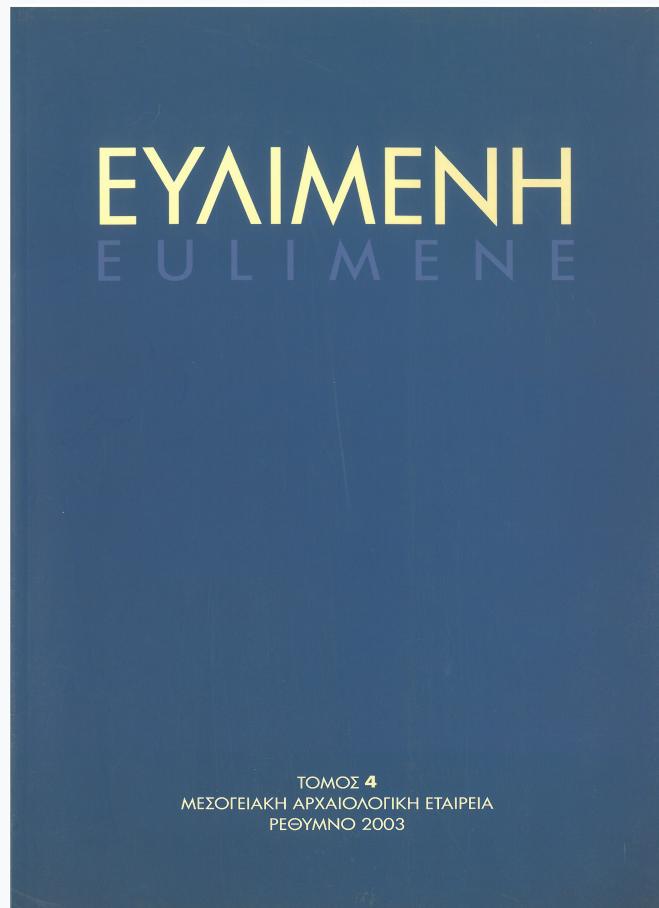


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Caesar the warrior versus Jesus the peacemaker

Despina Iosif

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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Dr. Nikos Litinas, University of Crete, Department of Philology, Rethymno – GR 74100

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis, Kalives – Apokorounou, Chania – GR 73003

web : <http://www.phl.uoc.gr/eulimene/>

mail : eulimene@mail.com

Περιεχόμενα
ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003)

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Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Frédéric Davidovits, *Circiter tertia parte ponderis* (Vitruve 2, 5), l'existence d'une chaux hydraulique dans l'architecture romaine, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 9-25

Circiter tertia parte ponderis (Vitruve 2, 5), the existence of an hydraulic lime in the Roman architecture. In his treaty on architecture, Vitruve (2, 5) explains how to make lime from a particular limestone. In 2, 5, 3, he indicates that during lime calcination, the limestone lost a third of its weight [*circiter tertia parte ponderis*]. One deducts that the original limestone contains 20% of silicates and the lime thus obtained is of medium hydraulicity. Vitruve recommends for the construction of walls to use a lime made from a compact and rather hard siliceous limestone [*ex spiso et duriore*], what implies the hydraulic character required for such an usage. For coatings [*in tectoriis*], the lime hardens by air and is made from porous stone [*ex fistuloso*].

Christina de Domingo and Alan Johnston, A petrographic and chemical study of east Greek and other archaic transport amphorae, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 27-60

Πετρογραφική και χημική μελέτη διαφόρων τύπων ελληνικών αρχαϊκών αμφορέων. Παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα μιας σειράς πετρογραφικών αναλύσεων διαφόρων τύπων αρχαϊκών ελληνικών αμφορέων, παράλληλα με κάποιες χημικές αναλύσεις. Σκοπός είναι να ελεγχθεί η πετρογραφική σύσταση των αγγείων συγκριτικά με την τυπολογία που έχει ήδη αναπτυχθεί από μη-συστηματικές μελέτες. Τα αποτελέσματα στηρίζονται σε σημαντικό βαθμό τις προηγούμενες έρευνες, και παράλληλα καταδεικνύουν ορισμένες ενδιαφέρουσες περιοχές για μελλοντική έρευνα, ειδικά όσον αφορά τους τύπους που αποδίδονται στη Λακωνία, τη Λέσβο και την Κόρινθο.

Dimitris Paleothodoros, The Pithos painter, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 61-76

Ο Ζωγράφος του Πίθου. Ο Ζωγράφος του Πίθου είναι ο χειρότερος αθηναϊος αγγειογράφος του 6^{ου} αι. π.Χ., του οποίου όμως οι κύλικες γνωρίζουν πολύ μεγάλη διάδοση στην Μεσόγειο. Το αγαπημένο του θέμα, ο συμποσιαστής που φορά σκυθικό σκούφο, απαντά σε όλες τις περιοχές όπου βρίσκουμε αγγεία του ζωγράφου, ιδιαίτερα όμως στην Ανατολή και τη Μαύρη Θάλασσα. Αφήνοντας ανοικτή την πραγματική ταυτότητα του συμποσιαστή, ο ζωγράφος επιτρέπει διαφορετικές ερμηνείες από τους αγοραστές των αγγείων, που ανταποκρίνονται στις τοπικές ιδιαιτερότητες.

Nicholas Victor Sekunda, The stele of Thersagoras of Polyrrhenia from Demetrias, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 77-80

Η στήλη το Θερσαγόρα, ενός Κρητικού από την Πολυρρήνια, η οποία βρέθηκε στην Δημητριάδα, χρονολογείται συμβατικά γύρω στο 200 π.Χ. Ο Θερσαγόρας παριστάνεται με πλήρη στρατιωτική εξάρτηση. Στο παρόν άρθρο υποστηρίζεται ότι ο Θερσαγόρας ανήκε στο συμμαχικό τάγμα που εστάλη από «τους Πολυρρηνίους και τους συμμάχους τους» στον Φίλιππο Ε' της Μακεδονίας το 220 π.Χ. Ο Θερσαγόρας πιθανότατα σκοτώθηκε και τάφηκε στη Δημητριάδα κατά τη διάρκεια της παραμονής του στρατού των Αντιγονιδών εκεί, πριν μεταβεί στην Εύβοια και κατεθυνθεί στη συνέχεια στην Κόρινθο, στις αρχές του 219 π.Χ. Άλλωστε, η στήλη δεν είναι προσεγμένη και αυτό ισχει να υποδηλώνει ότι κατασκευάστηκε βιαστικά, ενώ η κρητική μονάδα προήλαυνε.

Βίλη Αποστολάκου «...ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΓΚΑΤΟ ΤΟΝΔΕ ...» ἡ Λατίων Προσωπογραφία, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 81-133

«...ΚΑΙ ΛΑΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΓΚΑΤΟ ΤΟΝΔΕ ...» or the prosopography of the Latians. The inscriptions found in Lato, in Agios Nikolaos, the ancient Kamara, and in other areas that according to epigraphic evidence belonged to the territory of Lato are the unique source for the names of the Latoans. Most of the inscriptions are currently kept in the Archaeological Museums of Herakleion and of Agios Nikolaos, some in Museums outside of Crete, while a certain number recorded up to the end of last century, are lost and have not been located yet. The inscriptions in their vast majority have been dated to the 2nd cent. B.C. and moreover to its last quarter.

The names of the Latoans concentrated from seventy-three inscriptions are quoted in alphabetical order. In a total of 279 indexed names, not including twenty-six that are incomplete, we come across of 181 different Latoan names. Of those names at least eighty belong to the Kosmoi, the magistrates elected from the four ruling clans, or the members of the board of Eunomia.

The number of preserved female names, which in their majority come from funerary inscriptions, is strikingly lower than that of males. In a total of thirty-four, apart from four not restored, twenty-five are different female names.

