. Others had given impulse to the spirit of revolt (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 176).

2.5.5. The Efforts Of Julianus For Peace

It has been said that in politics, the essential thing is, first of all, to analyze the various possibilities. Julianus realized it, so much so that he wrote that "*not to foresee what we can and what we can not do is the worst of the madness*" (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 214). Faced with the enthusiasm of the acclaiming troops, he did not lose his common sense. He had indeed against him three of the four prefectures of the Empire. Under these conditions, declaring war on Constantius II would have been madness. Thus, he undertook negotiations that failed. In this regard he tried without hoping.

His messengers were well chosen. In fact, he sent a delegation composed of Pentadius, one of the spies messaging to the ribs from the emperor to watch him, and his chamberlain Eutherius, whom we have already seen to have been welcomed in a similar previous mission to court (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great*. 13-10).

The letter that these two delegates, brought from Julianus was full of concessions and deference. He offered for the war against the Persians the guards - Gentilis and Scutaris moreover, Spanish horses of high quality. Julianus confined himself to discouraging the requisition of Gallic recruits and German volunteers. For the vacant prefectures, he accepted without reserve the names indicated by Constantius II, while for the other places to be assigned, he asked permission to surround himself with men whose acquaintances he knew from experience. Far from speaking as an equal, he urged and demanded; he applauded the interests of Gaul and those of the dynasty. Finally, in his signature he only mentioned his title of Caesar. But to this open letter, according to Ammianus, he would have added another "*full of biting reproaches*" and

the tenor of these reproaches remained a mystery for all, except for Constantius II (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-8-18).

The bearers of these two dispatches struggled not a little to cross Italy and Iliria and wherever they were hindered, since nobody wanted to facilitate the emissaries of a rebel. However they managed to overcome the Bosphorus and finally reach the emperor at Caesarea in Cappadocia, at the foot of that mountain Argeos, in the shadow of which Julianus had spent the saddest six years of his youth. Constantius II, having seen the message, had a fit of fury that made the ambassadors tremble. Then he ordered them out without listening to any explanation (Rolfe, J. C. (1963).

Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-9-1).

Soon, however, the irascible autocrat recovered. From the two contradictory missives he had received, he realized that the rebel did not feel strong enough to undertake an armed uprising, but he still had a mind full of evil intentions. Since the war against the parties did not allow to launch the legions of the East against those recalcitrant of the Gauls, Constantius II, in turn, proposed to take time. However, he did not dominate enough and his response was sharp: it contained words of blame and condemnation, and imposed on Julianus officials of his choice, as if no concession had been requested. This letter of refusal was entrusted to the Police Chief Leona (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-9-3).

2.5.6. War Strategies And Footsteps Of War

It seems that he did not use any regard to Julianus. He would even invite him to remember what he owed to an Augustus who had named him Caesar after taking care of his childhood from the moment he was an orphan. *"And who therefore made me an orphan," he replied Julianus "if not the killer of my father?"* (Banchich, T. & Lane, E.

(Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great*. 13-10).

On the day after his arrival in Paris, Leona was led by Julianus to a meeting where, behind preliminary instructions, both the city's population and the troops had been summoned. Solemnly, the prince made known the invectives and provisions he had just received from Constantius II. When he arrived at the point where the pronouncement of Paris was condemned, with one voice, the audience interrupted the reading of the document to renew the contested proclamation, and to show that the city and the people of Paris shared the choice made by the army. Then Leona was asked to inform his lord of the following that the Gauls intended to give to his arrogant protests (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 179).

The correspondence between the two adversaries continued in the same tone until the end of the year (360). Among the delegates appointed by Constantius II to offer Julianus the imperial amnesty in exchange for complete submission, he was seen arriving in Paris as one of the rare Arian bishops of Gaul, Epictetus, who obviously did not get better hearing than the others (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 20-9-9).

For fear that the fighting spirit of the troops would be lost and always worried about the defense of the Rhine, Julianus decided to use the last months of the summer to cross the river and tame, with a surprise attack, the turbulence of the Actual Franks. No enemy had dared to venture into their territory due to the difficulty of the roads. Taking advantage of the barbarians' conviction to be safe, Julianus suddenly fell on them, capturing and killing many, while all others surrendered at their discretion. Then, with the same rapidity, the victor went up the Rhine and made sure of the good

condition of the strongholds to Basel; from there, he went to Besançon, where he admired the picturesque location and the proud citadel perched on a cliff "*similar to an inaccessible so to speak, promontory, to the birds themselves*". Finally, through the Saône and the Rhone, he turned back to Vienne where he established his winter quarters (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 20-9-10). Indeed, that city was preferable to Paris as it allowed to better monitor the roads of the Alps, through which Constantius II could have attempted some unpleasant surprise. On November 6th, Julianus celebrated the fifth anniversary of his nomination to Caesar in this city. During this solemnity, he showed himself "*no longer like a crowned aristocrat in a contest, with the front encircled by a ribbon or a thin circle of gold*", but exhibiting a splendid diadem of precious stones, for the first time it was seen to assume the attitude of an emperor that in order to gather around him all the good wishes in a general pacification, he promulgated a first edict of tolerance, also opposing his religious policy to that of his competitor, Aryan sectarian (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great. 13-11).

Around the same date, his wife Elena, sister of Constantius II, died without leaving children. He sent the remains of this princess to Rome and had them placed next to those of his sister Constance, wife of Gallus, in the famous mausoleum of Via Nomentana (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great. 13-11).

Perhaps the disappearance of Elena put Julianus more at ease when he threw the mask and armed himself against his brother-in-law. However, he did not give up using some simulations. During the feasts of the Epiphany, in the following January, he appeared again in the church and, like a good Christian, he prayed there publicly

(Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 21-2-5). In the wait, without changing the direction of current affairs in any way, Julianus took care to increase his strength by appealing to barbaric contingents. He wanted to "*adapt his military power to the level of his new rank*" (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 21-2-3). At the beginning of spring, moreover, he had to realize the preparations that Constantius II organized in anticipation of the clash with the Gauls. He was recruiting troops, concentrating supplies on the side of the Cottian Alps and Lake Constance, instructing his agent Gaudenzius to put the coast of Africa in a state of defense and to keep the grain of these provinces at his disposal. There was also a rumor that he had found it understood with some German commanders (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-107). As if confirming these rumors, the Germans soon emerged from the region, King Vadomarus, and began to devastate the borders of Rhaetia. Immediately Julianus threw Count Libinone against them with the Celts and the Petulants who wintered near him in Vienne. The attack was badly conducted and Libinone was killed while the men were massacred and dispersed. Soon after, in the Roman outposts one of the secretaries of Vadomarus was surprised that he carried a letter to Constantius II in which it was written that his Caesar had become an "*insubordinate*", while the king himself, in his correspondence with Julianus, never failed to qualify him as Augustus, Lord and God (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 183).

To defend himself from this disloyalty, Julianus played in turn by cunning.

Vadomarus, crossed the Reno with the security of those who can enjoy a consolidated peace, was invited to lunch by the Roman commander he had visited. But an envoy from the Caesar arrived and arrested the traitor at the end of the lunch. Vadomarus was immediately relegated to Spain. Julianus had so cheaply got rid of a dangerous

enemy. Then, in the month of May, he set about avenging Libinone's defeat. For fear that the news of his arrival would provoke the retreat of his enemies, he took advantage of the darkness and the silence of the night to cross the Rhine; he pounced on the surprised Germans and spared his life only to those who surrendered by returning the loot (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 21-4).

From this moment, he had before him the free field and, as if by pure chance and without arousing suspicion, he found himself on the road that led to the East. He knew that Illyria was unarmed: why wait to be preceded, instead of taking advantage of the opportunity? He could leave Gaul, knowing it is protected by a series of renovated and well-supplied fortresses. Without any hesitation, Julianus went to war.

It was at the beginning of July: the days were long and the roads were dry. The speed in such enterprises being decisive, the daring strategist scarcely protected himself against the ambushes that Italy could have put on his right side, and gave the signal for the march towards Pannonia (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 21-5,8).

To speed up the advance of his forces and make them, so to speak, omnipresent, he divided them into three corps. Two trusted generals, Nevitta and Giovinus, directed the bulk of the troops, two contingents of ten thousand men each. The first would take the road of Rezia and Norico, between the Alps and the Danube, while the second would cross the upper Italy. Julianus, with a vanguard of three thousand chosen men, would have taken the direction of the Danube, through the Black Forest (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: *Zósimo. Nueva Historia*. 3-10). Upon hearing of his arrival, Taurus, prefect of Italy, fled as if facing a foreign invasion; in great rides he reached the Alps and also dragged his colleague from Illyria, Florenzius, into a panic (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 21-9-3). Meanwhile, Julianus

overcame the obstacles scattered along the road whose route ran between woods and mountains, and advanced burning the stages. Finally, it reached the Danube at a point where, probably due to its provisions, a whole transport flotilla (fleet of ships) was concentrated. Embarking the men, the river descended almost by sails and oars, almost anticipating the course. They were in Bononia (Bonostor), halfway between the mouth of the Drava and Sava, nineteen miles north of Sirmio (today Mitrovica) (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. Nueva Historia. Nueva Historia, 3-10).

Sirmio (Mitrovica), capital of the Illyrian prefecture, was the key to the East. Near this great stronghold, to defend its entry, General Lucianus had hastily concentrated all the troops he had in the neighborhood and Julianus immediately sent a detachment of light infantry with the order to lead him. Lucilianus was asleep; awakened by the noise made by the assailants, he saw himself surrounded by unknown warriors, thrown on the first available horse and led before the usurper (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 184). Then he marched towards the city and, in the suburbs, he heard himself proclaim Augustus by the inhabitants and the soldiers who had gone to meet him with torches and flowers. The garrison of Sirmio, who surrendered so easily (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 21-9-6), was immediately sent by Julianus to Gaul.

On the day after his entry to Sirmio, in his joy, Julianus wanted to offer the people a party. Reproaching abominable the games in which people could see the blood of the gladiators or prisoners left in the grip of wild beasts, organized a chariot race. Then, after the corp of Nevitta had come to give him reinforcements, he resumed the march along the great road that led to Constantinople. He occupied Naisso (Nisch), and, just

beyond this city, a step whose slopes, on the side of Thrace, they were barely accessible (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 21-10-2).

