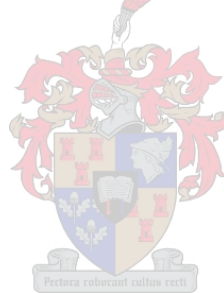# Socialisation of the Early Church and Roman Culture

A Church-Historical Enquiry with Particular Consideration of Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Theology at Stellenbosch University

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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirely of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Joohwan Lee

December 2020

ABSTRACT

This thesis constructs a narrative about socialisation in the early Christian community as connected to the social culture of Rome. It seeks to elucidate the meaning of church history in relation to the paradigm shift in Christian community formation. The socialisation of Christianity shows how each Christian community produced an integrated Christian culture suitable for that particular society to adequately explain the identity and values of Christianity to non-Christians and extend the sociocultural influence of the kingdom of God and the gospel in a secular society. Thus, the Christian community paradigm of an era created through socialisation can be viewed not simply as a sociocultural form of Christianity, but as a Christian mechanism that interpreted sociocultural values through their correlation with characteristic values of Christianity and synthesised such values in their lives.

In particular, the church-historical cases considered in this study, those based on mutual understanding found among Christianity and Roman society, relate the character and form of the Jesus movement as a process of re-socialisation that occurred when the Christian community that originated from the sociocultural background of Judaism encountered Roman social culture. In other words, the transition witnessed in the Christian community paradigm reveals the sociocultural expectations of Christianity during that period, and early Christians' understanding of a community ruled by God in secular society and, conversely, the way Christian communities used secular social culture.

Christianity, as it developed in the Roman Empire, pursued the same characteristic values as the historical Jesus movement. However, it was not limited to any one particular sociocultural form or value but secured a multi-layered and comprehensive form in connection with various sociocultural values. In addition, historical Christian communities were differentiated in various forms according to the sociocultural characteristics of a region, but at the same time tried to form a fully Christian community as a Jesus movement through the universal Christian community paradigm. In other words, the historical Christian communities tried to closely match the constantly changing social cultures of the secular world to with central Christian values, rather than simply highlighting the gap between the essence and form of Christianity in relation to the interrelationship between Christianity and social culture. In that respect, the basic meaning of the socialisation of early Christianity can be said to have enabled the secular world to experience Christian faith by exposing the essential values of Christianity to the values of the world.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis stel 'n narratief saam oor sosialisering in die vroeë Christelike gemeenskap in samehang met Rome se sosiale kultuur. Die strewe is om die betekenis van kerkgeskiedenis in verband met die paradigmaverskuiwing in Christelike gemeenskapvorming toe te lig. Die sosialisering van die Christendom toon aan hoe elke Christelike gemeenskap 'n geïntegreerde Christelike kultuur voortgebring het wat toepaslik was vir daardie samelewing om die identiteit en waardes van die Christendom aan nie-Christene gepas oor te dra, ten einde die sosiokulturele invloed van die koninkryk van God en die evangelie in 'n sekulêre samelewing uit te oefen. Die Christelike gemeenskap paradigma van 'n era wat deur sosialisering geskep is, kan dus nie net gesien word as 'n sosiokulturele vorm van die Christendom nie, maar as 'n Christelike meganisme wat sosiokulturele waardes in korrelasie met kenmerkende waardes van die Christendom interpreteer het en dit in hul lewens gesintetiseer het.

Die kerkhistoriese gevalle wat in hierdie studie oorweeg is, wat gebaseer is op die onderlinge begrip wat tussen die Christendom en die Romeinse samelewing bestaan het, verwoord veral die karakter en vorm van die Jesus-beweging in verwantskap aan die proses van her-sosialisering wat plaasgevind het toe die Christelike gemeenskap, wat uit die sosiokulturele agtergrond van die Jodendom ontstaan het, die Romeinse sosiale kultuur teëgekom het. Met ander woorde, die oorgang wat in die Christelike gemeenskapsparadigma bespeur word, ontbloot die sosiokulturele verwagtinge van die Christendom gedurende daardie periode, en die vroeë Christene se begrip van 'n gemeenskap wat deur God in die sekulêre samelewing regeer is, en omgekeerd, ook die manier waarop Christelike gemeenskappe van sekulêre sosiale kultuur gebruik gemaak het.

Die Christendom, soos dit in die Romeinse Ryk ontwikkel het, het dieselfde kenmerkende waardes nagestreef as die historiese Jesus-beweging. Dit was egter nie beperk tot 'n bepaalde sosiokulturele vorm of waarde nie, maar het 'n meervlakkige en omvattende vorm met betrekking tot verskillende sosiokulturele waardes verseker. Boonop is historiese Christelike gemeenskappe in verskillende vorme gedifferensieer volgens 'n streek se sosiokulturele kenmerke, maar het terselfdertyd telkens probeer om 'n volledig Christelike gemeenskap te vorm op basis van die Jesus-beweging se universele Christelike gemeenskapsparadigma. Met ander woorde, die historiese Christelike gemeenskappe het probeer om die voortdurend veranderende sosiale kulture van die sekulêre wêreld by hul sentrale Christelike waardes aan te pas, eerder as om bloot die gaping tussen die wese en

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die vorm van die Christendom uit te lig in verhouding tot die onderlinge verband tussen die Christendom en sosiale kultuur. In hierdie opsig kan die basiese betekenis van die sosialisering van die vroeë Christendom daarin gesien word dat die sekulêre wêreld in staat gestel is om die Christelike geloof teë te kom, deur die wesenlike waardes van die Christendom aan die waardes van die wêreld bloot te stel.

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In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to those who have given me so much love and care in helping me with this opportunity. My special thanks go to Prof. Retief Müller for accepting me as a PhD student, guiding and supervising the thesis, and encouraging me not to give up until the end. Through him, my narrow insight into the history of the church has broadened. I also thank Prof. Jeremy Punt as my co-promoter for helping me overcome the difficulties in approaching and analysing the relationship between Roman social culture and early Christianity. I remember Mrs Hester Honey, my primary editor, who has helped me for a long time. With her touch my English sentences became much clearer. I would like to express my gratitude to fellow pastors, missionaries, and the Somerset Garden church family. Deep encounters and conversations with them have driven me to expand my research.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ann.	Tacitus, *Annales* (Annals)
Aug., *De Civ.*:	Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*
Aug., *De Doc.*:	Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*
Aug., *De Vera.*:	Augustine, *De Vera Religione*
Ambr., *Ep.*:	Ambrose, *Epistle*
Lact., *De mort. pers.*:	Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*
Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*:	Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiatica*
Euseb., *Vita Cons.*:	Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*
Cod. Theod.:	*Codex Theodosius*
Cod. Just.:	*Codex Justinianus*
Igna., Epist. Smyr.:	*Ignatius, Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*
Igna., *Epis. Phil.*:	*Ignatius, Epistle to the Philippians*
Schaff, *H.C.C.*:	Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem statement and focus

This study was aimed at analysing the interrelationship in the socialisation[1] of the early Church and the ancient Roman culture as the infrastructure of public society in the early Christian community for securing sociocultural universality and to integrate the various cultural values as Christian-centred ideas from a church-historical perspective.[2] The church-historical meaning considered in this study was concerned with the mutual understanding between Christianity and Roman society related to the essence and form of the Jesus movement[3] as a process of re-socialisation that occurred when the Christian community originating from the sociocultural background of Judaism encountered Roman culture. I wanted to deal with three persons especially – Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine – who considered the interrelationship (or the cooperative relationship) between the permanent value of the universal church and secular culture from different angles while the early Church

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[1] Such 'socialisation' is used with the dictionary meaning (Longman Dictionary 1995) of the process by which people are made to behave in a way that is acceptable in their society. That is the process of human interaction to convert a private existence or possession into a public thing. For example, after Constantine, the early Church tried to accomplish social integration of the Christian-centred ideas, including the Kingdom of God, to cater for social public goals in Roman society. See the beginning of Chapter 2 of this research.

[2] According to McGrath (2007:313), "[t]he word [culture] is often used in a neutral sense to mean something like the integrated system of learned behaviour patterns that are characteristic of the members of a society, or the total way of life of a people." "The word can also be used in a more nuanced sense, as in T.S. Eliot's famous remark, 'culture may even be described simply as that which makes life worth living'." Ferguson (2003:1) describes the historical background to the early Church as a series of concentric circles in which "the Roman world provided the outer circle – the governmental, legal, and economic context, the Greek world provided the cultural, educational, and philosophical context and the Jewish world was the matrix of early Christianity providing the immediate religious context".

[3] Although the essential value of Christianity is difficult to define or explain clearly in terms of its meanings relative to non-essential values, in this research, it was intended to be used in a specific limited sense to trace the interrelationship between a socialisation of Christianity and a secular social culture and to define specific narrative arguments concerning the Christian community paradigm. It was to distinguish between successive and permanent Christian orientations (or values) that Jesus movements sought to pursue equally in various Christian forms that have been created, extinguished and renewed within various social cultures, in terms of the socialisation of Christianity. Küng (1995:7–8) finds "in all trends and counter-trends in social history, church history and the history of theology, in all the different, changing historical pictures of Christianity, abiding elements persist". He also says, "[t]he real essence of real Christianity becomes evident in different historical figures … Essence and form are inseparable … Essence and form are not identical." This distinction by Küng reveals the dynamics between Christianity and social culture. Also, concerning the question 'What is the essence?', McGrath (2013:52) says this meaning could be inferred from the fact that one of the issues that early Christianity faced before Constantine's Edict of Milan was "the consolidation of its religious beliefs". According to him, the historical evidence shows that the early Church had not regarded this as at the top of their agenda; most of Christianity just lived in it although there were some uncertain theological attitudes. However, a range of issues, especially arising from the dispute concerning the identity and the meaning of Jesus Christ, the authenticatable boundary of true Christianity was outlined. This meant that there was no choice but to discuss that the Christian faith was in contrast with the diversity of heresies appearing at the time and the acceptable limit of cultural approaches – such as pagan rites in Hellenism, Rome and gnosticism – and these discussions show an intention to clarify the ambiguity of essential issues of Christianity being expressed in unnecessary ways.

was being socialised after the proclamation of the Edict of Milan.

The historical Christian communities (e.g. the Roman Catholic Church or the Reformed Church; various bodies of the Church; Christian hierarchy or organisations; and Christian movements, including Monasticism) have interpreted the essential and permanent value, adapted it into a Christian lifestyle, and produced values integrated with the sociocultural values belonging to their times in their own way, and as suitable for each sociocultural situation and role. Although the various historical Christian communities have not approached, interpreted and adapted the central figure[4] and thinking of Christianity in the same social and cultural way under one appellation of Christianity, the majority of Christian communities were not unconcerned about the socialisation of the Church in the way that they revealed their own theological creativity through their interaction with the public social culture, whether inevitable or intentional. That is because, whatever their own social and cultural approaches and interpretations were, Christian communities basically maintained the link with the main thinking and value, having extrapolated this from the same biblical text and the history of Christian faith, and such thinking and value have been manifested in public society through harmony and integration in Christian lives (Ferguson 2003:1–4).

The integrating process and the main ideas of the Jesus movement and sociocultural values in the real lives of Christians gradually became an ideal principle or a mechanism constructing the Christian community paradigm or the Christian society (Kung 1995:792–797).[5] The New Testament repeatedly focuses on 'being one body in Christ'.[6] This usually symbolises the Church, which is also the Kingdom of God (1 Peter 2:9),[7] which is combined and united with the sovereignty of Christ, his Word and the gift of love across race, class, social position, status system, authority, and their own cultural area (Aug., *De Civ.*, v.5; Berkhof 2017[1953]:557). During the persecution, this interpretation was applied in a narrow sense in the Christian community of the time, and unconnected with a public social culture at that time. However, the concept of the union and unity of Christians or with Christ did not just remain the internal concepts of the Christian community.[8] After Christianity had become

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[4] Hans Küng (1995:17, 33) refers to Christ as the formula 'essence' or 'substance of Christianity' and the single central figure.

[5] The ambiguity concerning the interpretation of the main ideas of the Jesus movement or the Christian-centric ideas among Christian communities could not be made clear through a definition of one dominant Christian ideology or value. But it could be explained somewhat more generally through the comparative analysis of homogeneity and heterogeneity of values among the various forms of Christian communities.

[6] In particular, Paul, in Romans 12:4–5, represents the 'Union and Unity of Christians' by using terms such as "one body" with "many members".

[7] George Ladd (1964:259–273), concerning the relationship between Church and the Kingdom of God, says that the Kingdom of God is the reign of God or the realm of God, and the church is the human community under his reign. Ladd understood the church as an instrument of the Kingdom of God.

[8] *Against the Heresies*, the chief writing of Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, was provoked by a successful movement in

officially recognised, this was constantly extended from the ecclesiological area, such as in the systematisation of Christian communities and the standardisation of faith (i.e. the canon, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, liturgy and doctrine) to the position and role of Christianity in secular public culture, and has led to various interpretations, which included cultural diversity, from the socialisation of the early Christian church down to our own day (cf. Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.2, xix.14).

In the history of Christianity, various tensions concerning the socialisation of the Church have occurred since the time of the early Church. Such tensions stemmed from a gap in the realisation between the essential and permanent value of Christianity and a constantly changeable historical form (Küng 1995:8), or from an external discordance and a discrepancy of forms in understanding, communicating, and applying the Christian values of people from different cultural backgrounds despite the fundamental homology of the Jesus movement with regard to the central figure and religious ideology (Hiebert 2009:52-53).[9] The tension appeared in the form of a schism and confrontation of the Christian-centred ideas, which, on the other hand, showed the multi-layered form of the Christian idea – which can be viewed differently from various perspectives – and the extendibility to the broad meaning – applied in different meanings depending on the situation – so that the whole idea of Christianity was not expressed in one form of culture like Judaism or Hellenism, but rather could be manifested in detail and abundantly through the forms of various cultures. Such tensions, which involved an attempt to address how Christians at that time were able to unite and unify Christian ideas with their reality, can be seen as a part of the driving force for the socialisation of the Church (Hiebert 2009:52–53; Walls 1996:7–9).

The socialisation of Christianity in the Roman Empire, which began in earnest from the proclamation of the Edict of Milan in 313 CE, was an important opportunity for the church to spread the Gospel and expand the kingdom of God, and Christians could no longer be indifferent to public culture as the earlier eschatological community of salvation or be consistent in maintaining an exclusive attitude regarding secular culture. The pure Christian communities were therefore given new social obligations and roles towards integrating the values of the social culture to which they belonged and the tendencies of their members with the main ideas of the Jesus movement. These methods of integration were not only to explain Christianity through secular understanding – beyond the acculturation of Christianity

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his own vicinity led by one Markos, which Irenaeus judged to be in breach of true doctrine, tradition, and good order. The constituting principles of the Universal Church suggested by him were the Tradition, the Proclamation, the Rule of Faith (Stuart G. Hall 2005:48).

[9] Hiebert (2009:52–53) says, "[e]ach Christian community is tempted to equate the Gospel with its own culture. This has led churches to split on the basis of cultural differences alone."

to the norms of the Roman Empire or the approach to the Gospel, such as indigenising – but also to join the scattered fragments of Common Grace which belonged to the visible Kingdom of God through the Gospel, or the central ideas of the Jesus movement (Aug. *De Civ.*, xv. 4, *De Doc.*, i.33.36, ii.40.60–61).

In that respect, the socialisation of the early Church seems to have involved central events in the transformation of the early Christian community from an exclusive community to a public religion.[10] Through these events, the viewpoint of the Church regarding a social culture and the viewpoint of the society with regard to the church began to change from being unilateral and fragmentary to being diversified and multi-layered. The external form of the Christian faith no longer remained at the level of revealing Christian ethics as practised by an individual Christian or a religious community, but also had to reflect the expectations that Roman society had of early Christianity and to consider aspects of the sociocultural symbolism of a religion[11] to suit the predominant idea of the unity of the Roman Empire (McGrath 2013:44–46).[12]

Some scholars might see this socialisation as the starting point of the secularisation of Christianity (Paul Johnson 1995:209–216; Schaff, *H.C.C.*, iii.3.22), but the socialisation of Christianity seems to have been a change in the form of Christianity (e.g. conflict and confrontational relationship or harmony and cooperative relationship) that deals with sociocultural value to reveal the essential value rather than a change of the essential value

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[10] Historians of the ancient religion agree that the definition of the term 'religion' and its object in ancient societies was difficult and had a different concept and meaning than it does today. It is because if religion is viewed as a reality with a theological system and organisation, it did not exist in ancient times except for the final form of paganism. The religion at that time was not a systematised religion in the modern sense, but a cult ritual action (*cultus deorum*). Therefore, the term 'religion' in this study is used to deal with the religious sentiments and religious acts of the masses in the sociocultural framework of the time (Choi Hye-Young 2000: 319–323; Nongbri 2013:16). In that respect, the term 'a public religion' used here is a collective activity or ritual that encompasses and standardises various religious sentiments and acts for the community, distinguishing itself from 'personal religious acts' such as the guardian deities (*penates*), divination, and astrology (Davidson 2005a:27-29). The fact that Christianity in the Roman world transformed into a public religion, therefore, suggests that the Christian-centric ideas or essential values were integrated with the religious sentiments and activities of Roman society at that time and that Christianity began to secure a position and role as a public religion in Roman society (cf. 4.2.2, 4.2.3).

[11] Durkheim (1957:231) sees that social life is made possible only by 'a vast symbolism'. Concerning Durkheim's opinion, Swingewood (1998:55–56) explains, "[a] heightened sense of social solidarity is produced by the effervescence generated by great collective gatherings and the symbolic representations employed".

[12] McGrath (2013:44–45), concerning the process of Christianity becoming the official religion of the Roman Empire, argues, "this involved more than Christianity being given prominence and privilege in Roman society. The social roles and norms of traditional Roman religion were now transferred to Christianity…this led to significant changes in the ethos and outlook of Christianity, which changed its public face". Gill (1977:40), concerning the social and cultural changes of Early Christianity from before to after of Constantine, says, "[a]s a minority religion Christianity could afford a good deal of 'cultural purity'. However, as a religion catering for the majority of a given population it was at once faced with a wider culture". And Paul Johnson (1977:76) concerning Constantine's edict of toleration says that Christian ideology "fitted neatly into the aims and needs of the universal state" unlike Judaism, and "[t]hus, it would relinquish a state religion which seemed increasingly forlorn and required public support just to stay alive and replace it by a young and dynamic partner, capable of development and adjustment to underpin the empire with its strength and enthusiasm".

of Christianity. This view can be confirmed through the work of the Gentile Christian communities before Constantine: they sought the distinctive features of Christianity apart from paganism through the universal understanding of Greek Roman culture rather than mingling with their diversity. Ferguson (2003:3) argues:

> [A]lthough Christianity had points of contact with Stoicism, the mysteries, the Qumran community, and so on, the total worldview was often quite different … Originality may be found in the way things are put together and not in the invention of a completely new idea or practice.

Küng (1995:184) points out, "when the longed-for freedom of religion had finally been granted, the religious tensions within Christianity which had been present for so long clearly came to light, tensions which above all derived from Hellenistic Christology", and following the religious policy of the Christian emperor Theodosius, "the Christianisation of public life was carried forward consistently" and "an inculturation" of Christianity which "penetrated not only political institutions and religious convictions, but also philosophical thought and artistic culture" replaced the position of the previous pagan culture in public life. In other words, despite regional characteristics, the early Church was able to confirm 'the rule of faith' based on apostolic statements and the unified views her communities had held universally through the Ecumenical Councils. The early Church also revealed her ability to reinterpret and integrate Greek philosophy, diverse people, and their cultures into the Christian-centred ideas while she was making progress in the universal framework of faith – the rule of faith, canon and episcopate – in the continuous process of the socialisation of the church through Roman social culture.

In that respect this study, in dealing with the diversified considerations concerning the socialisation of the early Church, shows the process of the early Christian understanding of Roman social culture (e.g. encounter – conflict and confrontation – harmony – synthesis) and the Christian direction and way in using the sociocultural values to explain the essential Christian value and to expand the Christian influence in Roman pagan society (e.g. as an exclusive Christian Community – a state religion or an embedded religion – a Christian state). It is difficult to approach today's issues of secularisation or to suggest the directivity of Christian culture through the classification of essences and non-essences, and permanent and impermanent aspects of Christianity in this study. Nevertheless, this study presents systematic information and Church-historical meaning concerning the interrelationship of the church and social culture, or the interaction between essential value and non-essential value. It does this from the following particular considerations: although the early Christian

communities were localised, culturally eclectic, and not unified until they were converted to a popular belief through socialisation, their common Christian worldview, which had been confronted by the religious ideals of Rome, was maintained despite political and social persecution by Rome; the challenge of the heretics, which was based on pagan culture, was rather to benefit the establishment of universal or orthodox faith and form the boundary of the Christian community; during the socialisation of the Church led by the Roman government after Constantine, Christianity, as different from the case of Roman religions, resisted being absorbed into the Roman religious tendency, and separated clearly from Roman social and cultural tendencies through securing an own independent position and role in Roman society with the doctrinal progress; the resources from each period which, until the destruction of the Western Roman Empire and the birth of the Western church, present certain stages in the progress of socialisation, such as the legalisation of Christianity by Constantine and declaration of Christianity as State religion by Theodosius, and the theological approaches concerning Roman social culture of Ambrose and Augustine.

1.2 Aim, theoretical point of departure and research questions

The problem of the early Christian community's interaction with Roman society and of achieving a united value, which had to be considered and dealt with at the time, seems to be the point of departure for the continuous problem of most of the historical Church regarding harmony between the essential and non-essential or tension between them. This is the part Niebuhr accessed to systematically classify models of the interaction between Christianity and culture that was considered in his work *Christ and culture* (1951); it is also the part Küng wanted to deal with as a priority in *Christianity: Essence, history, and future* (1995).

1.2.1 Socialisation as expansion of the geopolitical paradigm of old Israel and Judaism

The expansion of Christianity's geopolitical paradigm from Jewish to Roman society indicates that the ideological boundary of the Jesus movement was not limited by the form of sociocultural values in a particular region, but that the universal value of the Jesus movement could be explained through adding the geopolitical speciality of the Gentile world to such a geopolitical paradigm. It also indicates the gradual progress of embodying the Christian community paradigm in a multi-layered manner as these universal values accumulated.

The historically divine election of Israel included the expectation that the kingdom of God would be established on their geopolitical and cultural foundation with the advent of the

Messiah, and also on their dedication to follow it. Therefore, the concept of God's kingdom in the Old Testament was expressed through the Jewish culture integrating with the land of Canaan; the Israelites and the traditions; institutions of Israel; and their religious attitude. This Jewish culture essentially held an attitude of exclusion to the Gentile culture. Jewish culture, especially as the geopolitical background of the Jesus movement, maintained the various practises of the Old Testament before Christ's first coming, such as the Temple, offerings and sacrifices, the Laws, the annual festivals, and the circumcision, and Jesus identified the main ideas of the Gospel from this geopolitical and cultural basis and taught these ideas (Gonzalez 1987[1970]:40; McGrath 2013:3).[13]

On the other hand, all Jewish social culture at that time did not exactly correspond to the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Matthew 15; Mark 7). The early Christian communities tried to distinguish how the permanent value of the Jesus movement differed from Jewish social culture through conflict with Judaism, in dealing with continuity with historical Israel and discontinuity. Early Christian communities had problems with the question of whether or not to be Jews and, as a result, with the Council of Jerusalem, and Paul answered that they did not need to be Jews, but that Christians were still within the limits of the narrative Gospel understanding of Jewish culture from Abraham to Christ (Hiebert 2009:53; Johnson 1995:33; cf. Chadwick 1993:66).

In early Christianity, the geopolitical and sociocultural influences of Israel gradually faded after the terrible destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE) and the Hellenisation of Jerusalem by Hadrian (135 CE) under the rule of the Roman Empire. The Gospel centre subsequently switched from Jerusalem to Rome or any major stronghold of the Roman Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean (Chadwick 1993:20–21). In addition, Jewish Jesus followers who centred in Jerusalem and initially forming most of the norms and standards for Christians in the early communities of the Jesus movement gradually became a minority, and their exclusiveness regarding the foreign culture that was still found in Jewish culture was diminished through the expansion of the Gospel to the Gentile world (Walls 1996:6).

Nevertheless, it is difficult to infer that the culture of Judaism was discarded and Greco-

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[13] In that respect, McGrath (2013:3), while proposing that Jesus Christ came to the earth to make the Law perfect and became the end or the purpose of the Law, states that it is possible to check the repeated theme that "Christianity is continuous with Judaism, and brings to completion what Judaism was pointing towards" as mentioned in Matthew Chapters 5 to 7. In many parables told by Jesus, Jesus seems to figure out the universal and practical principle of the Gospel in previous records, including the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and he taught the Gospel and the kingdom of God as instances of the lifestyles of Jews. It also seems that his message includes public concern for a social relationship (Matthew 5:13–16). In other words, an interpretation differing from the earlier idea of the Jesus movement concerning the divine election of Israel would support sociality of truth rather than exclusiveness in that it emphasised practical specificity rather than genetic specificity as the people of God.

Roman culture purposely accepted to reflect or meet the spirit of the age from this geopolitical and partial paradigm shift in the early communities of the Jesus movement. The Gospel was still viewed in continuity with Jewish history in many parts. Although the Jews attempted to deny continuity,[14] the followers of Jesus partly relied on Jewish traditions to explain the essential part of the Gospel and continued these traditions in the early Church as a heritage of the act of faith (Gonzalez 1987:40). According to Walls (1996:6–7) there was continuity of consciousness in early Christian communities despite the difference in time and place, so that "each group thinks of itself as having some community with the others" and "each thinks of itself as in some respect continuous with ancient Israel". This paradigmatic geopolitical renewal or shift shows that the essential value of Christianity and its historical continuity were not based on the traditionality or regionality of Jewish social culture, but on the contractual relationship between God and a covenantal community such as Adam, Abraham, and the Israelites, and on harmony between faith and sociocultural life as a community ruled by God, as seen in Stephen's preaching against the Jewish accusation that regarded him as denying the Jewish importance of the law and the Temple (Acts 6:13–14, 7).

The social bonds among Christians in the early Church, therefore, could have existed beyond race, class, educational level, men and women. This approach was surprising to those who were outside Christianity at the time compared with Jewish sociocultural tradition, and it appealed to many people. It can be said that the Gospel tends to accept social differences and achieve the union and unity within the Christian-centric idea as in the Jesus movement.[15] In addition, the expectations of Christians reflected in the Gospel were also that the people living in the Roman cultural area were to live as people with the kingdom of God as the basis of life. They therefore lived as the Romans or lived in danger of their lives as Christians during the period of intermittent persecution before Christianity was officially recognised.

After Christianity had become officially recognised, Rome was sometimes regarded as an alternative to substitute the geopolitical role of Israel (or Jerusalem) and was recognised as a religious symbol which expressed achievement of the kingdom of God (Heather 2005:125). However, about 100 years after Christianity was officially recognised and about 30 years

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[14] Ignatius Antioch (*Magnesians* 10.3) says Christianity "did not establish its faith in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity" and Justine Martyr taught that not only Gentile Christians but also Jewish Christians were not living according to Jewish tradition (Fredriksen & Lieu, 2004:89–90).

[15] Küng (1995:116), concerning "a new understanding of the people of God" in the "[e]cumenical Hellenistic Paradigm" says that regarding "the Gentile Christians who did not belong a priori to the elect people, the decisive factor for membership was not so much descent as faith in Jesus Christ, sealed in the initiation rite of baptism in the name of Jesus".

from when Christianity was made a state religion by Emperor Theodosius the Great, Rome, which had been recognised as the visible kingdom of God until that time, a question arose about the efficiency of Christian socialisation for the people who remained pagan because of the Roman crisis brought about by the invasion and looting by Alaric 410 CE. In response, Augustine eventually re-evaluated Rome as a type of Babylon, not as a type of Jerusalem signifying the kingdom of God (Aug., *De Civ.*, 19.26). Augustine consequently tried to suggest a new paradigm for forming a Christian community (e.g. as the unity of the church rather than as purity of faith) to expand the boundaries of Christianity beyond the geopolitical limit of the Roman Empire (Küng 1995:290; cf. 4.4.1).

These changes show that the boundaries of the Christian community gradually were extended to overcome racial and geopolitical limits in the Christian world, compared with the chosen people of Israel and the geopolitically limited Canaan of the past. However, the geopolitical community paradigm of Christianity formed earlier was not obliterated by the changes of the new age environment; the universal values of Christianity revealed through preceding geopolitical specificity rather became integrated into the new Christian community paradigm to reveal the identity of the Christian community in depth (i.e. as a multi-layered structure of the Jesus movement). Gentile Christian cultures, which contrasted with the geopolitical exclusiveness of Judaism, also showed that their geopolitical specificities were reinterpreted and used as universal values of Christianity, in the same way that the geopolitical specificity of Judaism could be used as a universal value of Christianity. Distinguishing the characteristics of the Christian communities or the community ruled by God described within these different sociocultural values, and dealing with their essential meanings, is therefore seen as meaningful in studying the socialisation of the church.

1.2.2 Socialisation of the local faith communities towards a universal and institutional church in Roman public society

The form of the Christian communities before socialisation into a universal church can be compared according to two major issues since then: at first there was no institutionalised organisation; next there was no standardised doctrine and system of thought. Therefore, there was no unified position from which to publicly approach Roman sociocultural issues. Küng's (1995:115–127) analysis of the early Christian community shows that there was "no monarchical episcopate, no presbyterate, no ordination", but "a particular ministry in the community" or "fellowships of free charismatic ministries". Following this, the transition to the Hellenistic paradigm led to 'the presbyteral-episcopal church order', and the main church regions centred on the city communities surfaced, but it took very different courses without a

unified standard or typology in different regions. McGrath (2013:29–30) also does not consider that the growth of early Christianity was caused by the strategic capabilities of their organisations, despite the rapid expansion of Christianity in the Hellenistic world. In general, Christian leaders and Christian communities could not be seen as being part of a single organisation due to their weak position in Roman society. Furthermore, because of their lack of legal status, it was difficult for them to express their public opinions formally.

Moreover, they were confronted with the problem of a reality that was difficult for them to deal with as a regional community of faith. Before Constantine, Christianity required more clearly stated and uniformly common principles to meet the challenges of heretics including Gnosticism and of the persecution by the Roman Empire. The common feature of these two groups, which differed in nature, was that they targeted Christianity as a collective body rather than as local Christian faith communities. These challenges created an opportunity for the early Christian communities to articulate their universal boundaries publicly – whether related to Christianity or not. During this process, securing "three classic criteria […] the rule of faith, canon and episcopate" became a crucial and important part in making the transition from the previous local faith communities to one institutional church (Küng 1995:146–149).

Regarding producing the concept of integration between the socialisation of the church and Roman society in accordance with the position as universal religion, the early Church kept apart from the common interests of Roman society and remained a pure community of faith – as resident aliens or foreigners living in their own country (*Epistle to Diognetus* 5.5) – until Christianity was recognised officially. However, after Constantine, the church had reason to consider integration to accomplish both the Christian-centred ideas (as the Jesus movement and the community ruled by God) and public goals in Roman society (as the united Roman Empire) simultaneously, according to Constantine's Christian paradigm ('one God – one emperor – one kingdom – one church – one faith') (Küng 1995:181). In other words, the concept of the Kingdom of God or the community ruled by God had to be proposed as the ideal direction for politics and society, public ethics and order in a Roman world including unbelievers, as an extension of the ecclesiological concept. This is where Christianity was established among the huge cultural environments across a variety of ethnic, religious and class systems away from the previous meeting places of particular persons. Likewise, when early Christianity started to be espoused as a public line of thinking after Constantine, the church needed the new structural and institutional conversion to gain access to the diverse cultural views of Rome. Constantine therefore used the first council "to adapt the church organisation to the state organisation", and he tried to achieve the integrated results of the Christian-centred ideas and existing Roman pagan social cultures in a cooperative

relationship of Christianity and Rome (Küng 1995:180–181). However, harmony with Roman social culture in organising the universal and institutional church included the risk of secularisation whereby Roman sociocultural values could overwhelm Christian values in the view of Christians who had experienced Roman social culture in contrast with Christianity. Nevertheless, Christianity at the same time needed to reveal its intrinsic value appropriate to the social circumstances and needs of the time by making use of social culture through the universal and institutional church. The various considerations of theology and faith in the early Church in trying, in a broad sense, to introduce ecclesiological meaning into Roman public society therefore can be seen as important issues revealing how the territory of the Christian community (a community ruled by God) was expanded in Roman social culture according to the socialisation of Christianity (Schaff, *H.C.C.*, iii.6–9; 22; 24).

1.2.3 Production of the integrated concepts with Roman social culture according to the socialisation of Christianity in the understanding of Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine

Christian pondering of the concept of integration between Christianity and pagan culture and its proper explanation had already occurred before Constantine. The expansion of the Gospel toward the Gentiles and the disappearance of the Christian community in Jerusalem meant that the geopolitical centre of Christianity began to move from Palestine to the Gentile world, and Jewish traditions and customs no longer presented the Christian Gospel adequately. The unique religious customs of Judaism in the ancient world, such as circumcision, could be regarded as disgusting or completely incomprehensible by the Gentiles of the time (Chadwick 1993:19). It thus became necessary to explain or reconstruct the Christian Gospel in terms of the words, history, and cultural values of the Roman world to establish the Gospel in this world. Jewish forms of expression that contained the essence of the Gospel therefore had to adapt to a different form while maintaining their essence. McGrath (2013:22–23) states, "one of the most important debates in the early Church concerned the extent to which Christians could appropriate the immense cultural legacy of the classical world" because there was "a debate of considerable cultural and intellectual importance, as it raised the question of whether Christianity would turn its back on the classical heritage, or appropriate it in a modified form". According to McGrath, while Justin Martyr thought that the parallels between Christianity and Platonism as a means of communicating the Gospel were useful, Tertullian thought, "Christianity must maintain its distinctive identity … by avoiding such secular influences". It is evident from this tension that the socialisation of Christianity was under way in the social culture of the Roman world at that time, and that the socialisation of Christianity was not only a natural progression in a

way that reflected the trend of the times, but that it was dealt with as a crucial issue in Christianity.

In dealing with the culture of Hellenistic Christianity before Christianity received official recognition, Küng (1995:162–169) mentions that Origen thought of "the unfettered access of Christian faith to the universal culture to which he belonged" and "had achieved a theological shift which made a cultural shift (the combination of Christianity and culture) possible and, in turn, prepared for a political shift (the combination of church and state)". However, despite Küng's evaluation, it is difficult to see that the theological achievements of Origen were the principal social points of contact establishing the public presence of Christianity among Roman society, because it took a long time for the achievement of integration between theology and culture to be taken up in the church system, as well as in the real Roman cultural sphere. Without reference to Origen's theological outcomes, Christianity had grown rapidly and had spread through the entire region and all social strata of the Roman Empire despite the long period of suppression. In a way, the socialisation of Christianity and the institutionalisation of the early Church progressed steadily through contact with Roman public society, rather than any other theological achievement. The Roman Empire's national grand strategy through administrative and commercial links and the various standards for binding the world around Rome – standardisation strategies such as Pax Romana, Roman Law, Latin as a common and official language, currency, unity and unity of time, calendar, and metric type – were a coactive force for the movement of Christian thought as a cycle of population, culture and economy, and also became an effective means in delivering the Gospel (McGrath 2013:17–19). The progress of conversion can be found in particular in statements concerning the variety and concrete forms of the Christian socialisation associated with Roman culture from Constantine and Ambrose and Augustine, and circumstances related to them.

For Christians of the time, Roman culture was no longer a secular lifestyle separated from the Christian-centred ideas, but a part of the mechanisms revealing Christian belief among the general society and culture. Each of the historical attitudes of three representative personages (i.e. Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine) seems to respond to the above-mentioned research questions regarding how the Christian-centred ideas corresponded to the culture of the times and also how they interpreted the kingdom of God as the concept of union and unity (Aug., *De Doc.*, 2.18.28; 19.29; 25.38–43; Niebuhr 1975:206–209; 215).

Therefore, this inquiry covers aspects of Roman culture interrelated with others in forming early Christian society, culture and religious outcomes through the various methods of

integration in the public function of culture and Christianity through the interpretations and the responses of the three leading personages.

1.2.4 Synthetisation of the early Christian community paradigm through the integrated values produced within the interrelationship between the socialisation of Christianity and secular social culture

This study aimed to determine the standardised approaches used by the early Church in dealing with constructive interaction of religious belief and public social culture. This involved an attempt to find the unity of Christian faith within cultural diversity and to reproduce the cultural diversity within the unity of Christian faith. Cultural diversity as a mostly public social directivity had been pursued by the multiracial nations such as Persia, Greece and the Roman Empire. However, diversity without an absolute standard is just a set of infinitely diverse views and this leads to ideological anarchism, because cultural diversity involving variability is not an absolute value in itself. The Roman world would have experienced their limitations in political reality pursuing cultural diversity without an absolute standard, and would have seen the discrepancy between ethnographic frontiers and the boundary of the state as a real threat to the state. Therefore, it seems that Constantine sought a concept involving integration to retain the empire and found it in Christianity (i.e. as a religious unity for Roman solidarity) and the symbolism of Christianity was exposed to the socialisation of the Church.

On the other hand, Christianity was surrounded with accusations against Christ and Christianity from people declaring that Christianity threatens social unity. The key to a defence against such attacks is the difficulty of linking the direction of the Christian faith with the social demands of the attacker. As the socialisation of the Church in Rome continued, Christian leaders needed to understand the cultural trends and popular values of Roman society, and interpret the interrelationships with the Christian-centred ideas. According to Niebuhr's categorisation (2001:29–39), some theologians, such as Tertullian and Luther, in past church history distinguished humanist society and culture from religious holiness. Others, like Abelard and Ritschl, argued for unity between Christianity and culture,[16] and Augustine thought some of the worldly cultures could be used as neutral value through Christians for God's good works.[17] These various positions are useful in studying the

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[16] In 'Christ and Culture', Niebuhr described types of Christians and culture in the following five models: Christ against Culture, the Christ of Culture, Christ above Culture, Christ and Culture in paradox, and Christ the transformer of Culture (Niebuhr 1975:29–39).

[17] Niebuhr includes John Calvin, John Wesley, Jonathan Edwards and Karl Barth with Augustine in the category of 'Christ the transformer of culture (conversion)'. This approach is opposed to changing to match the central truth of the Christian to the values of contemporary culture, but also refuses to isolate the Church from the world

correlation between the early Church and Roman culture and for inferring values. Especially when early Christianity was allowed in the midst of the Roman society, Christian thinking needed to be explained through a sociocultural approach that the Roman society could understand. Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine revealed diverse and concrete interpretations and reactions to the interrelationship of Christianity and Roman culture. They were living in the period need to deal with sociocultural conflict from inside and outside Christianity, which had been intentionally neglected by earlier Christians, and the constructive interrelationship between Roman social culture and Christian paradigms. Their political, theological and religious interpretations and decisions concerning harmony between the Christian-centred ideas and Roman sociocultural values seem to have been a key factor in determining the paradigm of Christian community formation which continued through to the medieval church. The analysis of historical data will therefore show the synthesis of Christian theology and belief and the dominant ideology and understanding of a group of people, and a tendency or trend at the time.

Thus, concerning the question of how Christianity interprets the relation between church and society, and between the Christian-centred ideas and secular values – a question that pre-Constantine Christian communities would pose to the Christian community after Constantine – I set the following theological considerations as theoretical point of departure:

a. Did the early Christian communities need integration with the sociocultural values of Rome for realising the visible Kingdom of God or a universal Christian community in the Roman Empire?

b. If Roman social culture served as a mechanism to make Christian faith manifest among universal social cultures, in what ways could non-Christian religious groups in Rome and the Roman Christian community sharing the same Roman social and cultural values be distinguished?

c. How was the diversity of sociocultural forms of local Christian communities reflected in the standardisation work of the Roman universal church in the integration of the Gentile Christian communities based in various regions into one Christian community after Constantine?

d. Since Constantine, what meaning and continuity did the past sociocultural integrated values that were produced by the past Christian communities have for the next generation of Christian communities? How could the barriers created by the time differences in the transmission of the meaning of the integrated values be overcome?

(Niebuhr 1975:190).

e. Could the system of universalisation and standardisation of Christianity centred on Roman social culture be a force for Christian solidarity within other societies?

1.3 Presuppositions and hypotheses

This study also presents a few presuppositions and hypotheses as historical and theological approaches to the correlation between the early Church and Roman culture.

Firstly, the fundamental problem regarding the correlation between the socialisation of the early Church and Roman culture that occurred when Christianity became the new paradigm at that time needs to be explained to reveal its permanent and immutable value – the central elements of the Gospel such as Christ, salvation, the kingdom of God – through the constantly changing forms of culture at the time. Küng (1995:8) says, "[r]eal Christianity is primarily a fact, and event, a historical movement. The real essence of real Christianity becomes event in different historical figures." At the time when Christianity was being socialised, ancient Roman culture was leading the universality of society, and Christianity, communicating with the Roman social culture which had different purposes and forms from Christianity, will have explained and revealed its own distinct characteristics through its cultural expressions. Culture, therefore, plays a role in making former peripheral ideas universal. As Sanneh (2006:35–43) points out, the pure Gospel that does not negotiate with culture is nothing but an ambiguous abstract concept that eventually disappears. Most religions are associated with local culture. The early Christian communities centring on Jerusalem were also socially and culturally linked to Judaism but, after the destruction of Jerusalem, had to reveal sociocultural accessibility and the translatability that could transcend the Palestinian territory and adopt various ethnic, linguistic and cultural aspects of the Roman world as a common value system. As seen from the history of Christian persecution, early Christianity for a while had difficulty in smoothly achieving a union with Roman social culture. Nonetheless, as Beard (2015:520) states, "[t]he irony is that the only religion that the Romans ever attempted to eradicate was the one whose success their empire made possible and which grew entirely within the Roman world". From this point of view, the current study suggests that the actions taken by Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine combined to acquire social relevance and universality, and through such socialisation achieved the public sociocultural Roman values on which Christianity focused.

Secondly, the tension regarding the socialisation of the early Christian community, which had been constant since the earliest Christian communities, was reflected through a cleavage between pursuit of the essential value of the Gospel (or purity of the Gospel as

asserted by Tertullian and Donatists) and pursuit of the efficient forms of the Gospel (e.g. the universal Church or sociocultural systemisation and standardisation of Christian faith). Therefore, the attempts of the early Christian community to deal with the tension would have influenced the universalisation and the systematisation of Christianity. Walls (1996:6–9) says that a continuing tension is found between the "indigenization" principle and the "pilgrim" principle in the history of Christianity. According to his view of "the indigenizing principle", Christians reveal "the desire to 'indigenize', to live as a Christian and yet as a member of one's own society, to make the Church (to use the memorable title of a book written in 1967 by F.B. Welbourn and B.A. Ogot about Independent churches in Africa) *A Place to Feel at home*" depending on the specific social and cultural network that cannot be separated from oneself. This means that the nature of the Gospel cannot be understood only as an abstract logic, but can be stronger as a principle of faith that deals with real life. "Along with the indigenizing principle … the Christian inherits the pilgrim principle, which whispers to him that he has no abiding city and warns him that to be faithful to Christ will put him out of step with his society." This principle is similar to Augustine's view of the falling Roman Empire in his work *City of God*.

The tension in the socialisation of Christian communities seems to have been stabilised through the dominance of either aspect, but the balance and harmony between the historical ideal of Israel and the sociocultural reality of the Gentile world, which developed through the tension, would become a motivation to universalise and systematise the visible church in the Gentile world.

Walls (1996:9) explains as follows:

> The history of Israel is part of Church history, and all Christians of whatever nationality are landed by adoption … and the Church in every land, of whatever race and type of society, has this same adoptive past by which it needs to interpret the fundamentals of the faith. The adoption into Israel becomes a 'universalizing' factor, bringing Christians of all cultures and ages together through a common inheritance …

From the perspective of the Gentile Christians, this historical tension seemed to reveal that it existed as a central role to maintain the balance between idealistic Christianity and the real world so that the indigenisation principle of Christianity is not paganised in the efficiency and extensibility of the Gospel. The balance from this tension, which makes Gentile Christians feel homogeneous as a Christian community, would allow Christianity to approach universal values in the Gentile world, to form a visible symbolic system reflected in them and to lead to a systematic harmony with the essential part of Christianity.

Thirdly, the research into the continuity of Roman culture in the early Church (e.g. a symbiotic relationship) and discontinuity (e.g. antagonistic relationships or attempts at escaping from or removing the Roman cultural tendency) will distinguish Christian culture as permanent (or essential) and constantly changing (or non-essential). Here, the permanent part is the Gospel and the Kingdom, which required timely introduction to the culture in history; the constantly changing part concerns various forms for explaining such essential concepts of Christianity as the Temple, the law, and the worship ceremony. Christianity's permanent part is still based in the prior cultural continuity which needs to be reconstructed and explained again according the non-permanent cultural ways of the time. Thus, the Roman culture that was used in the early Church will reveal which Christian-centred idea the early Church wanted to explain through integration with Roman culture and what the ecclesial significance was of such integrated conceptions.

Fourthly, the study of church history concerning the socialisation of the early Church and the interrelationship with Roman culture will provide an appropriate analysis of the public and social roles of ministers, theologians and Christian communities at the time of exclusive early Christianity becoming isolated from secular cultural values. Therefore, what early Christians could do and had to do will more clearly reveal the boundary between acts of faith and public concerns than the present ambiguity. Furthermore, it seems that the boundary will have value in distinguishing between the early Church and the medieval church.

1.4 Methodology and approach

Thus, this study used the following research range, methodology and approach to derive narratives on the historical events around the early Church and reconstruct the church-historical meanings on the Christian community paradigm and the process of forming the integrated sociocultural values of Christianity.

1.4.1 Research range

The scope of research into ancient Roman culture is enormous, and asks for various academic approaches, even when attempting to just cover connections with church history. Thus, this study covers the interrelationship of the socialisation of the early Church and Roman culture as central instead of dealing with the extensive range of sociocultural elements that existed in the Roman Empire. The scope of social culture is limited in five ways: (1) The accessible range is limited to Rome and the surrounding areas related to early Christianity, and the Roman Empire I would like to deal with in this study ranges from the Roman Empire concerning the sociocultural background of early Christianity, until the

destruction of the Western Roman Empire and the birth of the organised Western church; (2) The function of culture is for socialising early Christianity; (3) It is shared in the early Church as an integrated concept of the main ideas of the Jesus movement and Roman public values; (4) Elements of Roman social culture were carried on to the medieval church; (5) The nature of these things is very Roman, which distinguished it from Hellenism. In other words, the approach was to discover how the Christian idea came to produce Christian culture as a common concern in Roman society through uniting in union with Roman culture.

The discussion also deals with how the social solidarity of Christianity was retained, how Christian knowledge was produced and cultivated (or accumulated), and how Christian culture played a role in satisfying the psychological needs of members of Roman society until the fall of the Western Roman Empire. It is about the kind of relationship with Roman culture that socialised Christianity. This study therefore discusses the core sociocultural values of Roman society by providing a range of historical evidence and analyses by scholars and by explaining how the church recognised and acknowledged this.

In that respect, this study is focused on three geopolitical characteristics (Judaism, Hellenistic Gentile society, and Roman Empire), two political singularities (before and after Constantine), and three core figures related to the socialisation of early Christianity (Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine) as elements of the historical change, and is divided into three sections to infer and classify the elements as follows;

First, concerning Christianity being latent among the Jews until the era of the Roman Empire, the culture around Israel under the regional influence of Palestine is dealt with to lay a cultural foundation for the birth of the church.

Next, a comparative analysis of the Christianity inherited from the Jewish tradition and the fragmented Christianity growing out of cultural diversity and relativity shows how different they were and how they could change into one. I discuss the early Christian community in situations of conflict with the Roman Empire, how Christianity understood the public social and cultural values of the Roman Empire, and how it approached the public's understanding.

Thereafter, consideration is given to how the early Church was structurally and institutionally formed under the influence of Roman culture before the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476. How the church studied and integrated Roman culture is discussed with regard to the socialisation of Christianity, together with how Roman sociocultural functions for union and unity affected the early Church. The church historical process and its singularities are

verified through the differences in the interrelationship between Roman social culture and Christianity before and after Constantine. In particular, the main streams or continuity of the early Church and Roman culture that reveal the views of Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine are analysed.

In conclusion, the meaning and the process of change in the relationship between Roman culture and the socialisation of Christianity is considered by means of reasons for the argument and the prioritisation of beliefs evaluated and accepted by the church for overcoming a culture in each age. In addition, how the concept of union and the unity of Christ or with Christ, or the concept of the integration of Christian-centred ideas and Roman social culture was expanded in the society, how it was carried out, is compared and analysed according to the conditions of the time and culture.

Thus, the text is divided into three chapters (Chapters 2 to 4) on the correlation between the socialisation of early Christianity and the social culture of Rome: Chapter 2 provides an overview of the main issues that were addressed in this study to define the meaning of socialisation, classify early Christian communities, and distinguish Roman specialities from the integrated concepts of Greek-Roman social culture; Chapter 3 addresses issues related to the socialisation process of the early Christian community before Constantine in two parts in terms of the socialisation of the community centring on Judaism, and of the re-socialisation of the community centring on Roman values; Chapter 4 addresses issues related to the re-socialisation process of the early Christian community after Constantine, and deals with church historical singularities by concentrating on three personalities, namely Constantine (Romanisation of Christianity), Ambrose (Christianisation of Rome), and Augustine (Christian community paradigm as medieval Western Christian community frames).[18] It could reveal the structure's imbalance when designing and determining the structure of each chapter in terms of the importance of the three core figures who appear in the subtitles of the entire thesis. But since the contrast between before and after Constantine was an important axis in explaining Christian re-socialisation, there was no choice but to put the three core figures together in one chapter titled The socialisation of Christianity after Constantine. This is because it was necessary to explain the situation that prevailed before the three main characters, which required a large number of pages to make it possible to understand exactly how the change in the paradigm of the Christian community occurred through the main characters. The narrative of this thesis shows some preceding

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[18] The importance of Ambrose and Augustine as discussed here is based on the deep interrelationship with the establishment of the direction of important Christian policies seen as a de-socialisation from the Constantinian Christian paradigm.

argumentation processes identified in these three characters.

1.4.2 Methodology and approach

The method of research comprised a literature review and subsequent analysis of types in the interrelationship. The study followed two complementary routes as the methodology. The first was the research design of the principle of selective attention to discover universal principles of sociocultural phenomena from numerous empirical data sources from an objective and value-neutral standpoint. The second was the interpretive research design including narrative schemes[19] of people at that time to interpret and understand the motives and intentions of actors who are difficult to quantify or the meaning of social organisations and institutions as a multi-methods approach.

1.4.2.1 Methodology

Firstly, as indicated by McGrath (2013: xvi–xvii), 'the principle of *selective attention*' used here is that "[i]t sets out to try and see beyond a mass of historical detail, and identify broader historical patterns". In other words, in order to trace the interrelationship between socialisation of the early Church and Roman social culture and to identify the meaning of the formation of the Christian community paradigm, this study tried to trace the linkages and causality between the events related to the subject. It further sought to infer universal meaning in the continuity of Church history rather than focusing on each detailed and fragmentary analysis and theological interpretation of the events. Therefore, this study focused on the selection and analysis of empirical data reflecting the perspectives related to the emergence of Christianity and social change, rather than doctrinal data, to identify causal rules for social issues in the socialisation of the Church and Roman culture.

Secondly, in using interpretive research as the methodology, personal and social meanings concerning human behaviour need to be analysed. In this case, the socialisation of the church or Roman culture is not always a shape or an object – as reification or *Versachlichung* – and this social issue is difficult to separate from intellectual history or distinct characteristics of history including human motives and values. Thus, through various data, I inferred and analysed the values revealed from the consciousness of the early Christians and non-Christians in the Roman cultural area at the time, and the latent social mainstream behind the documents (Min Kyung-Bae 1994:35–36; Song Jae-Ki, Kim Mi-Ri &

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[19] Donald Polkinghorne (1988:17–18) says, "[t]he narrative organizational scheme is of particular importance for understanding human activity. It is the scheme that displays purpose and direction in human affairs and makes individual human lives comprehensible as wholes."

Bhattacherjee 2014:24–30, 110–113).

In essence, this study followed the principles of the historical development and of the historical linkage in the viewpoint of historicism. The principle of development is that the whole reality of history is a process of diverse development; the essence of something is presented in the history process and is fully understood through its development process. In addition, the principle of the linkage is that individual events or facts in history are in an organic and unified association. In other words, the main idea of the Jesus movement can be captured as a coherent direction in the development process and diversity of the inner and outer forms of the Christian community, and various sociocultural associations and continuity concerning Christianity can reveal the total value of Christianity as the reality of Christianity integrated into human life (Gadamer 2004[1975]:302; Meyerhoff 1959:10).

To show the process of change in interrelations during the socialisation of the early Church and Roman culture required collecting and analysing primary sources from various Christian authors and their works, and of the Roman social culture of the time. The authors and their work representing different periods were analysed through checking the historical facts concerning the primary source presenting the political, social, and economic situation of the Roman Empire at the time; and secondary data related to the analysis were used as supplementary information for interpretation. Subsequently, these gathered data were analysed by comparing differences across time periods; the changes that occurred in the interrelationship; new ecclesial meanings formed through the change; and what the social expectations and demands of Roman society were. These aspects particularly are dealt with in the social and cultural interpretations of Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine.

1.4.2.2 Approach

The problem of studying differences over time, situations, and regions in the continuity could therefore be approached from two major angles; what the church contemplated concerning socialisation, and the features of the socialisation of the church itself.

The early Church's approach to socialisation

The former angle (mentioned above) merely relates to the issue of access to the socialisation of the Church. As mentioned earlier, Walls (1996:12) suggests that there is realistic concern about the sociocultural accessibility of the Gospel through the tension between 'the pilgrim principle' and 'the indigenizing principle'. For the Gospel to be realistically formed and preached in the non-Christian world, the universal recognition

principle in the world inevitably has to be reflected. The problem is that it is impossible to free oneself entirely from one's own sociocultural context when interpreting the Gospel. On the other hand, Küng's view (1995:9) is that "the real essence of Christianity comes about in its perversion" and could be considered "from negative as well as positive perspective". Thus, the considerations of socialisation in the early Christian communities can be seen as a continuous process of Christian history to draw out the visible form of Christianity, which is still incomplete in an ever changing historical situation. It can be regarded as the active method of approach of early Christianity, such as following three issues: their vigilance or understanding of the common values in Roman social culture; their integration into an efficient form that reveals the main ideas of Christianity; and the effort to establish essential Christian values in a world of cultural diversity.

The first issue concerns making good use of a sociocultural common value. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, 15. 4) says, "the earthly city will not be everlasting … It has its good in this world, and rejoices … it would be incorrect to say that the goods which this city desires are not good". The problem is in making good use of the social and cultural value of common grace.[20] Küng (1995:40) mentions concepts and notions from Hellenistic popular philosophy as used by Paul, saying, "a universal human ethic and a specifically Christian ethic are not mutually exclusive". The sociocultural value is interpreted in different ways according to the user's inclination and purpose; and problems around making good use of social and cultural value is reflected in concerns about Roman culture in the early and medieval church. In other words, the problem in making good use of social and cultural value is to seek to utilise cultural functions actively without the church, the main agent, muddling and distorting the central truth and agenda of Christianity. Augustine tried to keep the common value from being adapted in a secular direction but adapted the approach to how to love God more.[21] However, as Niebuhr (1975:29–39) notes, each early Christian community took a different position relevant to the time, region, and the theologians' tendency. That may have been because they had experienced the secular and polytheistic Roman culture, and the countercultural cognition resulting from the apocalyptic thinking of the earlier Christian community was still embedded in them. They also were not an anti-establishment movement or antisocial group opposed to Roman society; however, misconceptions and persecution by Roman society were at the same level with that group. Therefore, before Constantine, the

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[20] Kuyper believed that God planted infinite potential in a human's inner nature for the advancement and progress of a highly dimensional world of all mankind by the figure of God himself; and the beauty and dignity of His figure is shown through the societal communities. This cultural function is contributed not only in the development of humankind but is also given as a preliminary stage for the special grace of God (Oh Hyung-Guk 2008:109–110). In this view, Augustine argued that the mine of God's providence was everywhere, and he suggested using possessions actively for propagating the truth (Augustine 2000:2.40).

[21] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*,1. 4.; 1. 31. 34.; 2. 18. 28., *De Trinitate*. 10. 11. 17.

early Christian community's approach to the neutral values in Roman social culture was too limited to produce new values. After Constantine, the socialisation of Christianity clearly indicated an orientation different from prior Christian social distinctiveness or the solitary inclination of previous Christians. In the Christian worldview of the time, the Roman society and culture could be expanded as a Kingdom of God and shifted as a target of union and unity with the Christian-centred ideas. Consequently, the early socialisation of the church seems to have prepared for the medieval ecclesiological approach that wanted to bring fragmentary values like the common graces into one ecclesial community.

I was of the opinion that collecting the data concerning this issue and analysing the changing flow would clarify how the perception of the socialisation of the Church had changed in mainstream Christianity, and that it was possible that early Christianity could remain a countercultural and exclusive community.

The next issue concerns the efficiency of the Gospel. Küng (1995:8) offers the following suggestion:

> [T]he 'essence (*essentia, natura, substantia*)' of Christianity does not show itself in metaphysical immobility and aloofness but always in a constantly changeable historical 'form' … not an ideal Christianity in the abstract spheres of a theological theory or poetry, but a real Christianity which really exists in the midst of the history of this world … The real essence of real Christianity becomes event in different historical figures.

Claims such as these could be conjectured from Christ's incarnation and his historical movement recorded in the New Testament. The other words, it seems that the abstract and metaphysical concepts of the truth in the socialisation of Christianity should be understood through culture working as the social force binding one society. The more the culture is universal and appropriate to the people, the more efficacious the culture can be as a medium for utilising and delivering the Truth. On the other hand, the absolute perspective of the Truth may be at risk of being interpreted in a cultural direction. Therefore, it is to be seen to what extent and in which ways Roman culture provided efficiency in Christianity, and how the church managed the functions of efficiency.

The last issue in the approach to the socialisation of the Church is in establishing the essential value. In the research I did not attempt to define what Christian is in essence,[22] but to analyse how to re-establish the essential values in early Christian thought in the

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[22] According Hans Küng (1995:1), the essence asks the question of "what may be said to be the permanently valid, constantly binding and quite indispensable element in Christianity".

socialisation of Christianity. The issue seems to be not that of definition but of progress. Richard Muller (1991:112–113) says that, in addition to the apostolic writings, the Rule of the Faith which was shared in the early Christian communities as the apostolic testimony can be found in identifying a standard of canonicity. Fathers of the early church – including Irenaeus and Clements of Alexandria – presented the regular faithfulness (*regula fidei*) as a principle of interpretation in order to exclude heretical interpretations of the Bible. They regarded faith as the relationship between the promise and fulfilment, the pattern and the perfection through Jesus Christ. Thus, the rule of faith was used in words to refer to an unconscious unification, or a principle of unity. The purpose was to point out the homogeneity of beliefs of later generations of Christians despite their sociocultural diversity and differences in time and place. The essence of Christianity inherited by this rule of faith is focused on theological interpretation within the history of Christian doctrine, but it is not limited to such theological results; it also has to do with how Christians of that age could treat the reality of the life given to them as Christian faith. Concerning the historical transmission process of the Gospel through "the indigenizing principle" and "the pilgrim principle", Walls (1996:7) proposes that both of these tendencies, which seem to stand on opposite sides, derive from the attitude of faith to seek the essence of the Gospel.

In addition, concerning the direction of Christians who want to pursue the essence of Christian faith, Küng (1995:40–41) contends –

> [T]he starting point in defining what is Christian is not an abstract principle but this concrete Jesus Christ … in this perspective, being a Christian can be understood as a truly radical humanism: as a humanism, because being a Christian comprises being human to the full … even Christians cannot do away with all these negative features of human life and society, but they can endure, fight against and assimilate the negative.

While they formed an exclusive community, the early Christian communities were not as clear in pursuing the essential Christian value they sought as after their socialisation. They lived a limited kind of secular life in loving as Christians, and the essential value of Christianity that they considered emerged as a matter of defining Christ in the struggle against heresy. However, while they were socialising, the important issue was a mixture of the essential values of Christianity that enabled them to live as Christians and an obscureness of definitions and boundaries for Christianity and Christians. In other words, with the rule of faith, the realm of essential value in Christianity that was to be revealed as Christians in the field of life was expanded and diversified more than in the exclusive community.

Therefore, theologians in the early Church who were under the influence of the Roman Empire with Ambrose and Augustine considered a spirit and attitude that could regulate the Christian tendency and the essential idea of Christianity in the shadow of Roman culture. These essential values were expressed in theology or secured with the system, organisation, and institutions of the Church, but it seems that the values the Church wanted to include in society were not irrelevant to what the society expected from Christianity. The Christian essential value, suggested through Ambrose's critical attitude to Theodosius the Great and the works of Augustine, such as *Civitate Dei, Doctrina Christiana*, did not just propose a utopia of the Christian life but the social direction, positions and rules that Christianity tried to propose for society. Therefore, the issue of re-establishing the essential value for the socialisation of the Church can be studied in the dynamics between Christianity and the social public.

Analysis of characteristics of church socialisation

What is next is the question of the socialisation of the Church itself. In this study, four issues as sub-concepts were dealing with the meaning of the interrelationship between the socialisation of the early Church and Roman culture.

One of the issues is that sociocultural diversity is implied in the Christian category. That means that Christian-centred ideas covered social problems and also produced new Christian concepts with the integrated value that was continued from the fundamental value of Christianity, but did not exist in the earlier exclusive community. Hulme (2012[1923]:3) claims that the progress of civilisation does not occur accidentally but is synthesised with various causes before we know it. This suggests that a particular historical change is not just a new form that is independent of its environs, but is the synthesised result of the interrelationship between a diversity of causes in the continuity of historical and geopolitical time and space. In some ways, as seen in the birth of the Gospel and the church in the period of the Roman Empire, forms that reveal Christian truths such as Christian preaching, theology, worship, liturgy, organisational systems, ecclesiastical offices and teaching methods associated with early Christianity are not to be understood only through the unilinear historical structure of the Old Testament, the historical Judaic traditions, and the geological features of Palestine. It is necessary to consider the dynamics of early Christianity interacting with the cultures of different empires that ruled in the Palestinian area, especially with influences from the intellectual history (*Geistesgeschichte*) of Hellenism, the Roman political ideals and legal and institutional practices binding many nations and cultures in one world, and the influences of the historical and geopolitical diversity of the surrounding area

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from before the Roman Empire.

Another issue concerns the originality or uniqueness of Christianity in combining with social culture. As mentioned earlier, one should not make hasty conclusions about whether cultural diversity is an immediate cause of the socialisation of the Church. As Ferguson (2003:3) has noted:

> Although Christianity had points of contact with Stoicism, the mysteries, the Qumran community, and so on, the total worldview was often quite different, or the context in which the items were placed was different. Originality may be found in the way things are put together and not in the invention of a completely new idea or practice.

Such originality also emerged in Judaism. Although Judaism had forms similar to diverse Gentile religious cultures in Palestine, it certainly was separate from them. In other words, the forms of expression both within and outside the Christian faith that resulted through the socialisation of the Church are not dealt with simply as similar forms that are an inevitable consequence of mixing with diverse cultures in the period, but as a regulated consequence of the early Church being able to synthesise value-neutral concepts conforming with the purposes and the values of Christianity.[23]

This approach of early Christianity to culture seems to show similarities with Jewish social culture. Although the Christian communities of the Gentile world inherited the Christian belief from the Jerusalem church and could hardly be free from the Jewish worldview, they did not share similarities with the Jewish tradition to strengthen their solidarity with the Jerusalem church. They nevertheless had a system for uniting believers scattered in different areas with the church in Jerusalem. The system included sophisticated essential confessions, and these were applied as a framework for Christian believers to reinterpret their lifestyle.[24] Therefore, the originality or uniqueness of Christianity is dealt with as a Christian mechanism (or a collective consciousness) concerning how to link scattered Christian communities in the socialisation of the early Church and how to create a structure incorporating various social cultures into the Christian thinking system.

The next issue is the matter of symbolism. The sociocultural symbolism (e.g. an ideology and a common culture for social solidarity) acquired a special meaning beyond its

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[23] Davidson (2005a:49) says that the entity we call Christianity developed in Jewish, Hellenic, and Roman conditions, they still had the features of their periods, and then the entity surpassed its roots and grew up in due course.

[24] Davidson (2005a:156) points out that the Apostolic Church was not isolated as a localised community as we think about it, but formed a social network having solidarity, and this played a huge role in forming the authorised universal Christian faith.

practicalities (e.g. the physical social foundation and the institutional structure) in the socialisation of the church. [25] That is why one can gain the sociocultural meaning of Israel, Greece, and the Roman Empire from the symbolism in the church today, although the sociocultural forms which directly related to the socialisation of church were lost. In considering the socialisation of the Church and the interrelationship with Roman culture, it became clear that the two objective existences at different starting points – Christianity and Roman culture – became interrelated for a specific period. However, it seems that the two did not merge, although the social symbolism agreed with each one's social purpose.

Although the fall of the Western Roman Empire meant loss of objective forms of Roman culture in many ways, it seems that the earlier social fellowship and communality that existed in the Roman world became vested in the sociocultural symbolism or symbolic order of the medieval church. However, it is difficult to determine the causes of such symbolism from the essential capability of Christianity only, due to the principle of 'becoming one body in Christ'. It also cannot be seen as the replacement of the cultural symbolism[26] of pagan religion. Therefore, the following questions sought to reveal the purpose of the socialisation that the Church naturally headed for after Constantine: What symbolism did the early Church internalise for her social force during the process of being organised and socialised in the social culture of the Roman Empire? What cultural symbolism did Roman society expect from the early Church? What means were incorporated into the socialisation of the church by combining the main ideas of Christianity with the social cultural symbolism?

Such an approach to symbolism could also provide geopolitical understanding of Roman society as the Kingdom of God, like the earlier understanding of Israel's identity, and the expandable scope of ecclesiology in the early Christian community.

A final matter is sociocultural 'continuity' existing despite the constantly changing times and circumstances. Aspects already noted regarding the matter of symbolism are also dealt with under the matter of continuity. Cultural symbolism can be substituted with other cultures, but it deals with the universal awareness and meaningful information of people and is shared

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[25] The result of the interaction through the socialisation of the early church with Roman social culture was 'the symbolic binding force' such as convictions and ideas besides the social physical foundation (e.g. road, architecture, letter) and the institutional structure (e.g. religion, family, education, administration, and legal system). There was a common culture based on shared experience and values; symbolic forms (e.g. Pax Romana, Concordia, tolerance, honour and shame, guardian and beneficiary) were regarded as functions to maintain social solidarity (cf. Swingewood 1998:54; 2.1.1).

[26] In Durkheim's (1957:231) opinion, the symbolic order is to conduct a function which produces a value for the unity of society. He says that social life "in all its aspects and in every period of its history, is made possible only by a vast symbolism". Concerning Durkheim's statement, Swingewood (1998:55) explains further: "[a]lthough a sign with no value in itself, the flag represents reality and is treated as if it was reality." As some theologians have noted, it is in this context that Constantine's conversion did not mean that he became a true disciple of Christ, but his choice was the result of wanting to use the Christian meaning in the Roman world for his purpose.

efficiently among people and therefore cannot be easily disregarded. In this sense, it is understandable that the sociocultural symbolism of Israel, as a part of biblical history that informed Christian thinking, was substituted with Roman culture, which was more useful than the symbolism of Israel for transmitting meaning to non-Christian people.

According to Davidson (2005a:49), Christianity reveals features of chronological descent from the Jewish, the Greek, and the Roman from the beginning to the present. The main idea of Christianity certainly seems to have been conveyed through cultural forms and has maintained its continuity.[27] Therefore, when the cultural hegemony moved on from the Jewish tradition to Hellenism and from Hellenism to Rome, the earlier culture did not disappear, but it would seem that new cultural forms took into account the effectiveness of earlier forms in conveying the essential values of Christianity in continued unity. The continuity can be traced in the following way: the universal principle of Christian faith was revealed through the Jewish traditions; the approach patterns of theology were developed through the methodology of Hellenistic philosophy; and the main ideas of Christianity were included in the form of a church socialised through Roman social culture with regard to the structure and organisation, system, liturgy and sociocultural symbolism of the Church.

As Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine were from different generations and environments, they reveal the continuity and discontinuity of the interrelationship between Christianity and Roman social culture in the Roman Empire. That is why, when the discontinuity of social cultural consequences of the earlier and later church and its new alternative outcomes are known, the matter of continuity and discontinuity will show which main Christian ideas concerning the Temple in Jerusalem, the synagogue and Old Testament worship were included in the sociocultural form.

The meaning of the interrelationship of the early Church and Roman social culture is shown in the continuity of Roman culture with regard to the principles of church formation, in that Roman culture provided the sociocultural system for transferring Christian thinking in the Roman Empire to the medieval church, the Renaissance, and the Reformation. As mentioned earlier with regard to symbolism, Roman social culture did not disappear with the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century. The Roman Catholic Church, which had imitated and integrated Roman social culture as its own, was alive and was recognised as a symbolic order having cultural superiority and as the main agent in using the culture and the supply route (Küng 1995:323–340; 348; Richard 2010:269–272; Rowe 1974:63).

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[27] As Kung (1995:8) has noted, "[t]he real essence of real Christianity becomes event in different historical figures."

Furthermore, the main Roman culture at that time was maintained for 1 000 years by the Byzantine Empire that had already moved geopolitically to protect cultural property. In view of the transfer of the culture to the West following the fall of the Byzantine Empire, Roman culture was recreated in the Italian Renaissance and influenced the Reformation, which reveals the meaning of the continuity of the interrelationship of the Church and Roman culture.

Socialisation itself is concluded to be an optional decision of Christianity at the time with regard to sociocultural universality and the public interest in religion. The theology of each period could probably be seen as involving a social emblem or the public attitude that the religion wanted to expose socially. Theological decisions made by Constantine not only include questions concerning the metaphysical essence but also public answers to society. This study therefore included questions to be dealt with in a narrow sense: What is the relationship between the essential meaning of Christianity and the values of the other side? Is constantly changing secular culture in conflict with Christianity or is its value neutral? What influences and roles were given to Christianity and Roman society through the integrated meaning of Christian-centred ideas and sociocultural values? Therefore, the study of the interrelationships of Roman social culture including the socialisation of the early Church and the process of church formation dealt with the dynamics in the sense of diversity, including the historical experiences of Christian communities and the value of beliefs held by Christians at that time.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIALISATION OF THE EARLY CHURCH AS A COMMUNITY PRACTISING AN EXCLUSIVE RELIGIOUS BELIEF

Before dealing with the historical evidence from Roman social culture related to the socialisation of the early Church and its interrelationships, it is necessary to deal with the definition of terms used in this study and the basic understanding of previous scattered historical contexts related to the research subject. In this chapter, I define the terms used in this study as an overview of the socialisation of the early Church, and present the approach to the formation of the early Christian community and the principles of socialisation. The background to forming an early Christian community and its socialisation is discussed as the introduction of this study.

2.1 Approaches of interaction between the Christian faith and the social public culture

When the Christian faith is propagated in certain communities, the sociocultural character of the local Christian community is reflected not only in the specific tendencies of the key figures involved in the communities,[28] but also in the sociocultural universality inherent in the trends of that group. John Chapter 4 tells of a personal experience where a Samaritan woman met Jesus Christ, but in many ways it reveals the common culture and the sentiments towards the Samaritans that show sociocultural and religious differences with the Jews. Also, as can be seen from the difference between the Jewish Jesus movement and Gentile Christianity, the groups that embraced the Christian faith showed big sociocultural differences in reflecting the Christian-centred ideas in their reality and in forming the Christian community. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with the conditions of social culture in understanding the Christian faith and forming a community based on that faith.

2.1.1 Social and cultural universality: The compelling powers and common culture for binding mass society

Some main terms need general definition and limitation of the scope thereof in their application in this chapter:

1. 'Society' denotes social relationships and social structures as standardised and stabilised frameworks through the interactions of people that are repeated and continued, as in

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[28] As we can see from the doctrinal controversies in early church history, some features of the Christian faith were featured locally through key figures.

Durkheim's view of functionalism following a social positivism point of view of society as real.[29]

2. 'Social interaction' accordingly refers to the society exchanging behaviour in giving and taking from each other in human life, such as through cooperation, competition, conflict, enforcement, reconciliation, assimilation, and exchange.

3. 'Culture' in this study means the wholeness of people's patterns of behaviour and ways of thinking that the members of a society commonly gain through acquired learning, including characteristics of sharing, learning, accumulating, integrating, and changing. Experiential, institutional and ideological culture, in particular, are dealt with together in this research (Min Kyung-Bae 1994:37–49).[30]

4. 'Socialisation' is used as a key word in this research. It refers to the process by which people are made to behave in a way that is acceptable in their sociocultural structure and the process of human interaction in converting a private existence or possession into a public thing, as in the dictionary meaning (Longman Dictionary 1995). According to Berger (1981:92), "[s]ocialisation can be seen as an enormously powerful process whereby the 'objective' structures of the society 'out there' are internalised within consciousness. The 'out there' becomes an 'in here'". In other words, socialisation is the means by which the individual or organisation learns a role suited to social expectations and their social position (Andersen & Taylor 2006:83).

Human beings from their birth are placed within an integrated social background that is an influence of objective reality which exerts power as in social control and social binding through tradition, law, institutions, customs, faith, language, lifestyle or culture. Berger (1981:91) argues, "one cannot have the solidarity of other human beings, the bonds that tie one together with them, without the bondage of social controls of one's life". The sociocultural universality shared by members of a society therefore allows them to predict what can be expected from each other and to continue social life smoothly through offering common ground, which, however, has a considerable binding power over the thoughts and behaviour of the individual. Durkheim emphasises (cited in Swingewood 1998:55), "within society there exists a common culture based on shared experiences and values, in which symbolic forms function to maintain social solidarity". The objective realities for social binding or the universality of public society, in

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[29] Social nominalism, unlike social positivism (as a form of epistemological realism), sees society as just a title; unreal and just a simple aggregate of individuals. In other words, a standard unit of a society is an individual. Thus, to deal with the substantive leverages between the socialisation of the early church and the Roman culture that certainly existed as unifying and systemic wholeness, the viewpoint of functionalism proposed by Durkheim following social externalism seems to be useful. Cf. Berge & Keller *Sociology Reinterpreted: An Essay on Method and Vocation* (1981); Gill, *Theology and Social Structure* (1977); and Swingewood, *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity* (1998).

[30] See footnote 2.

some way, could be understood as a tool for communication to interpret and unite the diversity in human life of the time. Therefore, newly arising social issues of each age were reproduced and reinterpreted to accord closely with the cultural frame of reference of the age. In other words, social issues could not all be unrelated to the compelling sociocultural power and the common culture governing the members of the period, even if the problem deviated from issues of public society or conflicted with them (e.g. early Christianity persecuted by the Roman government and Donatists persecuted by the Roman universal church; cf. 3.3.4, 4.4.1).

Dealing with the social issues of early Christianity means facing more than one common culture. There was the traditional culture of the Judaism of Jewish people living in Palestine and the Jewish Diaspora, and Roman social culture exerting powerful political, social and cultural power around East Asia, including Palestine, most of Europe, and North Africa. Furthermore, the social and cultural utilisation of prior empires, including Hellenism, which directly or indirectly influenced Judaism, and which was based on the formation of Christianity in terms of historical continuity, should also be included. Dealing with an intermixed social issue in more than one sociocultural context therefore requires analysis through various approaches.

Through their power in binding their society, the tokens of the Jewish culture, such as the doctrine of the election of Israel, the Temple and legalism, and their faith became an external framework in the making of a potential Jesus movement in Judaism.[31] Without approaching this compelling sociocultural power reflected in the Old Testament, the progression of the Gospel and church cannot be discussed. Since then, the early Church in the Roman Empire was reformed again from the framework of Jewish tradition through Roman culture. The Roman social culture at the time provided a public form for expressing the Christian-centred ideas. The Roman social culture was the mainstream of synthesised sociocultural communication for handling the huge Roman Empire, and the early Church had no choice but to learn the Empire's values and reveal its own values in the way determined by Roman social culture. On the other hand, the sociocultural exclusiveness of Judaism and the Jesus movement made it difficult to associate with the compelling social power revealed in the Roman Empire. The monotheism and the religious life directed towards the absolute truth that they pursued differed vastly from Roman polytheism (or religious pluralism) and the religious life directed towards the relativism that Roman culture had pursued for a long time. Roman political power also saw Judaism and Christianity as exclusive and as social deviations from

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[31] Berkhof (2017:471) suggests the origin of the church form as from the Old Testament times and the Moses era, and Erickson (2013:950–956) indicates it as from Pentecost. In any case, it is clear that the early church reflected the Jewish heritage in that the paradigm that formed the early Christian community dealt with Jewish ideology concerning the doctrine of election, the Temple and legalism.

historical Roman ideas and wanted to maintain the traditional Roman system through regulation and coordination (Kelly 2006:51–52, 58–59, 151, 156, 160).

The concepts of mutual interests, public universalism, public symbolism, and union and unity within society comprised a very important process for early Christianity to be moved from an individual religious ideology to a public value in society. These processes also included the important values and the central ideas of the Christian community to be understood as public religious value in society. In these respects, early Christianity was under the strong influence of Jewish tradition and the Roman Empire, and that indicates a need to be explained according to causal chains involving many social and cultural influences. Nevertheless, early Christianity had its own essential values and direction of faith that were above the social and cultural values and the public interests of Rome, and did not allow any communication and compromise with the Roman religious way.

Religion in the Roman world (cf. 3.3.4.1)[32] could be seen as offering simple and clear answers to incomprehensible questions for Roman people in their reality (e.g. Roman success and failure, destiny, good and evil), or as another approach and interpretation to philosophical questions. To be incorporated in the universal secular world at that time, early Christianity therefore had to propose necessary and comprehensible answers for the majority of people in the Roman world. It was necessary to interpret and embrace the lifestyle, to stand in for the traditional religious sentiment of Roman social culture, and to suggest rational and strong answers to the abstract questions of intellectuals at that time in the Roman cultural area. A study of the correlation between the socialisation of the early Church and Roman culture therefore needs to investigate the compelling sociocultural power of the social bonds of the Roman Empire, and to trace the connection in the changes in the form of Christian faith revealed in the process of the socialisation of the early Church.

2.1.2 Social and cultural connectivity: The surrounding culture as a mechanism for production and communication of meanings

Before considering the relationship between the formation of the early Christian community and the culture surrounding it through searching per period, region, and social culture, it is necessary to take note of two foundational sociological interpreters of culture. The sociological approach of these persons could offer a method for connecting the interaction between two areas (i.e. early Christianity and Roman society) and the universal understanding of the culture.

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[32] See footnote 10.

In Weber's (1864–1920) thinking, the meaning of culture is closely related with production and communication of meanings concerning social change (Swingewood 1998:53). In a sense, the role of culture in Christianity formed an important aspect of transmitting the meaning of the Christian Gospel to the people belonging to the pagan world who knew nothing about the Jewish Old Testament and religious tradition. As with most of the authors of the New Testament, such as Matthew and Luke or James and Paul, the characteristics of the receivers revealed the social division between them. For example, it was like someone who ideologically understood or actually experienced the Christian faith describing it with an image using his own limited cultural colours and showing it to others. Describing the reality of the Christian essence only through the cultural elements belonging to such a world would be impossible, but culture could provide the best way of access through expressions involving the imagination of the society (Niebuhr 1975:14–15).

On the other hand, Durkheim (1858–1917), a positivist and social functionalist sociologist, saw that "[c]ulture is not defined, or theorised, in terms of external, reified and constraining structures, but as a symbolic order, a universe of shared meanings which effectively motivate individuals through values and ideas". That means seeing that culture is not the surface form of the social system, but the direction of value that produces it, and existing common values draw normative consent for social order (Swingewood 1998:54–55). In other words, when early Christianity began to enter into the order of the Roman world, the Roman social culture as an order for social unification became a measure (or a direction) of value for evaluating and adjusting Christianity. Durkheim's approach seems to provide some usefulness in tracing the various causes of persecution before Constantine and analysing the cooperative relationship between Christianity and the Roman Empire (i.e. Romanising of Christianity and Christianising of Rome) after Constantine (cf. 3.3.4, 4.1.2).

These two persons, Weber and Durkheim, approach the situation from different viewpoints, but describe the multi-layered form of diversity in social culture. According to their ways of understanding culture, the relation between Christianity and the cultures surrounding the people involved during the formation of the early Christian community could be organised according to a few specific points, as explained below.

Firstly, there was no choice but to express the essence of Christianity under the limited conditions of the surrounding culture. The real meaning of Christianity could be explained in terms of abundant and fluent forms whenever it was revealed to various cultures and described in detail following the changes in time and situations as seen in the development of Christian organisation or the development of Christian theology. Some of the people directly experienced

Jesus Christ in his incarnation and others were part of the cultural continuity of the Old Testament and Jewish historical tradition and custom, and could gain access to the Jesus movement in a straightforward and direct way. Unlike them, foreigners who did not have a direct relationship with them could access Christianity indirectly through testimonies regarding the Christian faith reproduced by a universal culture sharing the same Greek and Roman culture. However, direct access could not be regarded as perfect and efficient in understanding the Christian-centred ideas. The fact that some revelations in the biblical text were attuned to the level of understanding of the people belonging to the sociocultural background is also evident in the Old Testament. Therefore, as shown by *Midrash Halakha* and *Midrash Hagada*, Jewish people also interpreted the essential meaning from the metaphysical ideas in the text and applied it to their lives. [33] During the formation of the Christian community, the Christian-centred ideas, including the incarnation, similarly could not require foreigners to determine the meaning as a one-off event under the limited range of the Jewish culture, or to understand the ideas through learning the Jewish culture. These ideas needed to be adapted as a real approach to deal with individual and public life in the social culture in which they belonged (Bultmann 1993:58–59).

Therefore, when Christian values explained on the basis of the continuity of Jewish tradition were diffused across Palestine throughout new regions, they had to be rearranged to some extent in the form of expression known in the regions. According to McGrath (2013:11), early Christianity is shown "as a complex network of groups and individuals, who existed in different social, cultural, and linguistic contexts". In addition, concerning 'the indigenizing principle', Walls (1996:6–7) says that each Christian community had a continuity of community with others, but also had the desire to 'indigenize', to make the Church the most familiar 'place to feel at home'. However, under the Roman Empire that bound various nations together, the Gospel could be adapted more quickly according the public method of expression in Greek and Roman culture than in indigenisation among regional groups. That is because the Jewish Jesus followers in Palestine and the Diaspora, who had easier access to the Christian-centred ideas than foreign people, were using Roman culture as a public system of communication together with their Jewish tradition and were converting Christian thinking from the Jewish tradition to universal terms, as seen in Paul's preaching. In the situation of transformation, early Christianity could deal with the various religious senses of the Gentile world, including pantheism. Thus, Christian-centred ideas were explained in more various ways through systematic structures and detailed description than through the

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[33] Bloch (1954:17), in particular, sees that the significant feature of Halakha historically is the utility, the ability to adapt and evolvability because it basically plays the role of a bridge between the Tora of Moses forming the fixed script and the changeable life.

prior way (Küng 1995:135–136).

Secondly, interaction with the surrounding cultures was directly related to the formation of a visible framework of reality which brings people together and organises ideas and systems. It is difficult to trace the direct interaction of a metaphysical value in human life with a real social culture unless it takes visible form in a process of history as a social movement and an organisational system: it is challenging to have productive social leverage for social and cultural change if the value is a speculative idea that cannot achieve a concentration of people in any form or be visualised by the human imagination. Therefore, a social movement is revealed from a visible concentration of people trying to shape an invisible idea or an abstract concept in real society. The invisible idea not only gains a complex structure of knowledge through a particular social movement but also has a simple and visible symbolic form encompassing the complex meanings to concentrate people from a variety of classes. A special visible symbolic form such as the formation of theology, organisation as a church, and the establishment of canon in the early Christian community seems like a complex structure but is also revealed and passed on to the society as a simple symbol (e.g. orthodox and heresy, a single universal church: 'one God – one emperor – one kingdom – one church – one faith), the essential meaning of which does not need to be grasped (Durkheim 1957:376–378).

On the other hand, the relationship with a surrounding culture would be developed according to a different pattern depending on how such a social concentration regards an existing social order. If a concentration of people and an organisation follow an existing social order, particular relationships following mutual interest will be formed. In contrast, if they oppose the established order, they may be separated from the surrounding culture as an exclusive ideological concentration, or it could be revealed as a relationship of conflict and confrontation.

Messianism before the first coming of Christ or the formation of Christianity was an exclusive concept centred on Jews that did not need special interaction with the surrounding culture (e.g. Babylonian, Persian and Hellenistic cultures) as an eschatology which nobody knew when it would become true. Gonzalez (1987:15–16) states, "the messianic hope was usually joined to the expectation that the kingdom of David would be restored in this world, and the Messiah's task consisted precisely in restoring the throne of David and sitting on it". Therefore, such thinking was far from the world reality of the Jews at that time and revealed an exclusive and isolated reflection of national gloom such as the situation during the exile (Küng 1992:115–118).

As a testimony to the New Testament, however, the Christian Messiah showed that the early Christian community from the incarnation of Christ was not de-social but offered a clearer and more real meaning to the society of that time.[34] The message of Christianity proposed this social challenge but did not maintain the earlier interpretation and national and geopolitical limits, like Judaism,[35] and did not try to separate from the existing society by reason of the reality being different from their ideal, like de-social communities of ascetic Jews such as the Therapeutae – identified by Phillo as worshippers of God devoted to the healing of the soul –, the Essenes, and the Qumran community (Chadwick 2001:13–14). Christianity could accomplish a remarkable concentration of people in spite of the conflict with the existing coercive social and cultural powers and was different from the traditional concepts familiar to the people. Because the Christian message contained a simple way of understanding and a symbolic system, people could sympathise and agree with this new idea.

Furthermore, as shown in Acts, early Christianity at that time was forming a visible framework, such as the organised church reaching from Jerusalem to regional churches. Orders such as apostle, deacon, overseer, elder, and the names of the geopolitical church were the public addresses of the letters in the New Testament. Furthermore, the united organ for decision-making such as the Council of Jerusalem kept the people informed of the appearance and activity of Christianity as a social movement pursuing new value in Jewish society. The influence gained in the process of achieving significant fame must have led to a direct and popular relationship with the culture surrounding Christianity and individual Christians (Gibbon, *The decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, i.15). Thus, in the Christian community, achieving a significant reputation included the following for its beginning: a symbolic system of value gathered by this community; the method of delivery of such value; the organisational system as its functional framework; and the operative method of the organisation.

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[34] Davidson (2005a:44) sees that, although there are some parallels regarding messianic expectations between the earliest Jesus movement and the Qumran belief, "the similarities between Jesus's first followers and the Qumran believers should not be exaggerated". That is why the Jesus movement in the New Testament emphasises that "The moral obligations of God's people were not to withdraw from the world in pursuit of sectarian purity but to engage with society and to proclaim a message of divine love that extended, ultimately, to all people everywhere", unlike Qumran believers.

