

GREG STANTON

Unity and Disunity in Greek  
and Christian Thought  
under the Roman Peace

*Studien und Texte zu  
Antike und Christentum*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Unity and Disunity in  
Greek and Christian Thought  
under the Roman Peace

Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

The Roman empire of the first two centuries C.E. encompassed ethnic groups that bordered on the Mediterranean Sea and some further inland, such as the Dacians. People who spoke Greek dominated the eastern half of the Mediterranean and Egypt. The Roman élite wanted their conquered peoples to accept Roman rule and to embrace the peace they had established, the *pax Romana*. This book explores what Greeks under Roman control thought about unity at several levels, beginning with the smallest entity, the Greek city, and moving through the Roman empire and humankind to the universe. Gods, humans, and the universe were sometimes thought to be bound up together.

Also of interest is the transmission of ideas. Platonism in various revised manifestations tended to become more dominant in these two centuries from Augustus to the early Severan rulers, but Epicureans and Stoics continued to pass on their ideas, though Stoics such as Epiktetos and Marcus Aurelius are not as unified in their thinking as is sometimes claimed. Writers in the rhetorical tradition, such as Plutarch, Dion of Prousa and Ailios Aristeides, share a number of ideas on concord and disharmony, but can also differ. The Christian writers of the first two centuries had some distinctive ideas on unity, such as harmony among churches and the unity of God. But they treated other ideas, such as the unity of humankind, with a similar lack of enthusiasm to that of their non-Christian contemporaries. Also meriting consideration is the issue as to how far writers inclined to Stoicism or to Platonism, or those committed to Christian belief, were intent on seeing practical outworkings of their beliefs.

There are many people whom I thank for considering my ideas and challenging me over the years, including the students of an advanced undergraduate unit in Ancient History entitled ‘Unity and Disunity among the Greeks’ that was offered at the University of New England in Australia for many years. Professor E.A. (Edwin) Judge has constantly offered interesting ideas that I needed to consider. Professor G.H.R. (Greg) Horsley kept urging me to finish the book and send it off, and he has provided notes on page after page of the formatted version that have forced me to rephrase what I had thought was clear. Allison White has done marvels in converting the text and footnotes into the style of the series and has graciously made corrections until the final completion of the book.



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## List of Abbreviations

<i>Ælius Aristide écrivain</i>	L. Pernot et al. (eds.), <i>Ælius Aristide écrivain</i> [Recherches sur les Rhétoriques religieuses, 19] (Turnhout 2016)
Alcock	S.E. Alcock, <i>Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece</i> (Cambridge 1993)
<i>Antonine Literature</i>	D.A. Russell (ed.), <i>Antonine Literature</i> (Oxford 1990)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin 1972-)
Bakke	O.M. Bakke, 'Concord and Peace': <i>A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition</i> [WUNT, 2.141] (Tübingen 2001)
Baldry	H.C. Baldry, <i>The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought</i> (Cambridge 1965)
Barrow	R.H. Barrow, <i>Plutarch and his Times</i> (London 1967)
Behr	C.A. Behr, <i>Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales</i> (Amsterdam 1968)
<i>Being Greek under Rome</i>	S. Goldhill (ed.), <i>Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire</i> (Cambridge 2001)
Béranger	J. Béranger, <i>Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat</i> [Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 6] (Basel 1953)
Birley	A.R. Birley, <i>Marcus Aurelius: a Biography</i> <sup>2</sup> (London 1987)
Bonhöffer	A.F. Bonhöffer, <i>Epictet und die Stoa: Untersuchungen zur stoischen Philosophie</i> (Stuttgart 1890)
Boulanger	A. Boulanger, <i>Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère</i> [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 126] (Paris 1923)
Bowersock	G.W. Bowersock, <i>Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire</i> (Oxford 1969)
Boys-Stones	G.R. Boys-Stones, <i>Post-Hellenistic Philosophy: A Study of its Development from the Stoics to Origen</i> (Oxford 2001)
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. A. Böckh et al. (Berlin 1828-1877)
Desideri	P. Desideri, <i>Dione di Prusa: un intellettuale greco nell'impero romano</i> [Biblioteca di Cultura Contemporanea, 135] (Firenze 1978)
<i>Dio Chrysostom</i>	S.C.R. Swain (ed.), <i>Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters, and Philosophy</i> (Oxford 2000)