Still on May 8th, 361, as if nothing unusual had happened, the laws were proclaimed under the names of Constantius II Augustus and Julianus Caesar (Pharr, C. (Ed). (1952). *The Theodosian code*. 2-20-1). But soon, worried by the bad news coming simultaneously from Persia and the Danube, the emperor began to no longer know which of his enemies he had to face first. All indicated that his fortune was in decline and difficult moments were approaching. Visions disturbed his nights and, in his intimate outbursts, complained that he no longer felt the presence of his guardian angel at his side (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great*. 13-11).

2.5.7. The Death of Constantius II

Suddenly, when he learned that Shapur, frightened by bad omens, had retreated, Constantius II was seized with new energy. Immediately he decided to mobilize all the means of the imperial mail to launch his troops in the direction of Thrace. However, to trap Julianus, as he promised himself to do, the season was too late and he himself was too overwhelmed by worries and from insomnia (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 21-13-2).

Starting from Antioch for Asia Minor, he was already assaulted by the first symptoms of fever in Tarsus. Accustomed to fatigue, he believed that the march would put him back and then proceeded along a difficult path to Mopsucrene, the last station in Cilicia. But, shortly thereafter, the fire that had buried itself in his veins made him burn his body. According to Ammianus, they still heard him, in a moment of lucidity, designate Julianus as his successor, but a gasp immediately cut off his voice. After

long agony, he died on November 3rd (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). Sozomenus. Ecclastical History, 5-1-6).

After embalming and depositing his remains in a coffin, Jovianus - who one day would have succeeded Julianus, but who at the time was a simple bodyguard - received the order to transport the deceased emperor with great pomp until Constantinople where he had to be buried next to his family. The troops followed, armed and arrayed as if Constantius II still had to conduct them in battle. Sitting on the chariot leading to the deceased, Jovianus saw himself present along the road, as was usually the case with the sovereigns, a sample of the food destined for soldiers and horses of the public post, while the ever-growing crowd gathered in his passage: they were like many omens of his future greatness, *"greatness that had to be illusory and vain, "says Ammianus,"* as the honors rendered to the conductor of a funeral procession (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 21-16-20).

Constantius II, following the example of his father, had himself baptized on his deathbed, and the memory of his piety followed his casket by a procession of Christians carrying torches, and sang songs day and night for the rest of his soul. Meanwhile, in Naisso, Julianus worried about his friends in Asia and was not at all sure of the success of the company. To put an end to his anxieties, he constantly prayed and questioned the gods. He wrote so much, so much so that his secretaries struggled to keep up with the dictation of the various messages (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 53, 55).

All happened in the space of a few weeks. Already in the middle of November, some knights showed up at Naisso, with a message from the East army. After Constantius II had closed his eyes, his own chamberlain Eusebius and the other personal enemies of

Julianus had tried in vain to oppose him of the competitors. The senior officials and the commanders of the troops had resigned themselves to the coup d'état in Paris and officially announced to the new Augustus the death of his cousin, as well as the submission of the provinces of Asia and did not ask that he obey the heir of the dynasty (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*.18-117).



3. JULIAN AUGUSTUS

3.1. From Naissos to Constantinople

After the death of Constantius II, Julianus showed no joy. Around him, at first, he doubted the message announcing the sudden disappearance. Was it a plot? To see clearly, the prince had to pull out of a box the oracles that had predicted this transition, finding it written that the success of his cause would be "*pure blood*". Then, the idea of such a sudden end filled him with emotion; during a crying crisis he asked where Constantius II's body was found and if the supreme honors had been returned to him; then he ordered a public mourning, as usual, and he himself respected him (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-2-2).

Julianus, having learned from the experience of many enterprises what advantage he gained from speed, immediately gave orders to march towards Thrace. The banners are raised, and the slopes of the pass quickly descend, Julianus, with all his army, heads for Plovdiv. Feared on land and at sea, without any obstacle opposing him, the new emperor is already in Eraclea Perinto, on the shore of the Propontis (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-2-3).

When the news of his arrival reaches Constantinople, the whole population, of every sex and every age, leaves the walls, as if to meet a messenger from heaven. Julianus makes his solemn entry into the city on 11 December, hailed by the respectful tribute of the Senate and by the applause of the people, happy to celebrate the first emperor born in Byzantium. An incredible turnout of troops and citizens escorted him, while the looks of the people were focused on him with a deep admiration. Immediately, in competition, the cities of the Empire sent him delegations to congratulate and present him with gold crowns, and instructed their speakers to communicate to him with all confidence their votes. The cities which were not immediately granted this

satisfaction were rare (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 367 C D).

As soon as he installed himself in his capital, Julianus decided to assist in person to the Constantius II funeral. He deployed all his troops and himself descended to the port to meet the sumptuously decorated coffin that carried the remains of the late emperor from the other side of the Bosphorus. Julianus cried, his head uncovered, and his shoulders covered by the chlamys he had once from his cousin. He placed himself at the head of the procession; he led him to the crypt of the Holy Apostles and allowed the Senate to confer upon the new Divus the honors of the apotheosis (230/Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History*, 10-15, John Selby Watson, 1886). Granted to a Christian prince and to the head of the party that Julianus considered as the very proponent of atheism, this other tribute could not appear, in his eyes, just a useless concession to custom. Perhaps he was thinking of this deification of Constantius, the day when he jeered at some jokers who, for such ceremonies, built gods as toy makers made dolls (Wright, W. C. F. (Ed.). (1923). *The Works of The Emperor Julian*. 332 D).

3.2. The Court of Chalcedonia

Compassionate towards the late emperor, Julianus was however inflexible towards the "black souls" of his advisers. After the investigation conducted by the magister equitum Arbizione, a tribunal gathered in Chalcedonia and, chaired by Salustius, condemned the chamberlain Eusebius, the delectors Paolus Catena and Apodemius to death penalty - the latter two were burned alive – the comes largitionum Ursulus (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 22-3-2), the former prefect of Gaul Florentius, who nevertheless managed to escape (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus*

Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-7-1), and the officials Gaudenzius and Artemius, while Taurus got away with the exile in Vercelli and Pentadiua was acquitted.

At the same time he established the court staff to the minimum necessary: drastically reduced the notaries, the staff of the bureaucracy, dismissed eunuchs, confidants and spies - the agents in rebus and the so-called curious - at the chancellery called Massimus's brother, Ninfidianus, and his collaborators they were Salustius, Euterius, Oribasius, Anatolius, Mamertinus and Memorius. In addition to his spiritual guides Massimus and Priscus, he entertained or invited to court his old masters Mardonius, Nicocles and Ecebolius, Uncle Julius Julianus, the Christians Cesarius, doctor and brother of Gregorius di Nazianzo, Aetius and Proeresius. His military lieutenants were the magistri equitum Jovianus, Nevitta and Arbizione, and the magister peditum Agilone, a german (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-3-1).

The Court of Chalcedon was quick: it finished the work in a few weeks (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-3-4) and abstained, so it seems, from meddling in religious affairs. In fact, among the convicted persons, the hagiographers did not find martyrs.

3.3. The Court Reform

Treasurers, chamberlains, butlers, waiters, bodyguards assigned to the sacred person of the sovereign, from Diocletianus onwards, all this Roman imperial court, together with the adoration of a deified autocrat, reproduced the environment of the Sassanids and their courtly hierarchy. Stunned by the success reported by those restorers of Persian grandeur, the Illyrian emperors tried to assert their power by surrounding themselves with a crowd of officials and attributing the authority of an Orientalized theocracy. It has been said that Caesarism, once founded on the will of the people,

then seemed on the verge of becoming a sort of Caliphate. Constantinus himself, with great scandal of the Christians, let his images be made into an idolatrous cult, and his son Constantius II, like him, was attributed a superhuman majesty. He gave kisses to the purple during the hearings granted sparingly and, in his wagon, in the public parades in which he deigned to show himself, he imposed the rigidity of a statue *"without ever turning his head and eyes, as if the neck had been held in place by two slats"*. His palace, covered with precious marbles and golden, it was full of cooks, barbers, cup-bearers and eunuchs that crowded around his person *"like the flies around the shepherd in the first heat"*. The ornaments or the service of his table demanded the most refined treats: *"birds and fish coming from the most distant climates, fruits out of season, snow in summer and roses in winter"*. The court cost the state more than the legions and, taking advantage of the sumptuous vanity that multiplied them, thousands of parasites were scattering the finances of the Empire (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 15-5-18).

Julianus often reread the thoughts of a prince he had taken as a model (Marcus Aurelius). Like him, Julianus slept on the ground and just gave himself what was necessary. An enemy of luxury, a good administrator of public money, he had decided to bring the Roman world back to its ancient traditions of simplicity and to put an end to the ruinous and degrading waste that caused its ruin. As soon as he entered the palace of Constantinople, the new emperor drove away the tide of obsequious servants who crowded him. The purge was radical and Ammianus did not judge it too well. He says that there were several honest people among the servants and that, depriving so many old servants of their employment, meant weakening the new power by creating too much discontent (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-14-1). But this time, Ammianus appears less sensible than usual. In this

circumstance, Julianus did not punish, but abolished a regime. When you want to implement a reform, the most dangerous policy is the one that makes exceptions: to save one, to exasperate others.

Julianus retained only a court reduced to the minimum necessary. It is said that one day, having to cut off his hair, he saw a richly dressed man appear before him: "*I asked a barber,*" he said, "*and not a financier*" (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-4-9). In his desire to save money, he also considerably reduced the staff at his service. For his stationery he was content with four secretaries and seventeen agents were enough to bring orders; moreover, he took from these messengers the role of spies and (curious) policemen who had made them so fearful during the reign of Constantius II (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 11-58).

As he cleared the court of so many parasites, the philosopher emperor also suppressed the Asian ceremonial in the midst of which the vainglory of Constantius II had been basked. He wanted to return to the republican sovereignty of the Antonines, "*that sort of magistrature*" in which the emperor retained the character of a simple private citizen.

After having dismissed many unworthy officials, Julianus had many appointments to make. Initially, he tried not to change the powers of the prefects, vicars and governors, as well as the administrative frameworks created by Diocletianus and Constantinus. Considering that it was perhaps more important to choose men well rather than define their powers minutely; wishing, at the same time, to favor education, he dedicated himself, to compose his entourage, to search for the best people, who had distinguished themselves in letters or in philosophy, replacing them with the army of courtiers, spies and low-level informers who had been at the service

of Constantius II. Libanius makes us understand the importance attributed to this reform by the most enlightened environments. Congratulating Sallustius - Prefect of the East - for his participation in these new criteria of choice, Libanius tells him:

"While before the promotion was granted to the stenographers because they had the hand agile and our students were humiliated, you have honored the letters, granting advancements to the men of culture, and at the same time you filled our schools with a youth that the hope of honors was fervent towards the study" (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 202).