[35] For example, according to Matthew 7:29, when Jewish people said, "he taught as one who had authority, and not as their teachers of the law", they were very sympathetic although the interpretation of the teaching of Jesus Christ was different from their traditional and universal one, and John, in Chapter 5, shows the conflict between Jesus and the social power of Jewish tradition (10; 16) in the interpretation of the Sabbath. In addition, the noticeable notions in the answer of Jesus (John 4:24) to the question regarding the ethnically and geopolitically limiting concept of the Samaritan woman (John, Chapter 4), Matthew 28:19, in 'all nations' and Acts 'to the end of the earth' show the expansion of Christianity from the perspective of transcending nationality and geopolitical issues.

Thirdly, the nature of the dynamic force that formed the early Christian community in the first century, in common with Judaism, opposed the pagan ideology of the Roman Empire. However, the nature of their sociocultural cohesion (e.g. love, equality, multiracialism, de-regionalism) differed from that of Judaism (e.g. sociocultural exclusiveness, nationalism, legalism, the geopolitical base of Canaan and Jerusalem). In other words, early Christianity must have taken an active part in the interaction with the surrounding cultures, unlike Judaism, because the sociocultural orientation forming the Christian community was not antisocial or de-social with regard to established orders. For example, while existing inequalities in social position, hierarchy, status and gender in Jewish and Roman society were revised according to the concept of harmonious unity in Christ against the sentiments of the leading society, they did not attempt to overturn existing laws, economic principles, and social systems as a proletarian revolution would. Moreover, they did not violently resist Rome, despite the oppression of their faith, unlike the First Jewish-Roman War (66–73 CE) and the revolt of Bar-Cochba (132–135 CE) (Chadwick 2001:21). As Küng (1995:149) says, "[e]ven if they rejected emperor worship, Christians were loyal to the state" in accordance with the teachings of Jesus (Mark 12:17) and Paul (Rome 13:1–7). Facts concerning the lack of resistance against, or receptive attitude of early Christians towards the Jewish hostile attitude and Roman persecution, disprove the view that Christianity had an ideology of social reform or liberation.

Horsley (1997:1) claims that, on the contrary, "Christianity was a product of empire. In one of the great ironies of history, what became the established religion of empire started as an anti-imperial movement". He adds that Jesus "catalyzed a movement of the renewal of Israel" and that Paul also opposed the ideology of the Roman Empire, "in anticipation of the termination of 'this evil age' at the parousia of Christ".

However, this argument is a radical claim that is somewhat different from what the Bible says universally. There will certainly be a special biblical meaning concerning the condition of the period in the fact that Jesus Christ came during the period of the Roman Empire and his death on the cross in the manner of punishment for treason against the Roman Empire. That is because the competition with the sociocultural universality of the Roman world was more appropriate at that time for explaining historical Christianity, rather than the emergence of Christianity as a confrontational structure against the ideology of the Roman Empire (Bird 2013:148–149). [36] Furthermore, Christ did not play a symbolic role as a catalyst for the restoration of Israel but even opposed Israel's exclusive social movement or past restoration

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[36] See Michael Bird's view (2013:148–149) in this research on this claim in 3.4.

movement. Early Christianity therefore does not seem to have had an ideology for social reform, but an ideology for reforming the Christian community and each Christian for social interaction (cf. *Epistola ad Diognetum,* cited in Schaff, *H.C.C.*, ii.2; 3.3.1).

McGrath (2007:311) notes that Christianity has maintained an incompatible relationship with cultural situations as suggested in 'Imitating Christ and despising all vanities on earth', the title of the first chapter of *Imitating Christ* by Thomas à Kempis. As McGrath indicates, various aspects of the Roman world and a variety of secular views differed radically from the Christian worldview. Nevertheless, in the early Christian community, the attitude to overcoming this was to change individuals and society steadily and persistently, not through a radical and drastic social revolution but by achieving social and cultural growth to encompass secular and universal life through keeping the fundamental and consistent stance of Christianity and interacting constantly with social culture (cf. 3.3.3, 4.2.1).

Fourthly, the transformation of the paradigm from the Jewish tradition to Greek-Roman social culture in the early Christian community at the expansion stage of the Gospel reveals that the nature of Christianity or the Gospel is not identified with sociocultural forms in their perception. The fact that the Council of Jerusalem confirmed the necessity of circumcision and the point in the Pauline Epistle that the customary attitude of faith of Jewish Jesus followers was contrary to the Gospel, show that Jewish traditions were distinguished from the central ideas as past sociocultural forms, even though they represented a continuing faith heritage for the birth of Christianity. In other words, before the practice of the Gospel and Jesus Christ, the historical symbol was important, but as long as the reality was revealed, the reality did not belong to the previous symbols.[37] Thus, this challenge of the early Christians regarding the Jewish tradition shows they tried to distinguish the Gospel from their culture at the time of the formation of the early Christian community. They did not want to forcibly mix the Jewish or Roman social culture with the Gospel to account for the value.

It is therefore necessary to pay attention to the forms in which the Christian Gospel and culture were identified in the socialisation period of the church after Constantine. After the

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[37] Conservative Jews, of course, did not accept the centred ideas of the Jesus movement, including Jesus Christ, as the reality of their traditional religious values. The conversion of these traditional Jewish values into the symbolic structure of the Jesus movement by Jewish Jesus followers indicates the need to reconstruct and strengthen a community of the Jesus movement in the Jewish society in a way that ensured their historical continuity and connectivity through existing Jewish sociocultural values (cf. Chadwick 1993;9). Stegemann and Stegemann (1999: 206-210) argue that "[t]he charismatic character of Jesus' followers implies a certain genuine deviance and a prepolitical view". Jewish Jesus followers had a fundamentally positive attitude toward the Torah, but revealed "the deviance concerned above all the sabbath halakah, the divorce law, and the food and purity law".

recognition of Christianity in the Roman Empire, there was the risk that the Gospel and culture would be mixed: official theologians like Eusebius praised the reign of Constantine; the Roman emperors claimed the position of vicegerent of God; the Romans wanted to monopolise Christianity as a religion contracted to Rome or embedded in Rome; and Roman Christianity produced various integrated Christian cultures reflecting the religious practices of Rome (4.2.3). However, despite such risks, the socialisation of the early Church on the sociocultural basis of the Roman Empire had progressed gradually in Christianity because there was the clear permanent reality of Jesus Christ and the Gospel that could be explained through the values embodied by such Roman customs, and the realities were able to reach appropriately without much difficulty through various Roman symbols within the understanding of the Romans living in that era., Today's question of which Christian culture was mixed with the Roman pagan culture (e.g. as syncretism between the sun god (*Sol Invictus*) and Christianity) probably would not have been distinguished by the meaning of such idolatry for the Roman Christians at that time. This is because, in the post-Constantine Roman society, Jesus Christ and the Gospel were no longer seen as resisting their sociocultural values, but were regarded as competing superiorly against them (Bird 2013:146–162; cf. 4.3.3).

Finally, the culture surrounding early Christianity can be regarded as an extension of the communication system revealing the Christian faith and Gospel in a diverse social culture, and as rich religious expressions of Christianity in different periods, regions, and cultures.

The fundamental meaning of socialisation in the early Christian community seems to allow the secular world to enjoy the Christian faith. It was not only to internalise the objective structure of society, but also to bring out the potential power of Christian nature and allow public society to enjoy it. Socialisation in early Christianity could be seen as having the same purpose as traditional education – the root meaning of the word 'education' indicates that 'e' means 'out' and 'duco' means 'drawing' – aimed at individual sociality. That is because early Christian effort towards understanding public social culture and learnt communication skills to lead the individual out of the family situation to the world as the basic purpose of education had to be done in the same way (Andersen & Taylor 2006:83; Berger 1981:92).

Before the Edict of Milan, Christianity was regarded as belonging in a socially isolated community and anti-social group. That was because the social attitude reflected from the early Christian faith was seen to contain elements that could shake the foundations of the state in the Roman Empire. Notwithstanding such public awareness, the early Christian community should not be seen as being cut off from social culture at the time or of leaning

towards antisocialism. The external conditions of early Christianity should not be treated as having such a tendency because their external form had not been completed as an open and universal church and there was no representative structure to reveal Christianity among societies. [38] Therefore, the socialisation of the early Church was the early Christian community's first step in creating an external form as a public and universal church.

Thus, the relevance of the early Christian community and Roman culture can be seen as providing a special meaning. It seems relevant to consider interpretations of the early Church being torn between the Christian-centred ideas and Roman culture although the church had adhered most closely to the realistic concept of union and unity of Christians or with Christ in the biblical sense in their period of socialisation. This would make it possible to consider the integrated meaning of the main Christian ideas and the diverse public and social culture. Direct attention to the period, region and culture, as outlined in the early socialisation of the church, will therefore be presented in the next chapter.

2.2 Social and cultural prerequisites prior to the interaction with Roman culture on the formation of the early Church

The issue that cannot be ignored in this study is that diverse sociocultural conditions that later contributed to the forming of the early Christian community became constituted before the first coming of Christ.[39] The Jewish community, which was a social and cultural starting point for Christianity, was divided geopolitically into people living in Palestine and the Diaspora, and ideologically into two trends: the one wanted to keep to Jewish religious traditions and the other wanted to use various social and cultural forms while pursuing the fundamental meaning of Jewish faith. This sociocultural tendency was later inherited to some extent in the main way Christianity formed communities in Palestine and the Gentile world and interacted with universal social culture. Therefore, it seems necessary to deal with some perceptions and attitudes toward Gentile social culture, which was the premise of Christians forming a Christian

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[38] McGrath (2013:75–76) does not see the expanding congregation of early Christianity as the result of a particular strategy of the early church and its leaders. That is because most of the Christian leaders and communities were unobserved and did not have any legal status. However, he points out that Pilon Alexandrea, the Jewish writer, revealed the Jewish approach and emphasised that Judaism could be in harmony with Plotinism. Some Christian leaders in Alexandria communicated with Platonism and tried to reconcile the concepts of the Christian faith with the concepts and issues of classical Greek philosophy.

[39] Many church historians agree that, in terms of the chronological sequence, it is difficult to estimate the process of Judaism directly as a preliminary stage of Christian formation, but Christianity subsequently inherited the sociocultural system and historical situation of Judaism in many parts since the first advent. Küng (1995:66) argues that the history of the earliest Christian community is "not a history of Romans and Greeks but of Jews born in the sphere of Hellenistic Palestinian culture". And "they communicated to the whole church that was coming into being Jewish language, a Jewish world of ideas and Jewish theology and thus left an indelible stamp on the whole of Christianity in the subsequent period – including the Gentile Christianity which was to come – down to the present day".

community, prior to the study of interrelationships between Christianity and Roman social culture.

2.2.1 The relationship between potential Gospel[40] and earlier foreign cultures before the first coming of Christ

Before the first coming of Christ the Jewish communities of the Diaspora or Hellenistic Judaism of Palestine, unlike the conservative Palestinian Jewish community, which sought to adhere to ethnic and regional traditions, seem to have played a role in delivering the sociocultural approaches and elements encountered in the relationship with culture that preceded the early Christian community. The Jewish community of the Diaspora passed down the cultural legacy of the Jewish tradition and faith with the Synagogue as the centre. While this was a tool for upholding Jewish social and cultural value, it also became a platform for the fusion of their values with the regional social culture. The Jewish people who were in exile in Babylon lost the Temple in Jerusalem and could not practise their faith in religious events. They saw the teaching of and compliance with the commandments as the only means by which the chosen could remain holy people themselves in foreign lands. Although many Jewish people returned to Palestine after the exile in Persia, as recorded by Ezra and Nehemiah, many people decided to maintain their livelihood (Bell 1998:55–56). The Jewish community came into contact with the sociocultural influence of ancient Gentile worlds through exile. In view of their returning to and visiting Jerusalem, the Synagogue was motivated to shift from adherence to religious events with Jerusalem as the centre to a new de-territorialised belief system. While the Synagogue seemed to maintain the traditional belief system, the traditional formalities of the Jewish system of religious events which became impossible to maintain in a Gentile world gradually faded, except for some symbolic forms and essential meanings. Thus, Jews of the Diaspora began to build new formalities to match the essential values of the Jewish faith they had sought to maintain with the common culture of the region.[41] Bultmann (1993:58–59) points out that Judaism under the reign of Persia had freedom of religion and sacrifice, but the reading and preaching of the Old Testament through synagogues, rather than the offerings and religious events in the Jerusalem temple, became the centre of worship. Since then, the new system of belief centring on the Synagogue was a central ministry of Christ and a form of worship in the early Christian community in the Diaspora.

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[40] In terms of footnote 39, the term potential Gospel was not here used to mean the pre-existence of the church before the first coming of Jesus, but rather a direct relevance of Christian formation to the various sociocultural conditions associated with Judaism.

[41] According to Bell (1998:60–64), especially, Jewish people of the Diaspora were well aware of their identity as the seed of Abraham. However, they were booked for cultural leverage and the Jewish Old Testament was translated into Greek everyday language though they used Hebrew in the synagogue (Septuagint, 3 BCE).

The cultural influence of the Gentile world that influenced Jewish society in earnest was derived from mixed Hellenism, which existed most closely to Christianity before Roman political power and social culture. Mixed Hellenism implies that Hellenism did not arrive in a region unilaterally with Greece annihilating the regional culture; Hellenism had a tendency of mutual convergence with the regions. There naturally was an imperial political power and enforced political benefit in the process. In the time of Alexander the Great, there was an attempt to combine Greek culture with that of Persia, and later also in the regions of the Jewish Diaspora and Palestine (Bainton 1966:26–31; MacCulloch 2011:69). The Palestinian Jews, who were more conservative than those of the Diaspora regions, rebelled against the policies of Antiochus IV, which enforced the religious activities of Greece, but there essentially were Jewish people with pro-Hellenistic thought in Jerusalem's ruling class (Mantel 1973:55–87). Since then, Greek and Greek customs gradually were shared in Jewish society, and Herod the Great carried out a planned Hellenisation policy in Jewish society. These fusions with Hellenism continued up to the time of the Jesus movement in the period of the Roman Empire. Thus the origins of the Jesus movement were basically exposed to three or more sociocultural environments (i.e. Judaism, Hellenism, Roman social culture) and had to explain its essential values through such sociocultural conditions in order to bring the various masses together into the community (Bell 1998:64–70).

2.2.2 Two types of flow concerning the forming of the early Christian community: Adherence to inherited sociocultural values and the pursuit of relative sociocultural values

Bell (1998:94–95) comments, "while Jesus performed freely within the limits of Jewish custom, his followers had a lot of difficulties because they did not know how to harmonise the new ideas they understood with the traditional formats". He also quotes, "the warning words of Jesus about new wine and old wineskins, that was done", just as it was mentioned in the Bible (Mark 2:22). This expression reveals the transition to new trends or the paradigm of Christianity in that the Gospel would be separated from Jewish culture and aimed at foreign cultures. On the other hand, these examples from the New Testament show the expansion of the mass of Christianity from an exclusive community to a multicultural community. Although the traditional and the new things existed in the same continuity with the Gospel, they revealed a conflict in the real world.

According to the New Testament, there were two types of transmission of the Christian faith: one was inherited Christianity in continuity of Jewish tradition (Ferguson 2003:2; McGrath 2013:24–26; Walls 2006:14), and another was the fragmentary Christianity adapted and

grown in the cultural environment of diversity and relativity in the Roman Empire.[42] As seen in the letters of the apostles, the two groups were distinct, and their distinctness was ensured through mutual conflict. However, these two groups were not in confrontation with each other or each of the divided belief systems, but they essentially shared the same confession of Jesus Christ through a continuous exchange of letters, to construct a united belief system and the principles of forming a church. The revelation of Biblical history seems to reflect the social culture and the distinct characteristics of the area and of certain peoples. Nevertheless, early Christianity indicated that the historical context of Israel and their revelation were not limited as something within a particular ethnic group, but could be continued as the universal Christian faith for the multi-ethnic Christians.[43]

On the one hand, Jerusalem and the Jewish Jesus followers in the surroundings still wanted to retain the traditional forms of the faith, such as the geopolitical and symbolic meaning of Israel as the governmental organisation of the kingdom of God, and the ritual of the Temple and legalism as the method of ruling (cf. Acts 11:1–3, 19, 15:1). The emphasis on these aspects shows a type of early Christianity inherited from Jewish tradition. They displayed an exclusive attitude toward foreign culture and even exposed conflict in the church in Jerusalem as well as in the churches of the Diaspora (Johnson 1995:13–14, 40).

However, as McGrath (2013:39–40) has noted, although the early Christian community revealed similarity with Jewish tradition, such inherited traditions were not permanent and unchangeable in a cultural diversity. McGrath points out that early Christianity did not have any authoritative structure that was emphasised as unity and, although the pattern maintaining the heritage bound the Christian communities together, these communities also showed diversity apart from unity. He therefore says that many historians cherish the pure intellectual passion of that time, which is revealed from the method to research and express the faith. That is because early Christianity shows that they tried not to remain an exclusive community like Judaism, but, for public acceptance, had to work beyond the limitations of Jewish tradition and explain themselves in the diversity of the Roman Empire which had embraced and integrated various peoples and cultures.

According to Bauer (1934) and Bultmann (1993:178–179), differences from this viewpoint exist. Hellenistic Christianity, which intended to bring the various traditions and cultures of

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[42] Bultmann (1993:176–177) and Hans Kung (1995:114) separate Jewish Christianity and gentile Christianity.

[43] The reproduction of the meaning of circumcision by Paul seems to be in essence that the revelations of God and the orders in the Old Testament were pursued and interpreted as the essence of how to reveal the real and universal Christian community (Acts 15:1–11, Galatians 2:1–10; 6:13, Romans 2:28; 3:1–2; 4:11–12, Colossians 2:11).

the people under the scope of the Hellenic influence, was not unified but eclectic, and their tensions and contradictions could be ruled as heresy once the Church had decided on correct belief. As a result, the eclectic forms of Hellenistic Christianity and the tensions and contradictions in it later were gradually unified into a single form through the universal Church which tried to integrate different forms centring on Roman social culture. Such contexts show that the early Christian communities had pursued forms appropriate for them in the sociocultural diversity of the Roman Empire for the efficiency of the Gospel, but in order to establish the essential values of Christianity as common and permanently, they were forced to remove the ambiguity of Christian boundaries that came from the diversity of approaches and to pursue a universalised and standardised form.[44]

On the other hand, the monasticism of early Christianity, based on asceticism, which opposed a bond between Christianity and the state, revealed a different tendency in trying to distinguish the essence of Christian faith in the confrontational structure between Christian and secular culture (Davidson 2005b:133–134).

During the time when the early Christian communities encountered the diversity of people and cultures and expanded its geopolitical boundaries, there seems to have been attempts to use the related attitudes associated with the periods and the places in the sociocultural diversity to reveal the essential meaning of Christianity. Sometimes, the external expression of Christian faith could be felt as a disparate form by some ethnic groups and in places, and could thus cause various sociocultural tensions. However, the trend in the history of Christianity has reflected a relationship with periods, places, and public cultures through adopting their external styles of expression, following social and cultural changes, and being renewed in many different forms while trying not to lose the essential meaning of Christianity.

Although the Jewish Jesus followers and gentile Christian communities, the Romanised universal Church, the medieval Catholic Church and the Reformed Churches had different theological, cultural and political intentions, they nevertheless were the result of sociocultural interaction at the time and would have intended in some way to embody the essence and the purpose of Christianity in common, and the mode of expression would have been related to their situations. These differences, on the one hand, reflect the tendency that Christians concentrated on through the ages, and what the value of Christianity was considered to be. Thus, systematically organising how to obtain social and cultural universality and what mode

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[44] According to McGrath (2013:52), the historical evidence shows that the early Church had not regarded 'the consolidation of its religious beliefs as the top of their agenda; most of Christianity just lived in it though there were some uncertain theological attitudes. However, a range of issues, especially arising from the dispute concerning the identity and the meaning of Jesus Christ, the authenticatable boundary of true Christianity, was outlined (cf. footnote 3 in Chapter 1).

of expression to select for the Gospel could be a way to reveal various directions to the potential unity of Christianity.

This study therefore deals with what the permanent and unchangeable values were and what meaning the diversity of modes of expression due to the geopolitical, cultural and traditional differences of the time contributed to the social and cultural changes of Christianity. Following this overview, the chapters of this study that follow will deal with the social and cultural resources of regions, their traditions, religion, education and the politics of the time as related to the interrelationship of the socialisation of the early Christian community in the culture of societies, and an analysis thereof.

2.3 Classification of Roman culture and Greek culture

In dealing with interrelationship in the socialisation of the early Christian community and Roman culture, it is necessary to distinguish between historical and visual differences in the social culture of Rome and Greek or Hellenistic social culture.[45] It should be noted that the difference between Greece and Rome is relative. There are many exceptions, but Greek and Roman cultures were similar in many respects (due to the tendency of Rome to follow the Greeks), therefore it is difficult to deal with the interrelationship in the socialisation of the Christian community and the culture of Roman society only through the sociocultural elements of the Roman Empire. This is also because the social culture of Greece or Rome is not defined as the characteristic of a generation, and there are changes and various forms in line with the situation in each period. It therefore seemed that distinguishing tendencies in the sociocultural continuity pursued by each of these would be useful for detecting the singularity of Roman culture as related to the socialisation of the early Christian community.

Many scholars have identified relative differences between the Greek and Roman civilisations evident in their pursuit of sociocultural values and the organisation of their own societies. This means that the social atmosphere was not totally different but rather related to values to which each had given relative superiority among sociocultural similarities.[46] In some way, this may be a sociocultural element that they thought was a relatively progressive form in their own positions. In other words, these two worlds differed in the way they gathered members of the community and enhanced bonds at the time of forming a powerful government and dense organisational system in stages. In each group, there were common

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[45] Hellenistic social culture was a combination of Greek civilisation and the culture of eastern provinces, reflecting the policy of tolerance to local social cultures resulting from the eastern expansion of the Greek Empire.

[46] The first analyst to define the relationship between Greece and Rome in such a way and interpret their differences and similarities was Plutarch. His book *Parallel lives* presented an effort to think about what Greek and Roman means by comparing a biography of a Greek person and a Roman person (Beard 2015:501–502).

goals and objectives that mobilised people and unique contents that led to their social dynamism. These could be the ideology of the society or the nature of the interest that the society sought to pursue (Ferguson 2003:20–23).[47] This relative division was manifested especially in various social and cultural elements such as mentality, religion, politics, law, education, architecture, and art. Certainly most of the cultural heritage of Rome showed obvious Greek influence and Hadas (1966:11) argues that, like the view of the poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BCE), Greek cultural influence on Rome was considerable but "Roman architecture, art, literature and religion – all showing the influence of Greece – bear the unmistakable stamp of Roman power and assurance."[48] In other words, the distinction in what is Roman from Greece is certainly not the external specificity of sociocultural outcomes, but the purpose of the use of sociocultural values or outcomes.

Therefore, regarding many sociocultural aspects such as politics, society, economy, law and literature, ancient Greek culture was more focused on human existence and awareness and life values than Rome, and revealed characteristics that resulted in idealistic praise thereof, while Roman culture focused more on community than Greece and revealed characteristics that resulted in practical value for the community. While the Romans' passion for Hellenism was evident in all parts of Roman history and the Roman emperors proclaimed themselves Hellenistic, the idea of escaping reality was of no great value for many Romans (Cochrane 1957:92). Hadas (1966:12) indicated that individuals came to be respected in Greece earlier, but each human being in Rome was grouped under a greater power, with Prudentius praising Rome with "[t]he people gather under the equal law, and the swamped people pledge their pledge … Now all of them are subject to the power of great law." Montesquieu (*The spirit of the law*, 11.13) also noted that nobody could escape from the Romans. This ancient Roman virtue coming from a community control mechanism that united the enormous empire and diverse nations under Roman law and political organisation, a standardised military organisation and clear boundaries, has been an object of praise among later politicians.[49] In this respect, one can compare Greek and Roman culture under several

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[47] According to Beard (2015:205), the modern image of the Romans was created in 2–3 BCE. Imperialist ideology of Rome can be seen as a combination of republican and expansionist policies that centred on sociocultural solidarity, which was different from Greek political tendencies. The clash between Roman and Greek cultures, in particular, distinguished the characteristics of the Romans from the Greeks, but 'Greekness' and 'Romanness' could not be separated as being conflicting. In other words, the distinction between the characteristics of Greece and Rome can be seen as the difference in how to prioritise the same social cultural factors.

[48] Horatius (Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.156, in *Horace: Satires, Epistle, and Ars Poetica*, trans. Fairclough 1929:408) says, "[t]he conquered Greece conquered the barbaric victor and delivered their art to the crude Latium (*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio*)."

[49] This distinction can be summarised as follows: 1. The Greek culture was anthropocentric and individualistic, but Rome had a tendency towards communism centred on the public values of a society that was stronger than Greece; 2. Greece upheld idealistic values, Rome focused on realistic and pragmatic values; 3. Greece supported individuality but Rome emphasised universality and standards; 4. While Greece sought stability within

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categories.

2.3.1 The group mentality

In distinguishing the group mentality of Greek and Roman society, the myth and philosophical system can be seen as representative spiritual values that bring the masses together and form their social solidarity.

2.3.1.1 Understanding myths

First, the Greek mentality can be traced in their process of sociocultural development through the mythical system of history such as in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, Hesiod's Theogony and various Greek tragedies. These epic poems indicate not merely manifestations of the religious culture of Greece, but a starting point for their collective mentality, which has been reflected in history, philosophy, politics, law, architecture and art (cf. 1 Timothy 1:4).

From Homer's epic, the Greek understanding of gods represented an attempt to aesthetically describe the value of human life, including the intellect, emotion and volition of human existence, by embodying god as a human figure.[50] Gibbon (1995:2.49), writing about the Greeks, claimed that an important motive for their culture was related to the value human beings ascribed to personal reflection or performance.[51] Regarding Greek city states, the myths should be seen as concentrating on the human existence and individuality of each of the cities as the contrasting value of divinity, rather than as granting their historical legitimacy. Ferguson (2003:8, 153) says, "[t]he heritage of Greece was essentially secular. Yet it was a religious secularism …", and "[y]et in Greece the 'measure of all things' was man."[52] There was little in Athens that did not have a religious character, but the ideal of life was to enjoy health, beauty, wealth, friendship and youth, with emphasis on humanity.

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the limited area of their city-states, Rome followed a virtuous cycle of empire through continued territorial expansion and the reorganisation of the political system; 5. Compared to the fact that the definition of Greek focused on race, being Roman was not defined by race, but by sociocultural solidarity.

[50] Ferguson (2003:153) says, "[t]he Greek gods were the most anthropomorphic of the gods of any people with the exception of those in Scandinavian mythology".

[51] Homer's the Iliad and the Odyssey represent a personal reflection on human challenges and journeys to overcome the fate of suffering and judgment, but the inability to escape god's intervention and destiny. Sophocles' Antigone also discusses the fate and value of human nature through the tragedy of Oedipus and the mystery of the Sphinx. Here, Antigone is punished by the choice of conscience in the confrontation of the conscience and the king's command (civil law) (*Antigone*. 671). This work reveals the emphasis on the personality of human beings to readers in terms of tragedy (cf. MacKay 1962:179). Levy (1963:137–144) goes further and sees the subject of Antigone as the right of individuals to refuse social infringement on the freedom of individuals to perform their duties.

[52] Protagoras, the sophist, claimed, "[t]he measure of all things is man" and this later was a distinguishing characteristic of Greek culture (Plato, *Crathylus* 386a; Ferguson, 2003:8).

The Roman approach to mythology was clearly different from the Greece approach in the relative priority given to social culture. Ferguson (2003:114) points out that Roman epic poet "Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70–19 BCE) gave classic expression to the values and destiny of Rome". Virgil's Aeneid (Latin: *Aeneis*) borrowed the subject of epic poetry and numerous mythological sources from the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer, but apart from its facts and literary value, its purpose was just to praise the founding of Rome to provide a mythical base to the history and to establish the legitimacy of the community. Ferguson (2003:114), in particular, also notes how Virgil (*Aeneid*, Book 6) treats the founding as "whereas Greek cities thought of themselves as founded once for all by one man who was their lawgiver, Rome looked upon itself as the product of the ages and the labours of many men". In other words, Virgil saw that the importance of religion and myth does not lie in the truth or falsehood thereof; how the community accepts and symbolises it has a certain value. According to Hadas (1966:16), the favourite story of the Romans was the legend about the founding of Rome, and the Roman historians were dedicated to addressing the glory of the founding, but they did not intend to confirm the authenticity of the story. The Romans focused only on history and the tradition derived from mythology to motivate citizens to merge and maintain their communities.

2.3.1.2 Philosophical system

The development of Ancient Greek philosophy also reveals similarity with the Greek mentality as seen in their understanding of myths. The Greek philosophical tendency was characterised by individuality and individualism, as stated by Ferguson (2003:320), "[e]ach philosophical school had its own way of life (*agōgē*) with distinctive beliefs and practices." Ancient Greek philosophy from Thales to Aristotle exhibited aspects of natural philosophy, ethics, logic, political philosophy and aesthetics, thereby revealing ethical structural features that result in individual recognition and reflection, and personal development and progress. The Hellenistic period in particular introduced a change in philosophical tendencies compared to that of ancient Greece – the individualistic tendency increased, and it was necessary to suggest a practical living standard for individuals who had nothing to depend on but themselves because of the loss of national territory (Ferguson 2003:9). Isocrates (436–338 BCE), as a representative of these changes, proposed a moral way of life that would be useful to humans as opposed to the abstract discipline of philosophy. He saw that education and not birth was what made the true Greek; according to him (*Panegyricus*, 50, cited in Ferguson 2003:9), "the name 'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and the title 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood". However, Ferguson argues that this change from

personal ethics to communal ethics was still somewhat limited in the Greek world and, in fact, really came about in the Roman era (Ferguson 2003:7–20).

For Rome, on the other hand, philosophy did not have distinctive Roman features. It can be seen as part of the continuity of Greek philosophy in that it was partially applied to social culture within a limited range of reality. For the Romans, philosophy emphasised the fulfilment of community duties and virtue, so the interest of the individual in Greek in philosophy did not play a major role except for Stoicism, which was praised by the Romans (i.e. as value forming a collective consciousness for their community). The philosophical tradition that the ancient Greeks had established was therefore of little value under Roman rule (Cochrane 1957:92). Dudley (1962:340–341) declares that Rome did not produce anything new in philosophy. The significance of Stoicism in Roman society was seen in the tradition of Brutus and Kato, in taking advantage of the system of Stoicism since Domitian, and in the Stoic thinker Marcus Aurelius who came into power as an emperor in the Roman Empire in 161 CE. The ascetic aspect of Stoicism had an ethical and practical influence until the first and second centuries, and it may be that the stoic influence in the Roman society was borrowed by early Christianity to explain their values despite different worldviews (Ferguson 2003:363–369). In some ways, Stoic values in Greek-Hellenistic social culture were characterised by personal ethics in dealing with the value of human life in society, whereas Stoic values in Roman social culture were characterised by public ethics for dealing with values relating to their social unity and the bonds that held them together.

2.3.2 Politics and mechanisms for community integration

Another sociocultural difference between Greece and Rome is found in the mechanism of integration that unified their societies. In many respects, the Roman Empire follows the strengths of the Greek Empire and possessed the common integration mechanism that past empires had. Thus, the comparison of the division of community mechanisms dealt with here is inferred from the relative comparison between the two. While society in Greece took the form of a city state with its own individuality, and boundaries of race and social culture coincided with city boundaries, Roman society sought a path to national integration through universality rather than individuality, and the boundaries of race and social culture did not coincide with national boundaries. Although changes in the time of Alexander and the Hellenistic period show a series of changes in the mechanism towards integration in Rome, the extent and role of social integration in the Greek city-states still revealed relative differences from that of Rome. According to Montesquieu (2013:82–86), the power of Greece was unrivalled in terms of geographical location, economic power, number of cities,

military numbers, social order, ethics and law at the time of the Roman republic. They liked war, and their skill in war was excellent. When city nations were unified as one, they could exercise their power. The apparent difference with regard to Rome seems to be in the mechanism of integration towards building their community within a larger framework than in Greece. The Romans were able to neutralise the Greek cities by giving them nominal autonomy by allowing them to continue to rule according to their own laws once Roman army had subdued Philip V of Macedonia. The Greeks believed that they were free, but in the larger framework of history they were the springs that eventually became the tributaries of Rome. According to Beard (2015:494), the dominant means of the Roman Empire, unlike previous empires, did not involve a one-sided coercion by Rome's upper classes of provincial people but cooperative relationship between the provincial leaders and Rome. In other words, being a Roman involved being interested in the business of Rome as an insider rather than an outsider. Although Rome certainly had a favourable position with regard to military and political power, it was the wealthy provincial city dwellers who were in interested in Rome who led the Romanisation of the provinces. In some ways, the sociocultural mechanisms of Rome for the unification of the Roman Empire presented simple and clear common values to lead provincial leaders and its people to the benefit of the Roman people, both culturally and politically (Kelly 2006:44-50).

2.3.2.1 Community spirit (*Concordia* – one mind) and public awareness (*popularia verba* – public opinion)

Compared to Greece, the difference in the Roman integration mechanisms came from the preference for solidarity and the public benefit of the community within the consciousness of a common fate. The traditional political and social structure of Rome, where traditions and customs were a priority, appears to contradict the tolerance policies of sociocultural flexibility that were implemented for the integration of multi-racial and multicultural societies while imperialism proceeded. However, their community spirit embraced such contradictions.

The city states of Greece comprised hundreds of poleis due to geographical features that separated them by means of mountains and rivers and the sociocultural characteristics of the family, the tribe, and the urban and rural areas. Though they were of the same people with the same language and religion, the poleis did not like to unite; their independence was actively pursued, and each city recognised the local personality of the other, showed mutual respect for the other's freedom, and liked competing against one another. The fact that several cities were allied in defence of Greece during the Persian invasion, but most of the poleis remained neutral, did not seem to reflect a Greek national integration principle.

Afterwards, although there was an alliance such as with Delos of Athens or the Peloponnesus of Sparta and the conquest of the Greek city states by Thebes and Macedonia of Philip II, they were able to maintain their traditional polis system without compulsory integration of territory or politics, except in having other city states join in their own union (Holland 2006:363–370). Thus, in the case of Greece, each city's regional boundaries, sociocultural characteristics, and competition with other city states further strengthened separatism the desire to adhere to individual freedom and the independence of the polis.

A virtue regarded highly by the Romans during ancient times was agreement, the 'one mind' or 'harmony' expressed in the goddess Concordia.[53] The identity of the Romans, as the narrative of Aeneas shows, was that of 'foreigners' in contrast to the founding myth of Greek cities that emphasised indigenes. That is to say, the Roman community had always been "an ethnically fluid concept", thus uniting the social and cultural diversity of the multi-ethnic inhabitants, for the solidarity of the community was bound to be a very important value for them (Beard 2015:77–78). In this respect Rome, from the monarchy to the republic, waged a territorial war with the various peoples in the Italian Peninsula and merged with them, and gradually developed a form of politics centring on opinions that moved from a small concentration of power to a commoner politics, similar to the political advancement of Greece. The focus on community and public awareness of Rome is particularly evident in *res publica*, which expresses the republic in referring to public or common wealth and pointing to public affairs and common property as opposed to private matters or private property (Heichelheim 1984:103). The legal spirit of Rome was reflected in the importance of public opinion (*popularia verba*) and the principle of communality that was aimed at integrating diverse social cultures and diverse peoples from various classes. For example, the establishment of the tribunes elected by the common people (*concilium plebis tributum*) resulted from the collective action of the commoners through their withdrawal to the Monte Sacro (*Secessio plebis*) and the establishment of civil law (*jus civile*) starting from the Twelve Tables (*lex duodecim tabularum*) regarding rights for all citizens in relation to each other, the Licinian-Sextain Laws (*leges Liviniae Sextiae*), and the Hortensian Law (*Lex Hortensia*), and the law of the nations (*jus gentium*), which tried to cover the provinces (Cary & Scullard 1976:66)

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[53] Concordia expresses the unity of mind as a goddess of consensus in ancient Roman religion. The Latin word *Concordia* is a combination of the word *con* meaning one and *cor* meaning 'mind'. Concordia emerged in the republican Rome as a result of reconciliation and social cohesion between the nobility class and the commoner class (Noreña 2011:132). These expressions rather symbolically emphasise the fear of division in the Roman union, which reveals their valuation of the various historical conflicts (e.g. the Social War, the Slave Rebellion by Spartacus and civil wars towards the end of the Republic).

Greece and Rome had undergone similar political and social development processes, but Rome pursued a unified sense of value geared toward regional integration, rather than the individuality of community culture, while the Greek poleis had sought to maintain their individuality. Virgil (Vergilius, 70–19 BCE) in *Sit Romana potens Italia virtute propago* suggests that it was the combination of Roman power and Italian virtue in the Roman historical experience which unified the social culture of the Italian Peninsula, which was composed of various peoples; the possibility of continuous integration and harmony with other peoples and their cultures was at the root of their power (Dudley 1962:19). Notions such as Concordia, the *Concordium ordium* of Cicero, *Pax Romana* show that the most important value in Roman society was community spirit leading towards union and unity. Cicero (*De Re Publica, De Legibus,* 2.2.5.) distinguishes between a natural fatherland by birth (*patria naturae*) and a political fatherland by citizenship (*patria civitatis*), but refers to community (*patria communis*) as a common fate:

> [S]o we consider both the place where we were born our fatherland, and also the city into which we have been adopted. But that fatherland must stand first in our affection in which the name republic signifies the common citizenship of all of us. For her it is our duty to die, to her to give ourselves entirely, to place on her altar, and as it were, to dedicate to her service, all that we possess (Cicero, *De Re Publica, De Legibus,* trans. Clinton Walker Keyes 2000[1928]:2.2.5).

Their criteria for this community involved a contractual relationship based on faithfulness (*fides*) and duty (*pietas*)[54] and the formation of a traditional trust relationship. The emphasis was on this relationship as the most reasonable for the Romans to bind their past and present, the Romans and their inhabitants, politics and religion into their social culture. Their historical traditions and customs, which reflected the harmony of ancient Rome's virtues and legitimacy, became political priorities and ethical societal standards unifying society (Dudley 1962:30; Davidson 2005a:26–27).

In addition, Romans seemed to bring the concept of honour and shame as a way of collective judgment for public interests of Roman community in ethical judgment, and it was related to forming public opinion (*popularia verba*) of the Roman Empire. Ferguson (2003:69) argues that applying terms of honour and shame to Roman society as follows (cf. Davidson 2005a:26–27):

> Honor and shame were group categories. An individual's behaviour was judged according to

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[54] Ferguson (2003:172) says, "Pietas meant doing one's obligations" and a pious person was "one who observed all the rites most scrupulously".

what brought honor or shame on the social group. The virtues that preserved the order and stability of the society were rewarded with honor, but actions that threatened the value of the community brought reproach, insult, or punishment, depending on their seriousness.[55]

On the other hand, unlike the competitive alliance between Greek city states, Rome focused on integration in a virtuous cycle of socioeconomic culture. Rome's cultural policy, while acknowledging the culture of the conquered peoples, led to a flow of culture along the roads from Rome to the provinces and the mutual exchange and movement of people (Gonzalez 1987:28; Montesquieu 2013:29). The roads leading from Rome had the advantage of enabling the quick suppression of any rebellion in the province, but also introduced vulnerability by exposing the capital to rebellion from the province. In Rome, however, the importance of sociocultural exchange and integration was reflected more in the effectiveness of regional control (cf. Mommsen 2009[1862]:50–51).

Rome, in particular, was able to exercise compelling power, including violence, for the sake of maintaining the community for the future. As seen from Roman mythology of the founding of the country, Romulus murdered his brother in order to establish a single community and gave legitimacy to unethical compelling power in kidnapping and raping Sabine women in order to maintain their community. The Roman historian Livy also describes this absurd behaviour, but justifies it as the only way to get help for Rome. The Roman sense of community, which began to give ideological shape in the first century BCE through Roman historical writings and is shown through this historical process, enabled Rome to become a single, united community, a concept that differed from the Greek 'polis', and which was more important to them than any other value (Beard 2015:60–62).

2.3.2.2 A realistic attitude

Realism was a characteristic of the Sophists who paid attention to sensual experience and reality. It is a Greek term derived from Aristotle's concept of realistic ethics over against Plato's idealism, but the concept was emphasised relatively more in Rome than in Greece. The main feature of Roman realism is evident in the way a situation was judged according to historical experience and sociocultural practicality.

In Plato, one sees the idealistic social image of Greece which is contrasted with the realist attitude of Rome. Plato responded to long-standing tension between realistic politics and idealistic philosophies in ancient Greek history. The progression of his works, *Politeia* –

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[55] Seneca (*On Benefits* 4.16.2 cited in Ferguson 2003:69) states, "[t]he one firm conviction from which we move to the proof of other points is this: that which is honorable is held dear for no other reason than because it is honorable."

Politicos – Nomoi, focuses especially on the question of who will govern and then draws out a realistic Greek politician about the ideal politics of Greece, and laws as a compromise between the ideal and the real. According to him, the downfall of Athenian democracy in the end was the result of the difference between ideal liberalism and the surplus of freedom (Plato, *The Republic* I, trans. Paul Shorey 1930:328–331; Plato, *Laws*, trans. R.G. Bury 1926:713–714; Plato, *Statesman*, trans. Harold North Fowler & W.R.M. Lamb 1925:279–280). Although criticism of earlier Greek politics revealed in Plato's works and the transformation into Hellenism through Alexander is a transition from ancient Greek tendencies, it is somewhat different from the Roman sociocultural values revealed by historical Roman thinkers and politicians, including Cicero. Plato saw justice in the wisdom of a ruler, courage in a guardian, and abstinence in a citizen, by which the three groups performed their respective tasks. Although Cicero's *On Duties* inherited the virtues of Plato, Cicero leads Plato's idealistic definition of weak compelling power to a real contractual relationship in Rome. For Cicero, as a member of the community, justice is a contractual relationship between faithfulness and duty, by giving and receiving expertise and effort and means according to the nature of work, for the sake of the public good – especially for nations and parents (Cicero, *On Duties*, I.22–23; 58).[56] Brunt (1971:255) believes that order, peace and status under a powerful government were the primary aims identified by Cicero, and that Augustus made these aims a reality. Gaillard (*Approche de la litterature latine*) also states that Cicero's *De Re Publica* is the conversion of Plato's theoretical constraints to Roman realism.

For the Romans, the Greek-Hellenistic philosophy was metaphysical and idealistic, the religion was ideological, the literary activity was consciously distant from life, and the novels were mostly unrealistic. The Romans' passion for Hellenism appeared in almost every aspect of Roman history, and the Roman emperors proclaimed themselves Hellenistic; nevertheless, the Greek idea of escaping reality was of no great value for many Romans. Rather, the efforts and suggestions of the Hellenists are seen by contrast as a reflection of the traditional nature of Rome and their reality. For a handful of Romans, philosophy was

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[56] Cicero (*On Duties*, trans. Griffin & Atkins 1991:1.21–23; 58), in his deontology, defines the virtues of justice (*justitia*) as follows, "[j]ustice in the narrow sense (the first part of C's second virtue) has a negative aspect – not to harm anyone unprovoked (21), and a positive one – to help our fellow men (22). Moreover, as the Stoics believe, everything produced on the earth is created for the use of mankind, and men are born for the sake of men, so that they may be able to assist one another. Consequently, we ought in this to follow nature as our leader, to contribute to the common stock the things that benefit everyone together, and, by the exchange of dutiful services, by giving and receiving expertise and effort and means, to bind fast the fellowship of men with each other 2 (23). Moreover, the keeping of faith is fundamental to justice, that is constancy and truth in what is said and agreed … (58). Now, were there a comparison, or competition, as to who ought most to receive our dutiful services, our country and our parents would be foremost; for we are obliged to them for the greatest kindnesses …"

about the stoic ideology of maintaining the social system of reality and creating moral values; for most Romans, Hellenism was recognised as the religious part toward a realistic good for the political and sociocultural interests and development of the city of Rome (Ferguson 2003:363).

Rome thus from ancient times emphasised practicality, rationality, openness and tolerance based on realism. The various values of Greece and Hellenism were also reinterpreted according to the traditional values of Rome.

2.3.2.3 Practicality and rationality

The ideal concept in Plato, while pursuing the philosophical and ethical city state, seems different from the realistic concept pursuing practical purposes and rational decisions in the spirit of the Roman community and the organisation for the integration and territorial expansion of peoples for their own benefit.

Greek historians who refer to Herodotus (480 to 420 BCE), Thucydides (465 to 400 BCE) and Plutarch (46 to 120 CE) saw that imperialism leads to the destruction of the value that Greece sought to pursue. However, Rome's expansionist policies for maintaining economic and sociocultural stability were based on a practical and rational decision that reflected their reality, so they did not stop external warfare even in the midst of a serious internal struggle that began in 133 BCE (Brunt 1971:11–20). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in *The Roman Antiquities*, 2.7.4, 2.16.1–2. trans. Earnest Cary 1978:333, 357) describes Roman conquest policy, which began with Romulus, as making Rome stronger and declares that the Romans accomplished freedom and took the initiative of history. He contends that Rome did not slaughter, enslave, or take away the land in the conquered country, but instead distributed the land and even imparted Roman citizenship. This politic judgment of Rome concerning their expansion is hard to find in the preceding times. Rome focused on the power of combining peoples, and their imperialism was a clear move to anti-decentralisation, so that regional integration would bring stability and peace to the country, rather than ensuring regional individuality (Beard 2015:527–530).

The ancient city of Rome, like the Greek city-states, developed from a limited territory and people, but their sociocultural policies in the imperialising process, which encompassed vast territories and numerous peoples, unlike with Persia or Greece, were not based on a conservative concept but were determined by practical purposes and rational judgment. They did not assert their own traditional culture only, but absorbed the sociocultural policies and techniques of other people when such seemed to be better than their own, made them

their own and improved them. While the cultural openness and tolerance of Rome may be seen as part of the Persian and Greek empires of ancient society as well, it was a unique aspect of Rome that, besides religion and customs, the public sociocultural practicality and rationality were based on realism as their traditional value (Ferguson 2003:20–21).

2.3.2.4 Standardisation

Another important mechanism used by Rome for integration was standardisation. In ancient society, standardisation was the basic principle of socialisation because it integrated the understanding of different values of different communities into one common principle; assigned the integrated power to the organisation that dealt with such a common principle; measured the value of various sociocultural goods that were latent and made public; and broke down the regional boundaries of various societies and achieved a common economic zone.

Just as Greek was the standard in the Greek world, Latin began to emerge as a new standard in the Roman Empire. With such standardisation, the concept of standardisation was extended beyond Greece to be revealed in law and political organisation, institutions, military organisation, the monetary unit, currency, and measurement type. It related to the purpose of imperialism as the great national strategy of Rome which was an attempt to restore the problems of social, economic and political instability of Rome's internal circumstances from outside. Such standardisation seems to have enabled the consolidation of sociocultural power through the smooth flow of manpower and economy in unifying the various nations and regions through the power of Roman politics and military (Heather 2005:5–7).

2.3.2.5 Organisation: Contractual relationship through faithfulness (*fides*) and duty (*pietas*)

The emphasis on community spirit, practicality, rationality, and standardisation in the social integration of Rome reveals the difference from Greece with regard to the ability to organise society to pursue public justice and values. Greece saw the development of human society as a change in the humanity of individuals to pursue social good, but Rome realised that social good for the public could be achieved by laws, institutions and organisations that controlled them.

Montesquieu (2013:110) describes Rome as the head of an organisation composed of all the peoples of the world, not as a kingdom or a republic. While there were captains from each of

the Greek allies, such as Delos, the Peloponnese, and Corinth, the alliance could not be regarded as a single community bound together by a common fate; it was an aggregation that could be withdrawn at any time for the sake of their own benefit.

Rome interpreted politics, society, and religious activity as principles of mutual contractual relations based on faithfulness and duty. These were improved in order to strengthen the organisational power of the community starting from the Roman monarchy to the Roman Empire, and Roman citizenship played a role in binding the conflicting social structures of nobility and commoners, and of Rome and the provinces, in the unified symbolism of Roman citizens. Plutarch (*Plutarch's The Parallel Lives*, i.16.5., 1998[1914]:137–139), the Greek historian of the Roman period, describes Roman tolerance and openness, citing how Romulus when merging in the Sabines, made the Sabine king a co-king, and gave the Sabines the same full citizenship as free people like the Romans: "[n]ow this, more than anything else, was what gave increase to Rome: she always united and incorporated with herself those whom she conquered." Similarly, Roman politicians knew that united organisational power was superior to that of the individual. In this respect, the administrative organisation of Rome created policies that minimised disputes and maximised cohesion (Heather 2005:7). According to Beard (2015:191–208), this Roman system of alliances became an effective working principle for absorbing defeated enemies as part of the military organisation of Rome, and Rome gave its allies a stake in Roman affairs. For Rome, the key to victory at the time of the conquest wars was in how many people could be mobilised continually. Rome expanded its citizenship to those who had no direct geopolitical and racial relationship with the Roman city during the conquest war, thereby opening the way to becoming a Roman in a systematic way not previously seen. In sharing Roman sociocultural identity, these people gained a sense of belonging through extended Roman citizenship, in a political position independent of race or area, without a Latin national identity. The historical experience of the war with Carthage, in particular, more clearly demonstrated to the Romans the importance of organising and cohesion through alliances, and the historical lessons they learnt became a sociocultural ideology that characterised Rome (Beard 2015:161–166).

The basic principle of organisation in Rome always involved contractual relationships that guaranteed mutual benefits through faithfulness and duty, and revealed the characteristic of encompassing various conflicting structures and strengthening unity. The societies and political organisations of Rome were generally formed in a relationship of guardians and beneficiaries, and this hierarchy created the smallest administrative division through a relationship of protection and loyalty. The emperor was in a mutual relationship with the city's elites and rich people, and the upper classes had relationships with ordinary citizens.

Local officials endeavoured to maintain this relationship for the sake of their political life and the smooth functioning of the administration. This organisational structure of Rome was reflected not in the political and administrative spheres only, but also in various social and economic aspects. It was a strategic function of the social organisation within the Roman Empire and played a role in maintaining the order of the Roman Empire (Horsley 1997:89–90). Millet (1989:15–47) identifies Rome as the only society in the ancient Mediterranean region that was able to build social cohesion through a special relationship between guardian and beneficiary. During the republican era a noble was at the apex of the socioeconomic pyramid and then the pyramid was regrouped around the emperor's family when they entered the constitution and they were supported by Roman government officials and Roman nobility. When emperor worship was introduced into the organisational power of Rome, a powerful Roman organisational structure that integrated politics, society and religion was completed.

2.3.2.6 The spirit of the law: Justice for social universality and cohesion

Law is the most influential public function and instrument for maintaining the political, social and cultural solidarity of organised groups. Thus, the nature of the law agreed upon by the group shows more precisely what their purpose in cohesion is. Many scholars studying the annals of legislation regard Rome as a civilisation of law, and the Legal idea of the Romans seems that a distinct area of law somewhat separate from religion and ethics, when compared to other civilised peoples, had already been established.[57] Virgil (*Aeneid* 4.231), in his epic praise of Augustus, expresses the idea that the purpose of Roman conquest and domination was "the whole world beneath his laws (*totum sub leges mitteret orbem*)". Cicero (*De Oratore* 1.196–197) also emphasised that, compared with Greek wisdom, the power of Roman law as a characteristic of Rome was greater. Benjamin Kelly (2014:242) points out, "[t]he Romans were proud of their legal system", and "they claimed to have brought law and order to the peoples of their empire and used this claim to try to justify the violence and repression that imperialism inevitably entailed".

Not only Greece, but most ancient countries at the time had a legal form reflecting their traditional religious view; religious rule always overrode a general law. However, the annals of legislation of Rome show that Rome tried to arrive at timely and realistic results to satisfy

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[57] According to Williamson (2005:3–61), Rome began to show a change in legislative activity as compared to the prior Roman republic, with the destruction of Carthage and the leap to the great empire through the Punic wars. The significance of this period is the establishment of professional law. The interpretation of the monopoly of the law by the new bureaucracy became the domain of legal experts, and the law of modern meaning was born. Especially, the meaning of this period of Roman law is the emergence of legal experts and the establishment of professional law of modern meaning.

many people, and the cases that had been treated were accumulated as precedent for public judgment. Such ways of legal judgments were emphasised in terms of efficiency and rationality in reality rather than religious propensity or a moral tendency. Therefore, the Roman legal scholars regarded the spirit of the law as a way of ensuring legal stability and safeguarding society's universality, while expanding social cohesion through rituals, realistic value judgments, cultural homogeneity, and political power (Lee Sang-Soo 2000:309).

According to Montesquieu (2013:46), the Romans also had the efficiency and flexibility that enabled them to correct immediately, when their judgment was wrong, in seeking social universality and cohesion on which many could agree. The state Cicero (*De Re Publica,* 1.39) referred to was not a set of people gathered in just any way, but a union of people who were united by the same legal concepts and common interests. In Rome, social justice could be seen as supporting the universality that was familiar to the members of society, and the unity of the members, rather than following and producing idealistic moral standards of human existence (Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.7.20; Berger 1953:529).

The establishment of public power through the law did not proceed to the coercive rule of dominance of the colonies in the centre of Rome, but it developed the practical legal norms of the common people by extracting the common law principles and rules from among the people of the Mediterranean. Roman law was more practicable than theory, and it created a *praetor peregrius* (solicitor) system that could deal with the law of the provinces when it was in conflict with the law of Rome. Although Roman law was always a priority in the understanding and application of the law, the Romans acknowledged the inherent law of the province and sought to develop it into a universal law.[58] In addition, once the Romans became more familiar with the laws of other countries, they refined their laws to suit Roman value and made adjustments as needed (Ferguson 1987:61–62; Bell 1998:115; Lee Joo-Hwan 2011:15–16).

The social characteristic of the law was that it allowed members to live together as long as they obeyed the principle of communal composition, even if they did not share the same nation, faith, sociocultural value, or intellectual level. The people in the Roman provinces wanted to have Roman citizenship because they expected that the law of Rome would protect them and their property. Roman law in particular followed a simple principle of interpreting and integrating public life in terms of rationality and efficiency without any other premise. In other words, the legal spirit of Rome was aimed at ensuring fair and equal rights

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[58] There was the *Ordo Judiciorum Publicorum*, a law enforced in Rome and Italy. In the provinces, however, even the offences prescribed by Ordo were not controlled to follow it (Ferguson 1987:61–62).

to all people regardless of their social class, race or religion, thereby enabling symbiosis and unity (Brunt 1971:17–23).

2.3.2.7 Pax Romana

Pax Romana, finally, was symbolic of the value that Rome was seeking through various mechanisms of integration in the Roman Empire. It expressed the reality of Rome and a social structure for eternal Roman ideals. As Cicero (*De Officiis* 2.45) commented, unending bellicosity was the standard of the time, and it continued the social instability with long wars between many countries. The achievement of Rome, therefore, in enabling union with the Empire, led many nations to think that supporting Rome was reasonable for social stability, as Rome was not the power that conquered only, but also provided convenience and rewards (Polybius, *Histories* 1.1). Although Rome did not achieve an age that was free of war, as was envisaged in the Pax Romana, the symbol of Rome after Octavian's victory in the battle of Actium (31 BCE), the Romans regarded the peaceful period following Augustus as a result of the restoration of ancient Roman religion and the Roman spirit, along with the outstanding policies of Augustus, as the arrival of the eternal Rome which the earlier ages sought to pursue. These expectations of the Romans also revealed the possibility of integrated diversity – beyond the conflict of nations, status and class – as an ideal condition of the state, which they had been pursuing from the past. Thus, Roman law, which included the Roman community, standardisation, organisation, realism, practicality and rationality, was a representative social function of Rome that reflected the thinking patterns and values of the Romans who wanted to achieve peace and order through such union and unity. This seems a form of sociocultural infrastructure that supported the ideological superstructure of the Pax Romana, which tried to bind various nations and provinces into a single unified system under the sign of peace and stability (Bell 1998:44–45).

2.3.3 A religious sentiment[59]

As discussed earlier with regard to the Greek understanding of myths, the Ancient Greek religious sentiment and mythology evolved into advancing human truth, goodness, and beauty with the polytheistic assumption that there were many gods and goddesses in human shape. The works of Homer, which presented a heroic age, in particular reflected the hope of the human to aspire to individual high honour.[60] Although Greek religious acts essentially

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[59] See footnote 10.
[60] Ferguson (2003:150) states, "Homeric religious thought had a place in the Greek development not unlike that of the Scriptures in Jewish and Christian education."

were a collective and communal issue,[61] they were not intended to present public ethics or to pursue the integration of people through religious activity. Ferguson, as Rose (1959:9, 12) reports, summarises the characteristics of ancient Greek religious activity as follows: "The religion of ancient Greece had no creed" with "a code or system of morality"; "Greek religion was decidedly a thing of everyday life"; "otherworldliness did not form the main trunk of the tree"; and "in Greece the "measure of all things was man". Thus, for most Greeks, who were religious secularists, "true human life meant the life of the individual in the community" (Ferguson 2003:149–161).

However, the religious culture of Rome, unlike Greek religious culture, reflected the national unity and strengthening of political organisation and public ethics. The early Roman gods did not have personality, and there was no distinction of sex. It was because of the intuitive nature of the Roman god that the genealogies and myths of the gods had not developed, despite the fact that the gods of Greek mythology were borrowed from the third century BCE. In the case of Greece, according to Mommsen (2009:30), there was an attempt to expand the concept of god more broadly from myth to ideology, but the Roman concept of the god remained as rigid as it was originally. Diehl (2013:43) notes that there was no creed in the Roman religious culture, or emphasis on peace with the gods or peace of the gods (*pax deorum*) and on faith in the ancestors or traditions of the ancestors (*mos maiorum*), and there was faith in the results that would be gained by their faithful deeds to them. In other words, the religious characteristics of the Romans were to carefully define their gods' role and relationship with them and to have a sense of duty to them; Roman religious culture was corporate (group solidarity) and legal (a contract relationship). Therefore, the main purpose of religious activity in Rome was considered to be a combination of divine power and community values through appropriate rituals as one of the public functions that led the community. The character of the Roman religious culture with its legal nature also entailed that some ceremonies should be conducted in accordance with precise and detailed rules. In the Greek cities, individuals participated in all religious rallies, but in Rome the initiative was concentrated in colleges (*collegia*), and personal participation was limited (Ferguson 2003:165–173).

Numa Pompilius (reigning from 715 to 673 BCE), the second king of Rome, began to use religious consciousness to maintain order in the community and adopted a system of the *Pontifex Maximus* (a high priest in the college of pontiffs) and the *Vesta* priestess (in the role

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[61] Unlike in Rome, a large proportion of the population was actively engaged in religious ceremonies, and the gods would not turn away if they participated in the collective rituals. Their religion was based on agricultural cycles, and the majority of festivals were related to agriculture (Ferguson 2003:161).

of keeping the sacred fire). The most important place among the gods was held by the goddess of the hearth and its fire, Vesta, instead of Jupiter, and the sanctification of the Temple of Vesta was regarded as a symbol of national survival. In the early days of the founding of Rome, the cult of Vesta reflected a social taboo and a way of community survival to maintain the community as a single unit. The rulers of Rome kept the traditional religious paradigm and retained the political significance implicit in Roman religious activity by taking the role of high priest. In a continuation of this process, the most important religious distinction between Greece and Rome is seen in the imperial cult and the state cult (Gordon 1990:205, Dowden 1991:7; Bowersock 1965:393).[62] McGrath (2013:17–19) reflects on the religious changes in Rome as the empire stabilised and their territory expanded following the Augustan period:

> A form of civil religion began to emerge at this time, linked with worship of the Roman emperor as an expression of allegiance to the Roman state and empire … First-century Roman religion tended to draw a distinction between a state cult which gave Roman society stability and cohesion, and the private views of individuals. The Latin term *religio* derives from a root meaning 'to bind together'. In many ways, this is a useful summary of the role of the state cult: to give the city and empire a stable sacred foundation.

Kelly (2006:30–31) notes, "the religious rituals surrounding emperor-worship were not secondary to the real business of rule (administration, justice, taxation, warfare)", but rather an inseparable part in the progress of Roman politics. He says, "[f]or its enthusiasts, the worship of living emperors and their posthumous deification offered a means of understanding what it meant to be part of the Roman Empire." In other words, for the Romans, "religion was primarily understood in terms of a social activity and attitude that promoted unity and loyalty to the state" and their rulers were regarded as being able to exercise power to enable such things as the gods to maintain national stability (McGrath 2013:18; Kelly 2006:31).[63]

The characteristics of Roman religious paradigm can therefore be explained as follows: First,

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[62] According to Bowersock (1965:393), the Imperial Cult originated in the course of the close relationship between Rome and the eastern provinces as the Roman power increased from the late republican period. Roman political power granted divine honour to the Roman elites, and Julius Caesar in particular was the first person to be deified through rituals at the public level (Hopkins 1978:202). Later, when Augustus's rule was established, the worldview centred on the emperor was created through writers such as Virgil and Horatius (cf. Beard 2015:376; Price 1984:49–50).

[63] This view can already be seen in Cicero (*De Domo Sua*, trans. Yonge 1891:1.1). Of the republican period, he says, "[m]any things, O priests, have been devised and established with divine wisdom by our ancestors; but no action of theirs was ever more wise than their determination that the same men should superintend both what relates to the religious worship due to the immortal gods, and also what concerns the highest interests of the state, so that they might preserve the republic as the most honourable and eminent of the citizens, by governing it well, and as priests by wisely interpreting the requirements of religion …"

in contrast to the Greek religiosity, which had a sensuous understanding of human existence and life, the religiosity of Rome predominantly was a formal rite conducted as a transaction to achieve the goal of reality. Second, the religiosity of Rome was characterised by institutionalising religious ideas and rituals legally. Third, it was a characteristic of Roman religiosity that it served political purposes. Fourth, the conservatism of the Roman religiosity served consecutive community consolidation with emperor worship. This restricted diverse religious groups from capturing the hearts of the public and pursued the collective value of religiosity.[64] Fifth, religiosity of this public nature could be seen to result in the worship of Roman power in the world of the Roman Empire (cf. Mellor 1975:207–208). In other words, religious praxis had to be subject to the rule of the Roman Empire despite religious diversity.

The Greek historian Polybius (*Historiae*, vi.56.7) regarded the origins of Roman power as due to the unity of the Roman Empire through superstition (*deisdaimona*). The Romans were eager to apply religiosity for political purposes.[65] Therefore, in Rome, priesthood was established as a permanent organisation for the national religious activity, and an annual events calendar containing the yearly sacrifice schedule was created. The Romans, who experienced no curiosity about metaphysical notions, directed and maintained their religious practices for the benefit and political development of the city of Rome. This was to reflect the reality of Rome in a more sublime and ideal dimension (cf. Mommsen 2009:30, 51, 183–186, 216–219).

2.3.4. Objectives of education

As in all societies, the standardised public education of the society makes it possible to form community consciousness, create a mutual sense of identity and pursue social universality through the continuous production of generations with the same values. Although one cannot think of state-led public education as it is today, being competent as far as public life in ancient societies was concerned, was learned through imitation of each other and in home

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[64] The Romans embraced the gods of the conquered provinces during their expansion, but on the other hand showed religious conservatism to their integration centring on Rome, due to the relative preference for the Roman gods. In 29 BC, Cassius Dio (*Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, 1917:174–175, lii. 36. 1–2) advised Octavian:

"1 Therefore, if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act as I advise; and, furthermore, do you not only yourself worship the divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers, but compel all others to honour it. 2 Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay honour to any other being), but because such men, by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices, from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist or a sorcerer."

[65] Polybius (*Historiae*, vi.56.6–7) says, "the quality in which the Roman commonwealth is most distinctly superior is in my opinion the nature of their religious convictions. I believe that it is the very thing which among other peoples is an object of reproach, I mean superstition, which maintains the cohesion of the Roman State."

education on how to act in society. Education therefore was seen to reflect the mental state and values of the society, and to determine the past, present and future homogeneity of the social culture.

The aforementioned contrast in ethnicity in Greece and Rome was also revealed in the nature of education corresponding with their sociocultural tendencies. While Greece pursued contemplative and idealistic values, Rome pursued realistic and practical values. Thus, Greece regarded philosophy as important in education and wanted to promote the value of truth, goodness, and beauty of human existence through their education. The Romans conquered the Greek world and embraced Greek educational theory, but being very realistic and practical, they emphasised practicality in any case. Therefore, although education in Rome originated in Greek education, it was reinterpreted according to the reality and uses of Rome. The Greeks were interested in the growth of individual city states and individuals, and neglected the composition of city associations. The ethics, continuity of the law, and family unity were not of much importance to them, but the educational purpose in Rome proved its worth in usability for the community. Rome regarded the historical consciousness composed of family history, law, and state administration as important, and tried to place educational value on community property (Dilthey 2009:142–144).

In dealing with the social weightings given to education in Greece and Rome, Dilthey (2009:141) focused on Cicero's view that the Greeks fostered their intellectual and artistic tendencies and provided education in subjects necessary to form humanity and virtue, but the Romans required training in matters of the state and tradition to ensure benefit to their homeland. The main purpose of ancient social education was to promote intellectual and social development that could enhance the unity of the community through developing an appropriate number of citizens as equally capable beings. What was regarded as the most effective power for leading the community was training in linguistic competence, public discourse and discussion, and cultivating persuasive orators who could serve the nation was important. As can be seen from characteristics regarding the union of the Greek cities that emphasised autonomy and horizontal relations among cities, the educational tendency also emphasised individual intellectual and artistic development on the basis of spontaneity. But they were limited in creating the will and desire to develop one leading nation.

On the other hand, Rome clearly revealed the purpose and task of education for their community. From the beginning of the Roman republic of the second century BCE, the primary purpose of Roman education was to direct intellectual development that could lead to the unity of the state for world domination. Compared to Greece, the difference in Roman

education was in forming a national or collective consciousness that led members to share community values and form an organisation. This national consciousness of Rome was not only directed by a principle towards unifying religious culture, myths, mental systems and organisations, but can also be regarded as a religious belief system following the principle of integrating diverse peoples into one unified system (i.e. *Romanitas*) (Dilthey 2009:172–177).

Another feature of Roman education was to bequeath custom or precedence in culture, law, art, politics and society. Historical experiences of earlier Romans became social influences in the form of traditions and customs. In the sense that Rome respected empirical value, however, this precedent, while respecting tradition and custom, included the possibility that it was not permanently fixed, but could constantly be modified and supplemented. Roman education was characterised by an open attitude that could contradict the historical experience or tradition they pursued, and Romans actively revised errors revealed in comparison to new cultural experiences from other worlds. Eventually, such synthesised knowledge was reinterpreted in the Roman mental system and accumulated as sociocultural assets for the Roman community. In some ways, the sociocultural stimulation of the Romans from other countries would be a competitive force driving them, and a continuing series of innovations was seen as a survival mechanism. For creative innovation, they had to break or supplement their traditions and customs; when the Roman spirit was at its most active, there was such risk-taking work (Hadas 1966:11–12; Pascal 1984:351–355).

Thus, the various sociocultural features of Rome, in contrast to those of Greece, interacted with Christianity as another sociocultural value distinct from the influence of Greek-Hellenistic culture on Christianity at the time when the early Christian community was formed. Although the early Christian communities, through a range of sociocultural contacts, shared universal and standardised values with societies united in the value system of Roman society at the time, conflict with existing aspects of politics, religion, and intellectual society due to inherent differences in the definition of values also occurred between Christian-centred thinking – or Jewish tradition – and Gentile culture. In other words, the interrelationship between the sociocultural features of Rome and the socialisation of the early Christian communities was revealed in the difference in the realistic goals that united them in value judgments related to Christianity, as well as in comparison with Greece as a community choice regarding the priority of various sociocultural values. The religious discontent of the Roman society about Christianity, in turn, reflected the expectations of Roman society regarding religious roles in the ancient society. However, the Christian communities that could not be Romanised due to their central idea as eschatological communities waiting for the end of the world and judgment, were forced to live as

persecuted pilgrim and exclusive communities in the Roman world. The culture of Roman society caused spiritual tension for them and they maintained a passive attitude toward this culture until the time of Constantine. But Christianity, being elevated in Roman society from Constantine onwards, and in casting off the previous passive attitude, began to work actively to integrate Christian and Roman values, and from that time became highly Romanised compared to before Constantine. At the same time, the sociocultural activities of Romanised Christianity replaced the earlier forms embracing Roman values, and the values of Rome began to become Christianised in Christian forms. Nevertheless, early Christianity was still linked to the social culture of Roman society. Even though sociocultural change in the Roman Empire took place in the centre of the Christian value system, the sociocultural values proposed by Christianity were integrated into a range that did not deviate much from the previous macroscopic goal of the Roman tradition, rather than introducing a radical transformation of the social system. There was no total change in the direction of the sociocultural values that the Romans sought, but a change in the positions and circumstances of applying them, and it is evident that the ancient sociocultural values that Rome wanted to maintain were reflected in Christianity in the broad sense.

Flowing from the concept of socialisation and the overview of Roman social culture discussed in this chapter, Chapter 3 deals with the interaction between the sociocultural values of Rome and Christianity during the formation of early Christianity before Constantine, through the relationship between the sociocultural elements of the Jewish tradition that provided the historical continuity in Christian thinking. It also deals with the process of formatting Christian thinking de-socialised from Judaism at the beginning of the early Christian community, and the relationship between Christian-centred ideas and Roman social culture in contact, learning and conflict.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIALISATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND ROMAN CULTURE BEFORE CONSTANTINE

In this chapter, the previous process of the resocialisation of early Christianity centred on Constantine will be dealt with as a prior work. The purpose of this research was to analyse the interrelationship with Roman social cultures concerning the morphological changes of the early Christian communities. In other words, it aimed to examine the basic communal elements of early Christianity until when Constantine accepted early Christianity in the universal society, and to analyse how the sociocultural phenomenon (including Judaism, Hellenism and Roman Empire) influenced Christian socialisation. This involved a study of the contrasting structures in the radical change of Christianity to Romanisation after Constantine, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

3.1 Introduction: The church-historical meaning of Jewish socialisation and Roman resocialisation of the earliest Christian community

The Edict of Milan, issued by Constantine, could be considered a strong watershed in separating the first and the second half of the history of Christian socialisation. This historic event introduced the opening of a new chapter for early Christians who could thereby become part of public society in the Roman Empire and escape the negative perception held by the Gentiles. The Gentiles saw early Christian communities as exclusive with regard to the religious pluralism of Rome and as believers in the Jewish theocratic system, and consequently forming a secret religious group that hampered the unity of the Roman Empire. In addition, this could be seen as public and social adaptation by which early Christian communities could form one universal church and achieve Christian unity in various sociocultural fields of the Roman Empire to meet national expectations. Before the Edict of Milan, the early Christian communities were distant from the possibility of such public socialisation. Thus, what is covered in this chapter deals with the formation and socialisation of the Christian paradigm up to the incorporation of the Christian community in the public sphere in 313 CE. In other words, this relates to the interrelationship between the historical Jewish paradigm – which provided an important sociocultural background in forming the early Christian community around Jerusalem – and discussions on the interrelationship with Roman social culture, which were directly or indirectly related to the process of the Christian community being re-socialised into a Gentile sociocultural paradigm after the collapse of the Christian community in Jerusalem and the loss of the sociocultural values of Judaism, which

inevitably accompanied the fall of Jerusalem (Küng 1995:87; Bell 1998:44-46).

To view this early Christian community as completely new against the limitations of the Old Testament, or to view their message as an entirely new ideology – or, further, as an organisation emerging from the gospel of Paul, without any connection to the continuity of the Old Testament (as some early Christian theologians did), – would be an inference that ignored the process of the gradual expansion of divine revelation through the community of Israel; from genetic nationalism or the doctrine of election to an ideologically centred collective that was centred on the law. The continuity of this historical Israel had been asserted by the authors of the New Testament, and the Christian community of the time also happened to be a controversial issue in Judaism: If the earliest Christian community did not claim the continuity of the covenant and revelation concerning Christ, there would have been no attack from Judaism. On the other hand, treating the early Christian community as a community that did not present a new paradigm, but presented it as one of the Jewish sectarian movements, only placed Judaism and Christianity in a conflict situation.

What should be noted in this chapter is the structural changes in the Christian community in terms of the perception of and use concerning social culture in the early Christian community. The first Christian community was included in the broader realm of the Roman Empire, but it commenced in an age and place where Judaism led society and culture. In addition, the Christian community had begun to reject the Jewish tradition of the time in the limited space of Palestine, but the Greek-Roman people still saw them as Judaist. The beginning of this Christian community in the Jewish paradigm seems to have become a structural framework for the rapid growth of the early Christian community, but it had a somewhat negative impact on access to Gentile societies. In time, the Jewish paradigm began to be offset by the dissolution of the Jewish Jesus movement centring on Jerusalem, and early Christians began to be re-socialised in Greek-Roman social culture while the Gentile Christian community led the paradigm. However, due to the change in the Roman attitude and persecution aimed at Christianity, the first process of resocialisation was not smooth. The symbolic role of Christianity, for drawing the Christian community together and to expand it into public society, was unclear until the time of Constantine. The fact that the Romans of the time saw Christianity as a secret group reveals the limited social impact of Christianity on the Roman world. This situation seemed to be due to the external form of Christianity, which was not yet completed in comparison to the internal perfection of the Christian faith – but even this was at a weak level in the area of the history of dogma. Thus, the pre-Constantine socialisation process reveals the social problems that early Christian communities faced: As the earliest stage of the early Christian community in which the Jews

found themselves (and in which they needed to reconstruct the external form of Christianity among the Gentile societies in relation to Roman social culture), these communities had to express a flexible sociocultural attitude while maintaining their central idea in a society subscribing to religious pluralism.

While earlier studies emphasised the paradigm shift from Judaisation to Greco-Romanisation in the social position of Christian communities before Constantine, this study considered the church-historical meaning of Christian socialisation in terms of sociocultural continuity through which the paradigm of the community ruled by God and established in Judaism is revealed in a new form in the Gentile world through the Christian community.

The first focus was on the church-historical meaning of Jewish socialisation in the first Christian community that started in Judaism.

While the first Christian communities were exposed to the political, social, and cultural environment of the Roman Empire and Hellenism under the rule of the Roman Empire, the regional basis of the emergence of this community was, in reality, in the Palestinian region centring on Jerusalem. Here they were under the direct influence of the historical continuity, religious traditions, and customs of Judaism. In particular, the historical Jewish tradition was in direct contrast to the religions of the ancient Near East, and their attitude was exclusively reflected in the Gentiles (cf. Richard 2010:251–252). [66] Although Judaism had been influenced by Hellenism for a long time, they maintained an exclusive attitude towards other cultures under Jewish law and traditional customs in order to maintain their religious sociocultural traditions and national sentiment. [67] In this historical setting, Christianity originated in a country socialised under the influence of historical Jewish experiences, traditions, and customs. The earliest Christian community did not develop useful sociocultural values as a pure thought group of the Jesus movement in relation to the society at the time, but shared and used the sociocultural values of the Jews in many ways (e.g. a community ruled by God or a Kingdom of God). As recorded in the New Testament, the first Christians were Jews and, because of the deep conviction of the continuity of God's past

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[66] Carl Richard (2010:251–252) mentions four common aspects of the religions of the ancient Near East: 1. They were polytheistic; 2. The gods generally had the appearance of human aristocracy and behaved like human nobles, merely having great power and immortality; 3. The religions of the ancient Near East were very ritualistic; and 4. The priestly class of each religion exercised thorough control. However, Judaism contrasts these religions: 1. Monotheism is at the core; 2. God is an omniscient, mysterious yet loving Creator; 3. Ethical standards of the law are emphasised; and 4. The revelation and covenant, through the prophets and the Messiah, as the Saviour formed the centre of thought. MacCulloch (2009:64) also says that the Jewish religious appearance was very different from the Greeks.

[67] Bell (1998:20) argues, "[t]he Jews were accused by the Greeks and Romans of being aloof, separatist, priding themselves on maintaining their identity" according to Tacitus' reference (*Hist*. 5.5), who regarded the customs of Jews as 'perverse and disgusting' and claimed that the Jews 'hate all others as though they were enemies'.

revelation, the unique ideas and attitudes that led Israelites to Judaism in the past were accepted and mostly integrated in Christian thinking. This aspect may seem to support the claim that Christianity is a sect of Judaism; even so, this does not agree with theorists supporting the sectarian claim, including MacCulloch (2009:73), about the early Christian community beginning as a Jewish sect and that confrontation within Judaism separated Christians from Judaism (cf. Stegemann & Stegemann 1999:150, 240–243).[68] The early Christians did not just neglect the sociocultural paradigm they belonged to, but they also did not absolutise it as the principle of applying the Christian-centric idea. This only shows that Christianity, which was a new movement following Jesus Christ, was merely socialised to follow Judaism at the beginning and could therefore be perceived as the same religion from the view of the Gentiles, because they revealed similar forms of religion to that of Judaism. This seems to that they were focusing on using those forms of religion for the efficiency of the gospel, rather than to enjoy any sociocultural paradigm.

This early Christian-centric idea was not as new to the Jews as their reinterpretation or approach to more essential meanings reflecting their historical experience and sociocultural traditions and customs. The Church-historical meaning of Jewish socialisation in the earliest Christian community is that many religious symbols and meanings from Israel's historical succession had been accumulated in Judaism, and the Christian community was able to extract, correct, and complete their meanings in Judaism. Therefore, there was no need to produce new religious symbols and interpretations of the historic events of Christ, and form acceptable ideology within the Jewish community (cf. Stark 1997:49–72). [69] Jewish socialisation therefore seems to have been a mechanism for constructing and outwardly shaping Christian thinking at the beginning of Christianity. At the same time, the social image of Judaism that had already been established in the Roman world was useful for recognising the Christian-centred ideas, or, on the other hand, could restrict early Christianity within geographic and sociocultural boundaries. Many aspects of this Jewish paradigm were retained in the Gentile Christian community centring on Paul, despite the dissolution of the Jewish Jesus movement. McGrath (2013:5–6) says that, even though it may have been useful for the early Christian community to present Jesus Christ through several themes of ancient Greek philosophy, "This was not necessarily seen as displacing Christianity's historical and theological roots in Judaism".

It was very difficult to establish a common standardised approach for Christian unity (which

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[68] MacCulloch (2009:72) argues, "the eventual Christian separation was a result of Christianity's failure to become the leading force within the Judaism of the first century CE".

[69] Stark (1997:137) argues, through quantitative analysis of the correlation between Jerusalem and Christianised towns, that a person familiar with Jewish culture was more likely to enter Christianity.

would be called Christian orthodoxy) with which everyone agreed, because of the differing sociocultural backgrounds of Jews, the Jewish diaspora, and Gentiles before Constantine. Various Jewish symbols were thus transformed in a Gentile sociocultural way that could be understood in the Gentile world and could facilitate consensus. Nevertheless, some essential elements of Christianity had to use the Jewish symbols and narratives without transformation for explaining central Christian ideas, as there was no similarity in the Gentile world and there was no substitute from anything else. In some ways, the meaning of socialisation in Christianity involved explaining Christian-centric ideas through sociocultural values as a mechanism and to produce a form of faith appropriate to such an environment. In other words, in the earliest Christian community, the Jewish paradigm was a value that was useful for Christian-centred thinking; not a value for enjoyment: This is evident in the de-socialised decisions regarding Judaism made at the Council of Jerusalem, which can be seen as the Jewish Jesus movement in discarding circumcision and dietary rules that proved to be Jewish. This seems to have been the approach by which the Gentile Christian community was able to use the Greek paradigm to explain the Christian-centric idea after Paul and to form a Christian community organisation centred on Rome.

Thus, the historical presentation and examination of the process of creating the historical Jewish paradigm could provide a special church-historical meaning through the way in which Jewish socialisation became the mechanism of the first Christian community and how the Jewish Jesus movement was reflected in Gentile society. This section will also show a strong connection with the resocialisation of Christianity in the public sphere of the Roman Empire after Constantine.

The second focus is on the church-historical meaning of the localisation and diversification of the Christian-centred idea for the foreign Christians of the time because of the social and cultural differences of the Jewish Jesus movement in the Roman world.

While the Jesus movement could easily be communicated to the Jews as a new Jewish ideology, the Jesus movement socialised in Judaism was new and unfamiliar to Gentiles in their social culture as was Judaism (MacCulloch 2009:123–127). Issues that came to the fore in early Christianity therefore concerned the following: Was the Jewish paradigm, which was chosen as an important background to Christian-centric thinking, still valid for the next generation of Christians and Gentile Christians with other sociocultural values? Was it possible to choose to extend the Christian-centred idea of Gentile sociocultural values, including Roman social culture? The role of Jewish Jesus followers in this respect was to reject the claim that Christianity was a sect of Judaism. This was done by discarding the

circumcision, which was the apparent message of the Tanakh – one of God's commands. The importance of the early Christian community in Jerusalem could be seen as, above all, rejecting the Jewish belief system and defining the boundaries of Christianly recognised faith and custom (Davidson 2005a:158–159; MacCulloch 2009:100). This feature of the Christian community (distinguished from the older Hebrew religion and Judaism) was that socialised Christianity in Judaism was continuing its central idea in the historical continuity of biblical revelation centring on Israel and Jews in the period of sociocultural transformation. It did not maintain an exclusive attitude in approaching other social cultures, but showed new possibilities in integrating their central ideas into public values by diversifying access to the gospel. The result was that – while pursuing Christian unity – the Jewish Jesus movement (following the Jewish tradition), the Jesus followers of the Jewish diaspora (influenced by Hellenism), and the Gentile Christian community (centring on Gentiles) all extended the gospel on the basis of different cultural interests.

According to Sanneh (2006:35–53), the localisation of Christianity is the most essential attribute of Christianity: If Christianity had not had such a specific and historical positioning, and had not been helped through any particular cultural form, Christianity could have remained an abstract concept without essence and without substance. Sanneh says that, in discussing the relationship between religion and culture, religious truths are inseparable from culture in most cases and culture and religion are not accidentally entangled, but the essential and final forms of religion are revealed through the combination of cultures. Thus, the legitimacy of the Christian-centric idea is that, although the final form of each region may be outwardly different, it is not a different Christian idea if its direction is consistent with the essential value of Christianity. This sociocultural flexibility reveals that outward differences had been allowed among the early Christian communities until unification in Romanisation, while pseudo-Christianity (regarded as heresy) did not agree with the direction of the Christian-centric idea. This characteristic of the Christian socialisation process seems to have been related more to the solidarity and unity of Christian communities, by checking each other's common Christian-centric ideas in such diversity rather than allowing diversity to separate local Christian communities.

A general understanding of the gospel recognises the various forms of cultural expression of the gospel but does not absolutise any one form. Therefore, although early Christianity cherished its Jewish roots, it seems that diversity was also present. The problem of sociocultural flexibility in establishing the essential value of the gospel and the efficiency of the gospel, which had been troubled from the time of the early Christian community, is that the language and concepts belonging to all cultures are very essential tools for realising

God's will but cannot be absolute and exclusive norms for others. This understanding is a way of escaping from the restrictive value system that the local Christian communities should have one and the same external consensus and be searching for the external personality according to their own time and regional specificity, only with the intrinsic point of intent of the central Christian ideas. This individualised form could have been more familiar to the Gentile world (cf. Ferguson 2003:3).

Thirdly, the issue of the transformation of the Jewish paradigm in the early Christian community before Constantine reveals the symbolic meaning of the religious base of the early Christian history.

The fact that Judaism and early Christianity had different religious bases as the symbolic order that mobilised community members and heightened their solidarity reveals that they were separate communities seeking different ideals, such as differing between the legalism of Judaism and following Jesus. The supporters of the sectarian theory found the basis of the argument in the sociological similarities revealed in the Jewish Jesus movement and Judaism, whereas the issue of the possibility of transforming this religious base of Christianity shows that the Jewish paradigm in the early Christian community was regarded as only one of the socialised forms for temporarily understanding Christianity.

In general, the three types of early Christian communities before Constantine were divided into Palestinian Jews, Jews of the diaspora, and Gentiles. This seems to distinguish the Gentile-centred community of Paul from the Jewish tradition and can be seen as a shift in the religious base of the Christian Gospel strategy. This is because the Jewish Jesus movement of Jerusalem became disintegrated due to the hostile attitude of Judaism and the Roman Empire's destruction of Jerusalem, and then the supremacy of the Jewish Jesus followers passed on to the Gentile Christian community. The religious base can be regarded as a sociocultural gathering point for collective grouping and it has important symbolic meaning, but it is not the very essence itself. Hebrew religion was first centred on Canaan and Shiloh as a base for religious politics that best represented the thoughts and rule of God. This religious base moved from Shiloh (Jeremiah 7:12–14) to Jerusalem, but there was no particular change in the role of the geopolitical base.

However, the emergence of the Jewish paradigm that was the result of the historical transformation of the Babylonian exiles changed the past religious base of Israel. Diaspora synagogues in the different areas led the Jewish paradigm. The religious base that established Judaism was not merely bound to the geopolitical specificity of Jerusalem and

the Temple, but was also transformed into an ideology centred on laws and institutional forms embodying holy documents and ideologies. In other words, it is clear that the religious base in Judaism had been shifted from the centre of the nation and the region to the ideological centre before the emergence of early Christianity (Bultmann 1993:59; Chadwick 2001:10). It thus was not only because Christianity was established around the geopolitical base of Jerusalem that the Gentiles understood Christianity as a part of Judaism (Beard 2015:519; Walker 1992[1986]:23). The Christian-centred idea had already been extended to the Gentile world through the Jews of the diaspora who experienced Pentecostal events at the same time as the emergence of the Christian community in Jerusalem. It was possible, from the viewpoint of the Gentiles, to link them to Judaism as a common group because the two groups related to the system of ideology that interpreted the Old Testament and the law. [70] In other words, although the reinterpretation of Christianity regarding the Old Testament and the law was part of the confrontation with Judaism, it seems that the issue of dealing with the same Judaic revelation would not have made it possible for Gentiles (from a situation of religious pluralism) to recognise Christianity as much different from Judaism.

The Jewish thought system was still being explained to the Jews through the sociocultural values of Jewish tradition and customs isolated from the Gentile world. Christianity therefore, in the effort to be distinguishable from Judaism, had to find other religious bases that could facilitate the explanation of ideas that were central to Christianity and thereby bind scattered Christians together and communicate with Gentile society. What should be remembered is that Christianity, ideologically, came to be through a confrontation with Judaism. The most prominent difference is the fact that Christians were united around one person, Jesus Christ, as a religious base. In the ancient world, including Greece, there were real honoured heroes of people, but they were still human beings separate from divine beings and a real human being did not claim a position as a religious base (cf. 2.3.3). This was so in the Hebrew religion, but the emergence of Messianic ideology through Jewish apocalyptic literature introduced the possibility of moving religious bases from a Judaic system to a ruler figure. With a Christian community that centred on Jesus Christ then emerging in the Palestinian society, the central values of the Hebrew religion began to be integrated into a central figure while maintaining the continuity of Jewish ideological aspects as a religious base of the geopolitical and historical characteristics of Palestine. While the central figure of Christianity was introduced to the Jews on the basis of Jewish social culture, it was not limited to the Jewish social culture; the Gentile Christian community also presented it through the

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[70] Foreign people who experienced Judaism through the religious fervour of Jewish people in the diaspora used to regard early Christianity (before the fall of Jerusalem) as a denomination of Judaism due to the geopolitical base of the Jewish paradigm in the Roman Empire (Chadwick 2001:10; MacCulloch 2009:123–127).

sociocultural values of Greek Rome. This was because Christianity finally placed its religious base in one person, Jesus Christ (Küng 1995:17–22). The interrelationship of the socialisation of the Christian community and the social culture of the Roman society can therefore be understood because the religious base of Christianity is set as the standard.