- DK H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>6</sup> (Berlin 1951-1952)
- DNP *Der Neue Pauly*, ed. H. Cancik et al. (Stuttgart 1996-2003)
- Dobbin R.F. Dobbin (trans.), Epictetus: *Discourses Book I* (Oxford 1998)
- Dodds E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge 1965)
- Farquharson A.S.L. Farquharson (ed.), *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus* (Oxford 1944)
- Festugière A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*<sup>3</sup> (Paris 1949-1954)
- Fowden G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge 1986)
- Greeks on Greekness* D. Konstan and S. Saïd (eds.), *Greeks on Greekness: Viewing the Greek Past under the Roman Empire* [Cambridge Classical Journal Supplementary Volumes, 29] (Cambridge 2006)
- Hadot P. Hadot, *The Inner Citadel: The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge, MA 1998)
- IGRR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat et al. (Paris 1906-1927)
- Jaeger W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, MA 1962)
- Jäkel S. Jäkel, *Marcus Aurelius's Concept of Life* [Turun Yliopiston Julkaisu = Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, B.195] (Turku 1991)
- Jones, *Dio* C.P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, MA 1978)
- Jones, *Plutarch* C.P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971)
- Kidd I.G. Kidd (ed.), Posidonius [Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 13-14 and 36] (Cambridge 1972-1999)
- Klein, *Einführung* R. Klein, *Die Romrede des Aelius Aristides: Einführung* (Darmstadt 1981)
- Klein, *Romrede* R. Klein (ed.), *Die Romrede des Aelius Aristides* [Texte zur Forschung, 45] (Darmstadt 1983)
- Laks/Most or LM A. Laks and G.W. Most, *Early Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA 2016)
- Lamberton R. Lamberton, *Plutarch* (New Haven, CN 2001)
- Long A.A. Long, *Epictetus: A Stoic and Socratic Guide to Life* (Oxford 2002)
- Magie D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton 1950)
- Millar F.G.B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC - AD 337)* (London 1977)
- Monotheism* S. Mitchell and P. Van Nuffelen (eds.), *Monotheism between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity* [Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 12] (Leuven 2010)

- Morlet S. Morlet, *Symphonia: La concorde des textes et des doctrines dans la littérature grecque jusqu'à Origène* (Paris 2019)
- Neuenschwander H.R. Neuenschwander, *Mark Aurels Beziehungen zu Seneca und Poseidonios* [Noctes Romanae: Forschungen über die Kultur der Antike, 3] (Bern 1951)
- Nock-Festugière A.D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière (eds.), *Corpus Hermeticum* 1-2<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1960), 3-4 (Paris 1954)
- Nörr<sup>2</sup> D. Nörr, *Imperium und Polis in der hohen Prinzipatszeit*<sup>2</sup> [Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 50] (München 1969)
- OGIS *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1903-1905)
- Oliver J.H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 43 part 4] (Philadelphia 1953) 871-1003
- One God* S. Mitchell and P. Van Nuffelen (eds.), *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2010)
- Osborn, *Clement* E.F. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge 2005)
- Osborn, *Irenaeus* E.F. Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons* (Cambridge 2001)
- Osborn, *Justin* E.F. Osborn, *Justin Martyr* [Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 47] (Tübingen 1973)
- Osborn, *Tertullian* E.F. Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge 1997)
- Pagan Monotheism* P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1999)
- Palm J. Palm, *Rom, Römertum und Imperium in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* [Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 57] (Lund 1959)
- PIR<sup>2</sup> *Prosopographia imperii Romani: saec. I, II, III*<sup>2</sup>, ed. E. Groag, A. Stein and L. Petersen (Berlin 1933- )
- Plutarch and his Intellectual World* J. Mossman (ed.), *Plutarch and his Intellectual World: Essays on Plutarch* (London 1997)
- Pohlenz M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa: Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung* (Göttingen 1948-1949)
- P.Oxy* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B.P. Grenfell et al. (London 1898-)
- RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart 1894-1980)
- Renoirte T. Renoirte, *Les 'Conseils politiques' de Plutarque: une lettre ouverte aux Grecs à l'époque de Trajan* [Université de Louvain: recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie<sup>3</sup>, 40] (Louvain 1951)
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- Russell, *Dio* D.A. Russell (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom, Orations VII, XII and XXXVI* (Cambridge 1992)
- Russell, *Plutarch* D.A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1973)
- Rutherford R.B. Rutherford, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius: A Study* (Oxford 1989)
- SB *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, ed. F. Preisigke et al. (Straßburg et alibi 1913-)
- Schoedel W.R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia 1985)
- Schofield M. Schofield, *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge 1991)
- Scott W. Scott (ed.), with A.S. Ferguson, *Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus* (Oxford 1924-1936)
- SEHRE<sup>2</sup> M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1957)
- Smith Diogenes of Oinoanda, *The Epicurean Inscription*, ed. M.F. Smith [La Scuola di Epicuro, suppl. 1] (Napoli 1993)
- Souilhé J. Souilhé with A. Jagu (eds.), *Épictète: Entretiens* (Paris 1943-1965)
- SVF *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. H. von Arnim (Leipzig 1903-1924)
- Swain S.C.R. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50-250* (Oxford 1996)
- The Philosophy of Epictetus* T. Scaltsas and A.S. Mason (eds.), *The Philosophy of Epictetus* (Oxford 2007)
- Trapp M.B. Trapp, *Philosophy in the Roman Empire: Ethics, Politics and Society* (Aldershot 2007)
- van Moorsel G. van Moorsel, *The Mysteries of Hermes Trismegistus: A Phenomenologic Study in the Process of Spiritualisation in the Corpus Hermeticum and Latin Asclepius* [Studia Theologica Rheno-Traiectina, 1] (Utrecht 1955)
- von Arnim, *Dio* H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa* (Berlin 1898)
- Wengst K. Wengst, *Pax Romana and the Peace of Jesus Christ* (London 1987)
- WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