And so Julianus prepared a famous rhetorician and lecturer, Ninfidianus, brother of Massimus d'Epheusus (Giangrande, J. (1956). Eunapius. Vitae sophistarum. 497), at the Greek Chancery, and surrounded himself with well-educated and honest collaborators; Oribasius, Eutherius, Mamertinus, Anatolius, Sallustius, Remembrance: among his high officials there are only men who honor his perspicacity in his choice. Desiring to make all men of goodwill participate in his restoration work, he even offered jobs to some Christians. And he managed to keep close to him for a while not just the doctor Cesarius, brother of Gregorius of Nazianzo, but we are also in possession of the text of a note in which a postal wagon is offered to make it come to court. We have another correspondent, if not to Basil of Caesarea, certainly to a Christian who had had relations with the circle of Constantius II, and there is still another, written to the sophist Proeresius of Athens, in which Julianus, without getting to the point to formally invite him to join him, he sends him attractive greetings (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 37). One can not reproach him for having acted with the ingenuity of a vain man or with the eccentricity of a deranged one, as some are portrayed. His choices could sometimes be misled by professions of philosophy or wrong

recommendations; always however, they were meditated or nobly inspired; he rejected some proposals without being led astray by the adulation that accompanied them, and sought with extreme care the talents and skills whose fame seemed to be justified. Preferably, he turned to men of a certain age and experience and with the risk of seeing them take on airs of superiority towards him. To attract those who invited, he promised the utmost freedom of speech and even the right to make him, if necessary, of reproaches (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 59, 64). Oribasius, the physician of the prince, once pointed out to him that one should not let his anger glint in his eyes and words *"See, then"*, replied Julianus, *"if you have to give me this excellent advice once more"*.

However, not all those who were invited responded to his appeal. Some escaped immediately by calling unfavorable forebodings, others soon took a pretext for their state of health in order to get back home. Politics had ceased to interest pagan intellectuals for a long time, and Julianus's ambitions appeared to be of such a nature as to provoke terrible struggles (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 203).

3.4. The Edicts of Tolerance

3.4.1. Dying Religion And Misery Of The Pagan Priests

When Julianus took power, the situation of paganism was not yet desperate, but appeared very compromised. In the East, already under Constantinus, a changed attitude had allowed many temples to be sacked and Constantius II, with a series of laws (Pharr, C. (Ed). (1952). *The Theodosian code*. 16-10-2), could ruthlessly strike what remained of the ancient official religion. To his advisers it seemed that he did not risk triggering off too dangerous reactions when, with excessive zeal, at one time, his edicts prohibited the sacrifices under the death penalty and ordered the closure of

all the sanctuaries. This severity did not naturally remain without effect. In Egypt and in Asia the monuments of idolatry were demolished. Often, the marbles were sold to manufacturers of lime; and it was the same for the pagan sepulchres: no longer being protected by the cult of the Mani, they were destroyed to be able to use the materials (Pharr, C. (Ed). (1952). *The Theodosian code*. 9-17-2). This looting assumed such proportions that the emperor himself had to intervene to protect the buildings that served, outside the city walls, in games or ceremonies considered neutral (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 18-114, 116). The altars were almost all deserted, most of the pagan priests and their helpers lost most of their earnings: perhaps many stopped carrying the title of those functions that seemed now lacking in prestige and reasons to exist.

As the sanctuaries of the Gods were closed, their riches, now available, became an easy prey for greed. One can also think - and the legislation of Julianus will prove it - that many municipalities in Asia, if not in Greece (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 18-23), tolerated or even encouraged looting. Already Constantinus had exposed, in the streets and public squares of his new capital, an entire collection of divine statues taken from the most famous cities. Emboldened by similar examples, in various places, some private citizens adorned their homes and gardens with works of art in front of which there were no more devotions, and many precious pieces - vases or sarcophagus - passed from the treasures of the temples to those of the churches. The real estate that the proscription of games, festivals and all the other splendors of pagan worship made free, had the same fate. After the greed of the officials of the court or of simple private individuals, that of the taxman played its part, and where influential and zealous bishops had to

find resources for their work, the assets of the deceased gods were assigned to these pious foundations (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History. 5-5-3). Without an extra income, the priests became beggars. Resigned to every kind of compromise, the poor and the evil of the bunch, in many countries they exercised their zeal only to solicit alms of the powerful. As soon as he arrived in the city where a senior official resides, they rushed to meet him and, without fearing to desecrate their religious insignia, they performed on the streets with their priestly ornaments. To escape poverty, they did discredited work, then went to the theater to look for the forgetfulness of their misery, attending performances that had nothing edifying. They could also be seen attending coachmen and coaches, drinking in taverns and entertaining the public with licentious chatter. Some committed worse infamies, to the point of being given by magistrates a discharge of lashes. They did not show themselves in the open temples except when it was absolutely necessary, and they did not think very little of invoking the gods every day. When, during the functions, they still had to intone sacred songs, betrayed by memory with great scandal of the devotees, they sometimes remained open-mouthed. Their decline ended sadly to discredit paganism. It was time to act, if one was still wanting to revive the ancient world together with his more venerable traditions (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 211).

Julianus knew he was impulsive and his teachers had taught him to be wary of his vehemence. He was used to curbing enthusiastic impulses thanks to prudent attendance. He certainly promulgated his first general edicts in religious matters not before the last days of the year 361 (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-3-1). Concerned with respect for the traditions, he had to restrict himself for the moment to proclaim that everywhere - without fear - one could resume and

continue the ancient cult of the gods who had made the grandeur of Greece and the Empire. If the legislator mentioned the innovations of Constantius II or rather those of Constantinus (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 227 C, 228 C D), it was only to indicate that those provisions could not prevent the patriots from returning to the noble customs of their ancestors; they could demand from Christians a tolerance that reason and respect for the past also required them to practice. It is clear that, at the same time, Julianus made legal not only the official cults of the cities and the initiations of the mysteries, but also the most suspicious practices of all sorts of magicians, sorcerers, astrologers, soothsayers or charlatans who made nightly and secret sacrifices. In fact, in the eyes of the Greeks, all this barbaric charlatanism had the right to invoke the patronage of tradition (Zósimo, H. N. (1992). Candáu Morón, JM: Zósimo. *Nueva Historia*. 4-3).

In all that he does - it is not excessive to repeat it - Julianus presents a singular mixture of daring audacity and meditated calculation. After all, the return of paganism risked provoking violent opposition: to prevent such a danger, the emperor at his first edict followed a second measure that testifies his cunning.

The amnesty granted to the proscribed, with the proclamation of universal tolerance that had to accompany it, is in conformity with all that Julianus did, said and wrote during his stay in Constantinople. In abolishing the exile sentences that had multiplied due to dogmatic matters under the reign of his predecessor, Julianus was guided by considerations in which not everything was perfidious. He wanted to become popular and sincerely wished to make peace reign among the cities of the Empire, abolishing all constraints (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 75, 195). He was believing that, to revive the old fervor, it would be enough to give back to the gods the freedom to exercise their

beneficial action and that in a short time Hellenism would regain more vigor than ever. In the cities, numerous and influential men of culture shared his hopes and believed in a rebirth.

The illusions grew and soon they saw - even in the most Christianized cities - the public buildings and the milestones along the roads covered with acclamations and commemorative inscriptions in honor of a prince "born for the good of the State, always invincible, perennial triumpher, destroyer of past vices, ruin of superstitions, restorer of the temples and of the reign of freedom. Despite the vandalism that has crushed all the memories of the ephemeral reign of the Apostate, everywhere, in Arabia, in Syria, in Magnesia del Siplylo, in Laso in Caria, in Pergamon in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in Mursa in Pannonia, in Northern Italy, in the Alps and up to the end of the country of Numidi, the tributes to the generous author of the edicts of tolerance were found, engraved on Stones (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 213).

However, these edicts could not be accepted with unanimous satisfaction. In the regions that were beginning to evangelize - like Gaul - and where the old pagan cults had not ceased to be practiced, these degrees remained inoperative. Not even in Rome, where Constantius II had not at all disturbed the privileged situation of polytheism, where he had admired the splendor of the Pantheon remained intact, where he had also appointed nobles to the priesthood, providing also the expenses of the ancient ceremonies, the reaction did not have anything subversive. He only returned legality to a state of affairs which the Christian persecution had just dented (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 16-10-14).

On the contrary, for the enterprise of Julianus, the situations of Constantinople presented complications and, at the same time, particular facilities. The pagans did not

have to be numerous in the city founded by Constantinus. But because he resided there Julianus with his troops safer, and the episcopal seat was occupied by a court prelate, Eudossius, whose ductility marvelously favored the caution, the city had to remain rather calm. Nevertheless, some accidents could not be avoided. We know the noisy scene that was made to the Apostate by an old bishop of Chalcedon, an Aryan named Maris, who barred him from a statue of Fortune to which he was about to offer a sacrifice. Treated as a wicked and a renegade before the people, accused of atheism, the emperor refused to punish the one who insulted him; he contented himself with taunting the old man because he had lost his sight and "*Galileo*" had not healed his eyes (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). Sozomenus. Ecclastical History. 5-4-8).

Julianus was forced to erect, at a high cost, new temples in the capital, since there were only few. As a result, they did not have to suffer many lootings. Even this situation spared the administrators of the city of one of the greatest difficulties of the reaction: namely the need to put an end to usurpations and make the necessary repairs. The only measure of this kind that was used, it seems, consisted in giving back to the Novatian land that had been taken away from them. Elsewhere it was not the same thing. It was necessary to demand many repairs and these claims led to the first conflicts (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 213).

Desiring to lighten the burden of taxes and save the resources of the Empire, Julianus could not think of erecting new buildings everywhere. Moreover, the prestige of the ancient sanctuaries represented, in the eyes of the reaction, a force to which it would have been ungodly and inopportune to renounce. Of course Julianus had to order many buildings; in a law of 29 June 362 it is seen to intervene again to facilitate them (Pharr, C. (Ed). (1952). The Theodosian code. 15-1-3), but it could not be dispensed from rendering the desecrated temples to their former destination. At the same time,

demands were made to those who had taken possession of the monuments, the columns, of precious vases or statues, or the immediate return of stolen goods or an equivalent indemnity. A panegirist of the emperor tells us that the columns were seen returning to their place, "*some carried on ships, others on wagons*" (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works.* 18-126).