Lastly, the organic solidarity in the localisation and pluralisation of early Christianity, and the visible unity through the resocialisation centring on Roman social culture, suggest the church-historical significance of the new standard of Christian religious form.

The sociocultural standardisation of Christianity, despite the danger of making Christianity uniform with a single social culture, became a realistic and practical principle that explained Christianity in response to the question of the identity of Christianity due to persecution by the Roman government and the threat of heresy. Here, the standardisation of the form of faith implies the production of a universalised and uniform faith that informs a community of Christians and a sense of religious homogeneity in the socialisation process of the Christian community. Judaism already had a standardised belief system for the Hebrew religious societies, such as circumcision, legalism, seasonal observance, and temple sacrifice. Although the Jewish diaspora reflected regional characteristics, most of them supported the Palestinian standards of faith so that Judaism externally revealed unified religiousness in any area. For the Christian communities, the process of standardising faith also indicated an effort to define Christianity as a whole and to establish a common principle of faith, and in many ways the standardised form of faith of Judaism was inherited. A difference from Judaism could nevertheless be seen in the fact that each local Christian community reflected its own sociocultural values in order to unite Christians in their society and revealed characteristics of being structured and organised by regional group rather than from Jerusalem. Thus, it seems that the Jewish Jesus movement existed as a mainstream in the early period of Christian formation, but the Christian communities of the Gentiles could be organised separately and could confront the Jewish Jesus movement over the standard of Christian faith.

In the early formation period of Christianity, the common theme that bound the scattered Christian communities together was the simple principle of the gospel through the cross of Christ, as Paul expresses it (1 Corinthians 2:2), and a bond of sympathy for a unified interpretation of the gospel according to the analogy of faith in each region, despite the challenge of heretics. Nevertheless, the new idea of Christianity reflected the old sociocultural peculiarities of each region in interpreting and applying its own fundamental Christian ideas to life. This early localisation of Christianity revealed diversity and expansion

of sociocultural expression of the central Christian ideas according to the process of Christian development, but also revealed tension in the sociocultural expression of each region regarding the gospel – such as in the division of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. Nonetheless, the local Christian communities reflecting the specificities of the reality were consistently being linked in an organic and unified connection through the writings of various church fathers and apologists. It seems that the standard of Christian faith had not been as structured as Judaism, however, and there was no standardised form of faith that was able to visibly bind the scattered Christian communities of each region into one community (Davidson 2005a:153–157).

After the destruction of Jerusalem, Christian communities had no choice but to become more localised in and around cities of the Roman Empire, because the major capability of the Jewish Jesus movement (which had centred on Jerusalem through the order of the apostolic church in Jerusalem and an integrated function like the Council of Jerusalem for ecumenical churches) had disappeared (Acts 15). This event led to the dispersion of Jewish Jesus followers throughout the Roman Empire, and these followers becoming naturally harmonised in the Christian communities of the Gentile world. According to Küng (1995:87), the flow of Jewish Christianity centred on Jerusalem appears to have failed, in the writing of John, in about 100 CE. It was then – after the Jewish War of Independence and the second destruction of the Temple – that the excommunication and curses against Jewish Jesus followers decided in the Council of Jamnia (90 CE) came into action in the synagogues, which soon no longer allowed the Jewish Jesus movement to retain their old connection with Judaism in accordance with the parting of the ways of church and synagogue (cf. 3.2.3). This resulted in a weakening of the Jewish paradigm in Christianity, naturally increasing the number of Gentiles and their influence in Christianity. It also seems that Jewish Jesus followers in the diaspora region had to follow the de-Jewished Christian paradigm as a relative minority within the Gentile Christian community (Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:89; Stegemann & Stegemann 1999:344–347, 354). Christian communities of the Gentile world could be freer from the Jewish law and had a doctrinal system, centred on Paul's theology, that was suitable for the nations. This was shown in Paul's observation regarding circumcision and compliance with the law that he dealt with at the Council of Jerusalem, namely that the reality of Christ given to Christians may ultimately be flexible in its cultural form, whether embodied in past Israeli history and tradition or symbolically portrayed through various future foreign cultures. Although the local cultural style in which they, 'Jews or Greeks', wanted to present Christ was not a complete description (1 Cor 1:20; Gal 3:28) but a limited one, it was possible to reveal a connection to an organic and unified Christ with

individual understanding and explanations centred on these regions. For the early Christian communities, socialisation can therefore be explained as a whole Christianity viewed through the sociocultural values of various regions. However, actual situations like the persecution in Rome and the rise of pseudo-Christianity (referred to as heresy) prevented the early Christian communities from maintaining a regional character within organic unity. To approach and solve these problems, the Christian communities had to standardise Christian forms of faith through an integrated system such as the old Council of Jerusalem.[71] However, early Christian communities had various difficulties related to political and sociocultural tensions with Judaism and the Roman Empire, with regard to controlling the scattered local churches and establishing an integrated organisational system to maintain the unity and boundaries of Christianity (Johnson 1995:44). Standardisation of the form of faith therefore seems to have been related to the necessity of re-socialising early Christianity through centring on Roman social culture.

On the other hand, this standardisation of the Christian faith could be seen as very effective for visible Christian unity and maintaining communality, but it risked making Christianity uniform in a single social culture. The standard of faith in Romanised Christianity reflected the sociocultural values of Rome to the greatest extent possible and, therefore, was different from the standard of faith reflected in the sociocultural values of the earlier Israel supported by Jewish Jesus followers and the standard of faith produced by Oriental Christianity in India and Persia (Davidson 2005a:153–157). This does not conclusively show that any standardised form of faith is superior to other individualised forms, but that central Christian ideas that respond flexibly at any time to accord with the sociocultural values of the society, is an effective way of tailoring the gospel to its society. In other words, in Christianity the standardised form of faith is not a permanent value derived from early Christianity, but is a way of expressing the central idea; and it can be regarded as a product limited to a certain time value. The standards of local faith reflecting the characteristics of various regions have since then become unified in a Romanised way and became standardised faith orthodoxy after Constantine. In this respect, the issue of the standardisation of faith that came about between the socialisation of early Christianity and the various social cultures before Constantine seems to present a variety of connotations of church history that would continue in relation to the Roman culture.

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[71] According to MacCulloch (2009:218), the Christian community was asked about the concept of a church as a boundary to resist Gnostics like Marcion. Early Christians could check their solidarity through reference to the same Bible text, a creed, and the authority of ministers. In that respect, to integrate the different local communities in universal Christianity, the following was necessary: 1. The various texts shared among one another had to be given authority as a common canon; 2. An authoritative theological system of interpretation of the text was needed to distinguish the boundaries of quasi-Christianity that did not follow the apostolic tradition and the analogy of faith; and 3. An organisation with authority to make such boundaries clear was needed.

In this chapter, I first look at the visual difference that Jewish values and Roman values sought to pursue, by dealing with the roots of Christian Jewish socialisation that raised the need for resocialisation centring on Rome due to sociocultural differences in Christianity. I also look at the key events of social change related to the formation of the early Christian communities before Constantine and deal with the relationship between the Christian-centred idea and sociocultural values through changes in appearance and organisation from Judaism to the Jewish Jesus movement and Gentile Christian community. We need to concentrate on two types of expansive socialisation processes centring on the New Testament: 1. The Jewish paradigm after the Babylonian exile and the early Christian community launched by Jewish socialisation; and 2. The Gentile Christian community extended to the Roman world or re-socialised from the Jewish tradition to the common Greek-Roman values, in order to deduce the validity of the church-historical meaning of the socialised relevance of the Christian community before Constantine. It is also necessary to concentrate on the narrative composition in the process of continuous socialisation and to distinguish the nature of the sociocultural integration that early Christianity sought to pursue through such a process.

3.2 The socialisation of the earliest Christian community centring on Judaism

With the view that the spirit of faith of the earliest Christian community can be discovered in Jewish tradition, we firstly need to trace what sociocultural continuity had been associated with the formation and socialisation of Judaism in the formation of an earliest Christian community. According to Chadwick (1993:66), orthodox Jewish people resented it when the early Christians insisted that the Church existed in continuity with the past history of the chosen people of God. They rejected the indirect and allegorical interpretation of early Christianity as a sophistry because the Law of Moses commanded circumcision, the Sabbath, the sacrifice, and the law of food, while rejecting the early Christians because they saw them as rebuilding the Jewish tradition according to the prejudices of the Gentiles. The reaction of these Jews thereby showed that Christianity and Judaism differed with regard to the goals and values they sought to pursue. That Judaism attempted to deny similarity with Christianity at the same time proved the claim that Christianity represented the continuity of Jewish tradition (Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:95; McGrath 2013:5–6).

3.2.1 The formation of the Jewish paradigm after the exile and the religious social community

Starting from the Exodus, Christian authors would later find the incipient moments of what

would become Christianity in Canaan developing as an historic community of Israel – in the Exodus, the Sinai covenant and laws, and the promise of Canaan – to be distinguished from the Egyptians and Canaanites. But, as recipients of the revelation, a closer relationship with a typical outward form of the early Christian Church beyond the genetic nationalism – or associated with a new interpretation of God's chosen people centred on beliefs and covenant ideas – can at the same time be found in Jewish communities in the diaspora and the synagogues that started with the Babylonian exile. Jewish people in Babylon needed some assurance of fundamentally and essentially being God's people though being replaced from Canaan, the land of promise, and the faith-centred rites in the Jerusalem Temple through the destruction of Jerusalem and emigration from Canaan. The evidence for coping came from Jewish legalism centred on synagogues.

3.2.1.1 Transition from genetic nationalism to ideologically centred collective: synagogue and legalism

For the Jews, the meaning of the synagogue certainly differed from the meaning of the temple. If the Temple of Jerusalem provided religious cohesion for the people and the region as subjects of God's Kingdom, the synagogue could provide religious cohesion centring on ideology. The Jerusalem Temple could be said to have great significance as a geopolitical base for Israel as a chosen people. In it, offerings and seasons could be preserved and people from scattered areas could be mobilised. However, during the Babylonian exile, the Jews were without a geopolitical base for visible gathering and the scattered Jews could only share their national sentiment through the Synagogue. In the Old Testament, Haman refers to the Jews (Esther 3:8) "… whose customs are different from all the other people …" He pointed to the fact that the Jewish people shared their tradition as a nation, even though they were scattered from the reign of Babylon throughout the Persian Empire. Thus, the fact that the Jews were able to share ethnic sentiments across regions and generations in spite of the loss of the geopolitical base suggests that they were united through a clear symbolism and consequent structural succession; the synagogue was not merely a place for them to gather, but rather functioned as an ideological collecting point for the body of Jews in the region and as education centre and the judiciary or the consistory (Chadwick 1993:11–12; Johnson 1995:12–14, 40–41; Küng 1992:132; MacCulloch 2009:66).[72]

According to Bultmann (1993:58–59), Judaism had freedom of religious activity, freedom of bringing sacrifices, and could themselves organise the community for the idea of God's rule

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[72] Johnson (1988:83) says, "[i]t was in exile that the rules of faith began to seem all-important: rules of purity, of cleanliness, of diet. The laws were now studied, read aloud, memorised".

under the reign of Persia. However, rituals at the temple no longer restored the central position of Jewish religious life, and gradually the synagogue took a place at the centre. The Synagogue worship was a characteristic of Judaism that was not found in ancient times. This worship started and finished with confession and prayer without particular religious rituals, and its focus was reading the Old Testament and a sermon in explanation. Bultmann sees the worship in the synagogue, and the expository preaching centred on the Old Testament, as an event that brought Jewish history and the community together. He claims that this community had a strong historical consciousness as a chosen people that differed from all other peoples. A contradiction in this process was that they were bound to past history and at the same time released from the decisions of current history. This process, however, did not merely reveal an emphasis on the genetic history of the Jews, but rather a reflection of the past history of Judaism-centred legalism, and their recognition that calling them back as the chosen people was not concerned with the genetic history but with historical perceptions and compliance with the law contained in the covenant (Küng 1992:98, 103, 132; Nehemiah 8:8; 9:1–38). This seems to imply an invisible, broader meaning than the visible, narrow meaning describing the geopolitical base as their kingdom and the standard as the elect. According to MacCulloch (2009:64–65), "it was not necessary to be born a Jew to enter the Jewish faith" and as long as they fully accepted the customs of the Jew, including the rite of circumcision, there was a process of acceptance. In theory, therefore, Judaism could become a universal religion. This is a completely different way to the genetic paradigm of previous Hebrew religions, as a mechanism of materialising their ideas through law and institutions. Thus, in the foreign society far from the geopolitical base of Jerusalem, the organisation of the Jewish religion centring on the synagogue during the diaspora with the beginning of mission to the Gentiles provide evidence of the transition to this ideological community (Bell 1998:24).

After the return from Babylon, Judaism in Jerusalem as well as the diaspora synagogue was characterised as a collective body centred on ideology and the Temple was cast into an assistant role for structuring and organising the ideology rather than just as a geopolitical base. The Old Testament record of the period of the Second Jewish Commonwealth under Persia reveals that the teaching of the law of Ezra (Ezra 7:6; Nehemiah 8–10), the reconstruction of the Temple of Zerubbabel (Ezra 1–6), and the rebuilding of the walls of Nehemiah formed the basic framework of Judaism that bound together the religion, politics, and administration of the Jewish community. In addition, the political gathering of Hasidim in the Hellenistic period, the emergence of the Jewish political groups of Pharisees and Sadducees in continuity with the Hasidim and the status of the scribes as the official

scholars of the Tora, these changes of political and religious power in Jewish community provide evidence that Jewish orthodoxy was moving away from the visible and geopolitical religious identity, as in Canaan and the Jerusalem Temple, to the ideological organisational centred on the law (Ferguson 2003:399–401; 514–515). As Fredriksen and Lieu (2004:95) note, the term 'Judaism' used with reference to Palestinian and Jewish diaspora after the Babylonian exile referred to the social and religious activities of ancient Jews. In this respect, Judaism seems to have become socialised over the Palestinian and the diaspora territories, extending from the basic idea of the legalism to the sphere of their religious organisation, society, custom, politics, education, and law. The basic idea of the law – such as the reign of God's Kingdom – could not be transformed, but diversity could be shown in the way it was interpreted and applied (as can be seen from the difference between Sadducees and Pharisees). It nevertheless shows that both are collectives of Judaism centred on ideology. The Christian community, being based on the fundamental motive of Jesus Christ, also displays solidarity centred on ideology, structuring and organising the Christian-centred idea and socialising within the Palestinian and Roman Empires. It seems to exist in continuity of a Jewish socialisation system.

3.2.1.2 Differentiation into two sociocultural forms in the Jewish community: Palestinian Judaism and Judaism in the diaspora community

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Jewish community was grouped into indivisible legality but after the Babylonian period became divided locally into Palestinian Jews and Jews of the diaspora, and the point that the separated sociocultural features continued until the time of the Apostles seemed to reveal important historical relevance in this study.

The early Christian community also reflected the characteristics of this divided Jewish community. As can be seen in Acts 6, the distinction between Hebrew Christians and Hellenistic Christians that was the cause of forming ecclesiastical offices in the early Christian community, and the conclusion of the Council of Jerusalem by which Gentile converts were recognised as full members of the community, can be attributed to this historical continuity.

Palestine Jewish community: succession of their traditional faith and strengthening the sociocultural separation from the Gentile world

Scholars differ with regard to the degree to which Palestine had become Hellenistic before the first coming of Christ, but it was clear that Palestinian Jews, centring on Jerusalem, were defensive about Greek-Roman culture (Bruce 1983:33–44).

The Jews enjoyed freedom of religious attitudes and sacrifice on returning from the Babylonian exile to the former Jewish territory under Persia. They reinstituted many of the religious rituals from before the destruction of Jerusalem, but their religious identities in terms of indirect and institutional rule through legalism pursued the paradigm of a theocratic community different from what it was in the past and distinguished from the religious standards of the Jewish diaspora (Küng 1992:105–106). The precepts of the lesson of the Babylonian exile, about which previous prophets warned, had formed the nature of Judaism as a community of faith seeking to maintain the religious and ethnic purity of Israel as the elect. This was because they found one of the reasons for being judged in turning away from the Word of God in their intercourse with the Gentiles (Ezra 9–10; Nehemiah 13). Davidson (2005a:36) says that 'Jew' and 'Jewish' refer to those who originally identified their identity in relation to the territory of Judea, the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the Temple of Jerusalem. Because these names reflect religious, regional, and ethnic characteristics, the Jews living in Palestine seemed to have had religious feelings regarding Judaism as separated from the Jews among the Gentiles. The following events reveal Jewish attitudes in Palestine that more clearly present such ethnic distinctions between Jews and Gentiles in Palestine: 1. By ignoring the peaceful policies of the Samaritan people who were willing to help build the Temple after the Jews returned, Jewish society created local conflict with them and Jews accepted the mission of rebuilding the Temple as God's direct command through Cyrus to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Ezra 4:1–6); 2. Ezra returned with the second wave of prisoners from Artaxerxes and led the revival of traditional religious acts. He banned marriage with Gentiles and only accepted selected Jews as members of the worshipping community, which aggravated the dispute with Samaria (Ezra 9–10); 3. Following this, reconstruction of the walls and the reorganisation of the traditional faith centred on the law, with Nehemiah as the leading figure, caused disputes with surrounding areas (Nehemiah 3–4; 6:15–16). Nehemiah permanently separated the Ammonites and the Moabites who were among the Israelites from the newly selected community (Nehemiah 7–8; 9:38; 10; 13:1–3). Jewish religious freedom was still maintained in the Ptolemy dynasty, which was followed by the Greek Empire and its successor; 4. However, Antiochus IV of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria attempted to make the Jewish society Hellenistic for a while and the Hasmonean dynasty was brought about by the Maccabean rebellion centring on the Hasidim who were anti-Hellenist, and the Hasidim were related to the Pharisees (1 Maccabees 1:41–64; Ferguson 2003:399–407; 514–516); 5. Judaism under early Roman rule received special benefits from the Roman government to maintain their religious acts, unlike the religious groups of other regions. They were exempted from attending the

religious rites of the Roman Empire (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews,* 14.10.6; 12–13); 6. During John Hyrcanus' reign during the Hasmonean period, they merged with Idumeans and forced them to convert to Judaism (Ferguson 2003:410). However, Jewish traditionalists still regarded the Idumeans as Gentiles and caused serious religious resistance to Herod's kingship. Herod had formal procedural justification as a member of Judaism (through circumcision and admission), but the Jewish people on the mainland maintained the past criteria as the election was centred on ethnicity in requiring the consolidation of Judaism (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:16; 20–22); and 7. In 66 CE a Jewish revolt broke out in Palestine. The rebels eventually revealed their anti-Roman Empire inclinations and they massacred the Sadducee elite, whom they regarded as collaborators with the Romans (MacCulloch 2009:106–107).

In view of the characteristics of Palestinian Judaism, it can be assumed that the nature of Judaism centred in Palestine was more exclusive than diaspora Judaism in terms of foreigners and Gentile religious culture. Ferguson (2003:427–429) argues that, although the influence of Hellenism had a considerable cultural impact on the Jews and there had been various responses to Hellenisation in Palestine, Judaism maintained its affirmations and denials. In most cases, the Palestinian Jews assimilated forms of Hellenism, though not its spirit and content, and successfully maintained their uniqueness more than any other ethnic group in the Mediterranean. Feldman (1977:371–382) also argues that the influence of Greek culture on Palestine was only superficial.

Differences that arose between universal Greek-Roman religious culture and Judaism related to fundamental knowledge of God involved the following: 1. Greek-Roman religious culture from various regions and nations involved polytheism in putting together the traditional knowledge of Greek gods, whereas the Jews served Jehovah as the only God; 2. Greeks and Romans personified various gods in human form, whereas the tradition of Hebraism did not convert God's attributes to human elements;[73] and 3. For religious purposes, the Greek-Roman religious sentiment was built around human needs to match the values of human life or to provide answers to the phenomena of nature and the unknown world, but the tradition of the Jews was developed on a divine demand requiring the faithful response of man to revelation and covenant (Deuteronomy 5:33; 8:1; 16:20; 30:15–20; 27; Leviticus 18:5); 4. Roman religious culture, like Hebraism, revealed the covenantal relationship between God and man; it was however not a relationship involving the doctrine

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[73] According to Josephus (*Ant*. 15.8.1–2; 18.3.1), the Jews asked Herod, who pursued Greek culture, to remove all forms from the theatre in Jerusalem and asked Pilate to take legionary standards and banners depicting Caesar out of Jerusalem.

of revelation, the chosen people, faith, and the law, but was a profitable relationship as 'faithfulness–duty (2.3.2)'; and 5. In the relationship between God and man, Greek-Roman religious culture practised rites with regard to gods for the purpose of gathering and expanding a complex community, but Jewish tradition centred on a single community for the purpose of serving and offering to the one and only God. (Ferguson 2003:149–153; 171–184; Polybius, *Historiae*, vi.56).

Traditional Jewish life was not only threatened by the Greek-Roman religious culture, but also the challenges of Hellenisation in an intellectual way of thinking and Romanisation to bind the community together as a public society. However, the challenges of Roman globalisation created a dividing line that has distinguished most of Judaism from the Gentile world and clarified their traditional religious view. An aspect of this characteristic of Palestinian Judaism was passed on to the Christian community. Because of this, Paul and the Gentile Christian community questioned whether the Jewish feature could be universally applied in place of the Christian-centred idea, and it became an important issue for the legitimacy of Christian resocialisation.

Jewish diaspora community: The socialisation of the traditional faith and the beginning of an approach to universal globalisation

Bell (1998:20) argues that it is difficult to distinguish between diaspora Jews and conservative Palestinian Jews, but they did not treat each other equally. According to Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:142), the meaning of the Jewish classification would be more important for some Jews in the diaspora region than Palestinian Judaism. That is because there was the danger of being assimilated in the numerous Gentiles in polytheistic governance structures that existed there, which could threaten their exclusive identity and social position as being Jewish. However, it seems that the racial and sociocultural boundaries of the Jewish diaspora that were not fully in line with the Gentile world at the time became more evident in their image in foreign society. In the ancient world, Jewish people who did not return to the Palestinian territory, but chose to continue their lives in the Gentile world, found it difficult to be wholly recognised as an exclusively Jewish community while trying to maintain their traditional way of life in a world pursuing social solidarity through cultural pluralism and religious polytheism. The Jews of the diaspora under the sociocultural influence of Hellenism were not able to maintain their traditional Jewish faith at the Palestinian Jewish level where social culture centred on Jerusalem. The difference between them and the Palestinian Jews was that they expressed the faith they inherited through the language and sociocultural values that the Gentile world could understand without

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abandoning their traditional faith and pursuing new forms of faith. Such socialisation of diaspora Judaism reveals the process of strengthening the group through moving from historical tradition to Jewish ideologies more clearly than Palestinian Judaism does.

In Chadwick's view (1993:10–12), the Jewish diaspora – like the Palestinian Jews – refused to integrate with the Gentiles and tried to maintain their beliefs and customs by gathering every Saturday for worship with psalms, reading from the Old Testament, annotative preaching, and prayer. Although far from Jerusalem, they particularly sought to preserve the sense of unity with their country through frequent pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the annual offering for temple maintenance. Stambaugh and Balch (1986:48–51) argue that the continued relationship between the Jewish diaspora and Jerusalem, the synagogue system, and the unique practices of the Jewish law especially reminded them of their special circumstances in the world surrounding them. The Jews often appealed to the government for special exceptions to avoid the difficulties of their Jewish tradition and the cultural conflict with the foreign world, including observing the Sabbath, sending an annual tax of half a shekel to Jerusalem for temple maintenance, exclusion from participating in the city's rites and from generally devoting time to city festivals, and autonomy exercising legal authority within their own community. In particular, the synagogue performed social functions: 1. As a place for council in keeping the Jewish Sabbath and the holy day, and gathering for prayer; 2. As a school for studying the Torah; and 3. As an expanded Jewish social and cultural base that provided a sense of belonging, sharing a sense of fellowship, and promoting contact with their society.

However, despite their nation-centred tendency as a community, their interaction with the surrounding structure of languages, economies, and social cultures centring on Hellenistic culture within the Gentile world promptly transformed the Jewish diaspora communities, in that they began moving away from the Jewish traditions and customs of the past. This distinction from Palestinian Judaism can only be inferred from the names of the Grecian Jews relative to the Hebraic Jews (Acts 6:1).[74] They began to reconsider and reform the old concepts in a way that did not reduce their unity, but made it possible for the Jewish community to communicate with the Gentile world. Perhaps the social culture of the Jewish diaspora did not offer confrontation with the Gentile society, but competition.

The Hellenistic sociocultural domain can be said to have had a larger role as a buffer zone for multiculturalism, which evolved from Persian rule, rather than merely emphasising Pan-

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[74] Feldman (1960:215–237 cited in Bell 1998:23) says, "[b]ecause of their lack of contact with Jerusalem, Jews in the diaspora developed some features in their faith which their orthodox coreligionists in Judea saw as bordering on heresy."

Hellenistic culture. The sociocultural differences that had arisen among the diverse peoples became a source of curiosity about one another and a cause of sociocultural exchange through diversity rather than a reason for conflict (Bell 1998:21–24; Ferguson 2003:403). Stambaugh and Balch (1986:50–51) insist that Jews of the diaspora attended regular schools and that Greek education had a considerable impact on them. Numerous writings by Philo, the Jewish philosopher in the diaspora, translated Jewish beliefs and customs into a vocabulary that could be understood by Gentiles educated in the principles of Greek philosophy. In view of these facts, it can be said that many in the Jewish diaspora adapted to various sociocultural areas in the Gentile world in which they lived, and they recognised the necessity to introduce their Jewish values to Gentiles. Gonzalez (1987:53) writes that the linguistic Hellenisation of Judaism achieved its climax in Alexandria, which was a huge centre of Greek culture. He claims that the Jewish people who resided in Alexandria had the intention of making their religious thought and attitude easily known to the educated neighbours of the time and therefore began the Greek translation of the Old Testament, called *Septuaginta*, to meet this need. As Ferguson (2003:432–433) also notes, the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek partly reveals that the Jewish diaspora (who mainly used the Greek language) needed the Bible to be translated into a familiar language. As a result, the Greek version of the Old Testament was completed during the reign of Ptolemy II and it became the reason why many Gentiles who lived in the Hellenistic cultural area were acquainted with Jewish thought. In particular, it would seem that the exclusive ideas of Judaism became universalised through Hellenistic society in that the Hebrew concepts were translated into Greek (Bell 1998:25–26; Chadwick 1993:11–12).[75]

On the other hand, the particular religious life of the Jewish diaspora was well known (even if not directly understood in the Gentile world) and their strictness of religiosity, high moral standards, and religious integrity attracted various benevolent people to Judaism (Baron 1952:171; Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 18.81–84, 20.17–48). Jews of diaspora, especially Jewish peddlers, played a role as a missionary agency for Judaism; their role was to reveal the special nature of Judaism in the competition with the Gentile religious tendencies in the polytheistic world. However, the Mosaic Law and the necessity of circumcision for Jewish membership were too strict for a high level of conversion, as the Gentiles experienced it as practical difficulties. With the advent of Christianity, the problems of conversion connected to

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[75] The Greek text of the Bible provided educated Hellenistic Jews with opportunities to reinterpret it in accordance with intellectual pagan ideas that were different from the traditional way; their allegorical interpretation, in particular, more clearly divided diaspora Judaism from Palestinian conservatives (Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:86–87, 89).

these processes among the Gentiles seemed to be overcome and a starting point was reached for incorporating the early Christian community from the regional base of Jerusalem and the Jewish tradition and customs into the universal world (McGrath 2013:3–4; Smallwood 1976:430; Stark 1997:138).

3.2.1.3 The emergence of the apocalyptic ideology and Messianic thought

The apocalyptic ideology that promoted various expectations of the Messiah and his kingdom among the Jews had a major impact on the cohesion of the early Christian community (Matthew 3:2, 4:17). Christian communities, in being characterised as eschatological salvation communities in response to Roman societal culture, appear to have had a major impact in the former part of early Church history (Hall 2005:4). In general, the origin of apocalyptic ideology seems to be connected with the Hasidim movement after the return from Babylon, the popular resistance to the compulsory Hellenisation policy promoted by Antiochus IV of the Seleucid dynasty and the acceptance of Hellenism among the upper classes of Judea, together with the disappointment with the continuing conflict within Judaism and the increasingly lethargic powers of the Hasmonean dynasty[76] which, in spite of the Maccabean revolt, created a strong interest in 'end times' among Jews. The ideological tendency appeared in apocalyptic literature and specific communities. The main aspects of this apocalyptic view reveal conflict and tension between the religious ideals of Judaism and the realities of Jewish society (Bell 1998:41; Davidson 2005a:46). According to Bell (1998:41), the perspective of the apocalyptic literature and the process of fulfilment of the apocalypse were as follows:

> This would entail a three-step process: first, purging from Israel the wicked, non-observant Jews called the '*amha-'aretz*, the "people of the land"; second, return of devout Jews from the Diaspora; third, liberation of the land of Israel from foreign domination.

In addition, Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:144–148), see apocalypticism as one of the deviant religious tendencies[77] separated from apocalyptic literature as literary genre.[78] Stegemann and Stegemann regard the features of the apocalyptic worldview as revealing a

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[76] For a short time, Palestinian Judaism remained independent on the basis of a member of the Maccabi (Hasmonean) protesting the Greek policy, but most of the second generation of the Maccabi family succumbed to the pressure of the Hellenists. Some Jews violently protested and were subjected to severe persecution by Hasmoneans (Walker 1992:13–17).

[77] The eschatological and de-socialist collectivist movements such as the Therapeutae, the Essenes and Qumrān revealed the divergence from reality in their ideas by separating from the existing society (Chadwick 1993:13–15).

[78] Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:144–145) accept the view of Koch (1970) in distinguishing apocalyptic literature from apocalypticism and sees that the religious tendencies of apocalypticism are embraced in the Qumrān texts, Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, and the New Testament.

collapse of the historical continuity and the trust in the traditional system of communality.[79]

This apocalyptic movement certainly created new expectations among the public about the Kingdom of God at the time (which differed from the existing traditional position). Although apocalyptism itself was not essential to the Messianic expectation, there had been various descriptions of the appearance of the Messiah and of the way by which Judaism would be restored through it. The appearance of charismatic characters before the first coming of Jesus Christ seems to have absorbed the masses in terms of meeting those expectations (Bell 1998:41–42; Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:144). The expectations and ideologies about the Messiah and the presence of the Kingdom of God did not merely reflect the characteristics of the apologists for apocalyptism, but also some of the common themes shared by Judaism and early Christianity.[80] Chadwick (2001:7) says, "[b]y the title 'Messiah' Jews, especially Zealots, often (not necessarily always) expected a military, nationalist leader who was to 'restore sovereignty to Israel' and to establish a theocracy". In other words, for the Palestinian Jews, the symbolism of the Messiah meant the arrival of the kingdom of David and a political ruler, which would be continued beyond the period of chaos. For the apologists of apocalyptism it implied in the broader sense the final meaning beyond the reality. On the other hand (in the eyes of the actual rulers of Judea, from the Hasmoneans to Herod the Great and the upper classes of Judaism, including the priests) the ideas around the kingdom of David and the Messiah as popular expectations were unacceptable and they politically and religiously denied it. In mainstream Jewish society, apocalyptism and the expectation of the Messiah therefore could only be presented as deviant behaviour. It was also an uncomfortable ideological trend that could be seen as a rebellion against the Roman government that was building an integrated world centred on pluralism at the time. It seems that the various expectations of the Messiah's coming and consequences thereof among Jews inspired a choice between positive or negative support

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[79] As expressed by Müller (1991:53 cited in Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:144), apocalypticism comprises an entirely different representation of salvation being realised in history. In other words, the ideology reveals a sceptical response to the confidence in the Jewish traditional faith that salvation would become visible in the course of history, and an expectation that any radical transformation and miraculous intervention of God in the end times will bring a transformation of the historical flow. Müller sees the apocalyptic movement as revealing a dissident position against the existing Jewish religious assemblies and argues that, although there was apocalyptic literature as a literary and elitist dissident phenomenon of the upper classes who lost real power in the existing system, there was also the phenomenon of the prophetic and millennial movement differing from the former, and these were revealed through centring on the charismatic figures.

[80] According to Chadwick (1993:13–15), the Essenes formed a strict separatist group: They were a community with a strong sense of sharing property and distributing money according to each person's needs, opposed slavery, upheld very frequent ceremonial baptism, and shared a holy communal meal that non-members could not share. They paid attention to the commentary on the inner meaning of the Old Testament, prophesied about the future, and especially studied prophecies about the Messiah. The Qumrān community, a group probably linked to them, rejected the sacrifice in the Temple of Jerusalem and the role of the priest in publicly recognised worship. Chadwick sees that it is possible to find similarities in the early Christian communities regarding these features and it is possible that the members of the Essenes became Christians individually, but he does not agree that some institutional continuity existed with them in the early Christian communities.

for Jesus Christ and influenced features of the eschatological salvation community in early Christianity (Hall 2005:41). On the other hand, Messianic ideas became central in Christian socialisation through reinterpreting and systematising these ideas from the Gentile social and cultural perspective of the Gentile Christian community, rather than the historical continuity of the Jewish people, and this can be seen as the first case of resocialisation of Christianity in the Roman world.

3.2.2 The Jewish Jesus movement [81] centred on Jerusalem

The emergence of the Christian community is based on the overall social culture of the Jewish community at the time; the Jewish tradition and customs as well as the connectivity of the social phenomenon can be regarded as meaningful to the early Christian community. As shown in Acts (2:14–42; 3:11–26; 7:1–53), the first emerging Christian community had a renewed reinterpretation of Old Testament revelation through Jesus Christ: Rather than the traditional way of Judaism, they accepted Jesus's Messianic ministry of redemption as a historic event (as the central idea of faith) and gathered around the name of Jesus, seeking to confirm continuity with him. However, they still maintained continuity with Judaism centred on Jerusalem (Acts 2:46) as an integrated model of previous Hebrew faith (Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:89–90; Latourette 1975:31; 39). Their most obvious trait was that they, being accustomed to Jewish law, largely retained it in religious rituals and emphasised the Jewish aspects in a more religious manner, unlike the Gentile Christian communities. According to Josephus (Jewish Antiquities, 20.199–200), those who were strict with regard to upholding the law were angry about James's execution, thereby revealing a measure of sympathy with James, the brother of Jesus, and the Jewish Jesus movement centred on Jerusalem (Barnett, 1986:27). This may perhaps be seen as Jews harbouring resentment against the non-Jewish attitudes of the Gentile Christians, and support for Jewish Jesus followers reflecting a resemblance to Jews.

3.2.2.1 The early Christian community as an integrated model of historical Judaism

Küng (1995:71–74) says that these first Christian generations were fully integrated in Judaism. They understood themselves as a part of Judaism and maintained external unity with the surrounding Jewish world. Küng lists the similarities between these Jewish Jesus followers and Jewish traditions as follows:

> The first Christian community: shared with all Jews the belief in the one God of the fathers

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[81] According to Bell (1998:44), scholars refer to those who followed Jesus but "tried to remain faithful Jews" in the early Christian period as 'Jewish Christianity'.

> ('Shema Israel'); held fast to the Holy Scriptures (Tenach); observed the Law (Torah):
> circumcision, Sabbath, festivals, and regulations about purity and food; visited the temple,
> sacrificed, and prayed the same psalms and hymns as other Jews.

The Jesus followers shared commonality with the Jewish tradition and, according to Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:148–157, 162), along with the apocalyptic or deviant groups of the Jewish community at the time, [82] also had some background in the sociocultural resistance and transformational expectation of the lower classes. The group of followers gathered around charismatic figures became visible over time.[83] These charismatic figures represented Israel's expectations about the internal and external recovery of a prophetic leader in Israel as one who would be respected by the people, like leaders of the past such as Moses, David and Elijah.

As claimed, the early Jesus movement was not tied to the paradigm of previous Hebrew religious forms before Judaism (which sought to unite communities through the national and geopolitical bases of Israel and Canaan), but showed a deeper connection with the Jewish paradigm of community cohesion and the realisation of God's rule through thought and institution. Such a Jewish Jesus movement could be seen as a sect of Judaism – an idea that is supported by many scholars.

The Christian-centred ideas can be seen as a combination of the continuity and extensibility of historical Israel and Judaism at the same time, however, rather than as providing a sense of fulfilment of their expectations to the people of the time. In other words, ideas that were central since the return from Babylon and that seem to have been absorbed into early Christianity comprised:

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[82] The deviance, which Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:148–151) pays attention to, concerned the religious and literary trend of the dissident position as the bearer of the apocalyptic movement, and indicated that the tendency had developed into a full-fledged deviant movement with an identity by establishing a definite internal structure through certain circumstances and confirmed distinct boundaries from the outside. In particular, they note that deviance theory is very effective in describing the formation of Jewish groups in the Hellenistic-Roman era and that a number of scholars brought about deviance theory in describing the conflict between early Christianity and Judaism in those days. The deviant identity is not merely the result of non-conformity regarding the existing social order and norms in group formation, or the result of the idea of the isolated deviants that could not be a majority in the existing system, but rather is a tendency to affect cohesion and reinforcement of the own group, and to lead to power for any social movement. Jews, in particular, branded the earliest Christian community of the Nazarene sect or heresy as 'trouble maker, stirring up riots among the Jews all over the world' (Acts 24:5), and formally requested the Roman government to impose sanctions on their activities.

[83] Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:164–167) compared Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae*, 14:22) and Mishnah (*Mishnah Ta'anit* 3:8; *Tosephta. Ta'anit.* 2:13) – who introduced Honi the Circle-Drawer, comparable to Elijah in making people serve God in Israel, and as a charismatic miracle actor (through prayer and healing) in Israel – and introduced Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa and Jesus ben Ananias, who was similar to Jesus of Nazareth as mentioned by Josephus.

- the role of Palestinian Judaism as a geopolitical base, which would try to bring together the scattered Jewish communities while centring on the symbolism of Jerusalem and offerings;
- the role of diaspora Judaism as a cohesive force in ideological centralisation, which provided its extensibility to overcome the geopolitical limits of Judaism through synagogues and religious education; and
- the influence of apocalyptic ideas that looked towards the completion of God's Kingdom, centring on the key person – the Messiah – as a futuristic ideal beyond the real limits of Judaism at the time (cf. Küng 1995:135–136; Tabbernee 2014:25–26).

This Jewish paradigm was reinterpreted and the Jewish Jesus followers used it in an active and flexible way, without taking in the absolute position of the Christian-centred idea about it. This form of the Jewish Jesus movement comprised a means to propose a new direction suitable for Jews by using the Jewish concept for the Christian-centric idea rather than thinking in terms of a sect of Judaism.

In some ways the emergence of Christianity was to integrate previous values, to constitute the finished true meaning, to compete with the continuing limitations of the past, and to present new permanent values. As proposed by Davidson (2005a:54), this entity surpassed that which had originated it and grew steadily. Latourette (1975:18–19) also argues for the interrelationship between Judaism and Christianity, indicating that, although Christianity would be a son of Judaism in a sense, Christianity is not a descendant of Judaism but a new thing in the true sense; the reason why Christianity was able to reveal powerful influence in the world at that time was because Christianity related to Judaism and strove to reach the ideal or the culmination of Judaism beyond the limits of Judaism.

Thus, in early Christian communities, it was through the Jewish socialisation that the unification of the past of Israel with the present centred on the emergence of Christ. In other words, in the sense of socialisation that draws out certain meanings from its individuality to universality, the Jewish Jesus movement centred around Jerusalem can be seen as the first socialised community of Christianity and as a model of integration that expressed the ideal message (the gospel) inherent in Jesus Christ toward the Palestinian public world as an integrated model of the historic facts of Israel and the existence of Judaism. At the same time, it also revealed the possibility of the resocialisation of early Christianity centred on Roman social culture.

3.2.2.2 Jesus Christ as a key figure in the new community

In Christian communities, the biggest religious and visual difference from Judaism was that the issue of the figure the community was dealing with had more of a core value than the ideology the community was pursuing. The significance of Jesus Christ as a key figure in Christianity is that both the Palestinian Jesus movement (which was socialised in Judaism) and the Gentile Christian communities (which were re-socialised in the Roman Empire) made Jesus Christ the central figure and core value in their socialisation. Traditional Judaism treated the prophets of the Old Testament as key figures rather than the apocalyptic Messiah, and made the judgment and recovery of their prophecies their central idea (cf. Acts 2:30; Matthew 11:9, 13, 14:15, 16:14). Prior to the emergence of the Christian community, Jerusalem and the Temple were putting forward the role of the Old Testament revelation as the basis of the reappearance of the kingdom of David, and the reign of the Messiah and Jewish legalism exposed the ideological congregation of God's people as a core religious value. In the Christian community, however, Jerusalem is a temporal base (Luke 13:33–35): As the fulfilment of the Old Testament revelation of Jesus Christ and the background of his ministry, law was an auxiliary tool to reveal the Messianic righteousness to be completed through him (Matthew 5:17–18). In other words, Judaism and early Christianity extended from Jerusalem as their base, but in the Christian community, Jerusalem and the Law were only part of the meaning of the historical probability that the Old Testament revelation continued to Christ (Küng 1995:73–74; McGrath 2013:6).

For the early Jewish Jesus movement, the conversion from the religious base of Jerusalem and the Temple, and the central idea of legalism to the central figure of Jesus Christ, was not a fading of the religious meaning of Judaism, but was reflected in a person named Jesus Christ as the completion of the imperfect meanings of Judaism. The Old Testament interpretation of Jesus Christ was clearly different from what was meant previously and was revealed by Jesus Christ himself and also in the confessions of the Jews and traditional legalism at that time.[84] The teachings of Jesus Christ, in many respects, corrected the Jewish misconceptions of the Old Testament. Rather than removing the traditional concept and replacing it with a new concept, as in Christ's words, "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfil them" (Matthew 5:17), it provides understanding as an integrator of the incomplete revelation and a finaliser of the inherited traditions. The early Christian community around Jerusalem could therefore also be regarded as seeking the

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[84] "You have heard that it was said … But I tell you that …" (Matthew 5:21–45), "… the crowds were amazed at his teaching, because he taught as one who had authority, and not as their teachers of the law" (Matthew 7:28–29).

meaning of the Christian completion in a way that does not give up the tradition of Hebraism. For them, the value of the Jewish tradition was the most powerful tool with historical probability for explaining Christ to the Jews of that time. This, like Paul's confession (Romans 1:2), is not that the gospel is a personal product or that it is disconnected from Judaism, but is the fulfilment of the promises made in the historical sequence of the Old Testament. This can be found in Peter's attempt to present agreement between the gospel and the prophets and James's attempt to find agreement between the gospel and the law (Davidson 2005a:159–160; McGrath 2013:2–4).

Küng (1995:24–27; 71–77) also deals with Jesus as a key figure who brings together various traditions of Judaism and keeps a balance among them. According to him, Jewish Jesus followers who accepted Jesus as the Messiah (distinct from the traditional Messianic expectation of Judaism) had to form a special community of faith apart from Judaism and their common expression of this faith was "the confession of Jesus as Christ, hymns in praise of the exalted one, prayers to Christ as the 'Lord', prophecies which were now regarded as words of the exalted one, and calling on his name". The transformation from this core point to Jesus Christ as a key figure seems to reveal that symbols which led to Judaism, the history of Israel, their traditions and customs, and the apocalyptic ideology of the time, were integrated into the power and authority of Jesus Christ. In some ways, just as Judaism had been able to unite a community through the system of authority and the meaning of their traditional social culture (e.g. sacrifice, temple, and law), the fact that the early Christian communities proposed Jesus Christ as the bearer and integrator of the system maintained in Jewish society would have served as an advantage in assembling and organising their new community (Davidson 2005a:160–61). If there were no such systems of authority and meaning in Judaism in the Palestinian Jewish community, the early Christian communities might have had difficulty in establishing a system and organisation of faith that could quickly compete with Jewish religiosity, heresies, and foreign religious culture (cf. Stark 1997:138).

On the other hand, according to Küng (1995:74–77), two rituals – 'baptism' and 'the celebration of a meal' (which symbolised the union with Jesus Christ and differentiated the early Christian community from Judaism) – existed from the emergence of the Christian community. These two rituals became the most important visible customs for those who distinguished the Christian faith community from other religious cultures and bound them in one community. The Jews baptised those who converted to Judaism and 'the celebration of a meal' was similar to 'the course of a festal Jewish meal regulated by ritual'. That is, in the Christian community, 'the baptism' and 'the celebration of a meal' maintained the form of customs located in Judaism but used them in a completely different sense (i.e. through

forming a new narrative applying to Gentile Christians). The Christian faith community baptised in the name of Jesus, followed the baptismal order of the resurrected Jesus, and performed 'the celebration of a meal' to commemorate him. As Küng (1995:76) says, "Jesus did not invent a new rite, but dared to give a new interpretation to the old rite. … He combined a new symbolic word with the old symbolic actio."

As such, the Palestinian Jesus movement abandoned its rituals, such as the sacrifice, temples, and laws of the Jewish religiosity, bringing only symbolic meaning to Jesus Christ. They also continued to link the connections with Jewish society to Jesus Christ, giving the customs of the Jews such as the baptism and the celebration of a meal symbolic meaning in Jesus Christ. Thus, it can be said that, for Jewish Jesus followers, the authority to assemble together in Christian faith and establish a system of beliefs did not only develop from an association with Jesus Christ, but also from a universal understanding among the Palestinian Jewish Jesus followers about historic events and Jesus Christ as in succession from and for the achievement of the Jewish faith (Acts 3:1; 10:9–16; 11:1–18; 15:1–21; 21:17–26).

However, the Hellenistic Christians, Paul, and Gentile Christians did not want the Christian-centred ideas to be tied up with the local problems of Jewish society and attempted to approach and treat the problems of a new age and a wider world. According to McGrath (2013:5), "if the early Christian preaching to Jewish audiences presented Jesus as the fulfilment of the hopes of Israel, Paul presented the Christian faith as the fulfilment of the deepest longings of the human heart and the most profound intuitions of human reason." That is, the most important issue for them was how much the person, Jesus Christ, could offer futuristic value to the Gentile society under the Roman Empire to which they belonged, rather than how long the Jewish values of the past could last. Therefore, the Jewish Jesus movement and the Gentile Christian community experienced the same broad sense of unity in their worship of Jesus Christ, but they differed with regard to the form of their faith in following Jesus Christ. In the Gentile Christian community, in particular, there were various forms of faith in Jesus Christ (Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:89–91; McGrath 2013:11; Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:271–273).

3.2.2.3 The reconstruction of the historical meaning and value of Judaism as the boundary separating the Jewish society, the Jewish Jesus followers, and the Hellenistic Christian community

In addition to the public confession of faith concerning Jesus Christ, the reconstitution of historical meaning and value by the early Christian community concerning the past of Israel

(which deviated from the traditional way of life shared with Judaism), clear boundaries began to form between the sociocultural divisions of Christianity and Judaism. This does not, however, support the claim that Christianity was set apart as the Nazarene Party, a sect of Judaism (cf. Beard 2015:517; MacCulloch 2009:138; Walker 1992:23). Such a confrontational structure ultimately led to the conclusion that Christianity was a minority in Judaism, and that heretical Christian communities were also regarded as a Christian minority by major Christianity. Brakke (2010:86) argues, "the clear distinction between Judaism and Christianity … did not exist in the early decades of the second century; rather, this was one of the distinctions that authors such as Justin Martyr were seeking to create". However, such a view contrasts with the following historic events at the time of the formation of several early Christian communities:

1. Jesus Christ, the key figure in Christianity, was punished according to Judaism's public judgment and their core value of legalism;

2. the Jesus movement was a target of public attack by followers of Judaism from the beginning;

3. the formal entrance procedures for becoming a Jew, such as circumcision, was rejected by the official meeting of the early Christian community, the Council of Jerusalem; and

4. Christianity had no part in the Jewish revolt and relinquished Jerusalem, the geopolitical base of Judaism (MacCulloch 2009:106–107).

As a new religious community, Christianity had only been socialised in Jewish social culture and was later seen to gradually become de-socialised from Judaism or the Judaic paradigm that they had been part of, rather than departure from Judaism. Although Christianity had theological roots in Judaism, Judaism itself was not an essential value to early Christianity at the time but was one of useful social cultures to explain the essential values of Christianity. As McGrath (2013:5–6) suggests, at the time of the formation of the early Christian community, Christians were able to approach the Word through the core themes of the Judaic law or Greek philosophy, and that is because they thought that, "[t]he universal validity of the Christian Gospel was held to imply that it could be proclaimed in ways that would resonate with every human culture".

This change occurred while the early Christians centring on Jerusalem were moving away from previous Jewish customs; accumulated new sociocultural attitudes related to the central ideas; and were building a popular identity that would later be called a Christian tradition as a new religious norm in the social culture of the Roman Empire. There were many obstacles in this process: 1. Controversies arising between the traditional symbols of Judaism and a

new interpretation centred on Jesus Christ by early Christianity concerning it; 2. Defining the visible unity of Christianity in the racial, regional, and cultural diversity of early Christians, and how to limit the boundaries of Christianity; and 3. The issues of the reinterpretation and acceptance of Gentile cultural values which were rejected by the Jewish people (Davidson 2005a:153–156).

The New Testament clearly illustrates the limitations of the Jewish Christian paradigm in the acceptance of Gentile converts living in the Panhellenic cultural area from the birth of the early Christian community. The conflict between the Hebrew Jews, the Hellenised Jews, and the Gentiles in the composition of the community (Acts 6:1–6) reveals that there was a clear sociocultural clash from the beginning of the early Christian community centring on Jerusalem. The author of the Acts describes the early confrontation between the Hellenised Jews and the more traditional Jews (6:1) in showing a change in the Jesus movement from Jews to Gentiles. Stephen's defensive speech to the Jewish people implied that he minimised the importance of the strict observance of the law that Jewish society had clung to. As can be seen in Paul's remarks (Galatians 2:4–6), the tension between the Judaisers (who asserted the relevance of Christ and the observance of the law and, therefore, taught that converts to Christianity must first be circumcised) and the Hellenists (who were Jewish Jesus followers whose mother tongue was Greek) lasted until Jerusalem disappeared as the symbol that dominated Judaism. In other words, Jewish Jesus followers among the early Christians sought to find the Christian community as related to the historical significance and value of Israel in the past, and although they may have differed from the Jewish understanding in approaching revelation and law, Jewish traditions and customs were still seen as important in Christ. However, the Hellenistic Christians seem to have attempted to reinterpret the Christian community in Christ as related to the historical significance and value of a future Israel including the nations, based on the knowledge of the world they knew (cf. Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:219–220). Therefore, their Jewish traditions and customs were seen as past instruments that were relevant until Christ accomplished his ministry and were constraints on the future ministry given to Christianity. This confrontation did not only occur among the Jews, but spread to the Gentile Christians who were not familiar with the history of Israel and the Jewish tradition. This can be attributed to the reality that Gentiles could not be unconcerned with the historical Israeli community in order to have faith in Jesus Christ as the fulfilment of the covenant of God and the revelations of prophets, but they could not be born Jews. Regarding attempts by the early Christian communities to reconstruct the historical meaning and value of Judaism concerning this confrontation, Küng (1995:115–116) suggests the following:

A new understanding of the Bible: The Jewish Christian had already begun to read the Hebrew Bible in retrospect in order to interpret it in terms of the Messiah Jesus. Good Jewish honorific titles like 'Messiah', 'Lord', 'Son of David', 'Son of Man' (used in the Hebrew scriptures only occasionally for Israel's king and the whole people) were transferred to him to express his significance for God and humankind … The Gentile Christians now understandably read the 'Old Testament wholly against a background stamped by Hellenism … Gentile Christians could make nothing of Jewish notions and honorific titles like 'Son of David' or 'Son of Man'. So they concentrated on a title 'Son of God' which was popular among them (it was used for emperors and other heroes), and after the New Testament period, under the influence of Greek Hellenistic ontology, this tile was understood in an increasingly naturalistic way.

A new understanding of the Law: The Jewish Christians (especially the Hellenists) had already begun to take the ceremonial and ritual commandments less seriously than the ethical commandments, in accordance with Jesus's attitude to the Sabbath, attaching special importance to works of love … But the Gentile Christians no longer felt that bound to the Jewish ceremonial law: there was no compulsion towards circumcision and the ritual halakhah.

A new understanding of the people of God: Although the Jewish Christians felt themselves by nature and on the basis of circumcision to be members of the people of Israel, they were already more distanced from the Temple and the Law, especially to the degree that they spoke Greek … However, for the Gentile Christians who did not belong a priori to the elect people, the decisive factor for membership was not so much descent as faith in Jesus Christ …

The most important issue of the Old Testament interpretation in the early Christian community concerned what kind of Messiah, Son of God and Son of Man, would be preached and what sort of Kingdom of God would be created through him. The geopolitical strongholds of Palestine and Jerusalem, the ideological base that centralised traditions and customs, and the Jewish Messianic faith as a final achievement (which formerly were adhered to by Judaism) were familiar forms that could be performed most reliably for Jewish Jesus followers but, in the position of Hellenists and Gentile Christians, this understanding could be seen as a very narrow concept that limited their work of the gospel. In order to explain the Kingdom of God, Jesus Christ, the Messiah and the ruler of the Kingdom to the wider world, the early Christian community had to go beyond the sociocultural limitations of Jewish society to establish sustainable and complete values in 'Faith in Christ' in the midst of political, social, and cultural change. However, as Küng (1995:8) says, "the 'essence' of Christianity does not show itself in metaphysical immobility and aloofness but always in a

constantly changeable historical 'form'". In other words, it is necessary to have, if not in Jewish value and form, another alternative for the abstract concepts of Christianity to be explained and realised. Therefore, in order to preserve the essential and permanent value of Christianity, the early Christian community needed to intentionally be free from the Jewish sociocultural values or forms and had to proceed to universalisation in a wider sense, and it also meant clarifying the boundary with regard to Jewish tradition and custom (Küng 1995:8–9; 73).

First, the early Christian community centring on Jerusalem had to deal with the traditional Jewish rituals and the problem of external identity as the people of God through the circumcision and observance of the law that, as Paul indicated, the Gentile converts had not understood before.[85] The conservative group thought that Gentile converts should also follow such Jewish customs, but the Universalists who opposed conservative views insisted that circumcision with all ceremonial laws was limited to the former Jews.

In conclusion, the Council of Jerusalem recognised the Gentile converts as truly belonging to the covenant community – even if they were not circumcised – and accepted the validity of the Mosaic Law as provisional, not permanent. Although these results appear to have been something of a compromise for the whole Christian community, it certainly became the recognition of an equal place for the Gentiles as full members of the Church, and of Jewish Jesus followers being demanded gradual change from their familiar old paradigm (Chadwick 1993:19–20). The challenges of this de-Judaism transformation were a major issue for the early Christian community and a tremendous sociocultural challenge in Jewish society at that time. It provided justification for the Christian community in the Gentile world to gain flexibility in resocialisation through the Greek-Roman paradigm. The early Christian community was swept away more rapidly, however, by unforeseeable circumstances and inevitable change than by the pace of voluntary change from this past value to a future value. It seems that Christianity was led to de-Judaism because: 1. Many Jewish Jesus followers moved from Jerusalem in the diaspora due to the persecution by the conservative Jews (1 Thess. 2:12); 2. The Jewish Jesus movement permanently lost their geopolitical base through the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE due to the Jewish war; and 3. Official condemnation and being driven from the synagogue by Jewish people in 90 CE further exacerbated the situation between Christianity and Judaism. Chadwick (1993:21; 2001:21–

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[85] Chadwick (1993:19–20) says that in order for the early Christian community to spread gospel to the Gentiles, it was inevitable to state a clear position concerning Jewish customs because of the following: "they would not be associated either directly or indirectly with any pagan cult (which seemed antisocial), they refused to eat not only meat that had been offered in sacrifice to the gods but also all pork (which seemed ridiculous), and they circumcised their male infants (which seemed repulsive)".

22) indicates that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when Emperor Hadrian destroyed or drove all the Jews from Judea in 135 CE and Jerusalem became a fully Hellenised city, "[t]his meant an emancipation of Gentile Christendom from its Jewish Christian roots; its sheer weight of numbers and geographic extent over the Mediterranean world ensured its self-confidence and sense of catholicity …".

The most important meaning of the Jewish Jesus movement and its Jewish socialisation centred on Jerusalem was in providing a central system of Christian ideas through a narrative that reconstructed the meaning of historical revelations and events from the Old Testament in the Christian faith centring on Jesus Christ, the key figure. The central Christian ideas and the gospel had been established as a meaning of historic events through the history of Israel and the social culture. In other words, apart from the historic events from Abraham and Israel to Judaism, it is not possible to attain the central Christian idea through Jesus Christ as the achieved event (cf. Küng 1995:94–97). It was also a very useful part of Jewish Jesus movement centred on Jerusalem for establishing a system of religious organisations. However, the Jewish sociocultural elements that had been used to complete these meanings did not have permanent value themselves as a Christian-centred idea. Jewish Jesus followers would have received it as a shock in terms of continuing their historical faith from Judaism when the elements of the Jewish social culture were removed from internal and external Christian forms. However, the challenge of the Gentile Christians to the Jewish Jesus followers centred in Jerusalem concerning the problem of circumcision and idolatry in some way was not for correcting the uncomfortable parts of their lives, but was the beginning of a challenge to expand the gospel to a new world and seeking to explain the same central Christian idea and the gospel based on other sociocultural values.

This approach to Jewish socialisation and de-socialisation provided the flexibility to be re-socialised in the Greco-Roman world. In other words, in order to reveal the Christian-centred idea, it was not to be transmitted to another society in the exclusive form of the gospel indigenised in Jewish society, but the essence (Jesus and the Kingdom of God as Christian-centric ideas) and the non-essence (rites and legalism as a form adapted to Jewish society) to some extent had to be separated, and the essence needed to be reconstructed through the universal form of another region. For the Gentiles living in the Greco-Roman world to approach Christian-centred ideas, the historical narrative of Judaism had to be reconstructed according to the historical sociocultural values of the Gentiles – as seen from Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine (Aug., *De doc.*, ii.37.55, ii.40.60; Küng 1995:306–307). Therefore, the main ideas of the Jesus movement, which were developed through Judaic sociocultural values, began to be explained through the sociocultural values of the Greek and Roman

Empires, which were free from the distinction of a racially chosen people and without discrimination due to race, culture, and religious activity. Whether it followed Jewish or Greco-Roman ways, the socialisation of Christianity through these sociocultural elements was an option for them; as circumcision or the Temple revealed the essence of Christ, but did not constitute the essence itself, it is seen that various sociocultural elements can be used in a way that does not pervert or hamper the essential meaning of Christianity. In other words, just as the Gentile Christian community did not have to maintain a Jewish social culture obstinately, the Jewish Jesus movement centred in Jerusalem, who wanted to maintain circumcision and the Law, did not have to abandon their existing Jewish religious forms for Gentile Christian communities. Whether the direction of socialisation in the early Christian community became commonly universalised or exclusively localised, the purpose of Christian socialisation was that of explaining Jesus Christ by using the form with the most appropriate value to describe him in the society in which He would be meaningful as the subject of the historic event. The direction of this socialisation seems to have resulted in not only the distinction between Judaism (enjoying Judaism) and Jewish Jesus movement (using Judaism to enjoy Christ), but Hellenistic or foreign Christian communities (de-socialising from Judaism and using the other societal cultures to enjoy Christ).

3.2.3 Christian community de-socialised from Judaism

As mentioned earlier, although the founding of the Church was grounded in a Jewish community, the conversion to a new sociocultural paradigm for the Christian community also began to come to the fore after the Apostle Paul's missionary work among the Gentiles and the dispersion of the Jerusalem Church (Küng 1995:71–73,111). The distinction between Judaism and Christianity means that Christianity was deviating from the sociocultural features of Judaism, and it also reveals a perspective from which the relationship between the two was socially competitive and theologically antithetical (Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:89). This change can be seen in three major streams:

Firstly, conflict, confrontation, and competition with Judaism can be seen as weakening the Jewish paradigm in Christianity. Romans did not accurately distinguish between orthodox Jews and Christians at the time of the Jewish Jesus movement centred in Jerusalem, but Jews and Christians already regarded each other as separate groups, as seen in the hostile attitude of orthodox Jews toward the Jewish Jesus followers (Acts 4:1–22; 5:17–42; 6:8–8: 3; 9:1–2; 12:1–5; 21:27–26:32; 1 Thess. 2:14). Jewish Jesus followers around Jerusalem may not have been completely free from their Jewish habits, but Jesus Christ was punished by Jewish legalism, traditions, and customs held by Jewish conservatives, and the fact that they

still persecuted those who preached the name of Jesus naturally led the Jewish followers to avoid the Jewish paradigm of the past (Chadwick 1993:66). In addition, the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE seemed to Christians in the de-Judaism flow to be an important event in the separation from the Jewish past.[86] Thus, the two symbolic orientations in Jewish Christianity, Christ and the past Jewish paradigm came to be exclusive of each other and could not coexist in real-life situations.

According to claims by Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:356), conflict arises when two or more groups make similar claims, that is, when their interests overlap and compete. The greater the similarity between the two, the greater the inevitability of making a special difference only for the self-group. Instances of conflict between the Judaist and the Jesus movement led to each strengthening their paradigm and in the Christian community, in particular, the Jewish paradigm that had remained within them, had to be relatively weakened in competition with the Christian paradigm.[87] This situation seems to have induced the Christian communities to establish a clearer definition and the Christian-centred idea that could transcend the Jewish symbols. The conflict structure between the Jewish Jesus movement and Judaism, therefore, could be attributed to the sociocultural similarity between the two, and seemed to be an important factor in strengthening their own communities and creating clearer boundaries. Küng (1995:99) says, "scholars at least no longer dispute that there continued to be a Jewish Christianity even after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE …". Nonetheless, after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish Christianity was certainly weakened in its place of origin, and the hegemony for formatting ideas and culture was handed over to the Gentile Christian community.[88]

Secondly, the weakening of Jewish standards in the requirements of the Christian community (de-Judaism) can be seen as naturally increasing the number of Gentiles and

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[86] Apart from the Jews' persecution of Christianity, Bell (1998:95–97) looks for the causes of the definite separation between Christianity and Judaism in the accusations the two groups levelled at one another after the siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 69 CE. By officially expelling Christians from the synagogue and cursing them in the Council of Jamnia (about 90 CE) of the Jewish community, Jewish Christianity (having maintained a special connection with Judaism as being part of the same Jewish nation) seems to have reached the limit of its existence.

[87] Gager (1975:79–87) addresses the four elements of conflict in posing the positive function of conflict in terms of group understanding: 1. Conflict acts to raise a group; 2. Ideology strengthens conflict; 3. The closer the relationship within a group becomes, the more conflict increases; and 4. Conflicts contribute to the definition and strengthening of the collective structure.

[88] This de-Judaism reaction seems to have been reflected in the emotions of the later universal early Christian community: In the late first to early second century, Ignatius of Antioch used the term 'Christianity' (*Christianismos*) as the term corresponding to 'Judaism' (*Ioudaismos*) in his letters and Justin Martyr, some fifty years after Ignatius, taught that not only Gentile Christians but also Jewish Christians were not to live 'Jewishly'. In the third century, Origen criticised those in their congregations for participating in the synagogue on the Sabbath and celebrating various rites with their Jewish neighbours, and Eusebius of Caesarea (*Eccl. Hist*. 3.5) suggested that the Roman Empire's destruction of Jerusalem was the result of God's judgment for their opposition to Christ (Bell 1998:44–46; Chadwick 1993:21; Fredriksen & Lieu 2004:90–91).

their influence in early Christianity (Küng 1995:135). Stambaugh and Balch (1986:52–56) argue that the flow of the Jesus movement from Judaism to the Gentiles occurred because the Gentiles were not required to first become Jews in principle, but were able to gain entrance to the Christian community. According to their argument, it is possible to perceive that there was dissatisfaction about the exclusive boundaries of Judaism and the ethnic paradigm and a latent demand for change among the Gentiles who supported the Jewish faith at the beginning of Christianity.

Like the Palestinian Christian communities, the early Christian diaspora communities were also centred on the Jews and synagogues until they were expelled from the synagogue. According to Stambaugh and Balch (1986:55), Paul's missionary work mainly targeted the Gentiles (Galatians 1:16; 2:7–9; Romans 1:5, 13–15; 11:3–14; 15:15–21) who were excluded from full membership of the Jewish synagogue but appeared to belong to the Jewish community (Acts 13:43). These God-fearing Gentiles (Acts 8:26–28; 10:1–2) – who tried to pursue a community ruled by God from a monotheistic perspective, such as shown in the attitude of the Ethiopian eunuch and Cornelius – were interested in Judaism, but seemed to accept only the ideology of Judaism and hesitated to join due to the process of entering by means of the circumcision that related to Jewish custom and was not part of their worldview. [89] Considering that entering the faith community included belonging in the Kingdom of God as the people of God, this would have been a very important issue for the Gentiles who feared God. The process of entering into the Christian community through the confession of faith in Jesus Christ and the baptism, which permitted the Gentiles to enter the Christian community, became a new opportunity to more surely achieve their religious yearning. The Gentile Christians gradually became the majority in the Christian communities and their religious principles gained a main position in the Christian thinking system (Chadwick 1993:20–21; Küng 1995:99–105). Evidence of this can be seen in particular in the emergence of non-Jewish bishops in the Christian system of priesthood, and the gradual increase in the proportion of Gentiles in the Christian population, with the religious command of early Christianity being diverted from the Jewish paradigm to the Gentile paradigm (Tabbernee 2014:26).

In some respects, they seem to have begun to acquire the ability for sociocultural integration

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[89] According to Ferguson (2003:540, 551) and Stambaugh and Balch (1986:48), the Greek word 'proselytes' in the Septuagint is considered as 'resident aliens friendly to or allied with Jews but not converts to Israel'. The 'fearers of the Lord' was adapted as 'a description of Gentile sympathisers with Jews' (Acts 10:2; Malachi 3:16; Psalms 115:9–11; 135:19–20). In addition, those who adhered to this obligation – as non-Jews with monotheistic ideology and following the Seven Laws of Noah and traditional interpretations within Rabbinic Judaism – were called 'Bebe Noach' or 'Noahides'. Thus, the term of 'God-fearers' was considered to refer to non-Jews being included within the Jewish community.

to produce diverse ways of life on the basis of central Christian ideas, even in the Gentile social culture that they were familiar with, without following the traditional way of life of Judaism. It could be a result of Christians from the Gentile world not being Jewish, but constantly contemplating certain religious attitudes for becoming the people of God, compared to the Jews who regarded the Jewish tradition and customs themselves as religious attitudes.

Thirdly, the decline of the influence of the Jewish Jesus movement and the increase of the influence of Gentile Christianity would have led to a demand for the resocialisation of Christian-centred ideas adapted to the Gentiles. Concerning Paul, Johnson (1995:41) says, "his public claim to Roman citizenship was more than physical escape from the justice of the law, now odious to him: it was a symbolic renunciation of Judaic status".[90] In other words, Gentile Christianity sympathises with the historical meaning of Israel (redemption) as the historic events of God's revelation and fulfilment, but does not agree with historical results. It can be seen that such forms of the past have fulfilled the duty of their being by exposing the symbolic meaning of the moment to the reality of Christ. Continuing along this line of thought, the Jewish people as the people of God also played a symbolic role in revealing the meaning of revelation, and the boundaries of God's people set apart by the national character of the Jews after Christ were to end their role. Thus, Gentile Christian communities needed to reconstruct clear boundaries that would separate them as God's people (Johnson 1995:41–44; Küng 1995:8).

According to Meek (1985:93–115 cited in Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:354), the Christian communities in the cities of the Roman Empire at the time of Paul's writing were already somewhat separated from the diaspora synagogue. This means that the Gentile Christian community could be freed from various Jewish rituals that the Jewish Jesus movement was not free to abandon. Gentile Christian communities demanded the abolition of the ritual requirements of Jewish law, the ideological foundation of the past, and developed and standardised new requirements to replace it. Paul was able to translate the gospel into a language and emotion understood by the Hellenistic world, and understood the Gentile idea that the Kingdom of God is not confined to a certain community culture with conditions of joining, as with Judaism, but that it is union with Christ through faith and baptism in Jesus. Baptism was a substitute for circumcision and a major initiation ritual that was important in the

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[90] This view of pan-Christian social culture can be seen in Paul's declarations that the distinction between nation and identity, which became the basis of geopolitical division of the Jewish faith, was dismantled: "This mystery is that through the gospel the Gentiles are heirs together with Israel, members together of one body, and sharers together in the promise in Christ Jesus (Ephesians 3:6)" and "There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus (Galatians 3:28)".

Jewish Jesus movement. The celebration of the Eucharist in ritual banquets symbolising the death and resurrection of Christ was an escape from the Jewish strictness, which became the symbol of exclusiveness, and the table fellowship became the basis of de-social thinking from Judea for foreign Christians. The theological void caused by the annihilation of the Jerusalem community therefore was filled with Pauline theology and the Jewish traditions and customs that socialised the Jesus movement began to be re-socialised in the Roman world through reinterpreting the sociocultural attitudes of Greece and Rome, which had been popular in the Gentile world at the time, as a central Christian idea (Küng 1995:11–117; Stambaugh and Balch 1986:56–62).

The central truth of Christianity was revealed without being offset or damaged, in spite of the disappearance of the Temple in Jerusalem and the background of the Jewish Jesus movement. Rather, Gentile Christian communities were free to organise themselves and develop a visible form of Christian faith, without the dispute with Jewish Jesus followers, by the reconstructed central principle of the gospel they inherited. They also displayed a form of cultural merger different from existing universal Hellenism in Judaism as reinforced in the central truth of Christianity. An important issue for these Christian communities was the problem of narrative techniques for constructing their meaning through sociocultural values without distorting or offsetting the Christian centred idea. As in Paul's statements (Corinthians 13:9–12), such as 'For we know in part', 'When I talked … thought … reasoned like a child. … When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me', the limits of the Jesus movement in Jerusalem, which had to explain central Christian ideas through Judaism, could be expressed in clearer and richer Christian meanings through the universal values of the Hellenistic world shared by the Gentile Christian community.

The Christian Hellenistic paradigm was revealed through the theologians of the Greek cultural area before Constantine and Christianity had been free to use the capabilities and proprietary methods of Hellenistic philosophy after Origen. Küng (1995:169) says that "Origen had achieved a theological shift which made a cultural shift (the combination of Christianity and culture) possible and in turn prepared for a political shift (the combination of church and state)".

However, Christian Hellenism could not have been a sufficient explanation to display Christianity as a public paradigm in the Roman cultural area. At the time, the early Church required the social and cultural structures or the visible forms that enabled contact with reality, rather than this philosophical explanation, in order to access the thinking system of Roman society (cf. 2.3.2). What Christianity did have before Christ's first coming was a Jewish social

and cultural framework to capture (or to explain) the gospel, which was the most ideal form for the Jews at their geopolitical starting point. But the ideal way for Christianity to grow in the new cultural area with Rome recognised as an integrated world at the time, was to acquire and synthesise the social and cultural structures of Rome, which meant the resocialisation of Christianity. It was particularly because of their eschatological faith that the early Christian communities were indifferent to the demands of the resocialisation centring on Roman societal culture for the time being. In the second century, however, as the early Christians could not expect the end of the Roman Empire and the fulfilment of the kingdom of Christ, which they had been expecting from the time of Nero to come soon, this eschatological faith began to weaken and the necessity of living in this world became more evident. Thus, early Christianity started to be interested in organisation, ideological unity, and faith education that would bind the Kingdom of God and the Roman Empire into a field of practice. Such Christian resocialisation cannot be seen as the Christian-centred idea turned from the strict framework of the religious social culture of Judaism into a secular culture of Roman society, but as a process by which the invisible centre of Christianity was clearly revealed in visible forms among the real society through the process of conflict and confrontation, learning and integration (Bell 1998:44–45).[91]

3.3 The Resocialisation of Gentile Christianity centring on the Roman paradigm

As shown in the New Testament in the decisions of de-Judaism by the Jerusalem Council and the strict exclusion of heretic teachings, including Gnosticism, the early Christian communities were already setting certain new criteria to distinguish the Christian-centred ideas from Jewish traditions and they no longer tried to maintain the past traditional culture. In addition, the departure from the Jewish paradigm in Christian religious ritual can be seen as leading Christian communities to more strongly reflect distinct characteristics of their areas, instead of following the ways for social cohesion of the Jewish community. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish Christianity's loss of authority to command Christian communities due to the extinction of the organising ability centred in the Jerusalem Church, which had especially influenced the order of the Christian community, was the reason that each local Christian community became free to organise according to local conditions and situations (cf. Lohse 1983:61–63). As Küng (1995:135) noted, "turning away from the Jewish Christian apocalyptic paradigm was the answer to the new cultural, social and political situation".

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[91] Departure from the Jewish paradigm was a response to the new cultural, social, and political situation (Küng 1995:191).

The traces of Gentile Christian communities can be found in the Roman Empire of the ancient Mediterranean world, and also in the provinces of the Roman Empire in the East, from northern Mesopotamia, Persia, the Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia and India, to China (cf. Potter 2004; Tabbernee 2014:1–10). However, the difference from the sociocultural forms of the Romanised regions is clear. This study, in particular, presents an analysis of the relevance of Christian socialisation in the social culture of Rome, as described above, and therefore was limited to the study of the Christian communities in Romanised regions centring on the Mediterranean Sea. The Romanised regions were mainly Palestine and Syria, the Nile Basin and northern Africa, the Balkans, the Italian Peninsula, Gaul, and Germania. They were bound into Roman society by military, economic, and political influences of the Roman Empire. What these regions had in common, was that their central cities were not at the same level as the Roman Empire, but they were closely related to the rule of the Roman Empire in forming a social culture and were also referred to as geopolitical bases of Christian communities. The New Testament relates that the mission of Christianity was being realised around the cities in the region ruled by Rome at the time. Paul's missionary journey was centred on Greek Romanised cities under Roman rule, where Christian communities had come into being before Paul's arrival. Paul did not focus on the Jewish tradition, but rather served to lead these local Christian communities to escape from the Jewish paradigm and to exercise their free faith through the pursuit of essential values. It is suggested that the Gentile Christian paradigm centred on Paul and accompanying Gentile Christians had some impact on the transition of such Christian communities in each region from Judaism to localisation.

On the other hand, although this localisation of Gentile Christian communities was conducted on the basis of their respective regional personalities, it inevitably had to be reintegrated into the Roman paradigm in that, in a broader sense, these cities were already connected to each other in a realistic interest relationship with Rome. According to Beard (2015:495–497, 519), the power of Rome, by which the Empire was unified, meant that Roman culture became a subject of aspiration for other peoples and led their indigenous cultures to embrace *Romanitas*. The Roman culture, which presupposed openness and diversity from the very beginning, therefore was a hybrid form that reflected the values and interests of Rome as a result of dynamic connection with other cultures, rather than having had Roman traditions and customs forced on them. Thus, the Roman culture with which Gentile Christianity had contact was a different cultural compound from region to region with diverse regional characteristics, but it certainly reflected the values and interests of Rome, and this was a major consideration in the re-socialisation of Christian communities.

3.3.1 The boundary and tension between the new Christian community[92] and Roman social culture

The sociocultural interaction with Roman society was the active response of the early Christians in fulfilling the gospel and mission, and the unavoidable merging process of *Romanitas* and Christian-centric ideas rooted in sentiments of non-Jewish Christians living around Rome at the time. However, the extent to which Christian-centred ideas could bring sociocultural flexibility and access to a universal society to produce a Christian value could not be defined as a rule. According to the *Epistola ad Diognetum*, written by an anonymous author, the early Gentile Christian communities were viewed from the social universality of Rome.[93] The author of this letter, in raising the issues that Christians ignore the world, despise death, do not regard the gods of Greece as gods, nor follow the Jewish superstition, first portrays the difference between Christian personality and Roman social universality as follows:

> The Christians are not distinguished from other men by country, by language, nor by civil institutions. For they neither dwell in cities by themselves, nor use a peculiar tongue, nor lead a singular mode of life. They dwell in the Grecian or barbarian cities, as the case may be; they follow the usage of the country in dress, food, and the other affairs of life. Yet they present a wonderful and confessedly paradoxical conduct. They dwell in their own native lands, but as strangers. They take part in all things as citizens; and they suffer all things, as foreigners…. (cited in Schaff, *H.C.C.*, ii.2)

The fact that the early Christians were living according to local customs reveals the sociocultural flexibility of Christianity, but the fact that they were seen as exclusive people in Roman society also reveals their clear sociocultural boundaries to some extent. Although the Gentile Christian communities deviated somewhat from Jewish tendencies on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, which had been the geopolitical base of the Jewish paradigm and sociocultural exclusivity, in addition to the religious difference of monotheism, the fundamental origin of sociocultural boundaries within the Gentile world can be seen in some of the following sociocultural tendencies of the Gentile Christian community in conflict with the reality of Rome.

Firstly, regarding the afterlife-oriented lifestyle pursued by early Christian communities, Niebuhr (1975:45–82) notes that one of the sociocultural characteristics of early Christianity

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[92] In a letter to Diognetus, who is regarded as the one of the first apologists for the early Christians, Christians are referred to as 'a new race' (Han Chul-Ha 2001:33).

[93] Eusebius considers Chapter 1–10 of the Letter to Diognetus as the work of Quadratus. If this is true, this letter is the earliest apology (Han Chul-Ha 2001:33).

as shown in the *Didache*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Epistle to Diognetus*,[94] and works by Tertullian, was that a future life with new people with new laws should be separated from a world with erroneous ethics. Their explicit world was expressed simply as a comparison for the eternal Kingdom of God, and it certainly was negative about the sociocultural value of Rome and the role of secular culture with regard to their beliefs. Early Christianity could be seen as attacking the real achievements of Rome as well as portraying itself as non-secular and depicting the sociocultural values of reality as negative in relation to faith through their central idea. This eschatological tendency of Christians reflects the special situation during their persecution in Rome and may not have led to the overall atmosphere of the early Christian community, but it would have been a remarkable feature in Roman views.[95] According to Küng (1995:68–69, 117, 135–136), the apocalyptic view of the first generation of Christians in looking forward to the Kingdom of God centred around the imminent end times, was similar to that earlier Jewish traditional apocalyptic thoughts concentrated on the future (*adventus*) coming of God. As Christianity moved into the second generation, apocalyptic thought began to be transformed into a salvation perspective, interpreting the present time by placing Jesus Christ as the subject of the beginning and the end of time. Before the gradual departure from their apocalyptic view, though, the persecution of the Christian communities seems to have led the early Christian faith back to eschatological expectations (Evans 2004:60; Hanson 2004:431).[96]

Secondly, the fact is that the Gentile Christian community began to compete with the sociocultural values of Rome from the beginning of its transformation from the Jewish paradigm to the Roman paradigm. To account for the value of Christian-centric ideas in the Roman world, the Gentile community had to rely on the sociocultural values of Greece and Rome – language, philosophy, literature, social status, social organisation, and structure – which Gentiles had long considered worthwhile. As discussed in Chapter 2, these social values of the ancient empires were closely related to the existing power structure and secured social universality in addition to public power. That Christianity was attempting to

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[94] In the Letter to Diognetus (5. *L. C. C.* Vol. 1. 261, cited in Han Chul-Ha 2001:34), the author suggests the issue of Christians despising the world and death; that they think their citizenship is in heaven; and that they nonetheless do more than all that Roman Law requires although they are persecuted, but rejoice in reaching eternal life by that.

[95] According to Gibbon (1980:208–212), the Romans who were educated at the time thought that the indefinite punishment provoked by the imagination (about the immortality of the soul and the afterlife) was contrary to reason and humanism, and they both despised and rejected this idea. Competent orators in the Roman court and senate also treated this afterlife view as a useless, futile idea.

[96] In the middle of the third century, Cyprian (*Ad Demetrianum*. 3, CCSL 3A, 36, cited in Evans 2004:60) wrote that, "[y]ou must know that the world has now grown old (*scire debes senuisse iam mundum*)". During the last persecution of Rome at the beginning of the fourth century, Lactantius also reflected his eschatological viewpoint in rebelling against anti-Christian writings in the 'The Divine Institutes' (*Devinae institutions*, viii.15.10, cited in Evans 2004:60).

move away from the Jewish paradigm to adapt its central idea to include Gentiles can be seen as commencing from the competition with Jewish solidarity and power structures. The Jewish Jesus movement seemed to be suitable for the Jews because of the Jewish paradigm, but it was attacked by the Jewish authorities. Likewise, the most annoying beings for Roman authorities may have been a Gentile Christian community that was being Romanised. The Judaism and Jewish Jesus movement could not be compared with Roman society; they merely formed unique groups with regional personality within the sociocultural awareness of Rome. However, the Gentile Christian community could be viewed as a new value that threatened their tradition because they were coming closer to the existing sociocultural values maintained by Rome (Bird 2013:146–165; Küng 1995:149–151).

Thirdly, the ultimate value of God's sovereignty by which the Gentile Christian community sought to live was perceived as a contrast to the political and social unity that the Roman Empire desired. The geopolitical base for the unity of people and ideas can be seen as the boundary that separates the contrasting worlds. In other words, Jerusalem distinguished Judaism from Rome, and the ideology of God's sovereignty as the final value of Judaism based on Jerusalem could be seen as a separation from the geopolitical integration that Rome wanted to achieve. Although Gentile Christianity did not, like Judaism, attempt to implement the reign of the Kingdom of God in Roman world, the political value of the Messianic ideology and Jesus Christ as the central figure (as pursued by the Gentile Christianity) could be seen as a risk factor setting apart their own social unity as a contrast to the existing Roman world (cf. Kötting 1983:126–127).

Some scholars (cited in Bird 2013:150–152) have suggested that the political features of Christianity in relation to Paul, who laid the ideological foundations of Gentile Christianity, contradicted the ideals of the Roman Empire. Horsley and Silberman (1997:189–190) proposed that Paul sought to convince Christians in Rome that resistance to patronage, power, and privilege was at the heart of their apocalyptic battle; Wright (2000:160–183) also stated that Rome is 'one of the malevolent powers that needs to be dealt with'; for Stegemann (2010:2–23), "the boundary marker of imperial fides, namely, the trustworthiness of the emperor that is reciprocated with loyalty to him, is replaced by Paul with the faithfulness of God that is reciprocated with human faithfulness to Jesus Christ"; Elliott (2007:194–219) argued that the letter to the Romans is "Paul's attempts to counteract the effects of imperial ideology within the Roman congregation"; Jewett (2007:2, 49, 100–101) argued that the letter to the Romans is an "anti-imperialist letter" that "comprises the antithesis of official propaganda about Rome's superior piety, justice, and honor"; and Wallace (2008) asserts that "Paul's Gospel explicated in Romans counteracts significant themes from Virgil's Aeneid". However,

the exclusionary attitude of the early Christian communities deviating from this social universality is not merely a social deviating act to constitute a revolutionary aggregation centred on new ideas or to define the sociocultural values of the Roman Empire as unjust and to resist them. It should rather be seen as offering something better, compared to the value of Rome, and such values could be regarded as competitive towards Rome from the standpoint of Roman conservatives.[97]

Bird (2013:146–165) says, "[i]t is widely recognized that the words *Gospel*, *Lord* and *Savior* were not technical Christian religious terms but shared a linguistic background in the politics, propaganda and pantheon of the Roman Empire", while dealing with the interrelationship between the Roman Empire and Christianity. According to Polycarp's (*Martyrdom of Polycarp* 8.1–12.2) or Tertullian's (*Apologeticus,* 24.1) narrative, Christians were faced with the accusation of rebellion in refusing to acknowledge the emperor's terms. "The exclusive Christ devotion of the early Church was perceived to cut the cords that held politics, pantheon, and people together as the fabric of social cohesion."

However, it is worth noting Bird's (2013:148–149) view that there are a few problems with reading anti-imperial rhetoric into Paul's letters:

> Romans 13:1–7 gives a clear affirmation of Paul's belief in the submission of Christians to state authorities. What Paul says here looks like political quietism, an affirmation of the status quo, not a script for sociopolitical resistance.

According to Bird's view (2013:159–160), all authority comes from God and the political power to maintain social order is God's agent. This is not a surrender to Gentile power but a fervent affirmation of divine authority beyond social power. That is, the affirmation of God's ultimate victory over all power through Christ. In respect of universal domination of the public society through ideas and tendencies, the vision of Paul's Gospel was to compete with Rome's vision, and the gospel could lead those Roman things to the ultimate goal of the Kingdom of God, without overturning the existing system that brought the Roman society together.

Yet, the political sociocultural environment of Rome was not tolerant enough to combine the

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[97] The Bible, through Jesus Christ, says the following about the relationship between faith and public authorities: "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's" (Matthew 22:21). Paul reveals a similar attitude about the authorities of Rome, Jewry, and the provinces: "Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities. … Give everyone what you owe him: If you owe taxes, pay taxes; if revenue, then revenue; if respect, then respect; if honour, then honour" (Romans 13:1,7); and "Remind the people to be subject to rulers and authorities, to be ready to do whatever is good" (Titus 3:1).

Christian-centred ideas, which had been seen as a regional religious culture originating from other peoples, with the sociocultural ideals of Rome. For the Romans, the claims of Christianity that political power played a role as an agent of the divine right were unfamiliar and unrealistic – something they had not experienced throughout their history until the emergence of Constantine. As the unity of the Christian community (advocating the rule of the Kingdom of God) was expanded and the organisation became stronger, activities around Christian unity were presumed in the view of Roman political power to threaten the existing order and Christians were suspected of plotting to overthrow the existing system. This meant that the activities of the Christian community in Roman society were bound to become more cohesive and covert (Kötting 1983:126–127).

Finally, the fact that the religious activities of the Christian community were different from the universal religious life of Roman society led to misunderstanding and antipathy among the public. From the middle of the second century, with the organisation of the Christian community having become set, Christians were seen as an independent religious group among public societies and public opinion concerning them became more fixed. The absence of a particular building for worship, the strict isolation of worship from the general public or observers, and the fact that there was no image of worship, in particular, was contrary to the universally accepted ideas of those who lived in the integrated order system of religion, politics, and social culture (Kötting 1983:125; Küng 1995:151–152). As mentioned in Chapter 2, various religious rites were observed by those who lived in the cultural area of the Roman Empire and Rome wanted to maintain an openness of religious activities for their multi-ethnic integration policy. Although Judaism was exclusive in the ancient world, their peculiarities were well known to the people of the Empire and their religious freedom received consideration (Davidson 2005a:133–134). However, the religious activities of Christians (who had seemed to be like Judaism) became irritating and offensive to the Romans; once their influence was spreading very quickly in the public sphere of Rome it could not simply be classed as a local religious peculiarity. Christian religious rituals, in particular, had aspects they could not understand and the secrecy of the gatherings led to misunderstandings,[98] especially with regard to destroying the traditional religious sentiments that unified Rome.

In these various aspects, the Gentile Christian community could have become an object to

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[98] On the other hand, there was no issue of confirming facts concerning early Christianity at the time, but issues of imaginary reports due to misunderstandings and false criticism. Even the imagination should be treated as a culture surrounding Christianity, though, because it influenced the historical reality. It has seemed meaningful to investigate the historical imagination of the period because it expresses the universal understanding and potential public value.

be watched in Roman society because of attempts to establish the Christian-centric idea free from the geopolitical base of Jerusalem and the Jewish paradigm of the Jewish Jesus movement in the sociocultural framework of the Roman Empire. For the Gentile Christian communities that resided in Rome or the provinces of the Roman Empire before Constantine's rise, Rome, therefore, would have signified the remembered terror associated with power and the violence of the persecution that followed Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem, and as a subject of severe public judgment due to slander of the Christian faith.