Apart from the Latoans' names and their patronymics, wherever they are mentioned, known information about these persons is given briefly; their status, provided that they possessed public office, their activity, their possible relationship with the other persons of the list and finally the date of the inscriptions in which they are attested.

Παύλος Χρυσοστόμου, Συνεισφορές σε λατρείες θεοτήτων και ηρώων από τη Βοττιαία και την Πιερία της Μακεδονίας, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 135-152

Contributions on the cults of gods and heroes from Bottia and Pieria in Macedonia. In this paper new pieces of information are presented concerning cults of gods and heroes from Bottia and Pieria in «Lower Macedonia», the center of the Macedonian Kingdom: on the cults of 1) the Muses in Pella, 2) Aeolus and Graia in Pella, 3) Hermes and Demeter in Kyrros, 4) Eileithyia and Artemis Eileithyia-Lochia in Pydna.

Γεωργία Ζ. Αλεξοπούλου και Δήμητρα Τσαγκάρη, Deux trésors hellénistiques de Psélalonia de Patras, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 153-162

Δύο ελληνιστικοί θησαυροί από τα Ψηλαλώνια Πατρών. Το 1990, οι ανασκαφές της ΣΤ' ΕΠΙΚΑ στα Ψηλαλώνια Πατρών έφεραν στο φως μία σειρά οικοδομημάτων από τα κλασικά ως τα υστερορωμαϊκά χρόνια. Τα πλουσιότερα στρώματα κάλυπταν την ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή περίοδο. Σε οικία της ελληνιστικής φάσης, βρέθηκαν δύο «θησαυροί» σε διπλανά δωμάτια, εκ των οποίων ο πρώτος βρέθηκε μέσα σε ηθικωτό αγγείο και περιείχε 57 νομίσματα: 1 αργυρό τριώβολο της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας και 56 χάλκινα (14 του Αντιγόνου Γονατά, 39 του Πτολεμαίου Γ' του τόπου 1000 του Σβορώνου και 3 αρκετά φθαρμένα). Ο δεύτερος «θησαυρός», που βρέθηκε μέσα σε άνωτο σκυφίδιο, περιείχε 8 νομίσματα, 6 αργυρά (1 δραχμή Χαλκίδος και 5 τριώβολα Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας) και 2 χάλκινα (1 Πτολεμαίου Γ' και 1 αρκετά φθαρμένο). Οι δύο αυτοί «θησαυροί», με ίδιο αλλά αντιστροφής αναλογίας περιεχόμενο και χρονολογία απόκρυψης την περίοδο 165-147 π.Χ., προστίθενται στον μακρύ κατάλογο των «θησαυρών» που απεκρύψησαν στην Πελοπόννησο και την Δυτική Ελλάδα γενικότερα, μέσα στο κλίμα αναταραχής που επικράτησε μετά τη μάχη της Πύδνας.

Nahum Cohen, A customshouse receipt ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 163-165

Απόδειξη πληρωμής ενός φόρου, της ερημοφυλακίας, στην πύλη της Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου του Αρσινοήτη νομού.

Despina Iosif, Caesar the warrior versus Jesus the peacemaker?, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 167-180

Πολεμοχαρής Καίσαρ εναντίον ειρηνιστή Ιησού; Οι πρώτοι Χριστιανοί ένιωθαν έντονη απέχθεια για τον πόλεμο και τη βία και απέφευγαν συστηματικά να στρατευτούν. Προτιμούσαν να πεθάνουν παρά να προδώσουν τις αρχές τους. Αυτή την εικόνα είχαν σχηματίσει οι Βυζαντινοί για τους Χριστιανούς των τριών πρώτων αιώνων. Η ίδια εικόνα παραμένει αρκετά ισχυρή μέχρι σήμερα. Εξακολουθούμε να αρεσκόμαστε να επικαλούμαστε την «αγνότητα» των πρώτων Χριστιανών. Ενοχοποιούμε τον αυτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίνο ότι τάχα αυτός ευθύνεται για τον ιδεολογικό ξεπεσμό της εκκλησίας και την διεξαγωγή πολέμων από Χριστιανούς.

Η πραγματικότητα θα πρέπει να ήταν πιο πολύπλοκη απ' όσο την φανταζόμαστε. Προσεχτική μελέτη των πηγών αποκαλύπτει ότι υπήρχαν πολλές στάσεις των Χριστιανών απέναντι στη βία, στον πόλεμο και στη στρατιωτική θητεία. Φαίνεται όμως, πως η πλειονότητα των Χριστιανών δεν αντιμετώπιζε ούτε τον πόλεμο, ούτε τη στρατιωτική θητεία με καχυποψία και δεν απέφευγε να καταταγεί. Οι θενικοί δεν είχαν θορυβηθεί και δεν είχαν λόγο να θορυβηθούν. Οι Χριστιανοί δεν αποτελούσαν απειλή ούτε στη θεωρία, ούτε στην πράξη. Αντίθετα, στήριζαν την πολιτική εξουσία. Μονάχα μια μικρή μερίδα Χριστιανών αντιδρούσε στην ιδέα της διεξαγωγής πολέμων από Χριστιανούς και συμμετοχής Χριστιανών σ' αυτούς. Είτε επειδή διέβλεπε κινδύνους από τις ειδωλολατρικές του ρωμαϊκού στρατού, είτε επειδή θεωρούσε ότι ένας Χριστιανός δεν επιτρέπεται να σκοτώνει, είτε επειδή επιδίωκε να αμφισβητήσει την πολιτική εξουσία.

Chryssa Bourbou, A survey of neoplastic diseases in ancient and medieval Greek populations, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 181-188

Επισκόπηση των νεοπλασιών στον αρχαίο και μεσαιωνικό ελληνικό πληθυσμό. Για τη διάγνωση των νεοπλασιών στους αρχαιολογικούς πληθυσμούς βασιζόμαστε σε γραπτές πηγές, απεικονίσεις και ανθρωπολογικά κατάλογα. Αν και ελάχιστα έργα τέχνης αναπαριστούν αναμφισβήτητες περιπτώσεις νεοπλασιών, πληθώρα ιατρικών κειμένων, ήδη από την εποχή του Ιπποκράτη και του Γαληνού, αναφέρονται στη συγκεκριμένη παθολογία. Στην εργασία αυτή παρουσιάζονται όλες οι έως τώρα γνωστές ή δημοσιευμένες περιπτώσεις για την Ελλάδα από την αρχαιότητα ως στον ύστερο μεσαίωνα.

Stelios Psaroudakes, Archaeomusicology and Ethnomusicology in dialogue, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 4 (2003), 189-200

Αρχαιομουσικολογία και Εθνομουσικολογία. Το συνέδριο στο οποίο παρουσιάστηκε η παρούσα εισήγηση, είχε θέμα του το «διάλογο» ανάμεσα στις επιστήμες αρχαιολογία και ανθρωπολογία. Στο παρόν άρθρο εξετάζεται ένα επί μέρους ζήτημα, το κατά πόσον η εθνομουσικολογία, επιστήμη βαθύτατα επηρεασμένη από την ανθρωπολογία τα τελευταία χρόνια, έχει με τη σειρά της επηρεάσει την έρευνα στο πεδίο της αρχαίας μουσικής, ιδιαίτερα σε εκείνο της ελληνικής. Το συμπέρασμα είναι ότι η εθνομουσικολογία όχι απλώς επηρέασε την αρχαιομουσικολογία, αλλά άλλαξε άρδην την οπτική των επιστημόνων στον τομέα αυτόν σε βαθμό που να μην θεωρείται πλέον δόκιμη η σπουδή ενός αρχαίου μουσικού πολιτισμού χωρίς την εφαρμογή της εθνομουσικολογικής μεθόδου.

CAESAR THE WARRIOR VERSUS JESUS THE PEACEMAKER?*

Dion proconsul ad Maximilianum: Milita et accipe signaculum.