## Chapter 1

# Unity Ancient and Modern

## Unity Movements in the Modern World

Over the century since the First World War there has been a wave of movements promoting unity of various kinds: political unity, ethnic unity, religious unity, the unity of humankind. Leaders of opinion have won support for the establishment of organisations that have formally brought together diverse political or religious entities. Over many centuries prior to the First World War certain political unions were created, even imposed, such as those of Scotland and England or of Lithuania and Poland. Many of the associations of powers, such as Leagues, Congresses and Holy Alliances, were formed with limited objectives, typically military ones. They frequently had an exclusivist purpose. But the 1914–1918 War brought forth the idea that such diplomatic instruments had negative as well as positive effects; they often constituted barriers to wider unity. The bold idea took hold that exclusivity was a bad thing and that a new organisation should be formed that was open to every nation. The League of Nations was formed in 1919 with great optimism from political leaders such as Woodrow Wilson.<sup>1</sup> Neither the United Nations Organisation (UN) nor the League that it replaced has pretended to unite nations. But they provided, and provide, a forum in which neighbouring nations in conflict (such as India and Pakistan, or Israel and its neighbours) can jockey for support, or at least let off steam, rather than fight on a battlefield. Ironically, however, the UN has been regarded as having one of its finest hours in 1990–91 when it sponsored military action against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War with the intention of safeguarding the peace of the global community. By contrast, the nations that invaded

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<sup>1</sup> Incarnations of unity and disunity in Europe before the signing in 1951 of the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community are discussed in an introductory fashion by R.H. Ginsberg, *Demystifying the European Union: The Enduring Logic of Regional Integration*<sup>2</sup> (Lanham, MD 2010), chap. 1. For Wilson's promotion of a League of Nations as early as 1916 see T.J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (Princeton 1992), especially 66–69, 74–81, 86–87, 95–99.

Iraq in 2003 – the United States of America, Great Britain, Australia and Poland – snubbed the UN and started bombing without submitting a final resolution to the Security Council.<sup>2</sup>

Following the establishment of the UN, attempts at regional unity began to proliferate. One that actually took ‘unity’ into its name was the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) or Organisation de l’Unité Africaine (OUA). It was set up in 1963 with considerable enthusiasm by Francophone and Anglophone leaders of newly independent countries in Africa. The Organisation held its last meeting in 2001, following a series of meetings (two of them held in Libya) at which the delegates finally opted not for Colonel Mu’ammār al-Qadhafī’s plan for a federal ‘United States of Africa’ (adumbrated by Dr Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana as early as 1960) but for a union of African states based loosely on the model of the European Union. When Qadhafī tried again to promote his policy at the Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union (AU)/Union Africaine (UA) in Ghana, the Accra Declaration (3 July 2007) stated only that the United States of Africa is an ultimate objective of the AU but it initiated further examination of the Union Government concept and the relations of such a government with national governments. The prospect was raised, and continued to be raised as late as the Thirteenth Ordinary Session of June/July 2009 in Sirte (Libya again), that the AU might split over the idea of unity. But this

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<sup>2</sup> The Gulf War was not, of course, the first massive military action of the UN; one thinks of the Korean War (1950–1953). On the “unprecedentedly firm and united response” to the Iraq-Kuwait crisis see B. Urquhart in F. Barnaby (ed.), *Building a More Democratic United Nations* (London 1991) 1.293–302 (quotation from 293); B. Boutros-Ghali in *The United Nations and the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict 1990–1996* [The United Nations Blue Book Series, 9] (New York 1996) 111–115; S.A. Yetiv, *The Persian Gulf Crisis* (Westport, CT 1997) 93–99; P.R. Baehr and L. Gordenker, *The United Nations at the End of the 1990s* (Basingstoke 1999) 76–83. Others have seen the Gulf War as a negative experience for the UN: for example, K. Suter in S. Kettle and S. Dowrick (eds.), *After the Gulf War: For Peace in the Middle East* (Sydney 1991) 56–66; C. Rakisits in K. Clements and R. Ward (eds.), *Building International Community: Cooperating for Peace Case Studies* (Sydney 1994) 58–103; K.-K. S. Pease, *International Organizations: Perspectives on Governance in the Twenty-First Century*<sup>3</sup> (Upper Saddle River, NJ 2008) 111–123. On the lead-up to the invasion of Iraq on 20 March 2003 see, for example, F. Keane in S. Beck and M. Downing (eds.), *The Battle for Iraq: BBC News Correspondents on the War against Saddam and a New World Agenda* (London 2003) 64–65 and R. Fawn in id. and R. Hinnebusch (eds.), *The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences* (London 2006) 6, 85. Some have sought to promote 15 February 2003, the date on which mass protests against the imminent invasion of Iraq erupted spontaneously in many countries, as more significant in the long term than 20 March: see J. Habermas, *The Divided West* (Cambridge 2006) 39–48, 55–56, 87–89. E.A. Heinze seeks to make a coherent ethical and legal case for military intervention in other countries in pursuit of humanitarian (as distinct from strategic or self-interested) ends: *Waging Humanitarian War: The Ethics, Law, and Politics of Humanitarian Intervention* (Albany, NY 2009). Several contributors deal with the same issue in M. Heazle and I. Islam (eds.), *Beyond the Iraq War: The Promises, Pitfalls and Perils of External Interventionism* (Cheltenham 2006).

