CHRISTIANIZATION BY WAY OF LEGISLATION. THE THEODOSIAN CODE AS A SOURCE FOR THE RELIGIOUS POLICIES OF THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPERORS*

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Abstract in original language
The imperial legislation played a central part in the Christianization of the pagan Roman Empire. The course of Christianization is mirrored clearly in the material of the Theodosian Code. Reading the textes of the constitutions we can recognize the main religious political aims which were set by the first Christian emperors: (1) destruction of the pagan religion, (2) consolidation of the Christian mentality and scale of values, (3) defence of the Christian religion against the external effects and assaults, (4) protection of the purity of faith and the unity of the church, (5) stabilization of the position of the church, (6) regulation of the position of the Jews.

Key words in original language
Roman law; Imperial legislation; Theodosian Code; Religious policy; Christianization.

The Theodosian Code contains more than 2500 imperial constitutions which were issued between 311 and 437. During this period many changes happened in the life of the Roman Empire. Among others the pagan empire became Christian during this time. The course of Christianization is mirrored clearly in the material of the Code. Reading the textes of the constitutions we can recognize the main religious political aims which were set by the first Christian emperors.

1. The first aim was the progressive destruction of the pagan religion. The Christian emperors prohibited the pagan ceremonies; they ordered to punish the various kinds of prediction, magic and especially the sacrifices. The pagan worship of emperors was abolished: adoration of statues and images of emperors was prohibited. In most cases the rebellious pagans were to be punished with death. The pagan temples were closed, demolished or transformed; the treasures and endowments of them were confiscated. The research for this paper was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

*CTh 9.16.1-2, 4-12; 16.10.1-2, 4-13, 17, 19, 21, 23.
5 CTh 15.4.1.
3 CTh 5.13.3; 10.1.8; 16.10.4, 10-11, 13, 16, 18-19, 20, 25.
pagan festivals and the privileges of the pagan priests were abolished.⁴ The pagans were excluded from the public officies.⁵

The first religious political steps of Constantine were very cautious: the prohibitions decreed by him were always combined with some concessions.⁶ The successors of Constantine dealt with the pagans much more harshly, and this change was expressed clearly by the rough drafting of their edicts.⁷

2. The second aim was the consolidation of the Christian mentality and scale of values. The Christian emperors protected virginity and sexual morality. They abolished the matrimonial pressure,⁸ and exempted those women who lived in perpetual virginity (in virginitate perpetua viventes) from the poll-tax (capitatio).⁹ The sexual crimes were punished severely.¹⁰ In the prisons men were to be separated from women.¹¹ The emperors made efforts to suppress the obscene pagan debauches,¹² and to prevent the increase of prostitution.¹³

Protecting the marriages and families they impeded divorces,¹⁴ and ordered to punish adultery by death.¹⁵ Separation of members of slave families was forbidden.¹⁶ The poor family men were given state support to feed their children.¹⁷ The widowers who remarried suffered pecuniary disadvantages.¹⁸

The power of the fathers and the masters was restricted. The fatherly right to kill the child (ius vitae necisque) was abolished.¹⁹ Reclaim an exposed child

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⁴ CTh 2.8.22; 6.3.1; 16.10.14.
⁵ CTh 16.10.21.
⁶ While, e.g., private (domestic) rites were prohibited, public ceremonies were permitted (CTh 9.16.1-2; 16.10.1), or, while malevolent magic was prohibited, benevolent sorcery was permitted by him (CTh 9.16.2).
⁷ See, e.g., CTh 16.10.2: cesserit superstition, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania.
⁸ CTh. 8.16.1.
⁹ CTh 13.10.4.
¹⁰ CTh 9.7.3, 6; 9.8.1; 9.9.1; 9.24.1-2; 9.25.1-3.
¹¹ CTh 9.3.3.
¹² CTh 15.6.1-2.
¹³ CTh 15.8.1-2.
¹⁴ CTh 3.16.1-2; 16.2.44.
¹⁵ CTh 11.36.4.
¹⁶ CTh 2.25.1.
¹⁷ CTh 11.27.1-2.
¹⁸ CTh 3.8.1-3; 3.9.1; 8.13.1, 4; 8.18.3, 10.
¹⁹ CTh 9.14.1; 9.15.1.
from person who received him was prohibited. Torture of slaves to death was declared a crime (homicidium).

In the field of criminal law many other regulations were issued by the effect of Christianity. To sentence criminals to gladiatorial shows was forbidden. On Sundays the governors had to visit the prisons and control the conditions of the prisoners. During Lent to conduct criminal procedures and execute corporal punishments was prohibited. At Easteride amnesty was granted for prisoners.

3. The third aim was the defence of the Christian religion against the external – pagan or Jewish – effects and assaults. The emperors protected the tranquillity of the Christian feasts. On Sundays, at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas all judicial procedure had to be suspended, and organization of spectacles was forbidden on these days. Christians were exempted from the public duties which were connected with the pagan religion. The actors who were baptized did not have to act on the stage any more.