In these situations, the early Church prior to Constantine had rejected the Jewish traditions, the heresies, and traditional Roman culture which was religious and obscene, to protect the Christian-centred ideas, but also engaged in limited interaction with public Roman culture for solidarity with Roman society. It is possible to see that the early Church had been forming a sharing relationship with Roman culture in order to study the structures of universal cognition in Roman society for the purpose of extending the gospel. The effect of this sharing relationship with Roman culture was to allow social access, whereas the conflicting relationship with Roman culture revealed the difference between the central ideas of the early Church and Roman culture. Such interrelationships became a process for the early Church to study functions and effects of a culture until she acquired societal and cultural universality and could use the culture of that time (cf. Davidson 2005a:240–241; Küng, 1995:9).

3.3.2 Sociocultural interactions with Rome

When early Christianity was formed, the sociocultural basis of the Roman Empire could be regarded as a Greek-Hellenistic factor in the knowledge society, and certainly as a Roman factor in public life (cf. 2.3). [99] According to Beard (2015:520), "… the success of Christianity was rooted in the Roman Empire, in its territorial extent, in the mobility that it promoted, in its towns and its cultural mix". The expansion of Christianity was due to the communication channel opened by the Roman Empire across the Mediterranean world and the movement of people, objects, books, and ideas through the channel. This sociocultural public awareness of Rome was connected not only to the infrastructure of the state but also to the values and interests of Rome, which bound people together. In the later discussion of Roman social

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[99] It is because the sociocultural conflict of Christian communities at the time appeared more directly in relation with Roman politics than in the difficulty of explaining Christian ideas in the Greek culture. The most fundamental reason for the Roman government persecuting Christianity is that Christianity was not Roman. However, the expression 'Roman' cannot be regarded as simply asserting a certain cultural form. It was because many of the Gentile Christians were Romans at the time, and the social system in which the Roman Empire itself recognised cultural diversity was maintained. In some ways, what this expression means is that Christian ideology, as revealed in the Christian life of the Gentile Christians, could be contrary to the solidarity and interests of the Roman Empire, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Beard 2015:607, 631).

culture, the focus is therefore on aspects reflecting the values and interests of Rome as a consideration of Christian resocialisation.

As mentioned earlier in the comparison between Greece and Rome (2.3), the sociocultural characteristics of Rome became the standard for how Christianity was reflected in society at the time of approaching publicness, and the early Christian community inevitably had to be accounted for in such sociocultural publicness in Rome with Christian-centric ideas that had to be explained by using Greek ideas. Although the Jewish community was able to maintain a lawful and exclusive attitude within the Palestinian territory under Roman rule, it was limited to the religious features of a particular area and those who had no public power could not be free from the public values and interests of Rome. Especially in the diaspora region, the base of Christian growth, Gentiles as well as Jews were bound to the sociocultural values and powerful might of Rome by which Rome was made into a single empire (Beard 2015:494–497, 502, 516–520).

In some ways, the Romans may have heard faint rumours about people following Jesus through various incidents in the Palestinian territories in which they were stationed as conquerors, but the most specific recognition of Christianity by the Romans and Roman society would be through the contact with the Christians of Rome. Schaff (*H.C.C.*, i.36. Christianity in Rome) says, "[i]t is not impossible … that the first tidings of the gospel were brought to Rome soon after the birthday of the Church by witnesses of the Pentecostal miracle in Jerusalem, among whom were 'sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes'" (Acts 2:10). The earliest cognition was that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome in 52 CE on charges of rebellion and disturbance concerning what might have happened between Jews and Christians around the Messiah controversy. Schaff (H.C.C., i.36. The Edict of Claudius) supposes that, in this situation, the Roman administrators who did not know the detailed inside stories would have seen the Messianic ideology as a political symbol challenging Roman solidarity and aiming at supremacy on the earth. Such a misunderstanding lasted more than 50 years until it was re-investigated by Pliny; it can be attributed to the fact that the sociocultural attitudes of Christians were unfamiliar to the social culture of Rome, so that they interpreted it only on past experiences for understanding the new Christian social culture. In this flow, the numerous church fathers from the middle of the second century – such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian – began to advocate Christianity in Rome through popular cultures and against their most eminent heathen contemporaries.

Nevertheless, unlike Judaism or the Jewish Jesus followers who relied on the traditions and

customs of Israel, most of the Roman social culture was not a boundary that they had to pay attention to in leading a Christian life for the early Gentile Christians, but rather very familiar values for leading universal lives in the Gentile world. For them, the beginning of the interrelationship between the social culture of Rome and the Christian-centred ideas did not comprise sharp opposition but a competitive relationship that needed to be checked and revised to reflect the Christian values. Thus, the sociocultural values of Rome would have been meaningful in approaching and learning the social culture of the universal world beyond the Jewish background, whether it was positive or negative for Christian life.

3.3.3 Sociocultural learning of Gentile Christianity

It is not easy to imagine the degree of admiration for civilisation for the ancients, but it is universal that the human tendency itself forms civilisation and enjoys deep reverence for the development of that civilisation. The historian Toynbee (1947:273) has said that there have always been universal trials in natural and social conditions for mankind and in order to overcome this, mankind has developed civilisation through creativity.[100] The social and cultural progress made in this way may differ depending on the area and environment, but it is appealing to people in terms of overcoming human limitations and meeting universal needs. Whether it is the intellectual history, the development of social structure, or the technical civilisation, the social culture once experienced in the new civilisation quickly melts into the personal life and combines with various values of the individual. Therefore, the social culture of the Roman civilisation experienced by the early Christian community was not merely a confrontation with Christian ideology but can be regarded as an object of learning and competition that could only be dependent on various ways for the expansion of Christian ideology (Wilkinson 1987:31–59).

Stark (1997:138–140) quantitatively analysed the distance from Rome as negatively correlated with Christianisation of a specific city, except for Rome. He claims, "[t]he more Roman and the less Eastern (Greek and Jewish) influence on a city's culture, the later its first church". In other words, the fact that Christianity gradually expanded from Greek cities to Roman cities through interaction with the social culture of Rome and, finally, that the unified Christian system centred on Rome was established, shows that the social culture of Rome was a major task to be achieved and a major learning project for the early Christians to expand the gospel. As a result, the constitutional change in Christianity caused by such learning exerted its power

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[100] Toynbee (1987:570) argues that civilisation will continue to grow when it meets with another challenge encountered in a series of repetitions of challenge and reaction. He also notes that human civilisation is not the result of excellent biological qualities or geographical environment, but an effort that has never been seen before in response to a given challenge from a particular difficult situation.

when the opportunity came. Johnson (1995:76) believes that Christianity exerted its power at the secular level in the transition period of Christianity under Constantine, "its ideology fitted neatly into the aims and needs of the universal state", and Constantine perceived that, "Christianity already possessed many of the characteristics of an imperial state Church". This shows that Christianity was not in a position of conflict and confrontation with Rome only, but rather that it competed to replace the limitations of the existing social culture of Rome.

However, there was a long way to go before the two groups (Gentile Christianity and Roman society) recognised each other as a community bound together by a common fate. In having to actively learn to integrate various Christian values with the Roman culture, the early Christian communities before Constantine seemed to have two types of social culture.

First, Gentile Christian communities shared a limited social culture provided by the Roman Empire and developed a structural foundation toward becoming an integrated Christian system. The various Roman social cultures shared with Christianity was characterised by the fact that the early Christian communities grew up in the sociocultural framework of the Roman Empire; could compare the values of Christianity with those of Rome; grasped the interrelationship with the public social culture; and learned sociocultural elements. The infrastructure of Roman social culture as reflecting the values and interests of Rome; the organisational system; Roman law; the inner emotions of the Romans; and the manner of education were the Roman values to which Christian communities had to become accustomed to achieve the gospel strategy and explain those Christian public values in persecution. The necessity of learning Roman social culture seems to have shaped the structural basis of Christianity in a form similar to the Roman system. Although the Christian-centred idea differed fundamentally from Roman ideas, Christianity had to adopt a structural form familiar to the social foundation considering the rationality and efficiency of expressing ideas.

The second type of social culture revealed the essential value of Christianity compared to Roman society through a relationship of conflict. At the time, the Christian communities were still being persecuted by the Roman government as exclusive communities in the Roman Empire. As can be seen in Christian apologetics, their sociocultural learning was limited to using sociocultural values that could be understood by Gentile societies to maintain their essential values and to explain their central ideas and they were also somewhat passive – if there had been no persecution and criticism, the apologetics would not have been necessary – driven by the compelling sociocultural power of the Roman Empire. Most Roman traditions, customs, and religious activities still were uncomfortable and non-sharable

for the early Christian communities. The Romans regarded the non-sharing attitudes of Christians as obstructing their own solidarity. Christianity had to propose alternative values corresponding to these non-shared social cultures in Roman society, and a process of confrontation and conflict with Roman society developed in this situation. Nevertheless, the Christian community's process of learning within Roman societal culture seems to have shaped the structural features of the Christian communities until a unified church emerged. The various political situations that threatened the survival of the Christian communities would have been an opportunity for Christianity to accumulate diverse sociocultural experiences and strengthen their organisation and identity in order to survive on their own.

At the time, the cohesion of the early Christian community was shown in a circulating form of faith–creed–theology toward Jesus Christ in addition to the structure of the priesthood and the arrangement of the canon. This is a part that cannot be overlooked in relation to the social culture of Rome: it had a similar form to the structural features of the Roman Empire centred on Rome, such as the *Pax Romana* (goal) – *Concordia*, honour and shame, *fides* and *pietas* (identity or ideology) – Roman Law, *Via Publica*, and Education of Rome (products). Ferguson (2003:2) states, "[t]hat two groups use the same method does not necessarily mean that one is copying the other", and this kind of Christian structure could also have come about naturally, but the sociocultural environment given to the Christian community at that time seemed to be a universal framework for constructing this structure (Ferguson 2003:147, 173). Therefore, this sociocultural learning of Christianity can be analysed through the interaction between the following elements of the sociocultural characteristics of Rome, which is dealt with through comparison with Greece in Chapter 2, and early Christianity.

3.3.3.1 Sociocultural aim: *Pax Romana*

In some ways, the '*Pax Romana*' (cf. 2.3.2.7) could be seen as a faith by which Romans looked upon Rome in the Roman Empire period as early Christians looked to the Kingdom of God. The *Pax Romana*, the symbolic language that spans the integration of the values of the Roman Empire and the diversity within it, does not embrace the historic Roman situation from the Augustan period to the Aurelian period only. The symbolic term was Rome's reality compared with its surroundings and the ideal of 'Forever Rome', and it revealed the tendency of the Roman Empire and the expectation of the Roman populace in the early Christian community formation. This could be quite offensive to people who tried to maintain their own historical traditions, customs, and sovereignty (like Judaism) but it could be an idealistic value for those who wanted to enjoy the openness of various social cultures in

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orderly institutions. The traditional values of Rome as revealed in religious attitude, thought, and politics were attributed to this symbolic peace and the political and compelling sociocultural power of the Roman Empire to realise it was constantly revealed in Roman society (Weinstock 2004[1971]:401).

Such societal stability became an advantage in a variety of different ways in establishing the early Church's constructive and ideological development and to gain cultural influence (Cochrane 1957:117). The stability of the Roman Empire as the geopolitical background of Christianity enabled Christianity to maintain stable interaction with the Roman social culture under predictable circumstances from situations of various rapid social changes that could arise from the invasion of external barbarians or civil war, and it seems that even if such a condition involved persecution, it provided a consistent condition and enough time to take steps to gradually produce the corresponding value. Origen also thought that *Pax Romana* and the means associated with it had been used to fulfil God's purposes. He thought that God prepared states like Rome to spread the gospel, and the peace of Rome and the Roman roads were developed so that the war between the hostile kingdoms would not be a barrier to spreading the gospel. Romanisation as a social goal at the time for binding together and stabilising the masses centring on Rome seems to have influenced early Christianity to gradually form one unified organisation in response to the unified social aim of Rome, rather than following various local cultural ways.

On the other hand, the early Christian community was recognised as a threat to union and unity in central Rome and to the *Pax Romana*, and therefore faced various slanders and misunderstandings. The widely accepted understanding of order in the Roman Empire was defined by the natural laws in which the world order coincides with the universal human reason, and the political order was formed according to the laws of nature and situated within the national laws. The supreme leader and guarantor of this order was considered to be visible as an incarnation of the gods and became an object of worship. The refusal of Christians to worship the emperor could be assumed to have threatened the existing order (Köting 1983:126–127). However, the regulation of activity in the early Christian community was not at all to destroy the existing peace, to accomplish a new paradigm, or to get rid of the structure of union and unity in central Rome. As shown in the migration of Christians from Jerusalem (before the destruction) and their non-resistance to the persecution of Christianity, it is clear that they still wanted to establish the Christian-centred ideas in the Roman peace, similar to the biblical attitude toward secular authority. Such attitudes in the early Christian community showed the possibility of Christian-centred ideas achieving 'Union and Unity' with social functions for the '*Pax Romana*' (Cochrane 1957:117; Ferguson

2003:29; Gonzalez 1987:37).

However, the peace of Rome did not lead directly to the peace of Christianity. When politicians of Rome judged that the peace of Christianity was different from the peace of Rome in meaning, they, for the peace of Rome, punished and forced them to leave Christ and be united to Rome. Thus, early Christians were at risk of their lives and had to choose between Christ and Rome during the period of persecution (cf. 4.2.3.1–2).

For the Gentile Christian community to survive in the Roman world, it seemed necessary to find an ideological intersection between the state and religious activity that could approach the political and social goals of the peace of Rome. Consensus between national politics and Christian faith and a common goal became clear after Constantine, but it differed from the basic position of the reign of the Kingdom of God that had been maintained by the Jews and Jewish Jesus movement in the Roman world. In order to communicate with the world of the Gentiles and to extend the gospel among them, Christianity could no longer communicate with secular society by presenting their own religious ideal only. Therefore, in order to communicate with secular society, they had to acknowledge the political and social goals of the real world, like the *Pax Romana*. Contact with and learning of the ideologies of the secular society put Christian communities at risk of diversifying the simple principles of the early Christian Gospel, but this was inevitable under the compelling power of the political, social, and cultural reign of Rome at the time of persecution.

3.3.3.2 Sociocultural identity: *Concordia*, honour and shame, and *fides* and *pietas*

Historically, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (2.3.2), we find internal feelings in common with the Romans in the bond of unity of the Roman community. The principle of Roman social construction that leads to *Concordia*, honour and shame, and *fides and pietas* in particular formed the emotional boundary that early Christian communities had to overcome to share the gospel with the Romans. These concepts are also a way of understanding the righteousness of Roman society or their identity, which justified the *Pax Romana*, the peace of Rome, throughout the Roman Empire, which Roman people regarded as their faith.

Firstly, the morality that Romans aimed for was that of being of one mind, *Concordia*, and that, symbolically speaking, meant being united in Rome (cf. 2.3.2.1). Ancient Rome's virtue, faith, authority, and tradition describe the structural characteristics of the unified Rome; it was the strategy to achieve being of one heart, in *Concordia*. Thus, under the Roman system, whatever interrupted uniting politics, religion, and the society of Romans and their subordinates was what Romans considered immorality. In this sense, Romans had

established their tradition and customs as moral standards for integrating societies into *Concordia*. When the Jewish and Christian population did not share the values of Roman culture but formed independent values, it could be seen as unethical and illegal actions from the Roman point of view (Ferguson 1987:69–70, 161). Therefore, for early Christianity to be recognised as a new religious value in Roman society, where politics, religion, and society were closely associated, it was necessary to reveal symbolism that could provide unity to the Roman people. The primary task assigned to Christians was to establish unity among the local Christian communities. Even this was not easy, because the localisation of Christianity confronted the Jewish unity and there was no central base for Christian coherence or organisation and systems of authority to control it. Nonetheless, the fact that the Christian communities wanted to have a standardised consensus on this issue seems to have created an interrelationship between the unity of the Roman Empire, centred on *Concordia,* and the unity of Christianity, which corresponded to such a society (cf. 4.2.3.1).

Next the Romans, especially in ethical judgment, applied the concept of honour and shame; the standard for classifying that was public opinion or sentiment (cf. 2.3.2.1). This concept of honour and shame corresponds to *Concordia* in being united in Rome as group categories. Concerning this, Ferguson (2003:69) points out that "[t]he virtues that preserved the order and stability of the society were rewarded with honor, but actions that threatened the values of the community brought reproach, insult, or punishment, depending on their seriousness". In other words, as a reflection of the community spirit of Rome, Roman political judgment could follow its own will, depending on what sociocultural trends the majority of the Romans were following. At first this concept was used maliciously by Roman intellectuals who did not favour Christians by misreading Christians. According to Johnson (1995:71–73), even Marcus Aurelius, who is known as a stoic philosopher and a reasonable man, "justified persecuting Christians by arguing that it was dangerous to upset 'the unstable mind of man by superstitious fear of the divine'". And the anti-Christian philosopher Celsus (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i.1) also described Christians as a secret group that gathered secretly to conceal their shame.[101] In the position of Christians, maintaining the secrecy of faith with eschatological attitudes and not sharing Roman values or inner sentiments could certainly be seen as disgraceful to the Romans. Thus, they needed a clear social attitude that corresponded to the inner emotions of the Romans.

Despite persecution, Christianity at that time was positively perceived among the Romans

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[101] Celsus, writing his True Word c. claimed, "some do not even want to give or receive a reason for what they believe, and simply say 'Do not ask questions: just believe', and 'Thy faith will save thee'. They say: 'The wisdom of the word is evil' and 'Foolishness is a good thing'" (Johnson 1995:73).

because of maintaining the high moral level of Christian ideology. In addition, according to Johnson (1995:73-74), despite the criticism of the Gentile intellectuals, "Christianity penetrated deep into circles which shaped secular policy and imperial culture", and emerged as "… a Universalist alternative to the civil religion and a far more dynamic (and better organised) one". During the Roman persecution, Christian martyrs could also be seen as honourable enough in the Romans' perceptions in the sense that they did not entertain fear of Rome's power and death; endured suffering and persecution; and kept their faith. The fact that Emperor Decius did not want Christians to be seen as heroes through martyrdom, but rather attempted to have them seen as dishonourable on account of giving up their faith through torture, reflects the favourable views of the Roman people of the time that the martyrdom of Christians could be honourable.[102] In fact, the result of the persecution by Decius, which in some way included the Roman understanding of honour and shame, was that the Christian communities from the time of the Cyprian were confused by the conflict between the confessors and the apostate, and this conflict resulted in the Donatist controversy and the worship of martyrs after Constantine (cf. Neyrey 2010:186; Philip 2017:55–56; Renwick & Harman 1990:49).

In addition, *fides* and *pietas* (cf. 2.3.2.5) were principles of interrelationship building (i.e. the guardian and beneficiary) with compelling social power that united Roman society. This traditional social relationship caused individual and individual, individual and organisation, organisation and organisation to maintain the social unity through their contractual relationships, and Roman religious activity in the same way constructed relationships between individual and gods, and organisation and gods (Ferguson 2003:149–153; 165–173). In addition, the hierarchy or political organisation of Roman society was generally formed by means of a relationship of guardians and beneficiaries. The traditional trust relationship through contracts was the most reasonable for the Romans and became a political priority and a social ethical standard. The basic principle for the organisation of Rome, therefore, was a contractual relationship through faithfulness and duty. It was always very difficult to secure a position as one of the sociocultural components of Rome, unless mutual benefits were guaranteed.[103] The conventional way of understanding that the Roman national religious activities gained divine benefit through rituals led to the question of what kind of relationship Christianity should have with the Roman regime or Rome's public

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[102] During the time of Diocletian's persecution (303–305 CE) he ordered Christians to sacrifice at the Roman altar in all manner and executed several major Christians; his goal, however, was to eradicate Christian values in Roman society, thus he wanted to have them seen as dishonourable in Roman society through apostasy rather than execution (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl*., viii. 4.1–6).

[103] In this respect, the legalisation of Christianity through the Edict of Milan meant the beginning of a contractual relationship (or cooperative relationship) between Christianity and the Roman government in terms of the historical interrelationship of *fides* and *pietas* in ancient Rome (O'Daly 1999:1–2).

societies. Following the destruction of Jerusalem, Christianity moved away from the framework of this obligatory relationship of sacrifice, law, nation, and Israel's history in Jewish theocracy, seeking a confessional unity of faith in Christ and the apocalyptic attitude to the persecution of Rome, so it was difficult to find consensus at first in the relationship of faithfulness and duty with the state of Roman religion. Early Christianity initially was regarded as exclusive by the state and society because of the traditional approach to religious symbolism in Rome. But considering the subsequent formation of a new relationship with the Roman government when Constantine became a supporter of Christianity, which took place during the socialisation of Christianity, the deliberation about the relationship between the Church and the state or the Church and society as involving faithfulness and duty would be pressured from the process of persecution by the Roman Empire (Dudley 1962:30; Horsley 1997:89–90; Millet 1989:15–47).

For the early Church to become part of the Roman society, it therefore was necessary to suggest a value relative to the Roman community perspective.[104] From this aspect, apologia for Christianity can be viewed as a process to discover how to become united with the Roman world's ancient virtue (Rist 2004:111). The concept of 'Union and Unity' that the Roman community wished to achieve had already been pursued in the Christian community, it only differed from the Roman way with regard to methodology of achieving it. The union and unity of the Christian community and the spirit of martyrs during the period of persecution could be seen as honourable by Romans. Thus, knowledgeable Christians who had the privilege of a Roman education began to demonstrate Christian orders and principles in a Roman cognitive structure (Dudley 1962:348).

3.3.3.3 Sociocultural products: Roman Road, cities, organisation, law, and education

What Gentile Christian communities actually experienced and responded to in their lives can be seen, in some sense, as products of Rome that attempted to reflect the sociocultural value of Rome rather than the broader concept of a sociocultural aim or identity that the Roman Empire sought to pursue. Technical, empirical, and institutional culture must meet the basic needs of human beings and must maintain the mutual relationships of the members. Christianity had to subscribe to this culture to survive in such a society. Before Constantine, Gentile Christian communities came to know Roman social culture passively through the inevitable use of, or conflict with, these sociocultural products of Rome. As this

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[104] According to Dudley (1962:348), apocalyptic Christian belief began to decay in the second century and converts had come from various societal classes. As a result, it was necessary for Christianity to give a satisfactory explanation about truth, especially to the people who were educated classically and those to whom such education was passed down.

culture contained the sociocultural values of Rome, Christians, in using these values, could not escape Roman identity.

'*Via Publica (Roman Road)*' and cities

The '*Via Publica*', as expressed in 'All roads lead to Rome', is the external result that shows the actual influence of the *Pax Romana*. The '*Via Publica*' provided more strong points in: 1. having a large city and strategic military base; 2. drawing people to the central place and developing Roman culture; and 3. establishing major bases throughout the Roman Empire's vast managed state, without having an advanced communications system (Stark 2007:25). These points were significant. The early Christian community is seen following a strategic policy of mission in the evangelisation of cities in and around the major roads of Rome. Dioceses[105] were built in such cities (Davidson 2005b:282–283; Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:264–265) and the European church's network was sustained after the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 CE. The *Via Publica* played a significant role in facilitating the Church's union and unity (Tabbernee 2014:18–19).

At that time, the cities of Rome were the bases of the political and social culture of the Roman Empire. A large number of people of various ethnicities, occupations, and strata poured into and inhabited the cities, having been linked in close relation with the surrounding rural areas, and they continued to produce and develop Roman civilisation through the concentration of various energies of life. In addition, contact with the city was not only used for the purpose of commerce to trade surplus products in the surrounding area, but was also used as a major sociocultural base to experience and get to know an organised society in harmony with the forms of life of various nations and classes. Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:264–265) note that one of the characteristics of the Christian communities in the diaspora was that the community was created in the urban environment and spread to the Mediterranean region of the Roman Empire, continuing to centre in urban areas. Meeks (1983:199) also sees Christianity as a significant urban phenomenon following the departure from Palestine, and the driving force for the socialisation of Christianity was in the characteristics of the urban people who embraced the new movement.[106]

The Roman city, which had been the base of the early Christian community, would thus have

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[105] According to Davidson (2005b:283), "[t]his Greek word [diocese] was used of an administrative unit in the Roman Empire and came into Western Christian usage in the fourth century to mean much the same as it does in its modem ecclesiastical usage".

[106] In addition, Stark (1997:129–146; 2006:25) provides a quantitative analysis of these Christian urban features. His claim, that Rome's influence on the spread of Christianity was influenced by the distance from Rome and by the level of Romanisation in cities, is noteworthy.

become an important social framework for Christians to expose their ideas and to coordinate and meditate their relation to the universal social culture. In this respect, Gentile Christian communities were in the process of resocialisation in cities where diverse social cultures existed, unlike the Jewish Jesus movement which was socialised in the Jerusalem region where a single principle was applied in the religious aspect. In the city, sociocultural values of religion, ideology, philosophy, politics, economy, and education from various regions and nations competed through integration with the sociocultural values of Rome to become the sociocultural standards of the city. In order to compete, Christian-centric ideas also had to consider the basic conditions of evaluating sociocultural values in the cities. Such sociocultural considerations in the resocialisation of Christianity as applied within the city can be observed more directly in the organisation, law, and education of Rome.

Roman organisation

The basis on which the '*Via Publica*' and city system in the Roman Empire can be interpreted in a more cultural sense is the united Rome, that is, Roman organisation. In expanding territories, Rome built roads to the provinces; the major cities of the province were restructured into pro-Roman cities; Roman rulers were dispatched to these cities; and the nobility of the provinces were brought into the Roman government in a relationship of *fides* and *pietas*. This was a method of vesting the province in the Roman organisation. As mentioned earlier (2.3.2), Roman politicians envisioned various policies for the integration of the provinces centring on Rome and their organisational power, in particular, can be seen as Rome's excellent ability in sociocultural integration compared to other nations. Their representative mechanism for integration was a community that tied the various regions and nations to the common fate of Rome and a method of standardisation that bound various social cultures. In other words, it meant integrating the understanding of the diversity of values of various communities into one common principle, to give unified power to the organisation dealing with such a common principle, and to present integrated principles as a common value to public society (Ferguson 2003:20–21; Heichelheim 1984:103).

The early Christian communities, which were regarded as an exclusive group by Roman society until Constantine, and which deviated from the apostolic Church and had a regional character because they were scattered throughout the Roman world after the collapse of Jerusalem, gradually formed a universal structure, revealing the principle of integration in a manner somewhat corresponding to the social integration principle of Rome. According to Johnson (1995:44) and Küng (1995:117–121), Paul did not trust the organisational system for the gospel at the time of the formation of the early Christian community, but trusted the

work of the Holy Spirit, and also regarded the Christian community as the Charismatic Church, in which the leaders of the Church were exercising authority through the gifts of the Holy Spirit. However, when Constantine appeared on the scene, the early Church to a certain degree had a hierarchic and organisational system, different from Paul's intentions. The structural change of this early Christian community reflected the need of Christianity at the time, and also shows that Christians naturally recognise and reflect the importance of organisation for cohesion in forming a community. Stambaugh and Balch (1986:191) believe that, although early Christian churches made an effort to distinguish themselves from the surrounding religious organisations, they were similar to other organisations in the Greek-Roman cities. This could be due to having been established and organised in the urban environment. For early Christianity it seems that the importance of organisation, rather than individual belief, gradually increased at some points; they were gathered as regional communities in which many joined, starting from the home community, at least; the community needed internal order for efficient worship and discipline in the faith; and the communal meal became important in their consciousness (Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:268–271).

Hall (2004:46–53) describes changes in the concept of the Church as an early Christian organisation. Hall found that Ignatius of Antioch, according to the seven letters he wrote between 100 and 118 CE, thought that the churches of Asia Minor and Rome should be united, and that his church of Antioch wanted to be unified. Ignatius insisted on unity among the local churches during persecution, and he held the following views of the hierarchy: "Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons" (*Philad.*, 71.); "Do nothing without the bishop … love unity, avoid divisions" (*Philad.*, 7.2); "See that you follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ follows the Father, and the presbytery as if it were the Apostles. And reverence the deacons as commanded by God" (*Smyrnaeans,* 8.1).

Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons round about the late second century, wrote against heresies provoked by Markos, which Irenaeus judged to be in breach of 'true doctrine', 'tradition', and 'good order'. Against these deviations he appealed to 'the one universal church' (cf. Irenaeus i.10; Early Christian Fathers, 360–362). Origen of Alexandria (*Contra Celsum,* iii.30) shared the spiritual concept of the Church of the earlier teachers, but he was more interested in the external and institutional church. In the mid-third century, Cyprian, in 'On the Unity of the Catholic Church' pointed to schism and warned against attitudes dividing the Church and separating from their bishop. He argued that the life of the Church depended on the bishops, 'the episcopate is one, and so is the Church'. He upheld 'a spiritual Church' bonded in 'the common universal episcopate'. In the historical context, the Christian communities needed to

establish public and unified authority to systematically deal with persecution under the Roman government and the challenges of heresies, and this led to working on church law, hierarchy, and a canon. The formation of the institutional church was a very important issue at the time, and the second-generation Christian community saw the move from the charismatic community to the institutional community as an indispensable choice.

There were two major relations between the structural change of the Gentile Christian community and Roman organisational power, one of which was that the Christian community was recognised as a group competing with the organisation of Rome, as the early history of Christian persecution shows. The fact that Rome officially opposed and persecuted Christianity reflects the idea that Roman society created the social boundaries of the Christian group as a group corresponding to the Roman organisation. It can also be seen that this indirectly influenced the formation of an organisational form corresponding to persecution. The other was that early Christianity had begun to develop a common fateful community and standards for the union and unity with Christ as Christian community, in order to deal with the criticism of the Roman intellectual society and the challenges of heretics. The most obvious issue that showed such a direction to universalisation of the Christian community at the time was that they tried to confirm the standard of the canon in early Christianity. In addition to the apostolic tradition, this standardisation also applied the rule of faith shared by the early Christian communities, which also shows the presence of the Christian community (Müller 1991:53, cited in Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:144).

While early Christianity had not yet a complete external form of organisational power to bind regional Christian communities at the time, it had sentimental organisational power to tolerate the persecution of the Christian Truth, including concepts, principles, and propositions for uniting in Christ (Johnson 1995:55–56). Even when Christianity was declared illegal in Rome and endangered through persecution, the gospel was spread all around the Empire, empowered by the organisation of priests and the appearance of a strong Catholic Church.

Schaff (*H.C.C.*, ii.44–48) points out that the organisation of the early Christian community, though partially conceived in the existing synagogue organisation, basically had a common root in the apostolate, and according to such tradition, as found in letters from Ignatius and Clement, the foundation of a permanent 'hierarchical' structure had been laid since the early second century. However, it is certainly difficult to see the structure as being continued from the Jewish traditions and the synagogue's organisational structure, or the succession of apostolic authority and the official structure of the charismatic church order (Küng 1995:117–

120). That is because the governing of each diocese consisted of the city and peripheral area and was developed with features similar to that of the administration of Rome. Bruce (1961:206) also asserts that the administrative organisation of the universal church was developed during the second century because Christian homogeneity and historical continuity was threatened by the infiltration of heresy and the persecution by Rome. As Küng (1995:125, 129) says, it can be seen as "part of the paradigm shift towards the Hellenistic paradigm initiated by Paul and thus the consequence of a historical development". He mentioned some facts related to the organisational power of Rome that was revealed in the structural characteristics of the ancient Church, saying, "instead of Jerusalem, Rome is now the centre and leading church of Christianity" and "instead of a community with presbyters as leaders there is now an increasingly institutionalised presbyterial and Episcopal Church order". Although early Christian communities had been excluded from the Roman social unity (i.e. as the Roman solidarity of political, religious and cultural values), it continued to be tightly organised internally through a period of persecution, and Christianity began to secure the role of the religious part of Roman society at the time of political integration by Constantine (cf. 4.2.2.2). In contrast, Christian heretics or Roman religions that were not organised began to lose a social role and public attention for their existence in Roman society (McGrath 2013:43–45).

Rome showed the importance of a standardised system within a world of diversity (cf. 2.3.2.4). Organisation and system are indispensable tools for human management. Standardisation was needed to maintain a similar sociocultural level in any place and situation in the Roman world, and even if there was a difference between people and classes, it minimised heterogeneity and led to a sense of homogeneity. The common way of organising the system, common language and common ritual, and the underlying currency were the forces of Rome that bound the diversity of the Roman world, and this was the sociocultural form that various communities in the Roman world learned. Thus, the early Christian community also followed this pattern, and the process was completed in the Medieval Church centred on the Roman Catholic Church. In particular, it was necessary to standardise the localised elements into one common view for the Christian community to achieve visible uniformity. The standardised form of faith reflecting sociocultural values reveals what kind of social goals the Christian community was bound to. In other words, the standards of Judaism, which related to the formation of the Jewish Jesus movement, show the realistic goal of the paradigm of community under the reign of God, which Jewish society intended to achieve. Jerusalem's temples, rituals, and religious leaders including priests, which were their religious standards, were meant to preserve the theocratic ruling system

and differed from the state system (Küng 1992:105–109). In this respect, the organisational systems and standards of faith organised by the Gentile Christian community could be seen as applied to the community under the reign of God through their sociocultural values in Roman society. In addition, the standardisation included not only the Christian organisation but also various forms of expression of faith. In the fourth century, according to Carl Richard (2010:270), all the liturgies of Christianity were stylised and standardised, and he points out, "[t]he increased ritualism of the liturgy in the fourth century was an expression of the traditional Roman preoccupation with ritual, rather than a recurrence of Judaic ritualism".[107]

Roman law

Kelly (2014:242) has said, "[t]he Romans were proud of their legal system" and "they claimed to have brought law and order to the peoples of their empire and used this claim to try to justify the violence and repression that imperialism inevitably entailed". Roman law had a characteristic: Without a precondition of common life in the Roman cultural area, Roman law was interpreted around rationality and efficiency, and then integrated (cf. 2.3.2.6). Roman law was intended to guarantee justice and equal rights to all regardless of race or religious belief because the purpose was to enable symbiosis. Although the tolerant attitude of Roman law regarding early Christians had been a merit in delivering the gospel, the intolerant attitude of the Roman law eventually became a life-threatening obstacle. Christianity therefore needed to propose understandable sociocultural values from an integrative frame of Roman law (Bell 1998:116; Ferguson 2003:601–602).

Johnson (1995:75–76) suggested that one thing the early Church inherited from Rome that could never be ignored is a rule of law. The Roman statutory national form emphasised rule rather than individuality and autonomy, with idealism restrained in national management. For the Christian community, this meant emphasising the doctrinal definition, order, and organisation to a permanent and universal Christian faith, rather than a transitory faith phenomenon or issue that reflected the Christian faith at that time. Thus, the formation of theology, the establishment of the New Testament as canon, and the composition of the priesthood that the early Christian community achieved for establishing an orthodox church can be seen to correspond closely with the legal attitude of Rome with the organisational power of Rome (cf. 4.2.1.2, 4.3.3.2). By the middle of the fifth century, with the publication of the Codex Theodosius, the influence of Roman law showed a process of interactions that would slowly have progressed the socialisation process of the Christian community.

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[107] Han Chul-Ha (2001:100–101) points out that, in the peculiar tradition of the Western church that begins with Irenaeus and Tertullian, the Western church had a formal principle of viewing Christianity as a historical rather than Greek Christianity, which sees Christianity as purely philosophical and metaphysical.

Roman law had a considerable influence on the early Church in three respects: Firstly, it demonstrated the Christian-centred ideas in the fundamental instruction of Roman Law; secondly, it secured a legal position for Christians in a secular society; and thirdly, it realised the 'universal' church through church law (Bainton 1966:94). In other words, the collaboration among equals or the solidarity with the Roman legal system in the socialisation of Christianity in Roman culture was the most urgent task for acquiring the universality of Christianity.[108] However, things had not gone smoothly in that Christ was cruelly convicted by the Roman legal system prior to Christianity being recognised officially. That was because emperor worship in the pantheistic traditions had acquired adamant legal status in conflict with the Christian-centred ideas (Kötting 1983:126–127). However, as the socialisation of Christianity progressed rapidly once Christianity secured legal status at the level of Roman traditions, or higher than them after the Edict of Milan, Roman law could be seen as playing a major part towards the solidarity of the Roman Empire and also for the Christian community towards maintaining a cooperative relationship in the society (O'Daly 1999:1–2; Küng 1995:180–181). During the research, deeper analysis through arguments focused on this covers the period of Constantine when full-scale socialisation began to take place (cf. 4.2.1.2, 4.3.3.2).

Education

Christian education can be seen in the culture that had already been handed down through the Jewish synagogue in the early Christian period. However, there were limitations to this, because the purpose of synagogue education was to maintain an ethnic community in and around the law. Roman education, to the contrary, was developed as a centre for rhetoric and law to serve both the goals of the state and private goals; philosophical introspection and study of metaphysical subjects was very limited (Carcopino 2003[1940]:107–108; Ferguson 2003:112).[109] The value of classical literature, including Greek mythology, was seen as making it possible to derive an effective conclusion to organising Roman society on the basis of historical experience rather than philosophical principles.

The first Christians were not interested in a Roman education because they focused on the imminent second coming of Christ and the divine commands. However,

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[108] At the start of the Constantine era Christianity had gained formal legal status, which can be seen as Constantine's expectation that the Church will become 'a politically integrating force'. As a result, "[h]is legislation gave to the Church privileges previously enjoyed by the pagan cults … the Church was empowered to hold property as a legally constituted corporation" (Bainton 1966:94–96).

[109] At the start of the second century BCE a school of the Hellenistic type began to emerge in Rome. The Romans knew that the Greek civilisation was much more developed, so they wanted to learn about Greek ways and culture. However, they always tried to maintain Roman political monopoly because of the sense that the fashion of Greek social culture could gain advantage over political power (Carcopino 2003[1940]:107–108).

eschatological expectations began to decline by the beginning of the second century, and neophytes came from various social strata. Especially with regard to those trained in the classical tradition, Christianity began to realise the necessity of finding satisfactory answers in their reality and to explain that in the Gentile world in which they would coexist in the future (Dudley 1962:384). That was because Christianity was seen by the public, who were influenced by Roman education based on the traditional culture of Rome, as a non-structured variable harming the traditions and customs of Roman society, rather than as having any religious belief. Christian intellectuals who had the benefit of a Roman education therefore began to look for an order or principle in Christianity that could be understood from the epistemological structure of the Romans and to demonstrate that. Such demonstration at the time was needed to defend Christianity in the Roman religious system and also to protect the essence of Christian faith from heresy (Murphy 1974:54; cf. Aug., *De Doc.*, ii. 60). These demonstrations led to a growing momentum in Christian theology, however, and the developing theological methodology became a powerful cultural tool for communicating and cooperating with Rome. The early Church did not intend to distinguish academically between philosophy and theology, as in the Medieval Church. The reason was just that the early Church had to find a way to communicate with Roman society through establishing a clearer universal concept and attitude around the Christian-centred ideas and to teach that to the Church.

With such a purpose, the important interrelationship of Christianity and Roman education can be seen as a relationship with a theological and a rhetorical nature. The purpose of rhetoric is to pursue efficient communication and, in utilising the effect of the truth, to make the truth relate to human life. To encompass the general area of human life and to produce the Christian way of life, it was necessary to understand not only the studies and the human knowledge systems, but also the type of thinking structure that produced knowledge (Oh Hyeong-Guk 2008:38–40).

According to McGrath (2013:64–66), before the Nicene Creeds was adopted, "[a]s Christian pedagogy became of increasing importance, more structured statements began to emerge". This was combined with the form of the baptism for new Christians, and the consensus of faith formed over a long period of time began to become somewhat stereotyped. In the Roman social culture, the early Christian educational methods for the transmission of Christianity through defining Christianity against any claims and institutionalising such definitions in religious rituals gradually became an effective way of organising the Christian community (cf. 2.3.4, 4.4.2.3).

3.3.4 Discord and conflict with Roman social culture

Was early Christianity naturally assimilated in Rome due to developing in a Roman cultural background? Or did Rome embrace Christianity as a part of their religious milieu because of Roman culture being tolerant, flexible, and integrated in pursuit of 'Union and Unity' in Roman society? That is not as we know it. The intolerant attitude of Roman society to Christianity can be seen as revealing the purpose of Rome's use of tolerance. The Empire saw tolerance as the most realistic and efficient way to unify a diverse society. Although the earlier empires – Persia and Greece – were somewhat similar, the Roman Empire tolerated the traditional religious activity of the conquered peoples in the sense that they did not infringe on the Empire's public stability, interests, and societal cohesion. The Roman government did not deter freedom of thought through censorship and did not interfere with educational policies, so this could be decided between teachers and students, not through public education in the centre of Rome. Due to this policy of tolerance, Judaism and early Christianity could become rooted in the major cities of the Roman Empire. However, this Roman policy of tolerance was not extended to any community or individual if there was no integration with the centre of Rome. As seen in the Jewish War, Rome, in spite of the religious privileges granted to the Jews, destroyed Jerusalem, the stronghold of Judaism when the Jews resisted unity with Rome (Davidson 2005a:191).

Many records of early Christianity describe the persecution by the Roman government due to confrontation and conflict with the social culture of Rome. Although the degree of persecution in Rome differs according to the views of scholars today, it is clear that the early Gentile Christian communities experienced a form of confrontation and conflict under the rule of the Roman Empire that was different from that which the Jewish Jesus followers experienced in Jewish society.

This confrontation and conflict between Gentile Christianity and Roman social culture seems to have been as important as learning and making use of Roman social culture by Gentile Christian communities with regard to Christian resocialisation. Christianity as an exclusive community could be treated by the Roman public as one of the various regional religious activities, like Judaism, or as a range of theoretical ideas based on a mythology, like Greek philosophy. Confrontation and conflict with the Roman Empire positioned Christianity in the central area of Roman social culture, however, where its practicality as a sociocultural value had to be dealt with. The impact of confrontation and conflict on Christian resocialisation thus is briefly discussed below.

First, confrontation and conflict resulted in Christianity, while not a subject of social and cultural interest in Rome, being treated as an important social problem (Davidson 2005a:199; McGrath 2013:38–39). Various forces joined together in presenting Christianity as perverse, and they sought to evaluate Christianity on the basis of a variety of social values commonly applied in Rome. They thereby established a disadvantageous public opinion of Christianity. Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:317, 333–334) state that Christians living in the cities of the Roman Empire were discriminated against by the non-Christian people as religious and social outsiders and cases brought against Christians by Roman authorities were judged on a basis of criminality that gradually increased. In the time of Pliny, the fact that he tried to clarify the legal status of and punishment due to Christianity shows that the Christian problem, which had not been noticed in the central area of Roman social culture, was gradually becoming more prominent. This social issue of Christianity in Roman society was that the aspect of confrontation and conflict seemed to be obstacles to Christian socialisation, but it was worthy of socialisation in that it was able to bring the communal particularities of Christianity (which had been secret) to the notice of the Roman public.

Second, with Christianity being evaluated by the masses, the government, and intellectuals of Rome, central Christian ideas that had been shared internally, and specific information about them began to be externally expressed and publicly discussed. In being treated publicly, Christian ideas were evaluated on the basis of what society was aiming at. There were misunderstandings due to various inaccurate reports, but the Christian response to persecution became the reason for externally exposing the exclusively shared Christian ideas. The intellectuals, politicians, and religious people of Rome attacked Christianity from the standpoint of the traditional social culture of Rome, and Christian apologists also had to reinterpret and defend central Christian ideas from their own standpoint. This process naturally worked towards placing Christianity within the sociocultural framework of Rome.

Third, confrontation and conflict reflected the sociocultural discontent and anticipation of the Roman public towards Christianity. As mentioned earlier, the religiosity of the Romans at the time was based on the social contractual relationship of faithfulness and duty as reflected in their reality. In other words, the dissatisfaction of the Roman public with Christianity can be seen as a failure on the part of Christianity to meet social expectations with regard to being treated as the religious sentiment of Rome. Accusations against Christianity appealed to the masses of Rome on the basis of their own interests, although most of what was surmised were untrue.

Fourth, confrontation and conflict led Christianity to respond to secular society. Early Christianity seems to have been generally indifferent to Roman civilisation and popular society. The Christian communities did not want to participate in other social activities because of their expectation of the end of the world, judgment, and ultimate salvation, and merely wanted to practise universal love for humanity and uphold ethical attitudes based on central Christian ideas. Christians were therefore perceived as non-social for not participating in social activities related to Gentile religion, which comprised the city's public activity of the time (McGrath 2013:38). Their indifference to society may have led to the central Christian idea being perceived as mere theoretical form without public practicality and effectiveness. Revealing this attitude as their central idea and principle of ultimate salvation at the time of persecution made Christians deny the possibilities of real life in expectation of the afterlife, and focused them on providing inner conviction concerning salvation to the believers rather than realising the idea in Roman society. On the other hand, as seen by Christian apologists, the social conflict and confrontations with Rome caused Christianity to respond to the sociocultural factors with some degree of concern (cf. Küng 1995:133). The fact that Christian ideas were reconsidered in diverse spheres of Roman social culture during early Christianity shows that Christianity was not perfect but began to develop a way of communicating with Roman society that was unlike the past confrontation and conflict with Rome. For example, as it was necessary to respond to Roman law with regard to legal problems in Rome, and to practise a philosophical response to philosophical matters, Christianity had to respond to issues in a way that was effective in the Roman world.

Fifth, confrontation and conflict provided Christianity with the power to create a close structure and cohesion corresponding to Roman social culture. Christianity, which had been regarded as a part of Judaism in Roman society, made clear its boundaries in Israeli historical continuity through conflict and confrontation with Judaism (Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:353–358). And then, internally, began to reveal theological boundaries through dealing with communal confession regarding the Christian-centred ideas through the struggle with various heretics, including Marcion. MacCulloch (2009:220) says that the virtues of the creeds that were created through this process are that almost anyone can quickly learn to standardise their faith and build a barrier against inconsistencies among speculative beliefs. In addition, the early Christian communities externally maintained the nature of life as Christians differing from the secular and universal way of life of Romans in the social culture of Rome. As to Roman political and social persecution, many Christians kept the faith and risked their lives in beginning to defend the legitimacy of the social

existence of the Christian community by answering the questions that arose from ignorance and misunderstanding of the Christian identity on the part of Roman society. In addition, Christians began to reveal their rivalry with the ideology of the past Roman society in a way that asserted the sociocultural value and excellence of Christianity against the criticism of anti-Christian critics such as Celsus and popular censure (Chadwick 1993:54; Küng 1995:133–136). Concerning such confrontation and conflict, Davidson (2005a:224) says, "[t]he presence of such weighty opposition lent impetus to Christian thinking, and led to the emergence of a less occasional and more systematic style of Christian theologising in response to the challenges raised". He also says, "[a]s the faith was consolidated and the internal structures of its authority became more defined, theology moved from being primarily apologetic or practical to become a more ambitious and wide-ranging project".

The situations of conflict and confrontation with Roman culture were aspects that needed to be overcome effectively for Christianity to become more clearly socialised in the public society of Rome. Although the Christian-centred idea incorporated fundamental differences that could hardly be united with Roman religious understanding, it can be seen that early Christianity had a powerful message to substitute the Roman religious culture which had begun to lose its symbolism in the concept of the union and unity of the Roman world. The anti-Christian writer Celsus, who attacked Christianity although he did not know the inner principles of the Christian faith, saw a principle in the coherence of Christians as a social group right through the persecution. He said:

> Their agreement is quite amazing, the more so as it may be shown to rest on no trustworthy foundation. However, they have a trustworthy foundation for their unity in social dissidence and the advantage which it brings and in the fear of outsiders – these are factors which strengthen their faith (Chadwick 1993:54).

According to Kelly (2006:140–151), the Roman government's increasing unwarrantable proceedings against, and official persecution of Christianity gradually began to make Christians who were minorities[110] more visible to the Roman world and, as their numbers were not decreased by persecution, but rather expanded, the Christian-centred idea could be communicated more clearly in the public sphere through official apologetics and Christian attitudes.

In this way, in the conflict between Christianity and Roman culture, Christianity revealed its

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[110] According to Beard (2015:628–629), it is estimated that there were about 200 000 Christians in the Roman Empire by 200 CE in a population of between 50 and 60 million. He insists that they were prominent in comparison to their numbers because they were overwhelmingly concentrated in the city.

essential value through confrontation with Roman culture and Christian social value was suggested from deficiencies of Roman social culture. I would therefore like to discuss the kind of elements of conflict and confrontation that existed between early Christianity and Roman social culture and made Christianity clearer and produced corresponding value.

3.3.4.1 Confrontation with the social value of Roman religious activities

As mentioned earlier (2.3.2.1), Roman religious culture was not a systematised religion in the modern sense; it was more of a cult rather than a belief system, and more of a ritual action than a creed., The union with and stability within the Roman Empire could rather be seen as part of Roman faith in the Romans. In that sense, Roman religious sentiments and actions were intimately connected with a kind of sense of community, even society or politics.[111] Thus, the interaction between Christian socialisation and Roman religious culture seems to be related to Roman religious sentiments and actions (Choi Hye-young 2000:321; Ferguson 1988:909). The symbolism and collective ceremony for entering into union with Rome can be seen as a social function that promoted the social consciousness and the sense of solidarity centring on Rome and producing social order and tradition (Swingewood 1998:55–56). The religious expectations of the Romans were oriented toward these social values, and the role of religious activity was to enable this. All religious culture in Rome, with the accompanying rituals, had to be devoted to the existence of Rome only; the rituals had to deal with the symbolic order of Rome. Thus, the Jews, while being permitted to maintain their religious exclusiveness, were required to be devoted to Rome as well. Judaism, in regarding this as idolatry, could not accept such a demand and this confrontation eventually became one of the various causes of the Jewish rebellion (Stegemann & Stegemann 1999:170–173). Christianity, on the other hand, did not have any specific public rituals: The sacrament and baptism were closed to non-members. Therefore, the most apparent reason for confrontation could be a clash between the exclusive value of central Christian ideas that distinguished between the Kingdom of God and the secular state, the Christian and non-Christian, and the exclusive value of Christian centred ideas that separated Christians from non-Christians and the social value of Roman religious culture for the union of the Roman society. For the Romans, Christianity could be viewed as indifferent to the fundamental values and roles of religious activity in their society, and it could be regarded as confrontational with regard to their religious culture, which was being faithful to its social role. Given the religious diversity and tolerance in Rome, religious clashes in the society such as the religious persecution of Christianity, which, unlike Judaism with Jerusalem as its political

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[111] Roman religion was closely related to law or politics in ancient Rome, as can be seen from the fact that divine law (*ius divinum*) was included in civil law (*ius civile*) (Ferguson 1988:909).

base, did not have a political base in opposition to Rome could be seen as a special event. The Romans' religiosity was not as abstract as that of the Greeks with regard to the gods, but merely comprised a sense of duty to the gods for their own interests and realistic goals. Even if Christianity were to be added to their religious world, Roman religious culture would not entail a belief system to be attacked. In order for Christianity to be incorporated in Roman society, it was necessary to admit the Gentile deities recognised by Roman society. According to Davidson (2005a:195), the third century Roman historian Dio Cassius reported that a number of nobles were interrogated for following atheistic and Jewish ways. This implies that they were Christians, as atheism (*atheotes*) became the standard term for Christianity in the second century because they denied foreign gods.[112] The polytheistic religious policy of Rome reveals a social religion that bound the religious sentiments of multi-ethnic groups into one big frame for Rome. Therefore, the fundamental problem was that the significance of religious activity and myths to the Romans depended not on whether it was true or not, but on what social values the community accepted and what values were symbolised – as dealt with by Virgil in the Aeneid.

As discussed earlier in the comparison with Greece (2.3.3), Roman religiosity was characterised by a covenantal relationship with gods, which could not be regarded merely as public participation in the ritual. The Romans focused on *Pax deorum*, the peace with the gods. This soon related to *mos maiorum*, the tradition of ancestors (Ferguson 2003:172; Nystrom 2013:29). In other words, the religiosity of the Romans saw all the national achievements that they enjoyed as the result of this traditional divine covenantal relationship and, as Polybius (*Historiae*, vi.56) says, pursued a common belief and cohesion through *deisdaimona* (superstition) that had been the source of Roman power. Thus, as with the ancient Greek gods being re-established as the Roman gods, any religious sentiment and activity could be incorporated into Roman society if it conformed to the social values of Roman tradition, but could not be incorporated into Roman society if it rejected the social values to which their religiousness oriented them.

However, Christianity refused to become one of the religious institutions in Rome in Roman society and did not harmonise with other religious activities. According to Walker (1992:44), Christians were not to participate in a Roman religious festival in service of the Gentile gods, supposed to serve devils. As Roman religious activity was an inevitable structure in the city's public life, Christians could hardly participate in public life in the cities in which they lived.

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[112] According to Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:331), Dio Cassius linked the Jewish way of life with blasphemy. At the time of the Dominican emperor, many people who had taken on the Jewish way of life (*Ioudaikos bios*) were convicted on the grounds of atheism (*atheotes*).

The internal discipline of the Christian community to maintain these boundaries was an important part of the life of the Church, but it seemed to have contributed in some way to fostering conflict with the Roman religious society, while increasing the unity of the Christian community. Schaff (*H.C.C.*, ii.29) comments, "[t]he policy of the Roman government, the fanaticism of the superstitious people, and the self-interest of the pagan priests conspired for the persecution of a religion which threatened to demolish the tottering fabric of idolatry …". In this regard, Tertullian states (*Apologeticus,* 40.2, trans. Souter, Alexander):

> … the Christians are to blame for every public disaster, every misfortune that happens to the people. If the Tiber rises to the walls, if the Nile does not rise to the fields, if the sky is rainless, if there is an earthquake, a famine, a plague, immediately the cry arises, 'The Christians to the lion!'….

Thus, the confrontation between the early Christian community and Roman religious culture can be approached analytically through the Roman religious activities inferred from the comparison with Greece (2.3.3).

Fundamentally, the religious values of Rome and the Gentile religious cultures that belonged to the Roman world had the universal character of ancient religious activities, indicating that the safety, comfort, and the desire of the community or individual was to be achieved through divine intervention, but in Judaism and Christianity safety and comfort was determined by God's will and reign, and there was a clear direction and way of doing good to people of God. This was not a part that could be negotiated at the convenience of people, unlike in the Roman religious understanding. The safety, comfort and desire of Rome that Rome sought to gain through religious activity could therefore not be supported or guaranteed in Christian-centric thought until Constantine.

Next, the religious culture of the Romans was characterised by the primitive nature of ideas and the legal institutionalisation of their consciousness. The Romans believed the invisible powers, numina (the active spirits), to be gods, and had a personal relationship with them, and paid attention to the divine action directly affecting them. The purpose of their religious activity was therefore to call the gods and to do something favourable to them. The religious ritual became a tradition for the Romans, and also came to be legally institutionalised. There were 'five major colleges of priests' as a permanent organisation to oversee the national religious activity, and an annual events calendar of the yearly sacrifice schedule was created. The advice of augurs who saw the signs and interpreted the will of the gods was

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delivered to the *magistratus*[113] prior to the commencement of all official events, and the *magistratus* was able to accept or reject it. This process of institutionalisation of Roman religious activity shows that their religiosity was combined with the faith, authority, and tradition that the Romans regarded as virtue in terms of dealing with the gods; acceptance of the Christian spirit therefore comprised an act of abandoning faithfulness to their gods and with tradition (Aug., *De Civ.*, vi.9; Ferguson 2003:167–171).

However, the traditional Roman religion did not give the diverse worshippers religious satisfaction or moral value. Thus, the Romans gradually accepted foreign religious cultures which could give them religious satisfaction and the indigenous idols of various nations in the Roman world appeared in a religious syncretism in the process of cultural integration with Rome and began to be integrated with the sun god according to a tendency for all gods to be equated.[114]

On the other hand, the religiosity of the Romans was not completely extinguished despite the expansion of Christians and their conversion, but was Christianised in many points, and only the object of the divine contract was converted. After Constantine, the understanding of the Christianity of Rome and its religious contractual relationship was not a conversion to a biblical covenant relationship, but merely a transition from diversification of contracts to unification and it still led to the sociocultural approach of Christianity for the purpose of Roman reality (Davidson 2005b:19). The characteristics of these religious transactions were reflected to some extent in the formation of the worship of saints or the relics of the early Church,[115] and also a background to the claims which Roman pagans[116] transferred to

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[113] From the republic, Rome developed a decentralised system of Roman political power consisting of *magistratus*, *senatus*, and *comitia*. The enactment of laws was made by the three parties of this politics. The law was enacted in such a way that the *magistratus* proposed and voted (through the vote of the *comitia*), and it was promulgated following approval by the *senatus*. In view of this correlation between religious events (or *augurs*) and the *magistratus*, and although it was in the area of legal experts in the interpretation of the law, the political significance of Roman religion and tradition is substantial (Ferguson 2003:167–171).

[114] There are two reasons for the historical background of the syncretism: one is the tendency in Roman religions and the other is the influence of Christianity. Firstly, the syncretism was primarily due to the traditional belief in Roman religions that gods appear in different names, depending on one or several ethnic groups. According to Plutarch, the gods are one in reality, but has a different glory and name according to each nation (as the name of the sun or the moon is different in different nations). In addition – as the background of the integration of all gods into the sun god in the latter part of the Roman Empire – this syncretism seems to be related to Christianity, which was growing despite the persecution at the time. This was to have a monotheistic tendency that developed in the latter half of imperialism to oppose the monotheism of Christianity or Judaism; that is, the sun god was introduced as the best god with a monotheistic character but encompassing a large number of gods in response to Christianity (Brenk 2012:11, 73–79, 169; Choi Hye-Young 2000:335–348).

[115] At first it began with a sound faith sentiment of respect, love, and appreciation for the saints, but fell into all kinds of superstitions and idolatry. According to Schaff (*H.C.C.*, iii.86–87. 2002:262–263, 268), "Basil the Great calls the forty soldiers who are said to have suffered martyrdom under Licinius in Sebaste about 320 CE, 'common patrons of the human family, helpers of our prayers and most mighty intercessors with God'". In addition, Gregory of Nyssa asked St. Theodore "for peace, for the preservation of orthodoxy" and Gregory Nazianzen prayed to Athanasius, who was but a little while dead. He also taught that there is a special ability to heal disease and cast away deaths in relics. The most and the best of the church teachers of the period were

Christianity as responsible for the invasion and pillage of Rome by Alaric (410 CE) (cf. 4.2.1.3, 4.4.1.2).

3.3.4.2 Confrontation with the political value of Roman religious acts

There were reasons why Rome's political situation could not assimilate the early Church until the Edict of Milan in 313 CE announced the agreement to treat Christians benevolently within the Roman Empire; the ostensible reason for conflict was, as suggested earlier, that the Christian Gospel and Roman religious culture pursued conflicting political and societal values. During the expansion of the city-state Rome, the law and religious culture of the state was extended through contact with other nations, and the religious culture of Rome gradually developed into a state religion with a kind of community consciousness and a close connection with society and politics.[117] As discussed in Chapter 2, the ancient religious behaviour of Rome was a cult rather than a belief system, and a ritual action rather than a creed. This religious feature resulted in focusing the religious attention of the public on those who administered the ritual. Thus, the early kings of Rome also were chief priests. The prior religious duties executed by the kings were divided as Pontifex Maximus and *rex sacrorum* during the republican period. The duties of priests and the priesthood system were dispersed and occupied by the nobles, as strongly political or administrative functions. In the Roman Empire, the pontifex of the Roman religion was elected from among the most prominent senators, and the Pontifex Maximus was always assigned to the emperor. This indicates that Roman religious activity provided many political advantages for the Roman ruling class (Cicero, *De Domo Sa*, 1.1; Gordon 1990:205).

Pliny indicated that Christianity was a destructive superstition (*superstitio prava*, *immodica*) from the Roman point of view and was punishable in accordance with Roman religious and moral policies. In view of this, it seems that the Roman authorities had long played a mutually complementary role to politically establish close ties with Roman religious cultures

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also "carried along by the spirit of the time, and gave the weight of their countenance to the worship of relics, which thus became an essential constituent of the Greek and Roman Catholic religion".

[116] According to Chadwick (1993:152), "[t]he term '*paganus*' to describe a non-Christian first appears in two Latin inscriptions of the early fourth century … Therefore the correct explanation is probably that the 'pagans' were those who had not by baptism become soldiers of Christ and so were non-combatants in the conflict with evil powers. In the East the Christian word for a non-Christian was 'Hellene'".

[117] Athenian philosopher Critias (Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Mathem*, iv.54) states that the law prevents people from public crime and that religion prevents unexposed injustice. Therefore, the political value of law and religion in ancient society was an important principle to mobilise and bind the community. The contract between gods and man was embodied in the legal system of the state and the divine law (*ius divinum*) became a part of civil law (*ius civile*). In the first century BCE, the Roman poet Varro established political theology (the social functions of religion) and divided the religion into three categories: the theology of the fables or myths (*theologia fabulosa*); natural theology (*theologia naturalis*); and civil theology (*theologia civilis*). He argued that civil theology was the best religions for national purposes (cf. Vries 2006:25–26).

and to protect their interests. According to Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:327–328), the fact that Pliny, a conservative Roman noble, expressed these concerns about the expansion of Christianity shows that Christianity was so widespread in the empire that Roman political powers at the time had to deal with it and that Christianity was considered to be a threat to the existing religious policy that Rome was maintaining. Mommsen (*The History of Rome*, trans. Dickson, 2009:559) says the following about the importance of religious culture in Roman policy:

> The Romano-Hellenic state religion and the Stoic state-philosophy inseparably combined with it were not merely a convenient instrument for every government – oligarchy, democracy, or monarchy – but altogether indispensable, because it was just as impossible to construct the state wholly without religious elements as to discover any new state religion adapted to form a substitute for the old.

The Roman government, in particular, gained political advantage from Roman superstition and religious syncretism and the idea of emperor worship (Gonzalez 1987:57–58; O'Daly 1999:27). Romans were indifferent to metaphysical concepts, yet pursued and maintained religious behaviour as the institutional structures and practices of 'Union and Unity' for the benefit of Rome and political development. However, the religious belief of Christianity was in opposition to the unity that was sought through Rome's political direction of pursuing polytheism for union and unity. The rejection of idol worship, especially, was an attack on Rome's religious tradition, and it seemed contrary to the Roman policy, which was established to embrace the world (Evans 2004:58).

The first important action of the Roman regulators aimed at the Christians occurred under Emperor Nero, in 64 CE. Tacitus (*Annals* 15.44) almost 50 years later describes that Nero identified the main cause of the fires as due to Christians, and the first persecution through cruel torture and massacre began with the arrest of an overwhelmingly large group of people without evidence and Nero casting the blame entirely on Christians. According to the *Annals*, Roman people at that time saw Christianity as part of Judaism, but it was also seen as a Jewish movement against the existing Judaism. Christianity was also seen as following a quaint system that contrasted with the traditional religion of Rome. The fact that Christians followed Jesus who crucified by the Roman law was opposing Rome's national legitimacy and was a grave crime in the eyes of the Roman people, and could be viewed with distaste. According to Davidson (2005a:191–193), it seems that Christians did not become victims of Nero on the basis of particular principles but through an opportunistic situation. The facts of this case are that Judaism was a legal religion (*religio licita*), whereas Christianity was an

illegal religion (*religio illicita*) that was regarded as a prohibited movement under Roman law, which explains why the Christians were targeted. According to Pliny's letter seeking clarification on this matter in about 112 CE, one of the most significant accusations on which Christians might face prosecution was "membership of a collegium illicitum – an illegal society –, which might be considered to pose a threat to public order or imperial security". Emperor Decius in the middle of the third century ordered "a general reversion to the religion of the classic Roman age"; he clearly hoped that "a return to traditional Roman *pietas* would restore the fortunes of the empire" (Cairns 1996:86–94; McGrath 2013:38–40).

Emperor worship, the cause of direct persecution of early Christians, was a religious activity consistent with Rome's political purpose, Augustus originally "studiously avoided any reference to himself as king, and he was allergic to entreaties to offer him worship", and "with the exceptions of Caligula and Commodus, the emperors were careful to avoid official deification while alive" (Nystrom 2013:31–32). However, emperor worship in Rome – refusal of which became the reason for official persecution – and the emperor doubling as the Pontifex Maximus (meaning that the monarchy included high priesthood) in paganism, which was a problem even after the recognition of Christianity, implied an extension for political purposes through religious value. During the first and third centuries, the worship of the Roman emperor in the Hellenistic cities of Asia was part of religion, politics, and power relations (Price 1997:47). Emperor worship, in particular, had a very clear political purpose, so when the early Christian community rejected emperor worship, as in Judaism, it revealed that Christianity would not add to the empire's comfort in the future. Roman officials therefore concentrated on spreading the ideology of Roman emperor worship in the Roman Empire for preventing the spread of the Christian ideology. Flowing from this, the Emperor Trajan advised Pliny, the governor of the province of Bythinia, who asked his opinion about punishing Christians, not to punish Christians who decided to keep worshipping the emperor (Chow 1997:110). In other words, as noted by Kelly (2006:31; cf. 2.3.2.6), a religious manifestation such as emperor worship in the Roman Empire revealed the practical dominance of Roman politics in the world at the time and was an element in showing the expansion of their political power. For the supporters of the worship of the emperor, the act of worshiping and deifying the emperor itself was in accordance with the political purpose and public order of Rome, which acknowledged the rule of the Roman Empire. Jesus Christ, in particular, was symbolised as the liberator, the relative name of the ruler or emperor who had most threatened Roman politics – until 43 BCE, Brutus and his fellow conspirators were called 'Liberators'. This, contrasted with Caesar and Augustus as the relative concept of ruler in Rome, could be very uncomfortable for the emperor-centred worldview of the Roman

Empire (Beard 2015:338, 354–355).

Moreover, as Christianity began to be understood as a new religious paradigm, and the claim that it constituted a religious value for saving the people became widely persuasive, Christianity was stigmatised as illegal and as a religious group with a sufficiently doubtful possibility of rebellion. From the point of view of the upper classes, the cross, a symbol of Christianity in response to the *aquila* as the legionary emblem, [118] became especially disgusting as a means to punish slaves and those opposed to the Roman imperialist order (Elliot 1997:181). Thus, while the Roman Empire continued to advocate religious tolerance policies, it was merely their policy to support a polytheistic religious culture but oppose Christian monotheism.

However, Christianity emerged as a new social value in various aspects as an alternative to the virtue of ancient Rome missed in Greek and Roman polytheistic ideology. Moreover, the concept of love for humanity, which had not been known as a religious role to ancient society, was presented as a new value for social union, and it began to overtake the traditional values of Rome, which had already faded internally (Carcopino 2003 [1940]:138–140; Richard 2010:266). Nock (1965:16, 103) proposed that Christianity was the first religion to be systematically presented through combining conscious behaviour, ethics, and philosophy. Roman political power, which was sensitive to the political use of religious culture, therefore had to consider the transformation of the existing political position on Christianity.

3.3.4.3 Confrontation with Roman intellectual society

The conflict also involved Roman intellectual society. Ancient late Roman society was morally corrupt in the eyes of the Roman intellectuals, and public expectations for a healthy government began to fade. Roman writers were looking for an object to point to as the cause of the inner instability that was developing. As a result, they declared that Christianity had a negative impact on society and that it caused confusion in society because of a wrong priority that was contrary to the spirit of Rome (Davidson 2005a:319-322; Evans 2004:58).

The first author to oppose Christianity was Cornelius Fronto, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the most famous orator in the Roman world. His eloquence against

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[118] As an example of the political use of religion, the eagle (*aquila*), which was used as 'the principal legionary emblem', was an object of worship and was kept in the barracks with the idols and the statue of the emperor (Ferguson 2003:51). According to Schaff (*H.C.C*. iii. 109), the cross and the signing of the cross "were in universal use in this period, as they had been even in the second century, both in private Christian life and in public worship." Christians were named cross-worshippers (*Religiosi crucis*), a term "the heathen applied to the Christians in the time of Tertullian".

Christianity has not been preserved, but Christian Minucius Felix 70 years later revealed Fronto's ideas in his book *Octavius* (9.5, 10.2–3, trans. Wallis):

> [T]hey lick up its blood; eagerly they divide its limbs. By this victim they are pledged together; with this consciousness of wickedness they are covenanted to mutual silence (9.5) … Why do they never speak openly, never congregate freely, unless for the reason that what they adore and conceal is either worthy of punishment, or something to be ashamed of? (10.2)

> The lonely and miserable nationality of the Jews worshipped one God, and one peculiar to itself; but they worshipped him openly, with temples, with altars, with victims, and with ceremonies; and he has so little force or power, that he is enslaved, with his own special nation, to the Roman deities. But the Christians, moreover, what wonders, what monstrosities do they feign! that he who is their God, whom they can neither show nor behold, inquires diligently into the character of all, the acts of all, and, in fine, into their words and secret thoughts … (10.3).

These anti-Christian writers insisted that Christians pretended to know the truth about God and the world in spite of their ignorance of and contempt for the political usefulness of the Roman tradition, and the religious culture of the ancestors, which enabled world conquest by Rome (Ritter 2006:101). From their political standpoint, Christianity was an immoral religious association that could not be integrated with society, and Christianity was maintaining their unity through illegal acts. According to Origen, the anti-Christian philosopher Celsus also condemned Christianity as follows:

> … Christians secretly make associations with one another contrary to the laws, because *societies which are public are allowed by the laws, but secret societies are illegal*. And wishing to slander the so-called *love* (*agape*) *which Christians have for one another*, he says that *it exists because of the common danger and is more powerful than any oath*… (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i.1. trans. Paul Koetschau)

Pagan thinkers like Celsus repeated the usual charges that Christians live in secret, not universally, and stayed aloof from social and political life (Bainton 1966:86). In the perspective of the traditional intellectuals of Rome, the appearance of Christians was dishonourable, that is, it differed from the honourable results they had for a long time wanted to pursue through philosophy and the classics and went against the social universality of Rome, which had been established through history and tradition. From their traditional point of view, Christian love also was blind and unrealistic. Tacitus moreover saw Christians as harbouring hatred for the human race (*odium humani generis*), just as he did concerning Judaism (*Hist.* 5.5; *Ann.* 15.44 cited in Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:326). This was

because sin and its judgment underlying the Christian faith and their eschatological attitude in denouncing realistic Rome was regarded as expressing their hatred for the secular at the same time.

During the time of the Apostolic Fathers, early Christianity could not afford to discuss issues related to external ideologies because the focus was on the confrontation with Gnosticism and heretics, the strengthening of their internal organisation and eschatological martyrdom. However, by the middle of the second century, Christian writers began to produce apologetic writings dealing with Christianity, which enabled full-scale contact and conversation between Christianity and Gentile philosophy or Gentile knowledge systems. As Osborn (2004:115) says, "[t]o [the] Roman world they seemed as impenetrable or ambiguous …". The vague message of Christianity through numerous debates, fission, and fusion began to gradually establish itself in the Greek culture of the time as a concept to be understood. Justin Martyr issued a rebuttal against the attacks of Greek-Roman anti-Christian libellers in *I Apology* and *II Apology*. He was slandered because of his defence of Christianity and accused by the Cynics, was tried and martyred (Stambaugh & Balch 986:165). From this it can be assumed that the anti-Christian sentiments of Rome were widespread. Quadratus and Aristides wrote directly to Hadrian, Tertullian wrote for the provincial governors of Rome, and the Catechetical School of Alexandria, which produced Clement and Origen, worked hard to discipline Gentile converts with academic leadership. According to Schaff (*H.C.C.*, ii.37, 2002:69),

> The Greek apologies are more learned and philosophical, the Latin more practical and juridical in their matter and style. The former labor to prove the truth of Christianity and its adaptedness to the intellectual wants of man; the latter plead for its legal right to exist, and exhibit mainly its moral excellency and salutary effect upon society.

As their writings took on a somewhat universal form; they tried to deal with the misunderstanding of Christians in Roman intellectual society and to verify the high intellectual level and social values of central Christian ideas. The efforts of these dialectics showed that Christianity could be approached through human reason and universal values only, rather than by a sensible and intuitive experience. In other words, the ideological confrontation in the intellectual society became an opportunity to explain the central Christian ideas to people who nurtured critical thoughts against Christianity and to criticise the ideas of anti-Christian writers through the universalised terms of Rome. It was also to rationalise and pursue the rationality of ideas as an academic structure persuading Christian values. Although they, because of their interest in Greek culture and thought, attempted to

explain the Christian truth in overly Hellenic concepts or according to the trend of the intellectual society of Rome at the time, and thereby revealed the danger of putting the central Christian idea to one side, these intellectual challenges would prove to be meaningful in that they laid the foundation for theological methodology (Han Chul-Ha 2001:30; Rist 2004:111).

3.3.4.4 Competition between paradigms in terms of the Roman public

The various confrontations seem to have resulted in a competition for public favour in Rome between Roman tradition and Christian-centred ideas. The strength of the traditional paradigm of Rome in ancient society was that it incorporated various public values such as publicness, an ethical system, peace, welfare, order, and justice in a more realistic and efficient way – compared to other countries – by fusing and bonding multi-ethnic and multicultural aspects over a long time. However, these elements of social integration in Rome began to weaken gradually for various reasons and, with it, the new paradigm of Christianity began to compete with it in the public sentiment. As mentioned earlier, the Roman Empire, which had been capable of absorbing various paradigms until that time, took an especially aggressive attitude toward Christianity because elements in the new paradigm of Christianity were in conflict with the standardised traditional paradigm of Rome that had been established till then.

The public nature of Rome began to reveal its practical limits with changes in the situation of the Roman Empire. The peace promised to the Romans in the Roman Empire came to be boredom with life, and the sociocultural foundations of the Roman Empire, which were believed to be eternal, began to become deficient, as if their expiry dates had arrived. The Roman culture could no longer be of value for the ideal world. In addition, political anxiety began to increase because of repeated assassinations of emperors and antagonism after the death of Aurelius. With the surrounding barbarians plundering Rome's wealthy provinces, the Empire's economy became increasingly difficult, and the Roman spirit and sense of unity that maintained the unity of Rome gradually began to suffer from internal and external decline brought on by illness, famine, and natural disasters. Moreover, more serious problems, rather than the weakening of the tradition that bound the Romans, namely the financial crisis of the Roman Empire, the loss of coherence in the law, and the moral laxity of the Romans, as these times showed, reveal that they just attempted emergency prescriptions through government propaganda or emperor edicts without fundamental alternatives to such problems (MacMullen 1976:11–13). Thus, Christianity began to emerge as a new rival paradigm in terms of a producer of the public value that Rome had long

pursued for their unity. This is dealt with in three respects:

The first is the competition of ethical values for the community. In other words, compared to Rome's reasonable and efficient ethic for the community, Christianity sought to present absolute and permanent value.

There was no thorough moral notion in the traditional religious culture of Rome, and the political beliefs and Roman law were also relative aspects being changed by the environment.[119] Latin works in the period of the Roman Empire was dominated by a moralistic tendency to describe ethical patterns. Livy (59 BCE–17 CE), in his work *Ab Urbe Condita*, dealt with the virtues of the old Rome, which made Rome great, but revealed the reality of the signs of the fall of Rome very frankly. In the time of Nero, Seneca,[120] Martial (40–102 CE) and Persius (34–62 CE) berated the vices of Rome at the time and longed for better ideals metaphorically. Tacitus (55–120 CE) during Trajan's reign used an exaggerated beautification of the Germanic to contrast the decline of the Romans with a healthy national image in the *Germania*.

The standards for moral values in Rome were more effective in integrating and maintaining enlightened human societies than in the surrounding countries, but when Christianity emerged as a new higher ethical value, the limits of their moral value had to be revealed. This was because the ethics of Christianity revealed a powerful influence to substitute the moral tendencies of the Romans which were desperately corrupted. Schaff (*H.C.C.*, ii.94) writes as follows:

> The superiority of the principles of Christian ethics over the heathen standards of morality even under its most favourable forms is universally admitted … [t]he ante-Nicene age excelled in unworldliness, in the heroic endurance of suffering and persecution, in the contempt of death, and the hope of resurrection, in the strong sense of community, and in active benevolence.

Gibbon (1980:216) describes two motives that made early Christians live a far more pure and rigorous life than the non-Christians of the same time: repentance for past sins, and the desire to protect the reputation of their own religious community. In other words, the actions of a single Christina could bring dishonour to the community or could lead to a common honour This was the aspect that could make non-Christians ethically sympathetic to

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[119] According to MacMullen (1976:71–95), Roman law failed to work consistently and permanently during the Roman crisis: As central control was becoming more important because of the various problems that arose in various parts of the Roman Empire, temporary emperor edicts had increased exponentially in order to deal with these problems, and the law became inconsistent.

[120] Tertullian referred to Seneca as "our Seneca" for his very favourable statement of Christianity (Hadas 1958:1).

Christians in the world of faithfulness and duty (cf. 2.3.2.1; Davidson, 2005a:26–27; Ferguson, 2003:69). According to Chadwick (1993:59), "Christianity did not give political emancipation to either women of slaves, but it did much to elevate their domestic status by its doctrine that all men are created in God's image and all alike redeemed in Christ; and they must therefore be treated with sovereign respect". In some ways, Christianity revealed its own strengths through the ethical system of Christian love from its beginning in a world where moral values were considered to be the main virtues (Küng 1995:149–150). In Christianity, moral life is expressed in love, not in hypocrisy to preserve social order or honour. In this respect, the apostasy of Christianity in the persecution in Rome can be seen as a process of finding the point of coincidence with the ancient virtues of the Roman world and competing with traditional Roman ways for public favour.

The public opinion of the Romans, which became the standard of honour and shame as an important principle of Roman universality and public formation from the republic, could not be the standard of a perfect and permanent social order. This Roman approach might have been able to temporarily maintain public interest and satisfaction. However, even the opinions of the majority do not necessarily lead to human justice as an ideal and permanent concept. A majority opinion will also be a biased public system or a tyranny of the majority to pursue the interests of the group. In this sense, the crisis of Rome came from the Roman public's understanding of the concept of justice in a rational way for maintaining their sociocultural satisfaction and its level, not as an ideal ethics. However, Christians did not abide in comfort and satisfaction with life, but constantly exposed themselves to danger in order to defend their religious beliefs, and were not influenced by popularity, publicity, or public opinion, but sought to perpetuate the permanent central idea of Christianity and universal humanity in their lives. The fact that the Christian values were sufficiently comparable to their social culture seems to have been perceived by the Romans at that time.

The second is revealed through comparison between the principle of social unity in Rome and the principle of solidarity in the Christian community. Cicero (*On duties*, i.35 trans. Griffin and Atkins) noted that, "[w]ars, then, ought to be undertaken for this purpose, that we may live in peace …". However, unlike this basic premise of Roman peace centred on Roman value (i.e. *Pax Romana*), Christianity advocated universal peace based on humanity in Christ (i.e. *Pax Christiana*). Rome regarded power and tolerance as principles binding human society, and Christianity upheld universal love for humanity as a principle.[121] The

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[121] Richard (2010:266) points out the peculiarity of Christianity as a religion in the ancient society: It was the first religion centred on love. Other ancient religions also treat love as their theory, but do not take love as the primary duty of believers.

dominance of Rome was based on military power, but at the same time by trying to Romanise other peoples by means of tolerance policies. This meant that cohesion could be maintained according to the realistic conditions of Rome, but the reality of Rome could not last forever and their cohesion slowly began to weaken. Rome could not boast about their power and wealth after the death of Aurelius because political anxiety began to increase due to repeated coups and the Empire's economy was weakened increasingly through plundering by the surrounding barbarians. Christianity, on the other hand, became more solidified in the face of persecution; organisational systems and the order of Christian communities took hold as a unity, and the permanent intellectual system was scaled up (Chadwick 1993:54–55; Heather 2005:5–7; MacMullen 1976:11–13). Carl Richard (2010:267) has pointed out that 'the Christian sense of community' was strengthened by 'common rites', 'a common way of life', and 'the common threat of persecution', and these aspects gave them a strong sense of belonging. The philanthropic attitude of Christianity could have aroused public sympathy in the face of the uneasy realities of Rome caused by the crisis of Rome and its limitations (cf. 4.2.3.1).

The third is that Rome strove for social honour, comfort of food and shelter, and pleasure of entertainment culture as a method of pursuing human happiness, but Christianity found happiness in the pursuit of truth and practice of neighbourly love. The fulfilment of instinctive desire as a way of pursuing happiness in Rome brought about the fall of moral values and individualism in Rome. This was in contrast to the ancient Roman virtues and the principle of unity that had built Rome, and undermined the collective cohesion of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, the method of pursuing happiness in Christianity was to state moral values more clearly as divine command and to practise love for community gathering. Christians also did not fear martyrdom in keeping their faith, but rather the place of glory promised them. The dignified attitudes of Christians before death began to be seen as honourable by the Romans and the consistency of Christian sentiment overwhelmed Roman social culture and revealed the internal and external deficiencies of Rome.

When their deficiency was revealed by the emergence of a new value through Christianity, the Roman society united in declaring Christianity deviant. When there is deviation in a group, the members strengthen the cohesiveness of the group by dealing with deviant behaviour and reaffirming their values and norms. Roman politics used these so-called deviant elements politically, and proclaiming Christian thinking could be seen as attacks on Roman politics. Christianity therefore had no choice but to contend with the Roman culture until it was established as an alternative.

In this respect, the early Church began to be presented as a sociocultural alternative that could be realised through Christian truths in a period of confusion of these values and absence of absolute concepts. Roman politics came to recognise the ideological value of Christianity and changed the position on Christianity from the object of persecution to the object for use. This seems to have been due to the fact that the traditional Roman symbols of the past had become less able to produce the value that was necessary for the unity of society, and the recognition of Roman political power also changed as Christianity gained popularity as a new symbol for Rome. When the time of Constantine came, the Church and the state, through the process of ideological unification, created various institutional means and public opinions for common sociocultural goals and produced Christian social culture in earnest as a common concern of the state, society, and church (Davidson 2005b:19; Küng 1995:181; cf. 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.3).

3.4 Conclusion

As presented in this chapter, the meaning of the socialisation of the Jewish Jesus movement centred on the sociocultural background of Jewish Palestine, and the meaning of the resocialisation of Gentile Christianity in the background in Rome, and Roman domination under the rule of the Roman Empire until the time of Constantine can be summarised briefly as follows.

Firstly, the meaning of the Jewish socialisation of the earliest Christianity is that the Christian community that emerged from the Jewish society managed to draw from many symbols and meanings accumulated throughout the history of Israel without the need to newly produce the meanings and interpretations of the historic events of Jesus Christ to form central Christian ideas which could be accepted in Jewish society within a short time. Just as religious ideas and acts are inseparable from culture, as claimed by Küng (1995:8) and Sanneh (2006:35–36), the essential and ultimate form of Christianity manifested through union with culture was to be revealed. Jewish socialisation in the same way became a mechanism for outwardly constructing and shaping the central idea of the earliest Christianity. Socialisation centring on Greek Roman social culture in the Gentile Christian community likewise was an inevitable process in making the central Christian idea acceptable to Gentile society. However, it should be noted that the Jewish expression was basically suited to the Jewish people. If the expression of Jewish faith was to be imposed on the Gentiles, it was possible that central Christian ideas could be reduced or distorted. In this respect, the first Christianity, whether from Jewish culture or Roman culture, was free to use Christian-centred ideas, but no culture was enjoyed as a substitute for Christian-centred ideas.

Secondly, similarities in the religious forms (e.g. religious sentiment, acts, community presentations) and differences between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity suggested a level for the earliest Christians to distinguish between the permanent essence and a temporary form of Christianity. Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity differed with regard to forms that contained the main ideas of the Jesus movement, but nevertheless pursued a common central idea. It can be seen as the common goal of the reign of the Kingdom of God as embodied through the key person of Jesus Christ. This Christian ideology reflects the reign of the Kingdom of God, which could be realised gradually through the historical process of Judaism but could not develop in ancient religions,[122] and at the same time is attributed to Jesus Christ who was not bound by Judaism. Thus, the main subject of socialisation in the Jesus movement was the ideology of the reign of God's Kingdom from ancient Hebraism, and Jesus Christ as a key figure. However, the Jewish Jesus followers determined to reduce the value of the traditions and customs of Judaism that were used as the concept of community unity for the reign of God's Kingdom in the Christian-centred idea. The fact that the Jewish Jesus followers also followed Jewish traditions and customs in a limited way shows that Jewish traditions and customs ultimately provided a useful form of Jesus movement for the Jews, not a permanent essence. The Gentile Christian community, particularly through interpreting the Christian-centric ideas through the sociocultural values of the Gentiles and producing a useful way of living a religious life, gradually pursued a form that differed socioculturally from the form of the Jewish Jesus followers. The Gentile culture, viewing the religious sentiments of the Jewish Jesus movement with discomfort, could suit the Gentile Christian communities because it presented no conflict with Christian-centric ideas. The Greek Roman sociocultural forms could therefore be regarded as usable, while Jewish forms such as circumcision could be abandoned as non-essential. They nonetheless emphasised that they were one, rather than different communities, because they were confirming one another as having the central idea of the permeating essence of Christianity that bound them together.[123]

Thirdly, the socialisation of the Jewish Jesus movement and the Gentile Christian community shaped their external features in response to Christian-centred ideas, depending on public values that the society to which they belonged regarded as having an important role. In the Jewish Jesus movement established around Jerusalem, socialisation seems to have been focused on the fact that the central Christian idea inherited the revelation and tradition as the

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[122] See Footnote 10.

[123] According to Hall (2004:48), Irenaeus – in his book, *Against the Heresies* – claims a universal church in order to prevent heretical sects of Christianity. The universal church involves the inheritance of common principles from apostles, such as the apostolic tradition, the proclamation and the rule of truth.

historical succession of the Israelite faith. Jewish Jesus followers regarded this historical continuity as an important framework for community gathering and established communities socialised in Judaism. For Jewish society, revelation and tradition made up the most important social value, and the Jesus movement had to use these values to present its central ideas in Jewish society and to mobilise people into the Christian community. For the Gentile Christian community in the provincial cities of Rome, Jewish tradition was not very useful for understanding Christian ideology, and the central idea could be undermined or distorted by such Jewish values. They needed Christian socialisation to enable them to deal with their present life as strangers by securing the local flexibility of the Christian-centred idea, and to declare that the gospel was open to all nations, not limited to racial or regional characteristics. The outward characteristics of the early Gentile Christian community therefore did not have a common sociocultural form, but rather had a somewhat regional character. However, the overall Roman persecution of Christian ideology shows that Roman political power and public opinion questioned the popularity of Christianity in the Roman Empire, and this situation made it necessary for the Christian community to work towards coping with the public sociocultural values associated with the unity of the Roman Empire (cf. 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.3, 4.2.3.1).

Fourthly, the flow of Christian socialisation before Constantine shows that the Christian-centred idea responded to social values and began to seek structuring and organising in proper form within the society. Socialisation, in other words, can be regarded as a structural feature by which Christianity brought together the community in society and solidified the union of its members. It was revealed during the transformation of religious organisation and congregational forms from Israel's traditional faith centring on ritual and the Temple to the Jewish community centring on ideology and laws due to the change in the political situation of the Jews. Just as the rituals centring on the temples and priests of Solomon and Zerubbabel were orthodox in Judaism, the law-centred Judaism at the time of Jesus Christ's first coming was also orthodox. In other words, depending on the situation, the form of faith could be different, but the essential value of faith could not be different unless faith was lost. The importance of the orthodox was in how to express the central principles and ideas of faith in the succeeding value of the social culture at that time, and it is also the best explanation of what the value of the society is.