threat may well have passed with the killing of Qadhafi in Sirte in October 2011.<sup>3</sup> In Europe there has long been a European Parliament (called the European Parliamentary Assembly before 1962) meeting in Strasbourg, though its power relative to the European Commission based in Brussels has yet to be finally settled. From 1954 to 2011 there was a Western European Union/Union de l'Europe Occidentale, though it was scoffed at for lacking the military forces to back up its resolutions.<sup>4</sup> The European Union (EU), which celebrated its sixty-fifth anniversary in July 2017, grew out of 'the Six' of the European Coal and Steel Community, which led to the European Economic Community in 1957. As the European Union (1992) it has increased greatly the number of member states: in December 2002 the European Union resolved to enlarge the

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<sup>3</sup> Inauguration of the African Union: *The Times* (London), 10 July 2002. President Qadhafi was prominent on the stage at the stadium in Durban, South Africa. On his late move from pan-Arabism to African unity see D.J. Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge 2012) 6, 137, 194–198 (unfortunately, Vandewalle does not include the inauguration of the AU – or any other event in 2002 – in his Chronology [xvii–xxxv] or deal with it elsewhere). On Qadhafi's stormy relationship with the OAU from 1972 for two decades see J.-E. Pondi in R. Lemarchand (ed.), *The Green and the Black: Qadhafi's Policies in Africa* (Bloomington, IN 1988) 139–149. After the formation of the AU Libya continued to be active in debate about a Union Government even before Qadhafi became chairperson in February 2009: see T. Murithi, *Africa Quarterly* (New Delhi) 47.3 (2007) 30–35 at 33. The fifty-three member states of the AU carried over from the OAU; a fifty-fourth, South Sudan, has since been added. On the Constitutive Act of the AU see C.A.A. Packer and D. Rukare, *The American Journal of International Law* 96 (2002) 365–379; R. Murray, *Human Rights in Africa: From the OAU to the African Union* (Cambridge 2004) 280–293 (text); S.M. Makinda and F.W. Okumu, *The African Union: Challenges of Globalization, Security, and Governance* (London 2008) 122–136. For the disparate interests that coalesced in the creation of the AU see T.K. Tiekou, *African Affairs* 103 (2004) 249–267 (explaining the rapid formation of the AU in terms of the foreign policy interests of Nigeria and South Africa); D.J. Francis, *Uniting Africa: Building Regional Peace and Security Systems* (Aldershot 2006) 25–31; S.M. Makinda and F.W. Okumu, op. cit. 28–35. 'United States of Africa': K. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (London 1961) 251; cf. 'a Union or Commonwealth of African States' in 175–177 (1958), 206 (1960). Accra Declaration: see [www.dirco.gov.za/docs/2007/ghan\\_decl0706.htm](http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/2007/ghan_decl0706.htm) (accessed 1 September 2018).

<sup>4</sup> This became even more obvious when the Western European Union (WEU) was incorporated in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, a military organisation that continues to expand eastwards in Europe (and includes Asian Turkey). Following adjustments in the 1990s the WEU had ten member states and six associate members (including Turkey), all of them members of NATO. It was separate from but operated within NATO, although the United States was excluded from membership. The first instance of concerted action by military forces was clearance of mines from the Persian Gulf in 1988–1990. The Council of the Western European Union had not met since 2001. See M. Palmer et al., *European Unity: A Survey of European Organisations* (London 1968), chap. 9; P.J. Byrd in D.W. Urwin and W.E. Paterson (eds.), *Politics in Western Europe Today: Perspectives, Policies and Problems since 1980* (London 1990) 87, 109–110; [www.weu.int](http://www.weu.int) (accessed 1 September 2018). European Parliament: M. Palmer et al., op. cit. 177–185.



organisation from fifteen to twenty-five member states; it did so in May 2004 and in September 2006 approved the inclusion of two more states in January 2007. A twenty-eighth country, Croatia, joined in 2013, but from March 2017 Great Britain was negotiating to leave the EU and did so in January 2020. The enlargement of the EU highlights another facet of both the world-wide and the regional associations: they do not seek uniformity. They positively encourage diversity, as the UN does through its agency, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). What these associations discourage is disunity and conflict.

But there are some cautions to be stated about attempts to achieve regional unity. These centre on national sovereignty. The Organisation of African Unity took the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of member states to the extreme of allowing African nations to oppress their people with immunity and to do “little or nothing to prevent massive human rights abuses in their neighbouring countries”. Since some self-appointed dictators have continued to represent their countries in the successor organisation, there is a question whether the African Union will be willing to take action to protect sub-national communal groups. The European Union has sometimes been surprised by the reluctance of the public and some national leaders in (particularly) Denmark, Great Britain and Ireland to accept commitments to greater unification such as the Maastricht Treaty (1992), a common currency (2002) and the Treaty of Lisbon (2008). Although only nineteen of the twenty-seven members of the EU are in the Eurozone, that monetary union (and perhaps the EU itself) faces the danger of secession by countries whose populations are suffering very high unemployment and significant reduction in living standards through legally enshrined programmes of fiscal rigour imposed by the EU in return for rescue from default on sovereign debt, which has often arisen from the kind of reckless lending by banks that led to the global financial crisis of 2008. One currency is not enough. One treasury to determine policies on taxing and spending and to require wealth-sharing between member states is needed, and that probably means that both those who want to impose austerity and those who want to promote economic growth will have to compromise in the loss of national sovereignty. Greater political integration might stop member states going their own way on fiscal and social policies, but already by 2012 some EU countries had forced out governments that agreed to harsh austerity programmes. Then in March 2020, after the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic, Italy complained about the failure of EU member states to respond to its call for medical equipment. Although China offered to sell lung ventilators, masks and so on to Italy, Germany and France were among the EU countries to impose limits on the export of protective medical equipment. In April the so-called ‘Frugal’ countries in northern Europe risked losing a single EU market by insisting that aid must come to the so-called ‘Club Med’ group of countries in the form of loans. The French president Emmanuel Macron argued strongly that piling more debt