These claims did not have anything confessional; the benefit was generally offered to the various sects that had been persecuted under previous kingdoms (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien.* p. 110, 112). Nonetheless, Julianus met different resistances. The indemnity that was claimed to impose on Christians, the same information that they wanted to obtain from them, would have been, according to them, a concession to idolatry. Many of them refused to lend themselves in any way to the restoration of polytheism. They insisted not to pay, not to talk, not to betray. The governors, wanting to avoid conflicts, closed their eyes. So there had been the need for Julianus to pass from the city of Tarsus for a priest of Aegean in Cilicia, to obtain from the local bishop the return of the columns taken from the great temple of Asclepius (Banchich, T. & Lane, E. (Ed) (2009). *The History of Zonaras: from Alexander Severus to the death of Theodosius the Great.* 13-12). Sometimes the pagans themselves judged it more prudent not to require anything. According to his admirer Eunapius, it was hardly noticed in his province that the temples had been rebuilt and reopened.

3.4.2. Civil War Between The Christians And Pagans

In many places, however, there was too much zeal and, for this very reason, a first list of martyrs began to appear. Gregorius di Nazianzus has dramatized the condemnation of the most famous of them, Marcus di Aretusa. However, nothing proves that before

June 362, Julianus had pushed his officials or resorted himself to violent measures. Libanius expresses himself as if, in the case of Marcus di Aretusa, the emperor had intervened to prevent the rebel Christian from being condemned to death. The city of Caesarea of Cappadocia had tolerated the destruction of the temples of Zeus and Apollo; only in the second half of the year 362 - after the seditious demolition of the Altar of Fortune had placed the authorities in front of the scandal - Julianus decided to intervene and inflict an exemplary punishment to the rebel city (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 214).

Julianus was accused of ineptitude, and some modern authors seem almost to teach him a lesson, explaining what he should do to simplify his task. According to them, in this circumstance it would have been wiser to compensate the owners of the assets taken from the Gods. Since Julianus decided to behave differently, it is reasonable to suppose that he had reasons to take severe measures. The treasure was not inexhaustible and furthermore, showing too many concerns towards those who had devastated the temples, would resort to compromises that would have produced only discontent (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 215).

The zeal of the restorer of paganism may have seemed lukewarm or too slow to some impatient. From many parts it was preceded and superseded by the fanaticism of populations tenaciously linked to their ancient cults. Especially in Syria and in Phenicia, in Gaza, Ascalona, Eliopoli, Aretusa, the partisans of the ancient beliefs rose up against the devastators and the profaners of their temples. After seeing the Christians plunder the sacred treasures and tear down the altars, the pagans were assailed by fury of retaliation. Sacked churches, tortured priests, raped virgins, odiously smeared sacred vessels, parodied sacraments, and with which festivities, in

these countries, the champion of toleration saw the people rejoice in its coming to power (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 228).

It is true that these horrible scenes are described by Christian historians, but they do not seem to have exaggerated much. In some letters of Libanius and also of Julianus there is confirmation of their stories.

In Bostra, a city in Arabia Petrea, where, under Constantius II, the fury of the destroyers of idols had particularly raged, Julianus sent as governor a zealous pagan, named Beleus. This old professor of rhetoric took his mission as a restorer of Hellenism and very seriously he rigorously applied the edicts that restored the sacred buildings. Once Libanius had to sponsor with him the cause of an old magistrate of Constantius II - the Christian Orion - persecuted as a destitutor of temples. Many times Libanius was forced to intervene with the authorities not to demolish entire houses under the pretext of recovering materials from a temple. It rejoices in the restoration of paganism, but blames violent actions. He asks that the owners in good faith be left alone. *"The gods are not lenders without heart at all, when they are given what is due, they do not demand the strangling of the debtor"* (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 215).

Many evidences, recently discovered, of the long survival of Egyptian idolatry, explain the violence of the conflicts that erupted in Alexandria after the advent of the Apostate. The place of the Bishop Athanasius, in this city, had been occupied under Constantius II by the Aryan Georgius, a dishonest character that Julianus had known in Cappadocia. Georgius had become very unpopular for his arrogance and his annoying ways. As soon as the magistrates had announced to the people the death of Constantius II and the seizure of power by Julianus, immediately the pagans of Alexandria rose against Georgius. With great fanfare they attacked him as if to kill

him instantly. Then, having returned to themselves, they were content to imprison him. But shortly thereafter, early in the morning, they rushed to his prison, killed him, carried his body around on a camel, burned it and threw its ashes into the sea. Two senior Christian officials, Draconzius, prefect of the mint, and Count Diodorus, *"dragged with ropes tied to the legs, were massacred at the same time as Georgius: the first to have demolished a recently erected altar in the Mint building to which he had been the second, because, supervising the construction of a church, had cut the curly hair of many children, judging it as a sign of consecration to the cult of the gods"* (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-11)

These wild reprisals took place on December 24, 361, on the eve of Dies Natalis Solis Invicti, the great solar festival of which the Christmas took its place in the calendar. At the news of this crime, Julianus was indignant and thought to condemn the guilty to the extreme torment, but then let himself be persuaded by his Council, and considered it appropriate to send to the inhabitants of Alessandria a letter that, despite the vehement tone of the reproaches, did not give the killers the impression of anger too terrible. First of all, the emperor gets angry with the whole city as if, as a whole, he had taken part in the excesses that he wanted to condemn. Then he tries to explain to his coreligionists in Alexandria that he too understands and strongly feels the gravity of the provocations that caused the riots. He speaks almost as if he was one of them. Finally, after having blamed them with strong motivations, the letter ends with kind expressions of farewell. It is the first document in which we see Julianus, oblivious to his philosophical tolerance, proclaiming that paganism has returned to the state religion. However, he still refrains from ranting against Christianity. He has not even a word of blame against the legislation of Constantius II, which had provoked the excesses of which the Alexandrians wanted to take revenge. In fact, all

responsibility for violence is borne unjust of the bishop and the brutality of Governor Artemius. Almost excusing his predecessor, he cleverly puts him out of the case. He could not ignore the fact that Athanasius's partisans were suspected of having stirred up the agitations; yet, instead of treating them with the acrimonious tone that it will later assume in similar cases, it does not even mention the "*Galileans*" (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 69).

The Alexandrians received this epistle in January of 362. A few weeks later - on February 4th the ordinance was posted in the city that ordered to return to the idols, to the intendants of the temples and to the public finances what had been taken away from them in previous periods. It was then that all the objects that had been removed were brought back to the Serapeum, especially the measure that was used to mark, each year, the level reached by the flood of the Nile, and which was placed in a Christian basilica (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History*. 5-3-3).

3.4.3. Julianus's Rage Against The Christians

During the first months of his reign Julianus proved to be reasonable, forgiving and tolerant. Always master of himself, the young emperor strove to realize the ideal of the sovereign devoid of passions and able to ally philosophy with the Kingship. He remained faithful to the spirit of his "Letter to Themistius". But starting from the spring of 362, irritated by the continuous contrarities, he yielded to new influences. The sectarianism of the theocrat was substituted for the prudence and moderation proper to the enlightened monarch. Shortly after the death of Constantius II, impatient to see his old master again, Julianus had asked Maximus of Ephesus to join him in Iyria (Giangrande, J. (1956). *Eunapius. Vitae sophistarum*. 476, 501). But the neo-Platonic theosopher decided to leave his retreat only at the beginning of the following

year, after another more pressing convocation. The announcement of his departure made a loud noise. On his arrival, Julianus interrupted a discussion in the Senate he assisted, and ran to meet him, embraced him and introduced him with all the honors in the meeting room (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 22-7-3). In a short time Massimus gained much influence at the court.

When Julianus, in his moments of perplexity, consulted the two pontiffs (Priscus and Crisanzius) rushed to his appeal, especially a topic gave him concerns. To make the favor of the gods to the Empire and the continuity of its traditions to the State, the prince had constantly had to offend Christians. How to reclaim the columns and the treasures of the temples, how to put on the coins and banners the pagan symbols that the monogram of Christ had replaced, how to venerate, alongside the imperial images, the divine figures without giving to see to impose the idolatry army, to justice and to the administration? In the face of the revolts that threatened to multiply, both with the impatient Hellenes and with their looted opponents, how to take the right measures? Was it possible to respect the two cults that the new kingdom wanted to bring back to the pre-Constantinian situation (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 240)?

On June 7th 362, in all the cities a law was promulgated which, although apparently neutral, was in reality a veritable declaration of war on Christianity. For all the appointments in public education, the law limited itself to demanding from the municipal senate a decree confirming the morality of the candidates. Only that this decree had to be approved unanimously by the most competent curial and then obtain, except in Rome, the ratification of the emperor. Now, the explanatory circular of the law indicated what Julianus, in this circumstance, intended for good morals. Taking advantage of the attacks launched in the past by the apologists against pagan

literature, and refusing to conceive of an absurd fable as mythology, full of inspired symbolism in his eyes, he found it arrogant that the "*Galileans*" claim to use the authors classics in their lessons. We could not - he said - that entrust the education of the young people to masters of unquestionable honesty. Thus, to show admiration for writings - like those of Homer and Hesiodes - where only a fabric of diabolical inventions was perceived, was lacking in logic and consistency; so we sold ourselves for some drachma and it was unworthy to teach (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 72).

The Christian grammarians therefore had to choose ages between the church and the school, between the cult of the gods of Homer and the threat of dismissal. Some famous masters preferred to lose the place rather than to abjure. Others took an even more meritorious decision. They tried to replace the classics with new models. Because Julianus referred them to their Holy Scriptures, they took him at his word. They put the Bible in verse, composed epics, tragedies, edifying comedies, even odes in imitation of Pindar, and the meetings of Jesus with the disciples were presented in the form of Socratic dialogues.

As for Christian students, still attending schools transformed into paganism seminaries, they would have compromised their faith and caused a scandal. Thus, the historians of the Church, characterizing the law according to the effects, could affirm that it forbade "*the sons of the Galileans*" the study of the Greek authors (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclastical History*. 5-18-3).

So he carried out a persecution that, without being bloody, was risking becoming dangerous. In the fourth century, the Church was beginning to profit from this union between ancient wisdom and Christian doctrine that, with a happy mix of conflicting ideas, will create modern civilization, and there was the opinion that this

strengthening of Christianity would have made worship of the old pagan traditions made useless now. Regarding his law on school, Julianus himself said that he had issued it to prevent the his opponents to learn to fight it with his weapons (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 242).