The Christian community that developed from Jewish orthodoxy in the Gentile world therefore had to establish an orthodox Christian system as the most appropriate form of

expression for the new age.[124] It did not mean developing a new central Christian idea, but finding a proper way of expression. The Greco-Roman sociocultural values became the way to express Christianity in the Gentile world, and the apologetic theological system based on the philosophical approach became the logical structure of Christian-centred ideas that corresponded to various ideas of the Gentile world. In responding to the persecution, the Christian communities built up one organisational power and cohesion. Like Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons from about 177 to about 200, who emphasised one universal church with the constitutional principles of 'the tradition', 'the proclaim-action', and 'the rule of faith' in order to refute Gnosticism in his work *Adversus Haereses* (I.10, cited in Hall 2004:48), the early Christian communities also began to achieve the union and unity of the inner concepts of the Christian community, such as the unity of the canon, the order, the liturgy, and the doctrine, through a common confession by various theologians. This process of Christian socialisation led Christianity to unify the core competencies of Christianity which had been scattered apart by sociocultural forms and regional differences, and to bind them together in a common idea resulting in the structure and organisation of Christianity (cf. 4.2.2.2).

Küng (1995:116–130) argues that this church system was not created suddenly, but was the result of the long historical development of Christianity. The organisational system of the Christian community, which was originally based on the organisation of the Jewish synagogue, gradually shifted towards becoming a charismatic community while the leadership of Christianity moved from the apostolic community to the Christian community of Paul and the Gentiles. In response to the Greek-Roman paradigm, the bishop-presbyter-deacon role in apostolic succession became more important afterwards, and it became an institutionalised church centring on the system of priesthood. Thus, the 'collegiality' (*communio*) of all believers was gradually weakened, a *collegium* of particular ministerial groups became more and more visible, and the distinction between clergy and laity was begun. Through these changes, the major parish became 'a monarchical episcopate of an individual bishop', and the influence of this parish extended to the countryside (cf. 4.3.3.3).

Fifthly, socialisation became an important factor in building the authenticity of Christianity through establishing a universalised and unified form of faith called Christian orthodoxy for a community of Christians with a sense of religious homogeneity. Before Constantine, the Christian community did not have official authority to punish acts that deviated from universal

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[124] Durkheim emphasised, "within society there exists a common culture based on shared experiences and values, in which symbolic forms function to maintain social solidarity", therefore, newly rising social issues of each age were reproduced and reinterpreted to accord closely with the cultural frame of reference of the age. In other words, all social issues could not be unrelated to the compelling sociocultural power and the common culture governing the members of the period, even if the problem deviated from issues of public society or conflicted with them (Swingewood 1998:55).

faith, but Constantine instituted standardised principles for this. This process would have forced the localised Gentile Christian community to follow a common way in interpreting Christian-centred ideas, and would have enforced a single faith system. While Judaism was legitimised by the Old Testament texts and Jewish legalism, and partially through the Jerusalem temple, offerings, and priests, Christianity before Constantine did not have clear visible standards except apostolic authority and the sacrament and baptism as rituals related to Christ. The breakup of the Christian community and the Council of Jerusalem and the martyrdom of the apostles, in particular, made Christianity's authenticity more uncertain. The Gentile Christians needed a system of authority to establish the boundaries of the Christian faith but it was difficult to find a unified style of faith that did not comprise a uniform social culture but was a mixture of various values. Leaders of the Christian community first began to frame a Christian ideology by organising the central Christian ideas into a form suitable for the Gentiles to defend against hostile attitudes of Roman society, and they began to refer to Rome as the authoritative director to control it. The process of socialisation under the sociocultural influence of Rome, in particular, led the Christian community to establish a system and organisation with regard to ecclesiology and order. In the end, this socialisation flow resulted in gradually unifying and standardising the Gentile Christian communities which had originally been socioculturally localised. As MacCulloch (2009:71) notes, the ecclesia – borrowed from the Greek political word – was used to refer to the local community within the overall conception of Christianity, and the early Gentile Christian communities revealed more of a communal solidarity than an organisation. Beginning to be organised and to have a common orthodoxy in the process of socialisation shows that Christianity was responding to the sociocultural values of Rome, which regarded organisation, standards and law as important (cf. 3.3.4.1). The confrontation between the Orthodox sect and the non-collaborators, which was caused by the dispute over the Donatist church, can be seen as related to the socialisation of Christianity (Johnson 1995:87; cf. 4.4.3).[125]

The socialisation of the early Christian communities before Constantine therefore did not signify a transformation into a new Christian paradigm with various Gentile sociocultural values facilitated by Constantine, but that the elements of socialisation that the early Christian community had accumulated through a variety of sociocultural learning and conflict were expanded to a more specific sociocultural meaning in their continuity and exhibited a progressive meaning based on the type of socialisation discussed so far. The next chapter deals with how Christianity became integrated with sociocultural values in Roman society.

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[125] Johnson (1995:87) says that, in the Donatist Church, "[t]he political and economic posture was anti-Roman, and the cultural stand, to some extent, was anti-Latin".

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIALISATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND ROMAN CULTURE AFTER CONSTANTINE

As discussed in Chapter 3, Christian communities were centred on the key figure of Jesus Christ and on the local and ideological basis of Judaism before Constantine, but began to be re-socialised centred on Gentile culture away from the Jewish background soon after entering the Gentile world. Gentile Christianity learned various sociocultural values through facing the universal society of the Roman Empire at the time but was in conflict with the secular value of Rome because of maintaining their essential values. In particular, they used to relinquish their legal status as Romans to maintain their Christian identity, and used to be treated as a group rebelling against the emperor to be loyal to Christ, thereby adhering to the only religious group being persecuted under Roman religious policy which practised tolerance of most religious groups in the Roman Empire. However, the sociocultural conflict with the Christian paradigm came to be guided in a new direction differing from their past with the emergence of Constantine. The change in the existing Roman perception of the value of Christianity (i.e. from an anti-sociocultural group to a group embodying social unity) became an important turning point in the resocialisation of Christianity, while Christianity, at the same time, also shifted its existing perception of the Roman Empire (i.e. from a system to be resisted to a companion relationship), and began to approach Rome as a user of the social culture. A new cooperative relationship developed between the two: The Roman government provided the symbolism of state religion to Christianity, as well as a sociocultural position and role, and Christian communities embraced state policies to form a more organised and structured church and began to embody public values that could be called Christian social culture.

4.1 Introduction

The main content to be dealt with in this chapter is the process of the socialisation of Christianity after Constantine and how the sociocultural solidarity and values that constituted the historical Roman Empire, as discussed in Chapter 2, played a role in the resocialisation of the Christian community and how Christianity was able to unite with this particularity of Rome. Following the rise of Constantine, the rapid transformation of Roman political attitudes toward Christianity (i.e. the legitimisation and Romanisation of Christianity) led to many sociocultural changes in Christian communities different from the past. Until the rise of Constantine, how to define the central idea or essential value of Christianity in the light of

persecution by Judaism and Rome and the challenge of heresies was an important issue; afterwards it became an important issue how to embody the essential Christian value through Roman sociocultural forms in the process of the universalisation and standardisation of Christianity. As a result, the method of resocialisation of early Christianity after Constantine ultimately led to the Romanisation[126] of Christianity in reflecting the sociocultural values and political ideology of the Roman Empire, and the use of Christian religious ideology as the central solidarity of their unity led to the Christianisation of Roman Empire.

Carl Richard (2010:269) says, "[a]fter Constantine transformed the Church from a victim of the Roman establishment into an integral part of it, it became Romanised". Richard's view seems to reflect the universal vision of Constantine's influence on the Romanisation of the Christianity at that time. We probably could not simply chart how much Christianity became Romanised, but, sociocultural interaction between Christianity and Rome obviously was very limited and passive before Constantine, but after Constantine it became very active. Thus, with the advent of Constantine's new Christian paradigm, Christianity began to shape its structural form to some degree in accordance with the secular society in earnest. Such a socialisation of Christianity proceeded with an active focus on any secular value or benefit, which may have been the political purpose of the state with regard to Christianity or the social purpose of the Church with regard to the Roman Empire. I would therefore like to consider the following two points concerning the interrelationship between the socialisation of Christianity and Roman social culture in this chapter: One is about how the paradigm of Christian community after Constantine differs from before Constantine; the other is about how Constantine, Ambrose and Augustine deal with the Christian resocialisation.

4.1.1 The difference in the paradigm of the Christian community between before and after Constantine

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[126] Beard (2015:205, 494–97) thinks that 'Greekness' and 'Romanness' cannot be separated from each other by the opposite polarities, and it is not easy to define the cultural identity of the Romans. Thus, she treats Romanisation as a dynamic of culture and powers: Romanisation was a result from the provincial elite opting into a version of Roman culture, having wished to 'do it the Roman way' rather than 'usually something imposed directly from above'. This interrelationship was suitable to maintain the stability of Roman domination. This interaction between Roman and other cultures created an extremely hybrid form of Roman culture, with the result that Romanisation can be emphasised with the use of various Roman cultures. On the other hand, MacMullen (2000:1–3, 6, 22–26, 60, 77) deals with the following symbolic changes to Romanisation, which began in the time of Augustus: 1. The use of Latin in public names; 2. Expanding Roman-style cultural actions in the provinces; 3. Roman-style urban architecture in the provinces; 4. Formation relationship of patrons and beneficiaries between the provinces and Rome; 5. Sharing Roman citizenship; and 6. Symbolisation of the Roman Empire as the best identity in the world at that time. McGrath (2013:44–46) believes that the core role played by traditional Roman religion (in terms of Christian Romanisation) increasingly imposed upon Christianity: It was to bring people into divine solidarity, to integrate society into political solidarity, and to bring divine capacity for the peace of Rome. In this respect, the Romanisation of Christianity can be seen not as a fusion with the specific culture of Rome, but as a dynamic relation between Roman powers and Christianity, and mutual understanding between Roman society and Christianity.

Unlike the universal religious groups of the Roman Empire, Christianity maintained a religious community that had not been integrated in the public sphere for 300 years from its beginning through its special charismatic nature and the ideological solidarity centred on the key figure of Jesus Christ without a special ethnic or geopolitical base or a single organisational system. Because of the heterogeneous manner of the formation of the Christian community against the various forms of Roman religious sentiment and activity, the Romans regarded Christianity as an antisocial grouping, and Christianity had no choice but to interact in a limited and defensive manner with regard to Roman social culture. In this situation, Constantine's Edict of Milan (313 CE) became a historic turning point, foreseeing a change in the existing religious paradigms of Christian communities and the Roman Empire and opening the possibility of a new era. From this point of transition, the paradigm of the Christian community gradually began to evolve in accordance with the nature of the cooperative relationship with Rome. Thus, the former localised Christian communities became structured as a Christian system of integration reflecting Roman politics, society, and culture, and began to develop a standardised system of Christian faith, so that the universal Romanised Church or Orthodox Church could achieve an absolute sociocultural foundation in the Western world of the Middle Ages. In that respect, the interrelationship between the change of the Christian paradigm through resocialisation following Constantine and Roman culture may be discussed in accordance with the following aspects.

The first point is that, as the relationship between Christianity and the Roman Empire changed from a confrontational structure to a complementary or cooperative relationship, the Christian community moved beyond the principle of a simple religious movement towards combining their communities and expanding in the Roman social culture, and began to form a new community paradigm for dealing with their essential and central ideas through sociocultural values. Thus, the defensive and passive community structure of Gentile Christians based on the creed, theology, the parish, and the hierarchy in responding to external conflicts as in the past, now began to be reorganised into a cooperative and active structure capable of dealing with public social and cultural areas. In this respect, Constantine's government actively supported Christianity in various ways in order to socialise it in a structure conforming to the political and social purposes of the Roman Empire. That the Gentile Christian community became newly formed in cooperative relationship with Roman society, which reflected the secular purpose, in contrast with interrelationships between the Jewish community and the Jewish Jesus movement which reflected religious ideology from its starting point, in particular, can be seen to reveal the change to an important Christian community paradigm. In other words, the principle of

collecting new Christians and binding them to the universal church can be regarded as structured in a way that encompassed existing Roman social culture. This is seen in the following:

1. The Christian style of worship became more sophisticated with symbolic religious practices added to simple religious confessions and the fellowship of the Christians, and liturgy and the liturgical calendar became stylised.

2. The Gentile Churches, which were united as a charismatic community of laity, were newly reorganised through a clergy-based hierarchical system as a universal Christian order.

3. The flexible places of worship were replaced by and fixed in a spectacular and huge temple in a symbolic stronghold within the Roman Empire (O'Daly 1999:1–2; Richard 2010:251–252; Walker 1992:187–193).

The second point is that the Christian system of unification which pursued the internal concurrence (e.g. a same inner religious sentiment) of the various local Christian communities began to emphasise the external concurrence (e.g. a same visible form) in the interrelationship of the Roman social culture after Constantine. As discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. 3.2.3), the Christian unification system, which had its beginning the Jewish background, began to be newly reorganised around the initiative of the Gentile Christian communities. The visible community of Christianity was not maintained under the authority of a single organised Christian union following the disintegration of the Jerusalem Christian community, but Christians in diverse nations and regions formed localised communities based on their social and cultural peculiarities while only maintaining the internal concurrence concerning the historic events of the central figure of Jesus Christ and the rule of faith. The universal church that Ignatius or Irenaeus in Lyon referred to was intended to ensure solidarity as an orthodox Jesus movement that inherited the apostolic tradition separated from heretics at the time and an ordered system of leadership for faith, but was not intended to integrate the various organisational forms of local Christian communities into a uniform structure (e.g. of liturgy, a liturgical calendar, theology, a meeting place, etc.). This simple internal unity of early Christianity and regional diversity of the form of Christian communities would be an advantage in expanding their support base through adapting rapidly within the multi-ethnic multicultural solidarity of the Roman Empire (Sanneh 2006:35–53). However, after Constantine, the universal church as the Christian unification system in complementary to the Roman government began to emphasise the visible reality of Christian solidarity rather than the solidarity of the orthodox Jesus movement as the symbolic meaning of Christian unity. In other

words, the gathering of Christians and their charismatic solidarity were not the core element in building a church, but rather an organised hierarchical system of clergy and the enforcement of religious rituals by them and the architecture of such Christian ritual was regarded as the centre of the Christian congregation, and the universal church as the visible solidarity of Christianity (Chadwick 1993:72–73; Leith 1982:20, 29).

The third point is that, since the time of Constantine, the universal church began to produce the integrated values of Christianity and Roman social culture as harmony and balance that had marked the confrontation and conflict between Christian and Roman social values before Constantine. Until Constantine, Christianity had been an unlawful religious movement in conflict with the political and social values of Rome and, unlike the Roman religious groups that were in contractual cooperative relationships with Rome at that time, Christians could not share Rome's public values or be guaranteed official status. This meant that the Christian communities at that time could not participate in politics, law, education, or art, and could not produce representative and practical values that could be seen as Christian culture among the mass of society. In contrast to this sociocultural lack in Christianity, the popularity of Christianity posed a threat to the political power persecuting Christianity and could be seen as an alternative by those seeking political and social change in the Roman Empire. Such a flow is evident in the union between Roman political power and major Christian figures who appear with the emergence of Constantine. With Constantine choosing Christianity as a religious ideology, the central Christian idea and Roman social culture were no longer engaged in conflict and confrontation. The new political forces attempted a new cooperative relationship with Christianity through reassessment of Christianity (Davidson 2005b:19). This change, with the Roman political sphere considering the usefulness of Christianity for political purposes, also led to a new perspective on Rome in Christianity, and the changes in the relationship between the two sides proceeded rapidly. These changes revealed the new integrated values to be gained in the interrelationship of Rome and Christianity as follows: 1. The expectation among Christians of the Kingdom of God coming with the end of the Roman Empire was transformed into the expectation of Rome as a futuristic Kingdom of God (i.e. Christendom) after Constantine (cf. Davidson 2005b:45–46; Heather 2005:125); 2. The government under Constantine believed that cooperative relationship with Christianity was one of the best alternatives to the crisis of the Roman Empire, and Christianity also believed that the cooperative relationship with Rome was an opportunity to break through the unfavourable sociocultural situation of persecution and restriction and to produce a new Christian movement (cf. Kee 1982:102; Swingewood 1998:101–103); 3. For the Roman government, the main goal of Christian socialisation was

to strengthen the solidarity of Christianity and Rome in a common fate and, for Christianity, the main goal of socialisation was to secure a stable status as a religion of the Roman Empire through governmental politic support and legal institutionalisation from the government (cf. Leith 1982:20, 29; MacMullen 1984:44); and 4. The Roman government sought to provide a sociocultural position and role in order to build Christianity into its support, and Christianity needed the position and role to expand the influence the values of Christian faith in Roman social culture (cf. McGrath 2013:42, 99). Thus, the interaction between Rome and Christianity resulted in each identity beginning to change: The Roman Empire became a community ruled by God; the Roman emperor became the vicegerent of God's rule; and Christian and Roman became the same concept (Küng 1995:181; Weinstock 2004:401).

The fourth point is that the universal church became an axis in the symbolic order of the Roman Empire after Constantine. Constantine appears to have avoided using radical policies in the Christianisation of Rome because he had to consider the supporters of traditional Roman religions, who were still influential in the political decisions of the new Roman unity. Thus, he presented the basic policy of cooperative relationship as harmony and balance between Christianity and paganism. Nonetheless, Constantine appears to have considered building Christianity as a symbolic order in Rome and integrating the values of Rome and Christianity. Through Christianity, Constantine sought to create value for social cohesion (e.g. a common goal in *Pax Romana* and *Pax Christiana*); to form a collective consciousness (e.g. a common identity: of Roman and Christian); and promote social continuity and solidarity (e.g. the common performance or victory of the universal church as the new church and Constantinople as the new Rome) (cf. Durkheim 1957:231, 376–378; MacCulloch 2011:195–196; Weinstock 2004:401). As a result, Christianity was able to secure the sociocultural position and role that Constantine provided, and to have legitimate rights and considerable social privileges. This incorporated the following: 1. Constantine provided the Christian communities with splendid architecture; 2. Priests were exempted from civil duties and taxes; 3. the Christian court was able to treat various civil lawsuits; 4. The Church was able to receive the inheritance of the rich; and 5. The proliferation of pilgrimages and the worship of relics of Christian saints, with the standardisation of Christian rituals seemed to take over the symbolic order of Roman religion (Davidson 2005b:21). This symbolic order of Christianity came to a new phase under Ambrose and Augustine: Christianity was no longer to exist by the authority of Roman power or used for the public good, but began to be seen as having divine authority to integrate the variety of human natures in the Roman world in one ideal ethical system and to facilitate reconciliation and

peace in all conflict and confrontation. Thus, Christian religious values began to transcend the political power and social ethics of Rome and began to Christianise the Roman Empire as Christianity had been Romanised. The sociocultural position and role of Christianity as the symbolic order of the integration of the Roman Empire has been preserved since then, divided into the two worlds: as the state-church system in the Eastern Empire and as the church-state system in the Western world that functioned as an invisible system of governance and the only cultural force, despite the collapse of the Western Roman Empire (Küng 1995:205).

The fifth point is that the universal standards of Christian community in the Roman Empire (i.e. in terms of methods of organisation and standardisation) began to separate in two directions after Constantine: The Eastern Roman Church and the Western Roman Church. In the process of Christian resocialisation, the difference between Latin (a new, Latin-Roman catholic paradigm) and Hellenistic (the existing early Hellenistic church paradigm) ways of Christian understanding became one of the fundamental reasons to divide East and West into two-way Christian universal standards (Küng 1995:244–245). The development of the Latin theological tradition, in particular, was distant from the ideological controversy of Eastern theology centring on Alexandria: While the Eastern churches focused on explaining the metaphysical truths, the Western churches focused on forming Catholicism in the continuity which connected a legal, political, and historical church (Han Chul-ha 2001[1970]:91). The Eastern and Western churches also revealed differences related to organising scattered churches into one universal church. The churches of the Eastern Roman Empire were organised as a state church centred on Constantinople and caesaropapism, because the intention was to maintain their position under the protection of state as an embedded religion of the Roman Empire after Constantine. The Eastern churches were therefore limited to sociocultural activities in line with government policy in terms of forming public opinion and realising policy (cf. Küng 1995:180–181; Schaff, *H.C.C.*, iii.23.130, 133). The Western churches, on the other hand, were organised as a church state centred on the Roman Church and sacerdotalism. They acknowledged that the political integration of Christianity and Roman culture led by a secular government was a risk for the Church. They therefore tried to solidify the Church's independent position apart from political power, which could have provided the Roman Empire's political strategies or means. Thus, the Western churches were reconstructed as another universal church centring on the organisation and role of the clergy and the legitimacy of the Roman Church based on historical issues (cf. Richard 2010:269–272; Küng 1995:246–247, 310–311).

4.1.2 The singularity of Christian resocialisation through Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine

In this chapter, I also want to deal with the meaning of Christianity being Romanised and the Roman Empire being Christianised as interrelationship between Christianity and Roman social culture through the social perspectives of the three central figures and successive events centred on them. In other words, what I deal with here is not only the influence of the central characters in Christian resocialisation, but also the interconnectivity or sequence of the Christian resocialisation that the sociocultural background of these key figures revealed. The continued process (i.e. Constantine–Ambrose–Augustine) shows another interconnection which was based on the conversion of Constantine and corresponds to the continuity of the Judaism–Jewish Jesus movement–Gentile Christianity in Chapter 3. This is because the Christian values of the age centring on these three figures were separated from the past Christian paradigm and actively revealed the steps of the Christian resocialisation process by placing the central Christian ideas in new Christian paradigms. The practical attitude towards the mass society as a pragmatic Christian force that reforms Christianity from its previous paradigm through the public power of the Roman Empire and the support of the Roman public can be seen in the case of Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine. From this viewpoint, we can approach three stages of the change in the lower stages of the Christian paradigm that became evident through the singularity of three figures, under the paradigm shift heralded by Constantine.

The first paradigm is the Constantinian Christian paradigm, which can be seen as the Romanisation of Christianity. Constantine, in accordance with his political or religious goals, formed the Christian relationship with Rome and proceeded to the Romanisation of Christianity. This was a state-led Christian ideology, in which Christianity became one of the state religions to become a supporter of the state. The state and Christianity were involved in a contractual relationship; the sociocultural authority of Christianity was established in the cooperative relationship with the authority of the state, and Christianity could be used at any time in accordance with the political purpose of the state. Constantine's ideals seem to have been realised to some extent, especially under Emperor Theodosius (Kee 1982:117–122; Sordi 1994:134).

The second paradigm is the de-Constantinian Christian paradigm, which can be seen as the Christianisation of the Roman Empire. Under the Constantinian Christian paradigm, Ambrose began to present changes in the flow of the sociocultural interrelationship between Christianity and the Roman Empire: Ambrose established the principle or rule that 'the

emperor belongs in the church (*Imperator intra ecclesiam est*)', and then laid the foundation of Roman Catholicism by separating the ecclesiastical authority of the Western church from government power or the sovereignty of a nation. Ambrose thought that the Church needed proper social functions according to her size and her years of experience. It was to secure an independent position and role in civil society apart from the government. It was appropriate for the Church to exist as a system of spiritual authority in society and for her to not degenerate to serve as a government's functional means (Ramsey 2004:227). The social integration of Christianity and Rome was therefore followed by the removal of the social position of pagan culture, which was the centre of the political, social, and religious framework, and Christianity taking its place (Bainton 1966:94; cf. *Cod. Theod.* xvi.; Johnson 1995[1976]:104).

The third paradigm is the Christian paradigm as an independent operator of the integrated value system of Christian-Roman social culture (i.e. de-complementary cooperation). The Eastern Roman Empire became more fused with other cultures around it and developed the Byzantine civilisation. The Eastern Roman Empire thus gradually became separated from traditional Roman culture, so that the spirit and tradition of the ancient Roman culture continued in the Western Roman Empire only. However, the Western Roman Empire also continued to reveal the limitations of national administration due to various internal crises arising from the invasion of barbarians. The result was that the Roman Empire, which had developed Roman Christianity, eventually disappeared from history, and Christianity became the only cultural force inherited from Roman culture. At the time of transition, Augustine tried to identify the position and role of the universal church as the sole user of Rome's sociocultural values in the absence of the Roman Empire, which seems to be continued in the medieval Christian paradigm. In other words, it (i.e. Christendom) could be seen as a paradigm of Christian totalitarianism in which the Church is the kingdom which governs the world on behalf of God (Küng 1995:125–127).

4.2 Constantine: Romanisation of early Christianity

As discussed in Chapter 3 with regard to the resocialisation of Christianity, Gentile Christian communities had already interacted with Roman social culture from the time of persecution, and had constructed an organisation somewhat corresponding to their sociocultural crisis situation. [127] However, a singular aspect of the resocialisation of Christianity through

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[127] Küng (1995:284) believes, "any paradigm shift had its makings in the previous paradigm". In other words, it could be said that the preceding stage leading to the Christian paradigm shift in the Constantine era had begun from the clash of cultures around the sociocultural values of the Roman Empire during Christian persecution (cf. 3.3.3–4).

Constantine was that, in departing from the past, the socialisation of Christianity no longer was a passive means to survive in the Roman world, but rather an active function to socially and culturally reconstruct central Christian ideas and to reproduce its core values. Here Constantine was a dominant player in the interaction between the early Christian communities and Roman social culture that legalised Christianity and, as a patron of Christianity, allowed Christianity to be re-socialised within the Roman Empire systems and institutions. In fact, doubt concerning how powerful Constantine could have been in the re-socialising of the Christian community centring on the Roman social culture could be confirmed through a comparison of the continuity of the policies enforced on Christianity and the sociocultural characteristics of the Medieval Church. He, in particular, bound the Christian community (which had been excluded from Roman social culture) and Roman society (which had persecuted Christianity) in a common fate, and took a lead in such mutual fusion to set up the history of the new Roman Empire. In this resocialisation of Christianity due to the leading role played by Constantine, proper functions and dysfunctions came about as new issues that the previous Christian communities had not experienced, and such issues were gradually extended in the medieval churches. The study of Constantine with regard to Christian resocialisation that is dealt with here therefore focused on singular aspects of historical change that tracked what kind of sociocultural directivity the community of the Eastern and Western Roman churches had, and how it was constructed in connection with medieval churches.

The anti-Christian policies of Diocletian (303–305 CE) proceeded like a prelude to the dramatic transition of Christian history in binding the emergence of Constantine and the ultimate victory of Christianity in one narrative of the standpoint of the Roman masses (Küng 1995:203). Diocletian believed that limitations to the reconstruction of the past glory of the Roman Empire, about which he was enthusiastic, in reality stemmed from the inability to maintain the contract relationship between the gods of Rome and the Roman Empire under Christianity (including Manichaeism), and he eventually followed Galerius' political stance in Christian persecution; he began to oust Christianity from the palace and the army in the whole region of the Roman Empire.[128] When Diocletian retired due to deteriorating health in

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[128] Diocletian tried a variety of ways to actively resolve the internal and external crises of the Roman Empire in his time. He divided the empire into East and West and the role of emperor into Augustus and Caesar to improve the efficiency of state administration (i.e. *Tetrarchia*); regrouped the Roman military organisation to strengthen the boundaries of the empire against the Germanic and Persian invasions; and reformed the monetary system and intervened to control market prices to escape economic stagnation. As part of his policies in support of the stability and solidarity of the empire, he maintained a compromising attitude toward Christianity in the first half of his reign (as did his predecessors). However, in spite of his efforts, he did not have much success; he subsequently changed his mind in the latter half of his reign and took an uncompromising attitude toward Christianity (*Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanorum Legum cllatio*, tit. xv.3 cited in Ritter 2006:253–257; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* IX.1–7).

305 CE, Galerius inherited the position of Augustus in the Eastern Empire and strengthened the policy of Christian persecution. Maximianus also retired at the request of Diocletian, and Constantius I inherited the position of Augustus of the Western Empire. But Constantius I believed that the policy of Christian persecution was wrong and offered peace to the churches in the region of his reign, thus following the policies of Diocletian and Galerius in a very limitedly manner. After the death of Constantius I in 306 CE, his son Constantine inherited the status of Constantius I and adhered to his father's tolerant policy towards Christianity. The policy was expanded over all the Western Empire when Constantine became the overall ruler of the Western Roman Empire following the victory over Maxentius, the son of ex-Emperor Maximianus, at Mulvian Bridge in 312 CE. In the Eastern Roman Empire, Galerius had applied the policy of tolerance regarding Christianity before his death in 311 CE (i.e. The Edict of Serdica), but Maximinus Daia, the Caesar, continued the persecution of Christianity. Constantine formed an alliance with Licinius, Maximinus Daia's rival in the Eastern Empire, and the Edict of Milan which introduced the official religious freedom and right of Christianity was announced in February 313 CE. In April of 313 CE, Licinius became the overall ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire by defeating Maximinus Daia, and the influence of the Edict of Milan was extended to the whole Roman Empire.[129] Therefore, the emergence of Constantine and the Edict of Milan would have been a very dramatic experience for the Christian community who had experienced the fear of persecution for the decade following Diocletian's reign (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, ix.10–11, x.1, 9; Zosimus, *Historia nova*, ii.8–17).

Based on this narrative of the rise of Constantine, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, argued that it was no coincidence that Christ was incarnated during the Augustan reign in the early Roman Empire and that God authorised mighty power in Rome despite the persecution of Christians, resulting in Christianity and the Empire having a common fate in that all humankind would be saved because of it (Heather 2005:125). Concerning this argument, Küng (1995:203) says that Eusebius, in describing Constantine, "so emphasised the function of the emperor as the providential guardian and protector of the church". Kee (1982:117–122) also sees that Eusebius' expression portrays Constantine as a symbolic figure of Christianity, as if Constantine was the model contracted for the salvation of Israel in the Old Testament (as 'Constantine's covenant religion'). In their evaluation, the historical narrative of Eusebius, a supporter of Constantine, reveals a positive view of the beginning of a new relationship between the state and the Church and the transformation of Christian

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[129] In April of 313 CE, Licinius defeated his competitor Maximus and in June, in the form of an official letter, he presented the Edict of Milan to the governors of the cities of the Eastern Empire (Lact. *De mort. pers*. 34.1–35.1, 48.1–12) (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl*. IX.10–11, X.1, 9; Zosimus, *Historia nova*. II.8–17).

sociocultural attitudes. Before the rise of Constantine, however, ordinary Christians would not have been able to imagine Eusebius' approach to the Roman emperor and Roman society and would not have agreed with such a statement (cf. 3.3.3.1).

In spite of various responses of Christians to Eusebius' view, his view clearly revealed the kind of interrelationship between Christianity and the social post-Constantine culture, and what sociocultural orientation Christian socialisation would take. In other words, it can be accepted as meaning that Christianity and empire had become a community in common fate, Constantine as a protector and guardian of the Church had to fulfil his role and obligation to Christianity and the Church, and therefore Christians had to support him as a representative of God's reign, like David (Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, i.12). Excessive praise for the rise of Constantine, from other Christian writers and Christian leaders, including Eusebius, may have been exaggerated somewhat by their political intentions after Constantine's Christian policy was achieved and the future of Christianity was guaranteed. Nevertheless, it is clear that the emergence of Constantine introduced a paradigm shift from the past in that Romans came to recognise Christianity or Christians came to recognise the Roman Empire. There had been emperors before Constantine who had eased the official policy of persecution of Christianity under Roman government, but the change of public awareness at this level (i.e. from permitting an illegal religion to public legalisation) was something Christians could not have expected before Constantine.[130] Thus, how did Constantine transform the Roman public's perception of Christianity through his political decisions and lead Romans to Christian values and, correspondingly, what changes were there in the way that Christian communities looked at and expected from the secular government? This can be important for understanding the Christian resocialisation of the Constantine era.

As one of the major issues of the sociocultural transformation of Christianity under Constantine, the writings of Christian writers at the time, including Eusebius, focused on the case in which Constantine was supposed to have converted to Christianity in 312 CE (cf. Euseb, *Vita Cons.* 1,28.1–29; Lact. *De mort. pers.* 44.1–12). His conversion, however, has been a subject of controversy for a long time, so we intend to relegate the estimation and judgment of this part to a lower priority.[131] I think our first approach to Constantine should be

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[130] During the reign of Alexander Severus (222–235 CE) and Philip the Arabian (244–249 CE) Christianity was treated better than in the past, with the period of syncretism seeking the best from all religions. But soon after, during the reign of Decius (249–251 CE), the emperor attempted to annihilate Christianity on the pretext of reviving Rome through the ancient virtues of the Roman public (Renwick & Harman 1990:49).

[131] A long discussion of Constantine's Christian faith at the time of the Edict of Milan shows the following diverse views: 1. Constantine entertained the Christian faith as a personal experience according to the Christian writers at that time (e.g. Lactantius and Eusebius); 2. Constantine's Christian faith was an expansion of the sun god (e.g. Burckhardt, Keim and Zahn) or a new contract with God, which he thought was the most powerful of the Roman religious traditions (Sordi); 3. Constantine's edict was a political act so he would not have been a Christian at the

in tracking the interrelationship between Christian socialisation and Roman social culture through his political decisions regarding Christianity and the complete changes in Christian communities following his actions, rather than on what his Christian faith comprised (Chadwick 1993:125–126). In particular, the correlation between the victory over Maxentius in 312 CE (i.e. obtaining control over the Western Roman Empire) and the Edict of Milan in 313 CE, and between the victory over Licinius in 324 CE (i.e. obtaining control over the Eastern Roman Empire) and the Nicene Council in 325 CE, reveals the direction of Constantine's political intention with regard to Christianity as proceeding from his decisions and achievements. Kötting (2006:101) clearly says that Constantine, whatever religiosity he had, had the perspective of a genius in recognising political possibilities in Christianity, and Kee (1982:7–11, 89–90) sees that Constantine's policies for Christianity were a politically elaborated and considered act. Therefore, the fundamental issue concerning Constantine is how he understood and used real Christianity politically in the interaction between himself and Christianity, and what he transformed in the process, rather than what kind of Christian he was. In other words, Constantine's central intentions toward Christianity can be inferred to some extent through the practical changes in Christian communities following his edicts for Christianity, the councils he hosted, and the follow-up of those decisions.

What we are able to check during the Christian re-socialisation led by Constantine is that Constantine not only showed a preference for Christianity, but also had a calculated intention with Christianity to some extent, so that Christianity began to be restructured and transformed into the Roman style. In a broader approach, the resocialisation programme that was newly proposed in the reign of Constantine (i.e. Romanisation of Christianity and the Christianisation of the Roman Empire) did not abandon the central value of the Roman community that they had historically pursued in the Roman Empire, but was for reconstructing the frame of the pagan traditions and customs of Rome, which had become ineffective and immobilised, to form of a new solidarity through Christianity (Carcopino 2003:138–140; Nock 1965:16, 103). In the same way, Christian communities did not abandon much of the central value of Christianity inherited from earlier Christianity, but rather escaped the sociocultural limitations of the exclusive communities and sought a way to be assimilated more effectively into Roman society as a way of achieving common value between the Christian-centred ideas and Roman solidarity. Constantine therefore began to build a new Christian resocialisation paradigm that involved a relationship of partner and

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time of the conversion and for some time thereafter (e.g. Machiavelli and Kee); and 4. in the evaluation by Schaff (*H.C.C*. iii.1.2), may have been a person who combined 'Christianity with politics' and 'the spiritual interests of the kingdom of heaven with the earthly interests of the state' without fully understanding the central Christian idea (cf. Chadwick 1993:125; Latourette 1975:175).

complementary cooperation between Christianity and the Roman Empire; pursued subsequent external unity with the Roman society for it (e.g. legalisation); and began to produce the integrated values as harmony and balance.

Constantine's multifaceted approach to Christianity, which differed from former emperors, seems to have been more revealing of the new sociocultural correlations between Christianity and Rome at the time. For deeper insight into the interrelation of Christian socialisation of the Constantine era and the social culture of Rome, the three major paradigm shifts in Christian resocialisation is seen in the following order: 1. the transformation in Roman society in recognition of the sociocultural value of Christianity; 2. the transformation of the sociocultural attitude of Christianity; and 3. the integrated sociocultural production of Christian and Roman values.

4.2.1 The transformation in Roman society in recognition of the sociocultural value of Christianity

The fact that Christianity was able to be transformed into a key programme for the unification of the public despite the relationship of conflict with the basic ideology of the Roman Empire seems to be related to the emergence of favourable political power for Christianity, including Constantine, and Roman policies facilitated a change in the perception of Christians about Rome and the perception of the masses about Christianity.

Roman conservatives not only held the conviction that their gods should be preferred to the gods of other provinces, but also worried about that the introduction of new gods (through Judaism and Christianity), would provoke conspiracy, rebellion, and faction through altering the existing lifestyle (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, lii. 36. 1–2). As discussed in the previous chapter, the persecution of Christianity in the Empire was related from the beginning to the sociocultural solidarity of the Roman Empire, and could be seen as a way to block the ideological movement, which was considered a threat to the reunification of the empire (Kee 1982:89). Thus, despite the fact that Christianity did not act directly against the Roman system for nearly 250 years from Nero onwards, the Roman government lashed out Christianity as:

1. a dissident force that rejected the emperor as an object of public worship and rather followed Jesus, who had been punished under Roman law, as a key figure in their community;
2. an antisocial ideology that rejected the unity of diversity that constituted the Roman Empire and rather enjoyed their own exclusive secret society; and

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3. anti-Roman groups that denied the legitimacy of Roman history and the social contractual symbolism that Rome had sustained (3.3.4).

Despite the seemingly never-ending persecution, the numbers of new Christian believers continued to increase, and with the advent of Constantine, Christianity entered a new phase with radical changes. Christianity had not been able to gain enough leverage to overturn public perception (i.e. public opinion), though. Carl Richard (2010:269) estimates that Christians had increased to about 5 million in the early fourth century.[132] Although Christians were not fewer, than about 5 million, their number was too small to counteract the propaganda of the Roman majority following the identity of the empire while they maintained an ideology contrary to the public identity of the Roman Empire (Chadwick 1993:152). Thus, the fact that Christianity was able to favourably transform the hostility of the masses of Rome in spite of these relative weaknesses can be regarded as due to the great driving force of Constantine, who was at the height of his power at the time. The role of Constantine not only affected the Roman political community and the public, but also allowed Christians to take his religious policies and adapt the direction of Christian socialisation. Constantine in particular paid close attention to a paradigm shift in Roman society to Christianity. He tried to avoid stimulating Roman conservatives' hostility towards Christianity, and at same time tried to build up the social position of Christianity in balance with Roman religious groups to the universal level that Roman public religious system took (McGrath 2013:42). In that respect, the change in the perception of the Roman Empire of Christianity can be seen in the following staged features centred on Constantine: 1. the reconsideration of the sociocultural value of Christianity; 2. the legalisation of Christianity; and 3. the focus on the harmony of the values honoured in Christianity and Roman social culture.

4.2.1.1 The reconsideration of the sociocultural value of Christianity

As discussed concerning conflict between Christianity and societal culture in Chapter 3, the antagonism of the Roman society to Christianity was not based on the essential value of Christianity, but on the idea that the sociocultural values of Christianity were contradictory to the sociocultural values of the Roman Empire. This popular perception had been dominant for almost 250 years, and Roman political power seemed to have been caught up in this conviction until Constantine emerged. It is noteworthy that Constantine had already overcome a fixed negative perspective of Christianity and approached other political perspectives in

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[132] It is necessary to refer to Walter Scheidel's thesis "Roman Population Size: The Logic of the Debate" on the ancient Roman Empire population: In this study, Beloch estimates the population of the Roman Empire in the second century to be about 60 million, while Frier estimates it at about 100 million.

comparison with the past. In other words, rather than having a deep understanding of the essential value of Christianity, he could be seen as having an affinity for the sociocultural value of Christianity, unlike the perception of the existing political power, which was sceptical about Christianity. Why, then, did Constantine see Christianity from a different perspective to the previous emperors, and why did he shift from the pagan paradigm of earlier Roman traditions to a Christian paradigm? In other words, which aspects of Christianity have been attractive to Constantine? During this interaction between Constantine and Christianity we find two points of contact: 1. the Roman Crisis, which Constantine perceived at the time,[133] and; 2. the value in the political use of Christianity in corresponding to such a crisis, in the other words, the sociocultural value of future Christianity which could be structured according to his purpose. Because his benevolent policies toward Christianity cannot be seen as part of the religious policy, and much of it reveals a deep connection with state strategy, Constantine's attitude toward Christianity reveals a somewhat dynamic relationship in the particular period of the Roman Empire. The interrelationship of Constantine and Roman social culture directed the resocialisation that Christianity as the official religion of Rome needed to have. The sociocultural values that Constantine saw in Christianity were kind of sociocultural values were required to address the Roman crisis. This can be seen as Constantine's approach to and solution for the sociocultural agenda of the Roman Empire. Constantine faced a variety of difficulties on taking over the government in the context of political, economic, and military problems that threatened to weaken the Roman Empire's solidarity, and had to secure his reign against the other powers (i.e. Severus, ex-Emperor Maximianus, and Maximianus' son Maxentius reigned in the Western Roman Empire until October 312 CE) that claimed Roman dominance at the time.

Limitations of the social and cultural utility of Christianity for the crisis in the Roman Empire at the time of Constantine's emergence

Scholars, like Schaff (*H.C.C.* ii.1.5), in considering the rise of Christianity in the Constantinian Age deal with the excellence of Christianity as a viable alternative to the traditional crisis of Rome. This approach follows the premise that Christianity had realistic value for the social culture of the Roman Empire on the basis of the result of the Christian

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[133] At the time of Constantine's appearance, the Roman world experienced internal and external problems that could hinder social cohesion or even undermine the empire. McMullen (1976:196–198) points out the problem of the central government in particular as useful to explain the dynamics of Constantine and Christianity at that time. There were antagonisms and assassinations from inside following the possibility of civil war threatening the peace of Rome with the coup, and the weakening of the government due to the deterioration of the economic situation. From the outside, there was the anxiety and distrust of the Roman masses and provinces of the central government due to repeated invasions by the surrounding ethnic groups and confrontation with Persia. These factors seem to have amplified the uncertainty of Roman Empire boundaries.

unification of medieval society. But this is only a result of the later synthesis, and the fact that Constantine regarded Christian values as indispensable to his government because of the Roman Crisis at that time seems unreasonable under the following conditions:

First, most Christians lived as pilgrims on the earth, far removed from any consciousness of Rome's crisis. Before the Edict of Milan, the Christian communities regarded the Roman Empire as the Babylon of the time from the eschatological tradition. Looking at the secular society, and the entire regional persecution of the Diocletian era (303–305 CE) and the uninterrupted persecution in the Eastern Roman Empire by Galerius (305–311 CE), they regarded the period of Roman Empire (*Romanti imperii commeatu*) as the end of the world (*clausula*) (Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, 32,1). Because of the conflict between loyalty to Jesus Christ and the Roman emperor, Christians could not imagine that the Roman emperor would become a Christian or a Christian would become a Roman emperor. In other words, no matter what Constantine had in mind about the Roman crisis, it would have been difficult to form social sympathy with Christians.

Second, it seems that Christianity had not yet secured appropriate sociocultural values to be used as an ideology towards new unity for the crisis in the Roman Empire. That is because Christian communities at the time of Edict of Milan had not had enough time and power to be prepared for a public religion; it presented the first case and there were no accumulated experiences concerning the role of public religion, so participating in sociocultural publicness was very unfamiliar among Christians. In particular, to integrate the power of the Christian communities and use them as the driving force of the Roman Empire was not easy for Constantine, because scattered problems among the Christian communities arising during the persecution (i.e. theological disunity and conflict) had to be dealt with, and even to integrate local churches into a universal organisation during the reign of Constantine was not easy (Walker 1992:130).

Third, the sociocultural values of Christianity had to be reconstructed according to the political decisions of Constantine and the needs of his government in the process of re-socialising Christianity. In other words, the sociocultural value of Christianity was not yet substantiated as the remedy of the traditional crisis of Rome until used by Constantine. Therefore, the only aspect that we can approach without difficulty is that, rather than the inevitability of Christianity in solving the crisis of Rome, the fact that Constantine structured the sociocultural values that he perceived in Christianity that could provide a solution to the crisis of Rome enabled him to make Christianity attractive to the masses of Rome. In other words, Christianity, which had a different structure from the universal society in the pre-

Constantine era, was symbolised as an alternative to Roman society, which means that the sociocultural values of Christianity in the time of Constantine were structured according to Constantine's political and social needs (cf. MacMullen 1984:43–44).

Christian values corresponding to the crisis situation of the Roman Empire recognised by Constantine

What exactly Constantius I and Constantine had done on the basis of the kind of judgment and the attitude of tolerance of Christianity in the West is unclear. They might have been thinking about the usefulness of Christianity, or they might have been trying to follow a basic policy of inclusion of Christianity in the religious diversity that was maintained before the persecution of Diocletian in 303 CE. However, the victory against Maxentius in 312 CE and the proclamation of the Edict of Milan in 313 CE reveal some of Constantine's own political need for the value of Christianity. The inner crucial decisions about Christianity led by Constantine seems to have reflected the victory of the war over dominion of the Western Roman Empire and of the empire divided into two parts with Licinius (Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48.2–12). Therefore, I think that Christian values corresponding to the crisis situation in Rome that Constantine judged at the time can be deduced as follows.

First, it seems that Constantine wanted to obtain political symbolism such as *Concordia* and *Pax Romana* through Christianity as a means to solve the crisis of the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries. As mentioned in Chapter 2, *Concordia* (2.3.2.1), a symbol of the unity and solidarity of the Roman Empire, was the traditional virtue of Roman history, and *Pax Romana* (2.3.2.7) was the ultimate value of such *Concordia*. Augustus was symbolic of the achievement of the *Concordia* and *Pax Romana* in terms of establishing an integrated order by ending the civil war of the oligarchy and exercising outstanding political resources. This made the maintenance of peace for *Concordia* and *Pax Romana* a very important political goal and obligation of the Roman emperors and their governments after Augustus. The period of Military Anarchy and repeated assassinations and rebellion after Commodus in 192 CE, created anxiety and fear among the public and made the *Pax Romana* impossible. Constantine's political position was also unstable in the Tetrarchy that eventually progressed to civil war (Lact. *De mort. Pers.* 44.1–2). Like Octavian of the Second Triumvirate, Constantine's duty was not only to end the civil war, but also to achieve the symbolism of *Concordia* and *Pax Romana*. He won victory over his political opponent Maxentius (312 CE) and issued the Edict of Milan which led to the official recognition Christianity as a Roman religion in agreement with the Eastern Emperor Licinius under whom the tolerance of Christianity had already been fixed in the West. This seems to indicate that Constantine

used the symbolic narrative of Christianity to seek political legitimacy for the civil war with which he was associated, in that way including the Christian community in a loyal group of nations (Langton 1957:160). The conservative masses of Rome saw Christianity as a movement upholding an anti-ideological and anti-sociocultural tendency for 250 years. The fact that Christianity, after having been seen to resist the Roman Empire, in becoming a group advocating for their emperor could be regarded as a great achievement for the Roman public who considered *Concordia* as the sociocultural value of the Roman tradition. From the Roman public's point of view, greater emphasis may have been placed on the fact that Christianity had been Romanised, rather than on the conversion of Constantine to Christianity. I think that, with Christianity responding to Constantine's expectations, the public could visualise the new unity of Rome under Constantine, and the social unrest following the civil war as somewhat addressed (Barnes 1981:45–47; Lact., *De mort. pers.*, 48,2).[134] Kee (1982:102) argues that Constantine's intervention in Christianity in this respect was viewed as having a political purpose, rather than a religious belief, as 'an instrument of the unification of the Empire'.

Second, Constantine wanted the solidarity of the masses and public opinion of the masses of Rome that had been divided to be restructured centred on himself through reinterpreting Christian values as a paradigm of Roman religion. Although Christianity did not have the political might to empower Constantine, clear support for Constantine would have been useful in shaping public favour and public opinion around Constantine. On coming to the end of the civil war, what Constantine needed was not a soldier but a supporter, and Christianity's clear manifestation of loyalty to Constantine's government would be very useful for constituting his political position and obtaining impetus to gather the divided Roman Empire together as one in the confusion of Rome's divided dynasty. His role as an intermediary for the divine covenant of the Roman religion also enabled the mobilisation of public opinion at the time. (cf. Cicero, *De Divin.*, I.6.11; I.41.92). Thus, many emperors considered the social role of this Roman religious paradigm to be important, for instance by retaining the status of the pagan chief priest (i.e. Pontifex Maximus) along with emperor worship in a combination politics and religion, and also drawing the traditional solidarity of the Roman public in a way that reinforced traditional religious ideologies through conflict with and persecution of Christianity from Nero to Diocletian (Johnson 1995:76; cf. Gager 1975:79–87; McGrath 2013:38–40; Stegemann and Stegemann 1999:356–357).

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[134] Barnes (1981:45–47) sees that Constantine sought symbolism as a 'liberator' as opposed to Maxentius' 'tyrant'. Such political propaganda from Constantine can be seen in association with the Edict of Milan, in which he indicated that the divine power of Christianity would be of benefit to the people of the empire in the association between the Roman Empire and Christianity (Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48,2).

However, in the time of Constantine, in following the traditional Roman understanding of religious paradigm for his political aim, Christianity could be regarded as having appropriate value to provide justification as a new and powerful divine contract (Sordi 1994:134). Constantine seems to have effective in attracting favourable public opinion in Rome to himself by portraying Christianity within the Roman religious paradigm as a religious symbol for the new Rome. The following narrative reveals such a political conception of Christianity under Constantine: 1. Galerius, who was about to die in 311 CE, withdrew from strong Christian persecution because he thought his illness was a curse by the Christian God (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.,* viii.16; Lact., *De mort. pers.*, C.33); 2. Constantine succeeded his father, who maintained a policy of tolerance towards Christianity in the civil war of the period of six emperors and gained victory over his opponent, Maxentius, in 312 CE, and Maximinus Daia, who maintained the policy of persecution, was defeated by Licinius, the co-signer of the Edict of Milan (Feb. 313 CE), in April 313 CE; and 3. the Edict of Milan, signed by the final conquerors of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire was officially proclaimed in the whole Roman Empire in June 313 CE in conjunction with the end of civil war, and the view that serving God (*divinitatis reveretia*) was related to public happiness and well-being was promoted as resulting in beneficial results for the majority (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, x.5.1–14; Lact., *De mort. pers.*, 48.2).

Indeed, although the civil war proceeded irrespective of the religious aspect, in terms of 'Constantine's open sponsorship of the Christian cause', the linkage or narrative singularity of each event must have appeared to be a victory of Christianity in terms of the divine covenant, not only to Christians but also to the Roman masses (Davidson 2005b:15–16). In other words, as a traditional religious issue among the Roman public concerning what kind of divine influences were more directly related to the future of the Roman society, such narrative could be perceived as victory of Christianity over the gods of paganism who did not protect to their worshippers in the confrontation between the conservative group that feared the relationship with the Roman gods and a group that feared the monotheism of Christianity (Euseb., *Vita Cons.,* i.28). This perception was also found among non-Christians in Rome, where an anonymous pagan author (*Panegyric Latini,* ix.2.5; Ritter 2006:272) confessed in a 313 CE testimony that the gods caring for them were low grade compared to the God with whom Constantine had a relationship. Thus, the statements by Constantine, which were described as the religious victory of Christianity, certainly became a way for securing public solidarity and public opinion through Christianity for himself. In that sense, Barnes (1981:64–68) argues that Constantine and Licinius tried to secure the Christian supporters and it could have been a cause to greatly strengthen their power. The result was that the political

intentions of Constantine related to Christianity were not limited to the West, but were an extension of Licinius' dominance, and his more obvious political attitude towards Christianity was useful for acquiring supporters from the East.[135]

Third, the future value of Christianity, which could be re-socialised according to Constantine's intent, was a practical alternative to the Roman crisis. As mentioned earlier, it seems that although the sociocultural value of Christianity was not inevitably linked to the Roman crisis, it was included in Constantine's hopeful assumption that the value of Christianity could be a future alternative for the crisis. Although it is difficult to find a detailed account of how Constantine perceived and interpreted the Roman crisis at the time, most statements about Constantine, including statements by Eusebius, reveal the anticipation of a new Roman revival or of divine energy that would be achieved through a new Christian ideology (cf. Kee 1982:89; MacMullen 1976:6–7). This at least shows that the interaction between Roman society and the Christian values which resulted from the Constantine's policies were understood as a tool of unity that could offset the crisis of the Roman Empire. That is, the understanding in Christian-Roman interaction was being transformed from the previous one-sided, fragmentary way derived from previous experience, to a diversified and multi-layered way of being drawn to future expectations.

The emperors in the pre-Constantine era, under the pretext that they sought the glory of the ancient Roman era to alleviate the crisis in the Roman Empire, incited the Roman public through anti-Christian propaganda that shifted responsibility for the crisis to Christians. Constantine could also be seen to use Christianity as a tool for political propaganda to alleviate the Roman crisis (MacMullen 1976:7, 24–47, 1984:43–51). The apparent difference between the former emperors and Constantine was that, while the former emperors were hostile to Christianity in seeking solidarity for the Roman Empire and severely limited the sociocultural and political position of Christianity, Constantine favoured Christian values and maximised Christianity's sociocultural position. From the standpoint of Constantine, the political and social capacities of the supporters of traditional Roman religion had already reached their limit in uniting divided public opinion. Christianity, on the other hand, by overcoming difficulties and revealing solidarity of faith rather than being divided by the difficulties under persecution, could be perceived by Constantine as a new possibility for the unification of the divided Roman world. Constantine also needed a national faith to mobilise

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[135] According to Africa (1967:71), Constantine had created the struggle of Constantine versus Licinius as if it were Christian versus paganism, thus Christians provided full support to Constantine and he was victorious in the battle against Licinius in 323 CE. The victory of this war cannot be said to be directly linked to Christian support for Constantine, but at this time the historical narrative shows that Constantine succeeded at least in Romanising the ideology of Christianity.

the masses in the first step to overcoming the internal and external difficulties of Rome, and began to raise the sociocultural capacity of Christianity in order to lead to the solidarity and public opinion of the Roman masses in a way that did not provoke the antagonism of Roman conservatism (Heather 2005:5–7; Richard 2010:267).

According to Drake (2006:111) and Kee (1982:102), Constantine's Edict of Milan did not simply mean a cessation of the persecution of Christians or authorisation of religious liberty. Constantine's religious motivation and political purpose, in the midst of the society, would be to utilise Christianity as a political means towards integration by establishing a position for Christianity. O'Daly (1999:1–2) also says that Constantine needed a new ideology to overcome the turmoil of Rome at the time and to unify Rome, and that he judged that the social integrational function of Christianity had its political usefulness. He therefore selected Christianity as worthy of his agenda at the time to represent himself and proceeded to the Christian ideological conversion of Rome a time of important political decisions, with pagan influences still remaining powerful in Rome (Africa 1967:71).

However, as Walker (1992:130) points out, Constantine in 313 experienced the limitations of the value of Christianity because:

1. Christians were still a minority within the empire;
2. despite the emperor's support for and interest in Christianity, many non-Christians did not convert to Christianity;
3. the wealthy class and the pundit class did not support the religious policy of the emperor; and
4. Christianity decisively faced internal problems after persecution.

Nonetheless, Constantine's actions displayed that he was creating a sociocultural value through Christianity which was suitable for dealing with the Roman crisis beyond these limits. When he chose Christianity for his religious symbolism, he might have conceived some idea of the role of Christianity in Roman society.

4.2.1.2 Legalisation of Christianity: Social consensus on what is right (relationship of symbiosis and unity)

The turning point for the official recognition in Roman society of Christianity can be seen as the legalisation of Christianity through the Edict of Milan which was led by Constantine. The basic meaning of legalisation is that any group or activity would be adjusted to the laws or norms, and it was common for Christianity to be adapted to the traditional Roman social norm and then a legal decision and social consensus could be reached according to the

level of modification. However, the characteristic of the legalisation of Christianity by Constantine was that it was through the emperor's power that the Christian values, which were initially regarded as socially and culturally wrong in the Roman world, came to be regarded as officially right without any apparent modification of Christianity, and that the social consensus (relationship of symbiosis and unity) was adjusted on the basis of these legal grounds.[136] The edicts of the emperors at that time were an important part of constructing Roman law, so that the order of Christian legalisation had an immediate bond on Roman mass society.[137] In other words, it can be seen that the social consensus of the Roman masses did not lead to the legalisation of Christianity, but that the command of legalisation itself led to social consensus on Christianity. Thus, even if this edict comprised a compulsory social consensus unrelated to the will of the Roman masses, it certainly could become a profound influence on incorporating Christian values in the masses of Rome. Nevertheless, Constantine did not attempt to challenge the universal sentiments of Roman society as a tyrant. The legalisation of Christianity for his political purpose to secure the solidarity of the Roman masses centred on himself was to harmonise Christianity and Roman society in a short period of time, not a conversion to a new religious ideology (MacMullen 1984:44). We can view the sociocultural meaning of Christian legalisation by means of the approach that follows.

First, Christian legalisation allowed Christianity to reflect Constantine's political intentions toward Christianity, and led to Christianity becoming a definite supportive force following the imperial values centred on oneself. The fact that the legalisation of Christianity through the Edict of Milan proceeded in a radical manner, not by the demands of the masses, nor by the consensus of the Roman conservatives who held pagan values, reveals the political benefit that Constantine could gain as a leading actor in Christian legalisation, despite taking risks. He understood the symbolic nature of the narratives of Christian victory, so he needed to maximise such narratives and extend them throughout the empire. The Edict of Milan thus could be a sure steppingstone to such a process. It can be seen from the fact that the demands of the edict were already secured in the Western Roman Empire ruled by

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[136] The legal spirit of Rome was aimed at ensuring fair and equal rights to all people regardless of their social class, race, or religion, and thereby enabling symbiosis and unity (Brunt 1971:17–23).

[137] After the emergence of Augustus, the centred legislator in Roman society became emperors and senators, rather than the legislative assemblies (i.e. the assembly of the Curiae, the assembly of the Centuries, the assembly of the Tribes and the Plebeian Council). The function of the senate was then weakened, thus highlighting the role of the emperor as the subject of legislation. According to the legal scholar Gaius, the 'constitutiones' of the emperor were separated into the 'edictum' (a legal order posted at a certain place: the magistrates' notice was non-permanent, but the emperor's notice was permanent), the 'epistula' (judgment of the emperor to give a certain person a legal answer), the 'decretum' (judgment of the emperor in a court hearing), and the 'mandatum' (the emperor's administrative order on the exercise of the rulership of the province) (Magnou-Nortier 2002:16 cited in Nam Sung-Hyun 2007:26; Stambaugh 1986:32).

Constantine, and that Constantine intended to accomplish the effect of the edict with Licinius, the ruler of Eastern Roman Empire. Constantine was certainly able to extend Christian support for himself to the East in this way, and to attain the symbolism of a *triumphator* (man of triumph) in the civil war. Constantine's attempt may be recognised in that when he broke the alliance with Licinius in rivalry with him; he tried to reduce Licinius' popularity in the Eastern Roman Empire by claiming that Licinius had abandoned tolerance of Christianity in support of paganism, and in that he planned the unification of a complete Eastern-Western church in the Nicaea Council of 325 after his victory over Licinius in 324 (Gregory 2010:54; Scarre 2012:215). In addition, Constantine changed the title of 'god' used by the former emperors to 'God's vicegerent', to demonstrate sublime authority simultaneously in the Church and in the nation by the status of 'overseer of those outside' (Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, iv. 24). In this respect, Constantine became the official sponsor of Christianity in the view of the tradition of Roman social culture, by leading the legalisation of Christianity through the Edict of Milan, and Christians became his beneficiaries (cf. 2.3.2.5). Although this relationship was unilaterally established under the leadership of Constantine's government, most of Christians gave their positive support because of the benefits Constantine offered and his action of professing to be a Christian. Christians naturally accepted such an interrelationship and at the same time owed a duty to be loyal to the emperor and the government. According to Moltmann (1996:178) and Langton (1957:160), the support of Christians for a core figure bonding Christian community in this mutual relationship between emperor and Christianity was transferred from the emperor to the pope with the fall of the empire. The interrelationship of the emperor and the pope reflected the political benefits gained from the united support of Christians, which Constantine intended to achieve through the legalisation of Christianity.

Second, Christians acquired a Roman public position, which enabled free sociocultural activities in the Roman Empire, through the legalisation of Christianity by Constantine. At that time, the emperor and imperial government, which were central to the unity of the community, exercised the main power in deciding the Roman public position of Christianity. Thus, Constantine's official approval of Christianity as a loyal force under the emperor and the empire's government could be seen by the Roman masses as Christianity not only acquiring legitimacy in Roman society, but also public honour, which seemed to be beneficial to the majority in the Roman Empire (Lact., *De mort. pers.*, 48.2). As discussed earlier (3.3.3.2), honour and shame in Roman society were awarded according to the positive or negative consequences of an action, so Christianity could be considered honourable in

Roman society on condition that Christianity met the expectations of the Roman Empire.[138] Thus, even though there were no instances of Christianity specifically fulfilling the expectations of the Roman Empire, Constantine's judgment of the public benefits of Christianity as stated in the Edict was very effective in revealing Christianity as honourable in Roman society (cf. Neyrey 2010:186). This meant that Christians were able to acquire public Roman acceptance easily through the emperor's edict, while social demands for sociocultural public acceptance as one of the roles that Christianity should continue to fulfil in the Roman world were given to Christianity.

In 311 CE, Galerius' edict of tolerance (the Edict of Serdica), which preceded the edict of Milan, concerned allowing the activities of Christians in Roman public society. Christians, who had so far been exclusively supervised, were allowed to set up a dwelling for meeting under the passive condition that Christianity must not oppose the existing order of the Roman Empire (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, x.5.9; Lact., *De mort. Pers.*, 48.7-9). This just meant that the Roman government officially ceased the persecution of Christians, but not that the universal privilege of the traditional Roman religious groups was allowed to Christianity or that Christianity was included among the universal religious positions of Rome for the public good of Roman society. The Edict of Milan not only proclaims re-evaluation, legalisation, and sociocultural acceptance of Christian values as a turning point in Roman standards concerning the Christian values that Roman society maintained for nearly 250 years, but also an official announcement about the resocialisation of Christianity in that all the religious capacities of Christianity should be adapted to benefit Roman society (i.e. Romanisation). Such intentions are evident in the text of the edict.

> When we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had an interview at Milan, and conferred together with respect to the good and security of the commonweal, it seemed to us that, amongst those things that are profitable to mankind in general, the reverence paid to the Divinity merited our first and chief attention, and that it was proper that the Christians and all others should have liberty to follow that mode of religion which to each of them appeared best; so that that God, who is seated in heaven, might be benign and propitious to us, and to every one under our government … (Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48.2 trans. J. Vanderspoel)

In other words, the edict reflected the political expectations of the new government that Christianity could play a positive role towards unity in the Roman Empire, or be loyal to the Roman government, not dissident or antisocial with regard to Rome (Langton 1957:160). In

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[138] Philip (2017:55–56) believes that the extent to which an individual can meet the expectations of a social group became a criterion for evaluating the honour and shame of the object in Greek-Roman times. In other words, it gained honour to be successful in fulfilling social group expectations, and failure was a shame. However, judgment regarding the success of this expectation of the community relied on public opinion.

this sense, the meaning of the resocialisation of Christianity after Constantine did not mean simple and passive reaction to the social culture of Rome but transformation into a cooperative relationship based on mutual understanding.

Third, the legalisation of Christianity through the Edict of Milan meant the beginning of a contractual relationship or cooperative relationship between Christianity and the Roman government in terms of the historical interrelationship of politics and religions in ancient Rome (O'Daly 1999:1–2). The social meaning of Christian legalisation, that Christianity became a force in support of Constantine through the Edict and that Christianity gained public position to produce social value, means that the relationship was not a mere favourable relationship privately, but had to be developed into a public cooperative contractual relationship. In addition, the fact that Christianity was officially incorporated into the Roman system of religion can be seen as the formation of such a contractual relationship, as Roman traditional religion was characterised as a civil religion bonded by the contractual value of faithfulness-duty (i.e. *fides–pietas*) with the Roman government or Roman public society (cf. 2.3.3). The universal unity and the hierarchical episcopacy in the local Christian communities, in particular, corresponded to the centralist politic structure of Constantine and the policies for Roman unity. In other words, Constantine, through legally institutionalising the cooperative contractual relationship between Christianity and the Roman government, as well as the relationship between the Roman government and the ancient Roman religion, established his position in the hierarchical system of Christians (e.g. as God's vicegerent or overseer of those outside the Church) so that he could make the Christian forces his base of support in a short time and lead Christians' faith to loyalty to his own government (Johnson 1995:76; Küng 1995:180–181).

On the other hand, the establishment of the cooperative contractual relationship between Christianity and the Roman government through the Edict of Milan was a great turning point in attitudes of not only Christians but also non-Christians in the Roman Empire. Because the intransigent attitudes towards Christians could be as distrusting and rejecting the emperor's policy in the edict, they could no longer treat Christians as objects of condemnation, but as objects of cooperation.

4.2.1.3 Harmony between Christianity and the Roman social culture: a common victory or a common culture

Constantine's intention with the legalisation of Christians cannot be seen as the public acceptance of the Christian faith merely because the Constantine government intentionally

made various attempts to pursue harmony between existing sociocultural values and Christian values as a new motive power. For Constantine, harmony between the two just needed a certain amount of time for them to adapt to each other and was not contradictory, Constantine classified the Christian values according to political priorities and took a stepwise convergence policy with Roman social culture to achieve the harmony effectively.

From the moment of being legalised, Christianity had to face the objective realities (i.e. Roman traditions and customs, laws, institutions, philosophy, religion, language, lifestyle, etc.) for social control and social solidarity (cf. 2.1.1). In the past, the Christian communities had been in a state of conflict and confrontation with these objective realities, which, through their own exclusive ways, formed a community maintaining their distance despite the criticism of being antisocial. When the exclusive boundary of Christianity disappeared, they, as official members of the Roman society, had to communicate with other non-Christian communities through these objective realities (cf. Berger 1981:91). Above all, in order for Christianity to acquire the universality of social culture, the private concept of the Roman public concerning Christianity as an exclusive community in Roman society had to be transformed into a public concept, and to this end, Christianity had to be reconstructed in the form of a new cooperative relationship in harmony with the objective reality of the Roman social culture.

In that sense, Constantine's attitude of not approaching the dichotomy between Christianity and Roman society or Christian-centric ideology and Roman religious forms, would be useful in harmonising the two values. Constantine seems to have expected the result of mutual synergy through a fusion of diverse values that would form a common culture between Christianity and Roman society in a way that finds Christian values fit for Roman society and applied them in non-Christian forms or applied non-Christian values to forms of Christianity. In other words, the public acceptance that Constantine considered meant that what was beneficial to the Christian community had to be beneficial to the Roman community, and what was beneficial to the Roman community had to be of benefit to the Christian community. I think that, for Constantine, this production of a new meaning related to social change was closely related to the way Christianity communicated with the Roman society (cf. Swingewood 1998:101).

For Christianity, the Edict of Milan in 313 CE which followed Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 CE, could be seen as the ultimate victory of the subsequent government tolerant of Christianity over the former intolerant government. In particular, the narrative associated with this victory became an opportunity for Christians to see the Roman Empire

and the emperor in a new aspect. On the other hand, despite the position of Christianity being radically shifted by Constantine, Constantine's government did not ignore the traditional values of Rome, which had previously opposed Christianity, or honour Constantine's victory for Christianity by radically converting to a new national paradigm centred on Christianity. This was because such an approach would result in a sense of defeat among non-Christians and encourage division. Rather, Constantine presented harmony between the two as realistic and rational. This had the effect of establishing the traditional values of Rome through the Romanisation of Christianity, just like the narrative of Christian victory was formed by Constantine's victory. In other words, including Christianity, which had been judged to be against their traditional values of the past, made it a participant for achieving the unity of Roman society, the ultimate goal of the traditional values of Rome, such as *Concordia*, *Pax Romana*, the Roman law, the relationship between the guardian and beneficiary, and honour and shame (cf. 2.3.2). In this Constantine revealed his intention to complement the sociocultural solidarity of the Roman Empire through Christian ideology in the context of giving up the religious ideology of past paganism and religious pluralism – which seemed have reached the end of its usefulness for binding together the public already – but had not been completely abandoned while maintaining the forms. For Constantine, the important thing to consider was to not overly provoke the Roman conservatives who had regarded the Roman tradition as a priority. If Christianity provided a religious structure that would understand and integrate the religious expectations of the traditional Roman public, their opposition could be offset to some extent. At the same time, I think that the difficulty of the political situation given to Constantine could have been a factor that made the interrelationship between the social culture of Rome and Christianity more intimate than clearly separating them would have been. In this respect, Constantine was to harmonise rather than confront the traditional Roman culture in various sociocultural transformations related to Christianity (Davidson 2005b:19; McGrath 2013:42). This attempt by Constantine seems to have been an opportunity to provide the Roman public with a clear perception that Christianity was not an antisocial system, but that it could be fully incorporated into existing Roman society, and to provide Christians the perception that the Roman Empire was not a society of idolatry, but that the Empire and Christianity could share a common fate. Therefore, the main link to the policies for harmonisation between Christianity and Roman social culture for such a common triumph could be approached according to the following stages.

First, Constantine's policy not only led to a change in the perception of the Roman government and the Roman public about Christianity, but also led to a change in the

negative attitudes of Christians towards the social culture of Rome, so that Christianity and Roman public could come to some sociocultural agreement. Constantine, in order to justify his favourable attitude toward Christianity to the Roman public with anti-Christian tendencies, tried to make the Christian divine effect through a symbolic contractual relationship with Christianity to be concluded as a best result for Roman public, and tried to draw Christians to the sunny side of the Roman society through presenting his victory as a symbol of Christian triumph for Christians who were seized by the consciousness and fear of the Roman Empire. In that respect, the Edict of Milan reflected Constantine's anticipation of the harmony of the Christian and Roman societies:

> … [A]nd therefore we judged it a salutary measure, and one highly consonant to right reason, that no man should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever other religion his mind directed him, that thus the supreme Divinity, to whose worship we freely devote ourselves, might continue to vouchsafe His favour and beneficence to us … In furthering all which things for the behoof of the Christians, you are to use your utmost diligence, to the end that our orders be speedily obeyed, and our gracious purpose in securing the public tranquillity promoted. So, shall that divine favour which, in affairs of the mightiest importance, we have already experienced, continue to give success to us, and in our successes make the commonweal happy … (Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48.3, 11 trans. J. Vanderspoel).

As Constantine's policy for drawing Christianity into Roman society combined with the symbolism of Christian victory constituted a narrative, it seems that Christians could support Constantine and his government and were able to view Roman social culture positively under Constantine's rule. In that respect, Constantine's victory was reported by Eusebius as the new Roman Empire of Constantine and Christianity achieving a common triumph in the framework of divine contractual relations (cf. MacMullen 1984:44). Such an understanding shows that the resocialisation of Christianity was not only passive in accordance with the needs of Roman political power, but that the Christian communities also accepted the situation as an opportunity to voluntarily extend the attitude of Christian faith beyond the limits of past persecuted groups. Tertullian, Donatus, and the Christian ascetics naturally worried about the socialisation of Christianity, but most Christian communities, like many allies of Constantine, including Eusebius at that time, understood it as an opportunity for a hopeful and developmental future for mutual profit.

Since then, the fact that Constantine continually strove to achieve unified transactions between his government and the leading church and the Christian community became more organised in line with the structure of the Roman society reveal that Christianity also wanted

to maximise a secular efficiency of Christian values, like the Constantine government, and reveal their mutual strategic harmony. The sociocultural values of Rome, which had been neglected by the Christian communities in the past, therefore began to be reinterpreted in the mechanism of Christian ideology, and the newly produced Christian values reflected the universal sociocultural values of Rome in social integration and social solidarity (Kötting 2006:101–102; Swingewood 1998:101–103).

Second, Constantine pursued the religious balance of Christianity with other religious groups in pagan society. According to Barnes (1981:272–273), Constantine was presented as a paragon of virtue of non-Christians in Roman traditional religious sentiment during his lifetime and Küng (1995:199) has said that, in Constantinople and the Eastern Roman Empire which correctly reflected Constantine's conception of policy, "Christianity and paganism by no means confronted each other as rigid blocks, but largely existed contemporaneously and grew together". In this respect, although Constantine preferred Christianity, he looked for a way of harmonising Christianity and paganism at a reasonable level that could be understood by the traditional religious societies of Rome, rather than creating clashes among the religious groups in Roman society. Compared to pagan shrines, Christian communities during the early reign of Constantine were far behind with regard to visibility. Thus, with Constantine's support of Christianity, the Christian side was given more benefit than in the past, but Roman religious groups could take a soft attitude toward Christianity until at least close to the visible scale that they were enjoying (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, x.5–7). Constantine's pro-Christian policy involved planning Christian participation in a way that would not conflict with the common culture of Rome, because it could disturb the balance and harmony of the existing common culture that had been established between paganism and Roman society. The religious balance between Christianity and the Roman religious paradigm pursued by Constantine can be deduced from the following points: 1. Constantine, while emphasising the interconnectedness of his victory with Christianity, maintained the interrelationship between himself and the traditional values of Roman pagan society through treating it as a new divine contractual relationship, so that the public was not displeased with his reformation programme (Lact., De mort. pers., 48.2); 2. He emphasised that his religious policy in relation to the Edict of Milan was the abolition of special restrictions on Christianity up to the time, not a special benefit to Christianity. This meant returning Christian property forfeited during past persecution to them, and to support Christianity as a legitimate religious group, at the pagan level, both legally and politically (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.,* x.5.2–14; Lact., *De mort. pers.*, 48.3–10). Constantine's material support for Christianity was at the level of corresponding to the visible heritage that paganism

accumulated, it was what had been provided to paganism from the previous emperors until shortly before; 3. Constantine's religious policy tried to provide Christianity with an equal position to paganism: He commanded (321 CE) that Christians and non-Christians should worship on the Day of the Sun. This reflected the practice of Christians gathering and worshiping on a Sunday, but at the same time it could also be seen as an act that empowered the Roman public worshipping the sun (*Cod. Just.*, iii. 12. 1–2: *Cod. Theod.*, ii. 8. 1). He established a new Christian paradigm in a way that somewhat fitted into the traditional Roman society by including the symbol of Christianity among the traditional religious forms of Rome in the Roman coin, and establishing his image shouldering the cross and describing the sun god (*Sol Invictus*) (Bruun 1966:61; Chadwick 1993:126–127);[139] 4. Constantine retained the status of Pontifex Maximus even after 313 CE, but did not participate in the religious rites, and established the Christian ceremony of Sunday (*Cod. Theod.*, ii.8.1; *Cod. Just.*, iii.12.1; cf. Davidson 2005b:269), but did not participate in such Christian ceremonies unless it was a special occasion; 5. Although there was no special attempt to abolish the rites of Roman religious traditions, the rite of animal sacrifice was banned in relation to the Christian regulation of food which had caused conflict between Christians and Roman society; and 6. The fact that Constantine meant to make paganism a unified group of traditional religions by stopping state subsidies for fragmentary religious practices, except for ancient public rites, implies forming a relative balance between Christianity and paganism as unified groups (MacCulloch 2011:291–293; McGrath 2013:42).

Nonetheless, comparing the time of Constantine with the past, the official support of the Roman government for Christianity could be felt as a very big social change and a crisis for the Roman public who adhered to the pagan position. In this situation, the Roman government seems to have attempted to minimise the sense of defeat among the Roman public on losing traditional paganism through incorporating Christianity on the basis of Roman tolerance and Roman imperialism (Davidson 2005b:16–19).

Third, Constantine began to mix Christian and Roman religious ideas to develop the religious values of Roman society. This seems to have formed a common culture between Christianity and paganism in Roman society; 'pro-Christian actions could appeal to non-Christian ideas' or non-Christian actions could appeal to Christian ideas (Davidson 2005b:19). The mixture of ideas from Christianity and from paganism can be seen as a

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[139] According to Jung Ki-hwan (2000:418–420), scholars such as Burghardt, Keim, and Zahn believe that Constantine tried to expand the Apollo faith as syncretism and to connect with the Christian belief later, but there is a lack of evidence. Constantine apparently sought to harmonise various Roman religious sentiments and actions as well as Christianity in Roman society by imprinting Hercules, Mars, and Jupiter/Zeus on the coins used in Roman society.

starting point for Constantine's religious policy, by which he wanted actively to exploit the religious features of the Romans. Sordi (1994:134) suggests that, for Constantine, the Edict of Milan would have meant the first step in forming an alliance with the Christian God, whom he thought of as the strongest god. As mentioned above (2.3.2), the religious activity in Rome pursued a combination of divine power and community values through appropriate rituals as one of the public functions leading the community. The legal character of the Roman religion also meant that some ceremonies had to follow precise and detailed rules (Ferguson 2003:165–173). The Christian faith therefore began to be combined with the forms of paganism, and the ceremonies and the feasts of the Christian community, which had not been restricted to a particular pattern, came to have a public function according to the mandatory manner of Rome, and the Christian community was to be organised according to these religious practices. It is because this mixture of ideas was the means by which Constantine could act as God's vicegerent and as a guardian of Christianity and by which the supporters of Roman religious activity could maintain the value of the existing Roman religious tradition under the pro-Christian emperor.

On the other hand, the mixture between ideas from Christianity and from paganism can be seen as a competitive relationship between the two. Before Constantine, the traditional paganism of Rome was the only religious system that reflected the Roman ideology of bringing the Roman Empire and the masses together in one community. However, by Christianity reflecting the Roman ideology in the process of the resocialisation of Christianity, a competitive structure was created between the two religious paradigms (i.e. Christianity and traditional paganism) concerning the method of sociocultural solidarity in Roman society. Their competition for religious priority instead revealed common points. The diverse Roman religious groups had already been integrated into a single religious paradigm centring on the sun god (*Sol Invictus*) as an imperial religion in the Roman Empire's pursuit of efficiency. As the emperor's power weakened and individualistic tendencies became stronger in Roman society, the various Roman religions from the Orient that had come into Roman society besides the strong priorities of the Roman traditional religion began to move towards syncretism and there was a prominent tendency for all gods to be equated and integrated into the sun god (cf. 3.3.4; Halsberghe 1972:120–128, 141–142, 162–171; Watson 1999:188–191). Chadwick (1993:72) points out that the empire needed 'a universal religion with which it could identify itself' for the role of religion to unite the Roman masses corresponding to the crisis of the Roman divide. In that respect, Constantine used the monotheism of Christianity and the symbolism of the sun god in intersection. The Roman public in the time of Constantine did not view syncretism in Rome and Christianity as in

confrontation due to a completely different character, but rather as competitive structures in defining the monotheistic concept that could provide better value.[140] The realistic competitive structure between the two religions in Roman society actually seems to have provided an environment in which they could be mutually assimilated and formed into an integrated system (Choi Hye-young 2000:335–348; Latourette 1975:175). In particular, it seems that the blending of Christianity and Roman paganism (as syncretism) proceeded smoothly, especially as the concept of the sun god was not used as the object of worship but merely as a symbol of state glory and the emperor's honour (Alföldi 1969:58).

On the other hand, this competitive structure seems to have led Christianity to become ritualistic after Constantine. However, these opportunities made it possible for Christianity to secure its social position in Rome easily, and Christianity gradually began to overwhelm the pagan society when a single organisational system was built to unite the power of the local Christian communities as one. After Constantine, the Christian ideology gained a key position in the policy decisions of the Roman regime on social integration, and the balance with the pagan society that had been maintained for some time began to dissolve (cf. Markus 1990:29–31).

4.2.2 The transformation of sociocultural attitude of Christianity

The transformation of the sociocultural attitude of Christianity signifies that Christianity was not to merely maintain the passive attitude that they wished Roman society to permit, the traditional Christian belief reflecting the main idea of the Jesus movement, or their eschatological and exclusive attitude to Roman social culture, but rather a shift in attitude to expand their sociocultural capacity in society by implementing a more advanced form of faith using the sociocultural cognitive elements of Rome and supported by Constantine's backing. This transformation of attitude can in a way be seen in the greater weighting of the Christian community building a visible and popular Kingdom of God than in maintaining the integrity and mystery of the community ruled by God (Davidson 2005b:45–46). This shift also implies that the community formerly treated as non-Romans in the Roman world would begin to enjoy proper sociocultural rights as Romans. I therefore think that the change in the social position of these Christians could have been the factor that changed the character of the Christian community. The major sociocultural benefits given to them did not just involve maintaining the integrity of faith but to strengthen the influence of faith. In this respect, the

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[140] The conversion of Constantine can be seen through two contradictory records concerning the illusion that preceded the battle with Maxentius: the one was the illusion of the appearance of the sun god Apollo that was recorded by a pagan author that Constantine saw (*Panegyrici Latini*, vi.21.3–6), and the other was a vision of the cross about which Constantine later told Eusebius. This mix was often seen in Constantine's policy; Chadwick (1993:126) argues, "Constantine was not aware of any mutual exclusiveness between Christianity and his faith in the Unconquered Sun".

organisation of the universal church and the standardisation of faith can be seen, not for the acquisition of unified faith only, but also for the acquisition of a unified organisation for the exercise of a strong Christian influence in Roman society.

Christianity, which had long sought an opportunity to breathe under the surface of sociocultural acceptance in the Roman Empire, had now been officially brought to the surface by Constantine's Edict. McGrath (2013:99) says that this edict allowed Christians in the shade of the Roman society to officially assume social roles in the light. In Christianity, this shift in its social position began to transform the sociocultural attitude. This was a new challenge for integrating fragmentary elements of general grace in the world, or values useful in the world, into the central Christian idea beyond the passive indigenisation that explains Christianity in the context of secular understanding. Just as Jewish society embodied the paradigm of a community ruled by God as a religious social community through a way of socialisation such as legalism, it could be the first step of Gentile Christian communities also to embody a paradigm of the community ruled by God as a Jesus movement in Roman society.

But all these radical changes (to implement visible forms of Christian values in a pagan sociocultural environment) were new and had never been experienced before. Therefore, in order to create a sociocultural attitude in Christianity, the policies for religious integration suggested by Constantine had to be followed for a while. Although Constantine did not actively define the attitude that Christianity should display towards pagan social culture, the sociocultural attitudes of Christianity began to be established gradually in interrelationship with the political purpose of Constantine in many areas (cf. McGrath, 2013:44–46). In particular, with Christian communities responding positively to the Christian integration policy of Constantine, the social and cultural scope of Christianity spread throughout Roman society and gradually began to override the scope of Roman traditional paganism, and the various religious values for sociocultural solidarity of the Roman Empire began to be unified into Christianity. The transformation of the sociocultural attitude of Christianity in the interrelation between Constantine and Christianity was realised through the following phases: 1. Securing the popular appeal of Christian values; 2. Structuring local or fragmented Christian communities into a single universal church; and 3. Building the sociocultural influence of the Christian community.

4.2.2.1 Securing the popular appeal of Christian values

The main reason for sociocultural isolation of Christianity in the past was the popular prejudice

that arose from the exclusiveness and confidentiality of the Christian communities and from Christianity not sharing common values with the Roman social system (Ferguson 2003:608–609). Therefore, for Christianity to overcome the sociocultural prejudices of the Roman Empire and to secure popular appeal for the expansion of the gospel, the abstract concepts of Christian ideology and Christian values needed to be transformed into a public concept for Roman society. The fact that Constantine's interrelationship with Christianity took the form of a cooperative relationship from the beginning was an important aspect that aided Christianity in becoming established as a civil religion in a short period of time and for the private concept of Christian values becoming reconstructed as a public concept. Apparently Christianity benefited in securing Roman popular appeal from the cooperated relationship with Constantine in two ways: the first being the rapid securing of a large number of supporters among the Roman public, and the second being the establishment of Christian values that were more familiar and favourable to the Roman masses (cf. 2.3.2.1).

As mentioned earlier (2.3.3), the Roman religious system functioned as a national religion and a contractual religion, providing a common value for attracting political attention without a particular belief (Beard 2015:102–103). The religious tendencies of the Roman masses were dominated by political power and mainstream forces and Roman religious trends were driven by political purposes (e.g. progress from religious pluralism to syncretism), which meant that Christianity could secure popular appeal in Rome more easily under Constantine's political influence in providing values common to Roman society (Ferguson 2003:165–173; McGrath 2003:17–19). The official conversion of Constantine resulted in the conversion of the Roman masses to Christianity, starting from the rulers and upper classes of the Roman Empire who were more sensitive to the political situation than to the traditional ideology of Rome. Constantine, in particular, gradually appointed a growing number of Christians as senior executives to closely link the Church and the state (Alföldi 1969:49; cf. MacCulloch 2009:296–297). In this trend, the increase in the Christian population from 5 million to 30 million people during the first century after the conversion of Constantine cannot be seen simply as a result of Christian mission in the ancient sociocultural environment, but rather that the sociocultural initiative shifted from the traditional pagan paradigm of Rome to the Christian paradigm in the eyes of the Roman masses (Richard 2010:269). Thus, the hostility of the Roman masses, who saw Christianity as anticultural, also gradually diminished, and they came to view Christianity more positively to the point of choosing Christianity as their own religion for its real benefits (Drake 2006:111; Johnson 1995:76).[141]

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[141] In a society where paganism was practised by most, Constantine's action in supporting Christianity while being seen as the chief priest of Roman paganism (i.e. Pontifex Maximus) would have brought the religious

It seems that the expansion of Christianity relied in particular on its capacity as a mechanism for organising Roman society (2.3.2) through the relationship between the sponsor and beneficiary, and faithfulness and duty. In the Roman tradition, such a relationship became the basis for their own support for political advancement, and they also broadly demonstrated the solidarity between the city of Rome and the provinces to maintain the Roman Empire (cf. Cicero, *On duties*, I.22–23; 58). The fact that the emperor became an official guardian or supporter of Christianity in this tradition and that Christianity at the same time became the official beneficiary of the emperor could be extended to the Roman mainstream as a special sense of the bond between Roman society and Christianity (cf. 2.3.2.5). As a result, the emperor was also able to absorb most of the specific forces such as Christianity as supporters by declaring himself to be a supporter of Christianity. The atmosphere in which the supportive forces of Constantine were concentrated around Christianity also means that Christianity was securing popular appeal and Christian values were being extended in Roman society (Davidson 2005b:121; Kee 1982:89).