on countries already drowning in debt will not resolve the underlying issue. Northern states that make handsome profits from exporting to the south might wake up one day to find that the EU single market is no longer there. The German president Angela Merkel, who said in April that grants of money were not in a category to which she could agree, was persuaded that Macron was correct. So in a marathon meeting in July country leaders agreed to a €750 billion package of which €390 billion would be grants and €360 billion would be loans. Merkel's switch to join Macron in support of common borrowing by the EU weakened the 'Frugals' (The Netherlands, Austria, Denmark and Sweden), though the leaders agreed on ways for a government to complain about "serious deviations" from a country's investment plan and ask the European Council to investigate.<sup>5</sup>

In the period of the League of Nations, while politicians struggled over unity between nations, academics in the public eye talked about a much broader unity, 'the unity of mankind'. One of them pointed out that about fifty-six of

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<sup>5</sup> OAU: T. Murithi, *The African Union: Pan-Africanism, Peacebuilding and Development* (Aldershot 2005) 2–3, 26–30, 82 (quotation from 26). In discussing the AU in the twenty-first century Murithi highlights the lack of attention to cultural values in efforts to build peace (125–130). See further on human rights in African countries G.W. Mugwanya, *Human Rights in Africa: Enhancing Human Rights through the African Regional Human Rights System* (Ardsey, NY 2003); R. Murray, *Human Rights* (n. 3); M. Evans and R. Murray (eds.), *The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights: The System in Practice*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge 2008); F. Viljoen, *International Human Rights Law in Africa*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 2012), especially Part 3; A. Jeng, *Peacebuilding in the African Union: Law, Philosophy and Practice* (Cambridge 2012), with case studies of Burundi (chap. 7) and Somalia (chap. 8). For an introduction to the European Union see J. McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*<sup>2</sup> (Basingstoke 2002), D. Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (Boulder, CO 2004) or R.H. Ginsberg, op. cit. (n. 1). For the Maastricht Treaty signed in February 1992 and ratified in 1992–93 see Council of the European Communities, *Treaty on European Union* (Luxembourg 1992) or, for a version as amended by the Treaty of Lisbon, F. Emmert (ed.), *European Union Law: Documents*<sup>2</sup> (The Hague 2011) 1–22. For an analysis see, for example, P.C. Schmitter in G. Marks et al. (eds.), *Governance in the European Union* (London 1996) 121–150, 161–165. For the Treaty of Lisbon see the site <http://eur-lex.europa.eu> (accessed 2 November 2010) and, for an introduction, I. Bache et al., *Politics in the European Union*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford 2011) 211–216 or A. Kaczorowska, *European Union Law*<sup>2</sup> (London 2011) 29–34. For the EU as a cosmopolitan empire see U. Beck and E. Grande in J. Meyer and A. Wiener (eds.), *Political Theory of the European Union* (Oxford 2011) 21–46. On the link between monetary and political union see P. De Grauwe, *Economics of Monetary Union*<sup>8</sup> (Oxford 2009) 106–114. A Belgian scholar who writes reports for the EU reviewed the responses of the EU to the global financial crisis and to sovereign debt problems of countries in the euro area and concluded that "monetary union does indeed require some form of fiscal union" and a probable reduction in the "fiscal sovereignty of eurozone countries": A. Sapir in L. Tsoukalis and J.A. Emmanouilidis (eds.), *The Delphic Oracle on Europe: Is There a Future for the European Union?* (Oxford 2011) 91–105 (quotations from 105). Italy's complaint: *The Guardian* (Australia), 11 March 2020. Threat to single EU market: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 2020; 22 and 23 July 2020.

what were then only sixty-eight nations in the world were currently members of the League of Nations; he suggested that it was necessary to deal with the self-assertive and aggressive impulses in people. After the Second World War another scholar saw in the League of Nations, United Nations, Benelux, the Strasbourg Assembly and movements such as Pan-Slavism evidence of “that instinctive belief that the human race has a corporate and universal destiny”; the problem of unity is the “all-absorbing human preoccupation today”. Also in the early 1950s a scholar who had long had an interest in the unity of humankind and had been a South African delegate to UNESCO wrote an introductory essay on the topic for the International University Society. A quarter of a century later again it was argued that, given the biological unity of the human mind implicit in the unity of humankind, humans should seek a unity of truth, which entails some restrictions on cultural diversity. About the same time Thomas Molnar produced a devastating critique of the recurrent dream of the oneness of humankind. Efforts to organise people into unity and cohesion – envisaged briefly by mediaeval Christians and taken up more rigorously by Marxists and Christian thinkers such as Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Paul Tillich – , he argued, reduce human freedom and deify humans. What was missing, in Molnar’s view, was a recognition of human sinfulness.<sup>6</sup> More recently, Internet technology has enabled people to discover what is happening elsewhere. But if companies which advertise on American television can effectively limit the information that is readily available to the American public, one can imagine that the information reaching citizens of a country with state censorship will be severely restricted. Moreover, the great expansion of social media has allowed the invention and acceptance of false ‘facts’, and some leaders