Respondit: Non accipio signaculum. Iam habeo signum Christi Dei mei.

Dion dixit: Statim te ad Christum tuum mitto

Respondit: Velle modo facias. Hoc et mea laus est.

(Dion the proconsul said to Maximilian: «Agree to serve and receive the military seal». «I will not accept the seal», he replied. «I already have the seal of Christ who is my God». Dion said: «I will send you to your Christ directly». «I only wish you would» (Maximilian) replied. «This would be my glory», *Acta Maximiliani*, 2.4-5).¹

What were the positions early Christians took with regard to the military profession before the emperor Constantine expressed his favorable disposition towards them? Did they regard it as appropriate or even desirable? Was it merely another occupation? Or did they condemn it? Service in the Roman army entailed taking an oath to the pagan emperors, obeying orders by pagan officers, consorting with pagans, joining pagan ceremonies, being away from home and facing temptations to lead a life of debauchery, resorting to violence and the possibility of participating in warfare and committing homicide.

The dominant view of twentieth century scholarship was that the early church was pacifist and military service was regarded as incompatible with the Christian ethic. Historical surveys of Christian teaching on war, violence and the military profession have conventionally employed R.H. Bainton's position that there were three chronological stages in the history of the church.² The early church was pacifist. Then, after the conversion of Constantine, the church compromised and embraced the theory of the just war. Finally, in the Middle Ages, the church initiated crusades. As far as the early church is concerned, modern scholars attribute the pacifist position either to the fact that early Christians were aware of the danger of «contamination» by the idolatrous practices of the Roman army³ or to the aversion felt by early Christians for killing.⁴

* I am grateful to my supervisors J.A. North and Peter Heather and to Brian Campbell, Dimitris Koumaniotis, D.J. Kyrtatas and Stavros Perentidis for their constant support and invaluable advice. Thanks are also due to Richard Alston, D.G. Bearley, Michael Crawford, David d' Avray, Ch. Dendrinos, Catherine Hall, Guy Halsall, Jonathan Harris, Judith Herrin, Ian Kelso, Jonathan Prag, Charlotte Roueché, Benet Salway and Bella Sandwell who offered many learned suggestions of the greatest value.

¹ Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 244-249.

² R.H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes to War and Peace*, New York, 1960.

³ Some scholars attribute the pacifism of the early church to the fact that life in the Roman armies was connected to idolatry. See for example: E.J. Ryan, «The Rejection of Military Service by the Early Christians», *TS* 13, 1952, p. 1-29, Geoffrey Nuttall, *Christian Pacifism in History*, Berkeley, California, 1958, p. 9, John Macquarrie, *The Concept of Peace*, London, 1973, p. 49 and Michael Whitby, «Deus Nobiscum: Christianity, Warfare and Morale in Late Antiquity» in *Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman*, ed. by Michel Austin, Jill Harries and Christopher Smith, University of London, London, 1998, p. 191-208, (p. 191).

Scholars who like to imagine the early Christians as being moral, almost perfect, without any disputes following closely Jesus' teaching, are usually also in favour of the idea of a pacifist early Christian church. They generally concentrate only on the works of anti-war writers (such as Tertullian, Origen, Hippolytus and Lactantius), assuming that these four Christian writers voiced the common views on warfare. Moreover, scholars often ignore the bulk of the literary creations that remains indifferent or silent on the issue of warfare. They overlook the acts of the soldier martyrs that sometimes echo subversive voices.⁵ And finally, they disregard inscriptions of Christians with military careers that prove that for some Christians service in the army was even praiseworthy.⁶ The early Christian church was not unified and if we chose to neglect one category of sources then we are doomed to miss this picture.

Secondly, scholars have often translated early Christian statements which condemned violence and urged all Christians to love their enemies, as conclusive evidence that the early church unanimously rejected the idea of Christians pursuing military careers. However, scholars avoided, neglected or failed to prove that such statements were directed towards Christians who followed or desired a career in the army. One could argue that early Christian writers, when they made such statements, had only private relations in mind. It was customary among them to speak of love but without relating that command to public life. It appears that for some Christians the command to love one's enemies did not have any practical value, except at a personal level.

Thirdly, modern scholars, who engaged in the discussion on early Christian attitudes to warfare, neglected to address the issue of the areas from which soldiers were recruited.⁷ Were they recruited from areas where Christianity was strong and widespread? It seems that under Augustus the great majority of the legionaries were Italian. By the time of Claudius and Nero, about half were still drawn from Italy while, under the Flavians and Trajan, approximately a fourth or a fifth were Italians.⁸ By the

⁴ The idea that the early church saw an incompatibility between love and killing is proposed by Roland H. Bainton, «The Early Church and War», *HThR*, 1946, p. 189-215, (p. 208) and *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace. A Historical Survey and Critical Reevaluation*, Abingdon, Nashville, 1960, p. 77, John Helgeland, «Christians and the Roman Army, AD173-337», *Church History* 43, 1974, p. 149-163, L.J. Swift, «War and the Christian Conscience. The Early Years», *ANRW* II.23.1.1979, p. 835-868, (p. 867), Jean- Michel Hornus, *It is Unlawful for me to Fight. Early Christian Attitudes toward War, Violence and the State*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Kitchener, Ontario, 1980, L.J. Swift, *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service in Message of the Fathers of the Church* 19, ed. Thomas Halton, Wilmington, Delaware, 1983, Robert J. Daly, «Military Service and Early Christianity: a Methodological Approach», *StPatr.* XVIII, 1985, p. 1-8, (p. 4) and R. Grégoire, «Obiezione di coscienza: tra fedeltà militare e fedeltà cristiana», in *L'etica cristiana nei secoli III e IV: eredità e confronti, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 53, Roma, 1996, p. 85-97.

⁵ See H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris, 1909 and «Military Saints», in ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Antony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory and Nancy P. Ševčenko, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, II, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, p. 1374.

⁶ See note 54.

⁷ See: Yann Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, tr. R. Bate, London, New York, 1989, N.J.E. Austin and N.B. Rankov, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World*, London, 1995, A.K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200*, Oxford Clarendon press, 1996, M.J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire. The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople*, Amsterdam, 1998 and D. Williams, *Romans and Barbarians. Four Views from the Empire's Edge, 1st Century AD*, London, 1998.

⁸ G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Rome, 1953.

time of Hadrian relatively few Italians served in the legions.⁹ There had been a shift towards local recruiting.¹⁰ Recruits were likely to be drawn from the nearest source of men and the basis of the units was ethnic. From the second century CE, recruitment became dependant upon the frontier people until the army forming the frontier garrisons became almost a hereditary caste.¹¹ It seems that Christianity did not reach the frontiers until after the conversion of Constantine. To sum up, the recruiting grounds of the army must have been the rural areas,¹² whereas the recruiting grounds of Christianity were the urban areas.¹³ Their recruiting grounds did not coincide. Thus, the problem of Christians with military careers did not have a reason to exist, other than theoretically.

Fourthly, modern scholars did not pay any attention to the size of the Roman army in connection to the issue of the multiplicity of early Christians. It has been estimated that the overall size of the imperial military forces was very small, probably even around 200.000 men.¹⁴ At the same time, it seems that Christianity was not widespread before the emperor Constantine ascended the throne.¹⁵ Therefore, we should only expect to find a few Christians in the Roman army.

Finally, modern historians used to take it for granted that early Christians came from the lower classes and deduce that they could not be conscripted even if they wanted to be.¹⁶ However, most recruiting officers were happy to conscript whoever was available,

⁹ See: J.F. Gilliam, «Review of G. Forni, il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano», *American Journal of Philology* 76, 1955, p. 323-5 and Brian Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31BC-235AD*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1984, p. 1. Eric Birley in his article «The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army», *Durham University Journal*, December 1949, p. 8-19, was of the opinion that A. von Domaszewski in his book *Die Rangordnung des Römischen Heeres*, Köln, 1967, was wrong in claiming that Severus excluded Italians from the service and that he was the first emperor to bring in large numbers of easterners.

