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Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire: The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Caesarea

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Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire:  
The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea

By

David John DeVore

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Susanna K. Elm, Chair  
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Professor J. Rebecca Lyman  
Professor Carlos F. Noreña

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## Abstract

Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire:  
the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea

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David John DeVore

Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology

University of California, Berkeley

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“Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire: the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea” addresses a major shift in Roman social, political, and religious history at the pivotal turn of the fourth century AD. When Christianity was legalized in 313, the Christian church of the eastern Roman Empire, where the pagan Licinius ruled as emperor until the Christian Constantine defeated him in 324, remained in an insecure position. The Greek-speaking eastern Roman elite of this period only admitted outsiders to their circles who displayed a civilized manner of life inculcated in the elite Greek educational curriculum (*paideia*), the kind of life embodied by Greek philosophers. It was, I argue, to depict this newly legalized Christianity as the models of the philosophical life that Eusebius of Caesarea wrote the first history of the church in the 310s AD. Whereas Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* is usually studied for its intra-Christian discourse, this study considers the *History* as a Greek text aimed at Roman elites. I demonstrate that the *History*’s reconfiguration of Greek historiographical genres constructed Christianity as a civilized and educated institution whose leaders were worthy to educate and advise the Roman ruling classes.

The first three chapters present a reading of the *Ecclesiastical History* within the rich variety of Greek historiographical genres. The first chapter applies genre theory to show that Eusebius’ *History* was a combination of the Greek genres of national history and philosophical biography. This combination of genres presented the church as a nation of philosophers ready to assume the standard role of philosophers in the Roman Empire, of teaching Roman elites a civilized manner of life and of advising Roman emperors. The second chapter scrutinizes the character of Eusebius’ Christianity by studying eighty mini-biographies embedded into the *History* that echo Diogenes Laertius’, Philostratus’, and Porphyry’s philosophical biographies. By highlighting Christians’ homogeneous and universal intellectual prowess, these profiles represent the church as reliable educators and advisors. The third chapter argues that, in a riposte to the grand genre of Greek war history that valorized other nations’ pasts, Eusebius transformed persecution and martyrdom from an orderly legal procedure into a violent struggle told in the manner of the great Greek historian Thucydides. As the church’s enemy in the struggle martyrdom was Satan and not the Roman persecutors of Christianity, Eusebius could call martyrdoms “wars contested for peace in the soul,” critiquing Greek war history with Greek philosophical discourse. His church emerges victorious by remaining steadfastly loyal to God, surpasses the warriors in Greek

literature by its virtuous conduct of the wars, and, by scapegoating the demons, absolves the Roman Empire of any systemic flaw that would discourage Christians from supporting it.

The next three chapters complement my analysis of the *Ecclesiastical History*'s genres by locating Eusebius' Christianity in the social structures of the early fourth-century Roman Empire. The fourth chapter introduces Eusebius' experience of living under Rome through a thick description of the archaeological remains of his home city, Caesarea Maritima. Caesarea was unmistakably a Roman creation, as the governor of Palestine resided there and the city's topography featured numerous monuments to Roman power, including monuments to philosophers who were respected in the city. The peaceful, prosperous and well-connected life that a wealthy man such as Eusebius could live there solidified Eusebius' loyalty to the Roman Empire. The fifth chapter shows how Eusebius integrated the church into the Empire: he delineated networks of bishops and intellectuals that stretched across the Empire from Mesopotamia to Gaul and Carthage. The geographically diffused church displays a variety of mechanisms for maintaining long-distance cohesion, and the cohesive and homogeneous philosophical church bound together by these ties attracts favor from Roman leaders throughout the *History*. Through these encounters Eusebius patterned the church's relationship with the Empire after that of Greek philosophers: philosophers typically stayed in contact with emperors and governors while maintaining a critical distance from imperial power, so as to provide impartial advice for imperial officials. Eusebius placed Christians into the beneficial imagined relationship that philosophers had held with the Empire, from which they would strengthen imperial governance. The sixth chapter contextualizes the *History* in Eusebius' larger literary oeuvre. He published the *History* when he was writing his long magnum opus, the *Gospel Preparation* and *Gospel Demonstration*, a comprehensive exposition and defense of Christian doctrine. Eusebius' simultaneous publication of the *Preparation-Demonstration* with the *History* emulated the combination of expository works with biographical narratives in Greek philosophical curricula. Eusebius' forging of a comprehensive program for training Christians to think and act as philosophers positioned the church to displace Greek philosophical schools as the premier intellectual institution of the Empire. From this position, the church could then reinforce the Empire's mission to civilize the inhabited world.

The *History* articulated a central role for Eusebius' church in Rome's imperial regime. Where the most prominent role of Greek philosophers was to educate imperial elites and advise Roman emperors, Eusebius' assertion of Christians' intellectual prowess claimed the church's superiority as a philosophical institution. Eusebius published his vision at a fortuitous moment, for when the Christian emperor Constantine conquered the eastern Roman Empire in 324, the *History* had already advertised church leaders' competence in the philosophical profession. By telling the church's history within the Greek historiographical tradition stretching back to Herodotus and Thucydides, therefore, Eusebius' *History* became a catalyst for the church's integration into the power structures of the Roman Empire in the fourth century.

parentibus amantibus  
et uxori carissimae

## Acknowledgments

As this is a study of how a constellation of literary topoi reflect a social agenda, to begin with the topos, it seems appropriate to begin with a topos common in acknowledgments but nonetheless typically accurate: This study has really been a group project. While it is tempting to dismiss topoi as mere shibboleths or misdirection, my efforts in completing this dissertation have exposed just how dependent on others my work has been. I can scarcely count the number of people who deserve thanks for helping to bring this project to completion and will therefore try to thank as many as have noticeably improved this project. To be sure, another topos also holds full force: none of the following is responsible for this study's faults.

Susanna Elm has been an enthusiastic *Doktormutter*. She has encouraged the project from the very beginning and has provided heavy doses of tough love, particularly in always pushing me to take a break from the weeds of evidentiary minutiae and to think about the wider historical implications of Eusebius' work. This dissertation would have been a far lesser work without her guidance, which has improved every page of this study.

The other members of my dissertation committee have complemented Susanna's strengths readily and happily. Rebecca Lyman's combination of a listening ear and incisive, timely commentary has never ceased both to stimulate and to reassure. Carlos Noreña has been a font of well-considered scholarly advice about constructing an argument and knowledge about Roman governments and built environments. Tony Long's knowledge of so many fields of ancient culture has kept me on my toes about points where I otherwise would have made quick judgments (especially in my translations of Greek texts).

It has been a privilege to speak so frequently with several other scholars working on the same neglected author throughout my dissertation. I was most fortunate that James Corke-Webster won a Fulbright fellowship to bring his groundbreaking work on the Eusebius to Berkeley in the 2012-2013 academic year. James' combination of a sharp critical eye and encouraging words forced me to rethink numerous assumptions and replenished my confidence at difficult points. It is perhaps fitting that his Eusebius, more than mine, is an advocate of intellectual community, as his presence generates lively scholarly community. I have also benefited from many a conversation with Megan Hale Williams, whose reminders to contextualize everything have generated a greater understanding of Eusebius' political situation. The always careful and kind Aaron Johnson has provided regular guidance and support despite his busy schedule. Jesse Torgerson has been the most stalwart of scholarly companions: although (or perhaps because?) we work on different historiographical projects, we have run for years in parallel lanes, and Jesse has improved my scholarship in ways irreducible to annotations at the bottom of a page.

In addition to those already named, several busy scholars have taken the time to read my work at various stages and offer helpful suggestions that have significantly improved the project. Ari Bryen, Patrick Clark, Hal Drake, Erich Gruen, and Eli Weaverdyck will always have my gratitude for their improvement of my work.

Several scholars have been kind enough to share unpublished work that has enriched my research. For this I thank Rajiv Bhola, Ari Bryen, James Corke-Webster, Aaron Johnson, Candida Moss, Ken Olson, Jeremy Schott, Anna Uhlig, and Arthur Urbano.

In Berkeley the staff of the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology has been indispensable. Andrew Stewart and Ted Peña as program chairs, and Marian Feldman and Carlos Noreña as graduate advisors, have made sure that my research

advanced and that even amid difficult times, all of their students have had needed resources. The administrative staff of the Graduate Group—Sarah Calderon, Cassandra Dunn, Candace Grosskreuz, Nancy Lichtenstein, Gary Spears, Jenny Smith, and Janet Yonan—has always kept me informed of important bureaucratic matters, accommodated my circumstances, and remained cheerful at the office.

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I have been fortunate to receive the funds needed to focus on testing my ideas—an experience that has reinforced my assertion (chapter 4) that Eusebius could not have carried out his scholarship under different economic conditions. For 2009-10 I received a Dean's Normative Time Fellowship from the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley, and for 2011-12 the Mabelle McLeod Lewis foundation provided a Dissertation Grant. In addition, several travel grants from Heller Fund of the Classics Department and from the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology allowed me to attend conferences and meet scholars who have stimulated my work.

I had the good fortune to enjoy a *Forschungsaufenthalt* in fall of 2010 at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in Munich, whose marvelous ancient history library significantly enriched my thinking about Eusebius' built environment. I wrote the first drafts of what became chapters 4 and 5 of the dissertation there. Rudolf Haensch was an attentive and critical sponsor, and Christof Schuler gracious and hospitable as the institute's director. The generosity of Roland Färber, Peter Rothenhöfer, Sara Saba, Ursula Vedder, Regina Gruber, Julian Hollaender, and Sophia Bönisch made my time in Munich pleasant and productive. The Gerda Henkel und Jacobi Stiftung provided the stipend (with supplemental travel funding from the Sara B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy) that underwrote my stay.

The opportunity to present early versions of some of my chapters abroad has also benefited this study. In Nijmegen in December of 2010 I presented an early version of chapter 5 at the OIKOS/Impact of Empire Research Group meeting; I thank Liesbeth Claes, Jan Drijvers, Lien Foubert, Olivier Hekster, Erika Manders, and Daniëlle Slootjes for their efforts in arranging my stay. At Oxford in April 2012 I had the privilege of presenting another version of the same chapter to a sharp group of classicists, kindly arranged by Kate Cooper, James Corke-Webster, Conrad Leiser, Melissa Markausas, Dirk Rohmann, Jamie Wood, and funded in part by travel awards from the Heller Fund of the Berkeley Classics Department and the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology. My work is far stronger for the scrutiny of these researchers from across the Atlantic.

Thanks to travel grants from the Graduate Group in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology and to Berkeley's Graduate Division I was able to spend two weeks investigating the site and the objects of Caesarea in July and August of 2011. I would not have gone to Caesarea had Andrew Stewart not sat me down and suggested that I journey there; with his characteristic beneficence he also made numerous helpful suggestions for questions to ask in Israel. Ken Holum was also kind enough to meet me, to answer many of my questions, and to put me in touch with the Israeli excavators of Caesarea. In Israel, Rina and Arnon Angert of the Sdot Yam Museum were most generous in allowing me to inspect the museum's collection of



Caesarean objects. Peter Gendelmann offered me an expert tour of Caesarea, and he and Rivka Gersht treated me to a delicious dinner and answered many of my questions about Caesarea's material culture. Joseph Patrich also spent an afternoon clarifying many of my uncertainties about the architecture of Eusebius' home city. It was also fortuitous that Aris Grigoriadis was not only in Israel at the same time when I was but also was very giving of his time, since many of my study photographs may not have survived the journey without his timely help.

On particular topics, a number of scholars have offered assistance on points where I lack expertise that has improved this dissertation at particular points: Jerome Baggett, Bruno Bleckmann, Lukas de Blois, Richard Burgess, John Dillery, Volker Drecoll, Eric Driscoll, Werner Eck, Olivier Hekster, Tom Hendrickson, Tonio Hölscher, George Karras, Ylva Klaasen, Bart Koet, Lukas Lemcke, Lydia Matthews, Helmut Müller, Jennifer Nelson, Johannes Nollé, Josh O'Brien, Ted Peña, Elizabeth Penland, Hélène Roelens-Flouneau, Joel Rygorsky, Sandra Scheuble-Reiter, Alan Ross, Jared Secord, Devin Singh, Danielle Sloopjes, and Andrew Stewart. And several additional scholars have responded thoughtfully as I tested ideas on them: for this I thank Kate Cooper, Timothy Doran, Lisa Eberle, Simon Grote, Scott McGinness, Charlotte Rouché, Alex Roberts, Michele Salzmann, and Norman Underwood.

This dissertation also could not have been written without the help of dear friends who, outside of my academic circles, have shared my joys and sorrows of my life and motivated me in difficult circumstances. The congregation of Immanuel Lutheran Church in Alameda has been a constant source of strength, cheer, and guidance. Timothy Doran, who traversed this road before me, is a paragon of living the academic and personal life to the fullest. Dawn Evinger has filled in on many tasks that I have not been able to perform in the sprint to finish. Dave Martin and Mike Lahr, lifelong friends, have always stood by me.

Finally, I must thank the three people most responsible both for my finishing this project and for much more. I would not have reached this point were it not for my parents, Anna and John, who have always been present even at the most difficult moments. Their pursuit of knowledge and careful methods for obtaining it have lighted the path for my own scholarly pursuits, and their attention to detail has become my own guiding principle. They have even lent me their discerning eyes to proofread much of the dissertation; again, they bear no responsibility for the faults that remain.

My better half, Sandi Garcia, has been patient, encouraging, full of common sense, ready to talk out problems, and bursting with ebullience even at my most difficult moments throughout this project. Her formidable talents with travel planning and networking has allowed me to take advantage of many opportunities that I could not otherwise have exploited, and I would have asked the range of questions that I did without the energetic inspiration that she exudes every single day.

To these three wonderful and vital people I dedicate the study that follows.

## Figures

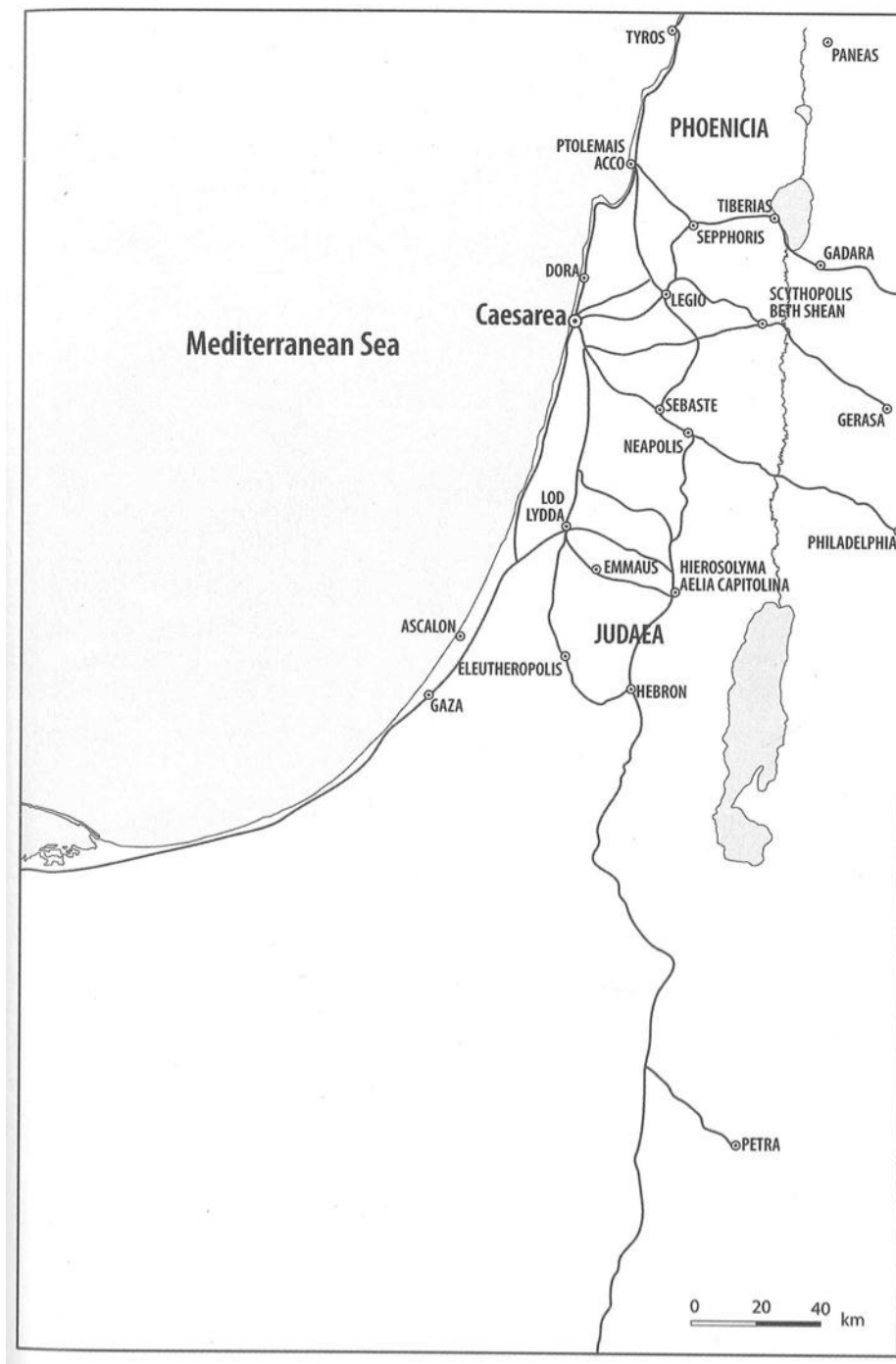
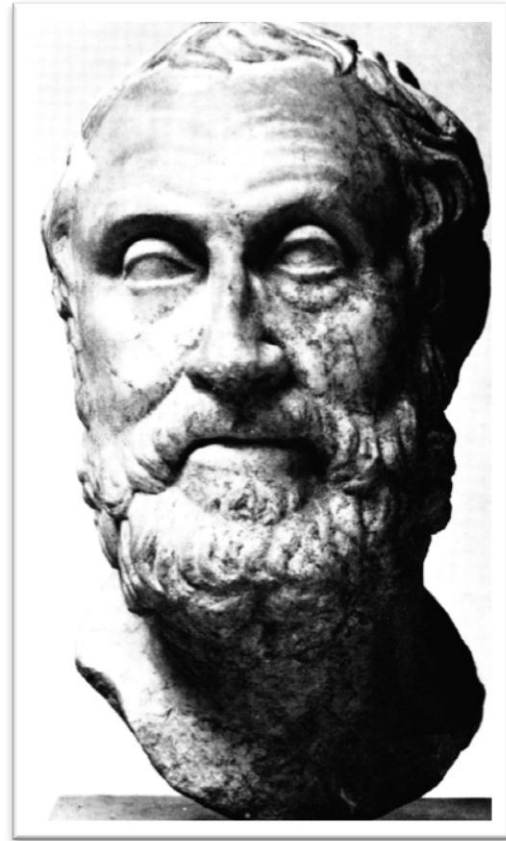
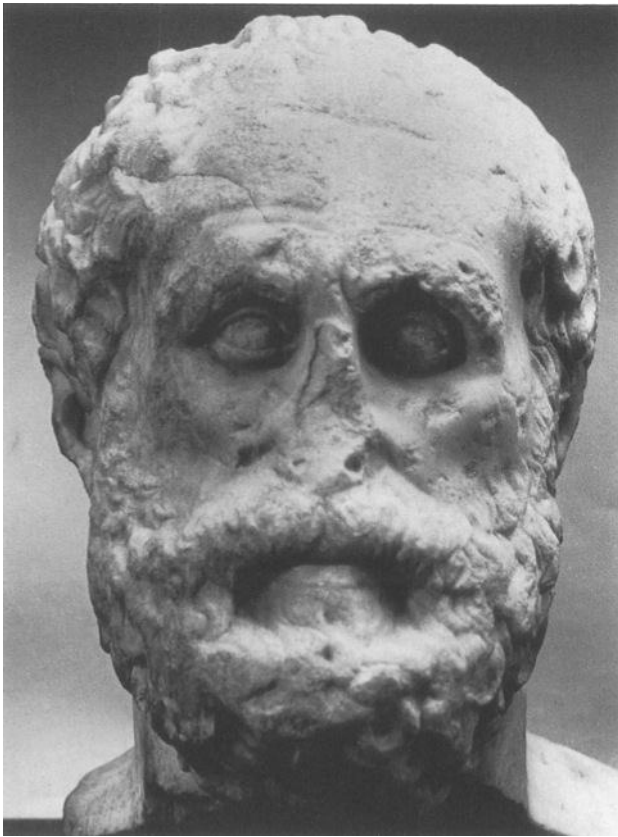


Figure 1: Roman Palestine (Ameling et al. 2011: 919); note, however, that by Eusebius' day the province was called "Palestine."



Figure 2: A reconstructed map of Caesarea around Eusebius' day; note that this figure calls the hippodrome-stadium an "amphitheater/hippodrome" and both governor's palaces "praetoria" (Holm 2009: 188)



Figures 3 and 4: the Caesarea Carneades (Gersht 1999: 395; note the cross on his forehead) and the Basel Carneades (Richter 1965: no. 1691)

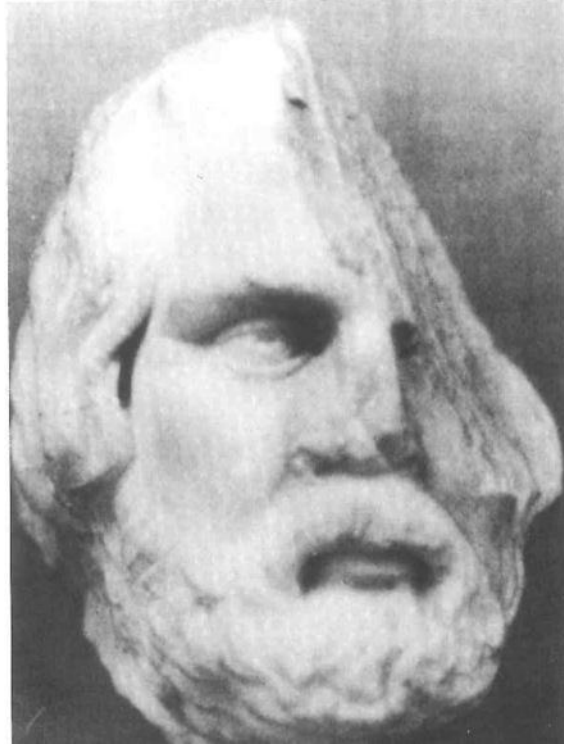


Figure 5: The Caesarea Euripides (Fischer 1998: no. 138)



Figure 6: The Caesarea Philosopher Sarcophagus (Fischer 1998: no. 210)



Abb. 8



Abb. 9



Abb. 11

Figure 7: a column found in the Promontory Palace at Caesarea, with squeezes of the inscriptions dedicating the statue to Titus Flavius Maximus the philosopher and for Galerius; note that the column was turned upside-down to inscribe Galerius' name onto it (Eck 2010: 177)

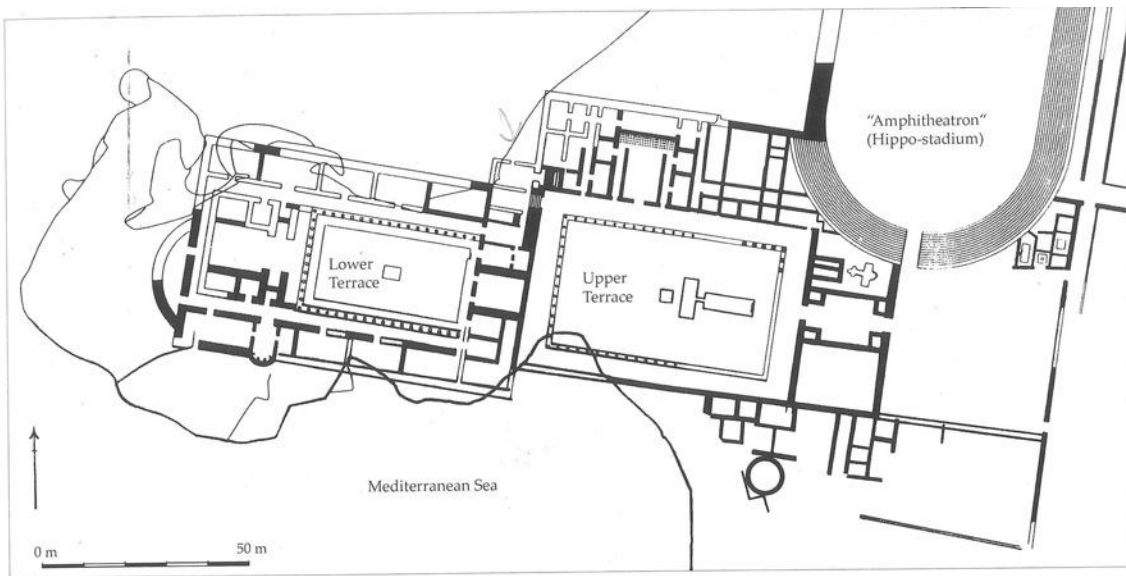


Figure 8: A plan of Caesarea's Promontory Palace (Patrich 2010: 176)

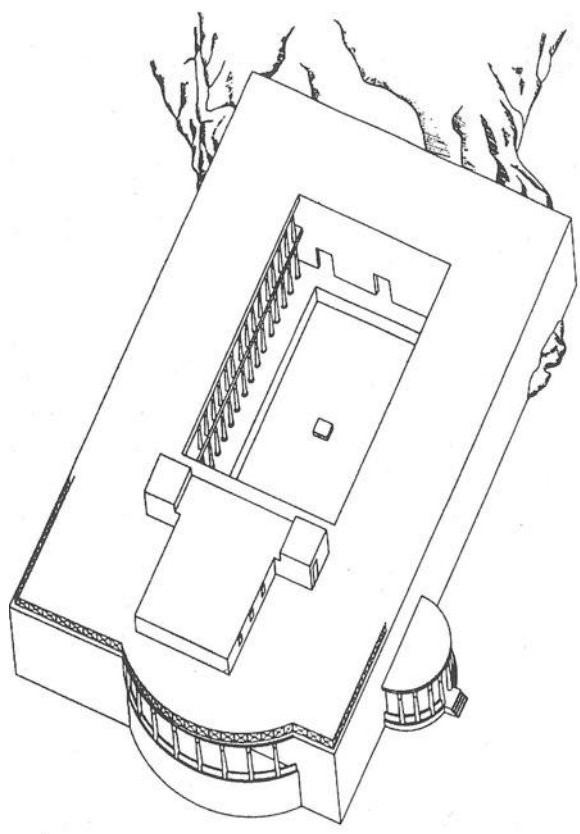


Figure 9: A reconstruction of Caesarea's Promontory Palace (Patrich 2010: 176)



Figure 10: An aerial photograph of Caesarea's three-building governor's complex. Herod's theater is in the foreground; behind it, protruding into the sea, is the site of the Roman governor's (until Diocletian) Promontory Palace; in front and to the right of the Promontory Palace is the city's Hippodrome-Stadium. Compare with Figure 2 (Patrich 2011b: figure 37)



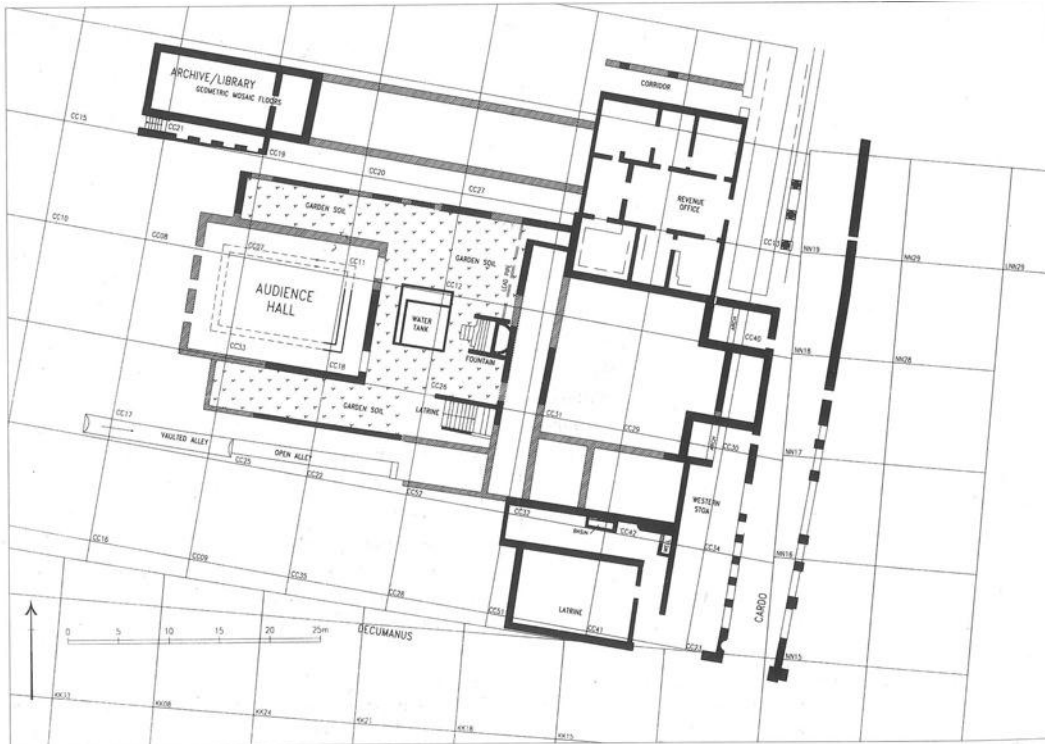


Figure 11: A plan of the procurator's, and then after Diocletian the governor's, palace at Caesarea, top story (Patrich 2010: 180)

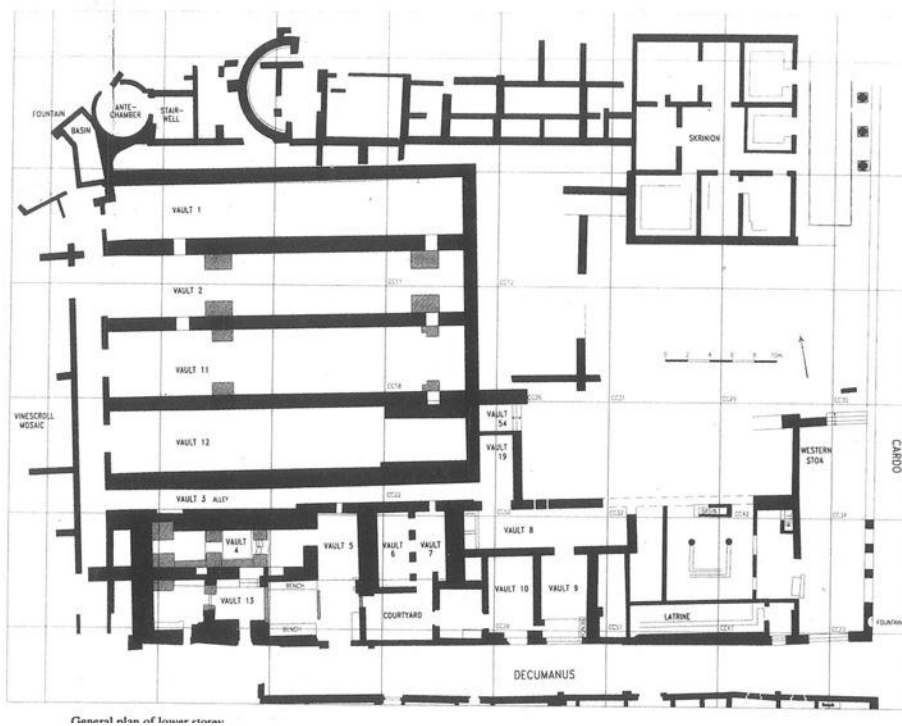


Figure 12: The bottom story of the procurator's palace (Patrich 2011b: figure 111)



Figures 13 and 14: The base of a statue that honored Marcus Flavius Agrippa from Shuni and a squeeze of the inscription from the statue (Holum et al. 1988: 114f.)