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<sup>6</sup> On 21 March 1935 Professor Morris Ginsberg gave a lecture to the London School of Economics and Political Science on *The Unity of Mankind* [L.T. Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lectures, 5] (Oxford 1935); cf. R. Fletcher in id. (ed.), *The Science of Society and The Unity of Mankind: A Memorial Volume for Morris Ginsberg* (London 1974) 20–21. Two years earlier Sir William Tarn had delivered a Raleigh Lecture on History to the British Academy on ‘Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind’: *PBA* 19 (1933) 123–166. Tarn’s view that Alexander was the first person to conceive of the unity of humankind was mistaken: see chap. 4 at n. 16. Preoccupation with unity: C.G. Hope, *The Nineteenth Century and After* 148 (1950) 322–330 (quotations from 322). South African scholar: T.J. Haarhoff, following his *The Stranger at the Gate: Aspects of Exclusiveness and Co-Operation in Ancient Greece and Rome, with Some Reference to Modern Times* (London 1938), with an expression of admiration for Tarn’s lecture on 5, published *The Unity of Mankind* (Nottingham n.d. [c.1951]); note especially his approval of bans on inter-racial marriage (36; contrast 22 against a Colour Bar) and his faith in Western Union (37–39); he provided questions for reflection or discussion keyed to a volume of readings. Restrictions on cultural diversity: M.J. Adler, *Truth in Religion: The Plurality of Religions and the Unity of Truth: An Essay in the Philosophy of Religion* (New York 1990) 113–128 (from a lecture delivered in 1973). T. Molnar’s critique: *Utopia: The Perennial Heresy* (London 1972), especially chaps. 1, 2 and 5.

of countries (including the man who was President of the United States of America from 2017 to 2020) have taken to making untrue claims about history. Nevertheless, the Internet is a *potential* means of promoting the sense of one world.

Against the background of these attempts at what is essentially political and economic unity there have taken place attempts at religious unity. Not that precedents were lacking in Christian thought. Jesus the Christ claimed that when he was to be lifted up from the earth he would draw all people to himself and he prayed that his followers might be one as he and his holy father were one. The former claim is to an ultimate unity of all humankind in Christ and it continues to be taken up in today's world. The first council of Christians at Jerusalem, recorded in *Acts of the Apostles*, rejected division among Christians on grounds of Jewish law. The church was already thought of as universal in a passage from Ignatios of Antioch discussed below in chapter 7: "wherever the bishop shows himself, there shall the community be, just as wherever Christ Jesus is there is the catholic church". The affirmation of belief in one catholic church derived from the apostles is made early in the history of Christian creeds and from the late fourth century in the West.<sup>7</sup> From the time when the League of Nations was developing, efforts to bring about a union of Christian churches began and they culminated in the formation of the World Council of Churches (WCC). The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in June 1910 was followed by two significant conferences in Oxford and Edinburgh in July and August 1937, the first of which led to the approval of a Provisional Committee of the 'World Council of Churches – in Process of Formation' in Utrecht in May 1938. After a postponement of the projected formation in 1940 because of the Second World War, the WCC proceeded to hold world congresses from 1948, as well as smaller meetings (notably, the Faith and Order Commission meetings). The influence of the establishment of the League of Nations on overtures towards church union was explicitly recognised by the Patriarchate

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<sup>7</sup> NT John 12:32; 17:11, 20–23; Acts 15:19–21, 28–29. Ignatios, *Smyrn.* 8.2; cf. *M.Polyk.* inscr., 8.1, 19.2 and chap. 7 at nn. 26–27. Creeds: J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*<sup>3</sup> (London 1972) 384–387; the creed of the Council of Constantinople (381 C.E.) includes belief in *μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν*: E.J. Jonkers (ed.), *Acta et symbola conciliorum quae saeculo quarto habita sunt* [Textus Minores, 19] (Leiden 1974) 138 or J.J. Pelikan and V.R. Hotchkiss (eds.), *Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* (New Haven, CN 2003) 1.162. Some scholars have explicitly sought light in the New Testament for the twentieth- and twenty-first-century ecumenical movement: see, for example, K. Goebbels, *Christliche Einheit aus der Sicht des Neuen Testaments: Ein Beitrag zum ökumenischen Gespräch* (Augsburg 1964); C. Maurer in J.R. Nelson (ed.), *No Man is Alien: Essays on the Unity of Mankind* (Leiden 1971) 45–61, in a volume of essays in honour of the first Secretary General of the World Council of Churches (see also below, at n. 12); A.C. Mayer, *Sprache der Einheit im Epheserbrief und in der Ökumene* [WUNT, 2.150] (Tübingen 2002).