¹⁰ See: J.F. Gilliam, «Romanization of the Greek East: the Role of the Army», *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 2, 1965, p. 65-73, J.F. Gilliam, «Review of G. Forni», S.R. Llewelyn and R.A. Kearsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol.6, Macquarie University, 1992 and R. Alston, *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Egypt: a Social History*, Routledge, London and New York, 1995, p. 39.

¹¹ G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the first and second century AD onwards*, London, 1962, p. 90 and Yann Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, p. 81 and 254.

¹² R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire AD 100-400*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1984, p. 44-45 and p. 138, note 6.

¹³ A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, London, 1908, W.H.C. Frend, «The Winning of the Countryside», *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* XVIII, 1967, p. 1-14, (p. 1), R.A. Markus, *Christianity in the Roman World*, London, 1974, p. 78-9, W.H.C. Frend, «Town and Countryside in Early Christianity», in *Studies in Church History* XVI, ed. D. Baker, Oxford, 1979, p. 25-42, (p. 32), W.H.C. Frend, «Church and State. Perspective and Problems in the Patristic Era», *StPatr.* XVII, 1982, p. 38-54 (p. 44), R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Middlesex, New York, Victoria, Ontario, Auckland, 1986, p. 38 and 287, A.H.M. Jones, «The Social Background of the Struggle between Paganism and Christianity», in *On Pagans, Jews and Christians*, ed. Ar. Momigliano, Middletown, Connecticut, 1987, p. 17-37, (p. 17-18), Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity. A Sociologist Reconsiders History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and New Jersey, 1996, p. 147 and A.D. Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*, London and New York, 2000, p. 10.

¹⁴ Ramsay MacMullen, «How Big was the Roman Imperial Army?», *Klio* 62, 1980, p. 451-460 and Terence Coello, *Unit Sizes in the Late Roman Army*, BAR International Series 645, Oxford, 1996, p. i.

¹⁵ A.H.M. Jones, «The Social Background», p. 34.

¹⁶ J.C. Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War. A Contribution to the History of the Christian Ethics*, London, 1919, p. 16 and 247, Roland H. Bainton, «The Early Church and War», p. 191 and *Christian*

as long as they were not slaves.¹⁷ Furthermore, Kyrtatas' study¹⁸ has shown that the idea that early Christians came exclusively from the lower classes is not sound.

The intention of the present article is to examine the works of the early Christian writers who have little to say on the issue of the legitimacy of Christian participation in warfare. The prevailing interpretation is that this silence is a strong indication that Christian participation in warfare was self-evidently forbidden for the early Christians. However, one can easily discard this suggestion and argue that this silence suggests that the issue was not one of their major concerns and did not constitute a problem for them. Furthermore, it is worth noting that these authors remained almost, but not completely, silent about Christians with military careers. There exist brief casual references in which it clearly emerges that they regarded soldiering as merely another occupation. Service in the army was not regarded as inappropriate or undesirable for the faithful. Finally, my attention is attracted by the fact that these writers belonged to the upper classes and were profoundly loyal to the political authorities of their times. In my view, Christian attitudes to war, violence and military service were shaped by attitudes to the political authorities. The Christian authors belonged to the *élite* and supported the *status quo*. Thus, they accepted or tolerated wars and military service as acts of obedience and conservatism.

When Christianity presented itself publicly, it attracted both converts and enemies. There were also those who were sympathizers, while others were indifferent, irresolute or ignorant. The preachers of Christianity had to work hard to portray in their literary creations Christianity as the ideal solution, in order to secure their members and attract new ones. Under these circumstances, the preachers of Christianity could not tolerate the various charges that circulated against the Christian teaching. They felt obliged to defend their choices. The most common charges against Christians concerned their religious beliefs,¹⁹ their morality²⁰ and their behaviour toward their fellow citizens and the authorities. The Christian fathers did not spend much time trying to refute the first two

Attitudes toward War and Peace, p. 68, L.J. Swift, «War and Christian Conscience», p. 843 and Peter Brock, *Pacifism to 1914. An Overview*, Toronto, 1994, p. 3.

¹⁷ See note 7.

¹⁸ D. Kyrtatas, *The Social Structure of the Early Christian Communities*, London, New York, 1987.

¹⁹ In ca. 177 CE Athenagoras in his *Supplicatio pro Christianis* was the first to record that there circulated beliefs among pagans that Christians were atheists or promoted new ideas concerning the nature of god. The third century does not provide many examples of pagans accusing Christians of atheism. It seems that in the fourth century, the accusation revived. The Christians were once more being blamed because they adopted new forms of religion and that was thought to be the cause of many calamities throughout the empire. Arnobius' response to this allegation, in his work *Adversus Nationes*, was that the Romans must share the blame for letting ancient customs fall into disuse. He refused to recognize that the empire had reached a crisis. He chose to concentrate on the past and to promote the idea that since the time of Christ there had been spectacular victories and the boundaries of the empire had expanded considerably. Augustine devoted a large part of his work *De Civitate Dei* trying to render Christians and their God innocent of the military defeats of the fourth and early fifth century.

²⁰ Another group of accusations, which flourished in the second century but faded soon, concerned the erotic behaviour of Christians. Christians were thought to have made peculiar sexual choices that were often connected to magical practices. Athenagoras informs us that Christians were regarded as performing insolent acts: Thyestean banquets and Oedipean intercourse. Minucius Felix repeated the accusations. The Christians were believed to have had sacramental feedings upon human flesh, Thyestean rites of initiation and orgies (*Octavius* 8-9). See also Stephen Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984, p.54-78.

accusations. On the contrary, they were extremely annoyed by the third.

In *Apologia Prima*,²¹ a defense of Christianity, Justin²² was anxious to reassure the emperor Antoninus Pius (CE 138-161) that Christians did not constitute a threat to the political stability of the empire. Pagans have misinterpreted the Christian eschatological beliefs about the establishment of a new kingdom: καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες βασιλείαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ θεοῦ λεγόντων (and you after having heard that we are expecting the arrival of a new kingdom you concluded, without much contemplation, that we were anticipating an earthly kingdom while we were talking about the reign of God, *Apologia Prima* 11). Christians were not interested in present realities: οὐκ εἰς τὸ νῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν. They refused to attribute to the emperor the same honors as to the real God but nevertheless they were the emperor's servants: ὅθεν θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὄμολογοῦντες (although we only adore (or genuflect) God, we are happy to serve you in every other way acknowledging you as the rightful kings and rulers, *Apologia Prima* 17.3). The fact that Christians were paying taxes was sufficient proof for their obedience:²³ φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν (in every part of the empire we are trying to pay the taxes and the charges, *Apologia prima* 17). Justin's aim is easy to detect. Justin would not have composed this work, unless there were some pagans who felt that Christianity was a disruptive and divisive social phenomenon.²⁴

However, to the dismay of many Christian writers, not all Christians were eager to submit to the will of the earthly authorities. Clement the head of the catechetical school

²¹ L.W. Barnard in *Justin martyr. His Life and Thought*, Cambridge University Press, 1967, p. 19, provided sufficient proof that we cannot place the *Apology* earlier than 145 CE and no later than 155 CE. R.M. Grant in *Greek Apologists of the Second Century*, London, 1988, argued in favour of 156. See the following editions of *Apology*: PG 6, p. 230-240, And. Wartelle, *Apologies*, Paris, 1987, M. Marcovich, *Apologiae pro Christianis*, Berlin, New York, 1994 and G. Girgenti, *Prima Apologia per i cristiani ad Antonino il Pio, Seconda Apologia per i cristiani al senato romano, Prologo al Dialogo con Trifone*, Milano, 1995.