This scholastic law is one of the first theocratic tendencies to which the emperor will let himself go more and more. Now in his programs there was no longer a mere return to the state of things that Constantinus had changed, but a new and positive work of regeneration of Hellenism. And Julianus began with the reform in his most urgent or less criticizable eyes: he wanted to reclaim public education.

Moreover, in the hope of being able to lead Christians to attend the temples, the prince wanted to introduce what they found in their churches: tribunes intended for the preaching of doctrine and morality, chairs arranged according to age, virtue or dignity of the faithful. It also proposed to give the clergy summary instructions for the drafting of prayers followed by responsory, for a gradation of punishments proportionate to voluntary or involuntary sins; finally he intended to organize a series of initiation ceremonies beginning with abjuration and ablutions equivalent to a kind of baptism (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 193). He also dreamt of building houses for purification and recollection, nurseries for virgins, hostels for foreigners and shelters for beggars. What mainly provoked his emulation "was the habit that the bishops had to exchange among themselves cards that accompanied the letters of recommendation given to those who marched so that, upon arriving at the place, travelers would obtain the necessary accommodation and assistance (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History*. 5-6). Julianus wanted to replace the confessional charity of the Christians, with a sort of humanitarian charity.

It was a real transformation of paganism that Julianus undertook. In his projects of reactionary there was only the return to the ancient gods. The ascetic and merciless discipline of piety, the mystical hierarchy and the order that he wanted to impose on his priestly body and his religious community, constituted an innovation without precedent. Such an ideal was not realized if not partly and long after, in the opposite field, that of the medieval Church (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 246).

In short, in the face of such a crossover of influences, it is impossible to present the theocratic organization of Julianus as the result of the neo-Platonic teachings. In the fourth century, even in the most hostile environments to the new religion, it was under his influence and when the Apostate was under the influence of Maximus of Ephesus, there was in his enthusiasm, a strange fanaticism to the Hellenic spirit of which he believed pervaded (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 246).

3.5. Julianus' Eastward Orientation

While Julianus was doing his utmost to make these great drawings, his advisors urged him to attack the Goths on the border, whose perfidy was always to be feared. The emperor, however, declared that he had only to let the Galatian merchants to do what they would be responsible for selling these barbarians to the best bidder; as for him, he preferred to look for far stronger opponents (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 22-7-8).

In fact, while from almost all the East came representations laden with gifts to ask for peace treaties to the new master of the World (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 22-7-10), the Persian armies, under the orders of the King of Kings, the enterprising Shapure II, were constituting a continuous threat to Syria. Six months before, after the conquest of Singara and Bezabde, at the very moment when

Julianus was descending from the Alps to Illyria, it was only the fear caused by adverse auspices to block the advance of Sassanide, impatient to free his brother, the traitor Ormisda, and to turn the retreat of the Romans on course. Panicked, the coastal populations of the Euphrates were preparing to evacuate the towns and villages, when the bad season and the arrival in Constantinople of that prince never defeated momentarily calmed the fears of an invasion (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 21-13-8). When spring came the conqueror of the Germans felt the resumption of the desire to cross the borders (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898).

Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 64).

Faithful to the strategy that had brought him so many successes and inaugurating a change of method in the wars of Rome in the East, he renounced the defensive tactics that had been adopted for more than a century; he decided to go on the attack and, as a new Trajanus, he wanted to go and hit the Persians in the very heart of their kingdom. Some oracles interpreted by Maximus soon had to reinforce in him the conviction of having in himself the reincarnated soul of Alexander and of being called by his destiny to repeat the conquest of the ancient Achaemenid Empire. Here it is, therefore, to follow first of all, step by step, the itinerary illustrated by the victories of his predecessor, whose epic adventure he had to repeat. Should not he, the champion of Hellenism, regain the East to Greek civilization? Could not he believe he was called to reign over those countries where his favorite cult came from? If Mithra was obliged to choose between Shapure and him, how could he, his tutelary god, hesitate to prefer the chosen one who had placed so much trust in him? On the other hand, to meet everyone's expectations, Julianus felt obliged to return to the Empire all those territories that Constantius II had lost. Among the titles that adorned his glory, he

burned with desire - as Ammianus says - to add to it that of "*Winner of the Persians*" ((Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-12-2).

The planned expedition was very ambitious, but the preparations were meticulous and long. In Constantinople in the meantime; to secure the soldiers' favor, Julianus continually harangued them and distributed them money. Then, towards the summer solstice of the year 362, crossed the Bosphorus, took the road to Antioch, in order to concentrate forces in the vicinity of the enemy. He passed through Calcedonia and Libissa, where he saw Hannibal's tomb; at Nicomedia, he wept on the ruins and on the piles of ash produced by an earthquake followed by a fire. Later, from Nicea reached Ancyra (Ankara) in Galatia and from there, heading east, the holy city of Pessinunte, where he offered prayers and sacrifices to Cibebe, in his ancient sanctuary (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-9-8). From Pessinunte, Julianus returned to Ancyra, where he was immediately attacked by an imposing crowd of plaintiffs, for whom he managed to administer impartial justice. Later he crossed the highlands of Cappadocia. At the "*gates of Cilicia*" (the famous Taurus gorge where the road from Tiana was introduced), Julianus met the governor of the province, his dear Celsus, whom he had met earlier in Athens. He hugged him, he made him sit beside him in the chariot and took him with him to Tarsus. From there, he reached Antioch where he was impatient to arrive (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-9-13).

3.6. In Antioch

Near the city of Antioch, Julianus was welcomed as a god by the populace in jubilation. He himself was amazed at the great concert of voices of the people who acclaimed him, greeting in him the new star whose glow illuminated all the regions of the east. After mid-July it was celebrated, according to an archaic rite, the feast of

Adonis, the lover of Aphrodite who's legend has died under the blows of a boar; mystical image of the crops cut off after the ear has paid off. The fact that, at the moment of the emperor's solemn entry into his new residence, funeral lamentations and mournful chants echoed (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-9-14).

Libanius, whom the prince had lost sight of after his arrival in Constantinople and the strengthening of his relations with Temistius, was part of the procession that the city had sent to the sovereign and anxiously watched what his old friend was doing. Little missed that Julianus, passing him beside him, he did not speak to him: he had not recognized him, he was so old because of age and illness. But next to the emperor he rode the homonymous uncle of Julianus, who pointed to his rhetor, his former correspondent. Immediately, with "*an admirable gesture*", he turned his horse, went to Libanius and, taking his hands in his own, began to speak familiarly with him, complimented him and addressed him with a spirit: "*When we will have the pleasure of meet again?*". And so did their reconciliation (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 1-93).

In Antioch, Julianus allowed himself at the beginning a few days of rest. Then, to please the inhabitants of the city, he gave them a racing show at the racecourse and also asked Libanius to give a speech, of which we own some passages. It is a glorification of the prince, of his scholarly youth, of his conversion to the cult of Hellenism and his successes in Gaul (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 253).

Every morning, Julianus offered sacrifices to the gods "*under the trees, in the gardens of his palace*". At that time, many approached the altars to be seen, but Libanius

refrained from showing himself. The emperor realized one day that he had gone to pray in the temple of Zeus. The same evening he wrote a rhetorician to ask him the reason for his absence and to reprimand him with delicacy. On the tablet the sovereign had used to let him know his renewed outbursts of friendship, the sage wrote his reply, as polite as the reproaches he rejected (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 1-121). It was Priscus who finally managed to dispel the latest misunderstandings, putting an end to the intrigues of an envious person whom the master was wary of. Praised to present himself at the palace, Libanius accepted the invitation and promised to respond from that moment on to all the invitations that had been delivered to him. It was from this moment that a true intimacy was restored between Julianus and him. In their meetings they discussed literature and politics; the orator *"approved the weighed decisions, criticized the negligence committed, but never asked for anything, neither money, nor houses, nor lands, nor favors, nor appointments, not even the restitution of that part of the heritage that had been confiscated, so that Julianus affirmed that others loved his wealth while Libanius loved him as a person."* It was then that an imperial decree granted him the title of quaestor, high honorary office. Only once, to hear him, the rhetor would have solicited and obtained a grace from his protector (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 1-125). Libanius, after the arrival of Julianus at Antioch, never ceased to counterbalance the influence of the court theurgists, advising moderation to the prince.

3.6.1. The Jewel Of The East, Establishing Relations

With its large magnificently decorated squares, with its 36-storied avenues, with its double rows of colonnades and arcades brightly illuminated at night and shining by day, with the abundance of its water capable of supplying

the baths of the smaller houses, Antioch, even after the foundation of Constantinople, had not lost its title of *"jewel of the East"*. But at the same time it was a metropolis inhabited by a mixture of races. In spite of the progress of Christianity, which had already almost entirely conquered it, it is possible to repeat of the 4th century Antiochia what Renan said of that of the time of the Apostles: immorality was appalling. "Cities of racing, games, dances, processions, parties, bacchanals, could be found there at the same time all the follies of the East, the most unhealthy superstitions. From time to time servile and ungrateful, cowardly and insolent, the Antiochens were the perfect model of a people without a homeland, without nationality, no family honor, no name to respect: mob futile and light, changeable, agitated, sometimes devout, occupied in songs, parodies, jokes and impertinences of all kinds. The shows were unusual: there were games where you could see choruses of naked girls who did exercises with a simple one band on the sides; for the celebrated festival of Maiuma, courtesans swam in the public in basins of clear water. It was like an intoxication, like a dream of Sardanapalus (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-9-14). *"Julianus himself states that in Antioch, everyone is smooth, beautiful and shabby"*. Young and old envied the fortune of the Phaeacians, preferring to virtue the luxury of clothes, hot baths and beds (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 342 C D, 339 A). In such an environment, an austere and crude prince who at the racecourse looked bored (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 340 A), could not enjoy the favor of the people for long.

However Julianus did what he could to make favors to the city where he spent the winter. He agreed to a discount on the back taxes and reduced the amount of taxes by one fifth. After reinforcing the cadres of the municipal council, he discarded the

unquiet elements that had been inserted there as a result of reckless choices and put them in their place citizens capable of easily bearing *"the weight of public office"*.

Instead of showing him gratitude for an intervention so favorable to the city's finances, he took a dislike (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 365 B, 366 D).