On the other hand, in order for Christianity to become more active in Roman society in the context of the Christian resocialisation policy led by Constantine, the private and abstract central Christian ideas had to be presented through a public concept to facilitate intuitive understanding of Christianity among the Roman masses, who had realistic and reasonable religious sentiments (cf. Ferguson 2003:165–173; 2.3.2.2–3, 2.3.3). In other words, religion that the Romans could understand required open rites, an organisational system and a clear social role. In that sense, the Christian sociocultural values that corresponded to the Roman crisis anticipated by Constantine (4.2.1.1) were presented as a visible and public form of Christianity that could intuitively be understood by the Roman public. Thus, the public image of Christianity that had not existed before Constantine could become a new framework for understanding Christianity. The popular image of Christianity was far from an organic faith community with a unified confession of faith and order centred on Christ which enabled enduring persecution and resisting heresies. Rather it was closer to an ideology that revealed the god who gave victory to Constantine as the best god and as an alternative to the Roman religion that comprised a standardised religious concept and a local network. According to Chadwick (1993:72–73), educated people in the Roman Empire were interested in a universal religion which could be equated with the Empire in the religious diversity of the Roman Empire, and thus "Christianity achieved its success in the empire in part because it answered best to the empire's need for a universal religion so some Christian

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interest of Roman political power and the masses from paganism to Christianity. The chosen title of 'God's agent' in particular could have been regarded as supporting the position of Christianity as the representative religion of Rome in Roman society (Cochrane 1957:186–187).

writers of the fourth century regarded 'Roman' and 'Christian' as almost synonymous terms". The popular appeal of Christianity secured through the political support of Constantine and the influx of new Roman Christians who were familiar with the religious values of Rome, functioned to expand the sociocultural influence of the gospel, but this also had the dysfunction of Christianity having to be Romanised in accordance with the traditional values of Rome to be understood as the Roman religion. The permanent task given to Christianity after the Constantine era was how to embody inner and abstract Christian unity and values in an ever-changing sociocultural environment in any practical form.

4.2.2.2 Structuring local or fragmented Christian communities into a single universal church: 'one God – one emperor – one kingdom – one church – one faith'

According to Küng (1995:181), Constantine, leading the Nicene Council in 325, announced his ultimate plan for Christianity by which he intended to achieve the solidarity of the empire through adapting 'the church organisation to the state organisation' under the slogan 'one God - one emperor - one kingdom - one church - one faith'. This expectation gradually came to be embodied from the time of the Edict of Milan, before it was formulated at the ecumenical council, and his expectation involved various considerations of sociocultural interrelationships between Christianity and the Roman Empire. The fact that Christianity could be offered as a single organisation with a local network, compared to the various religions of Rome without a single unified ideology or organisational system, could be seen as very powerful condition to attract the attention of the Roman public and to combine sociocultural effects in Roman society. The most important problem in constructing this universal organisational system of Christianity concerned who should take the initiative for the organisation and the central role of integration in a way that corresponded to Roman sociocultural structure.

At the time, the problem regarding the initiative for such organisation concerned: firstly, the position of the emperor as the official guardian and sponsor of the universal church in the Christian organisation and, secondly, the representative church and priesthood as the standard of Christian universality.

In the former case, Constantine wanted to demonstrate the supreme authority of both the Church and the state through the position of 'God's vicegerent' and 'overseer of those outside' as the chief priest representing Rome. He, indeed, revealed his influence in the formation process of the universal church. However, there seemed to be no particular conflicts or confrontations between the political power and the Church concerning the

leadership of the Church, which may have been because Constantine's influence at that time overwhelmed the authority of the universal church, and Christianity also had not established a theological position to distinguish between politics and church with regard to Christian secular power (Cochrane 1957:186–187; Johnson 1995:78; Küng 1995:180–181).[142]

In the latter case, the episcopacy and the hierarchical system among the local Christian communities from before Constantine, were being systematised as a structure that integrated Christianity and maintained order internally. The Roman Church and the bishop, in particular, received some support as an ecclesial standard from the second century from Christian leaders (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*vi.23.10). However, this structure only involved a common belief system for the maintenance and succession of central Christian ideas, not corresponding to the secular system in any way. The supremacy of the Roman Church was also simply supported by the respectful treatment of the Roman Church and Roman bishops as the first among themselves by other churches, according to the continuity established by Peter and Paul, not by being institutionalised. But the universal church and order that Constantine envisioned was more realistic. Constantine's plan for Christianity, which emerged from his major policy decisions, was to create Christianity as a structured organisational system capable of exercising dynamic sociocultural capacity so that Christianity could be of practical assistance to the empire's unity. This had to include a clear vertical structure and order among clerics and among the churches for the efficiency of the organisation. In the meantime, the Roman Church gradually began to attain superiority as a universal church in the Roman Empire on the basis of the organisation and standardisation of Christianity, which reflected the intent of Constantine, and continued to expand its own position as the symbol and representation of Christianity. This attitude of the Roman Church was even revealed in the argument about supremacy with the church in Constantinople. After the empire's capital was moved to Constantinople, the void of secular power in the Western Roman Empire was an opportunity for the Roman Church to expand the power and position of the Roman bishop, and to become the only ecclesial standard in the Western Empire (MacCulloch 2009:289–291).

Therefore, the steps that were followed in structuring the Christian communities into a unified universal church reflect the main differences in the Christian forms of before and after Constantine in relation to the interaction between Christian resocialisation and Roman social culture: Transformation of the meaning of Christian universality (from inner unity to outer

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[142] From the beginning the initiative of the ecumenical council of 325 CE was held by the emperor, not the pope. Not only did the emperor convene the ecumenical council, he also presided over the council through a bishop who delegated his full authority – "by his decision the resolutions of the council became imperial laws" (Küng 1995:180 –181).

unity) - Systematisation of Christian universality (as the one church) - Standardisation of Christian universality (as common forms of Christian faith).

Transformation of the meaning of Christian universality (from inner unity to the outer unity)

It is seen that the universality of Christianity was transformed from finding the inner homogeneity of faith and confirming the mutual communality of Christianity before Constantine into achieving structural unity in the external gaze corresponding to the Roman social culture after Constantine. The term 'universal' before the emergence of Constantine refers to the Christian orthodoxy, contrasted with heresy. It was presented in words emphasising the universal scope of Christian communities following the common invisible belief system of early Christianity, such as rules of faith, the common list of the Biblical canons, and the tradition of apostolicity (Srawley 2015[1910]:41). In recognising the universality of Christianity at the time, the external religious forms of various local Christian communities were not standardised to represent a single unified form, and the forms of faith that conformed to the sociocultural patterns of each region were mutually recognised. The local Christian communities nonetheless exhibited internal universality in recognising each other as the same community (Küng 1995:117; McGrath 2013:11). Earlier in the second century, Ignatius (*Epist. Smyr.*, 3.1–4), in emphasising the importance of the universal church, included the internal order that was centred in the bishop. Afterwards, a vertical system consisting of the bishops and plural elders and deacons assisting them was gradually strengthened. This universal system, however, reflected the continuity of internal unity to cope with the actual Roman persecution and to deal with heresies, rather than the public meaning of the organised church after Constantine. After the persecution by Emperor Decius in the mid-third century, when the dispute and division of the Church, such as the Novatian issue, occurred, Cyprian began to insist on the unity of the church as an internal consensus and the external single structure maintained by the apostolic succession. But Christianity was still not able to form actual external unity or Christian universality to exercise compelling power for unity because of being a persecuted group (Han Chul-ha 2001[1970]:110, 115). The emergence of Constantine facilitated the universality of Christianity and recognition of the political and sociocultural importance of Rome for the internal and external unity of the Christian community, and the structure of Christianity was outwardly unified and adapted to Roman public society. Thus, if the universalisation of Christian communities prior to Constantine had a way of discovering the inner homogeneity of total Christianity through the sociocultural values of various regions, the universalisation of the Christian communities, led by Constantine, was a way of defining and pursuing external

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unity in accordance with Christian standards determined through a single Christian organisation approved by the government within a single social culture (Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, ii.56). This would be very effective for Christianity to achieve visible unity and maintain the community according to the principle of representativeness, but there was the danger of unifying Christianity into a single social culture such as Roman society culture, just as the debate about heresy deepened in the Middle Ages as the visible standard of faith strengthened. In other words, the various rituals of Christian faith developed in local Christian communities needed to be uniformly integrated according to the way of the universal church's political initiative, or their rites were accepted regardless of the regional specificity.

However, the pursuit of the universality of Christianity in external unity cannot be seen solely as the political intent of Constantine, who desired the power of integrated Christianity. The Christian community also needed universality as the external unity of Christianity in order to deal with the problem of the reality of internal discord resulting from the differences in interpretation of the Christian-centred idea among the local Christian communities.[143] When Constantine defeated Licinius in 324 and became the sole ruler in the Roman Empire, the internal discord especially became more outwardly evident and following Constantine's direct intervention, beginning from the Arian controversy, the universality of Christianity began to be an issue as a public problem of the Roman Empire beyond the individual problems of Christianity (Euseb. *Vita Cons.*, iii.64–72). As can be seen from the Council of Nicaea and its creeds, Constantine's reaction to the issue was to abandon the basic perspectives of the Gentile Christian communities that had allowed external flexibility in accordance with the inherent unity of Christian faith, and to proceed with standardising the forms of Christian faith (e.g. theology, the liturgical year, Christian services) for the external unity of Christianity (Leith 1982:20, 29). Constantine soon combined the fragmented Christian ideas and organisations into a form that corresponded to Roman politics and established a local Christian community as a universal church. Constantine saw it as more important to establish a unified Christian organisation with order and authority for the government's smooth control of Christianity, and for gathering together as many views as possible, regardless of which local theological views coincided more with the central Christian idea (Ritter 2006:297–298).[144] In other words, for Constantine, the main concern of

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[143] According to Küng (1995:148–149, 169–176, 184), inherent longstanding religious conflicts within Christianity appeared in the time of Constantine. This concerned subtle differences in theology and religious rituals among the local Christian communities and a competition for the initiative of the Church in line with it, but there was not a standardised system for the integration of local Christian communities and corresponding compelling sociocultural power.

[144] In Constantine's letter to Alexander of Alexandria and Arius (*Urkunde 17 Constantine's letter*, October 324 CE,

Christianity was not the question of the purity of faith but the question of the unity of the church. In some respects, the empire could be regarded as establishing 'its imperial church' by incorporating a centralised hierarchy of Christianity into the organisation of the empire.[145] In addition, local churches had used somewhat differing confessions, and now the imperial church needed 'a uniform ecumenical creed' to be accepted as the 'church law and imperial law'. Thus, a system for the solidarity of Roman society was beginning to be reconstructed through the external forms of Christian faith in 'one God - one emperor - one kingdom - one church - one faith' (Küng 1995:181). The universality that the universal church would have after Constantine was to be based not only on the united principle of whole Christianity, but also on the sociocultural universality of the Roman Empire.

Systematisation of Christian universality (as the one church)

When the Jewish Jesus movement lost its church leadership with the loss of the Jerusalem Church, the Gentile Christian communities were largely localised and the major parishes in each area were competing with one another for legitimacy. From the standpoint of Constantine, this internal Christian competition caused discomfort with regard to using Christian values as a new paradigm for the unity of the Roman Empire. Constantine thus needed to reconstruct the Christian communities into a unified organisation for political usefulness. In that respect, Constantine's actions were stricter with regard to sectarian or heretic issues than with the supporters of Roman religious groups (Euseb., *Vita Cons.,* iii.63–66).[146] As Eusebius (*Vita Cons.,* iii.63.1) indicated, Christian communities also needed a structure corresponding to the Roman social structure to bring 'the whole Church of God into harmonious concord' and for the pursuit of efficiency to expand the gospel and Kingdom of God (Johnson 1995:86).

The process of systematising organisations is characterised by specifying the boundaries of a group as clear common goals and agendas, clear distinction between and specialisation of the members' positions, and strict regulation of norms to limit members' individual behaviour

cited in Ritter 2006:297), Constantine states that the emperor's intervention in the church controversy had its basis in the calling God imposed on him. That meant combining the people through taking 'the same form' according to the religious purposes of the people. From Constantine's point of view, an honourable thing for Christians could be understood as being integrated into the universal order rather than pureness of faith.

[145] In that respect, Küng (1995:180) evaluates the Council of Nicaea as follows, "Constantine used this first council not least to adapt the church organization to the state organization. The church provinces were to correspond to the imperial provinces, each with a metropolitan and a provincial synod (especially for the election of bishops). A patriarchal constitution was already taking shape from the first council on, by the elevation of the patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and, with the same honorific status, Jerusalem".

[146] Constantine never abandoned the recognition that no one should restrict any act of worshipping own gods, but he was very strict with sectarianists and heretics (e.g. the Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, and Cataphrygians). He seized the venues of the heretics, handed them over to the universal church, and disapproved their congregation, which opened the way to Christian heresy law (Euseb., *Vita Cons*., iii. 63–66).

and to adapt to the organisation's requirements (cf. Min Kyung-Bae 1994:171). In this respect, the results of the universal church organised by Constantine show the common goal of the state and the Church precisely and reveal that the universal church was not merely organised as a community of faith. Before Constantine, the Christian community was organised according to the tradition of the apostles as a functional gift structure that maintained worship and community beliefs, which meant that it functioned apart from sociocultural rationality or Gospel efficiency. Once the Christian community had been systematised as a universal church by Constantine, Christianity had to consider the efficiency of the gospel as a central task in accordance with the purpose of systematisation, and to establish a unified ideology and a system of authority. In other words, the common goals, roles, and hierarchy within the community had to be pursued functionally and efficiently (Küng 1995:115–127, 146–149).

Henceforth, the universal church as a systematised Christian organisation seems to have included some of the following characteristics distinct from the pre-Constantine era.

First, the hierarchy of Christianity for maintaining orthodox faith and communal order in the past was transformed into a structural function for constituting and operating an organisation. At the council of Nicaea, the patriarch was confirmed to be superior to the country bishop. This can be seen as an intention not merely to assert the hierarchy to distinguish between high and low in the priesthood, but also to perform the systematisation for gathering the collective capacity of Christianity as one by putting the existing regional congregations and the bishops of local parishes under instruction of the metropolitan bishops. Thus, after Constantine, when an individual Christian group became a member of the universal church, it meant that it fully belonged to the substructure of the officially recognised major parishes, regardless of the integrity of the group's faith.[147]

Second, in the past, each office in Christian communities was merely a part of various Ecclesial gifts, eventually being understood as an idealised way in which every function was united to form a universal church (Ephesians 2:21, 4:7–12; cf. Küng 1995:117–121), but after Constantine the universal church began to be a systematised organisation run by the priesthood (cf. 3.3.3.3). In other words, the division of the hierarchy became the core function of the organisation, and the separation between lay and priesthood, general priesthood and high priesthood was strengthened, leading to sacerdotalism. Constantine

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[147] The fifth and the sixth of twenty new church laws promulgated in Nicaea referred to the introduction of a metropolitan system corresponding to the Roman system and the special position of the metropolitan cities in the systematisation of the Church. After this, the system of the patriarchate was established in terms of Constantine's attempt and it cannot be considered irrelevant to Christian systematisation (cf. Ritter 2006:306–308).

contributed to this change, and the priesthood was allowed various exemptions by the state (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.2.2 [319 CE]) and was given authority to judge civil cases, like the secular courts (i.e. bishop courts – *audientia episcopalis*) (*Cod. Theod.* i.27.1 [318 CE]).

Third, Christian beliefs were ritualised on the basis of sacerdotalism, and the universal church was transformed into an organisation to control it. The pre-Constantine Christian rituals were very simple, and there were few institutionalised parts that all Christian communities would have to maintain in common, except baptism and Holy Communion; even existing rituals were free within the community, and the confirmation as Christians was also acknowledged in a very simple way among its members (Justin Martyr, *Apology*, i.61–67; Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 20.4–9; Küng 1995:151). But from Constantine onwards, actions including Christian values had to be presented for non-Christians as a visible form they could access easily, and it was gradually standardised in a fixed framework. This framework seems to have continued the past Jewish paradigm, which for some time had disappeared with the appearance of Paul's Gentile Christian communities and the loss of the Jerusalem Christian community, or had to follow the traditional religion of Rome, as follows: 1. The official duty of the clergy of Christianity included the meaning of the high priest of the Old Testament or of a divine intercessor in paganism; 2. Christian places of worship were not simply places for community gathering only, but also were considered sanctified places, like the Temple in Jerusalem or the temples of paganism; 3. The Christian ceremony did not include animal sacrifice, but it became equipped with a 'cultic ceremonial' corresponding to the ritual in the Old Testament. Thus, after Constantine, the universal church had to be an organisation with power to control and enforce such ceremonies, including the central Christian idea, as in the Jewish tradition. However, as ceremonialism was a religious value of traditional Roman paganism, the Roman public could accept and have some understanding of the ceremonies of the universal church (Küng 1995:211–214).

Standardisation of Christian universality (as common forms of Christian faith)

The standardisation of the forms of faith implies the establishment of universalised and uniform forms of faith that mould the identity and the similarity of the community in the socialisation process of the Christian community. Standardisation is deeply related to the systematisation of a group, because standardised forms provide integrated power to the organisation that deals with it and the power to effectively control it by breaking down the regional boundaries of diverse societies to create a common sphere (cf. Ferguson 2003:20–21; Heichelheim 1984:103).

In the past, Judaism had a standardised form of faith adapted to Jews, such as circumcision, legalism, the Jewish calendar including religious feasts, temple services, and synagogues. The Jewish communities scattered in Gentile society could confirm their mutual sense of solidarity through these standardised forms of faith. Jewish Christianity partially inherited these standardised forms of faith of Judaism, but with the loss of the Church in Jerusalem, the forms of faith in Gentile Christian communities were restructured locally. As mentioned earlier, the unity that the Gentile Christian communities showed before Constantine emerged was an organic one, in which people with diverse cultural backgrounds shared intrinsic unity by sharing the same essential and permanent central idea of Christianity. Although the rule of faith, Christian biblical canons, and Apostolic legitimacy had emerged as standardised forms of inner unity, it was a way of finding a corresponding common principle of faith against the assertion of quasi-Christianity, not a function to institutionalise or systematise the Christian communities. As time went by, the differences in the sociocultural forms for adapting the inner unity of Christianity in local communities led to an increase in external discrepancies and tensions (Hiegert 1998:52–53; Küng 1995:7–9). Constantine's Christian integration policy focused on the external discrepancy resulting from the sociocultural diversity of the local Christian communities, and with the emergence of the symbolic status of the universal church emphasising external unity, unified standards that defined the external form of faith began to be established. Beginning in 314, Constantine continued to support and convene councils reflecting his political goals in dealing with the diversity of Christian forms of faith. At the same time, however, the work of standardising these orthodox faiths was something that Christian communities had also wanted from earlier on, and now Constantine provided them this official opportunity. Although the standardisation of forms of faith was not set out in detail at the time of Constantine, it began to have the following broad characteristics as an important premise for integrating the different local communities into a universal Christianity.

First, standardisation gave authority to documents with a common and universal system of belief and produced a standardised form of faith in accordance with it. The standardisation principle of faith was important in that it had characteristics to deal with all races and classes called Christians in the Roman world under the same rule. In other words, limiting the various individual religious principles that were produced among the local Christian communities, and using only the common religious principles that were inferred from the selected documents as the firm standard of the Christian faith, it was to prevent divisions that could have arisen from differences in forms of faith, and establish a compelling sociocultural power for Christian unity. The various local texts shared among Christian

communities either were attributed or eliminated as a common canon. The important aspect of Christian resocialisation that is evident here is that this became a means for binding local churches in a single integrated authority through leading the delocalisation of the local peculiarity of each text. Such regularising work of the New Testament were under way before the emergence of Constantine, and many of the texts, except for some controversial texts, were actually being used de-regionally (cf. Grant 2004:308).[148] After Constantine, the universal church ultimately reaffirmed the result and gave the legal authority to use the result officially as a standard of faith for the whole church. This work was not completed until at least 367.[149] It seems that the work of canonisation as a standardisation of forms of Christian faith became a system that divided orthodoxy and heresy more strictly, and was effective in integrating the regional characteristics of Christian communities in one universality.

Second, standardisation established the boundaries between Christian communities that did not follow the apostolic tradition and the rule of faith expressed by the universal church and established a standardised theological system to end the doctrinal dispute over the problem of interpreting the text. The authoritative texts shared among the Christian communities were becoming fixed as an important standard of Christian faith, but interpretation concerning the texts created another doctrinal dispute. With such issues increasingly emphasising the importance of the doctrinal standards for religious education, Christian leaders tried to reaffirm the common rule of faith from the middle of the second century by means of a creed (*credo*) as the basic principle of biblical interpretation.[150] But such confessions were somewhat removed from the purpose of the Christian standardisation system after Constantine. It seems that no confession of faith before Constantine brought about internal conflict in Christianity, because there was no sociocultural power to limit the various regional expressions of faith. In this respect, the Nicene Creed of the Council of Nicaea in 325 CE can be seen as the beginning of a standardised confession of faith and the choice of what creed the universal church would follow was treated as a major issue for binding the masses (e.g. the conflict between Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, and the division of the church between East and West) (Leith 1982:17–19, 28; McGrath 2013:64–65). This had a visible and compelling structure as the official confession corresponding to the circumcision and

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[148] Marcion, who was regarded as heretical, proposed a list of Christian canons (140 CE). His list was related to his arbitrary manner of reading and interpreting the texts. This instigated orthodox Christian communities to work towards canonisation (e.g. the Muratorian fragment [about 180 CE] and Origen's list [about 250 CE]), therefore a more universal interpretation of the Bible came to be required (Metzger 1997:98).

[149] The Western Church's authorisation of the final list of canons was confirmed through Athanasius's Paschal letter (367 CE), the Synod of Rome (383 CE), and the Synod of Carthage (397 CE).

[150] The drafts as confessions of faith – such as Ignatius' confession of faith – appeared around 107 CE (*The Trallians* 9.1–2), *Epistula Apostolorum* around 150 CE, and Justin's confession around 180 CE (Leith 1982:17–19).

laws of Judaism that did not allow flexibility and was sensitive concerning the addition and removal of words and phrases. The emperor began to reveal the political character in the standardisation of the theological system through publicly announcing the new creeds and texts of the church law determined by the council as a common principle of faith, rejecting Arianism and excluding the concerned people from the universal church. The resulting theological boundaries and system were different from Christianity as in the past because the theological debate stemmed from the Roman emperor's political position and was a result of the boundaries of Roman law (i.e. a simple principle of integrating public life in terms of rationality and efficiency) with strong sociocultural influence (cf. Brunt 1971:17–23). In other words, the standardised theological system after Constantine had to be related to the structural framework of Roman social culture. As a result, this process of standardisation gave rise to the formation of two universal churches, each with its own standards, as the stance on universality were divided into two according to the political and sociocultural differences of the East (relatively more Hellenistic than the West) and the West. In other words, the standardisation aimed at ending doctrinal disputes actually led to conflict at the front line and became the cause of separation in the universal church (Küng 1995:180–181; Leith 1982:29).

On the other hand, the boundary centred on the clash between the doctrinal system and other doctrines seems to have strengthened the ideology of the unified group claiming to be legitimate and strengthened the structure and regulation of each group (cf. Gager 1975:79–87). In other words, a standardised theological system thus could be a central principle that would divide orthodoxy and non-orthodoxy within the Christian world and unify mainstream forces into the organisational system, just like Roman citizenship in the Roman Empire produced solidarity centring on Rome (cf. Horsley 1997:89–90; Stambaugh & Balch 1986:30). As we can see in the history of theology after Constantine, the bonds of the theological system secured in this way were not easily broken, and the two mainstream Christian ideological systems of universality (Western) and orthodoxy (Eastern) continued. In this case, theologies outside the Roman world, including some African Christian communities that did not fall under the political influence of the Imperial Church, had to be treated as relatively minor. In this respect, it seems that the standardised theological system was reflected in various political wills – both state and church – after Constantine, and served as a means of securing central control (e.g. councils or emperor or ecumenical patriarchs) over the diverse local Christian communities within the Roman Empire (Johnson 1995:86; Kee 1982:104; Küng 1995:246–247).

Third, it is a work of standardisation to constitute an organisation that will make boundaries

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clear and establish authority to control the organisation. The advantage of standardisation is that it defines a common principle that can effectively bind and manage communities, while the organisation that produces and manages standards will have the control over such standards. As seen in earlier Jewish Jesus movement, the decision about the standards of Christian faith in the Church of Jerusalem (e.g. regarding issues of circumcision and food law of Gentile Christians) revealed control over the Christianity of Palestine and the Gentile world. Since Constantine, such authority of control of Christian standards similarly became a religious force based on theology for Christians and a sociocultural force for the masses in Christianising the Roman Empire. This also happens when the universal church gains control as an integrated organisational system that authorises the theological principles that they produce to control the scattered local churches, and maintain the unity and boundaries of Christianity (Johnson, 1995:44, 86). Control concerning the standardisation was not exercised by anyone other than Constantine as the authority at the time, but when the empire's capital was transferred to Constantinople, in the Western Roman Empire, the authority to some extent moved to the Roman Church, and the Roman Church gradually became firmly established as the base of control of the universal church, which produced and managed the standards of Christian faith.[151]

I think that this standardisation had the following potential problems:

First, the standard of Christian faith could no longer have been a common profession of faith and a life based on the central Christian idea which the Christians before Constantine in general intended to preserve, but a philosophical and ideational theological interpretation principle, and its consequences and ritual acts made it look more special than secular things. The reason that the Medieval Church had ritualised faith under the strong control of the universal church seems to have resulted from influences of such standardisation work.

Second, the diverse forms of Christian faith based on local culture began to be attacked by the control authority of the universal church after standardisation. In the past, the localised Christian communities were able to identify with the spirit of faith of the community and maintain solidarity by confirming the internal unity of the central Christian ideas in the social and cultural diversity of that time. However, the standards of faith in Romanised Christianity, which reflected the sociocultural values of Rome, began to control and limit various forms of faith (cf. Davidson 2005b:153–157; Johnson 1995:86). Standardised forms of faith should not be superior to other individualised forms of faith but are merely considered as Gospel

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[151] Theodosius published edicts prohibiting any form of Christian ceremony that differed from the universal church (MacMullen 2004:227).

efficiency, and regional personality should not be attacked by such standards unless they distort central Christian ideas. However, the emphasis on standardisation towards systematising the work of the universal church, which reflected various political goals, became the way to forcibly integrate the personality of local Christianity with relatively little regard for local opinion.

Third, the standards of the Christian faith and the authority of the universal church that produced it were combined and eventually some forms of the Christian standards, which had been limited to the age, achieved permanent status. Some standardised forms of faith were confined to usefulness in one era. Even in the Jewish Jesus movement, circumcision and food laws were assessed as reaching the end of its usefulness, in this respect, and they were completely free in the Gentile Christian community. However, under Constantine the standardised forms of faith attained a fixed and permanent position as symbols of authority to differentiate the universal church from secular society. In the end, these standardised forms of faith seemed to be the cause of the clash between the universal emotions of the new era and the universal authority of the Church of the past era, as evidenced by the Renaissance and the Reformation era.

4.2.2.3 Building the sociocultural influence of the Christian community

Christian communities gradually achieved sociocultural influence in Roman society as a result of universalisation, systematisation, and standardisation after Constantine, along with the community capacity centred on the Christian-centred idea that they had inherited before Constantine, and they began to secure a sociocultural position in Roman society. It shows the growth of Christianity's public position and influence in Roman society and reveals socio-cultural competitiveness or compelling power based on its social leverage. The process of this change can be approached as follows:

The current denial of the past Roman society's judgement concerning Christianity

That the Christian communities began to achieve sociocultural influence can be regarded as an explicit rejection of the past punishment by the Roman Empire through the normal sociocultural activities of Christianity. Earlier, most Christian martyrs were publicly punished under Roman law and this, as mentioned above (3.3.4), was justified according to Roman sentiment. However, when the government took a political pro-Christianity line after Constantine, past judgments began to be denied indirectly. The Constantine government and the universal church did not directly deny or refute the anti-Christian policy of the past in order to justify pro-Christian policy, but rather approached it as a more socioculturally flexible way of

dealing with Roman law. The Constantine government reassessed the sociocultural values of Christianity in the Edict of Milan in order to deal with the issue of Christian responsibility for the division or deterioration of the empire's solidarity raised by past Roman law and traditional Roman sentiment (cf. 3.3.4), and began to give special significance to the Christian martyrs who had been punished by the government in the past as legal, by especially commemorating representative martyrs such as Paul and Peter, setting up a chapel in their memory in the city of Rome, which was a symbol of Roman traditional religiosity. Beginning with this, it became fashionable to establish the martyr's grave as a place of prayer, and Christians publicly commemorated the martyrs as saints and developed various forms of worship for them.[152] Such action was a denial of Christian persecution in the collective reflection of the Romans' past political, social and religious beliefs. For the Romans who considered the tradition and history of their ancestors as important, this could be seen as denying their whole identity, and in the conservative Roman society, Christianity could be seen as taking in a very challenging stance (Köting 1983:193; MacCulloch 2011:291–292; Walker 1992:191–192).

On the other hand, it seems that the worship of these Christian martyrs changed the perception of the Roman public of the social and cultural influence of Christianity. The religious ceremonies and festivals of the Romans, which were symbolic of the Roman-centred unity, showed where and when Roman political ideology was directed with regard to what and who were commemorated (Cochrane, 1957:117; Gonzalez 1987:37; Köting 1983:126–127). In the totemic solidarity mechanism for the unity of the Roman Empire, the community had dealt with the divine and human boundaries more fluidly and constructively, including various forms of worship of visible gods (*Epiphanie*), such as emperors, politicians, generals and heroes (Beard 2015:102–103, 106, 429–434; Lau 1996:180). Thus, the deification of the Christian martyrs as saints suggested to the Romans that Christians had become part of the political and religious influence. This could have been an advantage in expanding Christian influence to the public who were accustomed to the traditional practice of Roman religious ideology, but at the same time, when viewing the Christian community as a unity centring on a figure and an ideology, this could have been the first step in deviating from the central ideology of the Jesus movement pursued in the earliest Christianity.

Appearance of the visible symbols showing the sociocultural influence of the Christian community

In Christianity, it seems that the place of worship had particular meaning in the Christian

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[152] According to MacCulloch (2011:291–292), the new system began to note the records of former Christian martyrs in Rome and to commemorate them, but the number was more inflated than the actual dead.

resocialisation and the concept of a simple place for the gathering of Christians changed to a specialised building for Christian public worship as the spatial boundary separating the divine Christian place and the secular world. The Greek-Roman heritage of the meaning of space through architecture was not really treated as an important concept in the Christian community before Constantine, and it did not bear any weight in defining Christian identity (Meeks 1983:78–80).

The concept of the Temple, which was considered sacred in the ancient Israelite religion in the past, had a divine and religious boundary distinct from the outside of the Temple. Despite the fact that the importance of religious bases became less important in Judaism, the symbolism of the Temple of Jerusalem as a sacred space was passed on to them, and early Jewish Jesus followers stood on its traditional value. However, as the Gentile Christian communities became the mainstream of Christianity, the symbolism of the divine presence in a distinct and sacred place replaced an actual building with the meeting and fellowship of Christians as the reality embodying the body of Christ and as a symbolic space connoting the invisible mysteries and secrets of Christianity.[153] In the early era of Christianity, many synagogues were shared as places of worship for Christians, and private houses and graves also could be used flexibly as spaces where Christians could be together (Küng 1995:151). Such a perception was maintained for a while after Constantine, thus there was no great objection to the conversion of the place used as a pagan temple to the place of Christian worship or to building a church by following the architecture of the Roman basilica rather than the Jerusalem Temple of Judaism. For them, the building itself did not present the symbolism of faith; the meeting of the Christians itself imbued the symbolism of faith to the place (Krautheimer 1986:23–24; McGrath 2013:43–44). However, the value of Christian architecture after Constantine makes it seem that the religious meanings of ancient Jerusalem were regenerated among the Roman masses, and this can be seen in two distinctive features.

In the Christian stance, the first characteristic of Christian architecture is that it became a distinct place to reveal the religious value of Christianity as a boundary separating Christian and non-Christian. It was difficult to distinguish believers and their religious acts from the universal lifestyle of the society under the theocratic rule of ancient Israel and Jewish society. For them, therefore, distinctive spaces and buildings had to present the boundary for their

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[153] During Christian persecution, there were no buildings that could be called a place of worship; Christian meetings were held in private dwellings or in the catacombs. According to Schaff (*H.C.C.* iii.8.103), there were buildings separated as formal Christian worship places during the interval between the persecution of Decius and that of Diocletian, but when the persecution began, these were demolished (cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl*. viii. 1; Ferguson 2003:141).

distinct religious acts and the divine presence. For Christians in the Roman Empire, however, their exclusive and secret religious life as a mystical union with Christ and their meetings were boundaries distinct from Roman social culture and their universal life, and they revealed the clear boundaries with Roman social culture at a level that the Roman masses could perceive, and thus Christians were persecuted. However, when Christianity became an official religion in Rome, the religious practices of Christians no longer provided any particular distinction and could be perceived as one of the various Roman religious acts. In other words, when Christians were persecuted, external pressures on the title of Christian strengthened the boundary for their identity and solidarity, even if they did not have external symbols, but when the external pressures disappeared, the title of Christian could not be a clear boundary to provide Christian identity (cf. Felix, *Octavius*, 10.2; Oregene, *contra Celsum*, i.1). Therefore, to avoid being absorbed in the universal religiosity of Rome, it was necessary to distinguish Christian personality from other religious spaces and acts. Consequently, Christians gradually began to use special places and architecture in specific religious meanings and this process seems to have been interlocked with the symbolism of the universal church which was being systematised at that time. Buildings of the Roman period at the time were built especially according to their specific purposes and functions, and the sociocultural symbolism of such buildings was very clear to the public (Munro 2014:379–380). Architecture therefore became an important part of the universal church in shaping the Christian ideology for the Roman masses.[154] In this respect, for both Christians and non-Christians, the visible church could be recognised after Constantine as an organisation with systemised standards, and a place or a building for its reification. In addition, it seems that Christianity increasingly valued religious architecture in competition with paganism, and an important part of the images of the church of Christianity gradually started becoming the special visible forms of the building, rather than the special meetings of Christians themselves. While the meeting and fellowship of Christians in the past made the place meaningful in Christian faith (e.g. catacombs), places became a Christian way of making Christian meetings and fellowships meaningful (e.g. buildings erected on symbolic places concerning Christian narratives and the martyrs' tombs) (cf. Ferguson 2002:141; Krautheimer 1986:23–67; MacCulloch 2011:291–294).

The second characteristic of Christian architecture, as seen in Constantine's command regarding the construction of the church (Euseb., *Vita Cons.,* ii.46), is that Constantine used

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[154] Chadwick (1993:55) says, "[i]t was not till the fourth century that churches acquired a 'public' style of architecture and became recognisable as such". Davidson (2005b:287) says, "the fourth century, in the Roman world as a whole a new physical reality had been witnessed – the presence of obvious places of worship, reflective of imperial favor and a new kind of social confidence".

Christian architecture as a political tool to publicly reveal the relationship between himself and Christianity and the relationship between Christianity and Roman social culture. As public monuments, many of the representative buildings of Rome embraced sociocultural meanings to reveal the historic achievements of the Romans. In this respect, Constantine seemed to have emphasised the external capabilities of Christianity in comparison with pagan temples. Given the realism of Roman society which emphasised practicality and rationality (cf. 2.3.2.3), the external scale of the church buildings would be the most realistic way for Constantine to integrate the Roman masses into a single religious value in terms of how the various public pagan temples (e.g. the Altar of *Victoria*, the Temple of *Vesta* and the *Pantheon*)[155] implied the sociocultural functions of Roman religion (Beard 2015:532–534; Ferguson 2003:141; cf. Ambrose, *Epistles,* 17–18; Symmachus *Relationes* 1–3). That is because, much as the emperor became a prime mover of Roman religious rites as Pontifex Maximus, the visible size of the religious architecture and religious events became a measure of the sociocultural value of the religion, showing how these aspects could mobilise and integrate political, social and cultural elements in the society (cf. Hadas 1958:125; Munro 2014:380; Thomas 2004:11). [156] The Constantine government began to make Christianity attractive to Roman citizens as well as the traditional Roman religious activities by offering a variety of benefits to make full use of Christianity, and Christian architecture could also be seen as part of this. Kötting (2006:105–106) and MacCulloch (2011:291–294) focus in particular on the connotations of Christian architecture relating to Constantine, in that Constantine constructed churches at special places that would ensure that he and his commitment would be remembered historically, namely: 1. places of divine manifestation; 2. the tombs of the apostles in Rome (Peter and Paul); 3. major cities; and 4. Constantinople, his new capital. In this respect, Christian architecture seemed to reflect the intention of publicly promoting the integrated social and cultural power of the interaction between Constantine and Christianity to the masses.

The visible symbolism of Christianity in Roman society gradually began to fuse not only with the architecture but also with the various public Roman symbols. In 315, the mint of Ticino carved a cross on a Roman coin, and in 319, the form of the Altar of Victory on a coin was decorated with a cross. Everything was not actively directed by Constantine himself, but the

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[155] Such religious buildings became the centre of the conflict between Christianity and paganism during the time of Emperor Theodosius. In the end, the architecture that symbolised paganism were completely removed or dispersed due to Christianisation of the state. The fact that Christianity reacted sensitively to the historical architecture of Rome seems to reflect not only the pagan symbolism but also the sociocultural symbolism of the Roman architecture (cf. Ambrose *Epistles* 17–18; Symmachus *Relationes* 1–3).

[156] From the political implications of the Pantheon of Rome – which united the religions of the various regions – it seems that Roman society expressed its position in a totemistic union (cf. Gnuse 1997:167, 200; Thomas 2004:11).

idea of the coin maker was accepted. Since 321, the Greek letter XP (Chi Rho), the initial letter of the name of Christ, appeared on the *vexilum*. This combination shows harmony between Christianity and Roman social culture, but in the eyes of the Roman masses, who had revered their traditional culture only, this change had to be seen as a strengthening of Christianity and an expansion of Christian influence. The sociocultural changes that could be felt in daily life seemed to have become the Christian sociocultural basis that led to the Christian approach to Roman society and the Roman pagans familiar with the traditional Roman sociocultural approach to Christian values. However, under Constantine, Christianity did not develop as a political pressure group, and the resocialisation of Christianity led by Constantine emphasised the fact that, like other religious groups, Christianity was also under the domination of Roman ideology. Thus, for the time being, Christianity could be viewed as being embraced by their imperialist worldview under the administrative control of the Roman government (McGrath 2013:44–46).

Securing a sociocultural role

The social value of the unity of Christianity was already apparent to Constantine, as evidenced by the Council of Nicaea (McGrath 2013:45). One of the things Christianity could not overlook in building sociocultural influence in the Roman Empire was that a unified universal church should have a clear sociocultural role. The masses form public opinion and a support group, depending on the proportion of the sociocultural role that a group has, and this solidarity enables the group to display their ability as a real political and social pressure group. The sociocultural role of Christianity was also to bring some role of paganism under Constantine's control for the time being. The practical and concrete actions that Christianity could facilitate quickly in the social culture of Rome were the same as the traditional pagan role, but through the Christian paradigm, and the sociocultural benefits that Constantine provided to Christianity also revealed the integration of the past (i.e. Roman traditional pagans) and the contemporary situation (i.e. Christianity) in this part. Constantine, as he did for pagan priests, gave the Christian clergy the benefit of exemption from national duties; provided religious buildings and lands to Christianity; and secured the status of Christianity as official religion by hosting of the ecumenical council under his authority. Here, it seems that his intention was not only to show his own religious belief, but also to show that Christianity was a contractual religion, like traditional Roman religion, for fulfilling the symbolic role of forming public opinion in loyalty to the emperor and for the well-being and unity of the people and state (Johnson 1995:76). In that regard, McGrath (2013:44) says, "[a]n official Roman religion, therefore, was about creating civic unity, social coherence, and political solidarity. These obligations and expectations were now increasingly imposed upon

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Christianity".

The Christian bishops' court (*audientia episcopalis*, *episcopale judicium*), in particular, was an important example that implicitly showed this sociocultural role of the universal church. Although the authority of the bishops' court was limited to civil cases, when a complainant required judging by the bishop's court, the judge had to grant the demand, and if someone wanted to bring a case to the Christian law (*lex Christiana*), the trial had to be transferred to the bishop's court despite being on trial, and the bishop's judgment was regarded as a final sanction (*pro sanctis*) (*Cod. Theod.* 16.2.2). According to Stambaugh and Balch, "Both Roman citizens and citizens of free cities were able to choose whether to be tried by local courts or Roman courts, those either of the governor or of the emperor", and "Inhabitants of the Greek East who were not Roman citizens were normally subject to local laws wherever they were". This approach of legal organisation seems similar to that of the Bishops' Court and, in that respect, indicates the Constantine government's approach to the legal status of Christianity and its role as sociocultural arbitrator. In addition, the fact that the Christian value system could be the standard of judgment in dealing with the common problems of society shows the direction of the change in the Church's role through Christianity taking on the sociocultural role (Dodaro 1999:176). The sociocultural role of this universal church was similar to the theocracy of Judaism in the Greek Empire or the Roman Empire, and when the administration of the Western Roman government was in a state of collapse, the political and administrative ability of the universal church as alternative to the past government shows the sociocultural role they had achieved through resocialisation.

Competition with paganism concerning loyalty to the Constantine regime, and new composition of conflicts and confrontations

The Christian communities in the era of persecution viewed even hostile Roman action against them as useful in exposing and training their faith in secular society. This attitude strengthened them under persecution and allowed them to tolerate and bear social disadvantage as an exclusive community among the Roman society for 250 years. However, the sociocultural position of Christianity in the Constantine era began to change drastically, and Christianity came to develop a different sociocultural attitude from before by securing a sociocultural role through the support of the emperor. According to Bird (2013:146–162), Jesus Christ and the gospel since Constantine were no longer viewed as resisting their sociocultural values, but rather as superior to these in competition with Roman society. In this competitive situation, Christianity seems to have begun to form a confrontational composition that attacked pagan values.

Christianity after Constantine began to have priority through the official support of the Roman government in the competition with the pagan groups in many aspects, such as systematised organisation, visible architecture, the sociocultural role, and so on. In addition, as Christianity entered into the sphere of activity of pagan groups, in which they had acquired limited existing sociocultural interests, their sociocultural interests had to be reduced. Therefore, there was a gradual increase in tension between the two religious trends. It seems that this competition, on the other hand, led both Christianity and paganism to pursue a close relationship with the Roman government, and this, for Constantine, could have been a proper function for politically binding the empire. But the change in Christianity in this way could be adverse effect in maintaining the purity of the Christian faith, and the churches began to insist on the legitimacy of Christian values through the power of the regime, not the pure religious attitude of Christians, also used it as an advantageous tool for disputes (Davidson 2005b:38–42).

4.2.3 The integrated sociocultural value production of Christian and Roman culture

The transformation in the recognition of Roman society concerning the sociocultural value of Christianity and the transformation of the sociocultural attitude of Christianity ultimately resulted in the production of integrated values in Christian and Roman social culture. In particular, the fact that Christianity as a standardised form of faith forming an organised universal church in accordance with the sociocultural structure of Rome, and securing its usefulness as a religion of Rome under the auspices of Constantine, suggested that the appropriate time to form a cooperative relationship with Christianity for the crisis of the Roman Empire had arrived. McGrath (2013:46) says, "[c]ulturally, the imperialisation of Christianity led to the absorption of a number of Roman customs into Christian practice, where they were given a new interpretation". Therefore, he sees that the new Christian customs, which were not recorded in the New Testament reflected the need for Christian customs to correspond to the traditional customs of Rome. In other words, it may be seen as Christianity and Roman society, having an integrated common goal, sought common identity and common performance under the recognition that they shared a common fate. This integrated value produced a variety of Christianised social cultures perceived through everyday contact and allowing non-Christians to intuitively know what Christian values were, even if they did not enter the Christian community. From Constantine onwards many integrated results that did not exist in the early Christian communities, including the cult of the saints, various Christian rituals, and symbols were introduced (Walker 1992:187–193). However, rather than dealing with subordinate integrated outcomes, it is necessary to address the interrelationship between the sociocultural ideology of Rome, which bound

various communities together and produced its sociocultural outcomes, and Christianity (i.e. common goal, common identity, and common achievement) as a super ordinate concept.

4.2.3.1 Common goal: *Pax Romana* and *Pax Christiana*

The singularity of Constantine's policy is that he proposed a common goal by simultaneously using the symbolism of *Pax Romana*, the paradigm of the past, and *Pax Christiana*, the paradigm of the future. It reflected not only the ideal of Rome that Constantine wanted to achieve through Christianity, but also real peace for resolving conflict and confrontation between Christianity and Roman pagan social culture, including the end of persecution of Christianity.

Origen believed that God had already prepared countries like Rome to fulfil his purposes and prepared the Roman peace and Roman roads (Küng 1995:162–169). But the earlier Roman peace did not directly lead to Christian peace, and when the Roman politicians judged that the Christian peace differed from the meaning of Roman peace, Christians were punished severely and were forced to abandon Christ and to unite with Rome. In other words, before Constantine, mutual peace between Christianity and the Roman Empire seemed to be at odds with each other in that they could not exist at the same time. However, in the Constantine era, with a cooperative relationship between the two having been established, Christians could regard the Roman peace as somewhat identical to the Christian peace. This seemed to be so because Romans became Christians and Christians became Romans and they shared the common goal of peace as Constantine's rule over the territory of the Roman Empire as emperor overlapped with his rule as 'God's vicegerent' over the territory of Christians and Churches (Bell 1998:44–45; Weinstock 2004:401).

As already argued, *Pax Romana* and *Pax Christiana* were considered for mutual coincidence, as follows: 1. The narrative of the Christian victory in the victory of Constantine and the Milan edict was recognised as the divine power of Christianity bringing about the peace of Rome (Lact., *De mort. pers.*, 48.2–12; Panegyrici, *Latini,* 9.2.4–5); 2. Thus, as Christianity became the official religion of Rome, the good influence of the rule of Jesus Christ as king of peace for the Romans and Christians could be extended to the Roman Empire beyond the limits of an exclusive Christian community; 3. The emperor had the obligation to construct the Christian peace through the chosen agency by Jesus Christ, and the Christian had the obligation to be loyal to the Kingdom of God and the surrogate ruler of God, thus they could implement mutual peace in solidarity (Euseb. *Vita Cons.* ii.56).

Thus, the peace of Rome in the Constantine era seems to have included not only the benefit

allowed to Christians, but also the Christian contribution to the peace of Rome that Constantine had expected. It may be said that Christianity empowered the Constantine government's plan for Roman peace and unity by eliminating the possibility of sociocultural conflict in the Roman Empire with which it had been associated and constituting its sociocultural capacity as a single religion.

4.2.3.2 Common identity: Emperor and Jesus Christ, Romans and Christians, and Roman organisation and the universal church

The masses of the Roman Empire were collectively centred on the emperor and Roman society was structured through the traditional Roman contractual concepts of unity, honour and shame, faithfulness and duty (Davidson 2005b:21–27; Dudley 1962:30). The Jesus movement as a collective also reveals the covenant concept of binding Christians together centred on Jesus Christ and structuring the Christian community as the one universal church through the rule of faith, apostolic orthodoxy, and the common canon (Berkhof 2017[1953]:557 Küng 1995:116–117). In other words, the Roman identity concerned the Roman emperor, Romans, and Roman organisation. The Christian identity concerned Jesus Christ, Christians, and the Church. As mentioned earlier, the two identities that seemed to contradict one another began to create a common realm when the emperor and the Romans became Christians and Christians became Romans. The structure of Rome and the structure of Christianity came together in a mutual complementary structure in the reality of the Roman Empire through the common identity, which seems to be the reason why the Romans and Christianity were equated.

First, we can see a new interrelationship between the emperor and Christ. Just as the city Rome was a geopolitical base connecting the various cities in the empire, the political and social value of the emperor in the empire was to serve as a key figure to bind the Roman masses to the structure of empire (i.e. in the role of guardians and beneficiaries). As mentioned in Chapter 3 (3.2.2.2), Christianity likewise can be conceived as having structural similarity to Rome in that the historical Jesus Christ is a key figure in the creation of Christians, binding them as one, and structuring the one universal church. Before Constantine, the conflict and confrontation between the two identities meant that Christians living in the Roman Empire had to choose between being Christians or Romans in order to defend their beliefs. But the Christian policy developed by Constantine seems to have succeeded in restructuring the conflict of choice to multiple selection in a harmonious way at an appropriate level. Constantine gave the identity of Jesus Christ a higher position than his own and by this chose the greatest honour he could have as a human being (cf. Heather

2005:125; Küng 1995:203). In other words, Constantine became the first emperor of the new Roman Empire in similarity to the title of the first emperor of the Roman Empire that Augustus had held, and in relation to Augustus, who had become a god, he became an agent of God (cf. Kötting 2006:103; Stambaugh & Balch 1986:16).[157] This structure may have been inconvenient for the Roman conservatives who worshiped the Roman gods in that the emperor abandoned their gods, but it would have been rational for the Christians who had strong religious beliefs and those Romans who had no religious beliefs. On the one hand, however, Christians were charged with the new legitimate religious obligation of being loyal to the emperor. This could have been seen as apostasy by the predecessors of their Christian faith who disobeyed the past emperor worship and suffered martyrdom in order to defend their beliefs. In this respect, the fact that Jesus Christ and the emperor could form a common identity as a key figure in binding Christians can be seen as a singularity of Christian history that arose from the interrelationship with Roman social culture (Cochrane 1944:186–187).

Next, we see a new relationship between Romans and Christians. In the Roman Empire, the Roman identity was symbolised by Roman citizenship. Stambaugh and Balch (1986:30) point out that "one of the means by which the Romans rewarded and co-opted the loyalty of the people they dominated was through grants of Roman citizenship". In other words, the Roman Empire opened the way to becoming a Roman citizen in a systematic way through expanding citizenship to those who had no direct territorial relation with the city of Rome, and those who newly acquired citizenship achieved the same identity as a Roman who participated in the unity of the Roman Empire by being loyal to the Roman emperor, regardless of race, region, or social status. Relative to that, Christians in the era of persecution were identified as a dissident force that was not loyal to the emperor and setting aside the validity of Roman citizenship, even if Roman, and seemed to confront the status of the Romans (Cairns 1996:86–94). With the era of Constantine opening, becoming a Christian was not only legitimate, but also could be considered as loyal to the Constantine government. In other words, for the Constantine government, Christians could become more positive Romans. This reveals that the social meaning of the name Christian became completely different from what it indicated in past Christian history.

Finally, we see a new interrelationship between the Roman organisation and the universal church. The Roman organisation bound politics, society, and religion in a mutual contractual

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[157] Constantine also used the symbolism of the sun god for his portrayal of himself and tried to form a narrative that could be regarded as rendering his throne equivalent to the divine power by combining the Christian symbol and the symbol of the sun god (Fox 1988:615; MacMullen 1982:84–86).

relationship of faithfulness and duty, which depicted the characteristic of removing various conflict structures and strengthening solidarity in a contractual relationship guaranteeing mutual benefits. In addition, the social groups and political organisations of Rome were generally established in a relationship of guardians and beneficiaries of protection and loyalty, such as the interrelationship of the emperor with the city's elites or the rich and the upper class with ordinary citizens (Horsley 1997:89–90). As mentioned earlier, this Roman way of systematisation became a major structural framework of Christianity for the formation of the universal church after Constantine. Therefore, as the relationship between the emperor and Christianity became fixed in the relationship of guardian and beneficiary or in cooperative relationship, the Roman and the universal church formed a similar identity as a united organisation to maintain the order of the Roman Empire, and began to exercise sociocultural power.

4.2.3.3 Common achievement: The new church (a Roman universal church) and the new Rome (Constantinople)

The cooperative relationship between Christianity and Rome began to produce results that reflected common values related to common goals and identities. The most representative of these integrated outcomes can be regarded as the Roman universal church reflecting the identity and goals of the Roman Empire, and the new Roman city of Constantinople reflecting the identity and goals of Christianity. It is possible to deal with many common achievements that were included in the standardised religious lifestyle related to the cooperative relationship – in particular, in theocracy (political theology) following the Hellenistic method of fusion, the influence of Christian legislation and the new Christian customs –, but here, as discussed above, we deal with the Church as a representative symbolic system (e.g. Israel - Judaism - Jewish Jesus movement - Gentile Christianity - Roman Christianity) and cities as geopolitical bases (e.g. Jerusalem - Rome - Constantinople) that shows the importance of sociocultural cohesion (cf. Kötting 2006:106–107; Richard 2010:251–252). In spite of this ostensible change in the public religion of the Roman Empire, the Romans did not seem to be greatly disturbed because their traditional religious purpose and practice, which they regarded as religiously important, seemed to maintain the continuity from past polytheism in Christianity (cf. Chadwick 1993:126–127; Küng 1995:177).

The emergence of a new cooperative church with the Roman Empire

The universal church after Constantine, mentioned earlier (4.2.2.2), can be seen not merely

as a Christian achievement, but rather as a common achievement of Christianity and Rome. It is because Constantine, in order to accomplish what he expected from Christianity in his position as the emperor, tried to organise the local Christian communities into the under-structure of the universal church and to reveal himself as the agent of God in the universal church, and that Christianity also needed a unified organisation and the authority to bind Christians together in order to prevent division among churches. Because they did not have the power to carry out such a process on their own, they tried to use the external power.

The universal church, therefore, began to have a very different organisational system and order from the consecutive forms of the historical Christian community, and certainly came to reflect the aim and identity of the Roman Empire (i.e. 'one God – one emperor – one kingdom – one church – one faith') (Küng 1995:180–181; MacCulloch 2011:195–196). At least until the first Council of Nicaea in 325 CE during the reign of Constantine, the local churches were not fully integrated or subordinated within the organisational order of a universal church; it seems that they were in the process of establishing the Church organisation according to the universal Roman system and of confirming their unity through the standardisation of faith. When Constantine defeated the Eastern Roman Emperor Licinius in September 324 CE and became the single emperor of the Roman Empire, he noticed that local churches were not unified and disputed theological standards (Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, iii.12, 64–72). This church situation would not fit in with the goal and identity of Rome pursuing the unity of the community and could become a problem with regard to the cooperative relationship between Christianity and the Roman Empire. Thus, Constantine needed to design a direction to confirm standardised principles for Christianity and to integrate churches into such standards in the way the Roman organisation had been structuralised (Leith 1982:20, 29).

The first ecumenical council in Nicaea revealed that the Christian communities were in a situation of being unable to confirm each other's position and that their positions could lead to confrontation about each other's Christian faith. This problem could have become a significant issue in Roman political society in which one agreed conclusion had to be reached (Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, iii.17.2). This was because, as mentioned above, the policy of Constantine was designed to overcome the crisis of Rome through the future value of Christianity (i.e. the maintenance of Roman solidarity through a single religion), which had been presented to Roman society as rational in the legalisation of Christianity, can be suspected. Constantine forced the bishops to reach consensus in the Council of Nicaea, and by imposing legal sanctions on a few opinions, established the universal church's manner of decision by which the majority of opinions in the council became the standard of the

Church.[158] Constantine also paved the way for the system of the patriarchate, proclaiming the Church's metropolitan system and the authority of the bishops' judgment (5, 6 decree) through 20 canons according to the ruling system of Roman provinces (Ritter 2006:307). Davidson (2005b:43) points out that "the dangers of intolerance" and "the incentive to impose uniformity" on the unity of the Christian faith had not existed in earlier ages. In addition, Constantine's policy on the Council and Christian union in 325 considered political efficacy rather than strictness of faith, resulting in major decisions of the Roman universal church being wielded by secular authority, and a statement of Christian faith had to reflect political interests and leverages in the process of setting it out.[159] Thus, although the Roman universal church revealed a variety of proper functions or dysfunctions compared to past Christian communities, it is nevertheless noteworthy that the Roman universal church was one of the earliest outputs reflecting the common goal and identity of Christianity and the Roman Empire (MacCulloch 2011:215).

While the expectations of Constantine's attempt to form a universal church corresponding to the system of absolutistic politics of the Roman Empire during his reign could not be fully fulfilled, it is clear that Constantine at least established a way to unify the Christian communities through a council corresponding to the Roman congress. The council seems to have formed a new cooperative relationship with the Roman Empire as an organisation that collected the doctrines of dispersed local communities, gave authority or political power (i.e. the emperor's authority concerning a council) to the final decision, and exercised its authority. In particular, the emperor's role in the manner of authorising the Church can be seen as considerable. Actually, the decisions of the council were able to establish a boundary for the real authority of the universal church from something that rejected Romanising of Christianity by integrating various theological views, rejecting sectarianism, and attributing the Christian communities to a single authority, with the authority and power of the emperor and the government (Barnes 2014:122). The Nicene Creed shows that 'the holy catholic and apostolic Church' condemned the different arguments opposing its statement. The nuance of

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[158] Although the theological intervention or role of the emperor was not prominent, the fact that he was sympathetic to the necessity of this meeting, and that it was made subject to Constantine, showed that his interest was in theological consensus rather than integrity of theological conclusion. According to Theodoret's statement (*The Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret,* 1.6), "[t]he excellent emperor next exhorted the Bishops to unanimity and concord; he recalled to their remembrance the cruelty of the late tyrants, and reminded them of the honourable peace which God had, in his reign and by his means, accorded them".

[159] This way of confirming a common confession of faith (through a council and regarding a theological subject) was the first example of doctrinal standardisation by which the force of Roman legal power bound together the local Christian communities that had held on to their individual status. The emperor concluded the direction by making a conclusive decision to exile two bishops (including Arius) who did not agree with the Nicene Creed (MacCulloch 2011:214–15).

the word 'catholic' here, with the scale of the Nicaean Council,[160] seems to emphasise political extension as the only organisational system that produced and managed a standardised confession of faith involving the Roman emperor, rather than the most popular (Euseb. *Vita Cons.* iii.6.1, 14.2, 66).[161]

The emergence of a new cooperative city with Christian ideology

Gibbon, in Chapter 15 of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*), points out that it was the emergence of Christianity (i.e. as a religious ideology that bound various nations into single exclusive intolerance) that prompted the event of the Roman crisis, which resulted in the destruction of realism (i.e. as a powerful mutual stake that bound various nations into a single inclusive tolerance), Rome's greatest advantage. In other words, it means that the ideal expectation of a hopeful future for Rome through the sociocultural values of Christianity without any practical alternative would have brought about the destruction of the Western Roman Empire. However, as mentioned earlier, it has been shown that the decline of the Roman Empire was in progress when the *Tetrarchia* was introduced for reinforcement of the control of Roman provinces in the time of Diocletian, before the legalisation of Christianity, and that the Christian persecution at that time reflected a mystical expectation for the revival of Rome through the traditional religious belief of Rome. Constantine's decision, reflecting the realism and rationalism of Rome in this situation, seems to have been a choice for Christianity, and to re-socialise Christianity in order to appropriately use it in dealing with the realities of Roman society. Perhaps Gibbon's position was meant to apply strict boundaries between the West and East in the Roman Empire, and to emphasise the Christian influence on the destruction of the Western Roman Empire.[162] The Western Roman Empire may just have lost the driving force necessary to maintain solidarity (i.e. a powerful mutual stake in the economy, military, and politics among provinces) because of being excluded from the dominance of the Eastern Roman Empire centred in Constantinople, the centre of realist political economy and religion. To the contrary, though,

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[160] Constantine invited all 1 800 bishops of the Christian Church within the Roman Empire for this council (about 1 000 in the east and 800 in the west), but the attendants were estimated at about 250–318 (Euseb. *Vita Cons.* iii.7).

[161] On the other hand, Constantine wanted to end the ongoing conflict through pardoning Arius and he also blamed Athanasius for maintaining the confrontation with Arius (cf. the Council of Tyre in 335 CE). In this we can see that his political choice was not based on his theological judgment, but on the unity of Roman tradition. In other words, Constantine's intention was to use the Christian ideology politically to unite the Empire, therefore, the universal unification of the churches had to precede this. For Constantine, the universality of Christianity could be seen as taking eclecticism, rather than legitimacy of theology and faith, as it had to be aligned with political integration with the Roman Empire (Barnes 1993:23; Davidson 2005b:38–39).

[162] Ostrogorsky (1969:27, 105–107) argued that the Eastern Roman Empire, not only themselves but also other nations including the Ottomans, regarded the Byzantine as a Roman Empire. This viewpoint suggests that the recognition of Eastern Roman Empire and Roman Empire as a separate country may be a misunderstanding arising from the view of history centring on Western Europe.

Constantine's futuristic design for the Roman Empire could be seen to have achieved some goals with regard to the Byzantine Empire reflecting Constantine's will, as the beginning of the absolutist state was able to last 1000 years after the fall of the West (Küng 1995:180–181, 198–199).

When Constantine achieved the single Roman Empire, he instantly began to construct a new Rome, choosing Constantinople, not Rome, as the place (for a geopolitical base) to realise a new paradigm in the form of the cooperative relationship he conceived. He planned to build a gigantic new capital city in Byzantium in the 320s CE, which was planned to be the centre of a new Christian empire not defiled by pagan rituals or pagan associations and was consecrated in 330 CE (Davidson 2005b:23). In view of his choice, it certainly becomes clear that the past ancient Roman paradigm had already faded for him. Every one of his actions concerned practising ideas for a new future. In such a flow Constantine's choice was to combine the dispersed religious ideologies apart from the polytheistic pagan religious groups of ancient Rome into monotheistic Christianity, to enable the emperor to become a real supreme leader in theocratic rule by an emperor who had been regarded as one of gods becoming the representative of the unified national religion (as 'God's vicegerent'), and to move from the city of Rome reflecting the past paradigm to a new Rome reflecting a paradigm of Christian theocratic rule. One of the fundamental reasons for this central sociocultural movement seems to be consideration of the sociocultural position of Constantine. By constructing Constantinople over a period of five years and spending wealth rather than reconstructing the city of Rome, which had built a sufficient sociocultural basis, and transferring the capital, he could expect relatively more value from pursuing the new Christian paradigm compared to some advantages or disadvantages in maintaining the past Roman paradigm. Christianity could therefore be regarded as a beneficiary and as having utility value for the new Roman paradigm (as the object of the cooperative relationship), which escaped from the past paradigm of Rome (as the object of persecution). On the other hand, the western region gradually became distant from Constantine's plan for a cooperative relationship between Christianity and Rome, and therefore the Roman Catholic Church was able to expand the sociocultural influence of Christianity through its own cooperative relationship with Roman social culture while the intervention of political power was somewhat excluded.[163]

Thus, as a common achievement of the Constantine era, the cooperative relationship

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[163] Küng (1995:208) says, "in the East a unity of state authority and supreme Jurisdiction over the churches was established and then a unity of church, state and people generally of a kind …". He points out that this is not a 'one-sided dependence' of church and state that is termed 'Caesaropapism' in the West, but rather 'interdependence'.

between the Church and Constantinople can be seen as leading to completely different Christian forms and values than those before Constantine. Constantinople emerged not only as a political and economic centre but also as a religious centre, whereas Constantinople itself had no involvement at all in terms of apostolic tradition or historical symbolism – not even at the Council of Nicaea – but finally could establish one of the ecumenical patriarchs (381 CE) in a patriarchal position in the capital of the empire in accordance with to Constantine's huge plan. McGrath (2013:50–52) says, "[w]ith the establishment of the imperial city of Constantinople in the fourth century, the balance of ecclesiastical power began to shift", and he points out Constantine's declaration about the new Rome as implying that "it should enjoy the same ecclesiastical privileges in the east as those enjoyed by Rome in the west". In addition, Küng (1995:208) says, "what developed in the East was not a church state, as this was to develop in the West, but a state church". Thus, the ecclesiastical privileges and the particularity of a state church in Constantinople could be regarded as the reflection of the cooperative relationship of Christianity and the state conceived by Constantine. In this respect, the rule that the Bishop of Constantinople was to have 'the prerogative of honour after the Bishop of Rome' shows that the emperor had 'a primacy of jurisdiction (a *postestas suprema*: supreme legislative authority, supreme judicial authority, administrative oversight. cited in Küng 1995:203) over the Church in the Eastern Empire and could be regarded as the final result of the 'theocracy' project of Constantine (Küng 1995:202–208; McGrath 2013:50–52).[164]

Thus, the position of the patriarch of Constantinople was to be regarded as exercising his role under the emperor's authority. In this respect, the Roman Church continually asserted church supremacy, and the bishops of other regions also supported Rome's authority, so that it seems that there was an intention to defend against religious abuse by the secular political powers in Constantinople through the authority of the Roman Church. On the other hand, while Constantine established Constantinople as a political and religious centre, the city of Rome, which gradually lost the geopolitical hub of politics and religion, retained historical symbolism as an inverse reaction to this situation. The changes made under these geopolitical conditions seem to have led Rome and Constantinople to seek different religious values. It means that Constantinople wanted political authority to possess religious authority, while Rome wanted religious authority to possess political authority (Küng 1995:208). In other words, because Constantinople aimed to be the state church, the Eastern churches centring on Constantinople had to be active in reflecting the political purposes and interests

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[164] Küng (1995:205) points out, "Byzantium people were convinced that the second Rome was not just equal to the old Rome: the new Rome was politically superior to the old" in the Justinian era, showing the climax of this theocracy.

of religion. In the West, however, the Church had had the opportunity to develop a political structure and to independently produce values centring on the Roman Church. Political stability in Eastern Rome had also created an environment for the Church to deal with theological issues in a stable manner under the protection of the state – including the demands of a state that wanted a stable theology to end church disputes – and there were many theological developments and disputes centred on the Greek idea. In fact, this dispute can be seen to have arisen because the government demanded a unified ideology of the indigenised theological ideas of various local churches in the East. However, the political instability of Western Rome seems to have reduced the state's interference with the Church, but, because the state protection was weak, the churches in the West seemed to be more concerned with maintaining their organisation centred on the Roman Church, rather than participating in theological debates (cf. Küng 1995:243–247; Richard 2010:269–272).

4.3 Ambrose: Christianisation of the Roman Empire

The importance of Ambrose as discussed here is based on the deep interrelationship with the establishment of the direction of important Christian policies seen as de-socialisation from the above-mentioned Christian paradigm of Constantine (e.g. the Constantinian Christianity-Roman Empire cooperative relationship). Ramsey (2004:225) says that, "those who lived and worked between the dates of Cyprian's martyrdom and Ambrose's ordination were major figures … but none of them had the stature that Ambrose did". It may seem irrational to compare Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, and Constantine, the emperor of the Roman Empire, who took the initiative in sociocultural policy decisions.[165] However, in the case of the major religious policies that were determined at the time of Ambrose (although the final decision by the emperor was decisive), such as the establishment of the Nicene Trinitarian Christianity as the only legitimate imperial religion (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.1.2 on 7 February 380 CE); the legislation of the religious law for Christianity; and the subsequent implementation of the sociocultural power of Christianity (e.g. legal sanctions and aggressive attitudes toward heresy and other religious groups), Ambrose occupied a very important position comparable to Constantine's conversion, in providing the social motivation and power to the transformation of the Christian paradigm in terms of the Christianisation of Rome, as opposed to the Romanisation of Christianity through Constantine.[166] Ambrose, in

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[165] As Bishop of Milan, Ambrose's role can be seen as follows: 1. Milan was the administrative capital of the Western Roman Empire at the time and the Roman emperors were staying in Milan and Ravenna for smooth military operation; 2. In the past, Ambrose was the administrative governor of the Aemilia-Liguria province. 3. As the bishop of Milan, he was able to contact the emperors and express his opinion concerning government policy.

[166] Johnson (1995[1976]:103) claims that Ambrose was "the prototype of the medieval prince-bishop" and "played a pontifical role in the politics of his time".

particular, facilitated a significant turning point in shifting the initiative of Christian policy from the emperor to the Church and Christian leaders, thereby reducing the significance of the emperor's role as 'God's vicegerent' and separating the secular arm and the ecclesiastical authority or temporal and spiritual values. In this, Ambrose seems to have been the starting point leading to the Western church beginning to develop a paradigm for a new Christian world out of the Christian paradigm that preceded Constantine (Han Chul-Ha 2001 [1970]:106, 115).

The structural limitations of the Constantinian Christian paradigm

Christianity did not easily escape from the image and role that had become fixed as one of the national religious groups for quite a while after Constantine's official recognition of Christianity and implementing of the keynote of pro-Christian policy. As mentioned earlier (4.2), the Roman emperor became the official guardian of Christianity in the support of Roman government policy and Roman law; the universal church had a structured framework following the Roman paradigm and, in general, had to reflect the political intent in the dominant structure of the Roman government. Christianity, therefore, seems to have been unable to secure a sociocultural position that made it possible to assert religious belief independent from government interference for quite some time. This was because the Roman government received Christianity in Roman society in a way that adapted Christianity to the traditional Roman religious thinking system (i.e. as an 'embedded religion') due to the leading role of Roman power (e.g. the Milan edict and the Nicene Council) like using Christianity as a Roman political instrument, like Roman paganism.

Moreover, Constantine and his sons wanted to maintain their positions in Christianity as Pontifex Maximus following the Roman tradition of religious understanding and, by taking the role of a secular bishop (i.e. the role as God's vicegerent and as an overseer of those outside of church) to use the organised universal church for personal political purposes (Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, iv. 24; cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sa*, 1.1). In this respect, Drobner (2007:192) approaches the interrelationships between secular power and Christian internal issues as follows:

> This did not depend so much on the emperor's personal conviction of faith – a dogmatic holding on to doctrine without regard for its practical consequence did not exist among the emperors of the fourth century – but on competition for political opportunity. Political success demonstrated the favour of the gods and thereby the correctness of the conviction of faith. For this reason, the emperors' politics of religion was part of their power politics; hence church and faith could be brought into play without misgivings, as instruments of power

struggles.

Thus, the reason why Christianity was inevitably characterised as one of the Roman state religious groups at the time was that a part of the process of the re-socialisation of Christianity under the leadership of Constantine followed the purpose of the traditional use of religious activity in Rome and Christianity became a target of Roman sociocultural power (e.g. Roman order, law, and public opinion) as soon as becoming the official religion of the Roman Empire (cf. Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, i.12.; Kee 1982:89; MacMullen 1976:6–7).

As discussed earlier (4.1), Constantine, who wanted the united power of Christians in his support, was sensitive to internal divisions in Christianity and intervened politically so that church unity could swiftly be achieved (e.g. calling universal councils, appointment and dismissal of bishops, his position as a leading supporter of Christianity, and interrelationship with the official theology). As such Constantine's policy concerning Christianity was inherited by his sons, and the major theological debates around Christianity were unified along the lines of political power, while the results could be reversed according to their political stance (Drobner 2007:192).[167] The confusion within Christianity shows that the resocialisation of Christianity led by Emperor Constantine was forced by the compelling desire for a single religion (or Christianity) in response to a single empire as a sociocultural value in response to the Roman crisis.[168] In fact, following Constantine's pro-Christian policy, the Christian population in the Roman Empire increased rapidly and the grand strategy of the Roman government for Christianity (e.g. one empire - one emperor - one God - one church) could have achieved a positive effect for a while (cf. Drobner 2007:191–197, 307; Walk 1992:137).

This approach, however, seems to have weakened the strict criteria of Christian identity, which required giving up benefits of ordinary life in order to become a Christian in the past, while at the same time making the distinction between other religious practices unclear (Williams 2017:35–36; cf. 4.2.1.3, 4.2.3). People who adhered to the traditional Roman way of understanding religious value entered the Christian community without a clear identity transition, and Christianity began to be Romanised in another way (e.g. the pursuit of realistic goals and secular values, the ritualisation of Christian ceremonies, and the worship

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[167] Even the apostate Julian wanted to use the Christian doctrine politically. Williams (2002[1995]:38) claims that, "Julian was content to allow, even encourage, anti-Homoian sentiment in hopes of unsettling Constantius' position in particular and weakening the catholic Church in general".

[168] The debate over Arianism concluded at the Council of Nicaea, but afterwards the result was overturned by the political influence of the bishops. Some bishops, including Athanasius, stubbornly resisted the emperor's interference in the Church's decision about Christianity. The issue shows that the Church still could not easily escape from its role as an embedded religion. The emperor sought to achieve political unity between the Church and the state in terms of empire ideology, and therefore tried to solve the division within the Church through eclectic unity by using state power (Drobner 2007:195–197).

of a Christian empire) due to the Roman government's basic Christian resocialisation policies (e.g. legal institutionalisation of Christianity, systematisation of the organisation, standardisation of faith, etc.). At this time, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, and Jerome strongly criticised this Roman secularisation of Christianity (Johnson 1995:100–101).

While this change resulted in a relative weakening of the purity of the Jesus movement compared to the past, the exclusiveness of the Jesus movement, which exacerbated the sociocultural antipathy of the past, was also relatively weakened and popularised, and Roman political power and the public began to have a favourable impression of Christianity. Also, as the organisational power of the Christian communities was strengthened in accordance with the Roman sociocultural structure, the sociocultural influence and the range of participation and activities of the local churches were enlarged and the right of Christian communities to speak became strengthened in the Roman Empire. Thus, the fact that the Christian community that had been seen as a socioculturally exclusive group in the past came to be regarded as a pro-sociocultural group and, as such, an anti-imperialist group came to be regarded as pro-imperial group in contrast with the pre-Constantine period, shows the change of the Christian paradigm corresponding to the change of attitude of Roman society (Beard 2015:102–103; Drake 2006:111; McGrath 2003:17–19).

However, the Christian community, unlike the Roman traditional religious groups of the past, could not continue to be devoted as an embedded religion to the empire in accordance with the religious paradigm of Constantine. The limitations of such a Christian and Roman cooperative relationship are found in the fundamental singularities of Christianity, as follows.

Firstly, Christianity could not be confined to the sociocultural boundaries of the Roman Empire in a common fate with the Roman Empire. Although Christianity could be temporarily bound to the Empire's society, it was extended beyond the boundaries when they had power and opportunity to transcend boundaries, just as the Gentile Christian communities were formed beyond Judaism. Thus, unlike the expectations of the Roman government, Christianity could not fully match up to extending or maintaining the various sociocultural boundaries of the Roman Empire, and the Roman Empire could not monopolise Christianity despite efforts to do so (cf. 3.3; Küng 1995:135; Tabbernee 2014:1–10). It is because Christianity regarded the expansion of the gospel as its core value from the beginning of the earliest Christian community (Acts 1:8; Matthew 28:19) and aimed to extend the paradigm of the community ruled by God beyond the ideology of secular nations (e.g. ancient Israel, the Jewish community, the Roman Empire after Constantine). Thus, the Jesus movement itself continually tried to transcend the boundaries of the state and social culture in order to

expand its spiritual territory. This is evident from the fact that, although Christianity gradually became identified with the Roman Empire according to Constantine's Christian paradigm after 313 CE, the Christian Gospel at that time was preached to the Persians (Sassanid dynasty) and the Goths, who were in confrontation with the Roman Empire (Ritter 2006:318; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* 4.33).

Secondly, historical Christian communities had the independent inner direction (or the Christian worldview) of learning, integrating, and Christianising the social culture in which they themselves belonged in order to preserve and efficiently reveal the prototypes of their own central ideas (e.g. the gospel and the Kingdom of God as a community ruled by God) and the core figure (Jesus Christ). Just as the Jewish Jesus movement in Judaic society showed a way to reinterpret legalism and overcome limitations, and as Gentile Christian communities produced a new Christian tradition in their local social culture when Christianity became accustomed to Roman society, Christians began to reconstruct Roman social culture according to the Christian worldview. In other words, Christianity was no longer the exclusive community in the Roman world that had been separated from the general society in the past, nor was its part as the undercarriage of the Roman society (cf. 4.2.3.2). From this point of view, the Jesus movement also extended beyond the boundaries of traditional religious paradigms in the Roman Empire, and the historic events related to it during the time of Ambrose show that Christianity gradually began to escape from the limited sociocultural domain (cf. Augustine, *Conf.*, ix.7).

The formation of the new Christian paradigm as de-socialisation from the Constantinian Christian paradigm

A new paradigm of Christianity (Christianising of Rome) centring on the Western churches and asserting the independent position and role of Christianity relative to the earlier religious paradigm of Constantine (Romanising of Christianity) began to form. There seemed to be no apparent change in the aspect of Romanised Christianity reflecting the ideology of the empire between the past and future paradigms of Christianity related to the Roman social culture in the time of Ambrose, but a change in Christianity's sociocultural position and role at that time began to form the mechanism of Christian supremacy in Western societies (Johnson 1995:103). Ambrose, who was familiar with the political, social, and religious structures of Rome at that time, was concerned with securing the independent position and social role of Christianity in Roman society distinct from the Roman government according to the sociocultural experience and influence of the Church in Roman society. He would have thought that doing this would be a rational way to maintain the Church as a complete

spiritual authority among societies, not as a functional tool for government purposes (Bruce 1961:331; Ramsey 2004:225).

In the past, the resocialisation of Christianity as a national religion led by Constantine was aimed at building an universal ideological church (i.e. an organised and standardised universal church reflecting the official theology) suitable for Roman society centring on the emperor and Roman powers in the light of the effectiveness of government policy, not a universal sociocultural church appropriate for dealing with the Christian-centred ideas in Roman society. As an axis for the universal order of Christianity, the councils were also urged to come to a single conclusion under state leadership. The conclusions of the council could be interpreted according to the emperor's judgment, and the emperor was able to punish the bishops who were opposed his decision. Perhaps the fact that the Roman government imposed a unified and standardised belief system on Christianity reveals the political significance of government control of Christianity. Some questions were raised among the Christian leaders about the government's excessive interference in internal church issues, but with the emperor being in the leading position in the hierarchy of the universal church as God's vicegerent, or overseer, and leading the policy of support for Christianity, no one among the Christian leaders at that time could secure the social influence and public opinion that could insist on ecclesiastical authority over Christian emperors.

In this situation, the emergence and role of Ambrose was to inform the transformation of the Christian paradigm from Romanised Christianity to the Christianisation of the Roman Empire as a community ruled by God (e.g. from Caesaropapism to sacerdotalism). Ambrose's major role in this transformation of the Christian paradigm could be attributed to his experience as a secular bureaucrat for 20 years before acceding to the bishop's office in Milan (cf. 4.3.1.2).[169] The choice of the Christians of Milan, who elected this high-ranking bureaucrat who had not been baptised at the time as their bishop,[170] led to the launch of a new Christian paradigm, and Christians in Milan began to unite under Ambrose without separating Arians or Orthodox Christians. Subsequently, Ambrose exercised great influence on emperors such as Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius (these three had their seats in Milan) (Johnson 1995:106–107; Ramsey 2004:226).

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[169] Ambrose, whose father was a praetorian prefect in Gaul, received elite Roman education and was promoted to administrative governor of the Aemilia-Liguria province. According to Paulinus (cf. Paulinus *V. Amb.* 25, 30, 36.), when there was rivalry between Arians and the Nicene Church in Milan on the issue of the election of a new bishop, Ambrose – as the administrative governor – intervened to tackle the city's chaos and the Arian and orthodox people unexpectedly united to elect him as their bishop (Williams 2002[1995]:113, 116).

[170] According to Williams (2002:114), Ambrose "had delayed baptism and remained a catechumen, a state which was not at all uncommon among Christian nobility" (cf. *De excessu fratris*, i.43).

The interrelationship with the Roman political environment seen during Ambrose's career seems to have influenced the separation of the position and role of the Church from the subordinate functions of the state and restructuring centring on Christian thought. Events related to Ambrose in this research seem to concern the resocialisation of Christianity as follows: 1. After Theodosius declared Christianity as the only legitimate imperial religion in 380, the Christianising of Rome meant that the diversity of the Roman Empire became simplified in Christianity, and Christianity could exercise a single religious influence in Roman social culture (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.1.2 on 7 February 380 CE); 2. Although those in the Roman Empire became a Christian nation and the Roman emperor became a Christian, they only had secular authority and could not exercise religious authority over the Church in the sociocultural separation of state and religion; 3. The position of the Christian emperor in the Church hierarchy system was that of a layman who had to be guided by the clergy (*Sermon Against Auxentius*, 36); 4. Roman traditional sociopolitical ethics had to be under the control of Christian faith ethics due to the distinction between social ethics and faith ethics; and 5. The clergy was not only limited to religious activities, but also wielded sociocultural responsibility and duty for the good of the community (*De officiis ministorum*). While this Christian attitude seems to have opposed the Roman social system, it was rather intended to reconstruct actively a number of external elements that had been learned and integrated in the process of re-socialisation, for Christian faith.

As a result of these changes in the Christian sociocultural position and influence, the universal church was able to restrict not only heresies but also paganism and Judaism in their congregations and gatherings and even traditional customs of ancient Rome in the Roman world. This situation can be regarded as moving away from the religious policy direction of Constantine for forming a common culture through harmony and fusion between Christianity and paganism (cf. 4.2.13). Although Christianity's attitude could be seen as negative in the view of secular ethics, Christianising Roman society at that time was not only for Christian leaders to establish their own social status, but rather to reveal the fundamental direction of Christianity in organising a community ruled by God, with Christianity having grown steadily since Constantine.

Therefore, the singularities of Christian resocialisation will be dealt with in the following three points, focusing on the major social issues around Ambrose on the characteristics of this change of the Christian paradigm from the Romanising of Christianity to the Christianising of Rome: 1. Christianity socially and culturally securing its position independent of the cooperative relationship with the Roman Empire; 2. playing an independent role; and 3. synthesising the sociocultural ideology of Rome with central Christian ideas.

4.3.1 Securing the independent position of Christianity

The Christian resocialisation led by Constantine reflected many political purposes under the leadership of the secular government, and this cooperative relationship of the government and Christianity had long been maintained and had come to play a very large part in constituting the internal and external system of the universal church (i.e. the institutional church). This relationship contained a number of risks to the Church: 1. The essential direction of Christianity could be reduced or distorted by the logic of the secular government; 2. The Church that acquired political power could abandon the pureness of the Jesus movement of before Constantine and become a religious group pursuing secular interests on the basis of the economic virtuous circle structure of the Roman Empire; and 3. The Church could disappear simultaneously with the decline and fall of the secular government. Ambrose recognised that the political unification of Christianity and Roman social culture led by the secular government was dangerous for a church, and tried to consolidate the independent position of the Church apart from the political power, which wanted to use the universal church as a political tool of the Roman Empire, and to establish the sociocultural power of the Christian faith in a somewhat equal position with the government in order to prevent the political will from being imposed on the Church.

After Constantine, securing an independent position in the Christian community meant that the Romanised universal church would no longer be maintained as an embedded religion like the Roman religious activities of the past. In this respect, the principles that began to distinguish between ecclesiastical authority (e.g. Christian hierarchy and spiritual leadership) and secular authority (e.g. Roman order and sovereignty of government) in the time of Ambrose were: 1. The universal church was to have the social power and status to independently judge and make decisions according to Christian-centred ideas, and no longer reflect the intentions of the government in religious or internal decisions, and at the same time; 2. the recognition of the Roman masses of Christianity was not to be recognised as an existential value of Christianity in the cooperative relationship with Roman Empire, but to be recognised as being independent with exclusive religious value in Roman social culture; and 3. It was to have a compelling religious power that could defend the political or sociocultural power of the Roman government. This change in the Christian paradigm seems to have been evident while the universal church made improvements to its system and structure following the Romanisation of Christianity under Constantine.

The general understanding of the order of the universal church that Constantine and other political powers had before Ambrose, was that the emperor could wield authority as a

secular bishop over the churches of the whole region of the Roman Empire (i.e. from Pontifex Maximus to God's vicegerent or overseer of those outside the Church), but bishops could personally control only their own dioceses and reveal ecclesiastical authority only through the council of bishops. Therefore, the emperors, as bishops outside the Church (in fact of the whole area), convened councils and appointed bishops and even dismissed them for their own political purpose and as the official sponsors of the Church (Kung 1995:180–181). Schaff (*H.C.C.*, iii.3.23) points out that the leaders of the universal church at that time also recognised that the Church had an obligation to support the emperor because the emperors were protecting the Church and the emperor would have the right to oversee the external issues of the Church. Nonetheless, some church leaders (e.g. Basil of Caesarea, 372 CE) began to claim that only the clergy had the right to run the Church, to establish doctrine, and to administer religious rites. Such a change in the attitude of the church leaders seems to have developed from Christianity gradually moving beyond the limitation of their public role, which was provided by the Roman government, and extending its religious value from the central Christian ideas, which could have secured the public opinion for separating the authority of church and state (cf. 2.1.1, 2.3.2.1).

In the transition period of such a paradigm the emergence of Ambrose and his role marked a clear division between the former paradigm (the Christian paradigm of Constantine) and the later one (the medieval Roman catholic paradigm). Ambrose basically presupposed the division of the ruling territory of the Church from the ruling territory of the state, and that the emperor and priest would each play a role in their respective spheres. He also extended the scope of the clergy's participation in the sociocultural domain beyond the first phase of division (i.e. division of roles) to secure the independent position of Christianity. He did not confine himself to the church only and wanted to expand the sociocultural power of Christianity in dealing with other religions, state power, and the traditional values of Rome that were in a tense relationship with Christianity.

Thus, the following issues concerning securing the independent position of the Church as related to Ambrose seem to reveal what the main themes (or points of division) at the time of separating the Church from the secular territory within the boundaries of Roman social culture were (Johnson 1995:104) the following;

4.3.1.1 Problems of initiative in resolving church disputes

Since Constantine, the independent position of the universal church had been related to the issue of initiative in resolving church disputes. In other words, it concerned the issue of who

had the ultimate authority in solving problems that arose within the Romanised universal church. Perhaps the universal church's own role in dealing with the internal problems of Christianity could have been an important first step in securing independent value and the position of Christianity as an embedded religion of the Roman Empire.

As mentioned earlier (4.2.2.2), the end of persecution following the advent of Constantine, prompted internal doctrinal divisions and conflict that had been under the surface of the Christian communities to become major issues for Christianity. Thus, the Christian emperors of the Roman Empire, including Constantine, became the main agents in resolving conflict in the universal church through their very active and leading role in dealing with this problem. It shows that problems did not only involve the internal section of Christianity, but were also very sensitive problems politically and socially for the Roman Empire and the Roman government. This was because doctrinal divisions could undermine political ideals, which had been designed to form and structure new unity in the Roman Empire through the slogan 'one God - one emperor - one empire - one church - one faith' (Kung, 1995:180–181). Perhaps these reactions of emperors show that their approach to Christianity was based on political achievement through a cooperative relationship between the Roman Empire and Christianity, without religious consideration of the independent value or position of Christianity. As it can be seen from the arguments raised by Arius and Athanasius, it was difficult for the universal church to achieve consensus on internal divisions and conflict, so that the emperor intervened in the church debate and exercised political pressure and force, which led to a single conclusion. From the perspective of the Roman masses, the emperor would be recognised as the ultimate administrator of the Church and the resolver of dispute through resolving these church disputes, while priests and theologians would be recognised as the source of conflict in the Church due to their frequent doctrinal differences. Thus, as long as the Roman emperor and the Roman government took the initiative over church issues, the universal church had difficulty in escaping from the cooperative relationship with Rome and achieving recognition in society for the independent value of Christianity (Davidson 2005b:346; Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, ii.56, iii.64–72).

Ambrose's action, however, seemed to take the initiative for the peace of Christianity from the emperors and to insist that the Church should be independent of interference by the state by at least entrusting the inner issues of the universal church to the clergy as the vicegerent of God's rule (Drobner 2007:310; Kötting 2006:117).

Ambrose was the first to participate in a church issue as a mediator in the Nicaean and Arian disputes in Milan, and he, as an administrator, was chosen to be the bishop of Milan through

agreement by both sides, in spite of the Church's tradition that a member of the clergy would be bishop. The political expectations of the Christian masses concerning Ambrose and their choice may have reflected the influence of the Christian paradigm structured by Constantine (i.e. the role of political power as religious guardians, supervisors, and mediators). After his election as a bishop, Ambrose, however, relinquished his neutral position (i.e. the eclecticism of political purpose) as administrative governor in the past, and began to actively participate in the internal affairs of the Church as a bishop by officially rejecting Arianism (378 CE), and beginning to resist the intervention of political power in doctrinal controversy or the division of the Church (385–386 CE). His transformed attitude in response to this role change manifested his doctrinal attitude as the leader of the Church of Milan, in accordance with the principle of the separation of church and state, which he upheld when he was the administrative governor (Williams 2002:115, 121–122, 129).