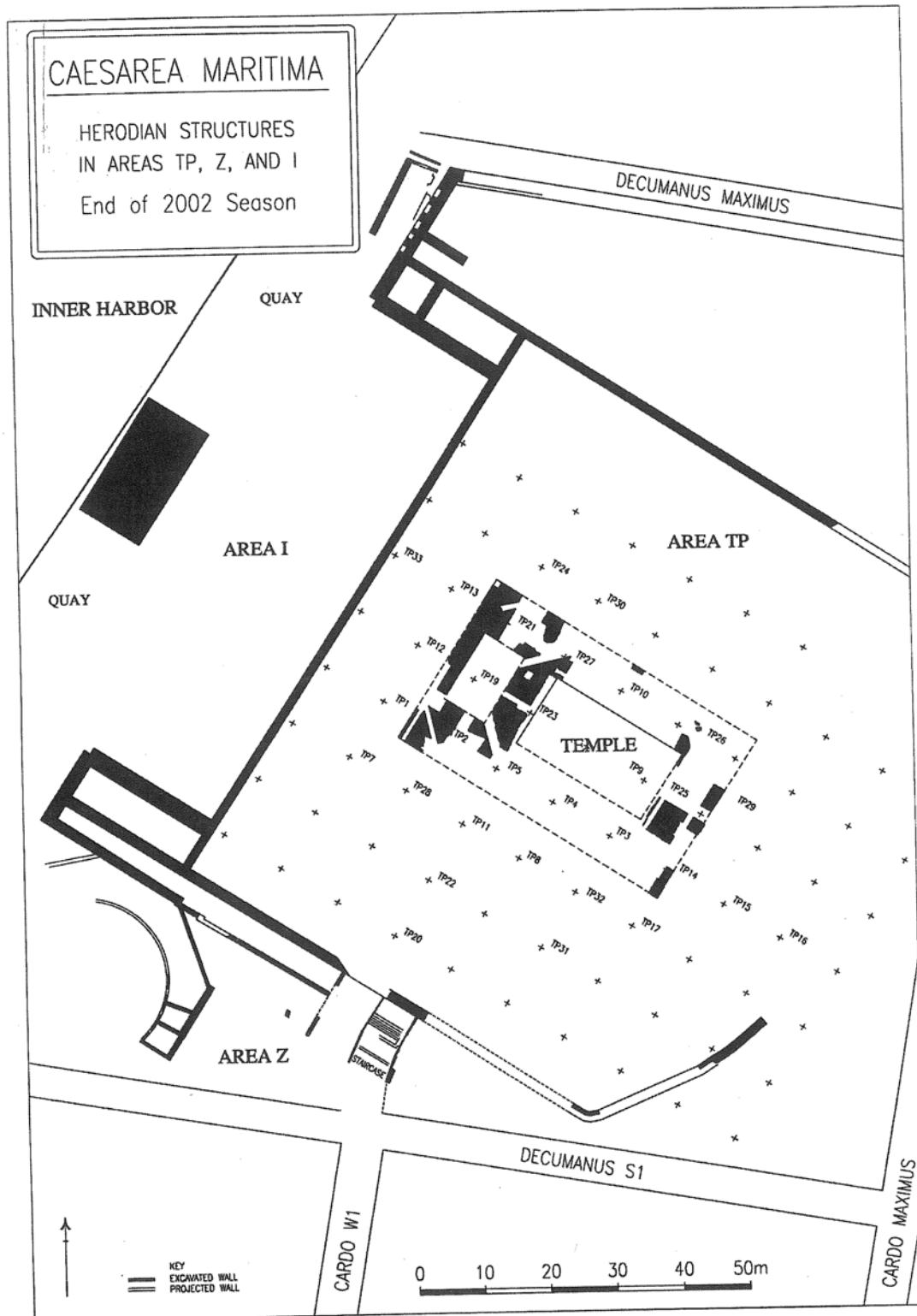


Figure 15: A top plan of the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea. The plan does not include the colonnades surrounding the temple (see figure 17; image from Stabler et al. 2008: 18).

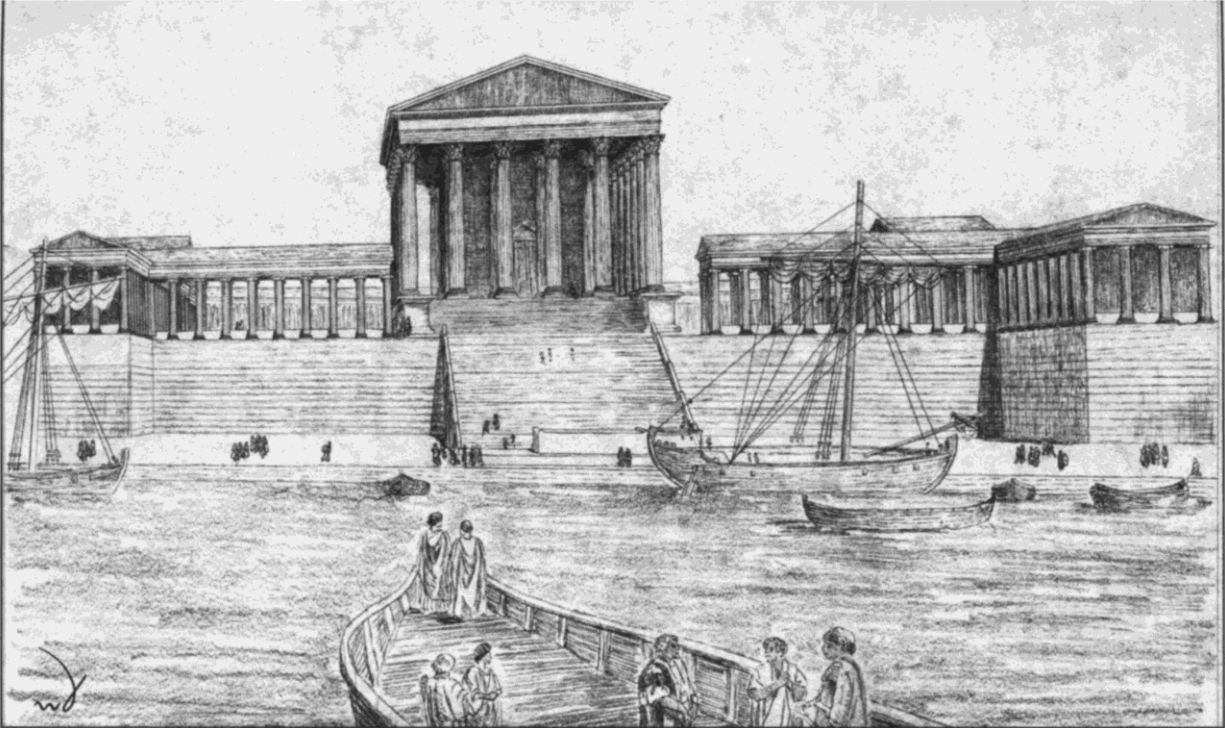


Figure 16: A reconstruction of Caesarea's Temple of Roma and Augustus as viewed by passengers entering Herod's harbor of Caesarea (Holum 2004: 187)



Figure 17: a panel from the Caesarea cup, showing Strato coming before the Tyche of Caesarea, who holds a standard in her left hand and a head in her right. Augustus' head overlooks the scene on the top register (Gersht 1999: 394)

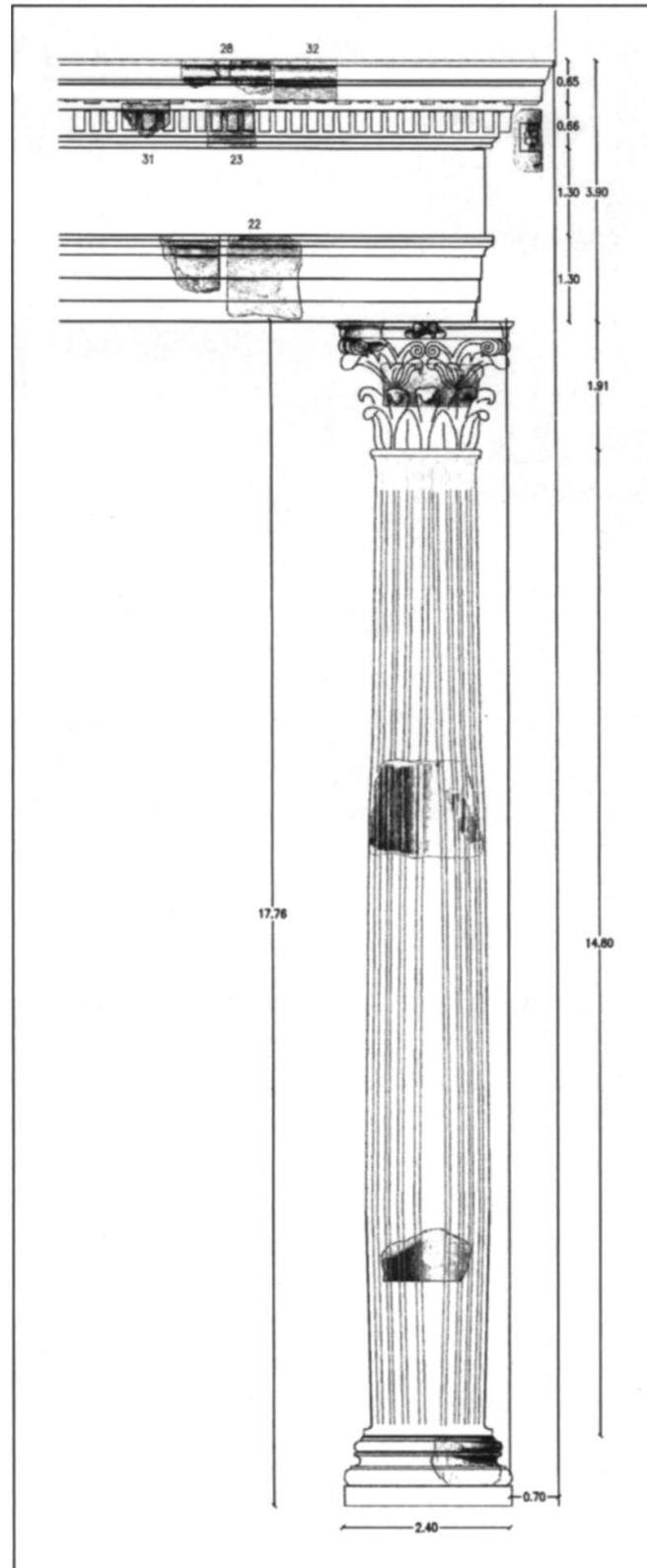


Figure 18: A reconstruction of a column and the entablature from Caesarea's Temple of Roma and Augustus. The surviving fragments of a column are shaded (Holum 2004: 188)

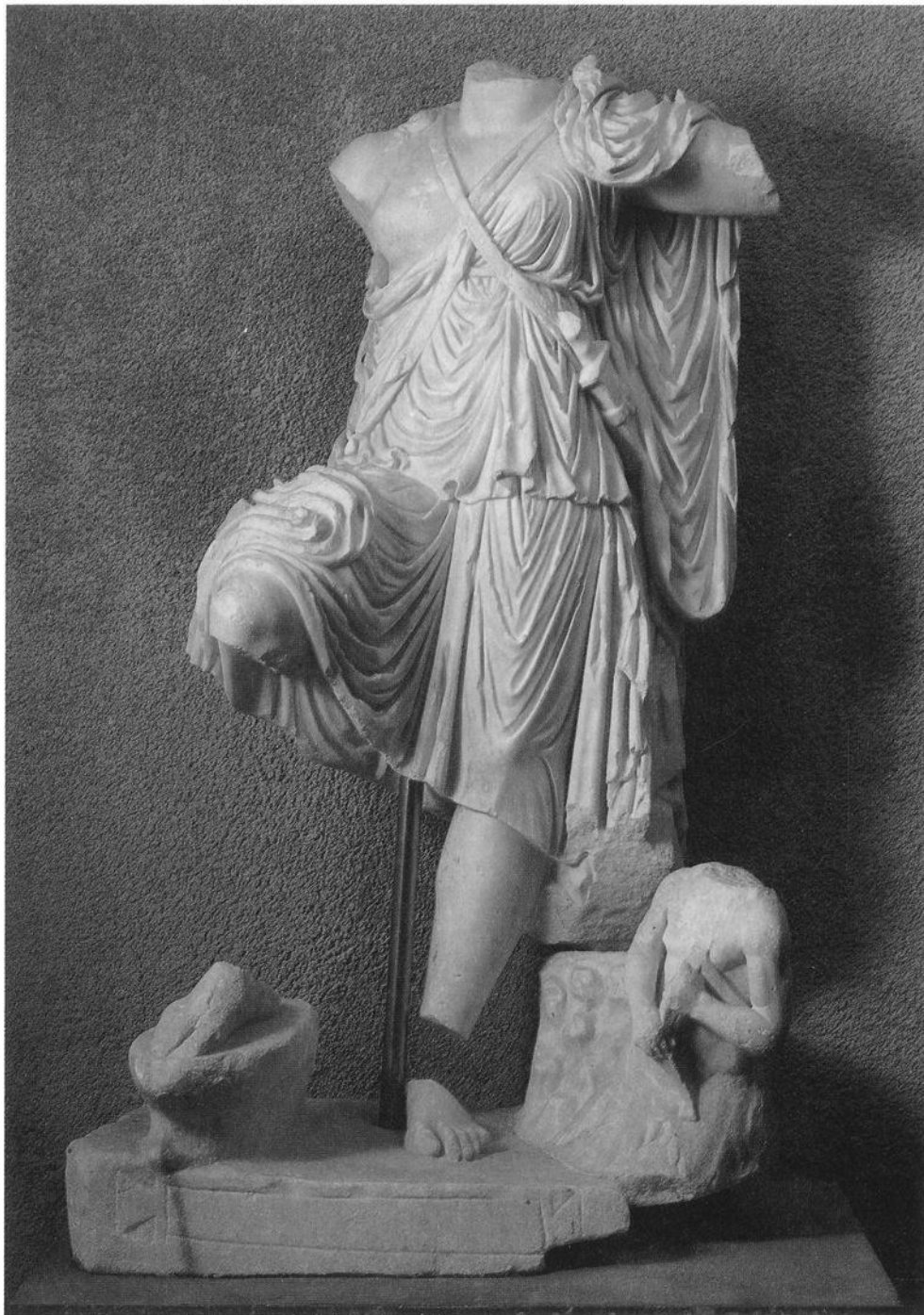


Figure 19: The great Tyche of Caesarea, possibly the cult statue of Tyche; compare to the Tyche on the Caesarea cup (figure 19; Holum et al. 1988: 12)



Figure 20: Caesarea's colossal togate statue made from porphyry marble, probably of Hadrian (Holum et al. 1988: 125)



Figure 21: the northwest flank of the temple platform of Roma and Augustus. Note the niches on the platform where statues of divinities stood (Porath 1998: 47)



Figure 22: a statue of Hygeia originally located in one of the niches of figure 21 (Fischer 1998: no. 136)





Figure 23: Caesarea's shrine along the edge of the hippodrome-stadium. The three niches held statues of Isis, Serapis, and Tyche. The shrine may have been converted into a martyr shrine in the fourth century (Patrich 2011b: figure 34)

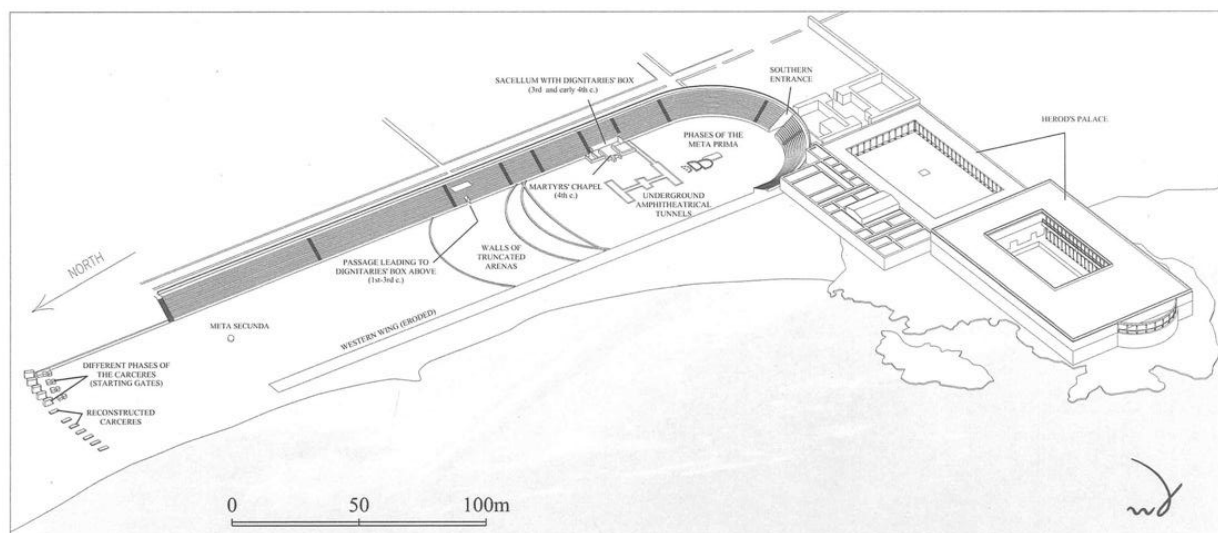


Figure 24: The Promontory Palace and hippodrome-stadium of Caesarea. The stadium had been truncated to its shortest length by Eusebius' day. The chapel of figure 23 is the "sacellum" at the east wall of the stadium. Compare with figures 2 and 10 (Patrich 2011a: figure 13)



Figure 25: The site of Caesarea's southeast hippodrome. A reconstruction of the obelisk stands in the center of the hippodrome. Compare with figure 2 (Patrich 2011b: figure 41)



Figure 26: The site of Caesarea's amphitheater by aerial photograph; compare with figure 2 (Holum et al. 1988: 85)

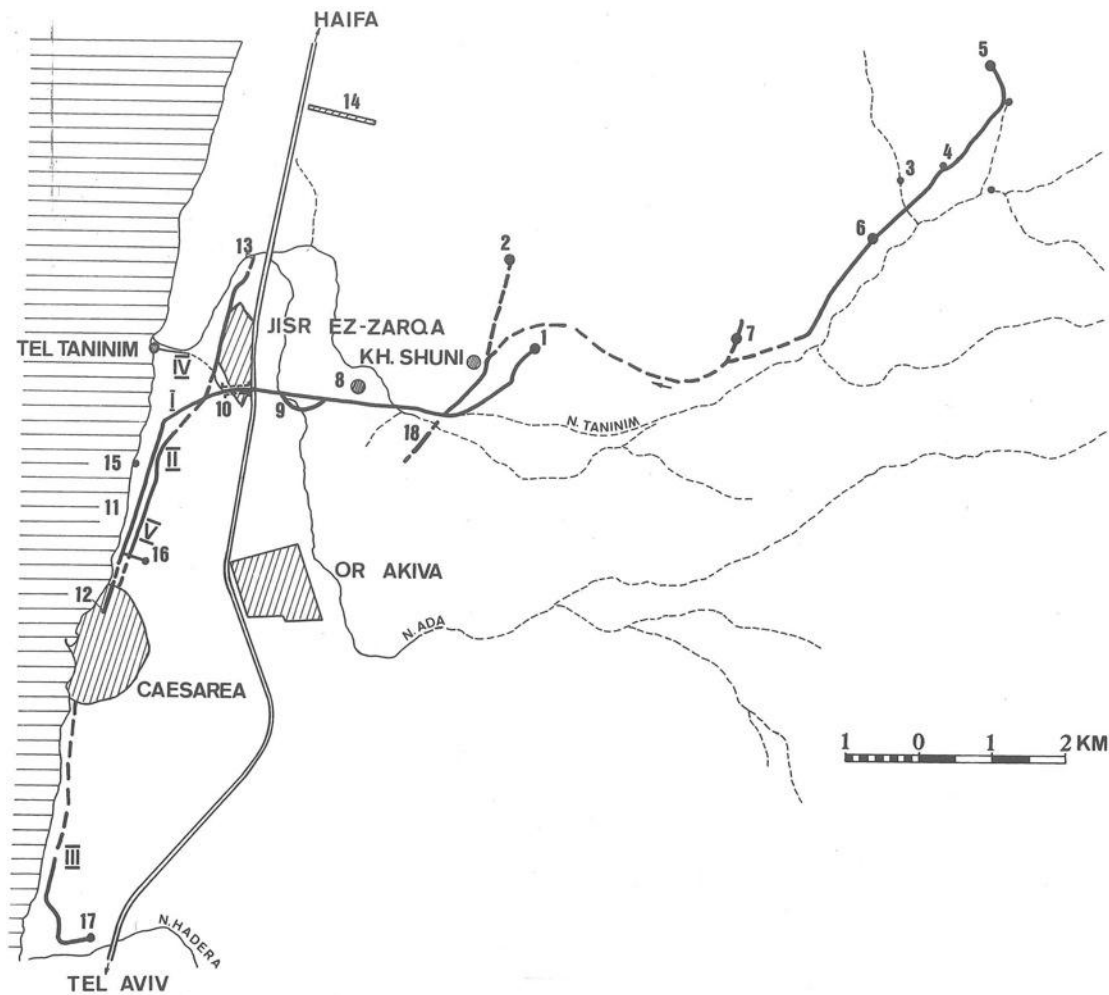


Fig. 1. General map of the aqueducts of Caesarea. I - High-level aqueduct. II - Low-level aqueduct. III. Southern pipeline. IV. Channel E to Tel Taninim. V. Pipeline to the 'Christian building'. 1 - 'Ein Shuni. 2 - 'En Z̄ur. 3 - 'En Alon. 4 - 'En 'Ami. 5 - 'En Tsabarim. 6 - Naḥal Taninim tunnel. 7 - Naḥal Snunit tunnel. 8 - Tel Mevorakh. 9 - Deviation aqueduct. 10 - Jisr ez Zarqa tunnel. 11 - Aqueduct beach. 12 - High-level aqueduct's *castellum*. 13 - Naḥal Taninim dam. 14 - North Taninim reservoir dam. 15 - Tel Tadvira. 16 - Christian building. 17 - 'Ein el Asal. 18 - Unfinished aqueduct.