Shortly after the arrival of the prince and the troops that was beginning to concentrate, because of a too dry summer, in Antioch there was a famine of wheat and the price of all the food became exorbitant (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 1-126). Nevertheless, the piety of the prince celebrated religious ceremonies with a very expensive sum (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-170). Yielding more and more to his mania to exert the priestly functions in public, he, not only wore the sacred emblems in the processions where devotees and prostitutes were confused, but, without regard to general philosophy, he was also prodigal in offerings to the gods. In their honor he made such a massacre of bulls that the extinction of the species was predicted in case his kingdom had been prolonged. To these ecatomes was added the immolation of innumerable herds of small cattle and myriads of white birds that had to be searched by land and by sea. So every day we saw the soldiers gorging on the meat of the sacrifices, and then, in the grip of drunkenness, at the exit of the sacred buildings, to be carried on the shoulders of passers-by to their neighborhoods. The most shameless were foreigners, the *"Petulants"* and the *"Celts"*, authors of the proclamation of Paris, old comrades of arms who had faithfully followed their idolized leader, but whose arrogance ended up passing all limits. It could be said that the gods and soldiers were the only meat-eaters left in Antioch. *"Everything abounds, everything is very expensive!"* the hungry was yelling (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-12-7).

To alleviate the misery, Julianus, as always, was ready to act, but this time perhaps it was too precipitous. He published an edict that set a price rally, so he ruined the retail trade and the situation worsened. From Chalcis, from Hierapolis and from other cities of the country he brought three hundred thousand bushels of grain, then five thousand, then seven thousand, then another ten thousand from Egypt, and put them for sale at a low price. The hoarders were the first to buy them and the shortage remained the same. Irritated by the complaints of the curial, Julianus took it with him because, until then he had done nothing but show solicitude towards the municipal senates. The affair would have been exacerbated if Libanius had not intervened. It is true that Julianus gave the example of simplicity and frugality, but what the people of Antioch asked for was not a lesson in philosophy but a loaf of bread, a table spread and fish and birds in abundance (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 369 A).

3.6.2. The Temple of Daphne

When he was annoyed, Julianus loved to gather in a shrine to listen to the voice of the gods. In Antioch he often went to pray Hermes, Pan, Demeter, Mars, Calliope, Apollo, and especially Jupiter in his two temples, that of the mountain and that of the lower city (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 346 B C). "On the day consecrated by customs, climbing on the Casius, a wooded hill where people go to see the sunrise at the cock crow, he meets a prostrate man who asks him to save his life and his forgiveness Julianus asks him who he is. It is Theodotus, the old governor of Hierapolis who had already had the hypocritical meanness of begging Constantius II with tears to send him the head of the ungrateful and rebellious Julianus to circulate it from hand to hand as he had done with Magnenzius'. request, replied Julianus, brought me back to the times of the delights, but come back from where you came without fear and trust in the clemency of the prince. As a precaution he has decided to

decrease the number of his enemies and, consequently, to increase that of his friends.

After completing the ritual ceremonies, Julianus received a message from Egypt announcing that, at the cost of expensive research, the Apis bull could be discovered, which, for the beliefs of the country, presaged an abundance of harvest and all sorts of goods (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-14-4,6).

Passing the western gate of Antioch, by one way of trees forming a pergola, among flower gardens, villas, inns and fountains, a two-hour walk led to the delightful suburb of Daphne. Surrounded by wooded cliffs and waterfalls, the valley of Daphne, according to Julianus, had the same as that of Tempe, between the Ossa and the Olympus of Thessaly (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 181). Even Libanius was entranced by the beauty of the place. He describes the impression that suddenly caught the pilgrim when, in each of the clearings of the sacred wood of Apollo, he discovered the marbles of a theater, a stadium or a temple and, in the bush, the altered cypresses, the shady paths, the music of birds, the scent of blossoming flowers and the other charms of a place worthy of Aphrodite and her son, the divine archer (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 11-236).

In Daphne the most popular shrine was where the solar god - Apollo - pronounced his oracles. A large statue of ivory, the masterpiece of the sculptor Bryaxis, represented the citharede standing, with the lyre in one hand, with veil and golden hair and eyes shining like two hyacinths. *"The waters of a small river passed on each side of the peristyle and, among the capricious jets of the Castalia spring, murmurs and prophetic voices could be heard"*. Castalia had been such an indiscreet day in announcing the Empire to Hadrianus, that this monarch, warned, had hastened to close the opening of the speaking source by blocking it with large stones (Rolfe, J. C.

(1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 22-12-8). He was afraid that others would *"look for what he had been happy to find"*.

Later, when Constantius had the temple closed, it was left to fall into ruin, so that, even before arriving at Antioch, Julianus had to beg his uncle, then Earl of the East, to urgently rebuild the peristyle: already there were so many columns missing that the roof could collapse. Moreover, the restoration risked being vain because the god no longer deigned to visit his sanctuary since Cesare Gallus had built a chapel in front of it and had placed the bones of Babila there, a holy bishop who, because of a persecution, had obtained the martyr's palm (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. *Historia ecclesiastica*. p. 88).

After the first few weeks of his arrival in Antioch, Julianus came to Daphne, expecting to see a great ceremony on the occasion of the annual celebration of the god. He dreamed of sacrifices, libations, incense, choirs of ephebes arranged around the sacred wall, the soul full of pious feelings and the body dressed in white. Entered the temple, the emperor found neither incense nor offerings nor victims. He then asked what the city was counting on offering to Apollo. The municipal senate, rich, but mostly Christian, had prepared nothing. If a poor priest had not brought a goose he owned, the altars would not even raise their smoke. Indignant, the supreme pontiff of paganism turned to the curists alive scolding. They were words in the wind (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. *Against the Galilaeans*. 361 D). The inhabitants of the city of the waters had only interest in entertainment and licentious parties.

Meanwhile the emperor anxiously questioned all the idols and their silence impressed him. A neo-Platonic theurgist called Eusebius came to his aid; he resorted to all the rituals of which he had the secret: but no statue answered or gave signs. It was obviously a curse that Eusebius was able to discover: putting the tomb of a dead

man in front of the temple, the air was filled with miasma that had to be dissipated. Julianus did his best to free the crack of the fateful source: neither did he give signs or speak. The important thing was to act. Without delay, Julianus made the bones that the sacred wood hid exhume and ordered them to be transported to the cemetery of Antioch. *"Thus followed the ceremonial with which the Athenians had already purified Delos"* (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 88). What happened in Daphne was learned immediately in the city. Alarmed Christians came to gather around the chapel where the grave of their martyr was violated. When the sarcophagus of San Babila was hoisted on the car, a moved crowd escorted the relics singing in chorus: *"Shame for the worshipers of idols"*, verse of the psalms chosen to insult the idolater emperor (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica. p. 92).

3.6.3. Fire At The Temple

A short time later, on the night of October 22nd, the temple of Daphne was completely destroyed by a violent fire. Julianus wanted to bring rescue to Apollo, but as soon as he arrived there was only a wall blackened by smoke. The god had disappeared and the emperor did not even try to rebuild the sanctuary. However, he despaired and tried to find out who had started the fire. Was it an accident, a negligence or an immense sacrilege? A pilgrim who had forgotten to turn off the candles was called into question. The Christians spoke of a lightning dropped from the sky. But the night seemed to have been calm and without the slightest cloud. The priests of Apollo were tortured in vain to make them confess to themselves faults. In the end, Julianus was convinced that it was a new attack by the Galileans, helped by the carelessness or by the connivance of the temple guardians (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 361 B C).

The crime was too great and therefore the authority had to be enforced. The uncle of the emperor made use of his powers as a count of the East. The great church of Antioch, inaugurated by Constantius II and full of rare marbles, rich in gold and bronzes, whose shining dome dominated the city, was closed to worship; it is probable that his treasure was looted as a reprisal. Christian writers tell of countless desecrations that Count Julianus and his acolytes would soon pay off with repugnant diseases and atrocious agonies (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). *Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica*. p. 82).

3.7. The "Misopogon"

3.7.1. The Mocking City

After six months in Antioch, Julianus had seen his uncle and many of his most loyal collaborators to die; his gods had been mocked to his best misunderstood intentions. He locked himself up more and more in his palace with five or six close friends, exacerbated by a growing rancor against the Church. At that time, in the streets of the city, he was mocked and mocked with an impertinent cockiness. He was called a billy goat, cyclops, butcher of sacrifices; the beard and the bearded profile that appeared on the coins derided; it was said that ropes could be woven with the hairs of his chin (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 261).

Being at the arrows of the people of Antioch, Julianus wanted to answer with a mocking opera. He composed an ironic apology in the form of a satire entitled *Misopogon*, that is the "enemy of the beard". *"No head cut, no whip, no tools, no prison, no punishment: for what purpose?"* The prince would take revenge through insults directed not against others, but against himself. He would like to praise himself, but he could not; to blame, it is sure to succeed. Then, confessing with a

comic and funny exaggeration the errors that are reproached, he remembers passing, to the population of Antioch, all the good he wanted to do them. He remembers with regret the happy times when the Gauls did justice to his good intentions. He seems to be joking and laughing, but a deep bitterness pervades this work. It only makes one threat: he will leave the city that misunderstood him and establish elsewhere; he indeed already thought of the city of Tarsus (Wright, W. C. (1913). *Julian. Against the Galilaeans*. 370 B C).

However, the sorrow of the emperor grieved Libanius, who intervened. In a speech in which he illustrates all the qualities of Julianus, he defends his fellow citizens, to whom he gives concomitant advice at the same time. But the wound inflicted on the prince's soul was incurable; we do not even know if he found time to read his friend's speech (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). *Libanius. Selected Works*. 17-37).

It was not only in Antioch that Julianus saw his disapproval of his efforts and rejecting his success. To begin with, the bishops who had recalled from their exile almost all belonged to extremist, in other words they were of a kind whose word pleases the people and drags it because it lacks half measures and compromises. The fighting clerics that Julianus returned to the Church in order to divide and weaken it, were instead the most ardent supporters of their religion. The enthusiasts that they attracted were not only dissident Christians but often also came from pagan backgrounds. Also for this reason, those amnesties caused quite a few inconveniences to the emperor (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 264).

3.7.2. War Between Julianus And The Christians

However, Julianus decided to take action against the agitator only after about seven months of provocations (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 122). During the first part of his reign

he was reluctant to resort to the measures of rigor in religious matters. Only after his arrival in Antioch, exasperated and almost obliged to adopt towards Christians a more combative policy, also committed to reviving against them all the prejudices of the Hellenes, he sent to Alexandria the theban Pitiodorus, his usual messenger in similar circumstances, with the text of an early edict urging Athanasius who was living hidden in the hermitages of Egypt when, on February 8, 362, the Alexandrians learned of the amnesty law that allowed Christians banned from Constantius II to return to their homes. The proscribed was soon informed and already on 21 February he made his triumphal return to the city in jubilation where the illuminations and celebrations lasted for a whole night to leave the city immediately because his presence was the cause of unrest ((Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 110). The edict was communicated to Athanasius on October 24th. So he immediately left the city and embarked on the Nile as if to go to Thebes. "Do not be afraid - he said to his friends - it's just a cloud that will pass soon" (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History*. 5-15-3). And soon after, while it was once again untraceable, its supporters sent a petition to the court in the name of the city to be recalled.