of Constantinople in an Encyclical Letter of January 1920.<sup>8</sup> But Christians who disagreed with the thrust of the WCC did not hesitate to form international bodies which they saw as alternative routes to unity, such as the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (the Lausanne Movement), which has held international congresses in 1974, 1989 and 2010.<sup>9</sup> The League of Arab States (founded in 1945) can be considered to have Islam, rather than a particular form of government or a particular political ideology, as its key common denominator. But again there are rival movements that attack Arab states considered insufficiently Islamic, such as the al-Qa‘eda network, which attempted in association with the Egyptian group al-Gama‘a al-Islamiyya to assassinate

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<sup>8</sup> The ecumenical movement is generally thought to have its origins in the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in June 1910 (see, however, D. Hudson, *The World Council of Churches in International Affairs* [Leighton Buzzard 1977] 24–25 and B. Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* [Grand Rapids, MI 2009], especially 7–12, 71–72, 277–281; also below, at n. 28). On the World Conference on Church, Community, and State (Universal Christian Council for Life and Work) in Oxford in July and the Second World Conference on Faith and Order in Edinburgh in August 1937, see the Third Series, covering 1930–1948, of G.K.A. Bell (ed.), *Documents on Christian Unity* (Oxford 1948) 244–286 and, more fully, W. Moberly et al., *The Churches Survey their Task: The Report of the Conference at Oxford, July 1937, on Church, Community, and State* [The Church, Community, and State, 8] (London 1937), with the proposals passed for a World Council of Churches on 279–281, and L. Hodgson (ed.), *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order Held at Edinburgh, August 3–18, 1937* (London 1938); cf. G. Smith, *Oxford 1937: The Universal Christian Council for Life and Work Conference* [Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums, 135] (Frankfurt am Main 2004). For the first assembly of the WCC, marking its formal establishment, see W.A. Visser ‘t Hooft (ed.), *The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches Held at Amsterdam, August 22nd to September 4th, 1948* [Man’s Disorder and God’s Design, 5] (London 1949), with the preparatory papers in *The Amsterdam Assembly Series* [Man’s Disorder and God’s Design, 1–4] (New York, n.d. [1948–1949]). Documents of the Commission on Faith and Order are excerpted in L. Vischer (ed.), *A Documentary History of the Faith and Order Movement 1927–1963* (St Louis, MO 1963) and G. Gassmann (ed.), *Documentary History of Faith and Order 1963–1993* [Faith and Order Papers, 159] (Geneva 1993). For other documents see G.K.A. Bell (ed.), *Documents on Christian Unity* (4 vols., Oxford 1924–1958). Encyclical Letter ‘Unto All the Churches of Christ Wheresoever They Be’: G.K.A. Bell (ed.), *Documents on Christian Unity 1920–4* (Oxford 1924) 44–45, 47–48 = *Documents on Christian Unity: A Selection from the First and Second Series 1920–30* (Oxford 1955) 17–18, 20–21.

<sup>9</sup> The compendia of the first two Lausanne congresses (the second held in Manila) were edited by J.D. Douglas: *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization, Lausanne, Switzerland* (Minneapolis 1975); *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World* (Minneapolis 1990). See further below, with n. 30. For the concern of evangelical Christians to mobilise congregations for evangelisation of people groups ‘unreached’ by missions with the Christian gospel see B. Larsson and E. Castro in J.H.Y. Briggs et al. (eds.), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 3: 1968–2000* (Geneva 2004) 138–139.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt as he arrived in Addis Adaba for an OAU summit in June 1995.<sup>10</sup>

Since, then, the Christian ecumenical movement blossomed in the era of the early development of the UN, one may ask how far it was influenced by the existence and activities of the League of Nations and the UN. The WCC, indeed, adopted and Latinised as its motto a word (*oikoumene*) which Greeks under the Roman peace used to refer to the inhabited world (or sometimes only the Roman empire). The motto pointed to cross-national interests. But just as there were divisions in the ancient *oikoumene* (Greeks versus barbarians, Roman citizens versus non-Romans), so there have emerged other cross-denominational and international organisations within Christianity, such as the above-mentioned Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. Another indication of the interrelation between movements towards unity is the interest of the Christian churches in the unity of humankind. The WCC has, of course, been