Figure 27: A map of Caesarea's two northern aqueducts. The high-level aqueduct was built at the city's founding and renovated in the early second century; the low-level aqueduct was built in the third century (Porath 2002: 104)



Figure 28: Caesarea's high-level aqueduct as seen from the shore (at point 11 on figure 28); inscriptions show that it was renovated by Roman soldiers under Hadrian (Holum et al. 1988: 78)

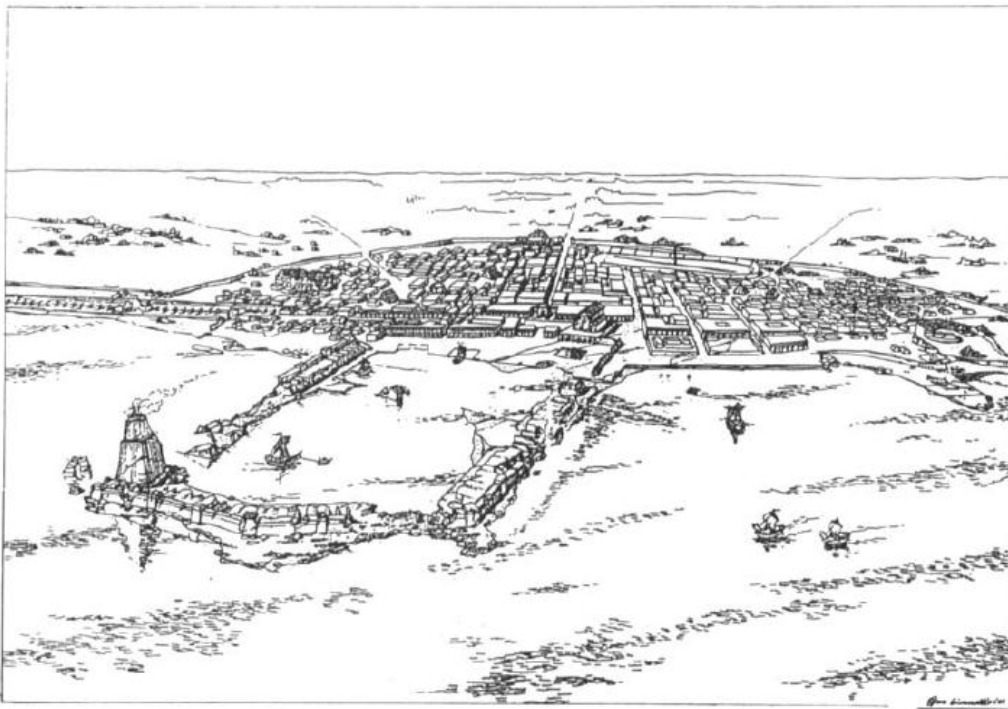


Figure 29: The Harbor of Caesarea in the late second century AD, as its extended quays were decaying. The local harbor of Caesarea lies to the right (Raban 1992: 123)

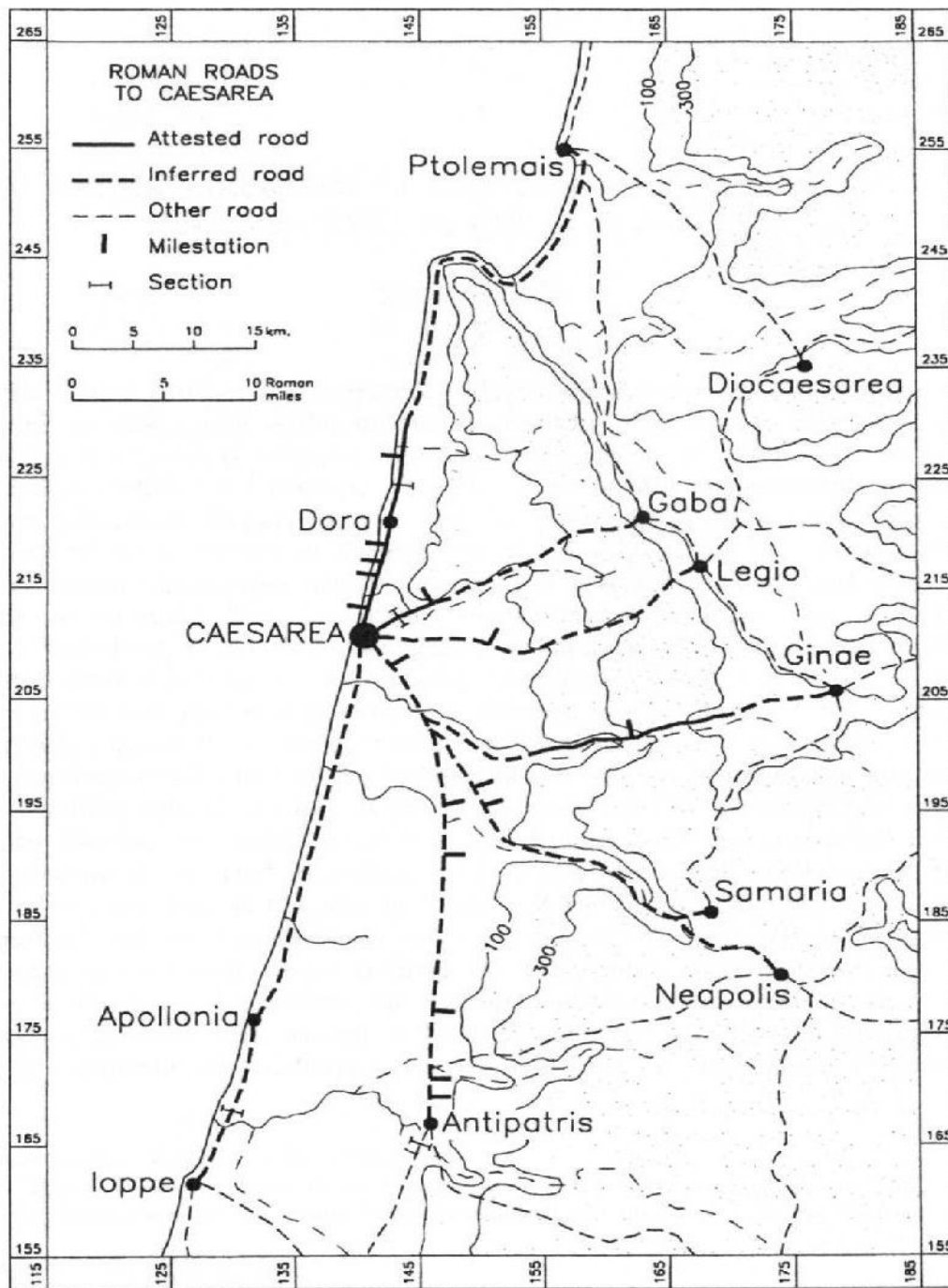


Figure 30: The Roman road network of northern Palestine (Roll 1996: 551)

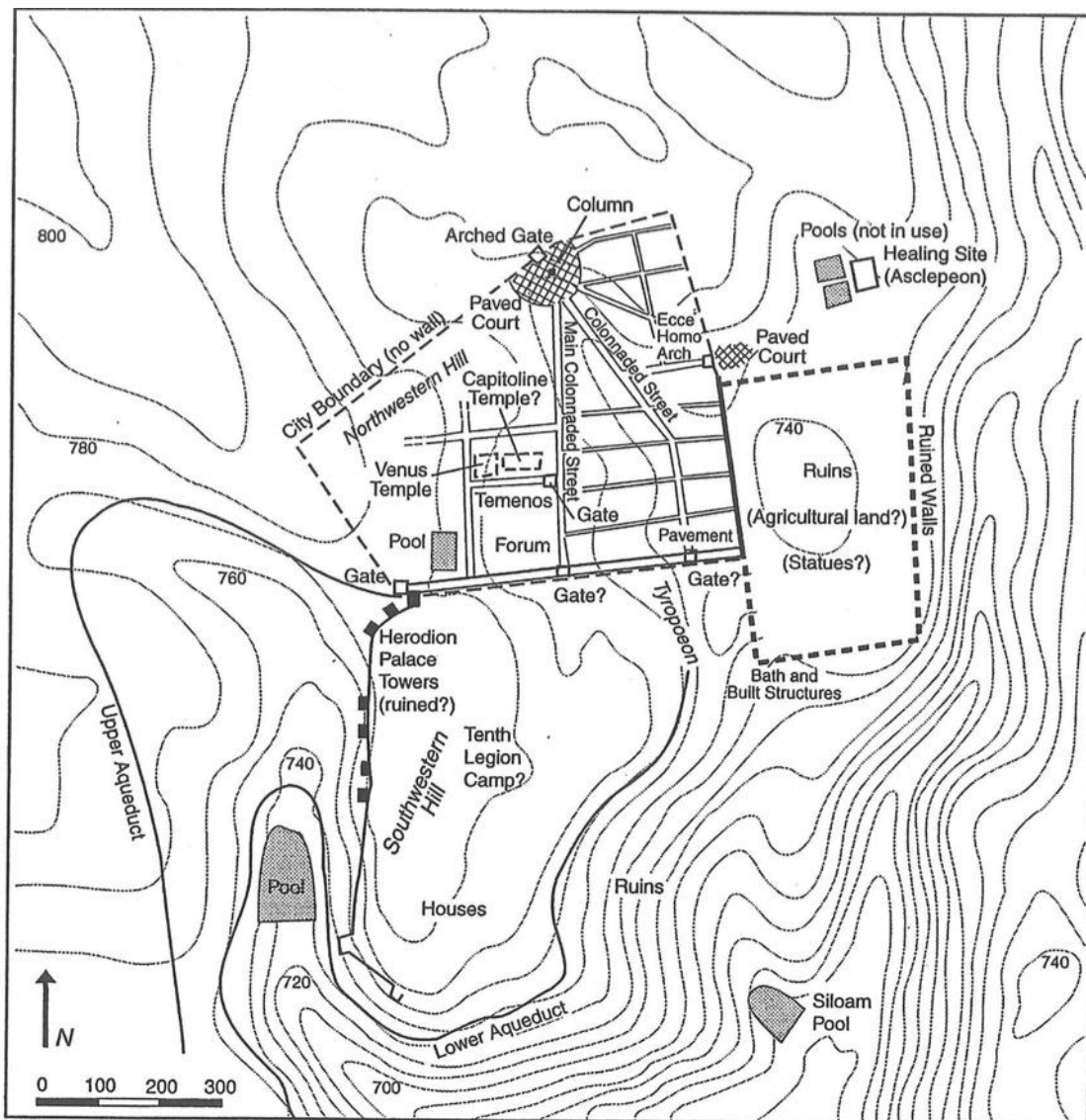


Figure 31: A tentative plan of Aelia Capitolina (formerly Jerusalem; Eliav 2003: 277)

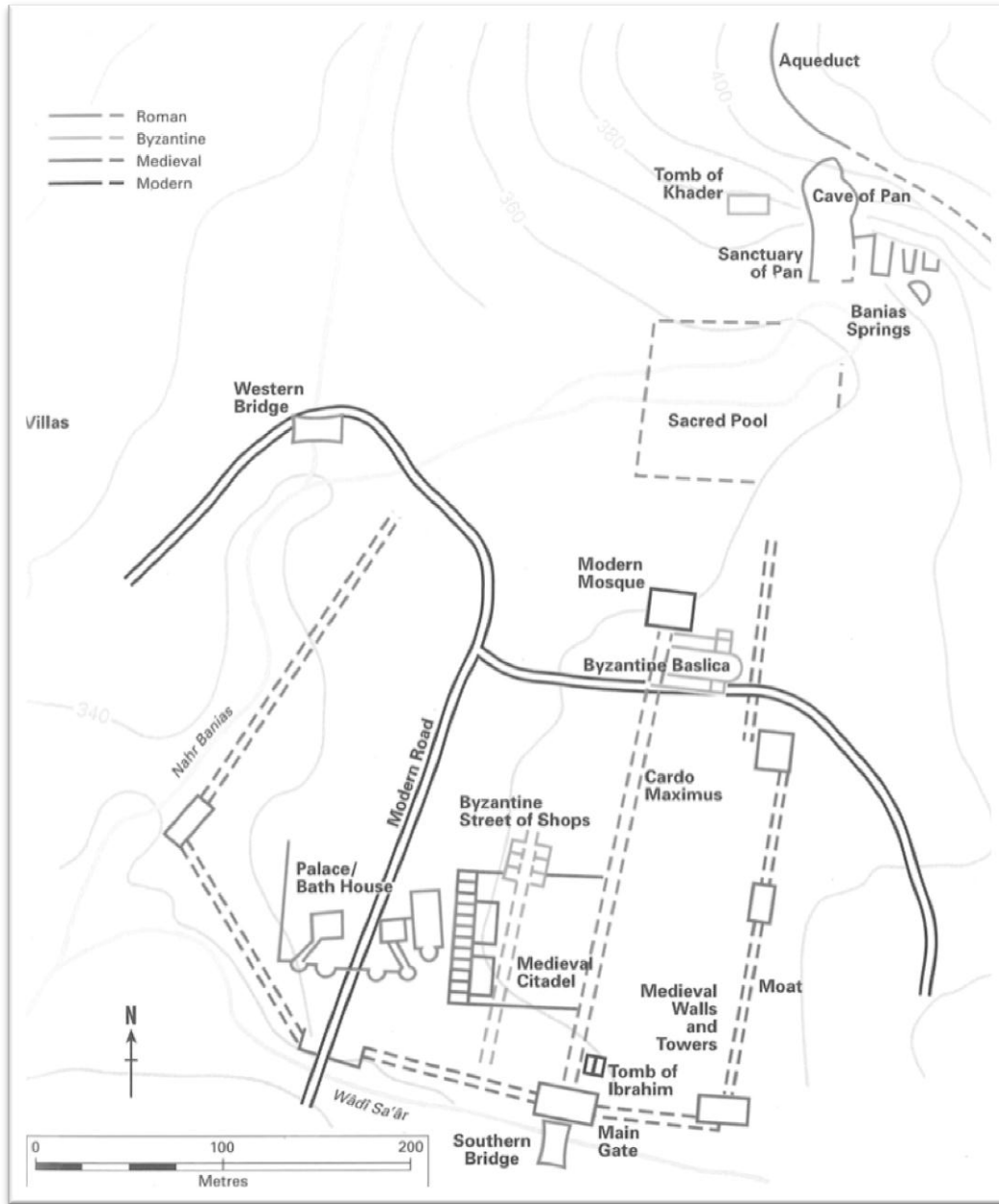


Figure 32: A plan of Paneas. The moat, gate, and walls are medieval, but the aqueduct, bathhouse, sacred pool, cardo maximus, and sanctuaries are Roman, and some of the Byzantine features may already have stood in Eusebius' day (Wilson 2004: illustration 1)

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## Introduction

### Greek Narrative and Roman Social History in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*

Car pour matière, [l'histoire] a précisément, en dernier ressort, des consciences humaines. Les rapports qui se nouent à travers celles-ci, les contaminations, voire les confusions dont elles sont le terrain constituant, à ses yeux, la réalité même.<sup>1</sup>

This study addresses a successful attempt to increase the social influence of a marginal institution. Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* was the first history of the Christian church. It was written in the early fourth century AD, as Christian elites were joining the Roman ruling classes in large numbers. For most of the Roman Empire's existence the church had been perceived as lower-class and marginal, and therefore disreputable. The *History* countered this perception by using Greek literary techniques to cast Christians as strong candidates for an elite Roman role, that of the philosopher. Eusebius must therefore be read as a Roman imperial author writing in the Greek historiographical tradition, and not merely a Christian author.

#### 1. Greek Narratives and Roman Rulers in Abgar's Exchange with Jesus

One episode offers an excellent *pars pro toto* for Eusebius' presentation of the Christian past. While the *Ecclesiastical History* informs readers about Jesus in its first book, it narrates only one episode about Jesus not found in the canonical gospels.<sup>2</sup> This is an encounter between Jesus and King Abgar of Edessa (*HE* 1.13).<sup>3</sup> Eusebius first summarizes the encounter in his own words (1.13.1-5), and then inserts a translation of a Syriac version of the story (1.13.6-21), including texts of the letters purportedly exchanged between Abgar and Jesus (1.13.5-10).<sup>4</sup>

In Eusebius' narrative, Jesus' power becomes so renowned that he draws the attention of a distant king, Abgar, the distinguished monarch of the Mesopotamian kingdom of Osroene, who ruled his kingdom in the city of Edessa (1.13.2).<sup>5</sup> After contracting an unspecified incurable disease, Abgar sends a letter to Jesus asking the savior to travel to Edessa and heal him (1.13.2, 6-9). In a letter responding to Abgar,<sup>6</sup> Jesus declines Abgar's request, but promises to send a disciple to heal his sickness and save him and all his subjects from damnation (1.13.3, 10). Jesus' promise finds fulfillment through the apostle Thomas, who in obedience to a vision sends

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<sup>1</sup> Bloch 1949: 87.

<sup>2</sup> Book 1's "narrative chapters...seem almost more concerned to argue than to narrate," notes Barnes (1981: 129). On book 1 of the *History* as commentary, see Morlet 2008, Muckensturm-Pouille 2010; cf. Armstrong 2006.

<sup>3</sup> The story survives independently in a Syriac narrative called the *Teaching of Addai*, usually dated to the later fourth century (see e.g. Griffith 2003, Mirkovic 2004: 57f.). Most previous scholarship on Eusebius' version of Abgar's conversion has focused on the origins of the Abgar correspondence and not on Eusebius' use of it: see e.g. Bauer 1934: 13-15, Ortiz de Urbina 1934: 90f., Barnard 1968: 162f., Segal 1970: 64f., Drijvers 1982: 157-166, Brock 1992: 221-227, Ramelli 1999: 121-127; Ross 2001: 132f.; cf. n. 9 below.

<sup>4</sup> It was a normal Eusebian habit practice to summarize the narrative of a non-Greek source before inserting a translation of that source: see *HE* 2.2 and 3.33; cf. also 5.5.

<sup>5</sup> The two standard English-language studies of Roman Edessa are Segal 1970 and Ross 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Corke-Webster 2013: 205-207 has pointed out that Eusebius may have changed his *Vorlage* so as to portray Jesus as writing a letter (cf. Ramelli 1999: 124): the independent *Teaching of Addai* (3b-4a) has Jesus communicate his response to Abgar orally to a messenger. Eusebius' portrayal of Jesus as communicating by letter would bring Eusebius' version into closer conformity with the non-Christian parallels noted below (and see also n. 9 below).

another disciple of Jesus, Thaddaeus, to Edessa “as a herald and spokesman of the doctrine (*didaskalias*) about the Christ” (1.13.4);<sup>7</sup> Thaddaeus then journeys to Edessa, heals Abgar, and preaches about Christianity (1.13.4, 11-20). Abgar orders all his citizens to hear Thaddaeus’ announcement, and tries to offer Thaddaeus a considerable monetary reward for this service, but Thaddaeus refuses the reward (1.13.21), saying, “If we’ve abandoned our own property, how will we take property belonging to someone else?”<sup>8</sup> Here Eusebius breaks off his narrative.

The question of why Eusebius included the exchange between Abgar, Jesus, and Thaddaeus in the *History* has divided scholars.<sup>9</sup> Was Eusebius illustrating Christianity’s universality, brandishing the credential of royal patronage, or marking a transition between Christ and the apostles?<sup>10</sup> All of these explanations make sense of the episode. However, as with most studies of the *History* (see below), scholars have read the story solely within Christian (and Jewish) discourses.<sup>11</sup> No scholar, however, has noted that the story of Abgar replicates a narrative pattern paralleled in other non-Christian Greek texts.<sup>12</sup>

The closest parallel to the Abgar exchange appears in Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives and Opinions of the Famous Philosophers*, written in the mid-third century AD.<sup>13</sup> There, King Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (ruled 276-239 BC) writes to Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic philosophical sect, just as Abgar writes to Jesus. Antigonus asks this famous philosopher to come to court to instruct the king in his philosophy; Abgar likewise needs something that Jesus’ special intellectual-spiritual skill can provide, healing. Like Jesus, Zeno writes back declining the king’s invitation, but sends (*apesteile*) disciples to teach the king in his place (*VESP* 7.6-9).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας.

<sup>8</sup> εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα;

<sup>9</sup> The impulse to report facts is not sufficient reason for Eusebius to have chosen this particular episode from among the apocryphal information about Jesus that he had available. Although Eusebius almost certainly accepted the historicity of the episode (cf. Eusebius’ repetition of the episode at *HE* 2.1.6-8), he justifies his selection of this episode for extended treatment by declaring its particular usefulness to his readers (2.1.23; cf. similar justifications for including certain events at *HE* 1.1.5, 4.18.1, 4.29.7, 5.2.8, 5.20.3, 8.2.3). Edward Gibbon already pointed out Eusebius’ explicit decision to include and exclude episodes because of their usefulness (1984: 197; 1779: esp. 41-48, 122-145).

<sup>10</sup> Christianity as a universal religion: Mendels 1999: 194-196, Kanaan 2004: 15, Leppin 2010: 257. A ruler’s conversion as a credential for an upper-class religion: Kanaan 2004: 15, Mirkovic 2004: ch. 4, esp. 115, Camplani 2009: 256f. A transfer of power from Jesus to his twelve, and then seventy disciples: Norelli 2001: 4 with *HE* 1.12.

<sup>11</sup> One partial exception is Mirkovic 2004: 152-159, who notes Eusebius’ parallel themes with non-Christian Greek texts but misses the parallel narratives.

<sup>12</sup> “Narrative pattern” means what narratologists call a “fabula,” defined by Bal 2009: 5 (see also 181-224) as “a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors.” Narratologists define the fabula as taking more concrete form in the “story,” defined as the “particular manifestation, inflection, and ‘colouring’ of a fabula,” a fabula whose events occur in particular spaces, involve particular characters, are told from a particular perspective, and so on (Bal 2009: 5, with 75-180). Finally, in Bal’s schema a “text” “conveys to an addressee...a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, buildings, or a combination thereof” (2009: 5, with 15-74). To apply this tripartite schema to the Abgar narrative, the “fabula” (or “narrative pattern”) is the series of events where a ruler invites a philosopher to attend his court and support his rule but the intellectual/holy man refuses, the “story” is the sequence of events where Jesus and Abgar play these roles, and the “text” is *HE* 1.13 (and the *Teaching of Addai* is an alternative text telling the same story: see n. 6 above).

<sup>13</sup> Accepting the dating of Jouanna 2009; cf. Ramelli 2004, who dates Diogenes Laertius to the late second century.

<sup>14</sup> To be clear, I am not arguing that Eusebius knew Diogenes’ Laertius’ text: cf. DeVore forthcoming b; I would suggest rather that both Eusebius and Diogenes drew on a common narrative scenario about kings’ invitations to philosophers to serve at court.

Other imperial Greek texts feature a similar pattern. According to the *Cynic Epistles*, pseudonymous letters probably composed as school exercises,<sup>15</sup> Socrates has been invited to attend the court of an unnamed king and offered a large sum of money to philosophize at the king's court.<sup>16</sup> The Socrates of the letter refuses to come, because philosophers should philosophize in public rather than shut up at the king's court (*Soc.Ep.* 1.2), seek nonmaterial rewards instead of a ruler's lavish gifts (*Soc.Ep.* 1.2f.), and maintain the license to free speech (*parrhēsia*, *Soc.Ep.* 1.4f., 12) that dependence on a king would immediately endanger.<sup>17</sup> Again, according to two other pseudonymous letters the famous Cynic philosopher, Diogenes of Sinope, refused to move from Athens to the court of Alexander of Macedon (*Diog.Ep.* 4, 23), though the letters are vague about Diogenes' reasons for spurning the king's summons.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Jesus, Zeno, Socrates, and Diogenes of Sinope all refuse the wealth and comfort of a king's patronage when accepting these would relinquish the philosopher's intellectual and spiritual independence.<sup>19</sup> This narrative pattern is thus a common Greek motif.<sup>20</sup>

Eusebius' story of Abgar's conversion was therefore full of significance to Roman readers beyond Christian circles. One theme that it featured was the philosopher's independence from political power.<sup>21</sup> In all four texts, the ruler expresses a need for the philosopher's services, yet the philosopher shows no corresponding need of the honor and wealth that accompanied a place at the emperor's court. In the Roman world, a ruler's patronage gave his clients wealth, honor, and influence, but at the price of the dependence on another man's goodwill.<sup>22</sup> For Jesus, Zeno, Socrates, and Diogenes of Sinope to refuse the king's invitation was to spurn this game of accruing prestige—which itself was a sign of independent prestige. Jesus' refusal to attend Abgar therefore increased his own prestige.

Eusebius' and Diogenes Laertius' versions feature an additional action that increases the philosopher's status. Unlike Socrates and Diogenes of Sinope in the *Cynic Epistles*, Eusebius' Jesus and Diogenes Laertius' Zeno send disciples to attend the distant ruler. This action implied that the king was worthy to receive help from the second order of the philosopher's movement.

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<sup>15</sup> School exercises: see Fiore 1986: 108-116; on their place in the standard Greek educational curriculum, see Criboire 2001: 215-217, and cf. chapter 1, pp. 30f. below. They date variously between the first and fifth century AD; papyrological evidence places at least one letter in the third century: Fiore 1986: 112f., 121f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Soc.Ep.* 1.10 for the identification of the addressee as a king, presumably Archelaus, the King of Macedon between 413 and 399 who famously invited Euripides to his court: cf. Junqua 2006: 31.

<sup>17</sup> Junqua 2006: 31-41; see also Junqua 2007. On *parrhēsia*, see ch. 1, pp. 68f. below. Socrates also invokes his famous commissioning by Apollo (*Soc.Ep.* 1.7-10; cf. Plato, *Apology* 21a-23b, 29a, 30e-31a, 37e-38a, 40a-b).

<sup>18</sup> "Diogenes" says that Athens is salt to him (*Diog.Ep.* 4) and that he is impossible to rule (*abasileuta*, *Diog.Ep.* 23).

<sup>19</sup> The one prominent difference between Eusebius' correspondence and these exchanges between Greek philosophers and kings is that, whereas the Greek kings seem to want a philosophical education (cf. *VSEP* 7.7), Abgar's aim in contacting Jesus is to secure bodily healing only for himself (*HE* 1.13.2, 6). In the Syriac narrative quoted by Eusebius (1.13.6-22) Thaddaeus indoctrinates Edessa only as an afterthought (*HE* 1.13.11-18). Yet Eusebius' framing of the story in his introductory comments tightens the parallel to these Greek versions (*HE* 1.13.1-4). Eusebius' introductory words omit Thaddaeus' healings altogether. Instead, Eusebius describes Thaddaeus' mission as being "a herald and spokesman of the doctrine (*tēs peri tou Christou didaskalias*) about the Christ" (1.13.4; though cf. 1.13.2f.). Eusebius thus introduces a text centered around miraculous healing as a text about education. This introduction makes his Abgar and Jesus resemble Diogenes Laertius' Antigonos and Zeno more closely than his source had. On teaching (*didaskalia*) in Eusebius' thought, cf. chapter 6, pp. 221f. below.

<sup>20</sup> In his *Gospel Demonstration* (3.6.8) Eusebius calls Jesus a philosopher (reference in J. Barnes 2002: 297).

<sup>21</sup> As Mirkovic 2004: 152-159 recognizes (see n. 11 above).

<sup>22</sup> At least until Diocletian's reign (284-305), the Roman emperor ran his court as the "super-patron" of other imperial elites, so that all the rules of Roman patron-client relations applied between him and other Roman elites. See Saller 1982: esp. chs. 1-2, 4; 2000; cf. Griffin 2003; Winterling 2009: chs. 3 and 5.

In the world of Greek education, disciples were viewed as being in quasi-filial relationships with their teachers: like sons to fathers, students were dependents of their teachers, under their teachers' command, and consequently of subordinate status.<sup>23</sup> A philosopher who sent a student to a ruler's court was sending a subordinate as his representative, just as rulers of equal power sent subordinates as ambassadors to other kings rather than communicating personally.<sup>24</sup> By commissioning subordinates to represent them,<sup>25</sup> Jesus and Zeno claim status equal to the king's.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to the parallel between Jesus and these Greek philosophers, Eusebius' story invited his readers to compare Abgar with other rulers they knew of. The most prominent rulers for Eusebius' readers were Roman emperors as well as the governors who administered the emperor's provinces. Of course, since emperors and their governors had the power to punish Roman subjects, it was not safe for subjects to express anything but the highest praise for them.<sup>27</sup> When an ancient author wanted to tell Roman emperors how to conduct themselves, therefore, a handy gambit was to narrate the proper (or improper) behaviors of a ruler from outside the Empire.<sup>28</sup> Eusebius likely intended the Mesopotamian king's healing to represent the benefits that Christianity could offer Roman rulers. Just as Abgar and his subjects are healed and absorb Jesus' divinely-authorized teaching, so too might Roman leaders and their subjects receive benefits by listening to Christian philosophers.<sup>29</sup> Eusebius' use of this Greek narrative pattern suggested that the church could play a constructive role in Roman imperial governance.

In sum, Eusebius' narrative of Abgar's conversion places Jesus into a widespread Greek story pattern. There Jesus and his follower step into a role played by the philosopher. The story situated Christianity within recognizable Roman political structures. Like Eusebius' Abgar, Roman rulers would benefit from the philosopher's presence at his court, but the philosopher had to maintain a position of independence from the ruler to maintain to his philosophical credentials.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Watts 2006: 11; and see how this hierarchy manifests itself in *HE* 6.14.8f., chapter 5, p. 193f. below.

<sup>24</sup> For one king to travel personally to serve at the court of another king implied the greater power and status of the latter: see e.g. Braund 1984: 55-57.

<sup>25</sup> Forms of *apostellō* signify the action in both Eusebius' and Diogenes Laertius' narratives (*HE* 1.13.11, *VSEP* 7.9), though Eusebius' uses *ekpempēi* in his summary of the narrative (*HE* 1.13.4).

<sup>26</sup> The philosopher's need for independence probably explains the detail with which Eusebius cuts off his quotation of the Abgar story. As noted above, Thaddaeus turns down a reward offered by Abgar with the statement, "If we have abandoned our own property, how will we take property belonging to someone else?" (εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα;). While Thaddaeus' abandonment of his own property must denote the command that followers of Jesus not have any personal possessions (Matthew 8.18-22, 19.16-30; Acts 2.44f., 4.34-5.11), it also sent a message with wider Roman resonances: in the Roman Mediterranean the acceptance of a material gift signified a tie of obligation to the giver (e.g. Dixon 1993, Griffin 2003; cf. Fredal 2008: 156-160 on similar understanding among Greek philosophers of the classical period). Therefore, philosophers who took the gifts of a ruler made themselves obligated to do that ruler's bidding and lost the independence needed to speak truth (see e.g. Flinterman 2004: 362, Junqua 2006: 41f.). Thaddaeus must therefore refuse the king's money.

<sup>27</sup> Any person who addressed the emperor with the expected flattery risked appearing to be a sycophant. On the dilemmas of addressing the emperor see e.g. Roller 2001, Sailor 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Roman intellectuals even had a name for such techniques, namely "figured speech" (Greek *eschēmatismenon*, Latin *figurae*). As Ahl 1984 showed, Greek rhetorical handbooks explained "figured speech" as voicing an unstated analogy between contemporary affairs and an apparently uninterested narrative to convey political messages that it was not safe to articulate openly. An example of figured speech, the Roman novel *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, portrays the conduct of the Persian king of the classical past as an analogy for contemporary Roman emperors' proper conduct (see Schwartz 2003).

<sup>29</sup> As Mirkovic 2004: ch. 4 has already suggested.

The narrative of Abgar's conversion is only one chapter among 248 in the final edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>30</sup> yet its distinction as the *History*'s only episode about Jesus from outside the New Testament commends it as programmatic for the entire *History*. The Greek literary and Roman political resonances of the Abgar narrative offer strong *prima facie* evidence that Eusebius sought to influence elite Roman readers, the kind of audience that was educated enough to recognize the story's literary parallels. Only by analyzing the *Ecclesiastical History* within the Greek literary heritage that Eusebius and these readers shared can we grasp how he aimed to increase the church's influence in Roman society. This study attempts a comprehensive investigation of the *History* within the Greek and Roman context to which Eusebius addressed it. But what was that Greek and Roman context?

## **2. Contextualizing the *Ecclesiastical History*: the Life of Eusebius, the *History*'s Political and Literary Context, and the *History*'s Significance**

In order to read the *Ecclesiastical History* in the context in which its author wrote it and in which his readers read it, this section provides a brief narrative of the life of Eusebius and the texts that he wrote at different times. It then underlines the political regime under which Eusebius wrote the *History*, that of the pagan emperor Licinius and not (as is usually assumed) the Christian emperor Constantine. The section concludes with a brief survey of the ancient reception of the *History*, which shows that it was an influential text to later ancient Christian readers and therefore representative of the society that produced it.