Defending the Christian religion Theodosius the Great forbade Jews and Christians to intermarry. Jews could not have any Christian slaves. Jews had to perform their religious rites without violation of Christianity. The Jews who were baptized were given a special legal protection. Protecting the religious piety trading of the relics of martyrs was forbidden. The ecclesiastical dresses were given legal defence. Oath-breaking had to be punished for religious reasons. Defending the Christian

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20 CTh 5.9.1-2.
21 CTh 9.12.1.
22 CTh 15.12.1.
23 CTh 9.3.7.
24 CTh 9.35.4-5.
25 CTh 9.38.3-4, 6-8.
26 CTh 2.8.1, 18-21, 23-25; 8.8.1; 15.5.2, 5.
27 CTh 12.1.112; 16.1.1; 16.2.5.
28 CTh 15.7.1-2, 4, 8-9.
29 CTh 3.7.2.
30 CTh 3.1.5; 16.8.19, 22, 26; 16.9.1-5.
31 CTh 16.8.18.
32 CTh 16.8.1, 5, 28.
33 CTh 9.17.7.
34 CTh 15.7.12.
35 CTh 2.9.3.
faith apostasy (from Christianity to paganism or Judaism) was declared a crime.\textsuperscript{36}

4. The fourth aim was the protection of the purity of faith and the unity of the church. The Catholic emperors made efforts to confirm the Catholic religion and suppress the heresies. The imperial intervention in the religious cases was reasonable, because the religious conflicts endangered the unity of the whole empire.

Among the various heresies Arianism was the most dangerous. The struggle between the Catholics and the Arians finally ended with the victory of the Catholics. In 380, by his famous edict (Cunctos populos), Theodosius the Great declared the Catholic faith a state religion, and Arianism a heresy.\textsuperscript{37} After this, obedience to the state included obedience to the Catholic Church, too.

The Catholic emperors forbade the heretics to come together, erect altars, build churches, teach their doctrines, perform religious services, ordain clerics.\textsuperscript{38} The buildings and estates, in which they held their meetings, were forfeited to the state or the Catholic Church,\textsuperscript{39} and the books, which contained their religious doctrines, were burned publicly.\textsuperscript{40} The rebellious heretics usually had to pay a fine.\textsuperscript{41} The aim of the punishment was emendation; punishability was ceased by conversion to the Catholic faith.\textsuperscript{42} The incorrigible persons were exiled.\textsuperscript{43}

The heretics lost their honesty and ability to hold public offices.\textsuperscript{44} They suffered many disadvantages in the field of the law of succession and obligations.\textsuperscript{45} It is worthy of note that the slave-owners and the patrons could be punished, if their slaves or tenant-farmers became heretics.\textsuperscript{46} It was a special case of secondary (vicarious) liability (culpa in eligendo) in Roman law.

\textsuperscript{36} CTh 16.7.1-7; 16.8.1, 7, 23.
\textsuperscript{37} CTh 16.1.2.
\textsuperscript{38} CTh 16.5.6, 8-12, 14-15, 20-22, 24, 26, 30, 34, 36-38, 40, 45, 51, 53-54, 56-58, 65-66; 16.6.4, 7.
\textsuperscript{39} CTh 16.5.3, 4, 8, 12, 21, 30, 33-34, 36, 40, 43, 45, 52, 54, 57-59, 65; 16.6.2, 4.
\textsuperscript{40} CTh 16.5.34, 66.
\textsuperscript{41} The amount of the fine depended on the social position of the delinquents (CTh 16.5.52, 54).
\textsuperscript{42} CTh 16.5.41.
\textsuperscript{43} CTh 16.5.13, 18, 20, 29-34, 36, 45, 52-54, 57-58, 62, 64-65; 16.6.6; 16.10.24.
\textsuperscript{44} CTh 16.5.3, 7, 9, 25, 29, 42, 48, 54, 58, 61, 65.
\textsuperscript{45} CTh 16.5.7, 9, 17-18, 23, 25, 27, 36, 40, 49, 54, 58, 65; 16.6.4; 16.7.3.
\textsuperscript{46} CTh 16.5.52.
5. The fifth aim was the stabilization of the position of the church. The church was given many privileges. The clerics were exempted from the curial duties, some taxes and a lot of other compulsory obligations. Collaterally, however, the emperors restricted the circle of those persons who could be enrolled in the clergy: e. g. ordination of curials, provincial officials, tax-collectors, bakers and swine collectors were prohibited.

In 321 bequests to the church were legalised. In 434 the local churches and the monasteries were authorized the right of intestate succession.

The bishops were given official power. The religious disputes fell within the exclusive competence of the ecclesiastical courts. On basis of a compromise of the parties the bishops could adjudge secular legal disputes, too. The decision of the bishop was not appealable. The secular authorities had to execute the episcopal resolutions.