²² Paucity of evidence renders a full biography of Justin impossible. In *Apologia prima* 1.1 Justin identified himself as the son of Priscus and grandson of Baccius of Flavia Neapolis in Syrian Palestine- a city established by Vespasian as a Roman colony in the region of Samaria. Justin underwent instruction at the hands of a Stoic teacher, a Peripatetic, a Pythagorean and the Platonists. His search for truth was satisfied only until he read the Bible. Justin spent most of his life in Rome teaching. He martyred at the end of the second century (see *The Martyrdom of Justin and Companions* in Musurillo, p. 42-61). Justin's works mainly concentrated on reassuring pagans as at the innocence of Christianity.

²³ According to Josephus' *Antiquitates* 18.23 and *De bello Iudaico* 2.118 and 7.410 Jewish resistance to the Romans often took the form of opposition to taxation. Christian apologists may have been aware of the Jewish unwillingness to pay the taxes and consciously drew the attention of the Romans to the fact that Christians were good citizens unlike the Jews.

²⁴ In the beginning of the second century Tatian in his work *Oratio* saw no reason for pagans feeling threatened by Christians, since Christians acknowledged and fulfilled their civic obligations: they paid the taxes and served the emperor (4.20-25). A few years later, Athenagoras addressed a letter to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (known as *Supplicatio pro Christianis*) aiming at persuading them that Christians offered their wholehearted support to them: Christians even prayed for the emperors' well-being (37). The Christians' praying and paying the taxes were regarded as strong evidence that could dissolve any pagan suspicions.

of Alexandria at the end of the second century,²⁵ for example, called his fellow Christians to acknowledge Caesar as the authority in this world. Clement was confident that although Caesar was inferior to God, he deserved obedience.²⁶ Such messages that aimed at persuading Christians to support the political authorities could easily be multiplied.²⁷

Christianity was viewed as a threat, mainly in the second century CE. The second century was a period when Christianity was in the process of its formation. Christians had not yet decided whether they should support or subvert the social and political order of this world. The Christian writers who came from the upper classes and wished to support the existing order and attract respectable converts, worked hard towards two directions. They tried to reassure pagans that Christianity was not a threatening social phenomenon. At the same time, they aimed at convincing any Christians with destabilizing ideas that they displeased God. Their two-fold task was not easy. So, they used the demons as their helpers.

Demons were particularly fashionable in the second century. The Christian writers found them useful in order to convey conservative messages to pagans and Christians alike. The demons were presented as responsible for the unfortunate choices of both pagans and Christians. It was an ingenious way to transfer responsibility and to avoid tension.

Demons were portrayed as disturbing. The first time they created upheaval was when they rebelled against God. Their rebellious actions were the starting point of every misery in earth. Demons were never idle. After their rebellion against God, they continued to cause disorder among humans.

Justin promoted the idea that demons were former angels who rebelled against the established order: ἀποστασία δαιμόνων (*Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* 79.83-84)²⁸ and παραβάντες τήνδε τὴν τάξιν (*Apologia Secunda* 5). Their rebellion caused nothing but chaos and misery. The message is clear: rebellion ought to be avoided; it is only fit for demons.²⁹ Justin found the demons useful in a second way. He rendered them

²⁵ We have little information concerning Clement's life. In *Stromata* 1.1.11 he described himself as a Christian who traveled extensively around the Mediterranean in order to study. Finally, he settled in Egypt under an unnamed master.

²⁶ *Eclogae Propheticae* 24.1 in ed. Otto Stählin, Leipzig, 1906.

²⁷ See for example Clement's of Rome *Epistula I ad Corinthios*.

²⁸ E. Preuschen, «Die Echtheit von Justin Dialogue gegen Trupho», in *Z.N.T.W.*, 1919-20, p. 102-126, did not attribute the *Dialogue* to Justin but to an unknown author. The standard view of recent scholarship is that Justin is the author of work. See selected editions of *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* by Justin: PG 6, p. 230-240, J.C.M. Winden, *Justin martyr's Dialogue with Trypho*, chapters 1 to 9, Leiden, Brill, 1971, G. Girgenti, *Prima Apologia per i cristiani ad Antonino il Pio, Seconda Apologia per i cristiani al senato romano, Prologo al Dialogo con Trifone*, Milano, 1995, M. Marcovich, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, Berlin, New York, 1997. According to L.W. Barnard, in *Justin martyr*, the *Dialogue* was written around 160 CE.

²⁹ Justin was not the only Christian writer to have characterized demons as rebels. His contemporary Irenaeus shared the same conviction that disturbing the public order was totally inappropriate since it had always had disastrous consequences. Irenaeus was much concerned about apostates. A group of angels were the first to rebel against the will of God. This decision turned them to demons who spend their lives harassing people (*Adversus Haereses* liber 1: 10.1, 10.3). Judas apostasised against Jesus (liber 1: 3.3). Finally, the heretics apostasised against the true Christian dogma (liber 5: 27.2). These instances suffice to illustrate that ἀποστασία meant rebellion. Irenaeus regarded rebellion as fatal and apostates as loathsome, since they imitated the demons.

responsible for spreading malicious rumors against Christians and urging pagans to be suspicious or hostile towards Christians.³⁰ The persecutions were presented as a result of the intervention of these malicious creatures. The persecutors were mere instruments and thus, not truly responsible for their actions. (One is even impelled to feel sorry for the poor persecutors!) Justin strove to avoid tension. Blaming the demons for everything was a skilful way towards this end. Minucius Felix³¹ in *Octavius*³² was also convinced that as far as rumors about promiscuous intercourse and eating human flesh and other secret rites were concerned, they were circulated by demons.³³ The unsubstantiated allegations resulted in creating unnecessary upheaval and hate.

Finally, demons were useful for Justin and his audience as reminders of the social organization. It is striking that the demons, after their rebellion against God, decided to copy the human social organization. They chose an ἀρχηγέτη (a leader, *Apologia Secunda* 28) and served under his command.³⁴ Now, they ensure continuity of a social hierarchy by engaging themselves in making as many humans as possible their servants and slaves: ἀγωνίζονται γὰρ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς δούλους καὶ ὑπηρέτας (*Apologia Prima* 14.85). It is noteworthy, that even the angels that are still obedient to God's will are also organized in an army.³⁵ Humans imagine life in heaven and hell as having a striking resemblance with life on earth.³⁶ Social hierarchy remains everywhere the same.³⁷

Let's now examine the Christian writers' positions on warfare. In 172 CE, Marcus Aurelius' army was fighting in Germany. The Roman army was in serious danger. The

³⁰ *Apologia Secunda* 12.

³¹ Minucius Felix was said to be a distinguished advocate practicing at Rome, in the second century, who was disqualified from office for his adoption of the Christian faith. See Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* V.1.21.

³² Selective editions of Minucius Felix's *Octavius*: G.H. Rendall, *Octavius*, Harvard University Press, 1953, G.W. Clarke, *Octavius*, New York, 1974 and B. Kytzler, *Octavius*, Leipzig, 1982. We seriously lack pagan sentiments on Christianity; either because Christians destroyed their traces or because pagans were not fervent against Christians. Thus, it is terribly fortunate that we have at our disposal Origen's work *Contra Celsum* where he extensively quoted Celsus' systematic polemic of Christianity, which was composed at the end of the second century. A second, though less direct, glimpse is provided by Celsus' contemporary Minucius Felix in his work *Octavius*. Minucius Felix claimed that *Octavius* was a recollection of a debate that took place between Octavius Januarius and Q. Caecilius Natalis on the validity of pagan and Christian beliefs. Q. Caecilius Natalis was presented as a pagan who wished to attack Christianity and defend traditional piety. Minucius Felix was favorably disposed toward Christianity, since he presented the Christian agent Octavius Januarius as the final winner. The dialogue may be real or invented. Nevertheless, it is important because it could appear as real and thus enriches our understanding of how Christians were viewed by pagans and which arguments Christians used in order to defend themselves and attract converts.