### *A. The Life of Eusebius*

Eusebius was born some time between 260 and 264,<sup>31</sup> and died in 339 (or 340).<sup>32</sup> Eusebius and later authors who describe him say little about the first 40 years of his life. We can only infer three facts. First, as far as we know Eusebius was always a Christian. Between the 260s and 303 this was not a problem in the Roman Empire. As in the early 260s the emperor Gallienus had launched a policy of toleration toward Christians,<sup>33</sup> Christian groups could go about their business unhindered by imperial suppression. Eusebius' reminiscences about the period exhibit

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<sup>30</sup> Book 1: 13 chapters; book 2: 26; book 3: 39; book 4: 30, book 5: 28; book 6: 46, book 7: 32; book 8: 17; book 9: 11; book 10: 6. The second-to-final edition of AD 315 or 316 had seven chapters in book 10 and thus a total of 249 chapters; it seems to have gone up to our current 10.7, which included three chapters of imperial documents illustrating how kindly the emperors Constantine and Licinius treated the church after they became joint emperors early in 313 (10.5-7; see Carotenuto 2002). For Eusebius' final edition these documents were replaced with *HE* 10.8f., added after Constantine defeated Licinius late in 324 to take sole rule over the Empire. When he added these chapters Eusebius removed the six documents of 10.5-7 along with other friendly instances of Licinius' name in the *History*. Thus, 10.5-7 and 10.8f. seem not to have been together in any translation published by Eusebius. For a justification of this compositional hypothesis (which follows the arguments of Burgess 1997), see Appendix 1 below.

<sup>31</sup> Eusebius repeatedly notes that in his own lifetime (καθ' ἡμᾶς, 3.28.3, 7.26.3), Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria; in 7.28.3 Eusebius says that Dionysius died in Gallienus' twelfth year as emperor, that is, AD 264/65. Eusebius must therefore have been born by AD 265. We know that he outlived Constantine because his *Life of Constantine* records Constantine's death of May 22, 337, and Eusebius still had to finish (or come close to finishing) the *Life of Constantine* (cf. Barnes 1981: 260-264).

<sup>32</sup> Parvis 2006: 163 points out that Acacius was bishop of Caesarea in 341; cf. Barnes 1981: 94; Carriker 2003: 17.

<sup>33</sup> On Gallienus' toleration, see e.g. Millar 1971: 571f., Barnes 2010: 99-105, Cooper 2012: 333f.

nostalgia for a lengthy period of ecclesiastical prosperity.<sup>34</sup> Second, Eusebius seems to have resided in the city of Caesarea Maritima his entire life, as no author associates him with any other city. He certainly lived in Caesarea by 301, when he claims to have been present at the public ceremony that greeted the emperor Diocletian and his retinue, including the young Constantine, when they visited Caesarea (*Life of Constantine* 1.19.1).<sup>35</sup> Caesarea was the provincial capital of Palestine, a major urban center, and a port city that anchored an imperial travel network; I will say more about how Caesarea influenced Eusebius in chapter 4 below.

The third fact is that Eusebius was the pupil of Pamphilus, a Christian scholar.<sup>36</sup> Pamphilus had reconstituted the library of Origen, the great Christian philosopher who had lived in Caesarea through the mid-250s. Where Origen's books had been dispersed upon his death, Pamphilus took it upon himself to reassemble them.<sup>37</sup> Pamphilus also edited and copied biblical manuscripts, a task that occupied Eusebius for much of his life as well.<sup>38</sup> Pamphilus was arrested in 307, during the massive persecution of Christians that the Diocletian and his eastern imperial colleagues waged between AD 303 and 313 (Eus.*MP* 7.4). While in prison Pamphilus wrote a five-volume *Defense of Origen* (*HE* 6.33.4, Jer.*VI* 75), his only known literary composition.<sup>39</sup> Pamphilus was martyred in 310 (Eus.*MP* 11). Eusebius was apparently Pamphilus' star student and certainly his heir: he inherited Pamphilus' library and became known to later generations as "Eusebius, the son of Pamphilus."<sup>40</sup>

Eusebius commenced his own research either shortly before or while Pamphilus was in prison. Eusebius' earliest datable work was his world-historical *Chronicle*, which dates to AD 306 or a bit later.<sup>41</sup> Eusebius also added a sixth book (now lost) to Pamphilus' five-volume *Apology for Origen* (cf. *HE* 6.33.4).<sup>42</sup> During the persecution Eusebius traveled north to Tyre (*HE* 8.7.1f.) and to the Thebaid in Egypt (*HE* 8.9.4).<sup>43</sup> According to a later, hostile source, Eusebius was imprisoned himself but escaped unharmed, the insinuation being that Eusebius had saved his skin by performing the obligatory sacrifice.<sup>44</sup> Toward the end of the persecution he wrote a *Life of Pamphilus*, now lost (*HE* 6.32.3). He also wrote his *General Elementary Introduction*, apparently a guide to Christian doctrine and to reading sacred texts between 310 and 312; of this work only books 6 to 9 survive under the title *Prophetic Extracts*.<sup>45</sup> In this period Eusebius seems also to have finished his *Martyrs of Palestine*, an account of the

<sup>34</sup> See *HE* 7.13, 8.1.1-6, with Barnes 1981: 104f.

<sup>35</sup> The date: Barnes 1982: 40, 55.

<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, the *Life of Eusebius* by Acacius, Eusebius' successor as bishop of Caesarea, does not survive (attested in Soc.*HE* 2.4).

<sup>37</sup> *HE* 6.32.3, with Carriker 2003: 10-14 (with references), Grafton and Williams 2006: 182f.

<sup>38</sup> The chief evidence is Jer.*VI* 75 and a collection of colophons on biblical manuscripts: see Carriker 2003: 14-17, Grafton and Williams 2006: 178-194.

<sup>39</sup> Just one volume of the *Apology for Origen* has survived, and this only in the Latin translation of Rufinus.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Jer.*VI* 81, Soc.*HE* 1.1.1, Soz.*HE* 1.1.12; see the discussion of Carriker 2003: 19f.

<sup>41</sup> On the date of the *Chronicle*, see the detailed argumentation in Burgess 1997: 472-482. The many excellent studies of the *Chronicle* include Sirinelli 1961: 31-134; Mosshammer 1979; Croke 1983; Adler 1992 and 2006; Burgess 1999 and 2002; Grafton and Williams 2006: ch. 3; and Andrei 2008.

<sup>42</sup> Sirinelli 1961: 19; Barnes 1981: 198-201.

<sup>43</sup> Barnes 1981: 148f.

<sup>44</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion* 68.8, a passage brought to my attention by Hal Drake.

<sup>45</sup> The date of the *Introduction*: Sirinelli 1961: 21f.; the content and aim: Johnson 2011.

martyrdoms in Palestine during the persecution,<sup>46</sup> and he may have written the short polemic *Against Hierocles* during the persecution as well.<sup>47</sup>

In late 311 Galerius issued a new edict of toleration for the Christians (*HE* 8.17=*Lact.DMP* 34). Early in 312, however, Galerius' successor Maximinus Daia permitted cities in the Eastern Empire to persecute if they wished.<sup>48</sup> Fortunately for Christians, Daia's eastern rival Licinius defeated him early in 313, and Licinius took sovereignty over the Eastern Roman Empire.<sup>49</sup>

In 313, therefore, Licinius ruled the Greek-speaking eastern Roman Empire. Licinius was allied with the new western emperor Constantine, who late in 312 had taken control over the western Empire at the famous battle of the Milvian Bridge. Constantine was by then a declared Christian, while Licinius remained a pagan.<sup>50</sup> Yet in 313 Licinius issued the directive usually called "the Edict of Milan." Although many still associate this directive with Constantine, in fact in his own domain, the Roman west, Constantine had already tolerated Christianity for some time and thus had no need to issue such an edict.<sup>51</sup> In the eastern Empire, by contrast, Daia's recent policy of persecution necessitated the prevention of further targeting of Christians. The so-called "Edict of Milan" proclaimed toleration for devotees of all religious creeds in the eastern Empire (*HE* 10.5.2-14=*Lact.DMP* 48).<sup>52</sup> With a Christian emperor ruling the West, it likely seemed that the religious toleration of Eusebius' first forty years or so had returned. Eusebius was a presbyter in the church by this point, though we do not know when he was ordained.<sup>53</sup>

It was shortly after Constantine and Licinius became partners in ruling the Roman Empire that Eusebius published his first edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*. The dating of the *History* has prompted heavy scholarly dispute; this study follows the dating of Richard Burgess, according to which Eusebius' edition of 313 included books one through nine of the *History* as we currently know it, albeit with a different version of the Diocletianic persecution in its eighth book (AD 303-311), namely a shortened version of the previously-written *Martyrs of Palestine*.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See Barnes 1981: 154-158; Burgess 1997: 502f.

<sup>47</sup> Eusebius' authorship of the *Against Hierocles* has drawn considerable skepticism recently due to the arguments of Hägg 1992: 144-150 (seconded by Barnes 1994: 60 and 2009: 1). While I find the arguments by Borzi 2003 and Jones 2006: 49-52 in favor of Eusebian authorship convincing, this dissertation bases no arguments on Eusebius' authorship of this text.

<sup>48</sup> Barnes 1981: 159f., 2011: 90.

<sup>49</sup> See Barnes 2011: 97f.; Potter 2013: 146-148.

<sup>50</sup> Throughout this dissertation I use "pagan" to denote adherents to traditional Greek, Roman, and other Mediterranean religions and not the fashionable substitutes "polytheist" or "Hellene." Whereas it had been assumed that the term *paganus* was in origin a Christian slur against adherents of traditional Mediterranean religions, Alan Cameron (2011: ch. 1) has now shown that in the fourth century at least *paganus* was a value-neutral term by which Christians denoted adherents to non-Christian, non-Jewish religions. I reject "polytheist" because a number of adherents to traditional Mediterranean religions had strong monotheistic tendencies (see Athanassiadi and Frede 1999, Mitchell and van Nuffelen 2011); "Hellene" seems deficient because, while numerous contemporaries (including Porphyry of Tyre and Eusebius himself) used *Hellēnos* and cognates to denote non-Christian, non-Jewish religious preferences, numerous adherents to pagan religions were not Greek-speakers and numerous Christians were obviously Greeks in every other way (cf. van Nuffelen 2011: 90-92).

<sup>51</sup> See T. Barnes 2002: esp. 195-198.

<sup>52</sup> See Barnes 2011: 93-97, Potter 2013: 148f.

<sup>53</sup> Theodoret, *HE* 1.11.3 (cited in Sirinelli 1961: 20), quotes a letter of Eusebius claiming that Eusebius was a presbyter before becoming bishop, though any further dating of his becoming bishop is speculative, *pace* Hanson 1988: 46 (who asserts that Eusebius became a presbyter in 290), Richard 2006: 427 (who asserts 300).

<sup>54</sup> The shortened *Martyrs of Palestine* stood between the current *HE* 8.2.3 and 8.17.2; it survives now as an appendix in manuscripts ATER of the *History*. The original book 8 also included a postscript to his account of the persecution detailing the three persecuting emperors' painful deaths, which appears in modern editions of the *History* as the "Appendix" to book 8. For more detail on the composition of the *History*, see Appendix 1 below.



It is likely that at some point between 313 and 315 Eusebius became the bishop of Caesarea; it is not clear whether his episcopacy began before or after he published the first edition of the *History*.<sup>55</sup> What is clear is that between 315 and 316 Eusebius published a second, longer edition of the *History*. This second edition replaced the previous account of Diocletian's persecution, which had featured martyrs exclusively from Palestine, with a narrative of martyrdoms from throughout the eastern Empire. It also included a tenth book, which Eusebius dedicated to Paulinus, the bishop of Tyre;<sup>56</sup> the bulk of book 10 was Eusebius' own celebratory oration at the rededication of Paulinus' basilica at Tyre (*HE* 10.4) and six directives issued by Licinius and Constantine that granted privileges to the church (*HE* 10.5-7).

While writing the *History*, Eusebius also worked on a much larger text, a two-part, 35-book magnum opus. Eusebius published his 15-book *Gospel Preparation* between 313 and 326, and its 20-book sequel, the *Gospel Demonstration*, between 317 and 324. The *Gospel Preparation* asserts the superiority of Christianity to Greek theologies, while the *Demonstration* is an exposition of Christian theology with reference to biblical texts.<sup>57</sup> Together the two texts constitute what Sébastien Morlet has called a *summe apologetique* of Christianity, combining answers to pagan and, to a lesser extent, Jewish objections with doctrinal exposition and guidance on reading Christian texts.<sup>58</sup> In some passages the two texts seem to have responded to the lengthy critique of Christianity by the famous Greek philosopher Porphyry of Tyre, though how much of these texts respond to Porphyry remains a contentious question,<sup>59</sup> Eusebius seems to have written other texts around the same time, including his *Gospel Questions and Answers*.<sup>60</sup>

Late in 316 the partnership between Licinius and Constantine ruptured as the two met in battle at Cibalae; Constantine captured some territory from Licinius before the two emperors decided to reconcile.<sup>61</sup> Despite the ceasefire, provincials like Eusebius likely got the message that the two emperors would not have an easy coexistence. Previously protective of the church, at some time after 316 Licinius banned Christians from serving in the military, prohibited bishops from assembling, and allowed provincial governors free rein to treat Christians as they wished (*HE* 10.8.10, 14-18; *Soc.HE* 1.3).<sup>62</sup> Eusebius' *Gospel Demonstration*, completed between 317 and 324, features evidence of Licinius' tolerance of officials' violence toward Christians,

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<sup>55</sup> The evidence for the dating of Eusebius' ascension to the episcopacy is his delivering the oration at the dedication of a basilica at Tyre for Bishop Paulinus (*HE* 10.4). Appeals to this passage as evidence for when Eusebius became a bishop assume that only a bishop would deliver such an address to another bishop: see Sirinelli 1961: 20; Barnes 1981: 94 with 333 n. 122; on the date of the oration, cf. Amarise 2008. The first unequivocal evidence that Eusebius was a bishop is Eusebius' joining Eusebius of Nicomedia's network of bishops who supported Arius after his exile between 320 and 324 (cf. *Soz.HE* 1.15.7-11; see Löhr 2005: 557 n. 96, Parvis 2006: 41, 46f.).

<sup>56</sup> Eusebius also dedicated his *Onomasticon* (2), a dictionary of the toponyms in the Bible, to Paulinus.

<sup>57</sup> The best studies of the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* are, respectively, Johnson 2006a (with Johnson 2006b), and Morlet 2009.

<sup>58</sup> Morlet 2009: 50-63; see also Johnson 2006b: esp. 70-83. I discuss these texts further in chapter 6 below.

<sup>59</sup> Arguments that much of the *Gospel Preparation* responds to Porphyry include Barnes 1981: ch. 10, Simmons 2006 and 2010, Edwards 2007, and Schott 2008: ch. 5. Readings that minimize Porphyry's influence include Riedweg 2005, Morlet 2011a and 2011b, and Johnson forthcoming; I find the latter arguments more convincing, though this study does not depend on taking a position in this debate. Eusebius wrote a separate, 25-book work *Against Porphyry*, though unfortunately the text is lost and we do not know when he wrote it (see Kofsky 2000: 271-273).

<sup>60</sup> See Bhola forthcoming; cf. Zamagni 2003: 44f.

<sup>61</sup> The dating of this battle was established by Habicht 1958 and has become widely accepted. See the more recent accounts of Barnes 2011: 102-104, Potter 2013: 169-171.

<sup>62</sup> Barnes 1981: 62-64, 2011: 105. Potter 2013: 210f. suggests that Licinius was responding to the doctrinal quarrels that were brewing over Arius' Christology (see below).

noting persecutions as happening in the present tense, though we have no evidence that they occurred in Palestine.<sup>63</sup>

It was also between 317 and 324 that a doctrinal dispute ensnared Eusebius. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, had argued that Jesus had a lower ontological status than God the Father, whereas Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, asserted that the Father and Son were of equal ontological status. When Arius appealed to outside allies for support, Eusebius joined a network of eastern clerics in defending the legitimacy of Arius' theological opinions. Late in 324, other bishops of the eastern Empire excommunicated Eusebius over his support of Arius.<sup>64</sup>

The controversy was causing division throughout Greek-speaking churches when Licinius and Constantine finally went to war again late in the summer of 324. On September 18, 324 Constantine defeated Licinius at Chrysopolis near Byzantium and became the sole ruler of the entire Roman Empire.<sup>65</sup> Constantine remained the ruler of the eastern Empire until May of 337, when his sons Constantine, Constans, and Constantius succeeded him.<sup>66</sup>

Soon after Constantine's victory Eusebius published a third edition of the *History*. This edition lacked the six documents issued under Constantine and Licinius (*HE* 10.5-7) and ended instead with two chapters describing Licinius' alleged descent into superstition and depravity (10.8f.). Eusebius also rewrote all passages that had mentioned Licinius by name, either erasing his name, removing compliments to him, or inserting the remark that Licinius went mad later.<sup>67</sup> Eusebius' previous loyalty to Licinius was thus erased.

As ruler of the eastern Empire and as a self-proclaimed Christian, Constantine took notice of the controversy that was consuming the eastern bishops and called for an Empire-wide council to decide the matter in late spring of 325. Despite his excommunication Eusebius traveled to the council of Nicaea, in northwestern Asia Minor. Among other matters, including declaring a universal date for celebrating Easter, the council determined that God the Father and God's Logos (Jesus Christ) had the same ontological status. By acquiescing to the council's decision, Eusebius was readmitted to communion with other east-Roman churches and returned to Caesarea as bishop.<sup>68</sup>

After Nicaea Eusebius divided his efforts between ecclesiastical affairs and scholarship. He worked to rehabilitate Arius and to punish some of Arius' enemies.<sup>69</sup> Eusebius presided, for example, at a local synod that deposed the anti-Arian Eustathius from the episcopacy of Antioch. When offered this prestigious episcopal seat himself, Eusebius declined it to retain his position and duties in Caesarea.<sup>70</sup> He also wrote a lengthy refutation of another opponent of Arius, Marcellus of Ancyra. Although Eusebius himself avoided many doctrines eventually condemned as "Arian,"<sup>71</sup> he remained associated with the eventual losing side of the so-called Arian controversy.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *DE* 2.3.155, 3.5.76f., 7.1.132, 8.1.61, noted in Barnes 1992: 649 with 656; n. 49, 2011: 105; Morlet 2009: 80-93 does not address these references.

<sup>64</sup> Hanson 1988: 146-151; Parvis 2006: 75-81; on the theology, see the lucid Löhr 2006, with references.

<sup>65</sup> Barnes 2011: 104-106; Potter 2013: ch. 22.

<sup>66</sup> Constantine almost certainly intended his nephew Dalmatius also to be a co-emperor; yet some agents of Constantius had him, along with other relatives of Constantine, murdered: see Burgess 2008.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix 1, p. 237 with n. 1490 below for references.

<sup>68</sup> See Barnes 1981: 212-227, Hanson 1988: chs. 5-6, Parvis 2006: 68-95.

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. Hanson 1988: chs. 8-9, Parvis 2006: 97-150, Irshai 2011.

<sup>70</sup> Barnes 1981: 227f.

<sup>71</sup> See Hanson 1988: 46-59.

<sup>72</sup> See e.g. Jerome, *Against Rufinus* 2.15f.

As for his scholarship, Eusebius continued Pamphilus' occupation with editing biblical texts; he even received a commission to produce fifty luxurious Bibles for Constantine (VC 4.34f.).<sup>73</sup> Eusebius also wrote several lengthy theological works, including his *Commentary on Isaiah* (ca. AD 327), *Theophany* (325 or later), and *Ecclesiastical Theology* (338).<sup>74</sup> His abilities as an orator were respected enough that he delivered two public orations before Constantine, his *Oration for the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher* (335) and his *Tricennial Oration* (336).<sup>75</sup> After Constantine died in May of 337 Eusebius composed the famous *Life of Constantine*, though he may not have completed it before his own death in 339; the *Life* as we have it may have been published by Acacius, who succeeded Eusebius as bishop of Caesarea.<sup>76</sup>

### B. The Political Background to the Ecclesiastical History

This narrative of the life of Eusebius has placed his composition of the *History*, except for a few revisions prompted by Licinius' loss of the imperial throne, between 313 and 316.<sup>77</sup> It is important to underscore the political situation of the Roman Empire when Eusebius wrote the *History*. The eastern Roman Empire was under the rule of Licinius, a pagan. The Christian Constantine, meanwhile, ruled the western Empire. The *History* is thus substantially a Licinian text, and not Constantinian.

Many scholars read the *History* as an encomium of Constantine as a Christian emperor and the consequent triumph of Christianity.<sup>78</sup> This assumes more importance for Constantine than the political situation between 313 and 316 warrants. The governors who administered Eusebius' city and the troops who kept order reported to Licinius, not Constantine.<sup>79</sup> Licinius authorized the laws that affected Eusebius. If Eusebius were to petition the emperor, Licinius would hear his appeal. So if Eusebius had to worry about pleasing or offending an emperor when he wrote the *History*, that emperor was Licinius, not Constantine.

Licinius' position as ruler in the East made Christianity's status there far less secure than it was under Constantine in the western Empire.<sup>80</sup> Unlike Constantine,<sup>81</sup> Licinius had made no unequivocal commitment to Christianity. Constantine's partnership with Licinius did not protect the church living under him. Eusebius knew that emperors could exert their will over the territory they ruled.<sup>82</sup> Eusebius had heard of two emperors, Aurelian and Maximinus Daia, who pledged protection for the church but then reneged and planned to persecute;<sup>83</sup> the same about-face could

<sup>73</sup> As Barnes 1981: 124 notes.

<sup>74</sup> Dating the *Isaiah Commentary*: see Hollerich 1999: 19-26; the *Theophany's* date, see Barnes 1981: 187f.; the *Ecclesiastical Theology*: Barnes 1981: 400.

<sup>75</sup> Drake 1975, 1976: 37f.

<sup>76</sup> On the *Life of Constantine*, see esp. Barnes 1989, Cameron 1997.

<sup>77</sup> See pp. 7f. above and Appendix 1 below.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Bovon 1967, Trompf 1983 and 2000: 122-142; Gödecke 1987; Mortley 1996: ch. 5; Horn 2011: 257f., Hurley 2012. Johnson 2006a: 11f., and Williams forthcoming, by contrast, rightly emphasize the church's insecurity in the contemporary political situation.

<sup>79</sup> See chapter 4, p. 151 below.

<sup>80</sup> As Johnson 2006a: 11f. correctly notes.

<sup>81</sup> *HE* 9.9.10f., *HE* 10.5.18-10.7; see also Lactantius, *DMP* 44; see Barnes 2011: 83-89, Potter 2013: chs. 18. 21.

<sup>82</sup> In Eusebius' telling, Constantine's father Constantius had refrained from persecuting Christians while his colleagues had duly followed Diocletian's order and persecuted Christians (*HE* 8.13.13).

<sup>83</sup> Aurelian: *HE* 7.30.19-21, Daia: 9.1.1. By contrast, the one earlier emperor who, Eusebius believed, had been Christian, Philip the Arab, had not turned against Christianity (*HE* 6.34, on which see chapter 5, p. 205 below).

come from Licinius' administration at any time. When Eusebius wrote the *History* he could not have known that he would live under the rule of a Christian emperor.

Because Eusebius lived under Licinius, the political milieu in which the *Ecclesiastical History* was far less secure from that of Eusebius' writings after 324. Whereas many scholars are happy to appeal to later Eusebian writings, especially the *Life of Constantine*,<sup>84</sup> to illuminate the *History*, these writings assume the rule of a Christian emperor, a very different political regime than Eusebius experienced between 313 and 324. This study therefore appeals to Eusebius' later writings only where they offer evidence that unambiguously illuminates his activity in the period when he wrote the *History*.<sup>85</sup>

### C. The Importance of the Ecclesiastical History to Eusebius and to the Ancient Church

The narrative of Eusebius' activity also suggests that the *Ecclesiastical History* was not the most important literary work to Eusebius in the years between 313 and 316. Rather, the contemporary *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* constituted his magnum opus.<sup>86</sup> Comparison of two features, the length and the care in production, show that Eusebius paid more attention to his composition of the *Preparation* and *Demonstration* than the *History*. The *History* is just ten books long, whereas the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* together occupied 35 volumes.<sup>87</sup> Eusebius also took more care in producing the *Preparation-Demonstration*. In writing the *History* Eusebius made a series of careless errors in transcribing quotations,<sup>88</sup> whereas the more numerous quotations in the *Preparation* and *Demonstration* show few mistranscriptions, as Sabrina Inowlocki's work has shown.<sup>89</sup> The greater length and care taken in writing the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* suggests Eusebius was concentrating most of his energy on these works and not the *History*. The *History* must therefore be read as a supporting text for these works.<sup>90</sup>

Despite its secondary position in Eusebius' literary program, and despite Eusebius' association with the defeated party in the so-called Arian Controversy, the *History* was widely

<sup>84</sup> E.g. Trompf 1983, Gödecke 1987, Neri 2010.

<sup>85</sup> The appeal to later writings to explain earlier texts runs the danger of the historical fallacy of teleology (see Sewell 2005: ch. 3). Similarly, because Eusebius is known for founding a new genre, many scholars read him with other ecclesiastical historians (e.g. Momigliano 1990, Markus 1975, Cracco Ruggini 1977, Harries 1991, Simonetti 1997, Mühlenberg 2002, Fédou 2004, Morgan 2005, Croke 2007). While analysis of ecclesiastical history as an evolving genre is worthwhile, the later ecclesiastical historians wrote decades after Eusebius and after Christianity was the Empire's official religion. They cannot illuminate Eusebius' and his readers' mentalities. I also do not consider Eusebius' post-Constantinian writings. Many scholars use Eusebius' later historical writings, especially his *Life of Constantine*, to illuminate the *Ecclesiastical History* (e.g. Trompf 1983, Gödecke 1987, Zakai and Mali 1992-93), even though Eusebius wrote them in a very different political situation (see above, p. 10). In this study I appeal to Eusebius' post-Licinian writings only where they offer evidence that unambiguously illuminates the period when he wrote the *History*.

<sup>86</sup> The *Preparation* is datable between 313 and 316 because it calls martyrdom a phenomenon of the past (e.g. 6.6.63); see also Johnson 2006a: 11-13.

<sup>87</sup> Therefore, a copy of the *History* cost far less than a copy of the *Preparation-Demonstration*: see further chapter 6, p. 212 below.

<sup>88</sup> The best survey remains Lawlor and Oulton 1927: 19-27; see also Barnes 1981: 140f., Treadgold 2007: 33f. However, Eusebius probably tampered with his received texts: see e.g. chapter 2, nn. 616, 618 below.

<sup>89</sup> See Inowlocki 2006: esp. 65-74, 86-104, 194-222.

<sup>90</sup> "Die Kirchengeschichte ist in mancher Hinsicht eben auch wieder *kein* Werk *sui generis*, sondern sie ist *auch* ein eher bescheidener Teil eines insgesamt veil weiter ausgreifenden imposanten Gesamtwerks..." (Ulrich 2005: 282; italics his).

read and cited by ancient Christians.<sup>91</sup> In 392, for instance, Jerome made heavy use of the *History* in writing his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, a compendium of Christian literary biographies.<sup>92</sup> The *History* was in sufficient demand that in 402 Rufinus of Aquileia translated it into Latin, and around the same time it was translated into Syriac as well.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, it was so successful that no one attempted to replace it as the standard narrative for the first 300 years of Christianity,<sup>94</sup> and it had at least four continuators. Rufinus continued Eusebius' narrative up to the close of the fourth century in Latin, while in the mid-fifth century Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen of Bethleia, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus all began ecclesiastical histories where Eusebius left off.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, among ancient historians Eusebius' importance as the founder of a genre is rivaled only by the great Greek historian Thucydides.<sup>96</sup> As Arnaldo Momigliano declared, "Just as Thucydides was continued by at least three historians, Eusebius had at least four successors...each starting from where he left off."<sup>97</sup> Succeeding generations thus accepted the *History's* portrayal of the first three centuries and its style of narrating the church's past.

The *History's* strong reception makes close study a revealing window into Christianity at the time when it was written. The parallels between Eusebius' narrative of Abgar's conversion and Greek narratives about philosophers suggest that Eusebius aimed the *History* at the educated Roman elites who ruled the Empire. But he wrote it when the vast majority of the elites in the Empire were not Christian, and when, despite the cessation of persecution, the church's security was not assured. Why did Eusebius write such a *History*?

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<sup>91</sup> The reception of the *History* has drawn very little study; Verdoner 2011: 4-17 is the best overview I have seen.