Ambrose wrote *'De fide ad Gratianum'*, the letter to the Emperor Gratian, which refuted Arianism, and in the council of Aquileia in 381 decided to dismiss Palladius and Secundianus, the Arian bishops, and asked Emperor Gratian to enforce it (Greenslade, *LCC.*, 1956:v.182). Empress Dowager Justina (she was the regent as the mother of Valentinian, the Emperor), who favoured the Arians, secured the legal basis for Arians in the empire (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.1.4 of 23 January 386 CE)[171] despite the predominance of the Nicene position in the Western Empire,[172] and asked Ambrose to grant equal religious rights to the Arians. She demanded a basilica in which the Arians in Milan could freely worship, but the request was rejected, so she demanded sacred religious tools for their worship once again (Ambrose, *sermon against Auxentius*, 5). Ambrose rejected all her demands, so that there was no choice except forceful confrontation (Liebeschuetz 2010:124–130). Ambrose claimed that no secular authority, including the emperor, had any right with regard to church building, and that the emperor was not above the Church but in the Church (*Ep.*, 75.36).[173] Ambrose, by his attitude, rejected the premise of Constantine's Christian paradigm that the Christian emperor was God's vicegerent or overseer of those outside the Church (Augustine, *Conf.* ix.7). Justina threatened Ambrose with the emperor's army, but Ambrose could eventually enforce his will through the support of the Milanese public and Theodosius, who

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[171] The law (*Cod. Theod.,* 16.1.4 of 23 January 386 cited in Liebeschuetz 2010:127) gave freedom of assembly to the Arians and threatened anyone who interfered with that freedom with capital punishment.

[172] According to Drobner (2007:194), "… the western half of the empire, where Athanasius had been exiled and Marcellus had moved, accepted the Nicene position, whereas the eastern half predominantly accepted Arianism or a via media between the two extremes".

[173] Liebeschuetz (2010:125) points out, regarding the conflict between Ambrose and Justina, that: "[t]he focus on the demand for a basilica is found only in the letters of Ambrose". In other words, while other writings dealt with the case between Ambrose and Justina as a dispute between two sects, Ambrose regarded the issue as political interference of secular government against the ecclesiastical authority.

ruled the Eastern Empire at that time (Liebeschuetz 2010:130; Williams 2002:213–217).

4.3.1.2 Transition from Caesaropapism [174] to sacerdotalism in the order of the universal church

Many church historians regard the development of the Vaticanism (Monarchical status of the pope in the Roman Church) as corresponding to Caesaropapism, which had dominated the Christian paradigm since Constantine, in relation to securing an independent position from state power for the Church. Küng (1995:310–311) argues that, after Constantine, especially after 350 CE, the Roman Church and the Roman bishop took a monarchical power position in Western Empire. The causes of such a change can be seen as the following: 1. The imperial capital moved to Constantinople, and the Roman bishop emerged as the greatest real power in the ancient capital, Rome; 2. Only Rome and Constantinople remained involved in the battle of the patriarchs for the superiority of the Church; and 3. The Roman Church built an organised system in accordance with the traditional organisation of Rome, and the bishop of Rome occupied the top position in its structure. With the transfer of sociocultural power, the monarchical concept of the Western church, centred on the ecclesiastical authority of the bishops of Rome, seem to have created power to curb the interference of the emperor of the East and Constantinople. However, the time when the pope in the West could have secured sociocultural status as a church state corresponding to the state church of the emperor, and the ecclesiastical authority could have been separated from the secular powers' authority, should be regarded at the very least as the period of collapse of the Western Roman Empire when the political power of the empire in the West itself became almost meaningless and Leo I (440–461 CE) established the monarchical status of pope (Han Chul-Ha 2001:106).

In the second half of the fourth century, the Roman bishop could have secured the leadership and initiative among the Western churches by Pope Damasus (366–384 CE), who tried to restructure the Western churches centring on the Roman parish, but the sociocultural power of the Church to counteract state power was still limited. The emperor publicly promoted the legitimacy of the Caesaropapism by unifying the divided Christian doctrines in Roman society through political power and giving the Church a proper sociocultural role. Ambrose did not believe that the special status of the bishop of Rome was

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[174] Küng (1995:208) says, "in the East a unity of state authority and supreme jurisdiction over the churches was established and then a unity of church, state and people generally of a kind which in the West is termed 'Caesaropapism', though this label is better avoided". He sees Caesaropapism as an interdependence of church power and state power rather than a one-sided subordination relation. Nonetheless, the emperors, in practice, behaved more like a pope than the pope and developed the Constantine-Justinian Christian paradigm of one empire, one law, and one church.

necessary to respond to the emperor's power in order to establish an independent Christian position; he rather thought that the priest as a representative of the spiritual authority of the Church should have sufficient religious authority in Roman social culture to guide the empire, including the emperor, in accordance with the conscience of belief (Johnson 1995:104; Küng 1995:313).[175] This attitude displayed by Ambrose seems to be revealed in his defence of the behaviour of the bishop who was to be punished by the emperor in the Callinicum (388 CE) case (*letter* 40; cf. 4.3.2.1). In other words, I think that issues centred on Ambrose emphasise the struggle to achieve the independent position of the Western church centred on sacerdotalism, rather than setting the Papacy against the Caesaropapism.

In this context, it can be said that sacerdotalism referred to finding and strengthening the independent position and role of the clergy in Roman social culture beyond the sacerdotalism defined by Constantine (cf. Küng 1995:211–214). As mentioned earlier (4.2.2.2), since Constantine, the universal church was being structured along sacerdotalism and ceremonialism, and the Christian priesthood had some religious authority (e.g. the Bishops' Court), but in reality it was difficult to escape from the traditional structures of the Roman religious system (e.g. Christianity as a new contractual religion with Roman society instead of Roman paganism, the emperor's role as the main agent of the divine contract and the actual provider of religious activities such as the temple, the priesthood, and the festivals). In other words, as the emperor became the designer of the universal church structure and offered the sociocultural benefits and role of the Church, the clergy or priesthood had to be retained according to the Roman system centred on Caesaropapism (or the Pontifex Maximus).[176] That was because the Christian paradigm, led by Constantine, implicitly accepted the emperor's supreme patriarchal position from its beginning, and the emperor was exercising realistic control and power over the universal church beyond the power of all bishops (e.g. in dismissing and electing bishops) (Kötting 2006:103; cf. Euseb., *Vita Cons*., i.12). Thus, the final authority was with the emperor, and the challenge to this order could be treated as rebellion at that time.

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[175] According to Küng (1995:313), although Pope Innocent (401–417 CE) promoted the centralism of Rome and claimed that all Western churches should follow the Roman liturgy, Ambrose thought the supervision of the local parish belonged to the local bishop. He ignored the special position of Rome (as claimed by popes) and carried out the liturgy of the Milan Church. In that respect, Ambrose's remark (quoted in Augustine Letter xxxvi.32) that "[w]hen I'm here [in Milan] I do not fast on Saturday; when I'm in Rome I fast on Saturday (*Quando hic sum, non ieiuno Sabbato; quando Romae sum, ieiuno (jejuno) Sabbato*.)" seems at least to emphasise the regional diocese system in the universal church more than the system centring on the Roman catholic system.

[176] The standardised concept and right of the clergy seemed to be given by the emperor's edict from the first. According to the edict of Constantine in a letter to Anullinus, Proconsul of Africa, (*Cod. Theod*. xvi, 2, 2, October 21, 319 trans. Boyd 1905:73): "those who give their services to the worship of the divine religion, and who are commonly called clergymen" (*Qui divino cultui ministeria religionis impendunt, id est hi, qui clerici appellantur*), "be entirely exempt from all public duties in order that they may not by any error or sacrilegious negligence be drawn away from the service of the Deity, but may devote themselves without any hindrance to their own law".

However, Ambrose, as Bishop of Milan, challenged the discipline of this ancient society and began opposing the Christian paradigm as centred on the emperor. Concerning the issues of the Church, he severely restricted the intervention of the emperor, emphasising the monopolistic supervisory authority of the clergy. He expanded the scope of ecclesiastical issues that the clergy should supervise regarding society and the emperor, and thus began to restructure the Western Christian world, as well as the Western church, according sacerdotalism (Han Chul-Ha 2001:116).

The first task undertaken by Ambrose in the restructuring concerned the emperor's position in the hierarchical system of churches. This weakened the traditional primacy of the Christian emperors in the universal church and empowered the authority of the clergy. The position of Constantine and the emperors in the universal church, as mentioned earlier (4.2.3.2), suggests that the traditional position of the emperor as Pontifex Maximus and the Roman tradition of emperor worship continued in Caesaropapism. The supreme pagan title of the emperor as Pontifex Maximus was removed by Emperor Gratian under influence of Ambrose. This small move seems not only to have abandoned the pagan symbolism in Roman power, but also to allow the bishops to exercise the role taken by emperors in the Romanised Christian paradigm maintained after Constantine. Gratian in many ways abandoned traditional Roman religious symbols (e.g. Altar of Victory, academy, earnings from the pagan temple) following the advice of Ambrose, despite the dissent of Roman pagans. The Christianity-biased attitude in this emperor's political choice may be seen as the first case showing that the Bishop or the clergy became the Christian emperor's spiritual teacher and manager of faith and that the emperor was under the bishop's guidance in faith (Williams 2002:132).[177]

This change in the Constantine Christian paradigm was no temporary occurrence only under Gratian. Ambrose's basic principle that the monarch as a layman was under the bishop's discipline (i.e. the emperor is within the Church, not above the Church: '*Imperator … intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est*', *Contra Auxentium*, 36. trans. Liebeschuetz 2010:143) began to take the lead in following confrontational situations: 1. He resisted the social and cultural power of the imperial congress, the court, and Empress Dowager Justina who supported the Arians of Milan (Ambrose, *Sermon Against Auxentius*, 5); 2. Although Emperor Theodosius ordered compensation for the destruction of the synagogue in the Callinicum incident from the Church and the bishop, Ambrose claimed the right and role of

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[177] Ambrose stated that the bishop's failure to speak his own thoughts freely was bad before God, which meant that the bishop's thoughts were not to be violated by any power (Greenslade, *Early Latin Theology, Library of Christian Classics,* 1956:v.229).

the Church and rejected compensation (*Ep*, 40); and 3. In reaction to Emperor Theodosius' action with regard to the incident in Thessalonica, Ambrose excommunicated him, asking for proof of Christian faith and led him to repent officially.[178] These issues seem to trigger the reorganisation of the church order in the Western world to unite in a visible and tangible church centring on the clergy. This shows how the position of the emperor as God's vicegerent and as an overseer of those outside the Church gradually passed over to the bishops.

The second restructuring task undertaken by Ambrose concerned the sociocultural position of the clergy in Christian secular society. Ambrose seemed to increase the capacity and dominance of the clergy within and outside the Church by emphasising the duty and role of the clergy to resist interference from political power in the universal church and, through the expansion of the sociocultural role of the Church, to gain public opinion and focus on church structure based on the clergy, as relative to the cooperative relationship structure of Constantine (cf. Brown 2012:133). The view of Ambrose can be seen in his work 'On the duties of the clergy' (*De officiis ministorum*) which he wrote for the clergy and was based on 'On Duties' (*De officiis*), the work of Cicero which dealt with the sociocultural responsibility and authority of secular leaders. In other words, he thought the clergy had the responsibility and authority to deal with the social culture of the secular society with Christian-centric ideas, and to implement the God-ruled community. Such efforts resulted in the clergy increasing their dominance over Christians (or the masses) and unite them with the priesthood. Perhaps, because he was able to gain the support of the public for the sociocultural responsibility and role of the clergy, he was able to oppose Justinia's political power in the confrontation with her. Ambrose therefore believed that, to secure the socioculturally independent position of Christianity, the Church and clergy had to exercise sociocultural responsibility, authority, and capacity to apply Christian values in society without interference by the secular powers. This is how the Western church restructured its organisation through the duties of the clergy and the practical functions of the Church, unlike the way in which the clergy of the Eastern Church after Constantine strengthened the organisation through doctrinal aspects (Küng 1995:25, 250).

4.3.1.3 The breakaway of Western churches from state religion centring on Constantinople: division of the Christian geopolitical base

The division of the geopolitical base between the East and the West of the Christian world

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[178] According to Ramsey (2004:229), details of Theodosius' excommunication cannot be found, but it seems that his excommunication was withdrawn at Christmas in 390 CE.

has a very important correlation in the separation of the ecclesiastical authority and secular authority and in securing the independence of the Church. Geopolitical boundaries can be regarded as a powerful standard to segregate one group from other groups socioculturally and to homogenise various sociocultural factors within the boundaries (i.e. the Western Christian world and the Eastern Christian world)., The role of the bishop, unlike in the Eastern churches centring on Constantinople that upheld the state church (or Caesaropapism), became more important in the Western Christian world where the influence of Constantinople's political power was weak. Because of this, Damasus (366–384), who claimed the position of the apostolic bishop to be the highest order in the hierarchy, and popes following him, could have secured the support of the Western churches in building the church system centring on the Roman bishop. After the death of Emperor Theodosius, the empire permanently adhered to the political and geographical division between the East and the West. In the end, the Western churches naturally separated from the state religion centred on the New Rome (i.e. Constantinople), and were able to restructure an independent Western universal church centring on Rome. This was not only because Rome was able to achieve the solidarity of the churches through the symbolism of apostolic bishops, but also because Old Rome could be established, at least, as a geopolitical base of Western Christianity that could block political interference from Constantinople with this political and geopolitical separation (Chadwick 1993:125; Küng 1995:312; Schaff, *H.C.C.*, iii.5.57).

The Roman Empire-Christianity cooperative relationship and the official theology was seen to be useful for uniting Christians and non-Christians in one community with a common fate (e.g. a homogenisation of *Pax Romana* and *Pax Christiana*, and Romans and Christians) within a short period of time by suggesting a common goal that could be pursued through Christian religious value in Roman social culture (cf. 4.2.3.1). Constantinople was a geopolitical base reflecting the ideals – as a symbol of a New Jerusalem and the new Rome – and was the source of the influence of the state church or Caesaropapism. Thus, the Eastern churches linked to Constantinople were dominated by the Constantinian Christian paradigm. The perception of the Roman public concerning this cooperative relationship can be seen in the pagans in the Western Roman Empire blaming the decline of the Empire on Christianity, which shows that the expectation for the cooperative relationship with Christianity (i.e. the contractual relationship between state and religion based on mutual interest) was to continue. This would have been very common in Roman society. On the other hand, Constantinople, in reflecting the Christian paradigm of Constantine, was able to achieve some degree of common expectation of the unified power of the Roman Empire through the cooperative relationship between the state and Christianity, so that the Eastern

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churches were not free from the emperor's authority (Küng 1995:205–209).

In this respect, the greatest change in the time of Ambrose was that the Christian terrain was divided into two major geographical bases: the one being the state church associated with Constantinople, which reflected the power of the emperor and the state, and the other the church state associated with the Roman Church, which reflected the apostolic tradition (especially of Peter) with sacerdotalism (Küng 1995:246–247). After the Nicene Council (325 CE), the five fixed patriarchates (Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem) had equal positions, and the final authority was agreement in the Council. [179] These patriarchates began to be claimed as the actual rank within the hierarchical system of the universal church. The bishops of the Eastern Church, in 381, put Constantinople on a par with Rome through the council of Constantinople, and the Metropolitan Archdiocese ruling the East Roman Empire government should have been bound by the strong political and economic influence of the imperial metropolis of Constantinople. In contrast to the solidarity of the Eastern churches centring on Constantinople, the Roman bishop Damasus, in 382 CE, convened the synod of Rome to claim the superiority of Rome, and was able to gain consent from the Western churches for it. Such a process was possible because the Western churches were somewhat apart from the influence of Constantinople or the direct power of the state church under the divisional rule of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire governments. Because Rome had single authority as the only Metropolitan Archdiocese in the Western Empire, the Western churches could have been naturally linked to the reputation and authority of the apostolic tradition of the Roman bishop and church (cf. Küng 1995:312–315).

Other causes of the geopolitical division of these churches included the sociocultural difference (cf. 2.3) between Rome and Greece, the corresponding doctrinal confrontation, and the support of Western Christian leaders given to Rome, which became the source of sacerdotalism over against Constantinople as the source of Caesaropapism (Han Chul-Ha 2001[1970]:105; Küng 1995:348). The development of Western theology by Tertullian (the tradition of the ecclesiastical faith), Cyprian (ecclesiastical order), and Ambrose (ecclesiastical authority) seemed to place greater emphasis on ecclesiology than the Eastern churches regarding the knowledge of God. Historic events in church history, the apostolic tradition (or inheritance) and the Roman Church as its continuity, have continually been emphasised in Western theology, and the ecclesiastical order centring on the Roman Church has been

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[179] After the Edict of Milan, the scattered churches were divided into local dioceses according to the classification of Roman Empire provinces. Especially Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem integrated the local dioceses of their surrounding areas with the metropolitan archdiocese. They were divided into equal authorities that could not interfere with each other and the council held the final authority for decisions (5th and 6th in Nicene decrees, Ritter 306–308).

distinguished from the theological interests of the Eastern churches. This development of ecclesiology in the Western church can be seen in the church order, the interest of Cyprian, being revealed as a form of tangible church regarded as the ecclesiastical authority centring on sacerdotalism up to the time of Ambrose. In other words, Tertullian, a former lawyer, and Cyprian produced the legal concept of ecclesiology, Ambrose, as a former administrator in the Roman government embodied a practical church based on such a concept. With the West and the East each uniting the Church in a different way as the embodiment of the community ruled by God that they were trying to achieve, it seems that competition and conflict for hegemony gradually developed between the two. As mentioned earlier (Gager 1975:79–87; cf. 3.2.3), the East-West conflict strengthened the ideology and organisation of each group, and it could be seen to produce important implications for Christian doctrinal history which came not from conflict and tension with paganism and heresy only, but also from geopolitical conflict and tension between East and West.

4.3.2 Securing the independent role of the Church in Roman social culture

The Church's independent role here means that the universal church of the empire was no longer confined to its cooperative relationship and common fate with Roman society, but played a sociocultural role as a community separate from the intervention of political power (i.e. the support or sanction of Roman power), produced its own unique sociocultural values, and survived independently regardless of the success or failure of the Roman Empire (Küng 1995:348). As discussed earlier, it seems that the universal church after Constantine could not afford to pay attention to establishing itself in a position independent from the interference of the state and produce an independent sociocultural role including central Christian ideas, because of concentrating on the most important issues of the Church at that time, namely the doctrinal controversies involved with organising the universal church, deciding Christian standards and the competition between the churches for rank. Thus, the sociocultural roles of Christianity were difficult to expand apart from the support of the state administration as an embedded religion of the state. Ambrose, however, became involved with issues for a new Christian paradigm in the Western church through events extending the socioculturally independent role of the Church away from the interference of the state: the fact that the Western Roman Catholic Church after the fall of the Western Empire could remain the only cultural force that led mass society regardless of the fate of the state shows clearly that the Western church had been strengthening its own independent sociocultural movement away from the cooperative relationship with the Roman Empire (cf. Küng 1995:442–446).

4.3.2.1 Challenging and competing Christian values in Roman social culture

Christianity took on the role of state religion on behalf of the pagans, reflecting the sense of common fate with Rome in the Christian paradigm of Constantine. Thus, Romanised Christianity became harmonised with paganism in many ways, and this was why the pagans of Rome were able to accept Christianity in their social culture without great opposition. However, as Christian organisational power gradually strengthened and its influence grew, Christianity started to expand Christian-centred ideas and lift the sociocultural symbolism of Christianity through eliminating the pagan influence that could not be harmonised with Christianity in Roman social culture and transforming it into Christian value. In other words, it is can be seen that the Church now began to work to produce sociocultural influences for spreading the ideology of the central Christian idea in Roman society, free from the efforts for its survival. Events related to Ambrose illustrate how Christian values could have begun to transcend traditional Roman sociocultural values in Roman society.

Firstly, Christian values were used to challenge the religious values of the Roman tradition (cf. 2.3.3; 3.3.4). At the time of Ambrose, the traditional Roman pagans and their religious rituals were accepted by the Romans as sociocultural symbols which involved the continuation and prosperity of the Roman Empire apart from their religious beliefs. Roman pagans thus demanded Christian emperors to maintain the traditional Roman religious customs as a symbol of historical social culture.

The fact that Emperor Gratian had refused to assume the position of the pagan high priest (4.3.1.2) simply shows that Roman traditional paganism no longer had sociocultural value as a state religion in the social sense (in the contractual relationship between Rome and religion). Earlier Christianity had been perceived as a dissident culture challenging the ruling class, but now paganism took the past position of Christianity. Gratian confiscated the funds for maintaining the pagan temple and removed the Altar of Victory (382 CE), which was a symbol of the Senate. These political actions, however, could not confirm the complete victory of Christianity among Roman society and they could not change the Roman traditional view of religion yet. The pagan culture was maintained in Roman society, and the tendency of the Roman public was still to regard Christianity as having the same religious value as the pagan culture. The political victory of Christianity in Roman society therefore did not lead directly to social victory. The later events that took place with the emergence of Ambrose revealed sociocultural changes; Christianity gradually replaced the social position of pagan culture, which had been the centre of politics, society, and religion (*Cod. Theod.*, 16.10.20; Ambrose, *Ep.*, 17–18).

The confrontation with Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, who was the senior priest (*pontifex maior*) and a representative of the Roman Senate, is especially regarded as the representative confrontation of Christianity and paganism in constituting the sociocultural values of Rome. Symmachus by letter demanded that Emperor Valentinian II restore the Altar of Victory, which was removed by Emperor Gratian, after Gratian's death (383 CE). Symmachus' lawsuit called for universal religious freedom and religious tolerance of the Roman tradition, but revealed his strong resistance to the new Roman solidarity that was the result of being Christianised from the inside and his support of Roman traditions and customs. Ambrose was aware of the letter, and responded by sending a letter to the emperor that refuted the petition in detail. Both were intellectuals who knew the sociocultural value of Rome in the administration of Rome in the fourth century, but one was devoted to restoring the disappearing traditional culture of Rome and the other one securing the social position of a new Christian social culture. This is evidence that the sociocultural values Christianity were concentrated in the Western world at that time (Drobner 2007:309; Ramsey 2004:227).

Symmachus discussed the benefits of traditional values and the symbolism of Roman pagan culture to Roman society, stating: 1. The Roman pagan culture embodied in the goddess of victory was a Roman tradition which children had to inherit as a historical experience that preserved Roman stability (or peace);[180] 2. The strong power that was able to unite the Roman Empire was provided by the traditional religion; and 3. The religious tolerance of Rome, which gave freedom and unification to all religious rituals, had to be maintained. Ambrose, however, refuted these arguments by stressing: 1. It was a religious issue, so he had to interfere with it as a bishop; 2. The tradition that Rome should inherit was the community spirit of Roman culture (cf. 2.3.1), not the pagan culture, and the pagan culture did not have any actual social value or symbolism for the unity of Rome; 3. For the stability of the state itself, it was impossible to maintain truth and error as having the same value; and 4. The hope of Rome lay in the Christian faith, which could correct past mistakes, and the values of Christianity would be complementary to the social deficiency of the time, and this Christian value should be used as a means of new Roman integration (Ambrosius, *Ep.*, 17.10–14).

In the end, Ambrose obtained victory for Christian values in the confrontation with the religious values of the Roman tradition through the emperor's official support by means of an anti-heretic and anti-paganism policy, and extended the practical achievements of

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[180] Symmachus believed that, "[t]hese sacrifices drove Hannibal from my walls, and the Senones from the Capitol" (*Ep.,* 17.9 trans. Liebeschuetz).

Christianity: 1. Symmachus was deported; 2. The Roman Senate publicly impeached Jupiter, the major god of Rome; 3. The leaders of Roman society, such as politicians, landowners, and aristocrats, converted to Christianit, and the sociocultural position of Christianity was secured in the Roman Empire; and 4. Valentinian II confirmed that the Altar of Victory that had been the dismantled was not to be restored (Drobner 2007:309; Han Chul-Ha 2001[1970]:118; Ramsey 2004:227).

Thus, it would seem that Ambrose had looked for the right time and role to reveal the Christian-centred ideas to the leaders and intellectuals in Roman social culture, materialised Christian sociocultural values in Roman society through the religious confrontation, and generated the movement towards Roman social culture becoming assimilated into Christianity.

Secondly, Christian values were used to challenge the imperial values (*Romanitas*) that constituted the Roman Empire (cf. 2.3.2; 4.2.3). Some of the events that took place between Ambrose and Theodosius reveal the challenge of Christian faith to the ideal and empirical values of the empire that Rome had established (i.e. the mechanisms for community integration such as the *Pax Romana*, *Concordia*, guardian and beneficiary, honour and shame, practicality, and rationality, etc.) and to the concept of the Roman order that had propped up such values. Christianity had been recognised for its central ideas and beliefs in terms of supporting and complementing the values and the order of the Roman Empire since Constantine (O'Daly 1999:1–2). This entailed that Christian values had to be restricted to the empirical value of Rome as an objective reality for social control and the social cohesion that had been accumulated throughout Roman history (by Roman traditions and customs, laws, institutions, philosophy, religion, language, lifestyle, etc.) (cf. Berger 1981:91; McGrath 2013:42). Despite the Romanisation process of Christianity, these two values systems could not be perfectly harmonised or assimilated, and their incongruity could have been expected. Ambrose began to emphasise the clear priority of religious judgment regarding this discrepancy and began to emphasise that Christian values were no longer ancillary concepts in Roman society but constituted a priority that was able to judge and adjust Roman imperial values (Bruce 1961:331). The event related with Ambrose that seemed to demonstrate his attitude to the tension between the two values was the following.

In 390 CE, the citizens of Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, led a riot in which they murdered the military commander of Illyricum. Although Ambrose had exhorted against it, Theodosius ordered revenge, and about 7 000 Thessalonian residents were slaughtered in the circus. Ambrose then asked for public atonement by Emperor Theodosius, stating (*Ep.*,

51.10, 13, 17 trans. Liebeschuetz 2010:267–269):

> 11. I have written these things not to embarrass you … Sin cannot be abolished otherwise than by tears and penitence …

> 13. … I dare not offer the sacrifice, if you intend to be there. Or is what is not allowed when the blood of one innocent victim has been shed, allowed when the blood has been shed of many? I do not think so.

> 17. … If you believe me, follow my advice, if you believe me, I repeat, acknowledge the truth of what I am saying. If you do not believe me, pardon what I am doing, namely that I am putting God first. …

Although Emperor Theodosius' suppression of the Thessalonian riots could be understood in terms of Roman peace and order, Ambrose applied the thorough Christian faith ethic that required the Emperor to repent publicly as a Christian. McLean (1994:315–330) notes that Ambrose's attitude was a representative example of a bishop who fulfilled his obligation to summon a ruler in accordance with his religious and ethical judgment in the relationship between political power and bishop.

These challenges could be regarded as very unjustified interference in terms of state administration by Ambrose, but he also tried not to act rashly with excessive interference of state administration (cf. *Ep.*, 51.10, 1–10). For Ambrose, however, the foremost rationale for all value judgments was not a sociocultural form that had been built on the historical experience of the Roman Empire, but a Christian religious ideology that emerged from central Christian ideas. Until that time, it had been difficult for Roman society, for which relative and empirical judgment was the principle of social order, to use the permanent and religious concept of Christianity as the basis of social value judgment. However, Ambrose began to apply the Christian faith as a criterion of absolute value judgment in Roman politics and social culture. Thus, Theodosius' acceptance of the demand issued by Ambrose can be seen as an event that established a clear position for the Church in Roman society and providing a basis for the Church to have real influence in secular society.

4.3.2.2 Expansion of Christianity's independent role in Roman social culture

When the values of Christianity exceeded the religious and imperial values of Rome in the past and the Christian influence was expanded to the Roman masses, the sociocultural practices of Christianity began to develop correspondingly. Because the Eastern Roman government pursued more organisational efficiency through Constantinople, the role that

Eastern churches could play in society was restricted to the religious sphere, whereas the Western churches could go beyond intervention in government action and apply the ideology of central Christian ideas to exercise independent sociocultural roles, and with the decline of the empire, such roles of the Church could gradually be extended to common society. In Küng's (1995:348) evaluation, the fact that the Roman Catholic Church was left as the only cultural force leading popular society after the end of the Western Roman Empire shows that the Western churches had already tried securing their sociocultural role before the collapse of the Western Empire. If Western Christianity had not secured a socially and culturally independent role and had remained part of the government system, like the Eastern churches, it would have disappeared with the destruction of the Western Empire, as in the case of the destruction of the Byzantine church and Constantinople. It is difficult to know how carefully Ambrose contemplated these concerns, but his role can be seen as providing a new sociocultural paradigm for Christianity.

In Ambrose's view, the Church was not merely a religious temple that produced religious satisfaction for the Christian, or a religious research institute that produced religious ideas, nor was the clergy limited to the priest for religious rituals and as religious philosophers, but the Church was to establish a boundary to protect and rule Christians and the clergy to be ministers as managers dealing with Christian life in practice. The role of these churches and clergy was not merely to be in the Church, but to expand into society. Liebeschuetz (2010:23) points out that, "[a]s a writer and theologian Ambrose was a 'high populariser' rather than an original thinker". I think that there are clear distinctions between the broad range of the role of the Church in Ambrose's view and the role of the Church in the Constantinian Christian paradigm that was confined to religious activities, and this expansion of the role by Ambrose can be summarised as follows:

First, the Church was to provide political paradigms and agendas for Christian nations. As mentioned earlier, Ambrose's interference in the political activities of the state could have been justified as the extension of the Church's ministry through the value of Christian faith. However, he did not regard the Church as having priority over the government, but as assisting the government with the values of Christian faith (Ramsey 2004:229–230).

Second, the Church was to manage the sociocultural values (e.g. ethics, philosophy, and customs) of the society and provide better value in terms of faith (Liebeschuetz 2010:295). The events in which Ambrose confronted the values of traditional Roman paganism that had remained in Roman society and subdued the Roman tradition of emperor power, law and order through the value of Christian faith, reveal the role of a church that dealt with

sociocultural value (Ramsey 2004:229–230). This independent role of Christianity and its effectiveness is manifested as religious law in the Code of Theodosius, and Christian norms which had no compelling power before Constantine could be expanded publicly through legal confirmation. This legislation showed the structural mechanism of how the group was organised and what activities were practised. It also showed what sociocultural correlations were being formed. In other words, the fact that the religious value of Christianity was given legal status meant that Christianity did not remain a religious activity only, but had reached the level of practically managing the social culture belonging to the Christian world.

Third, the Church was to protect Christians and the Christian world (cf. *Sermon against Auxentius* 21). Ambrose was active in church politics and imperial politics, but he was also very serious about pastoral duties. Shortly after becoming Bishop of Milan, the Milan area was devastated by the Goths, and he disposed of the Church's possessions (e.g. the sacred vessels) and provided it as the funds for the refugees and ransom for the captives. At that time his adversaries blamed him for blasphemy, but he asserted his point of view as follows: "… it was far better to preserve souls than gold for the Lord. … The Church has gold, not to store up, but to lay out, and to spend on those who need …." (Ambrose, *On Duties of the Clergy*, ii.113.137 trans. Schaff). The Thessalonian case also revealed a protective function of the Church for people against the tyranny of state power (*Ep.*, 51.12).

4.3.2.3 The Roman Catholic Church as the geopolitical base of Christianity in the Roman social culture

The expansion of Christian values and the securing of Christian practicability (i.e. Christianity's independent role) seems to have become a motivation for restructuring the universal church of the Western Empire centring on Rome as the most important geographical base for the independent survival of Christianity. In particular, as the structural value of the universal church changed from the legal status of national recognition to the historical symbolic status of apostolic tradition, the Roman Church began to combine the local churches of the Western Empire in a universal church through its leading role. Thus, after the fall of the Empire, the only remaining legacy of the Roman Empire was the Roman Catholic Church, and various ethnic groups and nations opened up a medieval society based on the Roman Church. Carl Richard (2010:274) points out that "Just as medieval feudalism had its roots in the late Roman Empire, so did many of the doctrines and practices commonly associated with medieval Catholicism". In other words, even during the conflict and confusion of the Western world and the invasion of barbarians at the end of the Empire, the Roman Catholic Church continued to survive without failing in the situation. As such, the

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inherited form of the Medieval Church can be seen as originating from the new Christian paradigm of Ambrose. Events related to Ambrose mentioned above represent actions that had not been experienced before his time, but were actions that continued to occur around the medieval Roman Church. Ambrose's premise, "[t]he emperor is within and not above the Church" (*Ep.*, 75.36) not only shows the separation between the authority of the Western church and state authority, but also the ideal of typical medieval Roman Catholicism. While it may be that Ambrose did not actively support the supremacy of the Roman Church, the ideological accomplishments between the state and the Church that he achieved were actually absorbed by the Roman Church (Han Chul-Ha 2001:122).

Han Chul-Ha (2001:91, 105–106) points to the tradition of Western church fathers as a continual movement that was able to establish the Church of Rome as a geopolitical base for Western Christianity centring on historicity and apostolicity. According to him, while Alexandrian church fathers usually expressed their ideas on the basis of Greek philosophical training, the fact that Tertullian and Cyprian were professional lawyers, and Ambrose was a promising politician, can be taken as that their ministry started from basic social-scientific liberal arts such as politics and laws. Thus, while Eastern theology focused on metaphysical explanations of Christian truth, Western theology (e.g. the '*paradosis*' ideas leading to Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian) focused on the history of Christian faith and developed a realistic and visible apostolic tradition based on the event and its continuity. This development seems to have become clearer as the universal church established its authority by differing from the official theology associated with Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, which eventually took the path of state religion. In this respect, Ambrose's attitude cannot be said to be papal, but he instituted the new paradigm of the bishop of the Church having the final authority and by rejecting the official theology and the position of the emperor as 'God's vicegerent', which at that time was the core value of Christianity, and setting the Christian emperor under the authority of the Church. As a result, the Roman bishop could, within this structure, have become the ultimate authority over the Western church by acquiring the supremacy of the Roman Church from the bishops of the Western church.

4.3.3 Integration of Roman sociocultural values of Christianity centring on the new Christian paradigm

The securing of the independent Christian position and the strengthening of the independent role of Christianity within the Western Roman Empire resulted from the change in the basic direction of the Christian community paradigm from the Romanisation of Christianity to the

Christianisation of Rome. The universal church of the Western Empire began to integrate existing sociocultural values with Christian values to reveal Christian-centred ideas, taking the initiative of producing and managing sociocultural values in the Western world. This pursued a direction that differed from the Christian paradigm of Constantine, which produced integrated values towards harmony and balance beyond conflict and confrontation for mutual values (e.g. common goal, common identity, common achievement according to Romanisation of Christianity; cf. 4.2.3) and it was aimed at restructuring the sociocultural values of Rome in order to pursue the religious value of Christianity.

4.3.3.1 Generalisation of Christian values: Expansion of religious beliefs into the integrated ethics system of the Christian world

The first thing that Christianity, in integrating the Roman social culture into their own values, achieved was to convert Christian values into common and universal values in Roman social culture. The cooperative relationship between the universal values of various social cultures and Christian values, as discussed above, was only dealt with religiously. However, with its independent position and independent role, Christianity, besides gaining influence in the religious aspect, also began to have an influence in sociocultural aspects that could actually deal with the life of the Romans in Roman social culture. Such influence originated from sociocultural authority (e.g. regimes, customs, traditions, laws, etc.) that brought Romans together in common actions, and Christian values combined with such authority and began to expand. This did not only bring the common ethical concept of humanity to the centre of Christian thought, but also the particular religious beliefs of Christianity applicable to universal society. It can be seen that the social culture of Rome itself began to have the colour of Christian belief. Thus, the way in which Christian values were extended to the unified ethical system of Rome was through rejecting other beliefs, ideas, and ethical systems besides Christianity, and reinterpreting what was common to Christian values as a substructure of Christian belief.

From this, resistance from Roman pagan society to the Christianisation began to come to the surface. In the past, various preferential policies of the Roman government supported Christianity within the framework of the cooperative relationship, and the pagans did not oppose this because Christianity was recognised only as a religious belief and religious activity that did not infringe on the traditional way of life in Rome. However, when Christianity was confirmed as an official religion of the state in 379–381 CE, the Roman pagans familiar with the past saw it as a religious revolution revealing an attempt by Christianity to universalise Christian religious beliefs and they began to rebel. It was because religious

beliefs differing from Christianity could not be included in the universal society of Rome because of the exclusive beliefs of Christianity, and in 391 CE pagans were finally denied basic rights as Romans (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.10.7–10). In other words, Romans began to be known in the same sense as Christians after this time (cf. 4.2.3.2). The paradigm shifts in Roman society since 379 CE seemed to the pagans that Roman society, which, in spite of diversity and pluralism, had united to form an empire, began to take on a very biased attitude. The pagans were banned from following traditional pagan religious practices that had been part of their lives; their philosophical and ethical judgments were limited and their religious buildings had to be turned to other uses, with the result that a new life in a unified ethical system that reflected the religious beliefs of Christianity was forced on them. Libanius, the most prominent rhetorician of the time and a traditional pagan, protested in 386 CE, criticising the physical threat to paganism and the conversion to Christianity through coercion as inappropriate (MacMullen 1992:283–284). Pagans interpreted the sudden death of Constans and Gratian as due to the anger of their gods because they persecuted pagans with anti-paganist legislation and employed policies that were biased in favour of Christianity (Nam Sung-Hyun 2007:152).

On the other hand, according to the record of the Christian historian Sozomenus (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii.17), Christians and pagans in Alexandria were involved in an armed confrontation at the Serapeum of Alexandria, which resulted in Christian casualties. The pagan temple was demolished during this incident, but the pagans who had killed the Christians were pardoned. What is evident here is that, from the perspective of political power, the Christian hegemony and its integrated ethics system could be regarded as a way to induce conversion rather than punishment of paganism. The political power that initially wanted the seamless integration of Roman society seemed to focus on presenting the national direction as the unified Christian ethics system, so the emperor was somewhat flexible about the claims of pagan bureaucrats and intellectuals.

Ambrose, however, seems to have been trying to reinforce the new trend in this integrated system of Christian ethics more rigidly than the political power. Ambrose, because of his experience of having been a high-ranking government official before becoming the bishop of Milan, had substantially greater influence over the emperors and the public than any other bishop. Having an excellent understanding of the characteristics of social structure, Ambrose presented a Christian-centred perspective in interpreting the political and social phenomena of reality. This was clear when Ambrose asked Emperor Gratian to respond as a Christian believer to Symmachus' petition for the restoration of the Altar of Victory as Roman symbolism for the Roman tradition (*Ep.*, 17–18). He also argued for the superiority of

Christian values over the traditional Roman order system with Theodosius regarding with the riot in Thessalonica (*Ep.*, 51). He, especially in his confrontation with the emperors, began to distinguish spiritual authority from secular authority, highlighting the perpetual value of the Church rather than the traditional value of Rome. Ambrose's attitude revealed in these cases show that he was concentrating on the sociocultural status that the Church should secure in Roman politics and society. His intention was that the Church should evaluate society because of its intrinsic value, but the relative value of politics and society could not be applied to judge the Church. Thus, the traditional Roman custom and social ethics system experienced and accumulated in various religious consciences and Roman history relinquished the existing position to the Christian-integrated system of ethics. This historical movement was revealed more clearly through the law of religion at the time.

4.3.3.2 Formation of sociocultural compulsion of Christian values: the religious law

By the time of Ambrose, the Roman sociocultural power (e.g. traditions, laws, institutions, customs, beliefs, languages, lifestyles, etc.) that bound Roman society began to operate alongside Christian values. Christianity, in other words, not only appealed to the religious sensibility of the masses, but was revealed in the objective realities that formed the thinking and action of the Roman people (cf. Berger 1981:91). Thus, as revealed by the singularity associated with Ambrose in securing the independent position and role of Christianity, the expansion of Christian hegemony seems ultimately to have led to the collapse of traditional Roman power and the formation of a new sociocultural power centring on Christianity. In this respect, the religious laws in the Codex of Theodosius can be regarded as actual evidence that best embodies the characteristics of sociocultural power concerned with Ambrose. Christian norms do not enforce action and cannot be rigorous or public penalties. However, Christianity in the time of Ambrose began to show sociocultural compulsion by acquiring the religious law of the state and began to form a Christian ideological hegemony different from the past. [181]

The historical study of the enactment of laws in the time of Ambrose in particular provided very important meanings: 1. Since Constantine recognised illegitimate Christianity as a legitimate religion (313 CE) and Gratian-Theodosius determined that Christianity was the only religion in the Empire (380 CE), Christian religious values became one of the

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[181] Such legislation objectively shows the structural mechanisms of the organisation, what activities it engages in, and what sociocultural correlations the organisation is forming. As mentioned earlier (3.3.3.3), in the socialisation of Christianity in the Roman sociocultural area, the companionship or solidarity with the Roman legal system was a significant process in which Christianity gained sociocultural universality. After 380 CE, the Roman religious laws relating to Christianity became an important basis for the formation and exercise of socioculturally compelling power in the supremacy of religious exclusivity (Bainton 1966:94).

sociocultural forces of the Roman Empire; 2. Whenever religious laws for Christianity were added, the diverse beliefs that Christians had at the time became simplified; and 3. The religious law for the universal church became the structural foundation of the state church in the Eastern Empire, while it became the structural foundation of the church state in the Western Empire. In fact, this mechanism for systematisation of the Roman law seems to have been particularly useful in Western churches; while the religious law in the Eastern Empire could not overtake the superordinate laws dealing with the authority of the state, the Western churches centring on Rome could be free from state authority because of the decline of the Western Roman Empire. Consequently, the law of religion in the West became a means of determining the legal solidarity; the legal application of the hierarchical system; and the legal status and influence of the Church in the Western world.

In the days of Gratian and Theodosius, from 379 CE to 381 CE, the legal decision concerning Christianity made Christianity the only official faith in the Roman Empire. In addition, only the Christianity recognised as orthodox by the law of the state (traditional Nicene faith) became the faith that all members of the state should follow, and the other faiths became illegal and had to be sanctioned by means of the jurisdiction of the state (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.1.2–3). According to a study by McMullen (1984:47), the percentage of Christians and pagans who held important posts in the empire at this time was 140 to 128; the Christians were a little ahead. The number of Arians in Christianity was not less than that of members supporting the Nicene Orthodox faith. Nonetheless, the fact that Roman political power legally established Christianity as the only state religion shows that Christianity did not merely signify cooperative relationship but became the empire's governing ideology. This Christian religious ideology came to reveal its new religious exclusiveness with the laws of anti-heresy, anti-apostasy, and anti-paganism.

Firstly, the anti-heresy laws were ultimately aimed at the standardisation of the universal church in the time of Constantine, but were very simple and eclectic. However, the law promulgated in Milan on August 3, 379, escaped from the political neutrality between the Athanasius and Arius, declared the exclusiveness of the Nicene faith, and did not take a neutral or eclectic attitude to divided Christian doctrine but exercised compelling power to conclude a unified doctrine (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.5.5). For example, distorting or violating the belief in the Trinity (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.2.25, February 28, 380 CE) was defined as a public crime of committing the sin of sacrilege (*sacrilegium*) and only bishops confessing the Nicene faith were accepted, but those who did not, were deprived of their rights in the Church (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.1.3, July 30, 381).

Secondly, the laws of anti-apostasy were conceived to prevent breakaway from the Christian unity: As Christianity became the state religion in the period of Theodosius, religious apostasy began to be transformed into the concept of judicial or political apostasy (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.7.1). The apostate, for example, was deprived of the right of the Roman citizen (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.7.1, May 2, 381) and was not subject to the Roman law of inheritance and bestowal (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.7.2, May 20, 383), and lost the position with the sanction on basic citizenship in Rome (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.7.4–5, May 11, 391).

Thirdly, the law against paganism prohibited any religion besides Christianity from exercising compelling religious power in Roman social culture. Sacrificial and mantic rituals were prohibited (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.10.7, December 21, 381 CE) and only pagan shrines with artistic value could be opened (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.10.8, November 30, 382 CE), thus access to shrines and oracles was prohibited (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.10.10, February 24, 391 CE).

Christian hegemony, based on the religious exclusiveness of Christianity in these religious laws, cannot be regarded as irrelevant to the sociocultural orientation of Christianity as envisioned by Ambrose. As mentioned above, securing the independent position and role of Christianity that Ambrose conceived ultimately led to the perception that Christian values outweigh secular values, and religious law was to reflect this opinion. Johnson (1995:104), regarding Ambrose, points out, "[i]n his day it began to be commonly assumed that non-membership of the Church was, in effect, an act of disloyalty to the emperor". In other words, the new Christian paradigm in the time of Ambrose seems not to have been subordinated to state ideology but rather to have taken a place as a socioculturally compelling power to lead state ideology.

4.3.3.3 Formation of the sociocultural leadership of Christian values: Christian elitism

Ambrose seems to have considered the importance of the structure, the training process, and the responsibilities and duties of the clergy who dealt with the sociocultural authority entrusted to Christianity for Christian values to function as the unified ethical system of the Roman social culture.[182] His work 'On the Offices of Ministers' (*De Officiis Ministrorum*) particular, was influenced by the excellent wisdom of pagan philosophy and applied to the clergy based on Cicero's work '*On Duties'* (*De officiis*), which reflected Roman elitism. As

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[182] As Schaff (*H.C.C.* iii.5.48) asserts, the regular and universal education for the cleric candidates at the time was largely insufficient. Although several councils required qualification of the clergy, many clergy were appropriated in a non-programmed way by the rapid growth of Christianity and the shortage of cleric candidates, or by the demands and needs of the public, as seen with the sudden ordination of Ambrose as bishop. The lack of qualifications of the clergy could shake the structure of sacerdotalism; therefore Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Jerome wrote about the need for education for cleric candidates.

mentioned earlier (2.3.2.2), Plato's 'The Republic' presented an authoritarian society ruled by an elite or philosopher-king that could lead to the harmonious cooperation of all the citizens in order to supplement the hurdles of Greek democracy that he experienced (Plato, *Res Publica* i.6; *Statesman*) and Cicero's works (e.g. *De re publica*, *De officiis*) imitated ideals of Plato's 'The Republic' and aimed to improve societal culture in accordance with the reality of Rome. In that respect he argued that the role of the ruler is to pursue the common good of the community (Cicero, *On duties*, 1.22–23). In fact, the Roman Empire to some extent was able to embody a state like the ideal visualised by Plato and Cicero through heroism or bureaucratic elitism (MacCulloch 2009:41–46). In that respect, in the period of the formation of early Christianity, the Christian communities revealed a structure similar to Rome, with central figures leading communities, but such a structure was somewhat distant from Roman elitism. However, when Christianity became Romanised, the paradigm of Christian clergy seems to have followed Roman elitism.

Earlier, Christian leaders acted in accordance with a charismatic structure that had been tailored to the preservation of the Christian community of faith and the spiritual care of Christians, but with Constantine, when the universal church was organised, the clergy began to specialise in the organisational administration of the Church and as executants of Christian ritual, and sacerdotalism and the hierarchy began to take the place of a major system for church operations (Küng 1995:117–127, 148, 211–214; Walker 1992:187–193). Thus, the authority of clergy in the position and role in the organised church system became more important part the spiritual authority that former church leaders thought important. This elitist and bureaucratic system was similar to the elitism of Judaism, which was composed mainly of the priestly class, but it seemed to follow the political system of Rome in many aspects. From a modern point of view, such elitism can be viewed as a non-biblical system of authority but, compared to other societies of the time, elitism in the Roman society where the ideas of Plato and Cicero were valued was a proven organisational management system for the standardisation and efficiency of organisational operations (cf. Davidson 2005b:45–46; Horsley 1997:89–90). As discussed earlier (4.2.2.2), Constantine's Christian paradigm had already changed the structure and the role of the clergy in many ways. In terms of orthodox faith and maintaining the order of communities, in particular, the hierarchical system had been transformed into a structural function for the efficiency of organisational operation and promoted the integration of Christian churches so that local churches became substructures of major dioceses. As a result, the five Patriarchal Sees became the chief operators of the universal church and began to compete for the final authority (Han Chul-Ha 2001:107).

The emergence of Ambrose in this situation reveals elitism emphasised in a slightly different way. For him, the importance of elitist sacerdotalism did not merely involve the difference of authority and position among clerics, but a matter of capacity in the role of religious leaders who led an axis of Christianised Roman society in terms of the establishment of ecclesiastical authority, and a matter of the training process to produce such clergy and of responsibility and duty according to the authority of clergy (cf. Ambrose, *De Officiis Ministrorum*, 10.32).[183], The following issues concerning Ambrose therefore are considered to have provided the singularity of sacerdotalism related on the elitism in the Christianisation of Roman Empire.

First, Ambrose showed the clergy's superiority over spiritual authority, ethical superiority, and sociocultural honour through confronting Rome's political power, as can be seen in the various events related to him. In other words, the Christian clergy were not only professional religious persons who specialised in religious ritual, but were also part of a leading class in Roman society that could manage Christian life, and check and correct social and cultural factors. This revealed a new position and role of the clergy in the Christian world different from other Christian leaders who were obsessed with doctrinal problems and the internal status of the Church (Johnson 1995:103–104).

Second, as can be seen from 'On the Offices of Ministers', he considered the basis of sacerdotalism to be that the clergy should not only be instituted by their voluntary commitment, but also as standardised clerics through regularly programmed training courses. He saw that the clergy needed organised education systems for the group in order to acquire a high level of consciousness and to take on the social role appropriate to the level. This direction seems important in that it continued to Gregory the great, who was later considered to have played an important role in establishing the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church. The similarities between the two are as follows: 1. Both of them were from the administrative bureaucracy and knew the Roman systematic organisation well; 2. Both became bishops quickly; 3. Both led the organisation strongly; and 4. Both suggested the standard of the Christian ministry (i.e. Ambrose's *'On the Offices of Ministers'* and Gregory's '*The Rule for Pastors*'), that is, the standardised training courses that the clergy should have followed (cf. Küng 1995:332–335).

Third, Ambrose displayed the public obligation of the clergy as an elite of the Roman society.

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[183] In some ways, the rise of Ambrose and his ordination as a bishop can be seen as a clear example of the entry of the new elite class of Rome as a Christian leader. However, the character of his elitism is not simply a question of his origin or ability. The social peculiarity that he possessed is seen as revealing a new sociocultural position that the clergy would have in the future (Bruce 1961:331; Ramsey 2004:225).

He argued that the clergy had a public obligation to be good and profitable examples to the community and the public, and also had an obligation to achieve the public good that the upper classes of Rome had to have (*De officiis ministorum*, 1.3, 9.27). The following events, as discussed above under the expansion of the independent role of Christianity (4.3.2.2), also reveal his attitude towards how priestly elitism could be applied in societies: 1. Ambrose, as a bishop and guardian of the city to which he belonged, disposed of the Church's possessions to save refugees and prisoners at the time of the Goth invasion; 2. As a representative of Christianity, he actively intervened in the political confrontation between Christianity and Roman paganism related to the demolition and restoration of the Altar of Victory (*Ep.*, 17–18); 3. As the administrator of the Christian faith for the laity, he excommunicated the Emperor Theodosius due to the incident at Thessalonica (*Ep.*, 51). These actions can be seen to have originated from duty to the public good which developed from the sentiment of Roman elite (cf. *Sermon against Auxentius* 21; *De officiis ministorum*, 2.137; 4.3.2.2).

Thus, I think that this clergy-centred elitism of Ambrose became an important incentive for clergy to compete continually with secular authority over the issue of the authority or rights of the Church, even without Ambrose. Ambrose had a deep fellowship with the senior bureaucrats involved in the radius of his activity and made that relationship a major stage for the clergy. During this process, Ambrose and bishops naturally came to take a place among the elite of Rome like the emperors and empresses, and the Roman senators of the noble family joined to deal with the major issues of Christianity. However, such activities of the clergy did not merely retain a relation with senior officials but was also expanded to the activities of the Christian clergy intervening in various social problems. As a result, the rise of the social position of the clergy became useful in establishing the independent position and role of Christianity from the Christian paradigm of Constantine and in building Christian values as an integrated ethical system of Roman society. On the other hand, these elitist positions of the clergy seem to have strengthened the non-essential, which was different from the sacerdotalism that Ambrose intended. In the Middle Ages the clerical class, in enjoying secular power both economically and politically, focused on the pursuit of the economic and political interests of the Church, unlike the concept of clergy ministering and serving the Christian community in the charismatic structure in the past, and this pursuit contributed to strengthening the class differences between clergy and laity (Johnson 1995:108; Küng 1995:321–322).[184]

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[184] Küng (1995:321–322) says, "in the New Testament not only is the word 'hierarchy' consistently and deliberately avoided, but so too are all secular words for 'office' in connection with church functions, as they

4.3.3.4 Sociocultural totalitarianism of Christian values: exclusivity for collective interest

Christianity, since the early communities, comprised a very defensive community because of the offensive attitudes of Judaism and Roman governments. They therefore criticised the aggressiveness of the state and other groups; did not participate in military service and war; and accepted the suffering forced on Christians in their persecution (Küng 1995:149–151). However, after Constantine, the Romanisation of Christianity and the Christianisation of Rome began to change the defensive attitude taken by the early Christian community to maintain the truth, to an offensive attitude. The Roman Law of Religion, as mentioned above (4.3.3.2), illustrates such changes. The features of anti-heresy, anti-apostasy and anti-paganism, in particular, can be seen not only as a form of ideological Christianity led by the Roman government, but also as a manifestation of the transition to totalitarianism. In this trend, the universal church, escaping from the situation of a religion embedded in the Roman Empire and forced to harmonise with other sociocultural values, gradually began to strengthen an exclusive offensive attitude for the benefit of the group when there was a clash of sociocultural interests between Christian values and non-Christian values. The characteristics of this process to Christian totalitarianism can be treated as follows, in following the above discussions.

Christian collectivism in a manner corresponding to Roman government policy

It would seem that the collectivism of Christianity began to develop once the political support structure of Christianity had been established and sociocultural awareness had changed favourably. Christianity, which was in a cooperative relationship with the Roman Empire, was able to gain sociocultural power from the government by meeting the political aims of Rome, and to strengthen the sociocultural solidarity and organisation of Christianity. In this process, Christianity created a Christian religious organisation with integrated and collective boundaries called the universal church; gradually became able to have an independent position and role as a social group; and finally to exercise sociocultural power as a collective under the political support of the state. This collectivist character appeared to be prominent, particularly in the Western churches. According to Küng's view (1978:20) of the change from the ancient Church form, Western theologians, in contrast with Greek theologians having a tendency to intellectualism, regarded the church organisation as an army and interpreted the

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express a relationship of power". He, rather, emphasises that the most important meaning of the clergy is the 'service' (*diakonia*) and serving is the 'office' of the Church coming from Jesus Christ.

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reality of the Church according to the meaning of victory and defeat in combat. It would seem that Western churches emphasised the function of the Church as a practical community rather than a symbolic community in Roman social culture. This characteristic of collectivism in the Christian community seems to have demonstrated a tendency towards the solidarity of the community that differed from the earliest Christianity and Gentile Christianity in the era of persecution. It likely was a characteristic that the embedded pagan religion of the state reflected in Christianity, as follows: 1. Christianity became a significant interest group in the formation of public opinion for government policy decisions in the Roman society; 2. began to ask government for sociocultural rights and interests that had not been pursued in the past; and 3. began to actively respond to conflicts of interest with other social and cultural values and to use the compelling power of government (cf. Davidson 2005: ii.112-114, 120-122).

Christian collectivism in conflict with sociocultural interests

With the collectivist tendency of Christianity having become stronger by the time of Ambrose, Christianity began to reveal an aggressive attitude toward paganism, heresy, and Judaism, that was in conflict with sociocultural rights and interests. Küng (1995:290) points out, "the persecuted church was … to become a persecuting church" after Theodosius declared Christianity as a state religion. In other words, Christianity, which had tried to reveal the supremacy of Christian values by competing with various sociocultural values of the past, no longer competed with other values and pushed for the absoluteness of Christian values. Christianity began to act as one of the interest groups of Roman society, and their conflict of interest was directed toward paganism, heresy, and Judaism.

In the clash with paganism, Firmicus Maternus, around 347, wrote the article 'On the error of profane religions' (*De errore profanarum religionum*) in asking Emperors Constantius II and Constans to abolish paganism. This shows a shift in attitude that is contradictory to how the Christianity of the persecution era called upon the emperor and the Roman government for religious freedom on the basis of the tolerance and freedom allowed for Roman religious groups. Although the Roman policy of religion had changed in the direction of cutting off support for paganism and support of Christianity after Constantine, it was not intended to persecute Rome's pagan tradition and religious activity, which accounted for more than half of the Roman Empire. But as the symbols of the pagan tradition of Rome began to be demolished in the days of Ambrose, and pagans began to be deprived of legal rights (cf. Ambrose, *Ep.*, 17–18; *Cod. Theod.*, xvi.10.7), Ambrose began to formulate exclusive activities as a social interest group leading conflict with organisations or groups related to the

interests of the Church, such as the Roman government, against other religions, and heresies. It probably seemed to be an attempt to establish a sociocultural symbolism of Christianity appropriate for a Christian state. As mentioned earlier, Ambrose could have won in the political confrontation with pagan supporters by obtaining political and popular support for his views, and, by securing the exclusive legal supremacy of Christianity in close ties with the Christian emperors, Christianity was able to take an offensive position against paganism (cf. 4.3.3.1). It may be possible to evaluate the accomplishment of this sociocultural initiative of Christianity as due to the political and social capacity of Ambrose as an individual. Nevertheless, it is more reasonable to see that the total capacity of Christian totalitarianism, such as the sociocultural status and role as state religion, the structured universal church and the hierarchical system, in many cases had been formed before Ambrose, but this came to be fully revealed through Ambrose.

On the other hand, this totalitarian aggressiveness was not confined to other religions only, but began to affect non-orthodox Christian groups, defining them as having no legitimacy. In the period before the council of Nicaea, Christian heresies and sectarianism were also subject to the offensive tendency of the universal church against them. However, the attacks on them were in words and writing, and expelling them from the universal church on the authority of the Church. After the council of Nicaea, departure from the standardised beliefs of the universal church was regarded as a crime in Roman society and it began to be punished under the state's criminal law (Euseb., *Vita Cons.,* 3. 63–66; Leith 1982:20, 29). From the council of Nicaea to Ambrose, however, Arianism representing the non-orthodox group, was still gaining power, and the universal church was limited in using socioculturally compelling power to enforce orthodoxy (Drobner 2007:194–197; Schaff, *H.C.C.*, iii.3.27). Ambrose began to use socioculturally compelling power to express his orthodox beliefs in opposition of Arianism. As discussed earlier (4.3.2.1), he resisted the compelling political power of the imperial congress, the court and Empress Dowager Justina that supported the Arians indirectly and he also made use of another power (e.g. public opinion in Milan and political support by Theodosius) and attained his will (Ambrose, *Sermon Against Auxentius*, 5). Ramsey (2004:231–232), in this respect sees that "Ambrose masterminded – or rather manipulated – the arrangements for and the proceedings of the council of Aquileia, … which deposed two Arian bishops and an Arian priest" in 381 CE. Arians eventually were finally rejected in same year at the council of Constantinople. Ramsey points out, "Ambrose's contribution to its eclipse was in the domain of the practical rather than the conceptual" and "He succeeded in defeating Arianism … with the application of political pressure …".

Finally, there was the aggressive attitude of Christianity to Judaism, which seemed to be

connected to the issue of Theodosius declaring Christianity a state religion. In view of Ambrose's attitude, he also would have tried to justify Christian anti-Semitism following the mood of Christian collectivism at this time (*Ep.*, 40). From Constantine to Emperor Theodosius, Christian Roman emperors applied a tolerant policy to Judaism. Judaism basically was able to maintain its social culture in the Roman Empire following the benefits enjoyed as a particular ethnocentric religious society during the Augustan period, except for the enforced measures related to the Jewish revolt (Davidson 2005b:133–134). However, as the social status of Christians increased after Christianity was declared the state religion, the Jewish community began to be regarded as a competing opponent and conflicting interest group of the Jesus movement (Ramsey 2004:228; Richard 2010:269). The issue of Ambrose's intervention and defence concerning the arson by the monks who were hostile to Judaism in the Callinicum synagogue in 388 CE, reveals recognition by Christianity of Judaism at that time: 1. Judaism competed with the universal church in terms of historical continuity of the same Old Testament Bible; 2. It could be considered one of the heresies of Christianity in terms of its thought; and 3. It revealed an antagonistic relationship with the Church as direct opponents of the Jesus movement from the earliest Church (*Ep.*, 40; cf. 4.3.2.1). This attitude of Christianity was contrary to the Roman sociocultural policy which accepted Judaism, but Christian leaders continually began to emphasise the hostile perception of Judaism in Roman social culture.

Interrelation of the offensive tendency of Christian totalitarianism and Roman social culture

As argued above, this offensive manifestation of Christian totalitarianism can be attributed to the fact that Christianity came to ideologically reflect the characteristics of Rome when it was Romanised. Rome made *Concordia* the most important social value and virtue and established a system for this. In this tradition, as Christianity and Rome were combined in a cooperative relationship, religious duties and social duties, and the Church and state became intertwined and identified with each other, and shared a sense of common fate. Thus, the totalitarian tendency of Christianity can be said to be the result of a transition from totalitarianism in Rome. Prior to Constantine, the Roman government practised a policy of intolerance towards Christianity, despite its religious tolerance policy, but began to direct its tolerance to Christianity and its intolerance to other religious groups after Constantine. The object of intolerance at the outset was heresy, but this gradually expanded to paganism and unbelievers (*Cod. Theod.*, xvi.).

On the other hand, that Rome had been Christianised can be regarded as Christianity

coming to take the initiative in leading the change of paradigm in Roman government policies. As mentioned earlier concerning the religiosity of Rome (2.3.3), ancient Rome pursued religious pluralism and mutual tolerance for the sake of multicultural social integration. In other words, the ultimate goal of unity centring on Rome was leading the ideology of political and social tolerance, and any religious groups could be accepted if it met that purpose. However, as the Roman Empire became Christianised, the Roman government began to exhibit a completely opposite attitude by proceeding to limit other religions. Nevertheless, the fundamental reason for the transformation of the national attitude seemed to still embrace unity centring on Rome. If the possibilities of the unity centred on Rome in terms of practicality, such as the pluralism of the past, were taken into account, the new possibilities of unity centred on Rome after Constantine were considered in terms of religious unification in a more idealistic and fundamental sense, such as expressed in Constantine's political slogan of 'one God – one emperor – one kingdom – one church – one faith' (Küng 1995:181, 208). Caesaropapism and sacerdotalism also seemed to have gradually begun to dilute the importance of the status of universal Christians (or the laity) which defined the common form of the Christian community. Thus, the Roman Catholic Church including the groups of clergies based on hierarchy and laity as its substructure could have been a Christian totalitarian formation. In this respect, the Roman bishop's political and religious position (Pontifex Maximus) and the ecclesiastical symbolism (apostolic tradition) that was obtained through the Christianisation of Rome in the Western world seems to have become the strong basis for leading totalitarian Christianity in medieval society (Küng 1995:125–127; 321–322).

4.4 Augustine: Synthetisation of the early Christian community formation paradigm as medieval Western Christian community frames

The changes in the Christian community paradigm discussed above in other words, from the Jewish Jesus movement community paradigm, which originated within Jewish communities, to the Gentile Christian community paradigm, which was localised in the foreign world, and the Constantinian Christian community paradigm, which was incorporated into the Roman Empire with the advent of Constantine, and the de-Constantinian Christian paradigm of Ambrose, which was attempted to secure an independent position and role for Christianity from the cooperative relationship led by the Roman government during the late fourth century, suggest that each of the Christian communities had constantly demonstrated the boundaries or outlines of these communities, while constantly interacting with the social and cultural specialities of its own region and had also reconstructed the position and role of the

Christian community as appropriate to the society (cf. Heath 2008:23). In particular, Christian communities after Constantine, had shifted their attitude towards using the Gentile social culture from passive (e.g. by seeking explanations of central Christian ideas suitable for the sociocultural area of the Gentiles) to an active attitude (e.g. finding the social and cultural position and role of Christianity as a religion contracted to or embedded with the Roman government) in order to identify its community. Thus, the Christian community, following this new paradigm, began to accept various exotic social and cultural forms of secular and pagan roots as common values that connected the interrelationships between Christianity and Roman social culture.

After Constantine, therefore, the Christian community frame was forced to be restructured according to the mechanism that had constructed Roman society, and the Christian community had to be evaluated according to the sociocultural values of Rome (cf. Aug. *De Civ.*, xv. 4; Küng 1995:40). Despite this shift from the earliest Christian Community paradigm to the Roman Christian Paradigm, the universal church, then the mainstream Christian community, felt no great sense of crisis about the possibility of a change in the central idea of the Jesus movement, as the use of these Roman sociocultural values did not seem to be contradictory.[185] That is because they saw it would not undermine the central ideas or core values of Christianity, but rather were useful values for those who belonged to the social culture of the time. Furthermore, since the local churches in each region had steadily devoted themselves to the standardisation of central Christian ideas through the ecumenical council, and the Christian usefulness of existing Roman sociocultural values had been evident in such a process, the future expectations of the one universal Christian community centred on Roman solidarity which would be achieved seemed to have been greater than the feeling that the Christian community formation paradigm was exposed to serious risks of secularisation (cf. Euseb. *Vita Cons.*, ii.56; Johnson, 1995:86; Küng, 1995:146–149; Leith 1982:20, 29).

However, the interrelationship between various Roman sociocultural values and the resocialisation of Christianity (i.e. Romanisation) that was used to form the universal Christian community was questioned as to its suitability regarding two issues at the time of Augustine. These issues revealed a strained relationship which was complex and subtly intertwined with Christian values and Roman values in the cooperative relationship following

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[185] Some non-mainstream Christian sects have consistently reacted seriously to this issue (the use of these Roman sociocultural values) relative to the pagan Christian community or the Roman universal church. Several leading figures in the universal church (including Gregory of Nazianzus, Johann Chrysostom, and Jerome) after Constantine also warned of the dangers of secularisation (Johnson 1995:100–101). But within mainstream Christian forces, clergy and the Christian public apparently had a positive perception of using Roman social and cultural values and giving Christian meaning into it (Davidson 2005b:16–19; Kötting 2006:101–102; cf. 4.2.1.3).

the socialisation of Christianity, or between persistent values and non-persistent values within Christianity. As a result, the two issues seem to have been the main cause of a new medieval Christian community paradigm producing through Augustine's re-examination and synthesis of the interrelationship between the socialisation of Christianity and Roman social culture.

The first of these issues was a Christian schism brought about by Donatist resistance to the Romanised universal church that had begun with the emergence of Constantine. Regarding the universal church, which had been riding on the Romanisation of Christianity since the advent of the Constantinian Christian paradigm, the Donatists constantly raised questions about the purity of the Christian community (or the intrinsic value in the formation of the Christian community). Externally, the issue of apostates (*traditor*) and baptism had been the beginning of division following the consecration of bishops of Carthage in Africa, but this was fundamentally related to the Roman Empire, which had been the main agent of persecution and a symbol of pagan culture, which could be seen as including the question of how the sociocultural values of Rome could be harmonised with a church. In particular, the Donatist position in the formation of ecclesiology, an important theological foundation of the Christian community, was not much different from the existing Christian community paradigm that Christians tried to protect at the risk of their lives during the time when the anti-Christian Roman government persecuted Christianity; they just wanted to maintain the early Christian paradigm of the persecuted community of the past, despite the emergence of pro-Christian governments. The conflict between the two trends related to the Roman Empire – the maintenance of purity in this primitive Christian community and the use of secular values for the expansion of the gospel – had lasted for nearly a century after Constantine's emergence, and an especially acute conflict on the part of Donatists occurred in northern Africa where there was a pastoral site of Augustine. According to Küng (1995:290), Augustine saw that the unity of the Church was more important than purity during the existing historical circumstances, and he exerted important influence in forming the point of view regarding the very institutional and hierarchical church. In that respect, Augustine's importance in church history could be seen as providing a mechanism for the formation of a Christian community for the next century in compiling the theories of the Christian community following the Romanisation of Christianity (Lee Hyun-Joon 2013:234–235; Rowe 194:63; Smith 1952:788).

The second was an issue thought to have begun the decline of the Roman Empire that was regarded as the basis of the principles of the formation of the Roman Christian community and an axis that supported the Christian community (as a system of organising and

standardising the universal church) at the time (this incident being the looting of Rome by the Western Goths under Alaric in 410, which shocked the Roman Empire). The singularity of this issue is that, while the Western Roman Empire and society (where the religious values of Christianity and the sociocultural values of Rome had become mutually harmonised and integrated, and the main body of production of new sociocultural values) declined, the use of sociocultural values began to shift from their original purpose (i.e. the cooperative relationship between the Roman Empire and Christianity built on common goals, identities, and achievements) to take a new direction. That is to say, all existing relationships that had become interrelated with the socialisation of the Christian community (e.g. the Church and the Roman government; the Church and mass society; and the Church and Roman sociocultural values) had to be re-reconstructed. As a result, with the universal church establishing itself as a sole entity in the use of sociocultural values, the sociocultural values of Christianity and Rome began to be integrated into the new medieval Christian community frame for the maintenance of the universal church's system of authority. The reconfiguration of the Christian community following these social changes can be seen more clearly in Augustine. For him, reconfiguring the Christian community paradigm meant counteracting the former main bodies or vicegerents (e.g. Judaism, Hellenism, and the Roman Empire) in the historic legacy of the early Church (i.e. the sociocultural values of Christianity secured through interrelationships with the social culture of the time), and to reinterpret and synthesise the Roman universal church as a new entity for the future of Christianity. Through Augustine's methodology, the Medieval Church was able to establish a position as the main body of the new Western Christian world. In other words, reconfiguration of the Christian community paradigm revealed through Augustine differed in aspect from that seen in Constantine or Ambrose. If Constantine chose Christianity for the sake of the political integration of the Roman Empire, Ambrose could readjust Constantine's choice from a church standpoint, and Augustine could provide a Christian ideology as universal church framework by attempting a comprehensive interpretation of the two (Küng 1995:290–291).

In terms of these two issues at the end of the Roman Empire, Küng (1995:321) thinks that "at the end of the fifth century the development of the church community into an independent corporation with a monarchical focus which his predecessors had been promoting for 150 years was already complete", a theological foundation for 'a new paradigm of a Rome-centred Catholic Church' had been completed by Augustine, and 'a church political foundation' was able to complete Augustine's foundation from Leo the Great (440–461 CE) to Gelasius. Küng (1995:288–290) therefore assesses Augustine as a church thinker who

aggregated ancient Greek-Roman sociocultural values and central Christian ideas to form a single Christian ideological system, a Christian educator who provided the continuity of church values from the early Church to the Medieval Church during the period of sociocultural change in the Western world, and a church leader who provided the starting point of the Roman Catholic Church system. This understanding is not only true of Küng, but also of the Roman popes (e.g. Gelasius, Leo, and Gregory I the Great) who were at the centre of the medieval Roman Catholic Church system after Augustine. Augustine's paradigm of the Christian community was a new idea that had not yet been accepted in society at the time. It was felt as uncomfortable in the East where maintaining the Constantinian Christian community paradigm was preferred. Nevertheless, in the Middle Ages, with the support of the popes and theologians of the Roman Catholic Church, his paradigm seemed to provide the framework for a new Christian community and led a new Christian Roman social culture in the western society where the Western Roman Empire had declined (Küng 1995:315–323).

In that respect, the historical singularity of the church concerned with Augustine between early and medieval Christianity can be seen as the paradigm of the formation of a Christian community that reinterpreted and synthesised the ancient Roman spirit (or virtue) and power (or solidarity) around the universal Roman church. Augustine's approach was based in particular on the historical interrelationship between Rome and Christianity, and theological synthesis of community (or state) values, sociocultural values, and universal church values. His interpretations could be seen by later Western theologians and politicians.as significant in that they became the basis for the actual relationship between medieval societies, nations and churches[186] Therefore, the change the interrelationship between Western Christianity[187] and Roman social culture could reveal the historical singularity of the new paradigm of the Roman Christian community that Augustine proposed, which was achieved in the Middle Ages.

4.4.1 The interrelationship between Roman Christianity and the Roman state

Beginning with Constantine, the Christian community paradigm can be seen as a key

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[186] Küng (1995:286) – with regard to the interrelationship between the Roman spirit and Latin Christianity differing from Eastern theology, which was preoccupied with theoretical problems based on philosophical tendencies of the Greek spirit – says that, "Roman theology, with its practical orientation, centred on pastoral questions of penitential discipline, the Christian way of life and church order" and "[i]ts main interest was in psychological and ethical problems and problems of discipline: guilt, atonement and forgiveness, church order, ministries and sacraments".

[187] The reason why this approach is limited to Western Christianity here, as mentioned earlier (4.2.3.3, 4.3.2), is because Western Christianity has been distinguished from the Eastern church by forming a new Christian community paradigm from Ambrose, while Eastern Christianity maintained the tradition of the Constantinian Christian paradigm to some extent.

concept developing from the relationship between Christianity and the state of Rome in Augustine's theology. As discussed earlier (2.3), the relatively prominent feature of Rome in its historical development that differed from peripheral countries can be found in the mechanism for community integration which aimed to form and maintain a strong bond (i.e. the unity of politics, law, religion, public opinion and tradition for community solidarity). Through these communal values, Rome was able not only to achieve internal solidarity but also to build an empire as a pan-Roman community by integrating the diverse local social and cultural values of provinces into relations with Rome. Thus, within the historical experience and traditional social culture of Rome, which had been extended in this way, there was worship of historical Rome as a state community (e.g. peace of Rome, eternal Rome). In other words, religion within the Roman Empire existed for the sake of the state community, as a state religion and contractual religion characterised as a power that combined sociocultural value with the destiny of the state. This religious value of Rome was equally reflected in the Romanisation of Christianity (i.e. Christianity for Rome) led by Constantine (cf. 4.2.3). From Constantine to the advent of Augustine the universal church had no choice but to embrace Roman state community values in many parts while undergoing internal and external change through interaction with Roman political power. For Christian leaders dealing with the relationship between the universal church and the state at the time this therefore was bound to be an important issue in the Christian belief system and church politics (e.g. the Bishops' Court, the Councils, the Religious Law), which was the same for Augustine (Dodaro 1999:176; Johnson 1995:44, 86).

However, during the time of Augustine in the early fifth century, several major Christian issues led to the formation of a new Western Christian community paradigm that revealed clear changes in the relationship between Christianity and the state.[188] Augustine's active response to these issues in taking account the relationship between Christianity and the state related to historical linkages. It was the main reason why the Donatists attacked the impurity and secularisation of the universal church (i.e. secularisation in accordance with the close bond between the state and religion), and was also the reason why the Roman pagans blamed Roman Christianity for the decline of the Western Roman Empire (i.e. non-compliance of the contractual relationship between the state and religion) (Küng 1995:290, 306–307; cf. Meyerhoff 1959:10).

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[188] McGrath (2013:48–49) argues that many features of the Medieval Church began to emerge as a result of the fall of the empire, presenting remarkable causality: 1. The anxiety of imperial power led to the gradual emergence of the church system as the centre of immutability and continuity; 2. The emergence of monasteries allowed the Church to provide intellectual and spiritual continuity in an era of chaos by creating a centre of learning, regional administration, and leadership unaffected by the power of the state or the world; and 3. The Church raised the sense of unity of the West by continuing to use Latin for precedent, preaching, administration, and theological work.

4.4.1.1 The Roman state as a value for the Roman Church

Augustine saw the relationship between the Church and the state in the Christian development process as having grown the communality of Christianity through harmony with opposing parties such as the order of Rome or the peace of Rome as a useful value for the unity and institutional stability of the universal church (cf. 3.3.3.2, 4.2.3.1).

As previously discussed (4.2.3.3), the common achievement between Christianity and Rome through Constantine was the establishment of the Roman universal church as a new church and Constantinople as a new Rome. The two produced a variety of value-integrated performances that reflected Roman values and Christianity (e.g. religious law, architecture, pagan Christian rites, Christian saint worship, etc.) throughout the century. After Theodosius had declared Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire (*Cod. Theod*. xvi.1.2 on 7 February 380 CE), Christianity also had to develop further into a paradigm of the Roman Christian community for the unity of the Roman Empire, because it became a single religious norm leading Roman society and a socioculturally compelling power symbolising that Christians were Roman citizens. Thus, the universal church, supported by Constantine's Christian paradigm, can be considered one of the sociocultural values that meant that Roman state power was maintained after Constantine while the Western Roman Empire survived (McGrath 2013:62).

The Donatists questioned the Romanised principle in forming a Christian community, and they accused the universal Roman church of relying on secular values, arguing that they had maintained a pureness of Christian faith as a traditional value of the historical early Church. Augustine (*De Civ*., xix.26) began to justify the interrelationship between the universal church and Rome (e.g. a relationship dependent on peace on the earth) in responding to the Donatists' condemnation of the universal church. However, Augustine's argument (*De Civ*., xviii.50, xix.26) seems to suggest that the main users of the neutral values in social culture involved the Church, not the state, for the usefulness of the Roman order in a universal church (confrontation and harmony), rather than directly defending the cooperative relationship between Rome and Christianity (cf. 1.2.4; Niebuhr 1975:29–39, 45–229).

Frend (2003[1951]:324–325) says: "In the last resort the differences between Donatists and Catholic turned on the relations between church and society, between Christianity and the Roman Empire". The original Donatist debate arose in 313 when the North African believers focused on their martyr values in the past during the period of persecution and formed a group around the issue, after Constantine had officially stopped persecution. They continued

to object to the identity of the universal church in North Africa and political legitimacy (i.e. a combination of bishop and sacraments), and when Augustine appeared, he began to deal with the fundamental aspects of the state and the Church (Levering 2013:xv). The Donatus faction did not support Constantine's Christian paradigm shift concerning the Romanisation of Christianity and sought to maintain an exclusive Christian community in the Roman Empire, focusing on the pilgrims and apocalyptic ideas from the time of persecution. The origin of that attitude related to: 1. a hostile attitude to Rome, which was inherent in the North Africans who had been exploited by the Empire for a long time; and 2. a hostile attitude to Rome, inherited from Tertullian and Cyprian who were African church leaders in the persecution era. In the end, these aspects inevitably led to conflict with the Romanised Christian community. At the time, the mainstream Christian community was very positive about the era of the Christian emperor as introduced by Constantine (e.g. the narrative of a common victory), but Donatist preachers continually emphasised that nothing had changed the essential position of Christianity despite the emperor's acceptance of Christianity (Brown 2000:216; Frend 2003:25–47, 78–76, 320).[189] They demanded equal rights to Constantine in the confrontation with mainstream Christians for a time, but the imperial government and the ecclesiastical council rejected their demands, which they saw as heretical. Thus, after that, they plainly expressed their disapproval of the Roman government and Romanised Christianity.[190] For them, the secular state was unrelated to Christianity's ideal Kingdom of God; they regarded the world to be dominated by evil, and therefore the sociocultural values used by Roman Christians to maintain their communal solidarity were essentially against living a life as God's community under God's rule, and they saw taking advantage of secular authority as apostasy from the Christian faith. In addition, the Donatists used to conceal anti-imperialists and support them (e.g. the rebellion by Gildo against the Roman Empire in 397–398 CE), which could be seen as revealing that they were more hostile toward the imperial values (*Romanitas*) than the purity of the faith displayed (Davidson 2005b:172–175).

Augustine objected to the anti-sociocultural trend of the Christian communities before Constantine, or the dichotomous approach (e.g. holy and unholy) of the Donatists in the interrelation between state power and the Church. He opposed the idea of confrontation

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[189] Donatus (Optatus, *Contra Parm*, 3.3.2, cited in Shaw 2011:490, 823) asks, "[w]hat does the emperor have to do with the Church? (*quid est imperatori cum ecclesia?*)". Augustine (Augustine, *Enarrationes*, in Psalmos 21.4, cited in Lee Hyun-Joon 2014:177) responds, "[t]here is no stronger soldier [of Christ] than an emperor (*Non est fortior miles quam imperator*)".

[190] The difference in Donatist claims before and after Constantine was that, while the devil used his power directly in past persecution, he now seduced the Christian camp through deception (Lee Hyun-Joon 2014:181): "[t]he latter having failed to break the servants of God through persecution had now turned to guile to achieve his aim. ([Diabolus] *eos quos aperta persecutione superare non potuit, callida fraude circumvenire molitus est …*)" (Passio Donati, *P.L.*, viii.753B, cited in Frend 1965:554, 566).

between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Darkness (i.e. the idea of Manichaeism); he rather saw evil as a lack of good due to the absence of God on the standpoint of Neoplatonism.[191] For Augustine, therefore, the relationship between the Church and the state was not one of confrontation, but Roman order or Roman peace was a tool for the growth of the Church as it was for the communality of the Church, whether in persecution or in support of Christianity (Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.50–51, xix.26).

Meanwhile, for Augustine, the value of the nation seemed to relate to the institutional universal church. The issue raised by the Donatists about the essential values of Christianity concerned how to handle the relationship between the universal church, which was symbolised as a sign of the God-ruled community and the Kingdom of God on the earth, and the secular state or the secular order of the world. The Donatists viewed the purity of the faith against state power as the boundary of the Church, but the universal church after Constantine has seen it as an institutional church, or a legitimate Christian community. As mentioned earlier (4.3.3.2), Rome instituted the legitimate church by imperial law and therefore the boundaries of universal churches were fixed. This resulted in the Donatists losing their rights and position in the Roman Empire because of sectarianism, which was regarded as opposition to the fundamental value of Rome embodied in *Concordia* (cf. Küng 1995:290). For Augustine, however, the value of state was regarded as valid for the universal church system. Claiming that the order given through the social system was sacred, he pointed to the disorder of Donatists, and began to address the need for secular order within the development process of Christian communality. This can be seen in two respects: a state could be a powerful public force to harmonise local churches as a universal church under institutional conditions against Christian sectarianism, which Augustine recognised as the worst risk for Christianity; the role of the state justified the interrelationship between Christianity and Rome as a means of assisting the implementation of Christian values in the sense that social order and justice (or sociocultural virtues) cannot be irrelevant to the Bible's teachings.[192] In that respect, he even supported religious oppression through government power for the sake of the unity of the Church (Aug., *Ep.*, 100.2.).[193] From 405

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[191] He was immersed in Manichaeism for 10 years – from age 19 to 29 – and then, experiencing Neoplatonism, came to believe that the cause of evil lies not in any powers but in the absence or deficiency of good (Augustine, Confession, vii.20). Küng (1995:306) sees that Augustine described a struggle between the universal church and Rome, new Babylon, as the history of the struggle between the city of God and the city of the devil in his work *De Civitate Dei*. But when approached through references to the believers' duty toward Babylon in the City of God or through his basic church theory, Rome, as Babylon, shows the city lacking God's love or lacking the good, which is in contrast with the city of God (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.26).

[192] According to Third World theologians' criticism of today's Western Christian history, Augustine's theology has provided a political and ideological function that maintains the Roman phenomenon rather than overcoming Roman limitations (Lee Hyun-Joon 2014:189).

[193] According to Davidson (2005b:175), "… Augustine was at first opposed to the use of imperial force to coerce

(the edict of unity) to 411 (the council of Carthage), Augustine's hard-line theory led to formal legal action by the Emperor Honorius against the Donatists as a group in opposition to Rome (through seizing property, the clergy's exile, and fines) and as heretical (Davidson 2005b:175–176). The difference between Donatus and Augustine resembles the distinction between before and after the formation of the Constantinian Christian Community paradigm. In other words, Augustine's basic position was that as a state, the Christian value of Rome was in maintaining and protecting the universal church, which reflected the Roman Christian paradigm after Constantine.

4.4.1.2 The state as relative value of the Church

Augustine observed that the community ruled by God is a separate community living in a completely different direction from the secular community, but in competition with the secular community in the same space and having a duty of faith to the secular community. In other words, the Church revealed its relative value through Rome, but also had to provide true value for Rome (Aug., *De Civ*., xviii.54, xix.26).

Another issue of the interrelationship between Christianity and the state, can be seen as related to the Roman pagans' condemnation of the values of Christianity (i.e. Christianity as a contractual religion of Rome) and the sense of loss of Christians (i.e. Rome as a sign of the Kingdom of God) when Rome fell to the Goths in 410. The plundering of Rome by the Goths did not mean the end of the Roman Empire, but it caused Roman pagans to question the efficiency of Roman Christianisation policies. In other words, in the traditional view of Rome, religion was related to the safety and interests of Rome. The fact that the national crisis of Rome occurred despite the cooperative relationship by which Rome had chosen Christianity as its state religion and had become a Christian state, led to distrust of the choice of Christianity by the Romans; Christians therefore had to deal with the accusations of the pagans blaming them for the fall of the empire, and they also needed a religious interpretation beyond the religiosity of the public at that time (i.e. the divine positive result as the contractual religion and the embedded religion) (cf. Ferguson 2003:171–173).

And at the same time, this event was a breach of the expectations that Christians had for Rome since Constantine. Therefore, Augustine had to show in what form God's rule on earth was revealed and synthesise the meaning of the interrelationship between the community

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his enemies into submission and was confident that with a sufficient resurgence of catholic vitality the force of Donatism would start to crack … his instinct was that it was better to appeal to intellectual persuasion and moral example than rely on the blunt instrument of imperial legislation. Gradually, however, he came to accept that coercion was the only way that a movement as vibrant as Donatism could be checked."

ruled by God and the secular state system and deal with the interrelationships between the churches and new state powers, which would continue after the decline of the Western Roman Empire until the end of world.[194]

Reinterpretation of the cooperative relationship as the common fate of Christianity and Rome (cf. 4.2.1.3)

Augustine disputed the existing religious approach to Christianity and the perception of Christian value of the Romans about the criticism of Christianity, as raised by the Roman pagans. Following Constantine, the Christian emperors saw the excellence of Christianity (especially for its religious cohesion) as a viable alternative to the crisis of the Roman Empire, and therefore established Christianity at the centre of state religion (Schaff, *H.C.C.* ii.1.5, iii.1.2). In addition, according to McGrath (2013:47), "Eusebius of Caesarea … tended to think of the Christianised Roman Empire as a divinely ordained instrument to rule the civilized world". The recognition of a common fate for Christianity and Rome and the expectation of common goals therefore led to the Romanisation of Christianity and could also be linked to the Christianisation of Rome. The cooperation between Rome and Christianity, which reflected the Constantinian Christian paradigm, led both the pagan and Christian Romans to recognise Christianity in relation to classical Roman religious understanding. In other words, the concept of Romanised Christianity or Christianised Rome basically reveals the state of the contract as based on mutual understanding. The national crisis of Rome in 410 CE caused the Roman pagans and Christians to doubt the effectiveness of Christianity as a contractual religion. Augustine therefore can be seen as critically approaching the Christian-Roman cooperative relationship of this Constantinian Christian paradigm in the framework of new faith and reason (or history) in the following manner (McGrath 2013:47):

First, as a critique of the premise of Christianity-Roman correlation, as emphasised by Constantine and Eusebius, it sought to avoid the claim that any political system or structure that man had created could be ascribed to God or possess divine authority: 1. Rome was not a community ruled by God, but one of the natural cities of the world along its own power or natural path, unlike the Kingdom of God, which originated and developed in a supernatural way. In other words, the success of Rome was only a temporary triumph of its excellence, like Babylon's, and the decline of Rome the natural historical result of the loss and corruption

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[194] Augustine dealt with the value of the Roman Empire as a Christian nation in his work, The City of God (*De Civitate Dei*), interpreting the meaning of the secular state for Christians, who were citizens of the empire, relative to the God-governed city, and trying to convert the ultimate value of the state to a Christian church rather than Rome. It can be questioned here whether Augustine regarded the two cities (e.g. the heavenly city and the earthly city) as church and state.

of their excellence unrelated to the incompetence of the Christian divinity (Aug., *De Civ.*, x.15–16, xix.24–25); 2. Considering the essential value of Christianity and the relationship between Christianity and Rome, Rome had Christianity as its state religion, but this was not a theocratic system to serve God in a true sense. Thus, Rome could not assert the providence of God as a community ruled by God; 3. The Christian in the reign of God is a pilgrim or a traveller (*peregrinantes*) on the earth that cannot live by leaning on the cooperative relationship with Rome, which is not a position with direct influence on Rome. Following Augustine's thinking, this means that the combined relationship between Rome and Christianity indicated that Christians lived in Rome as a place of residence and for Rome as Roman citizens, so Christians in Rome were subject to God's rule, not Rome (Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.54).