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<sup>10</sup> For the League of Arab States see, for example, M. Khalil, *The Arab States and the Arab League: A Documentary Record* (Beirut 1962), especially 2.1–96, 145–150 (the editor frequently comments on the Arabic words translated by ‘union’, ‘federation’ and so on); A.M. Gomaa, *The Foundation of the League of Arab States: Wartime Diplomacy and Inter-Arab Politics, 1941 to 1945* (London 1977); Y. Porath, *In Search of Arab Unity 1930–1945* (London 1986), especially chap. 5; B. Maddy-Weitzman in A. Susser and A. Shmuelevitz (eds.), *The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World: Essays in Honour of the late Professor Uriel Dann* (London 1995) 183–197; M. Thornhill in M.J. Cohen and M. Kolinsky (eds.), *Demise of the British Empire in the Middle East: Britain’s Response to Nationalist Movements 1943–55* (London 1998) 41–63. On 1 November 1950 the Secretary-General of the Arab League said in the UN General Assembly: “In fact, this [spiritual and cultural] influence is the sacred heritage that devolved upon the League ...” (M. Khalil, op. cit. 2.81). In the same year the Arab League took steps to be treated as a regional organisation within Chapter VIII of the UN Charter (ibid. 2.147). See also R. Murray, *Human Rights* (n. 3); G. Nesi (ed.), *International Cooperation in Counter-Terrorism: The United Nations and Regional Organizations in the Fight against Terrorism* (Aldershot 2006), Part 2 (especially chapter 12 by M. Samy); M.N. Shaw, *International Law*<sup>8</sup> (Cambridge 2017) 780, 988. On the 1995 attempt on President Mubarak’s life see R. Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Melbourne 2002) 38, 165; A.K. Cronin et al. in E.V. Linden (ed.), *Foreign Terrorist Organizations: History Tactics and Connections* (New York 2004) 22–25; L. Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York 2006) 213–215, 220–221. It is estimated that Mubarak survived six attempts on his life before his arrest in May 2011 by the military government of Egypt: R.L. Tignor, *Egypt: A Short History* (Princeton 2010) 286. A four-line *sura* on the unity and uniqueness of God at the end of the Qur’an (112), sometimes entitled ‘The Unity’, is regarded by many as its essence: N.R. Reat and E.F. Perry, *A World Theology: The Central Spiritual Reality of Humankind* (Cambridge 1991) 309. On the other hand, there are deep divisions within Islam and the various segments continue to “maintain their respective claims to be the only valid form of the religion” (ibid. 265). P. Jenkins argues that even in Europe organisations intended to unify Muslim groups in a country, such as L’Unione delle Comunità e Organizzazioni Islamiche in Italia, founded in 1990, exacerbate deep divisions within the Muslim communities by their activities: *God’s Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe’s Religious Crisis* (Oxford 2007) 137.

primarily concerned with the unity of the Christian churches, publishing regular surveys of church union negotiations.<sup>11</sup> But since (at least) the Third Assembly of the WCC at New Delhi in 1961 the World Council and its leaders have been concerned to place the study of the unity of the Church in the context of the unity of humankind. The chairperson of the Working Committee of the Faith and Order Commission in 1968 and 1969, J.R. Nelson, pointed to the evidence of current human experience and history that the human race shows many disintegrative characteristics. He believed that the Church should be concerned with its unity in the milieu of all humankind because it sees itself as a united community with a mission to all humankind. While most of his recommendations relate to attitudes, he was at his most practical when he stressed that concern for the unity of humankind means for all Christians participation in the struggle to eliminate the causes and structures of division among and within the many churches and confessions. He believed that the unity of humankind is a reality, not an illusion, but a reality not yet realised. The task of the Christian church is to bring about a visible unity so that the cause of human unity is advanced.<sup>12</sup> More recently, Christian thought has turned its attention

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<sup>11</sup> In *The Ecumenical Review and Faith and Order Commission Papers*. One can, for example, follow the later stages of the negotiations that started in earnest in 1954 and ended in May 1974 with the Presbyterian Church of Australia agreeing to join the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand and the Methodist Church of Australasia. The Uniting Church in Australia was inaugurated in June 1977; see, for example, P. Bentley and P.J. Hughes, *The Uniting Church in Australia* (Canberra 1996) 4–12 or R. Smith in W.W. Emilson and S. Emilson (eds.), *The Uniting Church in Australia: The First 25 Years* (Melbourne 2003) 7–10. *Faith and Order Commission Papers* 11c (Geneva 1957), reprinted from *The Ecumenical Review* 9 (1957) 284–302, sees itself as the third supplement, after *The Ecumenical Review* 6 (1954) 300–315 and 8 (1955) 76–93, to S.C. Neill, *Towards Church Union 1937–1952: A Survey of Approaches to Closer Union among the Churches* [Faith and Order Commission Papers, 11] (London 1952). For subsequent surveys of church union negotiations see the list in G. Gassmann, op. cit. (n. 8) 323.

<sup>12</sup> W.A. Visser 't Hooft (ed.), *The New Delhi Report: The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches 1961* (London 1962) 182–185, 187–188. In 1963 the Faith and Order Commission (in Paper 41) raised the need to study the history of the church in relation to the history of humankind (G. Gassmann, op. cit. [n. 8] 14–15; cf. 56). The Working Committee of the Faith and Order Commission at its Canterbury meeting in 1969 decided to disseminate a working paper on the subject of the unity of the church and the unity of humankind (English version of the working paper in *Study Encounter* 5 [1969] 163–181). This led eventually to the 1973 statement “Unity of the Church – Unity of Mankind” (Faith and Order Papers, 66), excerpted in G. Gassmann, op. cit. (n. 8) 137–143. J.R. Nelson’s views: in R. Groscurth (ed.), *What Unity Implies: Six Essays After Uppsala* [World Council of Churches Studies, 7] (Geneva 1969) 101–114 and in Nelson (ed.), op. cit. (n. 7) 1–14, especially 12–14. In the latter volume J. Moltmann suggested that a prophetic eschatology of the coming God will entail the commonality of all humans and that this Jewish/Christian concept offers more than the Stoic ontology of human nature (both ideas were expressed in Martin Luther King’s “I have a dream” speech of 28 August 1963): *ibid.* 203–224, especially 203–210. P.B.

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