³³ *Octavius* 31.1.

³⁴ *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* 16.92.

³⁵ *Apologia Secunda* 52.

³⁶ See also *The Vision of Dorotheus*, a fourth century poem from the Bodmer papyri in which God's heavenly palace is described as a military court. (R. Kasser and G. Cavallo, «Description et datation du codex des Visions» in A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, J. Rudhardt, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX, Vision de Dorotheos*, Cologny, Geneva, 1984, A.H.M. Kessels and P.W. van der Horst, «The Vision of Dorotheus», *VC* 41, 1987, p. 313-359 and Jan N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*, London and New York, 2002, p. 128f).

³⁷ I do not wish to be cynical and claim that the preachers of Christianity did not believe in demons and promoted the idea of their existence and interference simply in order to release certain persons from their responsibility and to avoid tension. However, it is certainly more convenient to blame a malicious creature instead of your contemporaries or yourself.

emperor prayed to the Roman gods for their intervention, but they did not respond. Then, the frustrated emperor turned to the Christians in the army and ordered them to pray to their God. The numerous Christians prayed and instantly rain saved the day. The incident of the rainstorm (which later became known as the story of «the thundering legion») is the earliest literary evidence of Christian involvement in the Roman military. It is a fascinating story preserved by Justin, Tertullian and Eusebius.³⁸ At this point, I will concentrate on Justin, who was a contemporary of the event.

Justin in *Apologia Prima* 71³⁹ was not disturbed by the presence of Christians in the Roman army. There is not the slightest hint that he was. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that it is clearly stated that there were numerous Christians in the army. There is nothing to suggest that Justin was troubled by the fact that many Christians chose military careers. Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that he might have thought that his audience would have felt annoyed by the information given. On the contrary, he chose to transmit this information. He felt proud to present as an epilogue of his work, a letter composed by the emperor Marcus Aurelius and sent to the Roman senate in which the emperor narrated the incident admitting that the Christian prayers saved him and his army.⁴⁰

Justin supported the established order to such an extent that he saw no incompatibility between condemning war in *Apologia Secunda* 5 and accepting that

³⁸ Justin, *Apologia Prima* 71, Tertullian, *Apology* 5.6, *Ad Scapulam* 4.7 and 8, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.5.1-6. See also Cyprian, *Ad Dem.* 20. It is interesting that there were pagans who shared the conviction that the unexpected rain was a divine gift to the emperor. Pagans and Christians have agreed in attributing success in warfare to a divine intervention. Pagan and Christian divine power manifested itself in the daily events of history. Cassius Dio in *Hist. Rom.* 71.8.1-10.5, narrated the same incident but thought that rain and salvation came as a result of an Egyptian magician invoking certain pagan demons. Marcus Aurelius' column, which was erected in 176 CE, depicts the miraculous rain (see E. Petersen, A. Domaszewski, G. Galderini, *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom*, Monaci, 1896, tables 17 and 22). Marcus Aurelius was not the only emperor who had been saved by a miraculous rain. Trajan's column depicts Jupiter providing rain that enabled Trajan to win Decapolis (see L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, London, 1970, Ian Richmond, *Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column*, London, 1982 and Frank A. Lepper, *Trajan's Column*, Gloucester, 1988). J. Guey in «La date de la pluie miraculeuse et la colonne Aurélienne» in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 60, 1948, p. 105-27 and 61, 1949, p. 93-118, expressed his certainty that the recorded event actually occurred and placed it in 172 CE. John Helgeland in «Christians and the Roman Army from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine» in *ANRW* II.23.I.1974, p. 724-834, (p. 772), argued in favour of the summer of 173 CE. For a discussion on the miraculous rain see: M. Sordi, «Le monete di M. Aurelio con Mercurio e la «pioggia miracolosa»», *Annali Istituto Italiano Numismatico* 5-6, 1958, p. 41-55 and A. Garzetti, «L'impero da Tiberio agli Antonini», Bologna, 1960, p. 515-6 and for a detailed bibliography see M. Marcovich, *Justini Martyris, Apologiae Pro Christianis*, Berlin, New York, 1994, p. 165.

³⁹ PG 6, p. 435-440.

⁴⁰ Marcus Aurelius' letter attributing his victory to Christian prayers is considered by some scholars as a later insertion and thus not always included in the editions of Justin's *Apology*. However, the story could not possibly have been a much later fabrication. One of its primary aims was to show that Christians offered their wholehearted support to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. And that would not make much sense under a Christian emperor. Furthermore, it is highly significant that Tertullian in his *Apology*, written approximately fifty years after Justin's *Apology*, was aware of the existence of a letter by Marcus Aurelius (was it the same?), where the emperor admitted that Christian soldiers' prayers saved him. It seems that a Christian version of the story (Justin, Tertullian, Eusebius, Cyprian, Origen) circulated alongside the pagan one (Marcus Aurelius' column, coins of the period, Cassius Dio), each trying to advertise the power of its God. I am currently working on the manuscript tradition of Justin's *Apology* and examining all the possibilities, as part of my PhD, which is on early Christian attitudes to war, violence and military service.

Christians might have military careers in *Apologia Prima* 71. He presented Marcus Aurelius' letter narrating the story of Christian soldiers praying for his victory with approval. Justin's attitude would not have been inconsistent if service in the army did not entail actual warfare on a battlefield. However, in the middle of the second century, when Justin was composing his works, that was not the case. Wars in antiquity were never a remote possibility. R.W. Davies showed⁴¹ that normally soldiers were assigned a considerable amount of police work and other local duties⁴² and R.H. Bainton claimed that some soldiers could have completed their military service without participating in a battle.⁴³ Nevertheless, the fact that there was great diversity of responsibilities entrusted to troops did not exclude the possibility that they might eventually have been obliged to shed blood in a battlefield. Although I acknowledge the fact that soldiers were engaged in all sort of non-military duties and were very often used as a convenient manual labour force for constructing and repairing buildings and roads, I believe that no Christian who entered or remained in the army could have been certain that he would not have been called to shed blood. Justin could not have been ignorant of the fact that being a soldier could result in participating in warfare and taking a man's life.

Clement did not discuss extensively the issue of the (in)compatibility of Christian involvement in the military either. However, there exist brief casual references in his works in which it clearly emerges that he regarded soldiering as merely another occupation. Service in the army was not regarded by him as inappropriate or undesirable for the faithful.

*Protrepticus*⁴⁴ was composed by Clement with a pagan audience in mind. Its aim was to show that pagan religious beliefs were false and consequently pagans ought to leave the error of their ways behind and embrace Christianity. In cap. X Clement invited pagans to adopt the Christian religious beliefs and added that Christian adherents were not expected to change their professions. Christianity could be followed by everyone regardless occupation: Γεώργει, φαμέν, εἰ γεωργὸς εἴ, ἀλλὰ γνῶθι τὸν θεὸν γεωργῶν, καὶ πλεῖθι ὁ τῆς ναυτιλίας ἐρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν οὐράνιον κυβερνήτην παρακαλῶν· στρατευόμενόν σε κατείληφεν ἡ γνῶσις· τοῦ δίκαια σημαίνοντος ἄκουε στρατηγοῦ [we say, continue to be a farmer if you were a farmer (before your conversion) but know (or acknowledge) God while farming; continue to engage in shipping but (at the same time) plead your heavenly captain. In case you were in the army and the true knowledge was revealed to

⁴¹ Roy W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army*, Edinburgh University Press, 1989. See also his article «The Daily Life of a Roman Soldier under the Principate», *ANRW* II.I.1974, p. 299-338.

⁴² R. MacMullen in his book *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 53, implied that in the third century soldiers were called to engage themselves in more non-military work than previously. Brian Campbell in *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31BC-235AD*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1984, doubted that MacMullen was right. The discussion is interesting to follow.