Julianus answered with a letter that was at the same time a pastoral letter and an edict, in which he speaks as a Maximum Pontiff and as an Emperor (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 111). He is indignant and the Alexandrians disgust him. The masters of Egypt become slaves of degenerated Jews; what decadence! Julianus gives them a learned history lesson: they descend from their illustrious founder, from the Ptolemies, from Augustus, or even more from Elios, from Selene, and they owe nothing to Jesus. As for Athanasius, he is a lesser being for whom he does not have the slightest

consideration. If the Alexandrians want to be explained by the Bible, they will find in jest exegetes capable of replacing the one whose absence they regret. It is not only from their city that Julianus intends to expel now the intolerable agitator who finds accomplices in all the desert monks; he banishes it from the whole country. Eight months later, *"the cloud had passed"*: Athanasius emerged from the shelter where he had managed so well to hide and returned at night in Alexandria (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 265).

The resistance of the Christians disturbed the public order again and elsewhere. It is known that in Phrygia and Caesarea of Cappadocia the sanctuaries and idols of the pagans suffered, as at Pessinunte, of the insults of which Julianus held responsible the clergy of the Galileans (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). Sozomenus. Ecclesiastical History. 5-11-1). It seems that in the end he sent, on this topic, to his officials threatening instructions for Christian priests, while a fair arbitrator should have repressed the pagan fury like the reprisals of the opposing party.

Thus, in spite of the generous nature and calculation that made him prefer to persuade violence, as he redoubled his efforts to regenerate Hellenism, Julianus multiplied the acts that included him among the persecutors of Christianity.

Church historians report that Julianus excluded Christians from the Praetorian Guard, from the army, from the provincial government and from the magistracy, because - he said - their law forbids them from using the sword. Julianus often wrote to the cities and their provincial assemblies: *"If he had known that they were well disposed towards Hellenism, he would have satisfied all their requests, but if they were Christian, he would have shown his discontent, refusing to stay there and to welcome delegations charged with presenting their complaints. In particular, the inhabitants of Nisibis, whose Christian ambassadism had urged his protection against an*

upcoming incursion of Persians, since the former no longer cared for their temples and offered no sacrifices, he replied with the threat of not granting any help and dismissing the delegation” (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 267).

The list of cities that Julianus took in hate could be lengthened. Together with Antioch and Caesarea of Cappadocia, we must also place Edessa, the capital of the Osroene that the Abgar had made into a Christian kingdom as early as the 3rd century. Denying the solar god to whom it was consecrated from time immemorial, Edessa had been guilty in the eyes of Julianus of an unforgivable betrayal and the historians of the Church claim that, during his expedition against the Persians, he refused to enter *"hatred of its inhabitants who had long been mass conversion to Christianity"* (Walford, E. (Ed). (1855). *Sozomenus. Ecclastical History*. 6-1-1).

In any case, after the unrest in which the Aryans of the city had harassed and plundered their fellow citizens of Valentinian faith, Julianus sent to the Edessenis a letter in which neither the tone nor the content had anything benevolent. With expressions of contemptuous irony, he tells the Aryans that the assets of their church are confiscated. Then, instead of giving the Valentinians what had been taken away from them - as it had done for the Novatians and the Donatists - or rather, attributing to the city what had been confiscated, it increases the soldiers' pay, incorporates the properties in the dominion of the crown and ends the letter with threats of exile, of iron and fire, addressed to all the inhabitants of Edessa without distinction. This probably occurred when the great need for money forced the emperor to tax heavily Christians who refused to contribute to the defense of the Empire and Hellenism (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 268).

At the beginning of his reign, Julianus was'n't having so many scruples. When he attended the funeral of Constantius II, he was not afraid to *"touch the coffin with his*

hands to show that he did not consider the body of his deceased rival responsible for the evil designs that his soul had conceived" (Libanius. & Norman, A. F.

(1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-120). But well soon, under the influence of the Neo-Platonic theurgist Maximus, he became more rigorous. A fervent depot of the mysteries, he believed that, with the purity of the soul and that of the body, even that of the air around us was a necessary requirement for the rebirth of the saving gods, and this faith ended up dominating his thoughts. As he had once promised his master, he strove to eliminate any kind of impurity (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898).

Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien. p. 54). After his arrival in Antioch, the references to cathartic rituals become more numerous in the instructions addressed to his priests; more and more he accuses Christians of worshipping the dead and filling every place with corpses and tombs (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 361 A C). Just as he had exhumed and transferred the relics of Babila to the cemetery of Antioch to restore the voice to the oracle of Daphne, in the same way he ordered the governor of Caria to burn or to demolish the chapels of the martyrs that filled the air with miasm around the temple of Didima, praising on another occasion the religious zeal of the inhabitants of Emesa who set fire to the tombs of the Galileans (Wright, W. C. (1913). Julian. Against the Galilaeans. 357 C).

This is how he probably came, February 12th, 363, to promulgate what is considered one of his most persecutory edicts. Under the pretext of return the ancient traditions, using archaic arguments, he forbade the celebration of any kind of funeral during the day. The reasons that Julianus derives from the old pontifical right are religious: the eyes of the pagans must not be obscured by the encounter of a funeral procession, preventing them from going to the temples later; it is necessary to prevent the passage

of the dead before the open doors of the sanctuaries to penetrate in them unclean emanations and noises of bad luck; it is necessary above all to avoid the gaze of the god dwelling on the spectacle of ceremonies reserved for infernal deities.

Theodoret reports that at Antioch Julianus threw idolatrous offerings in the fountains of the city and those of Daphne; which later made the foodstuffs exposed in the markets sprinkle with lustral water. Without being incontrovertible, this story is quite plausible. On the other hand, it does not aim to bring out the heroism of Christians, because they do not seem to show any repugnance to the drinks and food contaminated by the Apostate (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 269).

By marching towards Persia, according to the concordant affirmation of several authors, Julianus announced that on his return he would resume the war against Christianity with even more vigor and that he would have made even the name of that nefarious sect disappear. It was wrong to doubt his words.

In the temple of the world, the presence of Christians seemed to him, given the evolution dangerous of the events, a real desecration and for the divine spirits, object of horror. The impurity of atheism was to be esteemed and the salvation of the Empire was its reward. This was one of the concerns that most bothered the restorer of Hellenism, while, in spite of all the bad omens, was preparing to cross the frontiers of the East.

3.7.3. Provoking The Jews

Towards the beginning of 363, the emperor then wrote to the Jews a letter in which, praising the steps taken from their holy books, he declared that it was time for them to return home, to restore strength and vigor to their ancient customs. and to rebuild their

ancient sanctuary. Then he commissioned his friend Alipius to organize and direct the work at the expense of the State, promising to go to worship *"The Most High"*.

Instead of showing indifference like the Elenis to the prince's appeal, the Jews were full of enthusiasm. To the treasure of which their patriarch disposed, they added generous subscriptions. Even the women undressed their ornaments and donated their jewels. *"We prepared for the reconstruction of the temple as a national enterprise and a party"*. Soon the pickaxe began digging the ground to lay the first stone (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*, p. 276).

But at the same time, several earthquakes, accompanied by a tidal wave, devastated the cities of the Phoenician coast and Palestine. Not even the high places of Zion were spared. At the height of the catastrophe, the diggers sought shelter under a porch, which collapsed on them, crushing them. At the same time, according to Ammianus, they would have seen flames rising from the foundations, burning the workers and making the construction sites inaccessible. The panic was such that the enterprise was abandoned and no one dared to take it up again (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 23-1-1).

In an encyclical letter written shortly after this singular disappointment, one speaks of the temple in Jerusalem: *"Three times destroyed and then rebuilt"*. Julianus does not speak of it, as he himself says, *"to make an affront to the Jews, for whom he had actually planned to rebuild, in honor of the God invoked there, this long ruined building"*. If he remembers their irreparable destruction, it is only to show their stupidity to the prophets of the Old Testament. These iconoclasts mock the cult made of stone or wood images that the hand of man can insult without reacting (Bidez, J & Cumont, F. (1898). *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des lettres de l'empereur Julien*. p. 163). But they forget that even the sanctuary of their God had been ruined

with impunity. The failure of the attempt made by the Apostate to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem does not seem therefore to throw it in confusion. If this monument was destroyed without remaining stone on stone, this happens, Julianus thinks, to remind men that they can not have the divine privilege of creating imperishable works. He could have added that even if it is written "*seek and find*", it is not certain that what one is looking for will be found. Restoration, reforms, war on Christianity, these are the three phases of Julianus's religious policy (Bidez, J. (2004). *Vita di Giuliano Imperatore*. p. 279).

3.8. The Death Of The Last Greek Hero

3.8.1. Sasanid Campaign

On March 5th 363 Julianus started the campaign against the Sassanids starting with an army of 65,000 men from Antioch, abandoned in the hands of Adrastea (Wright, W. C. (1913). *Julian. Against the Galilaeans*. 370 B): this time he was accompanied to the village of Litarba by a large crowd and the Antiochene Senate that he sought in vain to get condescension. A certain Alexander of Heliopolis, a tough and brutal man, appointed governor of Syria because that "*greedy and insolent people*" did not deserve any better. He repelled with contempt a letter from the Persian king Shapur, who offered a peace treaty and, greeted Libanius, went to Hierapolis, crossed the Euphrates and reached Carre, of sad memory, where he offered sacrifices to the god Sin, revered in those places. It is said that here he has secretly named his cousin, "*the beautiful, big and sad Procopius, the figure always bent, the look always on the ground, that no one has ever seen laughing*" That night, how to strengthen the sad presentiments on outcome of the war, in Rome burned the temple of Apollo Palatine, perhaps they also burned the books of the Sibilla Cumana (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 23-2-3).