Second, the fact was that the failure of Rome could not be the failure of the community ruled by God, just as the success of Rome could not be the ultimate success of the community governed by God because the goals and achievements of Rome differed essentially from what Christianity wanted to pursue. Augustine (*De Civ.*, xiv.28) argued that the city of God is a true Christian community living according to God's law to glorify God by its love for God (*amor dei*), and that the city of man is a pagan society that follows its own desires and pursues material interests in order to achieve honour from people by its own love (*amor sui*). He sees that Rome as the city of man was united for its own good, but when its own interests collapsed, the union was bound to collapse. The city of God is aimed at God's ultimate goal, and its means and methods are also geared to God, so that it is united by love and ultimately completed (Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.2). Thus, Augustine mentions that Christianity and Rome do not share a common fate as in the following:

> [B]oth cities alike enjoy the good things, or are afflicted with the adversities of this temporal state, but with a different faith, a different expectation, a different love, until they are separated by the final judgement, and each receives her own end, of which there is no end … (Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.54. trans. Bettenson)

In other words, the two social histories were moving in different directions and would have different consequences. Therefore, the success and decline of Rome reveals that it does not introduce any essential change to Christianity.

Third, Augustine emphasises that the decline of Rome was not due to the influence of Christianity, but the inevitable consequence of the history of Rome itself, irrespective of the role of Christianity. Not only Rome, but also human society, or the earthly city, contains the destiny of self-destruction in itself: the peace of the earth is related to the goods necessary

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for life, and human possessiveness and avarice have no end, so disputes arise over limited goods (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.5). In other words, rather than seeking infinite things, their desire was to seek finite and limited things, which means that they were forced to fight over the same thing because one person cannot own something that another person owns, which inevitably would lead to the destruction of Rome's peace. Thus, according to Augustine's view, Rome had achieved temporary success and peace through physical force, but their pursuit was something that could be taken away in a stronger hostile relationship and the decline of Rome was the result of their own self-imposed pursuit of such things as there was no true justice (*vera justitia*) for true peace (*vera pax*). The people of God pursued true and lasting values and Christianity did not have a duty to maintain the achievements of Rome, and so were fundamentally free from responsibility for the decline of Rome (Merton 1978:xiii–xv; Swift 1973:369–383).

Fourth, the fact was that the peace of Rome (*Pax Romana*) and the peace of Christianity (*Pax Christiana*), the common goal of the cooperative relationship, were set against totally different backgrounds (4.2.3.1). Augustine emphasised that the peace of Rome was based on the fear of conflict and confrontation, while the peace of Christianity is based on neighbourly love. In the view of the Roman public at the time, the existing cooperative relationship between Rome and Christianity should have resulted in the collapse of Christian peace together with the collapse of the peace of Rome. As Roman citizens, Ambrose, Jerome, Prudentius, and Orosius to some extent actually saw the peace of Rome and the peace of Christianity as the same. In that respect, Augustine pointed out that Roman paganism and Roman Christians shared the same illusion of the eternal Rome (cf. Maier 1955:43–48, cited in Kim Guang-Chae 2006:266–267). Augustine also acknowledges the relative value of the peace of Babylon, saying that past peace in Rome had a better value than war. Nevertheless, Augustine saw that the limitations of the Roman imperial ideology of peace of the earth was clear from its beginning because the Roman peace could not bring true peace in that it was achieved and maintained by physical or military force.[195] Augustine believed that the emphasis on harmony and unity came from the paradox of *Concordia* in the experience of conflict and fear, in that "[a]n act of conflict creates the *Concordia*" (Bedard 2015:233). For Rome, *Concordia* was just one ideal that could not last in a human society, even if temporarily achieved (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.7). However, the peace of Christianity and the union in Christ were not passive, based on the experience and fear of conflict, but on active, essential, and permanent peace based on love for God and neighbourly love

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[195] Augustine (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, NPNF Ser.1, vol. viii) says that peace is a state of no war (*Ubi nullum bellum est*); there is no confrontation (*contradiction*), no resistance (*resistit*), and no opposition (*adversum*).

(McGrath 2013:47–48; cf. Heather 2005:125; Kee 1982:117–122; Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48.2).

Fifth, Augustine argued that, while Christianity had no direct bearing on the decline of Rome, it still had a religious obligation to Rome, a terrestrial city, and served the peace of Rome. Augustine regarded the Roman value as a better value relative to the sociocultural values of other historical empires, regardless of the national decline of Rome at the time because it was the place where the Christians lived, and was the area in which the Church was working. Therefore, he saw in his broad conception that God's city is neither unrelated to nor unconcerned with peace on land. Augustine described the use of the peace of Rome, an earthly city, to God's people as pilgrims, and the responsibility of the people of God as follows:

> [S]ince so long as the two cities are intermingled we also make use of the peace of Babylon – although the people of God is by faith set free from Babylon, so that in the meantime they are only pilgrims in the midst of her. That is why the Apostle instructs the Church to pray for kings of that city and those in high positions, adding these words: 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life with all devotion and love'. And when the prophet Jeremiah predicted to the ancient People of God the coming captivity, and bade them, by God's inspiration, to go obediently to Babylon, serving God even by their patient endurance, he added his own advice that prayers should be offered for Babylon, 'because in her peace is your peace' – meaning the temporal peace of the meantime, which is shared by good and bad alike. (Aug. *De Civ.*, xix.26. trans. Bettenson)

Though Rome's peace was like the peace of Babylon, it was not in conflict with the peace of the Christian; rather the certainty of the peace of Christianity could be pursued through the uncertainty of the peace of Rome. Therefore, the two cities were linked and the two societies were bound to coexist until the time when an eternal separation would come between the heavenly city and the earthly city, and until that time Christians had to do their religious best for the peace of Rome. In this respect, Augustine had not given up Roman values, but rather appeared to present Roman values that would ultimately be implemented through Christianity on behalf of Rome (McGrath 2013:48).

Augustine's position, unlike the anti-Roman tendencies of Tertullian and Donatus, rather highlighted the social responsibility of Christians. In other words, the decline of Rome was an inevitable result of history due to invasions by barbarians, the self-love of Rome and the fragility of the human-established system, but at the same time, he saw that the Roman Christians failed to fulfil their responsibilities too. It can be seen that Augustine emphasises the fact that Christianity should not be indifferent or helpless with regard to the state and

society, but was in religious charge in the interrelationship.

Augustine's view of the state

Augustine's view of the state was basically similar to that of Tertullian when he criticised Donatus (Han Chul-Ha 2001:97). Tertullian (*Apologeticus pro Christianis*. xxxviii. trans. Bindley) said, "But we, who are dead to all desire for fame and honour, have no need of coalitions, nor is anything more foreign to our tastes than public life. We recognise one universal republic, the world". This view of Tertullian reveals the de-national aspect of responding to Rome. Augustine, viewing the decline of the empire, in a broad sense suggested a state view for Christianity (e.g. the city of God on the earth) in response to the insecurity of the Roman Empire. This attitude seemed to be contrasted with his agreement regarding the necessity of the state as a supporter of the universal church system revealed in the debate with the Donatists. However, this was Augustine's approach: avoiding the attitudes of two extremes, linking the two concepts, and synthesising them based on faith and criticism. In other words, the basic flow of Augustine's thinking can be seen as the synthesis of the whole of the ancient world at the end of the ancient period (Han Chul-Ha 2001:253). Augustine's view of the state shows that the Western church could cross the geopolitical boundaries of the Constantinian Christian paradigm (or Rome), as the Jewish theocratic system had completed the concept of a religious community centring on Jewish legalism beyond the boundaries of the geopolitical and ethnic state of Israel in the past (cf. Chadwick 1993:226; Küng 1991:105–109).

But, despite Augustine's suggestion of the concept of a de-state or de-Roman Christian community, he saw that the Roman order was not irrelevant to the complete reign of God that Christianity was trying to achieve: 1. People belong to God in Christian society, but they rely on others in human societies at the same time (Aug., *De Civ*., 19.14); 2. Peace between home, society, and the state is closely related to the peace of the city of God as 'every beginning is directed to some end of its own kind' (Aug., *De Civ*., 19.16); 3. Orderly harmony between obedience and domination can be in harmony with part of the direction of God's rule (Aug., *De Civ*., 19.16–17). In other words, Augustine saw the enforced order as better than disorder, and he justified the institutionalised organisations and authority in society for defending all forms of disorder and maintaining a full Christian faith.

The attitude of Roman Christians living under the communal values of Rome: as users of values

Augustine believed that the Christians in the Roman Empire as an earthly city did not belong

to Rome, but were briefly staying there as pilgrims journeying to the final destination of God's city, during which time they have a responsibility for the society in which they are staying unless their faith is harmed (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.26). For Christians, Rome was not to enjoy (*frui*), but to use (*uti*) (Aug., *De Doc.*, i.33.36). In this interrelationship, the reality of the Romanisation of Christianity was that Rome used Christianity to enjoy Roman value, while the value of Rome for Christians was temporarily used by Christians to enjoy God, and the Christianisation of Rome also served to enjoy God, not to enjoy Rome. In that sense, the loss of Rome did not mean a loss of Christian faith, just like the success of Rome was not Christian success. Nevertheless, Augustine's approach does not seem to emphasise the futility of interrelationships between Christianity and Rome, but rather to address the meaning of the Christian as a user of common values arising from the interrelationship between Christianity and Rome for dealing with the event of the debate of the Donatists and the decline of Rome, which he needed to address (cf. Aug., *De Doc.*, i.3.3; Levering 2013:3–4).

Augustine (*De Civ.*, xix.11–14) therefore emphasised the correct use of Roman values for Christians. He believed that ultimate peace could be achieved in unity through harmony and order, and the peace of Rome (*Pax Romana*) and the singlemindedness (*Concordia*) that Rome had historically sought to maintain, and that the Roman institutions and laws that were methods to maintain the values were also related to the city of God in terms of order and harmony for peace. To this end, Augustine emphasised a Christian approach in two aspects (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.14): 1. "… all man's use of temporal things is related to the enjoyment of earthly peace in the earthly city; whereas in the Heavenly City it is related to the enjoyment of eternal peace"; 2. "For they do not give orders because of a lust for domination but from a dutiful concern for the interests of others, not with pride in taking precedence over others, but with compassion in taking care of others". In other words, for a Christian, community is a place to achieve the purpose of love for God and his neighbour, and for Christians true peace is the peace of the Heavenly City (*pax caelestis civitatis*), but while living as a pilgrim on earth, the Christian must be responsible for correcting the instability of the concept of communal values in the Roman Empire from the perspective of Christian faith. From Augustine's point of view, Rome's decline can be inferred as the result of incongruity that could not be harmoniously united, and the peace that the Church should achieve is to establish the right order and harmony. He saw, therefore, that the order and peace of human society can be achieved when the hearts of people are joined together, so that the one mind (*Concordia*), which is dominated by love for God, is the most important condition for achieving peace in human society. In other words, Augustine believed that Christians should

take responsibility for using the neutral values encountered in the pilgrimage to reveal the full value of God (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.14, 17).

Augustine wanted to analyse, criticise, and synthesise the forms of social culture in general, such as Roman communities, history, traditions, and the spirit of the times, within the framework of Christian faith in terms of Roman political and social integration through Christianity. Augustine's synthesis of these Roman values seems to have become the structural framework to bind Western Christian states into the Roman faith system.[196] It can be seen from the fact that peoples and states within the Western world had constantly been in confrontation with each other due to conflict of interests, and Christian values became the only social and cultural force through which they could empathise and follow each other (cf. McGrath 2013:73–74).

4.4.2 The interrelationship between Roman Christianity and Roman sociocultural values

After Constantine, the Christian community could achieve Christian values in harmony with Roman sociocultural values in a close cooperative relationship with Rome, to be structured into a proper system in the Roman world and to efficiently use Roman sociocultural values to expand and strengthen the Christian community (cf. 4.2.1.3, 4.2.2.2, 4.3.3). Thus, Augustine's main point here concerned whether the integrated value of Christianity and Roman social culture mentioned above (i.e. Romanisation of Christianity: the common goal of Christianity and Rome, the common identity and the common outcome) could counterbalance the Donatist debate or the decline of the Roman Empire (cf. 4.2.3, 4.3.3). In response to the Donatist problem arguing that there was basically no link between Christian values and Roman sociocultural values, Augustine was able to unravel the problem through the same basic Christian view of the secular state (i.e. the Church should help the state to use neutral values correctly). However, Augustine had to go further than the interpretation of the relationship between Christianity and the state in relation to the problem of the decline of the Roman Empire, because, unlike the relationship between Christianity and the state which came to an end, the sociocultural values of Rome had to be addressed in terms of the sustainability of the relationship. In other words, for Augustine, the sociocultural values of Rome integrated with the Christian values were factors that supported the existing paradigm of the Roman Christian community, and the reconstruction of the universal church in line

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[196] Augustine's theological approach shows a thorough religious analysis centring on the Roman world. Although the symbolism of the City of Jerusalem can be traced to the roots of Judaism, it seems that Augustine tried to clearly describe the concept of the symbolism of the Heavenly Jerusalem (i.e. peace of Jerusalem) with reference to the history ranging from the city of Rome to the Roman Empire and its speciality (i.e. achievements and failures) (Oort 1991:102–115).

with the sociocultural level of the less civilised barbarians around it could be a renunciation of past historical achievements of Christianity in Roman social culture (i.e. Christianisation of Rome) (cf. Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.51, *De Vera.*, xi.10).

The sociocultural values of Rome worked for the Romanised Christians or the Christianised Romans in harmony with Christian values for the first century, as the socioculturally compelling power to create homogeneity among them in being bound to the same social goals, and to structure and control it as a single unified system. The universal church at the time especially was based and operated on this value system. However, the future uncertainty of the Christian values that formed common values with Rome in order to overcome the Roman crisis was also increased among the masses of the Roman Empire by the decline of the Empire. Thus, the West had to indicate the direction as to whether the various social and cultural values achieved in the Roman Empire would uphold such values in the absence of the Roman Empire, or to deny past values and form new values in line with new social changes, or to return to the earliest Christian community before Constantine, in line with the argument of the Donatists (cf. Sordi 1994:134; Swingewood 1998:101). In this context, Augustine argued the necessity of the sociocultural value of Rome in his works (e.g. *De Doctrina Christiana, De Civitate Dei, De Trinitate, De Vera Religione*), revealing the following fundamental Christian views of sociocultural values.[197]

First, Augustine insists that the process of forming the sociocultural values of Christianity was that Christian faith, in harmony with reason, was to constantly seek better alternatives according to the principle of historical development (i.e. as the accumulation of values). In other words, it concerned the principle of 'faith seeks, understanding finds (*fides quaerit, intellectus invenit*, Aug., *De Trinitate*, xv.2.2)'. Augustine was active in bringing together Neoplatonic ideas and Christianity, for which he put considerable effort into trying to reconcile faith with reason.[198] But reason is not preceded by faith. In other words, Augustine (*Libero Arbirio*, ii.14, 35) observed that reason is useful for facing up to eternal issues, but does not compare with the eternal truth that comes from God. Reason therefore is relevant for Christians to constantly consider the search for eternal truth in accordance with the principles of historical development.

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[197] In what appears to be the most visible work especially concerning such claims, *De Doctrina Christiana*, written between 396 CE and 426 CE after the Donatist issue and the looting by the Goths, he consistently argued that the neutral values of Roman social culture were useful in conveying the faith taught by the Bible.

[198] Augustine, in particular, confessed, "*Credo ut intelligam* (I believe so that I may understand)", unlike the Tertullian saying "*Credo quia absurdum* (I believe because it is absurd, or, It is certain because it is unfitting)". This shows that Augustine emphasised the role of reason for faith, and reason plays an important role in illuminating the truth.

Second, in connection with values, he points out that the Christian community does not have to take an exclusive position regarding Roman sociocultural values in order to pursue primitive Christian values, as Donatus argued, or actively to rely on and pursue secular values for the efficiency of the gospel. Rather, he suggests a large system of Christian philosophy (e.g. *christiana philosophia, nostra philosophia*) in the process of connecting the two, rather than taking the two extremes and gradually digesting all of them through the process of criticising them again in connection with central Christian ideas (Han Chul-Ha 2001:253; cf. Aug., *De Civ.* xviii.41). He basically defends usefulness against the uselessness of the secular values of Tertullian, saying that various secular values rather can be used more fully through Christian faith, than in confronting central Christian ideas. He stated that the value of secular studies was not created by secular people, but came from the mine of God's providence, and the Christian's role was to make good use it. In other words, culture must be used for the purpose that is pursued by it (Aug., *De Doc.*, ii.40.60).

Third, as a distinction between the enjoyment and use of value, Augustine points out that Christian values and Roman sociocultural values did not entail a cooperative relationship but an upper and a lower structure of enjoyment and use. In other words, "[s]ome things are to be enjoyed, others to be used, and there are others which are to be enjoyed and used" (Aug., *De Doc.*, i.3.3). Augustine did not encourage the indiscriminate use of secular values in terms of the active Christian use of sociocultural values, but rather identified two contradictory directions to the sociocultural values of Rome: 1. sociocultural values as a consequence following human nature in original sin; 2. sociocultural value as a general grace to be used to enjoy God.

The Christian value could be said to be a new Christian community framework in which the Church could realise the sociocultural value of Rome in the absence of the Roman government or mass society as a leading producer of sociocultural values. Thus, the following three Roman sociocultural values (i.e. community value, historical value, and intellectual value) seem to be very important in explaining the interrelationship between Christianity and Roman culture in the sense that Augustine intended to deal with values through his standard Christian value judgment (i.e. the harmony of faith and reason, the connection of values, the distinction between enjoyment and use) and that such values were continued in the medieval Western society.

4.4.2.1 Community value of Rome: forming a Christian social community

The meaning of the community of Rome follows the same direction as in the analysis of the

state community discussed above, but there is an attempt to address the community value of Rome as a neutral value intended to be applied permanently for the Christian community paradigm unlike the Roman state value which Augustine saw as the temporary value of Babylon. Most of Rome's social culture, including Roman politics, customs, law, religion, roads, architecture, philosophy, ethics, and academics, were recognised for their value as a means of forming, uniting, and maintaining a single Roman community. Therefore, after Constantine, Christianity took on common identity with Rome and focused on common achievements. However, the common values of Rome and Christianity reached a new phase in the Augustinian era with the decline of the Roman community. That is, when the Roman government lost the community values of Rome and the values were reconstructed in a Christian sense, the Roman Christian community (or the Roman Catholic Church) began to take over those values for a new Christian social community as an alternative to the past Roman community and as the only user of the community values. Among these social changes, the primary value that Augustine considered for future community formation for Romans and Christians was 'Concordia (one mind)' to overcome the social environment of arrogance and individualism and selfishness by means of the right order of love. Concordia originally was the virtue of ancient Rome, which Rome had sought to pursue through various sociocultural values, including pluralism and paganism, as well as the ultimate goal of the Constantinian Christian paradigm. But with the decline of the Roman Empire, Concordia was no longer a Roman ideal, but became an ideology for the realisation of the Christian community value that the universal church should gradually achieve, and a slogan of sociocultural public nature of the medieval Christian world that the Roman Catholic Church was able to achieve (cf. Davidson 2005b:166, 190–192).

As previously discussed concerning the relationship between Christianity and the state, Augustine provided much information in the 'City of God' on the interrelationship between Roman solidarity (the earthly city) and the Christian Community (the city of God). He, among other things, focused on the Roman Integration Mechanism (2.3.2) concerning how Rome united people, and he also tried to address the limitations of Roman value and indicated how they could be completed through Christian Community values. In other words, it would seem that Augustine was more biased towards Rome than past theologians in that he was seeking a higher level of community value based on the community values of Rome, rather than being against the Roman community or applying new concepts. It seems that, in the context of Augustine at the time, Roman communality was the most reasonable and realistic form for the Christian community to use as their model of community, despite the decline of the empire. Augustine, therefore, hoped that the model of the Roman community would appear

in a completed form through the universal church. This can be inferred in relation to some of the realities of the time, in the following way (cf. Aug., *De Civ.*, v.15–18, 21, 24–26):

First, it can be seen that Augustine was not able to find another system to compare with the Roman community system to rationalise the Christian community of the time. Historically, the city of Rome incorporated the advantages of the various social cultures that had been absorbed into their sociocultural mechanism and formed a common goal, common identity and common achievement through integrating the various values and following their traditional purpose and way for Rome itself (Beard 2015:594–603; Montesquieu, *The spirit of the law*, 11.13; cf. 4.2.3). Augustine also points to that, and he saw that Rome was rewarded by God with the worldly honour of the most excellent empire (Augustin, *De Civ.*, x.12–13, 15; MacCulloch 2009:93).

Second, mainstream Christianity at the time, like other societies integrated into the social culture of Rome, achieved century-long common goals, identities, and achievements in the cooperative relationship with Rome (cf. 4.2.3), so Roman community values comprised the most familiar form of value for Christians living in the Roman world, and so did Augustine. Augustine therefore saw that the glory of the Roman Empire and the Empire's community values were not only for the Roman people, but also for the Christians who were on pilgrimage. He therefore says that God had supplied the things that are appropriate for earthly and temporal peace (e.g. things to maintain health, safety, human relations, and peace) and needed to use all these for goodness (Augustin, *De Civ.*, x. 16, xix.13).

Third, with the decline of the Western Empire, Western Christianity began to recognise the necessity for the Roman people and the Roman universal church to form a new integrated society through the traditional Roman value of sociocultural integration rather than a contract relationship with the Roman government (cf. Davidson 2005b:15–16; Sordi 1994:134; 4.2.1.1, 4.2.2.2). That is because the social integration values of Roman tradition were part of the potential consciousness of the Roman mainstream, which served as a link to unite members into a community; for Christianity, these values thus also became an important principle in forming public consensus within Roman society and in uniting them into the universal church. That Christianity had to deal with the community values of Rome could have necessitated satisfying the problem of the reality of the Romans (i.e. the breakdown of the past Roman Union) and the future expectations of Christians (i.e. Christian society as a new Roman union) (cf. MacCulloch 2009:296, 309; 3.3.3.2). In other words, Augustine suggested to the Romans who experienced the decline of Rome, that they pursue the community under God's consistent and permanent rule, rather than seek unstable and

temporary Rome as a community value. This can be seen as a change in the essence of Roman community values. Christianity as a new essence took on the external frame of Roman community values on behalf of Rome (i.e. one mind, faithfulness and duty toward God; the new relationship with God as guardian and beneficiary; and the honour and shame as Christians) (Aug., De Civ., x.12, xviii.50, xix.11–13, 26).

As a result, Augustine brought the communal values of Rome into the model of the universal church, but emphasised that it was more important to be bound to the universal church as pilgrims than for the Romans to be bound to Rome. In other words, for Augustine, the narratives of the common victory as a common fate of the Romanised Christian community and the Christianised Roman community that led the Romans to Christianity after Constantine were based on the wrong premise; the narratives of Roman community values rather introduced the competition and comparison that revealed the ultimate triumph of the Christian community values. Thus, for Augustine, even if the unity of Rome declined, what bound the Romans through ultimate value was the universal church that would last until the advent of the eternal Kingdom of God.

4.4.2.2 Historical value of Rome: forming a historical Christian view

As can be seen, Augustine's assessment of Roman history comprised the main contents of the City of God, Augustine tried to reveal Christian history as the community ruled by God in correspondence to Roman history,[199] and furthermore presented a historical Christian view dealing with the general structure of human society, its destiny and God's providence centring on the standpoint of Christianity (Aug., *De Civ.*, x.21; Han Chul-ha 2001:304). In this respect, Küng (1995:306–307) believes that "Augustine is not a historian in the modern sense, but a theological interpreter of history." That is because he presented "the first theology of history" through a "meaningful overall view of world history".

Augustine in particular seems to have wanted to show the future values that had to shape the universal church from a Roman Christian community paradigm in order to meet the Western world's expectations of Christianity.[200] That may have been because the social and

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[199] Augustine wrote a lot of historical material using reference data written by not only the Christian historian Eusebius who used an approach that dealt with the history of God's providence (revealed only within the Hebrew religion), but also the works of secular literary writers of Rome, especially Varro (116–27 BCE), Sallustius (86–34 BCE), Livius (59 BCE–17 CE), and Tacitus (54/62–120 CE) (Küng 1995:306–307).

[200] At the time there were two trends in the understanding of Christians concerning the history of Rome: anti-Roman views such as held by Hippolytus (170–235 CE) and Tertullian; and pro-Roman views that were revealed by official theologians such as Eusebius. However, as mentioned earlier, Augustine did not follow these two extreme views in which Rome's history was neither the advent of the new Jerusalem in Eusebius' view nor a symbol of the apocalyptic anti-Christ evident in Hippolytus. Augustine instead interpreted history in his own way, which can be seen as the historical success and failure of Rome under God's providence and the historical

cultural values of Rome would remain beneficial to Christians on the earth and the Western World if integrated into Christian values, and were expected to still build the peace of God through the Roman Christian integration system although Rome entered into decline due to the corruption of those values (Aug., *De Civ.*, x.16, 21, *De Vera*. x.9, xi.10).

Roman pagans thought the crisis in Rome in 410 resulted from the inclusion of Christianity in the pagan history of ancient Rome that they had experience of, and blamed Christianity for the decline. Augustine thereby compared historic Roman achievements to historic Christian achievements through reconstructing Roman history in order to defend the historical values of Christianity. He revealed the imperfection of the historical values of Rome and projected the permanent and essential value that Christianity seeks to pursue as a future alternative: 1. The historic success of Rome was because their values (or virtues) were better than those of other societies under the providence of God, but at the same time their failures were due to their failure to preserve their values (Aug., *De Civ.*, x.15–16, xix.24–25); 2. The crisis of the Roman Empire was that the 'Peace of the Rome', as part of the course of history, also was relative and temporary, not absolute and lasting, just as the 'Peace of Babylon' does not achieve true peace; 3. The community ruled by God is not yet ruled in the heavenly city, but lives in struggle on the way of pilgrimage through historical events in earthly cities, and remains in a mingled state until the final judgment (Aug., *De Civ.*, i.35); 4. In the case of Rome, God had so far given the necessary peace for evangelism, but once Rome's historic mission was fulfilled, Rome would be destroyed because of its own sins (i.e. moral depravity and lust for power) (Aug., *De Civ.*, ii.22–23, xix.13, 26–28); 5. Rome's history was intertwined with Christian history, but because each one's own essence is different, the success and failure of Rome does not have a major impact on change in the essential value of Christianity (Augustine, *De Civ.*, i.9–11); and 6. Thus, after Constantine, the policy of the Christianisation of Rome did not fundamentally try to change the nature of Rome, and Rome as a Christian state was also continuing its nature, so when the final judgment divides Rome and the city of God in the mingled state, Rome, as one of the earthly cities, would be revealed as an object of judgment and God's city would be revealed as the intact state (Gonzalez 1987:52–53).

From Augustine's historical and theological point of view, the historical meaning of Rome therefore was to unfold according to the eternal plan of God's city. In other words, Rome's history was not of a city on earth opposed to God's city, but part of the journeys of the pilgrims to God's city where Christians would be able to pursue true truth and true peace

connection with the community ruled by God (cf. Barnes 1962:47).

relative to Rome through the historical success and failure of Rome.

4.4.2.3 The intellectual value of Rome

Augustine regarded the intellectual intermediaries of Rome as explaining Christian-centred ideas as meaningful values which had to be used actively in Christian faith. In particular, he believed that the intellectual system that Rome had built up in becoming an empire, even if based on pagan culture, should be actively used if applied to Christian faith, and also appealed for Christian authors to be trained in various academic disciplines (Aug., *De Doc*., ii. 40.60).

According to Murphy (1974:54), the controversy over the interrelationship between pagan secular scholarship and the central Christian idea had been in existence from the Apostolic Age, and this problem had become a more serious religious and cultural issue since Constantine. The sociocultural dilemma faced by Christian leaders before the Augustinian era concerned the issue of what intellectual means would be used in forming the intellectual foundations for spreading the Christian-centred idea in the Greek-Roman cultural area and to bring about its influence. In addition, the importance of Christian education became highlighted when the social position and role of Christianity expanded and consideration of the method of delivery of a Christian intellectual system was intensified.[201]

Against this backdrop of Christian social and cultural dilemmas, Augustine's theological work showed active use of Roman culture, like the parable of gold and silver of Egypt, which emphasised its value as a timely tool good to use for central Christian ideas, although Roman intellectual values were no match for Christian Biblical knowledge (Aug. *De Doc*. ii.40.60–61, 42.63). Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* (On Christian Doctrine) shows that various general disciplines could be used more properly through Christian faith, rather than in confronting central Christian ideas. Augustine therefore sought to synthesise Roman intellectual values so that they could be used for the expansion of central Christian ideas while seeking God's will from among them so that they would not be misused within Christianity (Gonzalez 1992:15).

Among the intellectual values of Rome, Augustine's particular emphasis was on rhetoric.

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[201] Tertullian (*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*. 7) saw that pagan philosophy had nothing to do with Christian faith and rather belonged to the devil's history, and he was sceptical of the harmony of the Church and the Academy (Han Chul-Ha 2001:253). Cyprian rejected secular literature after his conversion and did not quote the words of pagan poets, rhetoricians, and orators. Basil or Ambrose tried to distinguish between secular and spiritual wisdom while acknowledging the value of pagan literature and the need for rhetoric. Clement, on the other hand, emphasised that Greek philosophy was no different from Christian truth and that Origen tried a 'combination of faith with faith, theology, and philosophy' in consideration of how Christian faith could be freely accessible to the universal culture in which he belonged (Küng 1995:133, 169).

Augustine's Christian thought system was based on rhetorical methodology, which was considered to be the most important intellectual value among the Romans and his area of expertise even before he became a Christian. Thus, he tried to provide answers to the various theological dilemmas by introducing Cicero's rhetorical point of view, which pursued the efficiency of the truth and attempted to practise truth in human life, into his theological method (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.24). Augustine said, "[t]here are two things on which all interpretation of Scripture depends: the mode of ascertaining the proper meaning, and the mode of making known the meaning when it is ascertained" (Aug., *De Doc.*, i.1.1, trans. Shaw). In other words, Augustine tried to approach the very important questions that many linguistic philosophies presuppose: How to convey meaning and what relationship existed between words, symbols, and the things that they mean (Aug. *De Doc.* ii.3.4). In this respect, for Augustine, the philosophy of language and rhetorical techniques (e.g. inferences, definitions, and divisions) could be exploited to discover, communicate, and increase Christian truth, value, and role (Aug., *De Doc.*, ii.37.55).

As a result, Augustine's approach to the relationship between intellectual value and Christianity in Rome was as follows:

1. The intellectual values of Rome were those "which they did not create themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's providence which are everywhere scattered abroad".

2. The fact that Christians refused to use the intellectual values of Rome during the days of persecution or thereafter meant abandonment of such things provided by God.

3. Christians had an obligation to convert such values to Christian uses so that it would not be misused but used for good (Aug., *De Doc.*, ii.40.60–61).

4. The concept of truth in Christianity is not to be perceived as an experience (e.g. which is better?), but because it is given through revelation (e.g. what is good and evil?); it must first be explained in terms of common concepts, principles and meanings of the Bible, using Roman intellectual value rather than individual experience in dealing with Christian values (Aug., *De Doc.*, ii.3.4).

5. In order to communicate the Christian-centred idea to those who are familiar with the Roman world and deal with their lives faithfully, these intellectual values of Rome should be actively utilised (Aug. *De Doc.*, ii.37.55, 40.61, iv.12.27).

4.4.3 The interrelationship between Roman Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church

One of the very important singularities that emerge in Augustine is that his paradigm in forming a Christian community became the main principle in the later establishment of

Western Roman Catholic Churches. Küng (1995:288–290, 321), especially, sees that Augustine had a decisive effect on forming the 'institutional and hierarchical understanding of the Church' in the West. And Küng says, "Augustine is repudiated by the East to a greater degree than perhaps any other Western church father – a further indication of the shift in Christianity from the early Church Hellenistic paradigm to the Latin medieval paradigm which in fact begins with him". In this respect, Augustine's church-historical distinction could be limited to the West and Western churches following the Latin tradition (cf. Küng 1995:243–247; MacCulloch 2009:289–291; Richard 2010:269–272).

Up to the time of Augustine, the solidarity of the early Christian communities had been expressed through the definition of the church. As the early Christian community moved away from the Jewish community into Gentile societies, the concepts of a universal church emerged to unite the scattered local Christian communities into a common faith principle and to distinguish similar Christian groups that did not follow the common belief principle (Johnson 1995:44): Irenaeus considered the standard of the universal church in terms of apostolic tradition and continuity (*Adversus Haereses*, iii.3.1, iv.26.2) and the same norms of belief (*Adversus Haereses*, i.10.1); Tertullian proposed that the universal church could be confirmed by fellowship among local churches with a common creed.[202] These perspectives show that the definition of universal church was invisible form rather than a visible form and that local Christian communities before Constantine were interconnected through the apostolic continuity and association of these organically unified Christian faiths. However, when Christianity had been Romanised after Constantine, the definition of an invisible and idealistic universal church of the early Christian communities began to seek more visible forms in line with Roman social culture (e.g. the hierarchical system, sacerdotalism, and ceremonialism of the universal church following the trend of the Nicene Creed). Following the change in the perception of the universal church, religious roles and activities in the Church became more important for defining religious beliefs than the identity of the Christian people (Küng 1995:151, 211–214).

Davidson (2005b:177–178) sees that Augustine left a constructive legacy in terms of the continuity of the early Church and the Medieval Church through refuting Donatist logic in the theological dimension, which is that he had made a significant contribution to establishing Ecclesiology for the Western church as a theologian of the early Church.[203] Contrary to the

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[202] Tertullian said of the universal church, "[t]heir common unity is proved by fellowship in communion, by the name of brother and the mutual pledge of hospitality—rights which are governed by no other principle than the single tradition of a common creed" (Tertullian, *De praescrpitione haereticorum*, 20. trans. Greenslade).

[203] In particular, Augustine sought to talk to several Donatist bishops, including Procleianus, about the Donatist issue, but this failed to bear fruit and he worked hard to identify the Donatist problem, concluding that it was a

Donatists' emphasis on purity of faith in the definition of the universal church, Augustine, rather emphasised the union of the churches: Donatists saw the universal church as being united based on the basis of the purity of faith leading to Tertullian and Cyprian along the African theological tradition; However, Augustine believed that the Church on earth cannot be perfect, and that sinners and righteous remain mingled, but that true value as the universal church is to achieve unity in following the love of Christ. Thus, he regarded schism, such as caused by the Donatists, was more dangerous than heresy in that it destroyed the unity of the Church without love, and thought that it needed force for the sake of unity (Aug., *Homilies on John*, vi.13, *Contra Cresonium*, ii.4). This is not much different from the basic position of Constantine, which emphasised the unity of the Roman style in the appearance of the Christian community, or from the position of the Roman Catholic Church at that time, which emphasised the solidarity of local churches centred on the Roman Church. Augustine did not directly support the Roman Catholic Church as a concept of a universal church, but rather emphasised the universality of the whole church in a broad sense. [204] Nevertheless, his emphasis on unity as a universal church can be seen as providing room for the exercise of sociocultural enforcement for the overall goal of medieval Roman Catholic Church unity and solidarity. In defending the universal church against the Donatists, his emphasis, particularly on the validity and efficacy of sacraments, which is the basis of sacerdotalism and ceremonialism, as a principle forming the universal church, can be concluded as in support of the way of pursuing a structured system in the Roman universal church (cf. Euseb., *Vita Cons.*, iii.63–66; 4.2.2.2; Aug., *De Civ.*, xviii.51, *De Vera.*, xi.10).[205]

Thus, Augustine needed a new interpretation concerning the subject of ecclesiology through two problems of reality (i.e. the decline of the Western Roman Empire and the Christian sectarianism), and for the first time in the history of the church he began to distinguish between the visible church and the invisible church. Donatists criticised him for presenting two churches, but Augustine, according to McElhinney (1871:68 cited in Lee Hyun-Joon 2013:238), pointed out that it was "only a distinction between two different states of the same church". In other words, Augustine appears to have tried to explain the Church's incomplete but complete progress, dividing the Church into two states to deal with the social issues that

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problem of ecclesiology (Markus 1970:105–106).

[204] He saw the meaning of 'catholic' as reaching Jerusalem, all Judea, Samaria, and the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8) against the Donatists, who argued for universality, although their area of activity was limited to the African region (Aug., *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, ii.39.90). In that respect, Augustine's position on the universal church signifies a solidarity of Christian communities that is non-local.

[205] As mentioned earlier (4.2.2.2), one of the main tools that enabled sacerdotalism can be seen as a combination of Christian sacraments and pagan rites in the Constantinian Christian paradigm (Küng 1995:211–214). The baptism and the sacrament, which had formed the boundaries of the Christian community, began to go toward ceremonialism combining with the importance of pagan ritual formalities in the society of Rome after Constantine, and to highlight the importance of a priest as an actor of such rituals.

the universal church was facing.

The visible church

The visible church depicted by Augustine is seen, above all, as a unified universal church in realistic conditions. He saw the necessity of a unified church having greater religious significance than any other values, and the importance of the universal church could be regarded as having similar value to the Roman unity in terms of how the sociocultural values of ancient Rome supported the unity of Rome and could also have limited further sociocultural values for such unity. The interrelationship between the sacred ceremonies conducted in the name of the Trinity and the clergy as presiding officers of the ceremonies became an important pillar of unity in linking local churches to the universal church, despite criticism pertaining to secular pollution in the universal Roman church (or clergy). In other words, the validity of the holy ceremony does not rely on the accomplishment of the officer presiding over the ceremony, but on the accomplishment of Christ, who established it, and when the sacraments were administered in accordance with the right form, the Church could be justified on the basis of the sacraments despite the errors of the clergy (Aug., *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, i.7.8).

Augustine did not fully reconcile the ultimate Kingdom of God with the manifestations of the visible church (e.g. religious activities and rituals, and church hierarchy or the clergy system), but saw the revelation of the future church as being realised in the universal church. He did not agree with the view of the ideal church as the sacred church community, "without blemish and wrinkle (*sine macula et ruga*)" with which the Donatists were obsessed. He regarded the Church as incomplete and not representing a peaceful kingdom because the Church existed in the earthly city, and not being a complete Kingdom of God yet, but a kingdom in a process of struggle (*regnum militia*) (Aug., *De Civ.*, 20.9). In this respect, it would seem that Augustine's ecclesiology was based on realism rather than idealism. Thus, the unity of the visible church intended by Augustine could be seen under the following conditions.

First, the church on earth was a mingled church (*permixta ecclesia*) comprising a mixture of sinners and saints, Christian values and secular (Roman) values (Aug., *De Civ.*, i.3, *Ep.* 93.9.31). In the mingled church, righteous persons and evil persons live together in visible churches, and Christian values and secular values are mingled together as a framework for the visible church because the present earthly church coexists with the world. As discussed earlier, Augustine, in considering the problem of the sectarianism of the Donatist movement,

believed that the visible church could not be divided on the grounds of the purity of the faith that the Donatists claimed. He also believed that this mingled state of the universal church could only be cleared up by God, and attempts by humans to separate such values would fail and inevitably cause a rift in the solidarity of the Church (Davidson 2005b:178). The Donatist insistence on the purity of the Christian faith was directly related to their antipathy to Rome, which could be seen as a backlash against the acceptance of Roman values by the Roman universal church. Augustine's argument thus included that the mixture of Christian and Roman values within a Roman church was natural, and that mingled Roman values should be used for good, and that trying to make a distinction would promote the division of the universal church. Augustine refers to the parables of the weeds and the wheat (Matthew 13:24–30), and good fish and bad fish (Matthew 13:47–50) as examples. In other words, the universal church as a mingled body (*corpus permixtum*) was incomplete but a pathway of grace chosen by God as the mystic body of Christ (*corpus mysticum*) would be completely revealed without error at the last (Aug. De Civ. 18.49; Rowe 1974:63).

Second, the sign of the visible universal church was in the form of the intact sacraments. Augustine began to respond to the challenge of the Donatists through his theory of ecclesiology and sacraments at the Council of Carthage in 411. Although Donatists saw the validity of the sacraments (especially baptism) as based on the purity of the faith of the Church and the presiding officer,[206] Augustine saw it as coming from the holiness of Christ in the sacraments (Aug., *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, i.7.8). Hence, he saw that the external imperfection of the sacrament rituals did not harm the essence (Aug., *De Doc.*, i.2.2.). Augustine's emphasis on the sacraments seems not to have been an attack on Donatus only, but also an attempt to understand it on a par with the meaning of the universal church itself. He saw the sacraments as a visible symbol that binds the Christian and the Church together (Augustine, *Contra Faustus*, 19.11). In other words, believers become one with Christ in the sacraments, the body of Christ becomes one with the Church, and the sacraments become one with the Church (An In-Sub 2009:115–120).

The originality of Augustine's sacramental theory is that he distinguished between the validity and efficacy of baptism, in particular. He states that the baptism of sectarians and heretical communities was also valid if performed correctly in the name of the Triune God, but, because the effect of baptism was only realised in the true church, it was necessary to return to the Catholic Church in order to maintain the effect of baptism (Augustine, *Contra Epistolam Pameniani*, ii.11.24; Lee Hyun-Joon 2013:221). This can be seen as emphasising

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[206] Petilianus, a Donatist bishop, insisted that, "[h]e who receives faith from the faithless priest, receives not faith but guilt (*Qui fidem a perfido sumperit, non fidem percipit, sed reatum*)" (Aug., *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, i.7.8).

the importance of the universal church in terms of the real effect of the essential value of Christianity for believers in the process of sanctification. In this respect, the form of the Christian sacrament was a major means towards defining the visible universality of Christian communities after Constantine, and the principle of understanding the Western universal church in this regard was not irrelevant to the principle of Roman community unity: 1. The sacraments could have become a tool that bound clergy and laity in the existing church order as in the case of the Roman emperor being able to secure citizens' religious sentiment through maintaining the Pontifex Maximus, and the Christian emperors, including Constantine, did not renounce this position and role for a long time; 2. In this respect, Augustine's theorisation of the form of the sacraments could have become the academic basis for the Roman Church as the centre of the medieval Western world to absorb diverse societies. In other words, the problem of baptism, the main principle in delineating Christian boundaries, is not a reason why it cannot be assimilated with the secular society like the Roman Empire, as seen in the case of the Donatists (i.e. for maintaining the purity of Christianity), but it could be useful in preventing dichotomous division. The principle of forming Christian communities, in easing the rigid relationship between Christianity and secular society and forming common values like those of the peoples around them, were collectively attributed to the Christian world through baptism (Smith 1952:788).

Third, believers and the Church are mysteriously and organically associated in an order of universal belief. Augustine rejects the Donatist claims that the Church is sanctified by the holy virtues of its members in relation to the sanctity of the Church, and asserts that the holiness of the Church is based on the holiness of Christ, not on man's holiness (Augustine, *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, iii.2.3). In other words, the universal church is not affected by the believers, but is influenced by Christ and can influence the believers. Figgis (1921:72, cited in Lee Hyun-Joon 2013:234) therefore defines the interrelation between visible church and Christians in Augustine's ecclesiology as the church on the earth being the community "recruited by baptism, nourished by sacraments, governed by bishops". This seems to have become the principle for structuring the authority of the medieval Roman Catholic Church in a top-down direction, and a believer's duty to the Church as a bottom-up direction. This is similar to the traditional Rome-citizen relationship that Cicero and others claimed. Cicero sought to distinguish between the natural hometown (*patria naturae*) in which Romans were born and the political homeland (*patria civitatis*) in which Romans formed a community, and demanded that they love Rome first as the ultimate community rather than their place of birth, and that they fulfil their faithfulness and duty to do so because Rome was built as a new community for better value (Cicero, *De Re Publica, De Legibus*, ii.2.5). For Augustine, the

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Church as the city of God, as for Cicero, was the ultimate community and of better value than Rome, and it also indicated the next step that Rome would have to take. That is, a naturally occurring community is bound to better universal and sociocultural values such as in Rome, and then is bound to the universal church as an ultimate value, the God-ruled community. Therefore, for Augustine, the interrelationship between the universal church and the believer could be seen, not as the completion of faith, but as the process or direction of faith (Augustine, *De Civ.*, xx.9.1). In other words, despite the incompleteness of the Church in history, believers are together in the universal church in a process toward future completeness (Lee Hyun-Joon 2013:235).

Fourth, the way to distinguish the universal church is through the order of true love (*caritas or amor*). What Augustine thought of as more important than the purity of the Church in the ecclesiology was the unity and union of the Church through true love. Augustine noted that the problem of the Donatists and the sectarians harmed the unity of the Church as a union of love in Christ (Aug., *Contra Cresonium*, ii.4). Donatists believed the universal church to be an incompetent community that could not deal with any issue of Christian faith, even when evil was revealed. Augustine, however, believed that, despite the Church's public punishment of the wicked, if the Church could not punish with the authority of the Church there was no choice but to acquiesce to the wicked for love, peace and harmony (Eno 1972:50). He pointed out the Donatist error and argued "You have not charity, seeing you for your own honor dividest unity" (Aug., *Homilies on John*, vi.13, trans. Browne). That is, the unity of the Church presupposes love, and the sectarianism of the Donatists could be regarded as destroying the unity of the Church and as an anti-Christian act opposed to the practice of love. Thus, the work of the universal church was not to distinguish between good person and evil person, but to unite people in the good work of Christ through the love of Christ (Augustine, De Civitate Dei, xiv.7). He also noted, in so far as the Romans loved the empire for their own good and were bound to each other for their good, Christians on earth should be bound together as a community that loves God and is governed by God for the glory of God (Aug., *De Civ.*, v.5).

Fifth, the hierarchical order of the universal church is an important reality that inherited the apostolic faith to maintain the universal church. According to Chadwick (1996:85), Augustine saw the hierarchical order of the Church as a sign of the continuity of the Church in apostolic faith, and the clergy, even though they have their faults, are regarded as being sacred in terms of revealing the existence of heaven. Augustine also saw that, like an able trained leader being important for Rome, the clergyman as a major component of the universal church likewise had to lead believers through the training of faith. This

understanding seems to have been Augustine's basis for creating a distinction from the layman by emphasising the clergy in the Western Christian world. In following this trend, Augustine saw that there is only one universal Church with continuity as an apostolic community through the succession of bishops. (Chadwick 2009:56). In other words, for Augustine, the hierarchical order of the clergy could be seen as an absolute concept for forming the universal church with the sacraments.

The invisible church

For Augustine, the invisible church, as the rule of the eternal Kingdom of God, was an important concept by which all the tensions that the Christian community experienced with Roman social culture could be solved, while pointing out the limitations of Rome and finally synthesising the interrelationship between Christianity and Rome. Just as Augustine pointed out in the City of God, which he explained as "a book in which I have taken upon myself the task of defending the glorious City of God", many Augustinian issues are ultimately aimed at the values of an invisible community ruled by God (Aug., *De Civ.*, i.1, trans. Bettenson). For him, the two cities were combined in the same society and on the same historical line. Therefore, the only measure of value for dividing the two cities was directed by the value of each in the same society. In other words, for Augustine, the invisible church was built to love God, in willingness to lead the visible church on earth in the right direction, and to improve the visible church along that route, while Rome was built to love herself. As a result, Augustine wanted to deal with the problems of the time through the invisible church: He expected that the present visible church, being in the world, suffered with the decline of Rome, but the invisible church that would be revealed on the final Day of Judgment, grew in it and would be completed.

Augustine therefore appears to have developed an invisible church theory to complement the existing Roman-Christian paradigm-based visible church theory denounced by the Donatists. It was virtually impossible to realise the completeness of the universal church in the reality of the world, as the Donatists claimed, and it was also impossible to deny the duty for the Church to pursue the perfection of faith. This can thus be seen as emphasising the completeness of the invisible church (or the complete church that would eventually be revealed on the last day) separated from the visible church (Aug., *De Civ.*, 20.9, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 13.16).

Nevertheless, Augustine did not regard the interrelation between the Roman world and the universal church as meaningless. Rather, the values of the collapsing ancient Roman world

could reproduce the values of the Kingdom of God in accordance with the true purposeful use of the invisible church (cf. Aug., *De Doc.*, i.33.36). In the end, for Augustine, the Roman world was not confronted with the Church, and the *Romanitas* of the past now emerged as new values in the hands of Christianity (Han Chul-Ha 2001:321–322).

4.4 Conclusion

The discussion in Chapter 4 concerns the fundamental change of the Christian community paradigm after Constantine; the encounter of the Christian community's passion to explain the essential value of Christianity in Roman social culture; and the sociocultural need of the Roman Empire for Christianity (in the cooperative relationship) for harmony between the state religion and its limitations in the decline of the empire and the emergence of the medieval Christian paradigm. In this respect, it also deals with the meaning of the Romanisation of Christianity and Christianising of Rome centring on three figures: The question concerns what Christian values were and what Roman values were for Christians who had to live a universal life as Romans in the Roman Empire. The conclusion to such discussions can be summarised briefly in the context of the resocialisation of Christianity in the cooperative relationship with Rome after Constantine.

First, the correlation between Christianity and Roman social culture shows the implications of diverse sociocultural values for enlargement and reproduction of central Christian ideas. The Christian community has historically had to face the problem of how to handle sociocultural diversity when explaining and spreading central Christian ideas on a constant basis from the beginning in the Jewish Jesus movement to the demise of the Western Roman Empire. Jewish customs such as circumcision, religious rites, and priests were therefore rejected or reproduced in the next society, and Roman values similarly could be actively used, as seen in Constantine, or rejected or reproduced as seen in Ambrose and Augustine. This shows that the members of the early Church did not regard the use of such values as a matter concerning the intrinsic value of Christianity, but rather as a matter of the efficiency of the gospel that revealed central Christian ideas and encompassed the majority in forming the Christian community. In that respect, Ambrose sought to secure sociocultural values corresponding to the Roman government (e.g. authority, role, and legal status). Augustine tried to establish a Christian sociocultural obligation for universal churches to actively incorporate the neutral values inherent in Roman social culture and use them for their original purpose. As a result, the Christian implications of these sociocultural values seem to have been the basis for establishing the medieval Roman Catholic Church as the only cultural force in the Western world to use the sociocultural values of Rome and to lead

the culture of secular society. On the other hand, this change in the Christian community paradigm was a result of the specific nature of the transformation introduced by Constantine and it would certainly have had a completely different outcome in church history if the Roman Empire had declined without a partnership between Roman society and Christianity.

Second, the interrelation between Christianity and Roman social culture produced the universal church and Christians that reflected a Roman character (i.e. Romanisation of Christianity). The Christian communities, which had been seen as an exclusive group by pre-Constantine Roman society, was forming a symbolic universal church with the simple belief of the Jesus movement and the continuity of the apostolic tradition. However, with the advent of Constantine, Christianity began to form an organised and structured Roman universal church according to the policy of the Roman government and became completely different from the past. Therefore, such a Christian community framework had to be reorganised along the mechanism that formed the Roman society, and to be evaluated according to the social and cultural values of Rome. The definition of the universal church no longer concerned a gathering of Christians, but rather a sociocultural structure that could give religious significance and value to Christians through an organisational system, external buildings, rituals, the church order, and religious compelling power following the trend of Roman religion.

Because Constantine became a Christian, there also was a change in the identity of Christians in the Roman world. The Roman emperor had earlier been the object of religious worship among Romans, and the key figure in forming Roman identity. Thus, the Christian identity before Constantine either signified being a subject to martyrdom or government persecution as a Christian because of refusing to worship the emperor, and not a Roman, or to give up being Christian and to be an apostate living as a Roman through emperor worship. However, after Constantine, Christians had two main directions: they could be Romans as Christians, and supporters of the emperor as Christians. This was because identity as a Christian after Constantine was no longer acquired by personal confession of faith as a Christian, but by belonging to the universal church, following standardised forms of faith and participating in Christian rituals administered by priests. Thus, by the universal church supporting Rome and the emperor, believers were able to be citizens loyal to Rome and Christians belonging to this universal church. This, to the contrary, also became the reason for denying the identity of Christian to Christian heretics and sectarianists who were not members of the universal church.

Third, the interrelation between Christianity and Roman social culture established the

Roman world as a Christian sociocultural sphere (i.e. through the Christianisation of Rome). The cooperative relationship between Christianity and Rome had various results that reflected both Christian and Roman values for more than a century, according to a common goal and identity. The Roman Empire and government power allowed Christianity to lay a firm foundation for self-reliance in the Western world: 1. Ensuring Christianity's legal status led to ensuring that Christianity could effect a variety of sociocultural influences in a stable manner; 2. Establishing Christianity as the sociocultural symbol of Rome led to the solidarity of Roman masses (with regard to the religious sentiment of the masses) centring on Christianity; 3. Maintaining the Roman universal church system led to the universal Christian community achieving independent positions and roles such as the Roman government. By supporting state power, Christianity was able to form sociocultural power (e.g. the bishop's court, benefits for clergy and churches, religious law: the laws of anti-heresy, anti-apostasy, and anti-paganism) as a single religious norm integrating Roman society. This Roman legacy eventually led to the Western Roman Church being able to form the symbolic boundary of the Western Christian sphere in the confusion of the geopolitical boundaries among nations and to form the symbolic rule of Christianity independent of the power of the state. In other words, in the absence of the Roman state, the Roman Church maintained a continuation of Roman sociocultural values.

Thus, the resocialisation by Constantine of Christianity in harmony with Roman social culture certainly would have been the most ideal way at the time for Christianity to enter Roman society in public. Ambrose and Augustine recognised the problem in dealing with the essential values of Christianity in their situations and went on to revise Constantine's Christian paradigm. Nevertheless, they, too, could not be free from the sociocultural values of Rome: They, despite being negatively disposed to the authority and values of the Roman community, tried to emphasise the Christian community's authority and values through their sociocultural value in Roman society.

In that respect, if there were risk factors for the Christian community paradigm in Constantine's era, it can be seen as the beginning of Christian eclecticism and totalitarianism through social and cultural authority. The early Christian communities, which in the first place confirmed Christian solidarity around Christ as the Jesus movement, came to have the characteristics of sacerdotalism and ceremonialism centred on the universal church following Constantine's paradigm. In that regard, the Christian centrality of Jesus Christ as the core value and central figure of Christianity was bound to fade. Romanisation of the efficiency of the gospel had been somewhat successful, but problems that had to be addressed began to occur in pursuing essential Christian values, Ambrose and Augustine to

some extent thus tried to deal with errors in Christian faith that were due to the rapid resocialisation of Christianity centred on the Constantine paradigm. However, the direction of the Romanisation of Christianity under Constantine seems to have continued over a long time in the problems of the Medieval Church and has not disappeared.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

So far, the attempt has been to shape the narrative about the socioculturally integrated value of the Christian community in the interrelationship between the socialisation of the early Christian community and the social culture of Rome and to elucidate the meaning of church history in relation to the paradigm shift of Christian community formation. Therefore, Chapter 1 presented the necessity of studying the history of the church with regard to the influence of Roman social culture on Christian socialisation; Chapter 2 mentioned the principles of the socialisation of Christianity and the interaction of Christianity and Roman social culture; and Chapters 3 and 4 addressed the phenomena of such interaction and analysed the practical influences of the social and cultural integrated values on the formation of Christian communities that occurred during that process. In this chapter, as the conclusion of the research, I want to synthesise the overall meanings of the interrelationships between early Christian socialisation and Roman social culture on the basis of the linkages between the results of the study covered in each chapter.

5.1. Meaning of key terms and the method for applying it in the research

In synthesising the collective meaning of the interrelationship between early Christian socialisation and Roman social culture, I first want to ponder the major flow of the research through the meaning of some of the key terms used to address this subject and how they were applied in this study.

This thesis has reflected sociological views in some areas to derive the church-historical meaning in the interrelationship between the socialisation of early Christianity and Roman social culture and sociological terms such as Christian socialisation, sociocultural interaction, socioculturally integrated value, etc. were used. This is because I tried to track and analyse the sociocultural specificity of the early Christian community paradigm through the causality of various events that occurred during the interaction with Roman social culture in a different way from the existing perspective that has emphasised the doctrinal continuity. In other words, this approach was aimed to provide a perspective to avoid a one-sided Christian-centred understanding emphasising the fundamental difference between Christianity and secular society and to bridge the gap in the mutual understanding of Christian and non-Christian.

The socialisation of Christianity as used here has been applied in the following sense: 1. The

socialisation of Christianity refers to the process of making the Christian community behave in a way that is acceptable in their sociocultural structure and the process of converting the private concepts of Christianity into public things (cf. Longman Dictionary, 1995); and 2. It reflects the sociofunctional perspective of Christianity learning a role that fits social expectations and practising it. In that sense, sociocultural interaction in Christianity means that Christians exchange behaviours (e.g. cooperation, competition, conflict, coercion, reconciliation and assimilation, etc.) that influence one another among the members of society. Thus, a socioculturally integrated value is regarded as a result of such interaction, and it was applied to mean a combination of the patterns of behaviour and ways of thinking that both Roman society and Christianity have in common (cf. Berger & Kellner 1981:91–92; 2.1.1).

Also, in this study, the terms 'essence and form' were used as a way of analysing and distinguishing the characteristics of the Christian community paradigm of each era. Küng (1995:7–8) says, "in all trends and counter-trends in social history, church history and the history of theology, in all the different, changing historical pictures of Christianity, abiding elements persist". He also says, "[t]he real essence of real Christianity becomes evident in different historical figures … Essence and form are inseparable … Essence and form are not identical". Küng's distinction reveals the dynamics between Christianity and social culture. These dynamics in the socialisation of Christianity produced a number of issues concerning the Christian community formation paradigm and need distinction of terms to explain it. As can be seen from the cases of early Christian communities mentioned above, the socialisation process of Christianity inevitably resulted in the diversification of the forms of regional Christian communities. The sociocultural diversity among Christian communities raised internal and external questions around what the essential value among Christian communities was, and its mutual agreements became a way of distinguishing the homogeneity and heterogeneity of a universal Christianity. In other words, as McGrath (2013:52) implies, the essence and form of Christianity seems to have gradually become separated in the course of solidifying what Jesus followers believed of the agenda facing the early Church. Although the essential value of Christianity is difficult to define or explain clearly in terms of its relative meaning with regard to non-essential values in this research, it is intended to be used in a limited sense to trace the socialisation of Christianity and to define specific narrative arguments concerning the Christian community paradigm. The aim was to distinguish between successive and permanent Christian values, that various communities of Jesus movements sought to pursue equally, and various Christian forms that were created, extinguished, and renewed within various social cultures according to the

socialisation of Christianity. This distinction is able to handle the values of the various Christian paradigms that arise within diversity while putting various socialised forms of Christianity into a symbolic category of generic Christianity. Following this distinction by Küng and McGrath, I treated the sociocultural elements of Christianity (e.g. temple, legalism, theology, clergy, organisation, rite, etc.) as distinct from the essential values of Christianity which became the main paradigm in forming each Christian community, but did not appear in the same form. At the same time, I dealt with an essential value as a symbolic motive (e.g. Jesus Christ, the gospel narratives, the community ruled by God, the people of God) that produced all these sociocultural forms of early Christianity.

5.2. Main approaches to the arguments of this research

Thus, this study used the following approaches to derive and reconstruct the church-historical meanings of the Christian community paradigm and the process of forming the integrated sociocultural values of Christianity.

The first approach concerned the analysis of the early Christian community paradigm through Roman sociocultural values. As discussed in the historical cases above, the historical Christian community paradigms are difficult to access or interpret by a limited control group such as theology, clergy and a single denomination of faith, etc. That is because Christian paradigms reveal multi-layered forms fused with the various sociocultural values of the time and cannot be understood from a single point of view. In other words, the early Christian communities could not exist as pure religious forms composed only of Christian religious views and values, but rather had to deal with complex interests of the various values (e.g. sociocultural goals, public opinion, and solidarity) in the process of moving toward a public religion. Thus, historical Christian communities were mostly socialised and had different sociocultural forms according to each sociocultural value. In this regard, historical inferences about the characteristics of the Christian community paradigms in a particular era require access and analysis through interrelationships with various sociocultural values (e.g. sociocultural duty, aim, position, and the role of early Christianity). Therefore, this research tried to reconstruct the meanings of the Christian community paradigms of the early Church through sociocultural values of that era and inferred the historical singularities of the early Christianity.

The second approach concerned tracking the Church's historical causality and continuity between the integrated value system of Christianity and social culture, and the Christian community paradigm. Here, by adopting the principles of historical development, I have

analysed the formation process of integrated values of Christianity and social culture related to the various events of church history, and traced the historical continuity (or causality) and connectivity of the Christian community paradigm. In other words, the socioculturally integrated value system and community paradigm in Christianity that occurred in one era does not end with the role of that era, but became part of the multi-layered structure of the next generation of Christianity and influenced it. Thus, this research focused on analysing the integrated values of Christianity and social culture as closely as possible to the meaning of the time of the historic event, and again along its historical continuity, thereby forming a narrative of the universal Roman Christian community paradigm.[207] In that respect, the structure of the universal Roman Christian community paradigm was treated as one continuous process of interaction between Christian and Roman social culture that originated in the Jewish Christian community (i.e. sociocultural encounter – learning – conflict and confrontation – harmony and integration – synthesis).

The third approach concerned inference of the universal Christian-centred ideas in the sociocultural development process of the Christian community paradigm and in the changes of the mutual relationship with various social groups. This approach was to infer ecclesiastical universalities through a way of historical Christian communities dealing with various sociocultural values rather than doctrinal particularities. It seems that the ambiguity concerning the interpretation of the Christian-centric idea among Christian communities cannot be made clear through a definition of one dominant Christian ideology or value. But it could be explained more generally through comparative analysis of the homogeneity and heterogeneity of values among the various forms of Christian community. In these respects, I tried to show that the process of the socialisation of the Christian communities revealed not only the development of their external forms through sociocultural values but also the development of universal Christian ideas uniting the Christian communities.[208]

Thus, as the next step to a synthesis of the overall arguments of this research, I addressed how the interrelationship between the socialisation of early Christianity and Roman social culture was inferred as the church-historical meaning through adapting these terms and

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[207] Christianity has features of chronological descent from the Jewish, the Greek, and the Roman. In that respect, the Christian-centred idea seems to have been conveyed through sociocultural forms and has maintained its continuity. Therefore, when the sociocultural hegemony moved on from the Jewish tradition to Hellenism and from Hellenism to Roman, the central values of the earlier culture did not disappear, but new cultural forms took into account the effectiveness of earlier forms in conveying the essential values of Christianity in continued unity (Davidson 2005a:49).

[208] As mentioned earlier (1.4.2.2, 2.1.1), we can therefore find common meanings from the sociocultural symbolism in the various Christian communities, while Israel, Greece, and the Roman Empire – although directly related to the socialisation of the Church – have lost their sociocultural objectivity. In considering the process of forming the universal church, it became clear that the Christian communities of different sociocultural backgrounds became interrelated according to their common purpose.

approaches.

5.3 Church-historical meaning of interrelationship between the socialisation of the early Church and Roman social culture

In the past, studies of church history have approached the interrelationships between the early Church and the social culture of Rome from a very limited perspective. The approaches were based on a traditional narrative that saw the early Christian community formation process as a triumph of Christian beliefs in overcoming adversity and suffering, regarding the social culture of the Roman Empire during the period of persecution as concepts opposing main Christian ideas. In this way, the transition of the Christian position facilitated by Constantine came to be regarded as the ultimate victory of Christian values over the social culture of Rome. This interpretation led Christians studying early Christianity to see Roman social culture simply as secular tendencies that had negative consequences for the purity of Christianity; as ultimately different from the essential values of Christianity; and as the secular framework from which they had to break away. The symbolic framework of conflict and confrontation between the essential values of Christian faith and the sociocultural values of secularity cannot be ignored in the narratives of Christian history. But, as mentioned earlier, many cases show that historical Christian communities were able to actualise their central ideas by socialising within the culture of the times. In that sense, this perspective raised two dilemmas in the study of Church history: One was to lead to tension and contradiction between essence and form in discussing the principle of Christian community formation (e.g. the universal church, church order, and religious rituals) that early Christianity had developed through socialisation in the social culture of Rome; the other was to inevitably undermine the meanings of the symbolism and the universality of the Jesus movement reflecting diverse sociocultural values at the time, and the continuity of the Christian paradigm, which became inherited and accumulated through the integrated values between Christianity and the social culture of Rome.

Thus, this study focused on the historical process of how each of the early Christian communities closely matched their essential values with secular sociocultural values, rather than simply highlighting or creating a gap between the essence and form of Christianity in the interrelationship between early Christianity and Roman social culture (e.g. the socialisation of the Jewish Christian community centred on Jewish social culture or the resocialisation of the Roman Christian community centred on Roman social culture). In addition, the methods of socialisation that the early Christian communities considered and adapted were structured and standardised as a major paradigm for forming Christian

communities and revealed a mainstream of Christian sociocultural values in church history (e.g. the ecumenical council, the universal church, church order, theology, ritual, etc.). In these respects, I now want to consider the historical meaning of the Church in the interrelationship between the socialisation of the early Church and Roman social culture through rechecking the research questions that this study was intended to pursue as stated in Chapter 1 (1.2.4).

The first question concerned whether the early Christian communities needed integration with the sociocultural values of Rome for realising the visible Kingdom of God or a universal Christian community in the Roman Empire. In other words, this was an issue concerning the gap between the essential value of Christianity and secular universal value that the Christian community had to overcome, focusing on the question of the necessity of Christian socialisation and the utility of secular sociocultural values for the Christian community. This also concerned the historical tension of Christianity between the principles of pilgrims and indigenising, as pointed out earlier by Andrew Walls (1997:6–9). As can be seen in the historical examples mentioned above, the necessity and utility of Roman sociocultural values in early Christianity were gradually recognised and were emphasised as an inevitable part of building a universal religious community within the Roman Empire. For example, as can be seen in the dialectics of Christian intellectuals responding to the persecution of Rome, the early apocalyptic Christian community which had shown little interest in the sociocultural values of the secular world gradually began to learn the sociocultural values of Rome in response to various social needs, and they continuously tried to communicate with Roman society during persecution. In addition, after Constantine, as can be seen in the expansion of the social position and role of Christianity (or the Roman universal Christian community paradigm) corresponding to the legalisation of Christianity, creating the sociocultural meanings and values of Christianity gradually became an important activity of Christianity (cf. 3.1, 3.2.3, 3.3.4, 4.3.2, 4.4.2).

This shift in Christian attitudes toward secular sociocultural values seems to be closely related to the fundamental function of culture. Culture is like a discourse that contains consistent means of powerful systematically structured symbols and roles to disentangle human thoughts and emotions to be applied to the realities of human life (Swingewood 1998:55). In the same way, no matter how noble a religion may be, if the truth is not explained in a cultural way that can be recognised by society and a cultural value that the society needs is not provided, its propagation and sustainability as truth and value will be lost. Therefore, the main ideas of early Christianity were described by means of the sociocultural values of the era and had to be reconstructed through integrated sociocultural

values of Christianity to deal with contemporary problems in the social culture.

In that respect, the early Christian communities learned, integrated, and synthesised various social cultures in their own societies and thereby producing universal values for Christianity which could propagate and sustain the Christian-centred ideas in societies. Thus, with such universal values being accumulated in the Christian community, scattered local Christian communities could be established as part of a universal Christian community, and the Christian community paradigm could be refined further (cf. 3.2.1.1, 3.3.3, 4.2.1.3).[209]

On the other hand, there were those among the Christians at the time who, in the perspective of the eschatological tendency combined with the special circumstances of persecution, claimed that it was necessary to separate from the secular value because secular culture estranges Christians from the pursuit of the essential value of Christianity. These tendencies continued after the emergence of Constantine and led to conflict with the mainstream Christian community, which was becoming socialised centred on Rome. However, for those who valued the expansion of the community ruled by God within a universal society, rather than retaining the Christian community as a purely religious community, existing sociocultural values were still the main means of realising the essential values of Christianity among those societies (i.e. conversion of the abstract concepts of Christian ideology and Christian values to a public concept for Roman society). This shows that the early Christian communities did not perceive Roman sociocultural values as non-Christian, and that the universal values of secular social cultures gradually rather came to be regarded as values to be used (or integrated) for the efficiency of the gospel while remaining aware of the fundamental secular orientation of the values.

This early Christian community's sociocultural flexibility was the reason why the Gentile Christian community, which was forced to have a negative view of Roman social culture due to persecution, was able to be socialised around Roman culture within a short time; why Constantine was able to convert the religious orientation of Roman society from the ancient Roman religious values centre to Christianity without abandoning existing Roman sociocultural values; and was also the social position and role of Christianity that Ambrose tried to achieve; and the use of neutral values to enjoy God that Augustine proposed, as well (cf. 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.3, 4.2.2.1, 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.4.2).

The second question was, if Roman social culture served as a mechanism to make

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[209] Ferguson (2003:3) says that the originality of the Christian faith "may be found in the way things are put together and not in the invention of a completely new idea or practice" beyond its history and social culture.

Christian faith manifest among universal social cultures, in what ways could non-Christian religious groups in Rome and the Roman Christian community sharing the same Roman social and cultural values, be distinguished? In other words, as Christians and non-Christians shared the same social and cultural values within the same society, the mutual boundaries could have become ambiguous (Williams 2017:35–36). As seen, the issue raised by anti-Roman Christian communities such as the Donatists at the time included the concern that the social culture of Rome would make the Roman Christian community part of Roman religion (as a contractual religion and embedded religion) (cf. 2.3.3, 3.2.2, 4.2.1). However, as discussed earlier, common sociocultural values made its users appear to be very similar in form externally, but ultimately became the cause of clarifying Christian and non-Christian boundaries within a society in accordance with the direction of the essential value that the user sought to pursue (cf. 3.2.3, 4.3.1).

The Jewish Jesus followers forming the starting point of the Christian community explained Christianity through Jewish religious values in the Jewish community and were able to effectively make Jews understand the Christian values through harmony with the value system (3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1). But, rather than gradually becoming assimilated as a Jewish sect, Christianity began to use the sociocultural values of Judaism (e.g. the temple, the rites, the law, the consciousness of the chosen people, and the reign of God) in a different meaning (e.g. the Jesus movement) so that it could reveal the orientation and essential values of Christianity distinguished from Judaism (3.2.2.2, 3.2.2.3). In other words, although Jewish Christianity could be effectively explained through the sociocultural values of Judaism, the fact that the essential value of Christianity is distinguished from Judaism must also be explained through the universal values of Judaism. This socialisation method of the earliest Christian community continued to new Christian communities that emerged later; after Constantine, the Gentile Christian communities rapidly harmonised with the Roman religious society in using their sociocultural values as they were being re-socialised around Roman social culture. At the same time, however, they externally formed a clear boundary in conflict and confrontation with Roman religions by forming a new realm titled the Roman Christian community within the Roman societal culture, rather than being assimilated in Roman religion and, internally, establishing universalised and standardised principles to classify pseudo-Christianity. It is because Roman Christianity transformed the intrinsic superstition and pluralism in correlation of the mutual interests with those values in the pursuit of Christ, the core value of Christianity, while taking on various social and cultural values, shared in the Roman world. Thus, as Ambrose or Augustine insisted, the risk of secularisation of the early Christian community resulting from Roman sociocultural values was a matter of

perspective concerning the purpose for which Christians used the values, not a matter of borrowing sociocultural values (cf. 4.3.2.1, 4.3.3.1, 4.4.1.2). Perhaps the reason for figures such as Tertullian in the period of persecution and the Donatists expressing a negative view of Roman social culture was that they considered the correlation between Christianity and Roman society as part of a spiritual confrontation with the Roman Empire that threatened the identity and existence of Christianity. The Roman Christian community, however, did not see the Roman Empire and their social culture as in an antagonistic relationship with the Christian faith, and increasingly adapted to Roman society. Rather, they formed a universal Christian faith that was distinguished from the existing Roman religion through sociocultural values and guided the existing religious lifestyle of Romans to Christian belief (Johnson 1995:87).

Thus, as Augustine observed (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.26, *De Doc.*, i.33.36), the sociocultural value of Rome was not to be used by Christians to enjoy Rome, but to enjoy God, and in this way the Roman religion that used the sociocultural value of Rome to enjoy Rome could be clearly separated from Roman Christianity, even though it used the same social culture. In addition, the fact that Christianity maintained its sociocultural position and role despite the decline of the Roman Empire seems to reveal the basic approach of the Christian community at the time of its approach to social culture (cf. 4.4.1.2, 4.4.2).

The third question concerned how the diversity of sociocultural forms of local Christian communities were reflected in the standardisation work of the Roman universal church in the integration of the Gentile Christian communities based in various regions into one Christian community after Constantine. In other words, this involves the issue concerning tension and conflict occurring from external discordance and a discrepancy of forms in understanding, communicating, and applying the Christian values of people from different cultural backgrounds despite the fundamental homology of Christianity in approaching a universalisation and standardisation of Christianity (Küng 1995:8; cf. 4.2.2.2). In that respect, in the way that various Christian communities each identified homogeneity and strengthened mutual solidarity, before Constantine, they focused on discovering internal unity as a network of Christian communities through recognising each other's sociocultural diversity. But, after Constantine, they began to focus on defining and pursuing external unity to build one visible Christian community centred on the Roman universal church.

As mentioned earlier (3.2.2.3, 3.2.3), tensions and conflicts between Christian communities resulting from these sociocultural differences occurred from the beginning of Christianity.

The following facts reflect these conflicts: the Church of Jerusalem established the office of deacons; the Jerusalem Council had to deal with the problems of circumcision and food law; and Paul emphasised a Gentile Christian community paradigm divided from Judaism (Chadwick 1993:20–21). This was a conflict between the Jewish and Gentile Christian communities with the same orientation of pursuing Jesus Christ but caused by differences in sociocultural values in the way they pursued it. This problem led the Christian community to establish a basic attitude toward social culture, distinguishing between the essential (orientation of value) and non-essential (forms of social culture value) values of Christianity, and accepting the non-essential differences flexibly, unless they affected the essence. That is because the sociocultural values of Judaism were useful to Jews, but not to Gentile Christians, and the Jewish Christian community could not impose its own sociocultural values on the Gentile community. The conflict arising from differences in the sociocultural values of Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity occurred among the fragmented local Gentile Christian communities too, but most of them followed the basic sociocultural attitude taken by the Jerusalem Council, and the environmental factors of persecution of the Roman government led them to focus on the unity of essential values, rather than differences in form. In addition, the challenges from pseudo-Christianity, regarded as a heresy, did not allow local Christian communities to continually exercise a flexible attitude toward sociocultural diversity only, but, as can be seen in the universal framework of faith or the 'three classic criteria' (i.e. rule of faith, canon, and episcopate) before Constantine, they had to construct clearer Christian boundaries than in the past, coordinating their differences through councils. In other words, the universalisation of Christian communities prior to Constantine can be seen as a way of discovering the inner homogeneity of total Christianity through the sociocultural values of various regions.

However, with the disappearance of the persecution that maintained the symbolic universality of the pursuit of inner unity, the Christian community needed universality as external unity of Christianity in order to deal with the problem of the reality of internal discord resulting from the differences in interpretation of the Christian-centred ideas among the local Christian communities. The universalisation of the Christian communities after Constantine became a way of defining and pursuing external unity in accordance with Christian standards determined through a single Christian organisation approved by the government within a single social culture (cf. 4.2.2.2). That may have been because Christians after Constantine felt that the universal manifestation of Christian identity should have been introduced as a total Christian capacity in the world through Roman sociocultural values as the official religion of the Roman Empire, which was identified with the world at that time, and

not as an association of local Christian communities. Thus, the sociocultural flexibility that allowed local Christian communities before Constantine gradually began to diminish, and the sociocultural features of the surrounding Christian communities were absorbed, mainly by the two powerful regions in the Roman world. However, the Eastern Roman Empire centred on Constantinople and the Western Roman Empire centred on the city of Rome were not able to flexibly cope with mutual tension due to sociocultural differences and tried to constrain one another, which eventually deepened the conflict and division between the two. It seems that the universal church paradigm that the Roman Church wished to pursue through the universalisation and standardisation of the forms of faith was confronted with a variety of religious forms.

Thus, before Constantine, the ideal Christian communality seems to have revealed the necessity for and priority of the formation of a network among local Christian communities in a way that confirmed the unity of its central ideas, despite the differences in various sociocultural expressions of the same central ideas. After Constantine had formed such a network of Christianity, however, the universal Christian communality seemed to need unified power as a single Christian social culture and pursued a new value as a universal church in such a way that the various forms intended to reveal one common central idea unified in the most common form.

The fourth question concerned what meaning and continuity the past socioculturally integrated values that were produced by the past Christian communities had for the next generation of Christian communities. And how the barriers created by the time differences in the transmission of the meaning of the integrated values could be overcome. In other words, this was about the integrated values between Christianity and social culture and its historical continuity, and how the integrated values created in the past were transmitted to the new generation adhering to sociocultural values that were different from the past (cf. Küng 1995:8; 2.2.2).

In early Church history, Christian communities of each era made following Christ their central agenda and had a common religious goal, but in achieving it constantly updated it in accordance with changes in the sociocultural environment. Thus, tension and conflict constantly emerged at the turning point of past and present, and present and future. However, the response of the early Christian communities shows that they were not focusing on the separation of eras and the emergence of new values, but focused on continuity centred on their essential values. In that respect, the process of change in the early Christian community paradigm shows it having gradually become a more multi-layered structure to

explain the essential value of Christianity: The new generations of Christianity renewed the integrated past values of Christianity as appropriate for their generations and added new socioculturally integrated values as they encountered new issues and dealt with them through the essential values of Christianity.

As mentioned earlier (2.2.1, 3.2.1.1), Judaism during the Babylonian captivity experienced the loss of the Temple and Canaan, which symbolised the community ruled by God, but was able to reintegrate their past belief and current paradigms through legalism within the Gentile society. The essential value of the community ruled by God could be renewed more clearly through a new value frame of legalism that enabled the people of God following the laws of God in the Gentile world, notwithstanding the loss of the former form that contained it. It is because they did not want to abandon the essential meaning of faith that they could obtain through past sociocultural forms but wanted to reconstruct the meaning in other sociocultural environments. In the same way, the Gentile Christian community did not produce the uniqueness of the Jesus movement in the Hellenistic thinking system regardless of the basic types of Christian faith in the Jewish Christian community. They rather continued to reconstruct the value system of Christian faith already formed within Jewish social culture as their own, in pursuing the same essential value of the Jesus movement. For example, baptism was used to reconstruct the ritual form of circumcision, which was considered important by the Jewish Christian community, to make it suitable for the Gentile Christian community, but not to abandon the essential meaning of the separation itself as the people of God represented by circumcision. Similarly, the Roman Christian community found various forms of Christianity that could be represented through the preceding Gentile social culture, took only the core meaning of the essential values, reconstructed them to their social and cultural values, and standardised them (cf. 3.2.3, 4.2.2, 4.3.2, 4.3.3, 4.4.2).

Meanwhile, the change in the Christian community paradigm shows that the Christian community continued to face more sociocultural value issues that could not be addressed by the paradigm of the past and therefore had to produce another set of sociocultural values. When the Jewish Christian community was exposed to Hellenistic culture, it faced various philosophical and pagan problems and, in addition to this, Gentile Christian communities had to deal with the issue of persecution under the Roman Empire. Thus, as they faced these problems, they were forced to develop additional Christian community paradigms that had not been thought of in the past. Perhaps the formation of the history of doctrine through Christian apologetics can be seen as part of the reconstruction process of such Christian community paradigms. In addition, the Christian community that began to socialise in Roman society after Constantine was also exposed to the diversity of the Roman social culture that

could not be handled by the past paradigm. In that sense, the numerous Christian sociocultural values that began to be produced by Roman Christianity were indicative of a situation that had to deal with more problems than Jewish Christianity had faced.

Thus, the process of change in the early Christian community paradigm reveals that the new generation inherited the inherent value represented in it, rather than inheriting the sociocultural forms of the past, and the new generation restructured the inherent value to become suitable forms for their generation. In addition, it seems to reveal that, when a new generation of Christianity continually encounters new sociocultural issues, deals with them, and adds the integrated values related to the issues, reconstructed and accumulated values from the past become the socioculturally integrated value system of Christianity, which began to explain Christianity in a more multi-layered way. On the other hand, this multi-layered structure of Christianity also made it more difficult to define what an orthodox or universal Christian community is.

The fifth question concerned whether the system of universalisation and standardisation of Christianity centred on Roman social culture could be a force for Christian solidarity within other societies. As seen in the Christian communities after Constantine, the Romanised universal Christian community slowly began to impose Roman Church standards on Christian communities for Christian solidarity in the Roman Empire. As a result, Christianity was able to unite scattered local Christian communities centring on two representative systems of standardisation (i.e. Eastern and Western Roman Empire) through this sociocultural force. In this process, however, the main Christian communities increasingly began to equate sociocultural forms with the essential values of Christianity, and some strong sociocultural forms such as Romanised integrated Christian values came to have priority corresponding to the essential values. Thus, the standardisation of mainstream social cultures resulted in infringement of non-mainstream social culture forms. As a result, the multi-layered structure of the Christian community paradigm that had accumulated while explaining the essential values of Christianity in various sociocultural environments seems to have resulted in some reduction or weakening.

During the change of the Christian community paradigm, all past sociocultural forms of Christianity could not be updated completely with the new social culture divided into essence and form. This was because forms also existed in which an essential value of Christianity was strongly combined with the cultural uniqueness of the society, and could not be explained by other sociocultural values. For example, baptism and communion in the symbolic meaning of Jesus Christ reflected existing Jewish culture rather than Gentile social

culture. These old rituals were not restructured in other forms but were accepted as it was among the various Christian communities from the Gentile Christian community until today (its formal procedure has diversified) and, in occupying the place of Christian legitimacy, became a compelling power in defining the Christian community paradigm. At least those forms that are difficult to account for using other sociocultural values, such as baptism and communion, could be accepted by most Christian communities in various regions as having a new Christian legitimacy empathising with the original background and meaning (Küng 1995:74–77). After Constantine, however, Christian social and cultural integration values with which societies with different cultures could not easily sympathise began to occupy the position of legitimacy and yielded to social and cultural coercion (e.g. theology, liturgy, the liturgical calendar, and the clerical hierarchy). This was because Christianity became a political instrument, and the legitimacy of Christianity became a tool for sociocultural purposes for clergy and political leaders (O'Daly 1999:1–2; Richard 2010:251–252).[210] Perhaps the misuse of the Christian community paradigm in the early Church could be attributed to the intention to use the integrated Christian values for other concerns than the essential value of Christianity (4.1.1, 4.2.2.2).

The problem with the historical legitimacy of the Christian communities is that it implies the risk of confusing the problem of the nature of Christianity because the historical legitimacy reveals its importance as if it were the essence of Christianity.[211] Historical legitimacy has a close connection with the essence, but historical legitimacy itself is not the essence. Just as Augustine argues (Aug., *Contra Cresonium*, ii.4), in the early Church, the pursuit of the universality of faith could be seen as a religious value in forming solidarity for coping with the internal divisions of Christianity (4.4.3; cf. Johnson 1995:44).

At least until the time of Constantine, the Christian community paradigm that had been inherited revealed the fact that it basically was a religious value (e.g. the Jesus movement, the gospel, and the Kingdom of God), not a religious system (e.g. institutions, systems, and forms), as evidenced by the continuity of the ancient Israel-Judaism-Jewish Jesus movement-Hellenistic Christianity-Roman Christianity, they had distinct sociocultural

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[210] The boundary centred on the clash between the doctrinal system and other doctrines seems to have strengthened the ideology of the unified group claiming to be legitimate, and strengthened the structure and regulation of each group (cf. Gager 1975:79–87).

[211] As mentioned earlier (4.2.2.2), the Christian legitimacy through universalisation and standardisation had the following potential problems: 1. The standard of Christian faith could no longer have been a common profession of faith and a life based on the central Christian idea, but a philosophical and ideational theological interpretation principle, and its consequences and ritual acts that make it look more special than secular things; 2. The diverse forms of Christian faith based on local culture began to be attacked by the control authority of the universal church after standardisation; and 3. The standards of the Christian faith and the authority of the universal church that produced it were combined and eventually some forms of the Christian standards, which had been limited to the age, achieved permanent status.

boundaries and did not inherit a visible form of historical legitimacy but, at the same time, had an ideological continuity of being beneficiaries of the same revelation and community ruled by God (3.2.2.2). Therefore, in terms of that, the universalisation and standardisation of Roman Christianity was a reaction to the sociocultural environment of Christians and a reflection of their sociocultural expectations at the time. That such a system is imposed on other social cultures can be regarded as a non-permanent value being misused as a permanent value.

As discussed so far, the Christian communities in each era of early Church history were in the Jesus movement (following Christ) with the same religious goal, but took on various forms in the way of achieving it. In that respect, the transformation of the early Christian communities and the church-historical role of Constantine, Ambrose, and Augustine revealed that the socialisation of early Christianity through integrating the essential values of Christianity and the universal values of social culture was inevitable for expanding the gospel and the community ruled by God. There were not only proper functions, but also various dysfunctions, and not only harmony with Roman social culture, but also conflict and confrontation. Nevertheless, the socialisation of Christianity and its interrelationship with Roman society culture seemed to provide church-historical meaning in terms of becoming the first step to acquire and execute a sociocultural methodology to deliver the gospel from the inside to the outside at the beginning of Christianity.

In such a flow, early Christianity did not keep to the pursuit of an apocalyptic and futuristic community, but constantly tried to match the universal life of the world with the ideal community ruled by God through the constant interaction of confrontation and harmony with social culture while maintaining the fundamental and consistent position of Christianity (Aug., *De Civ.*, xix.26). In other words, as in Augustine (Aug., *De Doc.*, i.3.3, ii.40.60), the basic meaning of socialisation in the early Church was to enable the secular world to enjoy Christian faith by exposing the essential values of Christianity to the values of the world (cf. 4.2.1.3, 4.4.1.2). The manner of the socialisation of the early Christian community and their community paradigm cannot be prescribed as an exemplary model for the church of today. However, the fact that the early Christian communities, from the Jewish Jesus movement to Augustine, constantly sought to narrow the gap between Christian values and secular values to reveal central ideas in a universal society seems to provide a symbolic implication for the churches of today that share the central idea of the Jesus movement and the community ruled by God.

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