⁴³ R.H. Bainton, «The Early Church and War», *Harvard Theological Review* 39, 1946, p. 189-212. For the same conviction see also: St. Gero, «Miles Gloriosus: the Christians and Military Service according to Tertullian» in *Church History* 39, 1970, p. 285-298, John Ferguson, *The Politics of Love. The New Testament and Non-Violent Revolution*, Cambridge and Surrey, p. 64 and Eileen Egan, «The Beatitudes. The Works of Mercy and Pacifism» in *War or Peace? The Search for New Answers*, ed. by Thomas A. Shannon, New York, 1980, p. 169-187, (p. 176).

⁴⁴ See selective editions of *Protrepticus*: Ot. Stählin, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, Leipzig, 1905, Cl. Mondésert, *Le Protreptique*, Paris, 1949 and M. Marcovich, *Protrepticus*, Berlin, 1960 and 1970 (2 vols.)

you, pay attention to your rightful general, *Protrepticus* X.100,4].

Two possible interpretations could be given to the term στρατηγός. Clement could have used the term literally in order to urge Christian soldiers to continue to do what they had already been doing: obeying their generals' rightful commands, just like Christian farmers and sailors are expected to continue to exercise their professions. Clement could also have used the term metaphorically to describe God as a general, as in the previous sentence he described Him as a heavenly captain. Even if we accept the second interpretation as the one Clement had in mind (and think that Clement expected Christians to listen to God), it is nowhere stated nor can it be inferred that God called Christians to avoid military service or put them into a dilemma to choose between Him and their careers.

Clement picked at random a few professions and used them as examples to show that the social condition of a person was irrelevant to his religious beliefs. He did not expect Christian soldiers to abandon their careers more than he expected farmers and sailors to do so or horses to plough and bulls to hunt (τὸν ἵππον ἀροῦν οὐ βιαζόμεθα οὐδὲ τὸν ταῦρον κυνηγετεῖν).⁴⁵ The military profession and the Christian faith were not mutually exclusive. Clement made himself clear in X.105 and XI. It did not matter, he explicitly stated, whether one was engaged in politics (εἰ πολιτευτέον) or was married (εἰ γαμητέον) or had children (εἰ παιδοποιητέον) or whether one suffered from the lack of money and estates (πενία, ἀκτημοσύνη), education (ἀπαιδευσία) or fame (ἀδοξία); what was of vital importance was whether one exhibited piety towards the right God. God could save everyone: ὁ Χριστός ἐστι πανταχοῦ σωτήριος.

Another work of Clement, *Paedagogus*,⁴⁶ provides evidence in support of the idea that military service was unproblematic for him. *Paedagogus* consists of three books. The first one discussed Christ and portrayed Him as the instructor of men. The second and the third book laid down rules for the regulation of Christians in all their relations and circumstances. Clement nowhere condemned Christians who had or desired a career in the army nor advised future converts to avoid such a career, although he had specific advice to give on how a Christian ought to eat, drink, sleep, dress and do his/her hair. Clement discussed every single detail of the Christian dogma and the appropriate behaviour that the faithful should adopt. He was very careful to provide clear instructions about almost every aspect of the recommended Christian conduct. Apparently Clement did not discuss the issue of Christians with military careers because it was not obscure for him.

Clement unintentionally broke his silence in *Paedagogus* II.XI where he was concerned on the appropriate shoes a Christian was to wear. Clement thought men should not wear shoes. However, he allowed one exemption: if they were in military service they could wear shoes. Ἀνδρὶ δὲ εὖ μάλα ἀρμόδιον ἀνυποδησία, πλὴν εἰ μὴ στρατεύοιτο (it is appropriate for a man not to wear shoes, except if he is in the army, II.XI,177.2). If service in the army was problematic for Clement or if he knew or suspected his audience might have regarded it as unacceptable, then he would not have

⁴⁵ *Protrepticus* X.100,3.

⁴⁶ See selective editions of *Paedagogus*: Ot. Stählin, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, Leipzig 1905, Cl. Mondésert, H.I. Marrou, M. Harl, Ch. Martray, *Le Pédagogue*, Paris, 1960-1970 (3 vols.).

mentioned soldiers' shoes or he would have justified his «radical» view. Furthermore, in the epilogue of the same work, where Clement gave brief advice to Christians and appealed to the Bible to justify his positions, he referred to *Luke* 3.4 and he stated without any further comment that Christ through John the Baptist commanded soldiers to be content with their wages.⁴⁷

Finally, *Stromateis*⁴⁸ helps us understand Clement's attitude on warfare. The aim of the work was to claim a place for Greek philosophy in the life of the Christians. Christians were allowed to read (and subsequently could profit from) specific works of pagan literature. What is important in the present discussion is that there are some instances in the *Stromateis* where Clement justified the wars described in the Old Testament. When Clement mentioned Moses he praised him as a successful military commander.⁴⁹ Simultaneously, Clement approved of the Jews despoiling the Egyptians on the grounds that such a practice was common during wars and because reparation had been sought and refused.⁵⁰ Violence in warfare was acceptable.

It is interesting that neither Justin in *Apologia* 71 nor Clement of Alexandria in *Protrepticus* X.100,4, in *Paedagogus* II.XI and III.12.91 and in *Stromateis* I.24.162, I.26.168 and I.23.157 felt uncomfortable with the piece of information regarding the military, they provided. They did not feel the need to justify their positions. I believe that they would have felt obliged to discuss the legitimacy of war and military service if there was a debate going on among their contemporaries. J.C. Cadoux's and R.H. Bainton's conviction that early Christian writers did not discuss the matter extensively because they all took it for granted that Christians were not allowed to serve,⁵¹ is weakened in the light of Justin's and Clement's statements. These casual mentions are powerful evidence. They explicitly reveal that early Christians had (or could have) military careers without shame. There is nothing to signify that the transmitters of the information or their audiences might have been bothered about it. The early Christian writers would have discussed the matter extensively were it widespread among Christians to differentiate themselves and to abstain from the army. Such a practice would have alarmed both pagans and Christians alike and Justin and Clement would have felt obliged to defend the information they provided or they would not have given it. However, they did neither of the above.

The bulk of the evidence lacks any discussion on the issue of the legitimacy of war and military service.⁵² This silence has troubled scholars. At times, it has been interpreted as signifying that the army was self-evidently forbidden for the early Christians and also

⁴⁷ *Paedagogus* III.12.91.

⁴⁸ See Ot. Stählin, *Stromata*, Leipzig 1906, J. Ferguson, *Stromateis*, Washington 1991 and Daniel Ridings, «Clement of Alexandria and the Intended Audience of the *Stromateis*», *StPatr.* XXXI, 1997, p. 517-521.

⁴⁹ *Stromateis* I.24.162 and I.26.168.

⁵⁰ *Stromateis* I.23.157.

⁵¹ J.C. Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, London 1919, Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace. A Historical Survey and Critical Reevaluation*, Abingdon, Nashville, 1960, p. 67-68.

⁵² John Ferguson in *The Enthronement of Love. Christ the Peacemaker*, London, 1950, p. 50, promoted the idea that the majority of the leading early Christian writers were pacifists. Statistically however, the majority of the early Christian writers was silent and thus indifferent. Then, there was the group of writers that explicitly or implicitly approved of wars and Christian participation in them. The third group, those who were against wars and military service, is arithmetically the weakest.

as signifying the exact opposite: that early Christians had military careers without any problem with their consciences. Justin's and Clement's statements as well as the acts of the soldier martyrs⁵³ and tombstones that belonged to Christians who had served,⁵⁴ point toward the conclusion that there were Christians in the Roman army and that generally Christians did not avoid military service.⁵⁵ I interpret the fact that the issue was not extensively discussed as an indication that it did not provide a problem for the early Christians. During the first centuries after Christ, Christianity was in the process of formation and nothing was taken unanimously for granted.