On March 13, the Roman armies left from Ierapoli. They crossed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats and they arrived with forced stops to Carre (Harran) in Osroene where he divided the army in Carra: 30,000 men, under the command of Procopius and Sebastianus, were sent north to Armenia, to join King Arsace, descend for the Corduene, devastate the Media and, flanking the Tigris, rejoin in Assyria with Julianus, meanwhile, with his 35,000 men, would have descended south along the Euphrates, where a large fleet under Lucillian command sailed to view carrying supplies, weapons, siege engines, barges, city remained famous for the disaster of the two Crassos and their troops. Julianus stopped there a few days and offered, following the local rituals, sacrifices to the god Sin (Moon), object of a fervent cult in that region. It is said that in that place, in front of the altars, he entrusted his purple cloak to one of his faithful *"the beautiful, big and sad Procopius, with a figure always bent, constantly looking at the ground and no one has ever seen laughing"* (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 285). Julianus advised him to boldly seize power, in case he had learned of his death against the Persians. Then he spent a night troubled by sinister dreams. Now, as we learned later, that same night the temple of Apollo Palatinus - in Rome - was reduced to ashes and, without the help that was immediately brought, even the books of the Sibilla Cumana would be destroyed (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 23-2-3,6).

As for Julianus, operating a half turn to the south, on March 27th he reached Callinico (Rakka) on the Euphrates, a well-fortified town and a commercial center of considerable importance. Always on March 27th, the day dedicated to Rome to the feasts in honor of the Mother of the gods and the traditional immersion of the statue in the waters of Aimone, Julianus celebrated the ritual of purification according to the usual ceremonial, to then resume his march (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus

Marcellinus (3 vols). 23-3-6). The next day, he received in his tent the homage of the nomadic Saracen princes, who offered him a crown of gold on his knees and worshiped him as the ruler of the world and their people. Their contribution was willingly accepted; they could have been unparalleled help when the war provided the opportunity for looting. Then the fleet arrived from Samosata, covering the surface of the water with its crowd of ships. It consisted of at least a thousand barges, abundantly supplied with food, weapons and assault machines, and it included in addition 50 combat galleys and many big boats (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 23-3-9).

Hastening the march, the emperor entered Circesius, a strategic position which dominated the confluence of the 'Euphrates and of the Chabora. While Julianus, after having reinforced the garrison of the city with 4,000 men, had a bridge built of boats to cross the river, he received from the prefect of Gallia Sallustius the recommendations of prudence. This expert official in fact implored him to suspend the expedition; continue without to have appeased the ire of the gods - he said - meant to face a disaster (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 23-5-3).

Having reached Zaitha on April 4th, Julianus paid homage to the mausoleum of Emperor Gordianus, penetrated Dura Europos, a city abandoned for years, and easily obtained the surrender of the fort of Anatha, which was destroyed; in the town they found an old Roman soldier with his family, who remained there since the time of Massimianus's expedition. Burnt Diacira, evacuated by the inhabitants, entered Ozagardana and destroyed it. After a day of rest, the Romans sighted in the distance the Persian army that was attacked and forced to flee. Beyond Macepracta, they arrived in front of Pirisabora, surrounded by irrigation canals, and began the siege that ended with the surrender, the looting and the fire of the city. Each soldier was given

100 siliques: in the face of the dissatisfaction of the army for a coin that held only two-thirds of its nominal value, Julianus promised the riches of the Persian kingdom (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-2-6).

After passing the flooded fields by the retreating Persians, burnt Birtha, the rams were the reason of the fortifications of Maiozamalcha: penetrated through the breaches of the walls and through an underground tunnel, the soldiers slaughtered the inhabitants. The commander was held hostage and the booty, Julianus took for himself a dumb boy "with a graceful and elegant expression" (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-3-10).

The emperor then visited the deserted ruins of Seleucia on the Tigris. An inexhaustible source fed a large pond which in turn flowed into the river. Seeing in those nearby, still hanging from the forks, the white bones of the suppliants punished because one of them - probably the commander of Pirisabora - had left a city in the hands of the Romans, Julianus ordered the Persian Nabdete officer to be burnt alive on the spot, who, forgetting that he had obtained an unexpected grace, had dared to throw the worst insults to the address of his compatriot Ormisda, who served in the Roman army, (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-5-3,4).

A little further on, Julianus then encountered a branch of the Naharmalcha- or "*king's channel*" - the point where he divides from the Tigris to go to the Euphrates, which the Persians had barred with a stone dam. Julianus then set out to clear the obstacle and soon enough water flowed to allow the fleet to reach the army. A little later, in a campaign covered with orchards and vineyards, Julianus ordered rest. Then, in the shade of a cypress wood, a delightful rustic house was discovered whose rooms were all decorated with representations of the royal hunts, since in that country, as

Ammianus notes, art is not able to imagine or paint anything else than scenes of carnage and wars (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-6-1,3).

It would have been necessary for the forces of Procopius to have come into contact with those of Julianus, but there was no news of Procopius (Rolfe, J. C. (1963).

Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-7-4). Julianus, determined to join him and, if possible, to surprise and face Shapure in a decisive field battle, turns north, after having burned a large part of the fleet with weapons and food, because ships have difficulty climbing the river, and incorporating his 20,000 soldiers to use them in ground fighting. The march was made tormenting by the heat, the guerrilla, the thirst and hunger, because the Persians burned the crops in the lands crossed by the Romans (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-7-7).

3.8.2. The War And The Death Of Julianus

On June 16th, the army of Shapure finally appeared on the horizon, but it was limited to following Julianus's troops from a distance, refusing to fight openly and engaging only short incursions of cavalry. On June 21st the Roman army stopped at Maranga for a three days rest. Julianus used as usual the free time from military occupations by reading and writing. On the night of June 25th he seems to see a figure in the darkness of his tent: it is the Genius Publicus, the one that appeared to him on the great night of Lutetia and had invited him not to miss the opportunity to take power. But now he has his head veiled in mourning, he looks at him without speaking, then turns and slowly fades away (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 24-8-5).

The next morning, despite the contrary opinion of the haruspices, he raised the curtains to resume the retreat towards Samarra. During the march, at the village of Toummara, a fight arose in the rearguard: Julianus rushed without wearing his armor,

threw himself into the fray and a javelin hit him in the side. He immediately tried to pull it out but fell off his horse and fainted. Brought into his tent, he reanimated, he thought he was better, he wanted his weapons but the forces did not respond to the will. He asked the name of the place: "*it is Phrygia*" they answered. Julianus understood that everything was lost: once he had dreamed of a blond man who had predicted his death in a place with that name (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). Ammianus Marcellinus (3 vols). 25-3-7).

But he had the spirit of a soldier and the bitter discouragement was soon dissipated by the noise of the battle that continued to rage and carried the cries of the fighters to his tent. The prefect Sallustius, who came to the king's bedside, arrived just in time to witness his agony. The dying man, as soon as he saw him, asked for news of Anatolius, one of his closest friends and whom he particularly loved. When Sallustius replied that he was among the blessed, Julianus understood that his confidant had been killed. And then, Ammianus tells us, he who remained impassive in the face of his fate, wept bitterly the death of his friend. At this sight, even those around him did not feel the emotion and burst into sobs. It was this moment of general weakness that gave back to Julianus the firmness of the past: "It is a humiliation for us all - he said - to cry for a prince whose soul will soon be in heaven blend in with the fire of the stars". Again silence was around him and Julianus took the opportunity to converse with Priscus and Massimus on the infinite nobility of the soul and the afterlife (Bidez, J. (2004). Vita di Giuliano Imperatore. p. 293).

Feeling suffocated, Julianus asked for water: as soon as he had finished drinking, he lost consciousness. He was 32 years old and had reigned less than twenty months; with him, the last Greek hero died (Libanius. & Norman, A. F. (1969). Libanius. Selected Works. 18-272). And with his death, the most famous christian legend was

formed; before rendering the soul to Satan, Julianus would have collected in his hand some of the blood of the wound and, throwing it against the sky, he would have shouted: *"You have won Galilean!"* (Bidez, J. (Ed). (1913). *Philostorgius. Historia ecclesiastica*. p. 103).

Salustius refused the succession and then the purple was granted to Jovianus. He stipulated with Shapure the peace, with which the Romans ceded to the Persians five provinces and the strongholds of Singara and Nisibi. The retreat was resumed during which they finally met the army of Procopius: he was commissioned to bring up to the gates of Tarsus the body that, according to the will of Julianus, was buried in a mausoleum alongside a small temple on the banks of the river Cydnus. Opposite stood the tomb of another emperor, Massiminus Daia. The following year, Jovianus passed by Tarsus and had an inscription engraved on the sepulchral stone:

"From the shores of the impetuous Tigris, Julianus has come to rest here, at the same time good king and brave warrior" (Rolfe, J. C. (1963). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3 vols). 25-9-12).

CONCLUSIONS

The personality of emperor Julianus is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating and complex that has come from antiquity. It is not possible to compare it with any of those of the other great protagonists of the old age, not even with the others who, like him, left great traces of themselves and literary works fully transmitted to us. Even characters the size of a Julius Caesar or a Marcus Aurelius - that is, of protagonists with respect to which tradition has not been stingy in the transmission of their intellectual contributions - can not be put on the same level as Julianus. The works that he wrote were, in fact, detailed accounts of the events that made it one of the most important figures in the history of mankind.

Mostly people thought to see in him a monomania of Paganism or a fanatic of religious reactions, who was a blind man or a man with a brain and an eye occupied with partisan preventions. Julianus was above all and above everything, a great warrior prince, the only one true heir of his illustrious cousin, Constantinus the Great. The soldier is much greater in him than the peaceful statesman, and - what may seem even more paradoxical - of the philosopher and the polemicist. The soldier of race, from the simple and austere life, and to whom, moreover, the culture gave the historical mission of the Greek and Roman name, made Julianus the good and honest pacific prince, and aroused in him the ardent restorer of the Paganism and the decisive opponent of Christianity.

Having risen still young to the empire, after having suffered for a long time, a dark victim of intrigues and dynastic jealousies, he did not precipitate his reactions to his enemies; it does not give free rein to the repressed passions and feelings; he, with deliberated will, wrapped his soul, by impetuous nature, of a serene philosophical temper. Julianus lives eternal in the hearts of men like that of the last Roman emperor,

as the symbol of perfect correspondence action at the thought, of the practice of the theory of life, of full fulfillment of the full awareness of one's duty.

Thus, he died at thirty-two years of age, and after two kingdom years, the emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus, in a sultry night in June 363. He was of the metal, of which great men are made, and to him, as to all the best, Providence, merciful, granted to die in the flower of life and reason, still victorious, still enthusiastic, still full of noble illusions on the fate of men and the fate of the princes.



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