<sup>92</sup> See e.g. Ceresa-Gastalco 1984: 55f.; Siamaki 1992: 109-114; Williams 2006: 158-160. While I am not aware of any citation of the *Ecclesiastical History* before Jerome, this does not constitute an objection to the strong reception of the *History*, as few Christian writings that survive from between Eusebius and Jerome address the church's past in the periods that Eusebius treats.

<sup>93</sup> Rufinus' date: Thelamon 1981: 13. On the Syriac translation of the *History*, see e.g. Toda 2010.

<sup>94</sup> Just one historian, the obscure Christian presbyter Philip of Side (also active in the mid-fifth century), seems to have written anything resembling a rival narrative: cf. Momigliano 1990: 142, Chesnut 1986: 127. But whereas Eusebius published an *Ekklesiastikē Historia* in 10 books, Philip wrote a *Christianikē Historia* in 36 volumes, apparently beginning at the creation of the world and continuing through the Philip's lifetime. On Philip and his *Christian History*, see esp. Honigmann 1953: 82-91, Heyden 2006.

<sup>95</sup> The first word of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* is "Eusebius"; cf. also Soz.*HE* pref.19, 1.1.12 (with the next note), Theod.*HE* 1.pref.4. I have, however, found no evidence of any author—including Eusebius himself—citing it by name before the 390s. An additional, "heretical" Christian, Philostorgius of Borissus, seems also to have begun an ecclesiastical history where Eusebius ended: cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca* Codex 40 p. 8a-b.

<sup>96</sup> No modern scholar has convincingly identified a history of the church before Eusebius. It has been claimed, for example, that Hegesippus, a Syrian or Palestinian author active in the third quarter of the second century, wrote a history of the church (e.g. Halton 1982). However, since virtually all we know of Hegesippus' one writing (his *Commentaries*) is what was useful to Eusebius' *History* (as Telfer 1960: 144 points out; cf. Hyndahl 1960: esp. 70f.), it is unlikely that the *Commentaries* were a narrative history. Moreover, the only ancient author who associates Hegesippus with Eusebius as a historian of the church, Sozomen (Soz.*HE* 1.1.12), also mentions Clement and Africanus, neither of whom wrote a narrative of church events, in the same clause as τῆ τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆ παρακολουθήσαντες (Momigliano 1990: 138f.).

<sup>97</sup> Momigliano 1990: 142. Momigliano proceeds to except Rufinus' Latin continuation from his list of successors, but includes Gelasius, a bishop of Caesarea, who allegedly wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* in the later fourth century. In my opinion, Rufinus should count as a continuator, but the existence of Gelasius' *Ecclesiastical History* has not been established: see e.g. van Nuffelen 2002 with references to earlier literature.

### 3. The Purpose of the *Ecclesiastical History*: A Survey of Scholars' Views

Although scholars have long scrutinized the *Ecclesiastical History*, discussion of it remains scattered,<sup>98</sup> in part because scholars of different disciplines read the *History* for different purposes.<sup>99</sup> Historians mine the *History* for information about the church's past; theologians scrutinize its portrayal of God's plan for the church; and a lesser number of literary specialists study the *History*'s narrative constructions. In addition to the different disciplines, scholars who write in different scholarly languages—English, German, French, and Italian—have maintained separate conversations about the *History*.<sup>100</sup> A third hindrance to study of the *History* is Eusebius' reputation as a poor writer and a mediocre intellect.<sup>101</sup>

Divergent disciplines, linguistic disunity, and the presumption that Eusebius is unworthy of serious study have allowed Eusebian scholars to talk past each other until very recently.<sup>102</sup> Each group of scholars has engaged with its own questions and maintained its own premises about Eusebius' aims, reliability, and social context. The kind of unified narrative about the changes in scholarship that usually begins a dissertation would therefore either be impossibly long and complex or else omit numerous excellent works that have garnered relatively little attention. The following review of scholarly positions about the *History* will therefore take a thematic rather than a narrative form. A thematic survey will better distinguish my aim, which is to understand why Eusebius wrote the *History* for an audience of Greek-speaking Roman elites while engaged with the *Gospel Preparation and Demonstration*.

Scholars have proposed six purposes behind Eusebius' composition of the *History*. Two of these propositions—simply to compile historical information and to inspire conversions to Christianity—are implausible. Studies advocating two other purposes for the *History*—as part of a theology of history and to defend the church—only explain some parts of the *History* and so do not provide a comprehensive explanation for it. Studies that propose two further purposes—to elaborate a distinct theology and to present a political vision for a new Christian community—fail to contextualize the *History* within Eusebius' oeuvre under Licinius' rule. Finally, no study has investigated Eusebius' dialogue with non-Jewish, non-Christian Greek and Roman texts.

#### A. *The History as Collection of Historical Data*

Most studies that cite the *History* assume that Eusebius aimed simply to combine previously separate narratives of the Christian past. This view stems from the earliest critical work on the *History*. Franz Overbeck asserted that the *History* was a simple expansion of Eusebius' earlier

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<sup>98</sup> Just three conference volumes dedicated wholly or in part to Eusebius' works have appeared: Attridge and Hata 1992 (most of which assumes the old model of Eusebius as compiler: see below); Jacobsen and Ulrich 2007; Inowlocki and Zamagni 2011 (which unfortunately neglects the *History*).

<sup>99</sup> A complaint registered in DeVore forthcoming a. Only a few works on the *History* are widely cited by scholars across languages and disciplines, including Schwartz 1907, Laqueur 1929, Sirinelli 1961, Momigliano 1963, Grant 1980, Barnes 1981, and Chesnut 1986. Hopefully the disunity of Eusebian scholarship will change with the publication of the new French-Italian commentary on the *History*. (Unfortunately, I received the first volume, Morlet and Perrone 2012, too late to incorporate it into this dissertation.)

<sup>100</sup> Continental scholars have engaged with Anglophone scholarship more readily than Anglophones with continental. For example, there has been virtually no Anglophone engagement with two commendable continental monographs on the *History*, Gödecke 1987 and Carotenuto 2001.

<sup>101</sup> Poor writer: see chapter 1, n. 182 below. Mediocre intellect: Trisoglio (1984: 1066) declares, "Eusebio di Cesare [era] intellettualmente inferiore a tutti gli scrittori fin qui considerati" (see also Trisoglio 1978: 173).

<sup>102</sup> As DeVore forthcoming a complains.

*Chronicle* that constructed the church as a nation, while Eduard Schwartz labeled the *History* a *Materialsammlung*, “eine Sammlung der überlieferten [geschichtlichen] Material.”<sup>103</sup> In the early 1980s Robert Grant and Timothy Barnes published conflicting studies that evaluated Eusebius as a reporter of information about the church’s past; both are widely cited.<sup>104</sup> More recently, the conception of the *History* as a compilation was the premise of Erica Carotenuto’s insightful study of Eusebius’ quotations.<sup>105</sup> For these scholars, the *History* is a compilation, a chronological arrangement, and a transmission of previous texts.

Eusebius would have been happy that scholars read the *History* as reflecting Christian realia. He encourages the assumption that he was simply compiling texts and reporting facts. In his preface (*HE* 1.1.3f.) Eusebius proclaims that he

gathered everything that we consider profitable for the present purpose among those events mentioned here and there by those authors, plucking up, as it were, those suitable quotations like flowers in intellectual meadows, and attempted to put flesh on it all through a historical outline, and resting satisfied if we should preserve the successions, albeit not of all, then anyway of the very most illustrious of the apostles of our savior in the distinguished churches memorialized still now.<sup>106</sup>

Eusebius styles himself as a conduit for information about the church, concealing his own interventions.<sup>107</sup> By focusing on sources and accuracy, studies of the *History* as a repository of data underestimate Eusebius’ responsibility for shaping the church’s past. Scholars cannot take him at his word.<sup>108</sup>

The assumption that the *History* was a *Materialsammlung* justifies the most widespread scholarly use of the *History*, as a repository of data conveniently available for reconstructing the first three centuries of Christian history.<sup>109</sup> Since, it is assumed, Eusebius simply preserved

<sup>103</sup> Overbeck 1892: esp. 18-22 (echoed e.g. by Burgess 1997: 497f.), 42f., Schwartz 1907: 1395f., 1908: 116.

<sup>104</sup> Grant 1980, which followed the research of Grant 1972, 1974, 1975a, 1975b (see Barnes 1984 and Heyne 2010 for critiques); Barnes 1981: chs. 8-9 (cf. Barnes 2010: 392). Whereas Grant argued that Eusebius was unreliable and sometimes deceitful, Barnes’ Eusebius was more trustworthy. Yet both Grant and Barnes concurred with the premise that Eusebius should be judged on the basis of his accuracy in reporting fact.

<sup>105</sup> Carotenuto 2001 (who at xxix endorses Schwartz’s classification of *Materialsammlung* with caveats); the recent survey of Morlet 2005 on the *History*’s influences, relying heavily on Carotenuto’s work, echoes this complexity. See more recently Treadgold 2007: 39f.; Horn 2011: 234; cf. Timpe 1989: esp. 177-180, 186-197, who however emphasizes the pragmatic aspects of the *History* in declaring it “Gebrauchsliteratur.”

<sup>106</sup> ὅσα τοίνυν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν λυσιτελεῖν ἠγούμεθα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις σποράδην μνημονευθέντων, ἀναλεξάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ λογικῶν λειμώνων τὰς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶν τῶν πάλαι συγγραφέων ἀπανθισάμενοι φωνάς, δι’ ὑψηγῆσεως ἱστορικῆς πειρασόμεθα σωματοποιῆσαι, ἀγαπῶντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπάντων, τῶν δ’ οὖν μάλιστα διαφανεστάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς διαδοχάς. κατὰ τὰς διαπρεπούσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν μνημονευόμενας ἐκκλησίας ἀνασωσαίμεθα. Compare this passage to Jerome, *VI* pref.

<sup>107</sup> An unusual move in Greek and Roman historiography, where explicit self-promotion by the historian was conventional: see e.g. Marincola 1997: chs. 1, 3.

<sup>108</sup> As Barnes (1981: 141) puts it, scholars must “ask how far Eusebius’ interpretation of early Christian history corresponds with reality.”

<sup>109</sup> “The *Ecclesiastical History* will always be an indispensable quarry for historians of early Christianity and of the Roman Empire” (Barnes 1981: 140). In addition to the works cited in the previous notes, see e.g. Gustafson 1961, the contributions to Attridge and Hata 1992, Winckelmann 2003: 9; Treadgold 2007: 33-41; Haines-Eitzen 2011: 210-212; Horn 2011: esp. 234. Cf. Gödecke 1987: 32-53, who must first argue that Eusebius was untrustworthy and therefore not writing real history before discussing the ideology undergirding his narrative; her argument implies that a historian cannot both report facts reliably and have an ideological agenda.

unfiltered information that he picked up from his reading, we can read events in the *History* as if we were reading the sources Eusebius cites. Eusebius' agency is reduced to "preserving," "recounting," "documenting," and "reporting"; he more rarely "composes," "constructs," or "imagines." And when Eusebius does not supply data that answers these scholars' questions, they criticize his account as "inadequate" or "unsatisfactory."<sup>110</sup> While it is certainly legitimate to extract data from ancient histories to reconstruct past events,<sup>111</sup> viewing the *History* as a mere *Materialsammlung* justifies a kind of uncritical "hit-and-run" reading that neglects Eusebius' purposes in preserving this configuration of data.<sup>112</sup>

Even on the assumption that Eusebius was preserving information, he must have had a purpose beyond simply the preservation of the past. As above all the work of Hayden White from the 1960s to the 1980s has shown, even the most factually grounded historical narratives convey ideological messages.<sup>113</sup> Studies of other influential ancient historians have absorbed this lesson: the histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Livy, Tacitus, and Ammianus Marcellinus are no longer read chiefly as repositories of information, but as politically interested texts.<sup>114</sup> This study likewise will consider Eusebius to be a reshaper of the past and not simply as a collector of information.

### B. *The History as Evangelism*

Doron Mendels has contested readings of the *History* as a repository of information, arguing instead that Eusebius designed it as an evangelistic text. Mendels' Eusebius cleverly anticipated modern journalistic techniques, boiling complex events into simple, easily understood, and even sensationalist narratives. Eusebius used these narratives to inspire conversion to Christianity.<sup>115</sup>

While Mendels rightly contests analyses of the *Ecclesiastical History* as merely a collection of historical data, he does not validate his deployment of journalistic theory with any reference to the literary culture of Eusebius' Greek-speaking Roman environment.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, against Mendels' conclusion that the *History* attempted to publicize Christianity,<sup>117</sup> Eusebius assumes readers' acquaintance with and commitment to Christian scriptures, as Marie Verdoner has proven.<sup>118</sup> This is not a text written for outsiders; nor, as I will argue in chapters 1 and 6 below (pp. 29f., 210-217), was it written for mass audiences, but rather for other elites like Eusebius.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Grant 1980: 1: "thoroughly inadequate"; Gödecke 1987: 52: "zahlreiche Unklarheiten und Verwechslungen"; Barnes 1981: 158: "unsatisfactory" (of book 8 of the *History*); Treadgold 2007: "unsatisfactory."

<sup>111</sup> Cf. e.g. Rhodes 1994: esp. 157f., Bevir 1999: esp. 18f.

<sup>112</sup> A phrase applied to scholars who consult but do not read Herodotus by Irwin and Greenwood 2007: 4.

<sup>113</sup> White 1973, 1978, 1988; see also the essays in König and Whitmarsh 2007 on the ideologies underlying ancient texts that claim merely to provide information.

<sup>114</sup> The study of Herodotus has in fact long harbored suspicions that Herodotus was an ideologue: see Immerwahr 1966, Fornara 1971, Gould 1989, Kurke 1999, Harrison 2000a, Thomas 2000, Munson 2001, Bakker et al. 2002, Irwin and Greenwood 2007, Baragwanath 2008. Studies of Thucydides followed suit in the wake of Connor 1984: see e.g. Rood 1998b, Hornblower 2004, Rengakos and Tsakmaris 2006, Shanske 2007. Livy and Tacitus: the classic work is Woodman 1988; see also e.g. Feldherr 1998, Sailor 2008. Ammianus: see Kelly 2008.

<sup>115</sup> Mendels 1999: esp. 11-30, 2001a, 2001b; cf. the rather different Mendels 2004: ch. 8. Cf. Mortley 1996: ch. 5, who posits that Eusebius (and previous Christian authors) was adapting a Peripatetic tradition of philosophically grounded history to exemplify ethically sound deeds.

<sup>116</sup> So, for example, he ignores how the mass intended audience of most modern journalism diverges from the elite readers of ancient historiographical texts: cf. below, chapter 1, pp. 31, 41-43.

<sup>117</sup> See esp. Mendels 1999: ch. 6.

<sup>118</sup> See Verdoner 2010: esp. 369-372, with chapter 1, pp. 29f. below.



Thus, the proposals that Eusebius wrote simply to preserve information or to convert non-Christians are unconvincing: they do not explain the whole of Eusebius' *History*, nor do they place the *History* into the context of Eusebius' contemporary writings.<sup>119</sup>

### C. *The History as Theology I: Salvation History*

Another common reading of the *History* foregrounds a theology of history articulated more explicitly in Eusebius' contemporary writings than in the *History*. So for Jean Sirinelli the *History* stresses the divine Logos' instruction of humanity: through the vindication of prophecies and the triumph of God's church over demonic forces, the Logos guides peoples lost in idolatry back to a primordial, civilized, ethical way of life.<sup>120</sup> Building on Sirinelli's work, Glenn Chesnutt highlighted Eusebius' emphasis on human free will in polemic against pagan beliefs in fatalism and fortune.<sup>121</sup> More recently Kazimierz Ilski has read the *History* with Eusebius' *Chronicle* as contextualizing God's salvific economy into a world-historical frame.<sup>122</sup> These studies effectively find echoes in the *Ecclesiastical History* of theological tenets articulated in Eusebius' *Chronicle* and *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration*.

Studies of Eusebius' theology of history integrate the *History* effectively with Eusebius' contemporary writings, while offering numerous insights into Eusebius' views on the divine forces that drive human events. However, these scholars tend to focus on the limited number of passages in the *History* where Eusebius notes divine activity, particularly Eusebius' discussion of the preincarnate Christ (*HE* 1.2-4) and the *History*'s narratives of persecution (see chapter 3 below). Meanwhile, they neglect the *History*'s many passages where God is not overtly active, and so do not address the question of why Eusebius wrote the kind of *History* that he did.

### D. *The History as an Apologetic*

Numerous scholars interpret the *Ecclesiastical History* as a defense of "orthodox" Christianity against outsiders' criticisms. Scholars have detected rebuttals of a series of attacks on both Christianity and on individual Christian luminaries such as Origen, and defenses of Eusebius' rejection of certain doctrines, especially millenarianism.<sup>123</sup> Most of these studies contextualize their chosen themes from the *History* in Eusebius' contemporary works, especially the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration*.<sup>124</sup> For example, scholars have emphasized that

<sup>119</sup> With the commendable exceptions of Schwartz 1907 and Barnes 1981.

<sup>120</sup> Sirinelli 1961: esp. 135-454, 487-495. Sirinelli read the *History* as illustrating Eusebius' belief in the place of divine providence in, and more particularly of the mediating divine Logos' management (*oikonomia*) of, the course of human events, especially as against hostile demonic forces. See also Bovon 1967; Koenig-Ockenfels 1976; Trisoglio 1984: 1066-1104; Zakai and Mali 1992-93, Lyman 1993: ch. 3; Studer 2004; Ulrich 2005: 282-287.

<sup>121</sup> Chesnutt 1986: chs. 3-5.

<sup>122</sup> Ilski 2007.

<sup>123</sup> In addition to works named in the following notes see Momigliano 1963: 91; Gödecke 1987: esp. 25f.; Swain 1997: 29; Burgess 1997: 497-501 and 1999: 66-74; Ulrich 1999; Schott 2008b; Williams forthcoming.

<sup>124</sup> E.g. Grant 1975b (note similarly Verdoner 2007: 87f.), Twomey 1982: esp. 17-19, Droge 1992 (see similarly Ulrich 2005: 279-282, Verdoner 2007: 79-88), Kofsky 2000: esp. 40-45; Inowlocki 2004, Ferguson 2005: ch. 2, Kany 2007: 569f., Williams forthcoming. By contrast, Frede 1999, a much-cited essay on Eusebius as apologist, says nothing about the *History*.

fulfilled prophecy, the antiquity of Christianity, punishments against the Jews for killing Christ, and other themes recur at length in Eusebius' contemporary works.<sup>125</sup>

While apologetic readings successfully place the *History* into the larger context of his oeuvre, their focus on a small series of passages limits their comprehensiveness. While these scholars show effectively that Eusebius inserted defensive notes into the *History*, they rarely trace these polemics throughout the text. Scholars who have attempted to impose an apologetic reading on the entire *History* have run into problems.<sup>126</sup> Apologetic interests certainly motivated Eusebius at certain points, but none pointed out by these scholars explains the *History* comprehensively.<sup>127</sup>

While studies emphasizing Eusebius' theology of history or his apologetic aims have revealed links between the *History* and Eusebius' contemporary writings, they have usually emphasized a limited number of passages in the *History* and not the entire text.

#### *E. The History as Theology II: the Theology Behind Eusebius' Topics*

Another group of theologically oriented studies has scrutinized how the *History* represents a constellation of theological doctrines. Martin Tetz and Henri Crouzel's articles treat the famous list of topics enumerated in Eusebius' preface (1.1.1f.), explaining how lines of bishops, writers and events, "heretics,"<sup>128</sup> the Jews' demise, and persecution and martyrdom reflect various Christian theological tenets.<sup>129</sup> Teresa Morgan's recent article stresses divine judgment as responding to Christian faithfulness and the wickedness of outsiders in determining success and failure in human events.<sup>130</sup> This group of theological interpreters has outlined a more comprehensive theology in the *History* than previous theological interpreters. In so doing, however, they have neglected to show how the *History* complemented Eusebius' *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration*.

#### *F. The History as Blueprint for Christian Society in the Roman Empire*

Monika Gödecke, Marie Verdoner, and now James Corke-Webster have emphasized the *History*'s political purpose. All three argue that the *History* constructs an imagined Christian society within the Roman Empire and supply a model for how this society should function. Their interpretations of Eusebius' ideal past community differ: Gödecke emphasizes the Eusebian church's *raison d'être* as combat against the demonic forces behind persecutors and "heretics";

<sup>125</sup> E.g. Droge 1992: 499, 502; Kofsky 2000; Inowlocki 2004: 323; Ulrich 2005, 2007; Morlet 2008.

<sup>126</sup> For example, Michael Beggs' (1999: esp. 377-383) admirable dissertation tries but fails to show how the "ethnic historical" genre of the *History* fulfills an apologetic purpose. While Gödecke 1987: 24-53 endorses an apologetic purpose behind the *History* on that grounds that Eusebius' claims of past Christian success legitimated the religion, in the second half of her monograph the theme of apologetics fades as Eusebius' promotion of an aggressive Christianizing political agenda comes to the fore.

<sup>127</sup> I avoid the term "apologetic" in this study because scholars have used it so often yet so vaguely that it does not help us to articulate the text's agenda; but in chapter 6 I affirm an apologetic purpose for the text in different terms.

<sup>128</sup> Throughout this dissertation the terms "heretic" and "orthodox," along with the names of individual "heresies" (e.g. "Montanist") appear in scare quotes. I do this because "heresy" and all "heretical" titles were slurs in Christian discourse, while "orthodoxy" was a complimentary term applied in mirror opposition to the slur: see above all LeBoulluc 1985. When I use the terms, I mean them as focalized through Eusebius' or another ancient writer's perspective, and not as analytic terms.

<sup>129</sup> Tetz 1982, Crouzel 1996. I plan to present my own reading of Eusebius' preface in a forthcoming publication.

<sup>130</sup> Morgan 2005.

Verdoner stresses the roles within the church hierarchy—clergymen, laypeople, and martyrs—modeled throughout the *History*; and Corke-Webster argues that Eusebius constructed new models of Christian authority, including familial, ascetic, intellectual, and martyrial authorities—that were harmonious with Roman elite ideologies for a newly legalized church.<sup>131</sup> All three scholars thus stress Eusebius’ positioning of Christianity within the Roman Empire.<sup>132</sup>

These social readings of the text have the strength of explaining broad, recurrent themes in the *Ecclesiastical History*. They also show that the *Ecclesiastical History* was designed to shape Christian audiences’ views of their own identity. On the other hand, neither Gödecke nor Verdoner has shown how the *History* fit into Eusebius’ larger literary project between 313 and 325; Corke-Webster does show how the *History* fit into an agenda expressed in the *Gospel Demonstration*.<sup>133</sup> If Eusebius had a social vision that motivated the *History*, it is worth exploring whether that vision informed his contemporary writings.

In sum, previous studies of the *Ecclesiastical History*, especially the theological, apologetic, and political studies, have offered plausible hypotheses about Eusebius’ purposes in writing the *History*. However, as a whole the scholarship exhibits two shortcomings. First, all scholarship has hit either a Scylla of reading only part of the *History* or a Charybdis of removing the *History* from Eusebius’ larger textual program. Studies of the *History* as a theology of history and as apologetic read the *History* as part of a program with the *Gospel Preparation and Demonstration*; yet they have not presented a comprehensive explanation of the *History* per se. Meanwhile, except for Corke-Webster’s, studies of the *History*’s particular theology and its vision of the church do read the *History* comprehensively but without placing it into the context of Eusebius’ contemporary oeuvre.

An additional lacuna marks all previous scholarship. All studies of the *History* assume that the text engaged all but exclusively in dialogue with Christian voices. In reading through books and articles on the *Ecclesiastical History* it is difficult to find references to non-Christian, non-Jewish authors as possible precedents, counterparts, or even targets of Eusebian historiography.<sup>134</sup> The lack of attention to Eusebius’ use of pagan authors has restricted the questions asked of the *History*.<sup>135</sup> For example, numerous scholars have dismissed the

<sup>131</sup> Gödecke 1987: esp. 100-161 (see also Mühlenberg 2002); Verdoner 2011: ch. 4 (note, along similar lines, Mendels 2004: ch. 8). See also Gärtner and Gärtner 2003 (who present an excellent reading of Eusebius’ portrait of Origen), Morlet 2005, Johnson 2006a: 225f., Willing 2008: 485-505.

<sup>132</sup> Each reaches rather different conclusions about this: Gödecke (1987: esp. 201-217) argues that Eusebius positioned Christianity for a position of power in the Empire in the triumphalist wake of Constantine’s coming to power, while Verdoner (2011: 160-167) and Corke-Webster (*passim*) find (and I concur below) a cooperative model of interaction between church and Empire.

<sup>133</sup> Corke-Webster 2013: ch. 2.

<sup>134</sup> Again, the exceptions only look at certain portions of the *History*: e.g. Eusebius’ use of intellectual biography, as Momigliano 1963: 90f. 1990: 139f.; Cox 1983; Carotenuto 2001: 99-106; Marksches 2007: 231-235; cf. Alexandre 1998. Winkelmann 1991: 60-68 and Morlet 2005: 5f., 8-10 both survey some Greek and Roman historians as models for the *History*, but both emphasize Josephus as Eusebius’ most significant historiographical model. Another important exception is Porphyry of Tyre: see 6.19.4-8 (=Porphyry, *Against the Christians* fr. 39 Harnack) with e.g. Morlet 2004: 71f., Schott 2008b, Johnson 2012. Porphyry’s influence has been the subject of much recent debate: see chapter 6, pp. 218f. with nn. 1369-1375 below for references.

<sup>135</sup> Eusebius does obscure his use of pagan discourses. As Verdoner (2007: 91) has commented, “less effort is spent [by Eusebius] on establishing a clear relation to the Hellenistic-Roman tradition of history writing—a problem which has haunted a number of scholars discussing the *sui generis* character of the [*History*]. Instead, a strategy of establishing an unambiguous relation to earlier Christian ‘orthodox’ writers is chosen.” Citations of pagans include *HE* 6.3.7 (apparently a Platonic saying, a reference I owe to James Corke-Webster), 6.19.4-8 (see previous note),

proposition that Eusebius' modeled the *History* after pagan histories on the grounds that Eusebius did not write like the famous Greek historians Thucydides or Polybius;<sup>136</sup> this assertion assumes that Greek historiography is reducible to Thucydidean or Polybian historiography, an assumption that I refute in chapter 1.

By contrast, recent scholarship on Eusebius' other Licinian works has emphasized Eusebius' use of Greek rhetorical models. Aaron Johnson has shown that Eusebius' *Gospel Preparation* combined the genre of apologetic tractate with two kinds of introduction, textual and the doctrinal.<sup>137</sup> Johnson has also found the same combination of Greek genres in Eusebius' *General Elementary Introduction*. Sébastien Morlet, meanwhile, has shown that Eusebius' *Gospel Demonstration* combined the non-Christian Greek genres of textual and doctrinal introduction with the distinctively Christian genres of apologetic and *testimonia*-collections.<sup>138</sup> The reading above of Eusebius' narrative about Abgar's conversion suggests that the *Ecclesiastical History*, written in the same circumstances as the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration*, likewise used a Greek mode of communication not attested in previous Christian texts.

To be sure, Eusebius carried on a rich dialogue with Christian and Jewish authors. He cites the Bible and New Testament, Philo of Alexandria and Josephus, and such Christians as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Dionysius of Alexandria frequently. Scholars of early Christianity have done well in pointing out Eusebius' uses of these authors. This study, however, focuses on Eusebius' non-Christian interlocutors as a corrective to the scholarly neglect of pagan Greek discourses that Eusebius incorporated into the *History*.

In sum, this study explores how Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* participated in dialogue with non-Christian as well as Christian texts. It reads the *History* as a narrative text written by an educated Greek-speaking Roman for other educated Greek-speaking Romans. It is a comprehensive study of the *History* in context with Eusebius' contemporary works. The next section outlines the theoretical frameworks that I apply to this task.

*HE* 7.24.6=Thuc.2.64.1 (in a quotation of Dionysius of Alexandria), *HE* 7.22.10=Thuc.2.52.2 (also a quotation of Dionysius); 10.4.11=Hippocrates, *On Breaths* 1 (recognizable as a quotation by its extinct Ionic Greek dialect).

<sup>136</sup> E.g. Grant 1980: 23f., Mühlenberg 2002: 196f., Willing 2008: 492, Verdoner 2011: 69-72; cf. Calderone 1980: 145-148, Chesnut 1986: ch. 2, Winckelmann 1991: 60-69; Mendels 1999: 3, 24, 29f., 47, 49. Momigliano 1963: 89-91 and 1990: 137-143, Timpe 1989, Carotenuto 2001: esp. 99-106, Morlet 2005: 5-10, and Marksches 2007 have looked the most broadly among previous Greek historiography.