The authors of the early second century manuals of church instruction *Barnabae Epistula* and *Didache*⁵⁶ seem, for example, not to be concerned about Christians entering or remaining in the Roman army. Their main concerns were whether Christians should be allowed to be circumcised or to eat meat from the pagan sacrifices. They were also worried that the end that was proclaimed, was delayed and that different sects were emerging promoting different interpretations of the teaching of Jesus. Finally, they could not decide whether to transmit the Christian truth to the pagans or to keep it among Jews.

⁵³ David Woods (in <http://www.ucc.ie/milmart>) provides translations of many of the acts of the military martyrs.

⁵⁴ Only a few inscriptions have survived which can be accurately dated to belong to the first three centuries after Christ and at the same time can be identified with certainty as having belonged to Christians with careers in the army. Despite the fact that their number is limited, they are extremely significant since they reveal not only that there were Christians with military careers, but also, most importantly that the owners of the inscriptions and the communities in which they belonged did not find it scandalous and did not prohibit the recording of their profession in their epitaphs and dedications. See for example the following editions of tombstones which belonged to Christians with military careers: CIL VI 32943 or Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, Vaticano, 1997, p. 313-4, no.3.10.6 and J. Pargoire, «Epitaphe chrétienne de Bennisoa», *Echos d' Orient* 8, 1905, p. 329ff or Elsa Gibson, *The «Christians for Christians» Inscriptions of Phrygia*, Missoula, Montana, 1978, p. 80-84, no.29 and Ernestus Diehl, *Inscriptions Latinae Christianae Veteras*, Berlin, 1961, v.iii, p. 90, no.413 and W.M. Calder, «Studies in Early Christian Epigraphy», *Journal of Roman Studies* 10, 1920, p. 41-92 or Gary J. Johnson, *Early-Christian Epitaphs from Anatolia*, Atlanta, Georgia, 1995, p. 88-89.

⁵⁵ Enrico Pucciarelli in *I Cristiani e il servizio militare. Testimonianze dei primi tre secoli*, Firenze, 1987, p. 29, provided a different reading of the sources. He was of the opinion that Christians avoided military service. Ad. Harnack in *The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*, tr. David McInnes, Philadelphia, 1981, (1905)¹ was of the opinion that the Christian ethic generally prohibited Christian participation in war but the prohibition was not generally upheld. He believed that in practice Christians did not bar themselves from war.

⁵⁶ The *Barnabae Epistula* and *Didache* are valuable sources of information about the concerns of the early Christians. *Didache* is divided in two parts. The first part is a statement of the principles of Christian conduct that is required by catechumens before their baptism. The second part is a series of instructions as to the practice of Christian worship. The *Barnabae Epistula* admonished Christians on the appropriate behaviour and warned them against a Judaistic conception of the Old Testament. The two texts are closely connected. Scholars have been sharply divided whether *Didache* influenced *Barnabae Epistula* or *Barnabae Epistula* copied *Didache* or both derive from a common source. However, they agree that the author of the *Barnabae Epistula* is not the same Barnabas that appears in the New Testament. See selective editions of *Didache*: St. Giet, *L'énigme de la Didache*, Paris, 1970, K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Harvard University Press, 1975, W. Pordorf, An. Tuilier, *La doctrine des douze apôtres. Didaché*, Paris, 1978. For *Barnabae Epistula* see: Osc. De Gebhardt, A. Harnack, Th. Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Lipsiae, 1900, P. Prigent and R.A. Kraft, *Epître de Barnabé*, Paris, 1971, K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Harvard University Press, 1975 and Fr. Scorca Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, Torino, 1975.

We come across the same silence regarding the military in Irenaeus' work *Adversus Haereses*.⁵⁷ Irenaeus considered eating meat that came from pagan sacrifices, participating in pagan festivals and watching gladiatorial games as completely unacceptable. Irenaeus did not list participating in warfare among the forbidden things. Military service was not one of his major concerns, thus he did not mention it. Nothing is said about any Christians denying enlistment or causing problems in the army in *Octavius* either. Minucius Felix, Irenaeus and the authors of the *Barnabae Epistula* and *Didache* mentioned only what was of vital importance and was connected with the majority of Christians in their everyday conduct.

The Christian teachers engaged in refuting the charges that circulated among pagans against them. Only Origen⁵⁸ in his work *Contra Celsum*⁵⁹ quoted as a pagan accusation against Christians that they avoided military service. The rest of the evidence offers a different picture. Christians refusing to serve in the army was neither a common pagan complaint nor a major Christian concern.

The silence of the Christian sources in connection to the silence of the pagan sources serve to reveal that Christians did not separate themselves from the military activities of the state. However, violence changed colour depending on whether it was exercised by an individual or a legitimate authority, in a city or outside one and whether it was vital or not for the stability of the authority. Christians were only explicitly fervent against unnecessary violence among individuals. It was a rare case where they unanimously agreed and disapproved of gladiatorial games.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ According to Mary T. Clark in «Irenaeus» in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, ed. Ferguson Everett, New York, London, 1998², p. 587-589, Irenaeus was born in 115 CE. R.M. Grant in *Irenaeus of Lyons*, p. 2, proposed a much later date: 140 CE. Irenaeus studied and taught at Rome. He became bishop of Lyons at the invitation of its first bishop Pothinus. Irenaeus died in ca 202. His work "Ἐλεγχός καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδονύμου γνώσεως, or *Adversus Haereses*, that was composed around 189, was an analytical refutation of Gnosticism. The original Greek text has been missing since the sixth century; only a fragment survived. A Latin translation made in ca 200 is available. See the following selected editions of *Adversus Haereses*: PG 7, p. 437-1224, Ad. Rousseau, *Contre les heresies IV*, Paris, 1965 and *Contre les heresies V*, Paris, 1969 and *Contre les heresies I*, Paris, 1979 (2 vols.) and *Contre les heresies II*, 1982 (2 vols.), F. Graffin and Ch. Renoux, *Nouveaux fragments arméniens de l' Adversus haereses et de l' Epideixis*, Belgium, Turnhout, 1978, J.T. Nielsen, *A Selection from books I and II of Adversus Haereses* in *Textus Minores* 48, Leiden, Brill, 1997, R.M. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997.

⁵⁸ Origen was born of Christian parents in Alexandria about the year 185. He succeeded Clement as the head of the catechetical school of Alexandria. His being ordained presbyter by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem without the consent of bishop Demetrius of Alexandria, resulted in Origen being banished from the school. The decision was later disregarded. Origen's writings were voluminous but only a small proportion has survived. Origen died in ca 251, after suffering imprisonment and torture in the Decian persecution. In the fifth ecumenical council, Origen was anathematized by the emperor Justinian I because he was thought to have put insufficient emphasis on the historical incarnation of Christ and the literal meaning of Scripture. See Eusebius *H.E.* 6 and Robert J. Daly in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, p. 835-37.

⁵⁹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 8.73. Celsus in 176 CE composed the work *True Doctrine* where he claimed that the Christian dogma was ridiculous and expressed his fear that Christians could constitute a serious threat to the political stability of the empire. Celsus feared that if an association of this sort attracted too many adherents it could disrupt the cohesion and stability of society. Approximately seventy years later, Origen responded to the whole polemical treatise of Celsus that Christians did not (or intend to) undermine the foundations of society. See H. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum*, Cambridge, 1950.

⁶⁰ See for example *Protrepticus* cap.iii and Tatian's *Oratio* 23.5. The existence of slavery and gladiatorial games in the Roman world causes embarrassment to a modern mind.

The preachers of Christianity and their audiences did not regard military service as problematic for the faithful. The early Christians often entered the army. The early church was not unanimously pacifist. Christians did not feel a universal dichotomy between their response to their God and their engagement in military and political life. It would be unrealistic to make such a suggestion.

Despina Iosif,
University College London