The church enjoyed many judicial privileges. The clerics were exempted from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. The bishops could not be compelled to give evidence. The members of the clergy could not be tortured. The disputed legal cases in which the church was involved had to be resolved without any delay.

The imperial constitutions granted the right of asylum to the churches. Breaking of this right was declared a capital crime. The church asylum provided effective shelter from the abuses of state authorities, local lords, and cruel slave-owners. It was possible, however, to misuse the right of asylum. For this reason the emperors restricted this right in some respects, e. g. they prohibited the clergymen to harbour debtors to the fisc. At the same time the right of asylum was extended in space to the lounges, gardens.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{47}}\text{CTh}\ 8.5.46; 11.1.1, 33; 11.16.15, 18, 21-22; 13.1.1, 5, 11; 16.2.1-2, 7-11, 14-16, 24, 36, 40.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{48}}\text{CTh}\ 8.4.7; 12.1.49, 59, 99, 104, 115, 121, 123, 163, 172; 14.3.11; 14.4.8; 16.2.3, 6, 17, 19, 21.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{49}}\text{CTh}\ 16.2.4.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{50}}\text{CTh}\ 5.3.1.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{51}}\text{CTh}\ 16.2.23; 16.11.1.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{52}}\text{CTh}\ 1.27.2.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{53}}\text{CTh}\ 1.27.1-2.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{54}}\text{CTh}\ 16.2.12, 41, 47.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{55}}\text{CTh}\ 11.39.8.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{56}}\text{CTh}\ 11.39.10.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{57}}\text{CTh}\ 2.4.7.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{58}}\text{CTh}\ 9.45.1-5.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{59}}\text{CTh}\ 9.45.4.\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{60}}\text{CTh}\ 9.45.1, 3.\]
and courts of the churches on condition that the refugees were not allowed
to sleep and eat within the sanctuary.61

The Christian emperors made the manumission of slaves possible in the
churches.62 In the beginning those who were manumitted in a church, in the
presence of clerics, became only Latins, but later such persons obtained the
civitas Romana. The clerics could manumit their own slaves without any
formal restriction.

According to the testimony of the Code, in the fourth and fifth centuries
some clerics, monks, and especially the parabalani often intervened in
public affairs, and stood up against every injustice; e. g. they impeded the
execution of unfair judgements.63 It is easy to understand that the emperors
could not tolerate acts of this kind: so the clerics were forbidden to disturb
the administration of justice in any way,64 the over-zealous monks were
banished from the cities,65 the number of the parabalani was restricted, and
they were prohibited to enter the meeting place of a municipal council or a
courtroom.66

The clerics were granted a special criminal protection; their physical insult
was not a private delict but a public crime (cf. privilegium canonis).67
Violation of the privileges of the church was declared also a crime.68

6. Finally, the sixth aim was the regulation of the position of the Jews. As
stated above some rights of the Jews in defence of Christianity were
restricted, e. g. they were not allowed to have Christian slaves. As the
pagans and the heretics, the Jews were also excluded from the public
offices.69 On the other hand, however, the Christian state protected the
Jewish religion. The Jews could come together without any restriction, and
could exercise their ancient religion.70 It is true that they were prohibited to
build new synagogues, but their old synagogues were granted legal
protection by the state.71 They had their own judicial authorities.72 Jewish

61 CTh 9.45.4.
62 CTh 4.7.1.
63 The *parabalani* belonged to a religious guild, whose members were
occupied in attending sick persons.
64 CTh 9.40.15-16; 11.36.31.
65 CTh 16.3.1.
66 CTh 16.2.42-43.
67 CTh 16.2.31.
68 CTh 16.2.34, 40.
69 CTh 16.8.16, 24.
70 CTh 2.8.26; 8.8.8; 16.8.9, 20.
71 CTh 7.8.2; 16.8.12, 21-22, 25-27.
72 CTh 2.1.10.
religious leaders enjoyed many privileges,\textsuperscript{73} and anti-Semitic manifestations were declared crimes.\textsuperscript{74}

Since all these main aims could be realized, the pagan Roman Empire became Christian formally within some generations. It can be stated that the imperial legislation played a central part in this colossal change.

**Literature:**

\textsuperscript{73} CTh 16.8.2-4, 10, 13, 15, 17.
\textsuperscript{74} CTh 16.8.11-12, 21, 25-26; 16.10.24.


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The source for our knowledge of the subject is the Theodosian code. Since it was a product of the conditions which characterized the jurisprudence and culture of the later Empire, those conditions demand some preliminary examination. Consequently the legislation of the Arian emperors in regard to heresy was not included in the code, while the police edicts touching heresy, as well as the more important legislation of those who professed the Nicene faith, were preserved. The first of these includes the laws of Constantine and his sons, which reveal all the characteristics of the religious problem. The exact nature of his religious policy has been the subject of more than three hundred books and monographs since the sixteenth century.