Meanwhile, scholars of classical literature, who are in the best position to recognize Eusebius' usage of the available historical narratives available, have only contributed a handful of recent publications addressing the *History*: Timpe 1989, Mendels 1999, 2001a, 2001b, Lachenaud 2004: ch. 2, Morgan 2005. Most recent syntheses of classical historiography neglect the *History*: to name two recent Anglophone surveys of ancient historiography, Fornara 1983 and Marincola 1997 do not even mention the *History*, and Marincola (ed.) 2007 devotes just two paragraphs to it (Croke 2007: 574), even though the *History*'s *Nachwirkung* is comparable to that of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus. In past generations such classicists as Schwartz (1907, 1908, 1999), Laqueur (1929), and Momigliano (1963: esp. 89-91 and 1990: 138-141) did much to advance study of the *History*.

<sup>137</sup> There has been some debate about whether "apologetics" can be called a genre: see Petersen 2009 for a nuanced treatment.

<sup>138</sup> Johnson 2006b, 2011; see also Johnson 2004b, 2006a, 2007; Morlet 2009: esp. 50-63, 74-76; see also Morlet 2004.

#### 4. Theoretical Frameworks: the New Historicism, Social History in the Built Environment, Reading Communities, Social Roles

Explaining why the *History* was so successful involves showing how the *History* worked as part of a dialogue between its author and readers in the author's contemporary society. Eusebius, after all, meant it to influence his contemporaries.<sup>139</sup> Therefore, this study follows a theoretical framework capable of recovering how the *History* communicated with readers in Eusebius' own time and place.

The New Historicism offers a useful framework for situating the *History* as a literary text. The New Historicism studies literary texts as windows into the mentalities contingent upon a particular context in time and space.<sup>140</sup> As Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt put it, to practice New Historicism "is to imagine that the writers we love did not spring up from nowhere and that their achievements must draw upon a whole life-world and that this life-world has undoubtedly left other traces of itself."<sup>141</sup> Particularly relevant to my project, the reconstruction of life-worlds through texts requires suspension of anachronistic literary canons in favor of reading contemporary works together.<sup>142</sup> This study likewise uses a New Historicist reading of the *History* to better understand the mentalities that motivated Eusebius and his readers.<sup>143</sup> This study attempts to show how Eusebius' *History* bestowed a higher status on the church in his own life-world.

Chapters 1 through 3 will perform a New Historicist reading of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Similarly to the New Historicists, who put "canonical" texts into dialogue with "noncanonical" texts, this study will place pagan voices alongside Christian and Jewish texts as Eusebian interlocutors. The intellectual conditions of the Greek-speaking Roman Empire in Eusebius' time will be the informers and interlocutors of Eusebius' *History*, rather than just the Christian and Jewish texts that, as noted above, most previous scholars have compared with the *History*. Jewish and Christian writings that inform much Eusebian scholarship but that Eusebius almost certainly never read, such as the so-called apocryphal gospels and acts, and all Christian works available only in Latin, will rarely come up.<sup>144</sup> Pagan Greek classics will play a much larger role, since Eusebius' Greek-speaking audiences knew them well (see chapter 1, pp. 30-32 below): for

<sup>139</sup> Verdoner 2010: 371-374 has recently shown that the *History*'s rhetoric assumes an exceptionally involved reader.

<sup>140</sup> Most New Historicists understand "culture" in the sense of Geertz 1973: 5 as "webs of significance."

<sup>141</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000: 12f. See also the more systematic definition of the New Historicism of Veesper 1994: 2, 14-19: "(1) that every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices; 2) that every act of unmasking, critique, and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it exposes; 3) that literary and non-literary 'texts' circulate inseparably; 4) that no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths or expresses unalterable human nature; and 5) that a critical method and a language adequate to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe." Veesper goes on to note that a number of new historicists reject (4), the inaccessibility of unchanging truths and unalterable human nature; I side with those who accept unchanging truths, like, for example, the cross-cultural human use of speech genres (chapter 1) and human organization by networks (chapter 5).

<sup>142</sup> The New Historicism as rejecting literary canons: Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000: esp. 9-11; cf. n. 85 above on using contemporaneous sources.

<sup>143</sup> I draw the term "mentalities" from the French *Annales* school of historians. See e.g. the quotation at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>144</sup> This is not to delegitimize comparisons between the *History* and texts that Eusebius did not read for other purposes (cf. e.g. Montgomery 2000; Mirkovic 2004: 112f., Winkelmann 2005, Brandt 2006, Reed 2008); such comparisons simply do not serve to explain Eusebius' aims and his readers' mentalities. On Eusebius' ignorance of most apocryphal gospels and acts, see Carriker 2003: 233f.; on Eusebius' ignorance of Latin literature, see Carriker 2003: 18 n. 53; cf. Carotenuto 2002: 71-73.

example, the most influential historian in the Roman Empire, Thucydides, will make several appearances.<sup>145</sup> This study also brings the *History* into dialogue with roughly contemporary authors rarely associated with Eusebius but much more representative of his Greek-speaking elite Roman society, such as Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and Iamblichus.

To understand the *History*'s dialogue with its contemporary life-world, including both the discourses and the material practices emphasized by New Historicists, I complement the New Historicism with a second framework, social history. I adopt William Sewell's location of the social sphere in historical subjects' cognitive, linguistic, and material environments. For Sewell, the social is

the complex and inescapable ontological ground of our common life as humans. It is best understood as, first, an articulated, evolving web of semiotic practices...that, second, builds up and transforms a range of physical frameworks that both provide matrices for these practices and constrain their consequences....<sup>146</sup>

Sewell's social history attempts to show how human agents use material and semiotic conditions in their environments to change these environments; the physical and communicative actions of human agents together constitute a "built environment." Each built environment in turn surrounds humans with linguistic and material structures that both constrain them and equip them with resources for future action.<sup>147</sup>

In keeping with both the New Historicism and Sewellian social history this study aims to understand the socio-material conditions of Eusebius' time through a study of the *History*.<sup>148</sup> Studies of early Christian writers in general and of Eusebius in particular rarely control for Eusebius' material surroundings. Yet Eusebius' material and spatial conditions can do much to explain his literary oeuvre, as Anthony Grafton and Megan Hale Williams have shown for Eusebius' *Chronicle*.<sup>149</sup> In Eusebius' world, people who happened to reside in the capital of a Roman province could experience the comforts and the violence of Roman rule far more acutely than those living elsewhere (chapter 4); long-distance travel was expensive, time-consuming, and wearying, and long-distance communication was slow and precarious (chapter 5); and paper, ink, and books were prohibitively expensive for most of the population (chapter 6). Eusebius' *History*, I contend, is deeply embedded into the material circumstances in which he lived.

This study's examines the interactions of a text with its contingent built environment. Like most ancient authors, Eusebius did not mass-produce and commercially distribute his *History*, but circulated it to bishops in other cities, who would in turn use it to instruct their own friends.<sup>150</sup> He was thus attempting to reshape what Brian Stock has called "textual communities," where leaders in different places would organize like-thinking individuals around practices

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<sup>145</sup> On the reception of Thucydides in antiquity, see Nicolai 1992: 250-339 as well as Fromentin, Gotteland and Payen 2010.

<sup>146</sup> Sewell 2005: 369.

<sup>147</sup> Agents working within and through structures: Sewell 2005: ch. 4; "built environments": Sewell 2005: ch. 10, esp. 362-369. For a different formulation of the rejection of the linguistic-material binary, see Joyce 2010.

<sup>148</sup> On the New Historicism and material practices, cf. Veeseer 1994: 14-17, Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000: chs. 3-4.

<sup>149</sup> Grafton and Williams 2006. For another recent attempt to situate early Christian texts within their material environments, see Nasrallah 2010.

<sup>150</sup> See chapter 6, p. 213 below.

drawn from the same text(s).<sup>151</sup> Eusebius, I argue, designed the *History* and the works that accompanied it to guide Christian clergymen in shaping their own churches' practices and thus to reformulate Roman Christianity.

Eusebius centered his reinterpretation on the role of Christian leaders in the Empire's built environment. Here I use "role" in Erving Goffman's sense. In Goffman's sociology, a role is an array of routines that individuals present to particular audiences during interactions with others.<sup>152</sup> For Goffman, certain settings and occasions call on qualified individuals to play particular roles.<sup>153</sup> Particularly important to this study are the claimants' qualifications for playing a social role. Claimants must be present in the setting expected of their roles; they must project the expected competence and manners; and they must carry out expected routines convincingly and consistently.<sup>154</sup> Eusebius' Roman society was full of such social roles, from the emperor, governors, and civic elites down to small farmers, sailors, prostitutes, and field slaves.<sup>155</sup> Eusebius, I argue, used the *History* and its contemporary works to qualify the church to serve in a particular Roman role, that of the philosopher.

## 5. An Outline of the Argument

The argument of this study proceeds in two parts. Chapters 1 through 3 show the ways in which Eusebius used previously available genres of Greek historiography to create a world in which Christians inhabited the role of the Roman philosopher. Chapters 4 through 6 describe how the *History* incorporated symbols and practices from the Roman Empire's built environment to integrate this church of philosophers into the Empire.

Chapter 1 begins by noting how unusual Eusebius' *History* was among existing genres of Greek historiography. The *History*'s combination of a chronology around non-state actors (namely successions of bishops in major Roman cities), extensive verbatim quotation, literary history, avoidance of lengthy set-piece orations, and static narrative arc are unparalleled in Greek narrative history. Eusebius' audience, I show, consisted of elite Greek-speaking Romans educated through the standard Greek educational curriculum (*paideia*). To understand how these features resonated with Eusebius' educated audiences, the chapter adopts a flexible, descriptive genre theory. I understand genres as textual schemas that manifest themselves in texts' forms, content, and rhetoric. Each genre is associated with a different domain, or "world," of information, so that any text that evokes a genre also evokes the world associated with that genre. The chapter investigates the *History*'s evocation of available Greek genres, identifying the *History*'s originality in its blending of two available Greek genres, national historiography and

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<sup>151</sup> "What was essential for a textual community, whether large or small, was simply a text, an interpreter, and a public...Yet whatever the origins, the effects were always roughly comparable. Through the text, or, more accurately, through the interpretation of it, individuals who previously had little else in common were united around common goals. Similar social origins comprised a sufficient but not necessary condition of participation. The essential bond was forged by means of belief: its cement was faith in the reality of belonging. And these in turn were by-products of a general agreement on the meaning of a text" (Stock 1984: 15-20; quotation in 18). See further Stock 1983: ch. 2, esp. 90-92.

<sup>152</sup> Goffman 1959: 15f.

<sup>153</sup> For example, at his office during working hours, physicians are expected to examine patients and attempt to diagnose patients, whereas in another setting, such as a bar, the same two individuals are expected to enjoy a drink and banter together.

<sup>154</sup> Goffman 1959: esp. 17-58.

<sup>155</sup> See in general the essays in Peachin 2010.

philosophical biography, the only Greek genre that prefigures the five features that distinguish the *History* from previous narrative histories.

The world that Eusebius' genre created placed Christians into the prestigious roles played by philosophers in Roman society. Philosophers taught *philosophia*, a regime of intellectual training that disabused practitioners of normative attitudes and focused the mind on what was really important; these practitioners, called *philosophoi*, included both professional philosophers and nonprofessional elite thinkers. Philosophers were often useful advisors for Roman emperors and other statesmen because they maintained a posture of distance from the state, which in turn positioned them at a critical distance from Roman rulers, while equipping them with the exclusive right to speak frankly to these rulers.

Chapter 2 focuses more closely on the particular world that Eusebius' use of philosophical biography constructed. Philosophical biography was a flexible genre: as contemporary examples of the genre show, it could portray philosophers as diverse or uniform, as parochial or universal, or as brilliant or unenlightened. The chapter places Eusebius' biographies within these spectra by studying how he downplays, modifies, or emphasizes eight categories of data offered in most philosophical biography. Eusebius' concealment of familial ties and civic identity, along with his placing bishops and emperors in parallel lines of succession, removes parochial markers of distinction and universalized the church. His suppression of "orthodox" subjects' individuality through repetitive catalogues of their writings, parallel anecdotes, and placement within lines of succession renders the church as a uniform and therefore reliable institution. And these literary catalogues, attention to teacher-student relationships, and anecdotes about instruction paint the church as intellectually formidable. Biographies of "heretics," meanwhile, render "heretics" diverse by noting their distinctive doctrines and obscure their intellectual productivity by concealing their writings; Eusebius' church is thus justified in excluding them. The universality, uniformity, and intellectual productivity of Eusebius' church rendered it an attractive institution from which Roman leaders might draw trustworthy, wise advisors.

Chapter 3 moves to the section of the *History* that are most focused on national history, showing how Eusebius used even these sections to enhance his picture of a philosophical church. Greek national histories required narration of a nation's victories and valor in warfare. Since the church had not fought in a military campaign, Eusebius submitted martyr narratives, the most violent Christian texts he had, as a substitute. To sustain his philosophical portrayal of the church, Eusebius proclaims martyrdoms to be "wars contested for peace in the soul" (*HE* 5.pref.3). In this war, the church's enemies are the devil and his demons, who instigate persecutions and tempt would-be martyrs as they face violent suffering. The church must resist Satan with psychical armaments, which Eusebius describes by making Christians' philosophical training a prelude for Christian martyrdom. In his narratives of the martyrs' battles, Eusebius makes martyr narratives resemble war by removing the courtroom questioning that marked previous martyr narratives and foregrounding violent suffering, evoking Greek war narratives such as Thucydides'. At the same time, Eusebius' stress on Christian virtue distinguishes the martyrs from the unheroic torture in Thucydidean war narrative. After God rescues the church and punishes persecutors, Eusebius declares Christian victory through the Greek historiographical *topoi* of state documents and the only set-piece oration in the *History*. Eusebius' narratives of "philosophical" martyrs thus cohere with his biographies in elaborating a world in which Christians are the best philosophical school in the Empire; and by casting demons as the church's enemies he exonerated the Roman Empire from guilt for persecuting the church.



With Chapter 4 this study broadens the focus from the world within the *Ecclesiastical History* to Roman society at large through a thick description of the built environment of Caesarea Maritima, the city that shaped Eusebius. Caesarea was a fairly typical Roman port city, whose Roman character was reinforced by its numerous Latin inscriptions and honorific statues that valorized the benefits that Roman rulers bestowed on their subjects. In Caesarea sculptures and inscriptions honored philosophers and other intellectuals alongside of statues of statesmen, demonstrating that philosophical activity and accomplishments held a place of honor alongside of statesmanship among the Roman elite. Eusebius' attribution of both philosophical and political virtues to Christians reflected the prestige that philosophers and statesmen held in Caesarea. Caesarea served as the seat of government in the province of Palestine, where the governor dispensed justice, answered petitions, presided at public spectacles, performances and other rituals, and dealt with local elites; Eusebius therefore speaks from close observation in his assessment of Roman authority. Caesarea's bustling economy created an enjoyable and prosperous city, as tax revenue brought monumental building projects and trade brought goods in from other regions, improving Eusebius' material prosperity and reinforcing his lifelong loyalty to Rome. Caesarea had a major harbor and a hub in an extensive road network, offering mobility that Eusebius exploited to visit other Roman cities. The only features of Caesarea that Eusebius disliked were the city's pagan shrines, around which much of Caesarea's civic life coalesced. While Eusebius abhorred pagan worship, he also appreciated the city's most important divinity, the emperor Augustus, who had patronized the founding of Caesarea and who was worshipped at Caesarea's magnificent harbor temple. The presence of this temple at the center of the city symbolized the benefits that Roman monarchy had delivered to Caesarea and likely prompted Eusebius' most frequent expression of his loyalty to Roman, his regular evocation of the synchronism between Christ's incarnation and Augustus' pacifying reign.

Chapter 5 demonstrates how Eusebius incorporated his experience as an elite Roman living in a well-connected city into his depiction of the church. His adroit weaving of revealing encounters, travel, letters, and citations combine individual Christians' interactions into an Empire-wide network, while creating ties with Roman rulers outside the Christian network. Eusebius' intra-ecclesial interactions highlight the Christian leaders' unity, proper elite behavior, and intergenerational continuity. While the church's internal relations remain cohesive, Christian leaders also create more distant ties with outsiders, including both intellectuals and Roman statesmen. While Eusebius' Christians show themselves the equals of good philosophers and superior to bad ones, they interact with Roman rulers as philosophers, influencing emperors through their frank speech, respectful conduct, and intellectual prowess. Christians' distanced harmony toward Roman rulers parallels the relationship that philosophers were to hold with the authorities.

Chapter 6 addresses the place of the *History* in Eusebius' larger oeuvre during the reign of Licinius, including the *General Elementary Introduction* and *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration*. The chapter first narrows the intended audience of these texts to bishops, other Christian intellectuals, and Roman Christians of high status; these educated, elite Christians needed to be able to explain their religion to their pagan counterparts. The *Introduction* and *Preparation-Demonstration*, I show, constituted a curriculum for such educated Christians, presenting Christian theology and modeling the reading of sacred Christian texts while providing answers to outside objections, all of which mirror the functions of contemporary philosophical introductions. The *History* complements this program by endowing the church with the heritage expected of a philosophical school—as the famed enemy of Christianity, Porphyry of Tyre,

wrote a *Philosophical History* to complement his philosophical introductions. Together the *Preparation-Demonstration* and *History* pattern Christian society after the model of the philosophical schools. Eusebius' imagined church consists both of professionals—ascetics and clergy who must live a regimented lifestyle—and of elite nonprofessionals; and like philosophical schools, Christianity welcomed elite Romans into nonprofessional positions in the church. Eusebius located the church's superiority to the Greek philosophical schools in its more efficacious doctrines, its more universal membership, and its stronger success in civilizing adherents. Thus, Christian Roman elites would foster better relations with God and be able to live a better kind of life than followers of the philosophical schools would. By these activities the philosophical church would reinforce Rome's imperialist ideology. Roman ideology had long claimed to civilize subject races, and Greek *paideia* had served as a civilizing vehicle for "barbarian" upper classes, breaking their resistance to Roman domination. Eusebius' works between 313 and 324 together made the case that Christianity's reliable intellectual prowess and strong relations with the divine made it a superior civilizer to Greek philosophical schools. Eusebius' works in the 310s thus positioned Christianity and its representatives, the clergy, to displace Hellenism and its representatives, the Greek philosophers, as the civilizing specialists in Rome's imperialist apparatus.

## Chapter 1

### Literary Signification and Philosophical Association: Genre, Imagined Worlds, and a Role for the Church

*For as I am, in reality, the founder of a new province of writing, so I am at liberty to make what laws I please therein. And these laws, my readers, whom I consider as my subjects, are bound to believe in and to obey.*<sup>156</sup>

*A new genre is always the transformation of one or several old genres.*<sup>157</sup>

The introduction showed that, in his only narrative about Jesus drawn from outside the four canonical gospels (*HE* 1.13), Eusebius emulated a narrative pattern from Greek philosophical discourse. This can hardly have been accidental. As I suggested, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* incorporates *topoi* from a wide range of Greco-Roman texts. Even if he used some *topoi* from Greek discourse, however, Eusebius did not write history like any previous ancient Greek historian. A chorus of scholars has pointed out recurrent features in the *History* that are quite alien to previous narrative histories. The following is a list of five such notable features:

A. The *History* is structured by successions (in Greek, *diadochai*) of nonstate officials.<sup>158</sup> From books 2 through 7 Eusebius organizes the chronology of the *History* around the lines of succession of Christian bishops based in major cities (Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria), alongside Roman emperors' lines of succession. Previous histories' chronology had typically followed successive state officeholders, such as Roman kings and consuls, Athenian archons, or civic priests, for their chronology, and not such nonstate officials.<sup>159</sup>

B. The *Ecclesiastical History* features extensive verbatim quotations from many kinds of prose texts.<sup>160</sup> Previous narrative historians, even if they cited prose texts as authorities for

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<sup>156</sup> Fielding 2002: 77.

<sup>157</sup> Todorov 1976: 161. Yet, "Ecclesiastical history was a new way of looking at the past which sprang, fully-formed, from the head of Eusebius of Caesarea" (Harries 1991: 269, quoted in Verdoner 2011: 187).

<sup>158</sup> In books 2-7, that is, which cover the church from Jesus' departure to the Diocletianic persecution.

<sup>159</sup> Noted as early as Overbeck 1892: 37-47, and the subject of Overbeck 1898; Schwartz 1907: 1396; Momigliano 1962: 140; Grant 1980: ch.6; Simonetti 1997: 54f.; cf. Barnes 1981: 132. Civic priests: see e.g. Hornblower 2006: 620.

<sup>160</sup> As Treadgold (2007: 38) notes, "Nearly half the text, including many of its most memorable episodes, consists of direct quotations from earlier sources, in most cases scrupulously identified." By "quotation" I mean the insertion of an excerpt from a previous text, oral communication or some other verbal medium, that purports and attempts to reproduce the wording of that previous communication verbatim. I distinguish this from "citation," by which I mean simply a narrator's purported acknowledgement that the narrator has reproduced data drawn from another source. This distinction is pertinent because the English terms "cite" and "citation" typically signify the acknowledgement of the source of information or ideas. "Citation" includes, but does not necessarily imply, the reproduction of the *ipsissima verba* that communicated the information, even though some authors do use it to mean more broadly the reproduction of another author's text whether or not that text comes in the form of precise quotation, paraphrase, or summary (cf. DeVore forthcoming b). I qualify with "prose texts" because quotations of poetry are quite common in Greek historiography from Herodotus to Herodian.

their claims,<sup>161</sup> had rarely quoted their sources verbatim.<sup>162</sup> Instead, historians' custom was to rewrite events depicted in their sources in their own style, though, as Appendix 2 shows, Greek historians did quote a number of different kinds of documents.<sup>163</sup>

C. The *History* shows a preoccupation with *literary history*. A number of scholars have noted Eusebius' interest in tracing which authors considered which books canonical;<sup>164</sup> the *History* also features more than 40 catalogues of Christian intellectuals' writings.<sup>165</sup> Previous narrative historians had not made such an effort to incorporate literary history into their narratives, let alone distinguish between the legitimacy of different texts.

D. Eusebius' *History* includes no invented set-piece speeches and attributing them to characters.<sup>166</sup> By contrast, every Greek narrative history that survives from before Eusebius had placed artful orations in actors' mouths: "It would never have occurred to any historian to write a narrative history wholly without recorded speech."<sup>167</sup> (There is one substantial exception to Eusebius' avoidance of speeches, the author's own oration at the dedication of a basilica in Tyre at 10.4, which will be discussed in chapter 3 below.<sup>168</sup>)

E. Almost every event in the *History* is detached from diachronic causal chains. This has the effect of making Eusebius' church and its Roman imperial context experience a *static narrative arc*, according to which the social context in which the church operates does not change.<sup>169</sup> Most previous historians had made some effort to paint the web of various social, material and other external forces that motivated and constrained actors' decisions, even if that web constituted a top-down flow of power from emperor to imperial subjects.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> As historians from Herodotus to Arrian of Nicomedia (in his *Anabasis of Alexander*) had. The surviving two third-century narrative historians, Cassius Dio and Herodian, rarely even cite their sources.

<sup>162</sup> Momigliano 1962: 140f., and 1963: 89f.; Harries 1991: 272f.; Sellew 1992: 114; Timpe 1989: 187f., 194-197; Winkelmann 1991: 112f.; Perrone 1995: 420; Gonnet 2001; Mendels 2001a: 201-203, 2001b: 300f.; Mühlenberg 2002: 201 with n. 56; Treadgold 2007: 37f.; Willing 2008: 490-492; cf. Carotenuto 2001: 99-108.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. e.g. Marincola 1997: 102-107, on Greek and Latin historians' hesitation to quote.

<sup>164</sup> See esp. Baum 1997, Le Boulluec 2002, Nielsen 2003: 31-50; see also Schwartz 1907: 1396-1398; Bauer 1934: 150; Momigliano 1962: 139-141; Grant 1980: ch. 11; Barnes 1981: 128, 132f., 138-140; Chesnut 1986: 120; Winkelmann 1991: 111; Perrone 1996: 516f.; Dungan 2007: 57-93.

<sup>165</sup> See Alexandre 1998; Carotenuto 2001: 102-106. See also chapter 2, pp. 84-87 below.

<sup>166</sup> By "set-piece speech," I mean a discourse spoken by an individual or collective character within a narrative text to an internal audience that continues without interruption for more than 100 words and expresses or influences the direction of the narrative. Noting the absence of set-piece speeches in the *History*: e.g. Momigliano 1963: 89f.; Timpe 1989: 188f.; Harries 1991: 272f.; Winkelmann 1991: 111-113; Willing 2008: 490f.

<sup>167</sup> Marincola 2007: 119. The most prominent exception to the rule that narrative histories included speeches was the *brevaria*, epitomes, and other short histories. The only pre-Eusebian examples of such epitomizing histories without speeches, to my knowledge, survive are Latin (Velleius Paterculus, Florus, Justin). Of surviving Greek histories, Diodorus' *Historical Library* comes closest to such a truncated history (cf. Diodorus 1.3.8)—and indeed in one of his prefaces he explains why he includes set-piece orations (20.1f.), and in the surviving fifteen books plus *reliquiae* a number of them surface (e.g. 13.20-32, 14.65-69).

<sup>168</sup> A much shorter exception is found at 7.32.9; other brief speeches appear in quotations (2.23.10f., 7.11.6-11).

<sup>169</sup> Barnes 1981: 131f., 142; Twomey 1982: 202-04; Timpe 1989: 191f.; Winkelmann 1991: 107; Carotenuto 2001: xixf., 22-24, 181; Studer 2004: 139; Morgan 2005: 195f. and 202; Morlet 2005: 13; Willing 2008: 487f. Cf. Chesnut 1986: 91f., Mendels 1999: 7 and 122f.

<sup>170</sup> As e.g. in Arrian's *Anabasis* and Herodian's *Roman History*, and in the imperial books of Dio's *Roman History*.

Eusebius, I argue, must have had models somewhere in his reading for the literary structures that he used in the *Ecclesiastical History*. This chapter aims to identify these Eusebian models and present a hypothesis for why Eusebius selected these particular models.

Most scholars' first instinct is to read Eusebius as imitating previous Jewish and Christian texts. Yet there is no precedent for Eusebian historiography among Christian historical narratives. Among earlier Christian writers, only the author of the Acts of the Apostles had written anything resembling a history of the church. Among Jewish texts, the Septuagint included some narrative histories (the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah) that Eusebius could have chosen to imitate. And Eusebius knew the writings of the late first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus well, quoting him repeatedly in the *History*.<sup>171</sup> However, no Jewish or Christian history prefigured the distinctive features of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Among pagan Greek histories the search for precedents has proven no more successful. We are fortunate to know well the histories that Eusebius read, thanks to his frequent citations.<sup>172</sup> We know that Eusebius read Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library*, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*, as well as nonnarrative historians such as Alexander Polyhistor, Philostratus, and Porphyry.<sup>173</sup> But despite our precise knowledge of Eusebius' historical reading and the wide acceptance of Eusebius' originality, scholars have yet to reach a consensus on the precedents of Eusebius' historiography.<sup>174</sup>

Eusebius could not simply have intuited how to write history: "in literature there is no creation *ex nihilo*."<sup>175</sup> This chapter aims therefore to rethink the historiographical models for Eusebius' *History* and to show how Eusebius arranged these precedents to present a particular vision of the church. First (Section 1), I assess the *History*'s presumptions about its audience's knowledge and religious sympathies to affirm Marie Verdoner's recent argument identifying Eusebius' intended audience as educated, elite Greek-speaking Roman Christians. The identification of Eusebius' intended audience allows us to assess what these readers knew about historical writing and expected from a history like Eusebius'.

Second (section 2), because the *History* presents the church to this audience through an innovative mix of historiographical topoi (see above), I apply recent work in genre theory to show how identifying Eusebius' genres can illuminate the *History*'s message for its audiences. In particular, genre associates certain communicative schemas with specific categories of information; the application of genres in a text thus creates a world with a specific logic in which its characters operate. The combination of genres therefore situates Eusebius' imagined church in a distinctive imagined world.

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<sup>171</sup> See n. 173 below.

<sup>172</sup> Carriker 2003 is the chief *vade mecum* for Eusebius' reading; but cf. Verdoner 2007: 91 on Eusebius' concealment of his pagan historiographical models.

<sup>173</sup> Herodotus and Thucydides are cited in *Theophany* 2.68f., both in fairly detailed summaries that make it clear that Eusebius knew each historian (cited in Wallace-Hadrill 1960: 184f.; *pace* Winckelmann 1991: 60, followed by Verdoner 2011: 84 n. 94, and Carriker 2003: 151f.); Diodorus: Carriker 2003: 145-147; Dionysius: Carriker 2003: 147; Josephus: e.g. Mendels 2001a and 2001b, Carriker 2003: 157-161; Hata 2007; Polyhistor: Carriker 2003: 139-141; Philostratus: Borzi 2003 and Jones 2006: 49-52 (*pace* Hägg 1992 and Barnes 1994); Porphyry: see Carriker 2003: 115-123 for references.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. e.g. Momigliano 1963: 89-91 and 1990: 138-144, Timpe 1989, Mendels 1999, Carotenuto 2001, Morlet 2005, DeVore forthcoming a.

<sup>175</sup> Fowler 1982: 156.

Third (Sections 3-5), I show that the *History*'s innovation lies in interweaving two elite Greek historiographical genres, national history and philosophical biography. Since genre associates certain textual subjects with related categories of information, Eusebius' choice to combine these two genres cast his imagined church as a nation of philosophers.

Fourth (Section 6), I draw out the social implications of Eusebius' assimilation of the church with philosophical schools by surveying recent scholarship on the role of philosophers in Roman imperial society. As well-educated, contemplative, and ascetic men, philosophers trained themselves to teach elites and advise rulers on how to conform their regimes to the divine will. By painting the church's past through the strokes of philosophical biography, Eusebius brought the church into comparison with a prestigious and authoritative circle of Roman elites.

### 1. Eusebius' Readers and their Expectations: Elite Romans and Greek *Paideia*

Understanding a text's social significance requires identifying its audience, for a text becomes significant in the communities where it is read. Because we do not have the words of the *History*'s contemporary readers, the *History*'s intended audience must serve as a proxy for its actual audience. Marie Verdoner has identified the *History*'s intended audience in a superb recent article.<sup>176</sup> Verdoner first shows that Eusebius points particularly to "eine Art Einverständnis zwischen Erzähler und Publikum."<sup>177</sup> This *Einverständnis* manifests itself in several features of the *History*: first, Eusebius' narratorial voice assumes that the reader shares his knowledge of and commitment to certain specifically Christian doctrines; second, scriptural passages are alluded to as authoritative without comment; third, the narrative is virtually always focalized through an "orthodox" Christian perspective;<sup>178</sup> finally, Eusebius' voice consistently includes the reader in its positive portrayal of the church.<sup>179</sup> Such pervasive presumptions of shared knowledge and identity confirm that Eusebius aimed the *History* at a (to Eusebius) "orthodox" Christian audience.

Eusebius was not, however, pitching the *History* to all Christians. Verdoner shows further that Eusebius' narration assumes educated Christian readers. His occasional exhortations to "pick up and read" such a text as Josephus' *Jewish War* (3.6.1) appeal to readers wealthy and inquisitive enough to envision themselves reading such obscure books as Josephus' histories.<sup>180</sup> Such references, Verdoner shows, construct his implied reader as a fellow-researcher interested in debates over the Christian past and Christian texts, an elite activity. In support of Verdoner's hypothesis I add that Eusebius' style evinces no concern to communicate with uneducated readers. The *History*'s syntax is often tortuous and complex, featuring numerous switches of register, from encomium to invective to straightforward expository prose. It would be difficult

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<sup>176</sup> Verdoner 2010; cf. Perrone 1996: 522-525. Although Verdoner (2010: 366, 372) is careful to define her aim as finding the "implied reader" of the *History*. I see no reason to distinguish between Eusebius' "implied" and "intended" audiences. Eusebius' narratorial voice is sufficiently devoid of the irony and other misdirective devices that motivated literary theorists in the 1960s and 1970s to distinguish "implied" from "intended" readers (cf. Birns 2010: 38f., 106f.). And, as I hope to show, Eusebius' implied reader fits the profile of numerous Roman readers who were plausible contemporary consumers of the *History*.

<sup>177</sup> Verdoner 2010: 366.

<sup>178</sup> On why I italicize "orthodox," "heretic," and related terms, see the Introduction, n. 128 above.

<sup>179</sup> Verdoner 2010: 367-370; see also Verdoner 2011: 89-98.

<sup>180</sup> Verdoner 2010: 370f. Josephus was not among the most widely-read Greek-language historians of antiquity: see Schreckenberg 1979, Hardwick 1989 on the reception of Josephus; cf. Nicolai 1992 on which historians were widely read.

for readers unaccustomed to challenging texts to follow Eusebius' complex Greek. Moreover, the *History's* vocabulary is broad and often technical, as Lorenzo Perrone has recently underlined, and required verbal sophistication on the part of his readers.<sup>181</sup> Eusebius' *variatio* and frequent rhetorical flourishes also appealed to educated readers.<sup>182</sup> And in many places where readers might become comfortable with Eusebius' styles, one of the *History's* many quotations—often written in elaborate and obscure Greek—intrudes,<sup>183</sup> preventing readers from becoming comfortable. Along with the implication that its readers were ready to read obscure texts, the *History's* styles show that Eusebius was writing for educated Christians.<sup>184</sup>

If, therefore, Eusebius' readers were educated, elite Christians, what did such readers expect of their histories? Like other Greek-speakers in the Roman Empire, elite Christians were educated through the *egkuklios paideia*, perhaps best translated as “complete education.”<sup>185</sup> There was no distinct educational system for Christians: exposure to Christian texts and doctrines came through supplementary catechetical instruction, not a separate educational system.<sup>186</sup> Eusebius had to take his readers' *paideia* into account when he composed his *History*.

The *egkuklios paideia* was more or less standardized across the Greek-speaking parts of the Roman Empire, which circled from Cyrene (roughly, modern Libya) in the southwest around to Egypt and north along the coast to Palestine and Arabia, north into Syria, and west again through Asia Minor and mainland Greece, and as far north as modern Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria.<sup>187</sup> Throughout these regions boys underwent a standard educational *paideia* from ages seven to eighteen, an education that enabled elites from Cyrene to communicate with those from Thessalonica, and Greek-educated men from Rome or even further west to interact with elites from Mesopotamia.

The sequence of studies that constituted *paideia* is better known to us than many other aspects of the Roman world, since identifiable school exercises remain on papyri and ostraca, while educational handbooks and allusions in literary texts can supplement this evidence.<sup>188</sup> After students learned to read and write letters and numbers in the earliest stage of their education, led by a *paidagōgos*, the second stage, taught by the *grammatikos*, demanded reading and memorizing passages from Euripides, Hesiod, Menander, and above all Homer, as well as writing basic compositions such as letters. Greek speakers came to know these poets' works—especially the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—by heart, developing interpretive skills as they read.<sup>189</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Perrone 2007: 320-323.

<sup>182</sup> On Eusebius' style, though not exclusively in the *Ecclesiastical History*, see e.g. des Places 1993; Perrone 1996: 520f. and 2007: 319-333. Too often echoed is the judgment of Schwartz 1999: C on “Eusebs salopper Stil”: e.g. Barnes 1981: 128; Hägg 1992: 147f.; Winckelmann 2004: 66; Treadgold 2007: 38.

<sup>183</sup> Difficult quotations include, e.g., 3.5-8 (Josephus), 7.25 (Dionysius of Alexandria), 7.32.14-19 (Anatolius of Alexandria).

<sup>184</sup> Pace Mendels (1999: esp. ch.1, and 2000: 295-302), who, in arguing that Eusebius intended the *Ecclesiastical History* for mass audiences, nowhere considers the implications of Eusebius' style for his readership.

<sup>185</sup> After Criore 2003: 3.

<sup>186</sup> See Beavis 2000: 417-420. Pace Young 1997: 292, whose chapters on the relationship between biblical reading practices and Greek education (chs. 3-5) does not show categorically that “the Christian Bible...replac[ed] for Christian pupils the texts which traditionally had taken pride of place in the schools of the Hellenistic world,” and certainly not by Eusebius' time.

<sup>187</sup> Much of Sicily and southern Italy also spoke Greek. On the regions where Greek was spoken in the Roman period, see Horrocks 2010: 123-143, with 79-123.

<sup>188</sup> See (cautiously) Morgan 1998: 23-45; Criore 2003: esp. 132-143. The signs for identifying school exercises include the medium of writing (ostraca and tablets as well as paper were used for models), rough handwriting, lectional signs such as accents, breathings, and separations between words, and pictures.

<sup>189</sup> See Criore 2003: chs. 6-7.

Students began to write their own prose compositions only at the third stage of *paideia*, taught by the rhetorician. The surviving handbooks for this stage of Greek education, called *progymnasmata*, prescribe that students develop compositional skills by imitating model classical texts, most written in fifth- and fourth-century Athens; imitation (*mimēsis*) of the classics was the foundational principle of Greek education.<sup>190</sup> The rhetorician's role was to guide students in selecting certain prose texts as compositional models. The classical canon served as a store of exemplars for different kinds of compositions: Homer and Hesiod were paradigmatic for how to write epic poetry, Euripides for tragedy, Plato and Xenophon for dialogues, and the ten Athenian orators (such as Aeschines, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Lysias) for rhetorical compositions.<sup>191</sup> Under the rhetorician's tutelage students were expected to compose elementary rhetorical compositions in both poetry and prose, often reenacting historical situations.<sup>192</sup>

In writing his *History* Eusebius needed to be aware especially of the historical narratives that students had to read. Like other prose authors, historians also penetrated the curriculum at the third, rhetorical stage of *paideia*, as exemplars for the composition of narrative. As Roberto Nicolai's detailed study has shown, students learned to imitate the narration of select model historians: Thucydides, Herodotus and Xenophon, in that order, were considered the chief paradigms for writing narrative history,<sup>193</sup> though, as we will see (pp. 41-43) other historians were also read as models for kinds of history not represented in this trio's writings. Students were expected to imitate passages from these authors when composing different kinds of historical narrative, about which we will see more below.

For most elites, education did not end at age 18. Many young men opted to study law, an expertise that put them on the path to being jurists. Others, aiming to participate in politics at the local or supra-local level, honed their rhetorical skills for a career in either their local city council or in the Roman Senate.<sup>194</sup> Still others, desirous of a more theoretical education, opted for the alternative path of philosophical study.<sup>195</sup> Both rhetorical and philosophical higher education immersed students further in difficult Greek texts, whether the classics of exemplary orators and philosophers, or more contemporary commentaries on these classic texts. Only a legal education required Greek-speakers to learn a language other than Greek (namely, Latin), and students seem to have learned Latin exclusively to read legal texts, not to speak the language or read literature.<sup>196</sup> Greek remained the all but exclusive language of eastern Roman elites.

After their studies, the standard Greek elite lifestyle required a regular display of one's education. The habit of *mimēsis* engendered the lifelong routine of echoing, and thus marking themselves as the cultural descendants of, classical authors. Performances of their distinctive knowledge marked out their aristocratic status.<sup>197</sup> Elites were expected to continue to read both the classics and their contemporaries' writings and comment on them frequently in their day. Learned allusion and commentary, in imitation of classical discourses, permeated their

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<sup>190</sup> See above all Whitmarsh 2001, as well as Swain 1996: ch. 3 and Schmitz 1997: esp. chs. 2 -3.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Hägg 2010 on the "canonization" of accepted Greek texts.

<sup>192</sup> Criore 2003: ch. 8.

<sup>193</sup> Nicolai 1992: 250-339, Gibson 2004. A second trio of historians (Philistius of Syracuse, Theopompus of Chios, and Ephorus of Cyme) was also cited as models, though not as often as Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon.

<sup>194</sup> See e.g. Gleason 1995: xxiii-xxv; Schmitz 1997: 22-24; Watts 2004, 2006: 7-10.

<sup>195</sup> I discuss philosophical education in depth below, pp. 63-65.

<sup>196</sup> See Criore 2007: 58-63; cf. Rochette 1997: ch. 2.

<sup>197</sup> See esp. Gleason 1995, Swain 1996, Schmitz 1997, Whitmarsh 2001.



conversation in every sphere of life, distinguishing them from the uncultured masses.<sup>198</sup> Elite life acted itself as a continuing—indeed, a continuous—education.<sup>199</sup> Participation in it could resemble a contemporary doctoral student’s oral examination, demanding extemporaneous demonstration of one’s education.

The Christian commitments of Eusebius’ intended readers are unlikely to have affected their literary expectations, as the demand for educated self-representation shaped both Christian and pagan readers. By Eusebius’ day some Christians had joined the highest status groups of Roman society, the senatorial and equestrian orders.<sup>200</sup> To interact smoothly with their pagan peers, Christian elites needed to display the *paideia* routinely expected of Roman elites, and perhaps even more so, as they generally abstained from the traditional pagan religious rituals performed in each Roman city that served as a significant mechanism for unifying the Roman elite.<sup>201</sup>

As we saw in the Introduction, Eusebius’ inclusion of Abgar’s and Jesus’ exchange rewarded readers with an extensive Greek education. Eusebius’ style and his expectation of readers with many books at their disposal and a thirst for knowledge reinforces the picture of an educated readership. In short, Eusebius tailored the *History* to the education and interests of Christian readers advanced in *paideia*.<sup>202</sup> It was written in the high Greek that was the language of the cultured elite of the Roman Empire. It was Christian, Greek, and Roman contemporaries, newly tolerated but still living under a pagan emperor, that Eusebius was trying to persuade. This study explores Eusebius’ strategies for persuading such an audience.

## 2. Genre and its Implications: Culturally Accepted Schemas for Associating Literature with Domains of Information<sup>203</sup>

Lorenzo Perrone has aptly described Eusebius as carrying on “competition with classical genres” in many of Eusebius’ writings.<sup>204</sup> As we have seen, the curriculum of *paideia* offered texts from a variety of genres for educated Greek-speakers to imitate. Genre therefore seems to

<sup>198</sup> It should not be assumed, as it sometimes is, that all pagan Greek-speaking elites were compelled to speak a purified, Atticizing Greek. In fact, imperial Greek authors exhibit a range of fidelity to the canons of Atticism: see Swain 1996: ch. 2, 137, 253, 410f., Kim 2010.

<sup>199</sup> In addition to the works in the previous note, see Johnson 2010.

<sup>200</sup> See e.g. *HE* 7.16f., 7.32.2f., 8.1.2-4, 8.11.1f. These references valorize the membership of Christians in the Roman elite with minimal defensiveness or suggestion of possible skepticism: Christians’ membership in the Roman Senate could be taken more or less for granted. In addition, the Christian rhetorician Lactantius was appointed by Diocletian to an endowed chair of rhetoric at the imperial capital of Nicomedia (Jerome, *VI* 80, cited in Digeser 2000: 2), and Lactantius tells us causally that Christians were present at an augury held by Diocletian—a private event restricted to the emperor’s inner circle (Lact. *DMP* 10: see Drake 1976: 90). I discuss contemporary Christian Roman elites further in Chapter 6 pp. 213-217 below.

<sup>201</sup> See e.g. Price 1984 on Roman religion as a site for communal bonding.

<sup>202</sup> I therefore dissent from the assertion of Barnes 2009: 1 that Eusebius had nothing to do with “the so-called Second Sophistic movement.” Although Barnes does not define precisely what he means by “Second Sophistic” beyond the “literary culture” that informed Eusebius’ *Against Hierocles*, he seems to mean specifically the practices of elite Greek-speaking orators under the Roman Empire. I reject this definition as too narrow: it rests on the work of Bowersock 1969, which views Greek literary culture through the lens of Philostratus’ *Lives of the Sophists*, a text that emphasizes the competitive practice of declamatory rhetoric as the apex of imperial Greek literary activity. More recent scholarship has broadened the scope of the “Second Sophistic” to include literary production beyond such declamatory rhetoric, including historiographical literature: see e.g. Swain 1996. See also Eshleman 2008 for additional cautions against privileging Philostratus’ portrayal of imperial Greek intellectual production.

<sup>203</sup> A briefer earlier version of these theoretical underpinnings appears in DeVore forthcoming a.

<sup>204</sup> Perrone 1996: 526; cited by Verdoner 2007: 90.

be a useful cipher for showing how the strange and innovative topoi of Eusebius' *History* affected his readers. Integrating genre into Eusebius' social context, however, requires some theoretical formulation. "Genre" is a problematic concept that has carried many definitions and provoked much uncritical discussion.<sup>205</sup> Since my aim is to show how Eusebius used the *History* to persuade his audiences, I summarize a theory that frames genre as a means of communication between author and audience. Genres are culturally contingent and therefore flexible communicative schemas. They are not mutually exclusive or static, but can be combined and modulated and thus transformed. Genres couple categories of knowledge with the combinations of form, content, and rhetoric that groups routinely use to communicate them. The association between genres and categories of information allows authors, when using a schema that evokes a certain category of knowledge, to create a world out of the knowledge that their genres evoke. Eusebius' combination of genres in the *History*, I will argue, created such a world.

### 2a. *Genres as Communicative Schemas: Form, Content, and Rhetoric*

Genre is most productively viewed in the broad frame of human communication. All communicative actions fit into webs of similar kinds of communications. They assume and convey meaning only as related to other instances of communication. As the great Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin argued in a famous essay, speakers and audiences recognize and interpret every act of verbal communication according as each act instantiates a larger class of speech:

Language is realized only in the form of individual concrete utterances (oral and written) by participants in the various areas of human activity. These utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such area not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style...but above all through their compositional structure....Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances.<sup>206</sup>

In different social situations, humans develop an array of stable structures for communicating our intentions with one another:

The speaker's speech will is manifested in the *choice of a particular speech genre*. This choice is determined by the specific nature of the given sphere of speech communication, semantic (thematic) considerations, the concrete situation of the speech communication, the personal composition of its participants, and so on. And when the speaker's speech plan with all its individuality and subjectivity is applied and adapted to a chosen genre, it is shaped and developed within a certain generic form....

We speak only in definite speech genres, that is, all our utterances have definite and relatively stable typical *forms of communication of the whole*.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> "Genre" has even been rejected as irrelevant for classical antiquity by Rosenmeyer 1985 (reacting against the totalizing use of "genre" by Cairns 1972). But see already Conte 1992 for a response to Rosenmeyer.

<sup>206</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 60. Italics in original.

<sup>207</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 78. Italics in original.

In Bakhtin's view, a broad array of well-understood speech genres is born out of the aggregate of encounters between speakers' intent and social situation:

A large number of genres that are widespread in everyday life are so standard that the speaker's individual speech is manifested only in its choice of a particular genre, and, perhaps, its expressive intonation. Such, for example, are the various genres of greetings, farewells, congratulations, all kinds of wishes, information about health, business, and so forth....<sup>208</sup>

The recipients of any enunciation understand how the enunciation is meant to be received and can enter into dialogue with the speaker only by presuming a shared understanding, a mutual understanding of the kind of enunciation being articulated. A shared contextual and expressive knowledge always structures the meaning of any enunciation. Features of mutual speech that structure our classifications of speech include the language and register used, the complexity of the enunciation, the medium (whether spoken, written, visual, or tactile), status (high or low), and illocutionary activity (directive, expressive, representative, imperative, declarative).<sup>209</sup>

The Australian literary theorist John Frow has recently systematized Bakhtin's communicative and semiotic theory of speech genres. Frow articulates the relationship between genres and individual enunciations through an insight of Jacques Derrida, who conceptualized enunciations as "performing" genres.<sup>210</sup> Each performance generates meaning by tapping speakers' and hearers' shared familiarity with loosely scripted kinds of enunciation.

To identify genres' "expressive capacities," that is, their "frameworks for constructing meaning and value," Frow has proposed three overlapping categories of characteristics that distinguish enunciatory genres.<sup>211</sup> The first trait is *formal characteristics*, i.e. "the repertoire of ways of shaping a material medium in which [a genre] works and the 'immaterial' categories of time, space, and enunciative position." At the most local level, form includes language, grammar and syntax; it also encompasses the length and cohesion of the text. The structures by which a text progresses also fit into the category of form: whether it is narrative or not, from whose perspective the story is told, what the rhythm of narrated time is, the "elevation" or "vulgarity"<sup>212</sup>

The second kind of characteristic, *rhetorical structures*, comprises "the way textual relations between senders and receivers of messages are structured in a situation of address."<sup>213</sup> Rhetorical structures articulate how an enunciation both interacts with its hearer and represents the world assumed in it. They structure the relations of power and proximity between speakers and the

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<sup>208</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 79; similarly, Bakhtin says at 60f. "In fact, the category of speech genres must include short rejoinders of everyday dialogue..., everyday narration, writing..., the brief standard military command, the elaborate and detailed order, the variegated repertoire of business documents..., and the diverse world of commentary...here, on one level of inquiry, appear such heterogeneous phenomena as the single-word rejoinder and the multivolume novel...."

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Searle 1976 for this typology of speech acts.

<sup>210</sup> Derrida 1980: esp. 55-66; see the elaboration of Frow 2006: 17-28.

<sup>211</sup> Frow 2006: 73-77; quotation from 73. Alternatively, Fowler 1982: ch. 60-72 identifies fifteen different features for distinguishing genres, including "representational aspect" (i.e. narrative, dialogue, etc.), structure, meter(s), size, scale, subject, meter, values, (emotional) mood, occasion, attitude, *mise-en-scène*, character types, entanglement of story, style, and readers' tasks. Fowler (at 72) rightly leaves his list of genre-distinguishing features open and avoids insisting on the priority of any.

<sup>212</sup> The questions that narratologists (e.g. Genette 1972, Bal 2009) seek to answer about a narrative text map nicely onto Frow's "formal characteristics."

<sup>213</sup> Frow 2006: 74.

modality of the enunciation.<sup>214</sup> In short, theoretical structures relate a text to the setting of its audiences.

Frow's third category is *thematic content*, that is:

the shaped human experience that genre invests with significance and interest....In those genres of discourse that tell stories within a recognisable world, the thematic content will be the kinds of actions, the kinds of actors who perform them, and the significance that accrues to actions and actors....Together, actors and actions form a particular organisation of time and space, and a particular mode and degree of plausibility: it will be symbolic, or exemplary, or empirically factual, and it will be presented as historically true, or as possible, or as probable.<sup>215</sup>

Thematic content, in other words, is the world and events constructed by a text. This world is defined in some relation (factual, possible, probable, fantastical, esoteric, exoteric) to the world in which its audience lives. I will have more to say later about how genres represent worlds, since these worlds are especially significant for a text like Eusebius' *History* that attempts to persuade audiences to believe that it projects an actually existing world.

We can illustrate how genres structure communication through a brief look at a well-known genre. The gospel, as represented both in the New Testament gospels and in surviving extra-canonical gospels, revolves around the *thematic content* of the interactions of Jesus of Nazareth with followers, opponents, and otherwise interested individuals in Palestine during the first century AD.<sup>216</sup> A crucial theme in all surviving gospels is Jesus' unique understanding and teaching about the relationship of a God from the Jewish tradition to his chosen people. The *rhetoric* of surviving gospels addresses communities committed to the acceptance of Jesus' exceptional status and encourages audiences' continued commitment Jesus' way of life. The *form* of gospels varies somewhat more than their content or rhetoric. While most gospels assume a narrative setting and feature quick, crisp narration, and simple, "low" language, some (such as the Gospel of Mark or the Infancy Gospel of Thomas) foreground Jesus' deeds, especially miracles, but also journeys, confrontations, callings, or the sending of embassies, while other gospels (most famously the Gospel of Thomas) consist exclusively of Jesus' sayings. That texts about Jesus' deeds and message share so many thematic, rhetorical, and to a lesser extent formal traits shows that "gospel" was perceived as a genre of its own.<sup>217</sup>

In sum, genres structure all human communication, from everyday spoken enunciations to complex literary (or, we could add, artistic and entertainment) productions. Humans recognize

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<sup>214</sup> I.e. whether the enunciation expresses a declaration, question, wish, command, exhortation, or some other expression.

<sup>215</sup> As we have lost the "packaging" external to most ancient texts that provides many a genre cue (such as the layout of the pages on which the text was written; cf. Frow 2006: 75f.), we are limited to genre cues internal to the text of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>216</sup> The preface to the Gospel of Luke suggests that the gospel was already a recognizable genre quite early in the formation of communities of Jesus-followers: Luke 1.1-4 contrasts the attempts of "many others" to tell Jesus' life to the author's own. Not all texts entitled "Gospel" (*euaggelion*) fit into the genre that I discuss here: for example, the *Gospel of Philip* discovered in the Nag Hammadi scrolls features no narrative setting or sequence. Since *euaggelion* simply signified "good news" and more specifically, a proclamation that an important person would arrive soon (LSJ s.v.), there is no reason to assume a one-to-one correspondence between genre and title. Cf. Burridge 2004: 186-188.

<sup>217</sup> The genre of the canonical gospels is considered in Burridge 2004 and Frickenschmidt 1997; the observations on noncanonical gospels are my own.

communicative genres from their form, rhetoric, and thematic content. This proposition applies to complex literary texts like Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* just as closely as to everyday oral and written communication. So far, however, this theorizing assumes a largely stable, and synchronic model of genre. However, since this study aims to explain why Eusebius created a new genre, this theory of genre must explain why genres change.

### *2b. Transformation in Genres: Reconfiguring Linguistic Schemas*

The communicative function of genres assures that genres change, though not necessarily at a rapid rate. Although linguistic entities change more slowly than other social structures (like, say, governmental institutions), semiotic entities like genres are inherently incapable of maintaining stability.<sup>218</sup> As William Sewell points out, linguistic signs always carry their own networks of denotations and connotations, which vary at different times among different groups within a society.<sup>219</sup> For this reason, Sewell posits, the constellation of symbols that make up a society's culture can only possess a "thin coherence." That is, while symbols are sufficiently mutually comprehensible that human agents can communicate, they are also ultimately indeterminate and flexible. Their indeterminacy and flexibility enable human agents to change the semantic values of signs as they transpose signs into new contexts. Genres, therefore, will always be susceptible to semantic change.<sup>220</sup>

In addition to the inherent instability of symbols, the changing contexts in which all symbols are used catalyzes change in genres. Materials, technologies, and new practices enter cultures from outside and equip individuals with new media of self-expression; contacts infuse new ideas; new situations and new problems instigate the rethinking of older ideas and practices; and, especially in competitive cultures like the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, individuals distinguish themselves by stamping their skill into new products.<sup>221</sup> Because material surroundings, speakers' intentions, and audiences' situations that structure human communication always vary, the genres that frame communication undergo regular (if not always rapid) transformation.

Particularly susceptible to symbolic transformations are the complex genres instantiated in literary texts. Most of Bakhtin's examples of simple genres—conversational rejoinders, military commands, congratulations, and farewells—remain relatively stable.<sup>222</sup> Complex textual genres, by contrast, absorb and incorporate other genres, both simple and complex.<sup>223</sup> Therefore, complex genres always change as long as societies continue to produce exemplars of them.

<sup>218</sup> See Sewell 2005: ch. 4, esp. 137-151; the comparison of linguistic structures to state institutions: 147-149.

<sup>219</sup> Sewell's example (2005: 166) is that the term "red" became so radioactive in the United States in the 1950s that Cincinnati's major league baseball team had to change its name from the "Reds" to the "Redlegs."

<sup>220</sup> Sewell 2005: 164-174, esp. 165-167; cf. the modifications of Pederson 2008: 572-574. On "transposition" of existing cultural structures, see Sewell 2005: ch. 4, esp. 129-143.

<sup>221</sup> A point generalized by Frow 2006: 2, 124, 137-139; cf. Bakhtin 1986: 60, 64, 78-81, 87f.; on originality in Greek and Roman literary composition, see Conte 1992: esp. 108f. Innovation as such was not always valorized in Roman culture: cf. Hallett 2005: 428-435, arguing that originality was not a priority for Roman visual artists.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Sewell 2005: 147: "Linguistic structures, which of course tend to be remarkably durable...are unusually deep. Intricate phonological, morphological, syntactical, and semantic structures underlie every sentence. Sentences, in turn, are aggregated into meaningful utterances or texts in accord with the discursive structures of rhetoric, narrative, metaphor, and logic." For a case in the ancient Mediterranean, it is telling that, in arguing that classical authors maintained a relatively stable array of genres from Homer through late antiquity, the widely-read Cairns 1972 stresses relatively simple genres like send-off speeches (*propemptikon*, pp. 1-16) as his exemplars, neglecting more complex genres like epic and historiography.

<sup>223</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 60-63, 72f.; see also Fowler 1982: ch. 9.

For Bakhtin, the multiplicity of voices captured in the modern novel was exemplary in wielding a repertoire of other genres.<sup>224</sup> Likewise, several complex ancient Mediterranean genres were constructed out of simpler genres.<sup>225</sup> In the eighth and seventh centuries BC Homeric epic already combined simpler genres like prayers, wedding songs, laments, defense-speeches, catalogues, war stories, hero-quests, and folktales.<sup>226</sup> In the fifth century, as Greeks developed empirical criticism and as the proliferation of writing preserved and disseminated more factual information, historical narrative amalgamated several existing genres: Herodotus' and then Thucydides' early histories interwove geography, genealogy, ethnography, sophistic rhetoric, rhetoric, tragedy, and war epic to varying degrees of emphasis.<sup>227</sup> Such combination is one of numerous available strategies for constructing a complex genre out of simpler ones.<sup>228</sup>

Along with the generation of new genres, the complexity of literary genres encourages transformations in established genres. Genres do not simply remain static entities with fixed formal, thematic, and rhetorical features. New authors can insert different topics or include unexpected genres in established genres, combine or accumulate genres, change the scale or function of an established genre, satirize or invert genres, or play in other ways with available schemas.<sup>229</sup> To take one example, epic poets did not slavishly imitate Homer's and Hesiod's paradigmatic poems. By the third century BC, when educated readers in Alexandria had access to a wide range of literature and therefore less incentive to read lengthy epics like Homer's, Apollonius of Rhodes composed his *Argonautica*, a much more succinct epic than the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* that incorporated features from such post-Homeric genres as geography, astronomy, post-Homeric lyric, and especially tragedy.<sup>230</sup> Such Hellenistic epics as Apollonius' influenced later epic considerably: two centuries after Apollonius, Virgil incorporated a mix of tragedy and lyric into his *Aeneid* that imitates Apollonius'.<sup>231</sup> Conversely, as the work of Richard Burridge and Dirk Frickenschmidt has shown, the dominant schema that gospels emulated was the established Greek genre of biography or "lives." Like other ancient biographies, the gospels narrate Jesus' life from his birth to his last living moments, though like most ancient biographies they eschew strict chronological sequencing and concentrate on their subject's public activity,

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<sup>224</sup> Bakhtin 1980: *passim*.

<sup>225</sup> Bakhtin 1986: 61f. calls simpler genres "primary" and more complex genres "secondary," whereas other scholars use the terms "primary" and "secondary" to describe genres at different stages in their self-referentiality (e.g. Fowler 1982: 160-164, who describes Homer as "primary" epic and Virgil's *Aeneid*, in referring to and differentiating itself from Homer, as "secondary"; cf. Sluiter 2000). Because they do not advance my argument I do not adopt the terms "primary" and "secondary genre."

<sup>226</sup> See e.g. Ford 1997: 410-414, Foley 2004: 181-186.

<sup>227</sup> Herodotus: see in general Fowler 1996, Thomas 2000; on geography in Herodotus, see Bichler 2000; on geography and ethnography, see Munson 2001; on sophistic inquiry, Wećowski 2004; on rhetoric, Scardino 2007; on Homer, see Baragwanath 2008: ch. 2; tragedy: see e.g. Chiasson 2003. Thucydides: see e.g. Rood 1998a.

<sup>228</sup> Fowler 1982: ch. 10 lists an array of "processes" (Conte 1992 prefers "strategies") for transforming a genre: along with combination, Fowler includes the insertion of new topics, aggregation (i.e. sequencing several shorter works together), adjusting scale, altering external function, counterstatement (i.e. opposing thematic tendency in previous exemplars of a genre), inclusion of smaller genres, hybridization, and satire. See also Frow 2006: ch. 2, esp. 40-50.

<sup>229</sup> See Fowler 1982: ch. 10; cf. Cairns 1972: chs. 5-9.

<sup>230</sup> On the genre of the *Argonautica* in general, see Hunter 2001. Tragedy in the *Argonautica*: Nishimura-Jensen 1996; astronomy: Bogue 1977; geography: Endsjø 1997, Meyer 2001.

<sup>231</sup> A point I owe to conversation with Chris Churchill; see e.g. Preshous 1964-65, Beyé 2006: ch. 7.

especially the manner of his death. Therefore, the genre of gospel modified the previous genre of Greek biography.<sup>232</sup>

Genres are both created and transformed; they are not stable Platonic archetypes, but flexible schemas that serve communicative purposes and become transformed, to varying degrees, with each communication. Some authors like Herodotus or (probably) the author of the gospel of Mark invent new genres, while others, like Apollonius of Rhodes, recalibrate old genres with new ones and thus transform the old genres. These changes in genre react to new social contingencies, such as improved methods for learning social facts (for historical narrative), the emergence of small reading communities in Alexandria (Apollonius' epic) or a new religious movement (the gospels). But existing genres are always the ingredients in new genres. When Eusebius created ecclesiastical history, therefore, he had to be reconfiguring existing genres.

### *2c. Genres as Schemas that Organize Imagined Worlds*

Up to this point we have discussed genres as vehicles of human communication. But as Frow shows, genres have a cognitive dimension, in that they help humans store, recall, and apply our knowledge. Genres' role in framing communication leads people to associate each genre with the categories of information that each genre communicates.

Drawing upon linguistics and cognitive science, Frow has located genres among categorizations by which humans organize information. Calling these categorizations "schemas," Frow shows how these categorizations help human beings to organize information:

To speak of the "schema" is to assume that *knowledge is organised*, and thus that "when we know something of a given domain, our knowledge does not consist of a list of unconnected facts, but coheres in specifiable ways."<sup>233</sup> Genre is one of the forms that knowledge takes, making patterns of meaning relative to particular communicative functions and situations....

...But this is not to say that this information, these generically organized knowledges, exists in some mental cupboard as ready-formed resources, since they are "not only the body of knowledge and belief, but also the operation that, in a context, selects the relevant information and gives it commutable shape, or from a text infers a relevant context."<sup>234</sup> ...The cognitive scientist Walter Kintsch represents this by speaking of knowledge as being made of associative networks, "knowledge nets," the nodes of which are "*propositions, schemas, frames, scripts, production rules.*"<sup>235</sup>

Knowledge nets allow, then for the activation on an *ad hoc* basis of relevant knowledges, distributing resources between a foreground of active meanings and a background of encyclopaedic knowledge and beliefs. I take these knowledge nets to be in part generically organised....<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Burrige 2004; Frickenschmidt 1997. While some gospels, such as the Gospel of Thomas (a series of sayings attributed to Jesus), incorporate few features of ancient biography, most gospels that survive at enough length to allow conclusions about their structures follow the conventions of Greek biography. For example, the surviving fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of Peter, and the Egerton Gospel all make it likely that they performed the same biographical pattern as the canonical gospels.

<sup>233</sup> Quotation from Mandler 1984: ix [*non vidi*].

<sup>234</sup> Quotation from Lecerle 1999: 203 [*non vidi*].

<sup>235</sup> Quotation from Kintsch 1998: 74 [*non vidi*]. Italics mine.

<sup>236</sup> Frow 2006: 84f. Italics in original.

Genres are surely among the “schemas, frames, scripts, [and] production rules” by which humans configure information. If we conceptualize the cognitive processes of channeling, storing, and accessing information as networks, these “nets” link different kinds of knowledge to our own human experience.<sup>237</sup> As schemas, genres act as one of the nodes in the network. Each genre influences us to associate information communicated in it with information from our previous experience communicated through the same genre. Genres thus create links between domains of information that we otherwise would not associate.

As long as the forms, content, and rhetoric that constitute genres lie interlocked in people’s minds, people usually associate thematic content with the forms and rhetoric that have communicated them to us.<sup>238</sup> These compartments of interlocking information, schemas, and meaning coalesce into what the literary theorist Peter Seitel calls “worlds”:

A genre presents a social world or a partial view of one that includes configurations of time and space, notions of causality and human motivation, and ethical and aesthetic values. Genres are storehouses of cultural knowledge and possibility. They support the creation of works and guide the way an audience envisions and interprets them. The idea of generic worlds directs a genre-savvy critic<sup>239</sup> to the dimensions of these collective representations—including time, space, categories of actors and settings, causality, and motivation—and the interpretation they call for.<sup>240</sup>

Or, as Frow puts it, “genres create effects of reality and truth that are central to the different ways the world is understood.”<sup>241</sup>

The perception that a text performs a genre thus, again in Frow’s phrase, implicates the text, and its content, in the world of the genre. So, for example when readers encounter a narrative written in Greek dactylic hexameters that requires more than one sitting to read,<sup>242</sup> they can expect to see a world from Hellenic epic, where elite heroic men battle for honor and glory and defeat their enemies in battle because of their strength and skill; readers will then bring their own knowledge of Hellenic epic into their comprehension of the text currently in front of them. Alternatively, a television program that depicts a group of single, American-English-speaking, twenty- and thirty-somethings as gathering in public drinking establishments, and punctuates their witty one-liners with laugh-tracks, triggers different implicit knowledge, implicating its characters in the world of sitcoms in the later twentieth- and early twenty-first century. Or, a painting in broad, painterly, bright-colored brushstrokes, vaguely depicting the front façade of a Gothic cathedral, which hangs on a museum wall above a label that reads, “Monet/Rouen Cathedral,” will evoke yet a third world for its viewers, a world that foregrounds hazy color, blurred lines, and objects exhibiting an eerie combination of movement and fixedness. Each of these worlds sets its own movement of time, its own matter and sense-perceptions, its own logic and ethics. As Frow writes,

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<sup>237</sup> Similarly as “the various areas of human activity” generate different categories of speech, so also the categories of speech evoke the genres of speech that are associated with them (Bakhtin 1986: 60, cited on pp. 33f. above).

<sup>238</sup> And we can distinguish the nodes from networks of associations that surround them within these constitutive clusters only with great effort.

<sup>239</sup> Or, I add, audiences in general.

<sup>240</sup> Seitel 2003: 279-286; quotation from 279; cf. Fowler 1982: 66-70.

<sup>241</sup> Frow 2006: 19; see in general *ibid*: ch. 4.

<sup>242</sup> “More than one sitting” as a standard of length: Fowler 1982: 63.



genre is one of the processes by which background knowledges brought into play by texts are given contextual shape and focus. Genre is a frame for processing information and for allowing us to move between knowledge given directly in a text and other sets of knowledge that are relevant for understanding it.<sup>243</sup>

If genres structure worlds and, as argued in the previous section, genres undergo change, then modifications to existing genres modify the worlds associated with each respective genre. Every time a new genre is created, therefore, a new world is imagined. Whereas the world of Homer's epic rewarded the strongest and most skillful heroes, in Apollonian and Virgilian epic brawn and brains do not necessarily precipitate success.<sup>244</sup> In the gospels, conformity to Jesus' teaching holds the key to divine favor, and Jesus' death saves his followers. And every text that evokes one of these genres brings the world of that genre into dialogue with the world of its text.

The potential of genres to project worlds has significant consequences for texts, like the *History*, that aim to endow a community with a definitive past. Imagined worlds are the subject of recent studies in historical memory. Scholars like Benedict Anderson, Aleida Assmann, and Jan Assmann have shown that societies' widely accepted memory of a shared past is a central catalyst in forging collective identity.<sup>245</sup> Societies collude to remember and forget events that valorize and unify them and to forget events that reveal weakness and disunity. Shared memories of an ancestral past provide a language that unifies these communities in their everyday activities. These memories manifest themselves in canonical writings, monuments and other spatial memorials, rituals, literatures, and in narratives that everyone in a society knows.<sup>246</sup> The worlds forged in texts often constitute such society-forming narratives. For when a narrative places a community lacking a widely accepted narrative of its past in a particular world, it invites community members to imagine themselves as inhabiting that world.<sup>247</sup> These worlds define the community's past norms, making these norms exemplary for present generations.

By placing a past community in a particular genre-formed world, genres can constitute an imagined cosmos that valorizes a present community.<sup>248</sup> Therefore, the choice of genre(s) for representing a group's past infuses that group with a particular heritage, a particular role in its society. Since Eusebius presented the first narrative of a comprehensive Christian past, he had wide latitude in selecting the genre that would locate (his imagined) Christianity within the (imagined) Roman Empire. Choosing persuasive genres for constructing a Christian past could empower the present church by creating a world whose logic and causal patterns privileged Christians over other humans. And it could bind the church together by endowing it with a shared memory, with common heroes and expected norms. How are we to identify these community-building genres?

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<sup>243</sup> Frow 2006: 81.

<sup>244</sup> See e.g. Claus 1993, Fajardo-Acosta 1990.

<sup>245</sup> The classic studies include Anderson 2006: ch. 11, Assmann 1992: esp. 60-83, and Assmann 2007.

<sup>246</sup> Canonical writings: see Assmann 1992: 87-129; monuments: Assmann 2007: 96-135; everyday narratives: Assmann 1992: 48-56 with 130-160; rituals: Assmann 1992: 56-59; literatures: Assmann 1992: 93-103.

<sup>247</sup> See Humphrey 2005: esp. 82-84.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Gödecke 1987: esp. 109-186, Verdoner 2011: esp. ch. 4 and Corke-Webster 2013, who already argue that Eusebius' *History* creates a world that constructs and privileges Christianity in particular ways.

## 2d. Identifying Genres: Genre Cues

Like all human speakers, Eusebius organized the content of his writings within existing genres. How can modern scholars identify ancient genres? Drawing on the later work of Gérard Genette, Frow points to the concept of genre cues:

The cues that alert us to what a text is doing are references to the text's generic frame, and work by either explicit or implicit invocation of the structures and frames that we characteristically associate with that frame....They are the ways in which texts seek to situate themselves rhetorically, to define and delimit their uptake by a reader—and, conversely, they are the way in which readers make sense of these markers, and indeed notice them and respond to them in the first place. Textual cues are thus metacommunications, aspects of the text that somehow stand out as being also, reflexively, *about* the text and how to use it. They may stand out in very obvious ways, like the laugh track on a television sitcom or the moral appended to a fable; or they may be elements which seem to take on a particular weight in our reading, and to be indicative of what kind of thing this is.<sup>249</sup>

Seeing a formal, rhetorical, or thematic feature—even a word, name or phrase—closely associated with a genre evokes the content of that genre. The sources of the *History*'s genre cues should reveal the knowledge that Eusebius was implicating in his imagined church. As the coming sections will show, the distinctive genres in the *History* situated Eusebius' Christianity in a distinctive imagined world.

## 3. Ecclesiastical History within Greek Historiography: National History<sup>250</sup>

The first genre cue of the *Ecclesiastical History* is its Greek title, *ekklēsiastikē historia*.<sup>251</sup> *Ekklēsiastikē*, which obviously refers to the institution of the Christian church, was an original modifier with *historia* and so had little isolated resonance as a textual title; I discuss the significance of *ekklēsiastikē* in chapter 6 (pp. 224f.). *Historia* had more obvious implications, as the term denoted an 800-year-old tradition of genres that originated with the *Genealogies* and *Journey Around the World* of Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 500 BC).<sup>252</sup> Eusebius' title therefore evoked his audiences' knowledge of histories, offering numerous genre-schemas through which Eusebius could construct a world for the Christian past.

Yet *historia* was never a single genre: the term signified numerous genres distinguishable by formal, rhetorical, and thematic features. John Marincola, the foremost contemporary

<sup>249</sup> Frow 2006: 109-115 (quotation from 114f.); he cites Genette 1997 [*non vidi*] at p. 105 for his discussion of genre cues. Elsewhere (84) Frow describes genre cues through metaphor: "Genre cues act rather like context-sensitive drop-down menus in a computer program, directing me to the layers and sub-layers of information that respond to my purposes as a speaker or a reader or a viewer."

<sup>250</sup> This and the next two sections reprise the arguments of DeVore forthcoming a and b, though the argument of each article employs a different method from the following sections.

<sup>251</sup> Eusebius further characterizes the *HE* as a ὑφηγήσεως ἱστορικής (*HE* 1.1.4, 8), on which phrase see esp. Calderone 1980: 146f.

<sup>252</sup> See e.g. Fornara 1983: ch. 1 on the origins and orientations of Greek historical writing before Herodotus. For an ancient summary of pre-Herodotean historical writing, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides* 5. On how the term *historia* evolved through antiquity, cf. Press 1982.

Anglophone scholar of Greek and Roman historical writing, has described several features that distinguish different genres of *historia*.<sup>253</sup> A formal distinction was that *historiai* did not have to tell narratives: they could be completely synchronic catalogues. Accordingly, discontinuous narrative texts like chronographies and biographies were also *historiai*,<sup>254</sup> as were geographies, ethnographies, and collections of marvels. A distinguishing rhetorical feature was the perspective that an *historia* took: whose point of view did the narrator's voice adopt? An *historia*'s chronological scope could range from the origins of the world to the present, or could simply cover a single, discrete event. In narrative histories, the method for tracking the passing of time—whether by a series of local officeholders or by Panhellenic Olympic dates—could set different genres of history apart. Finally, the subject matter of a work of *historia* could center around geography, ethnography, or marvels, as well as religion, wars, myth, or politics. All such criteria helped Greek-speakers to distinguish between different genres within the larger genre of *historia*.

We have good reason to believe that Greek-speaking Roman elites knew a variety of genres within *historia*. Evidence of this comes in one of the *Progymnasmata*, the exercise-books for students at the rhetorician's stage of *paideia* (see above). Aelius Theon's *Progymnasmata* lists a number of distinct kinds of *historia* for students to read:<sup>255</sup>

Nous disons de même à propos des historiens qu'il en existe nombreux genres. Il y a en effect l'historien généalogiste, de qui relèvent les généalogies qui font connaître les archontes et les éphoës d'Athènes et d'ailleurs et celles qui dénombraient les prêtresses d'Argos et les rois successifs de Lacédémone, de Macédoine et de Perse... Il y a aussi l'historien politique, qui nous permet de suivre le déroulement d'événements comme les troubles, les guerres, etc., et comme on en trouve beaucoup chez Thucydide... Quant à l'historien des mythes, il propose à notre imagination les légendes des héros et des dieux... D'autres conservent le souvenir des belles paroles; à ce genre appartiennent les pages de Xénophon sur Socrate. On range dans la même espèce les historiens qui consacrent des recueils aux hommes illustres, comme sont les recueils de vies admirables d'Aristoxène le musicien et autres Satyros. Les historiens généralistes nous font connaître les campagnes, les villes, les fleuves, les situations, les sites, etc... Il en existe encore une autre espèce plus achevée, comme l'avait fait Hérodote, la plupart les autres historiens pratiquent toutes les disciplines susdites.

According to Theon, discontinuous texts like chronological lists of officeholders, legends of heroes, collections of sayings, biographies, and geography ("general historians") occupied space in educated Greeks' networks of knowledge alongside political *historia*. Moreover, it is significant that Theon recognized that individual histories could be of mixed genre, using Herodotus as his example. Theon's acceptance of mixed *historiai* reflects the practice of imperial Greek historians: Josephus and Arrian, for example, also incorporated different genres of *historia*

<sup>253</sup> On these distinguishing features of ancient historiographical genres, see Marincola 1999: esp. 301-309.

<sup>254</sup> The common scholarly presumption of a separation between *historia* and biography, derived from Plutarch's *ad hoc* distinction in *Alexander* 1, has been greatly exaggerated: see Duff 1999: 14-22 and Cooper 2004: esp. 37f., as well as Plutarch's own statements that his *Theseus* (1.2-5) and *Nicias* (1.5) were *historiai*; see also Dihle 1997, and the quotation below from the pedagogical writer Theon.

<sup>255</sup> This section of Theon's *progymnasmata* survives only in Armenian translation; I therefore quote the only translation—which happens to be in Patillon and G. Bolognesi's French edition of the *Progymnasmata*—that I could find that was directly from the original.

into their texts.<sup>256</sup> *Historia* could thus encompass a variety of recognizable schemas. Eusebius' title could have evoked any of these genres.

Eusebius had all the variety of *historia* at his fingertips when he composed his *History*. Which genres did he put into performance? Among previous historiographical genres, it has long been recognized that the *History* shares several genre cues with Greek national history. Back in 1892 the celebrated Swiss theologian Franz Overbeck highlighted the array of themes that Eusebius announced in the first sentence of the *History*, namely successions of Christian bishops, events and writers, "heretics," the defeat of the Jews after they killed Christ, and persecution and martyrdom. Overbeck argued that these themes

ergeben aus einfacher Uebertragung des für ihn überhaupt bei der historischen Behandlung von Volksgeschichten gültigen Schemas. Hiernach stellt sich die [Kirchengeschichte] nach der Grundauffassung, ...welches, gleich den anderen Völkern, seine *Dynastie* (die Reihe der Bischöfe als Nachfolger der Apostel), seine *Kriegsgeschichte* (Verfolgungen—durch Juden und Heiden—und Märtyrer), seine *Auführer* (Häretiker) und seine *berühmten Männer*.<sup>257</sup>

As I have argued elsewhere, further considerations confirm this identification of national history as a genre performed in the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>258</sup> Eusebius repeatedly calls the Christian church an *ethnos*, or nation (*HE* 1.4.2, 4.7.10, 10.4.19). Most national histories written by a self-identified member of their own nation take on the perspective and biases expected of their nation.<sup>259</sup> The *History* likewise, as Verdoner has shown, assumes unapologetically the perspective of an "orthodox" Christian.<sup>260</sup> Eusebius' chronological scope begins with Jesus' founding of the church and follows the church into the author's own lifetime, as do, for example, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (written in the 90s AD) and Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (written in the 220s).<sup>261</sup> His method for keeping time follows both Roman emperors and Christian bishops from four cities throughout the Roman Empire (Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria). Such a chronological frame focused readers on the church's status as one kind of interregional identity group within a larger political body, the Roman Empire, much like the Jews and Greeks.

These genre cues argue that Eusebius meant the *History* to be read in dialogue with other Greek-language national histories, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (written in the 30s BC), Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, and Cassius Dio's and Herodian's (between 240 and 260 BC) *Roman Histories*. Like these authors, Eusebius creates a world centered around the acts and experiences of the Christian *ethnos*. He must have meant to offer the Christians for comparison with other nations within the Roman Empire.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>256</sup> Josephus' *Jewish War* includes architectural, geographical, digressions (e.g. *BJ* 1.401-415, 3.35-58, 3.70-109); Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* similarly pauses to describe the geographies and ethnographies of some regions and peoples whom Alexander encounters as well as some relevant technologies (e.g. 5.4-7, 7.20f.).

<sup>257</sup> Overbeck 1892: 36-58; quotation from 42; emphasis in original. The best reading of the *History* as a national history is the unfortunately unpublished Beggs 1999. Cf. Timpe 1989: 183-185.

<sup>258</sup> See DeVore forthcoming a for a more detailed argument about these cues.

<sup>259</sup> As noted by Luce 1989: esp. 20f.; cf. Marincola 1997: 168-174.

<sup>260</sup> Verdoner 2010: 367-369.

<sup>261</sup> Other national histories take different chronological boundaries: e.g. Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities* begins with the ethnogenesis of the Roman people and ends at the start of the First Punic War, where Polybius' *History* began.

<sup>262</sup> As Johnson 2006a: 225-227 already suggests for the *History*.

National historiography does not explain every genre cue of the *History*, however. In particular, it does not explain the five innovative features of Eusebian historiography noted at the beginning of this chapter. Here, again, are those features:

- A. *A structure by successions of nonstate officials.*<sup>263</sup>
- B. *Extensive verbatim quotation of prose texts.*
- C. *Literary history.*
- D. *Absence of set-piece orations.*
- E. *A static narrative arc.*

Any discussion of the genres put into performance in the *History* must account for these five historiographical innovations. It was not accidental that Eusebius wrote his *History* so differently from previous Greek narrative historians. As the great editor of the *History*, Eduard Schwartz, pointed out, “Eusebius war viel zu gebildet und unterrichtet, um die seit Jahrhunderten festen Stilgesetze der Historiographie nicht zu kennen....”<sup>264</sup>

The apparent dearth of Greek forerunners for the *History* has prompted scholars to look to Jewish and Christian precedents for the idiosyncratic features of the *Ecclesiastical History*. The next section, therefore, addresses whether any of these suggested forerunners prefigures the cues that set Eusebius’ *History* apart.

#### **4. Jewish or Christian Models for Eusebian Historiography? Biblical Histories, the Acts of the Apostles, Josephus**

Scholars have located Eusebius’ historiographical originality in the *Ecclesiastical History*’s (A) *successions of bishops*, (B) *verbatim quotations*, (C) *literary history*, (D) *avoidance of set-piece orations*, and (E) *static narrative arc*. Most assessments of the *History* have appealed to Eusebius’ Jewish and Christian historical readings to explain the *History*’s innovations.<sup>265</sup> Thus, the most-frequently posited Eusebian models include the narrative histories of the Hebrew Bible, The Acts of the Apostles, and Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*. This section considers whether any of these three sources features the five idiosyncrasies listed above from A to E, showing that these narrative histories did not supply models for Eusebius’ historical writing.

##### *4a. Histories from the Hebrew Bible?*

The historical narratives of the Hebrew Bible from Joshua to Kings, along with Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, provided models for writing history that Eusebius’ Christian readers knew and respected. Scholars who cite the biblical histories as forerunners to the *History* usually point to these histories’ emphasis on a theological message as well as the quotation of documents in

<sup>263</sup> Although Overbeck (quoted above, and note also e.g. Simonetti 1997: 54f.) are preceptive in pointing to the analogy between Eusebius’ successions of bishops and the sequences of Athenian archons, Roman consuls and emperors, and monarchs in many other histories, all of these other leaders were some kind of formal state official.

<sup>264</sup> Schwartz 1908: 116, echoed by Momigliano 1963: 89f.

<sup>265</sup> In this section I switch from discussing genres to discussing specific texts because most modern scholars have adduced specific texts, rather than genres, in placing Eusebius’ historiographical influences (see e.g. the following note), rather than after genres. Cf. DeVore forthcoming a.

some of them.<sup>266</sup> But the Hebrew histories provide little precedent for the five features identified here as Eusebian innovations.

A. Whereas the *History*'s chronology revolves around *successions of non-state officials*, the Hebrew histories dated events exclusively by the reigns of Israelite judges and kings, all of whom act as state leaders.<sup>267</sup> Furthermore, the biblical narratives provide no abstracted concept of *diadochē* upon which Eusebius could have drawn.

B. While *quoted prose texts* occupy substantial proportions of some biblical narratives,<sup>268</sup> the biblical narratives quote only certain kinds of texts, namely state-issued normative documents like letters and decrees (see Appendix 2). Eusebius quoted a much wider range of documents, including histories, personal letters, heresiographical texts, and martyr narratives. Moreover, the biblical histories do not quote documents on the same scale that Eusebius does. Whereas one could read most of the biblical accounts without the quoted texts,<sup>269</sup> Eusebius' quotations often tell his narrative for him. The biblical model does not prefigure the range or the scale of Eusebius' quotational habit.

C. The closest feature to Eusebius' *History*'s *literary history* in the biblical narratives is digressions on prophets like Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah. Like the *History*'s intellectuals, these biblical prophets specialize in communicating wisdom.<sup>270</sup> But these digressions take quite different forms from the *Ecclesiastical History*'s literary history: the Hebrew Bible includes no literary catalogues like those that Eusebius presents repeatedly, nor do they concern themselves with legitimate and illegitimate texts, as Eusebius' discussions of the Christian scriptural canon do.<sup>271</sup>

D. The Hebrew histories also insert fairly frequent *set-piece orations* that Eusebius avoids at prominent events.<sup>272</sup>

E. Finally, the Hebrew histories do not tell a *static narrative*. In the books of Samuel-Kings and of Chronicles, the success of Israel and Judah depend on the righteousness of their kings. Both nations doom themselves because their kings forsake God's commandments, but also receive blessings as a reward for their faithfulness to God (e.g. 2 Kings 17.7-18, 23.26).

It is therefore unlikely that Eusebius was emphasizing connections with Hebrew history in constructing the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>273</sup>

<sup>266</sup> See Winckelmann 1991: 64-68; Carotenuto 2001: 119-133; Morlet 2005: 11-13; Verdoner 2011: 72f., 84.

<sup>267</sup> Indeed, the usual Greek title for the Roman emperor—βασιλεύς—is also the Septuagint's usual translation of the Biblical Hebrew מלך="king."

<sup>268</sup> Notably in Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezra 1.2-5; 4.6-24; 5.6-6.13; 7.11-26), the Septuagintal Esther (3.13a-g, 8.12a-x), 1 Maccabees (10.17-46; 12), and 2 Maccabees (9.19-27, 11.16-38).

<sup>269</sup> Indeed, the Hebrew text of Esther lacks the documents quoted in the Greek text and reads perfectly intelligibly.

<sup>270</sup> E.g. 2 Samuel 12, 1 Kings 13, 17-21, 2 Kings 1-9, 19f.

<sup>271</sup> Some of the prophetic books, notably Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, do depict prophets' literary activity, but do not feature the catalogue form or the concern with textual authenticity that Eusebius does.

<sup>272</sup> See e.g. 1 Kings 8, 2 Kings 18-20, 1 Chronicles 28f., 2 Chronicles 6, Nehemiah 9f.

<sup>273</sup> Another objection to Eusebius' interaction with biblical narratives is that the *Ecclesiastical History* rarely sends stylistic cues that recall the biblical narratives. Eusebius could have adapted his style to Biblical models, as Acts (Alexander 2005: ch. 10, esp. 242-249) and Josephus (Cohen 1982, Feldman 1996) frequently did. His intended audience, composed of educated Christians (see above, pp. 29f.), knew the Septuagint, and having Origen's Hexapla at his disposal (see Grafton and Williams 2006: ch. 3), Eusebius could easily have patterned his style after multiple translations of the Hebrew Bible.

#### 4b. *The Acts of the Apostles?*

The Acts of the Apostles seems promising as a model for Eusebius.<sup>274</sup> As Gregory Sterling showed twenty years ago, Acts (like Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*) bestowed cultural authority upon the minority nation whose perspective the narrator represents, after this nation has become the subject of a powerful Empire.<sup>275</sup> Acts does not, however, prefigure any of Eusebius' five innovations noted above.<sup>276</sup>

A. Acts has no use for *structure by the succession of non-state actors* that Eusebius employs: there are no formal successions of bishops in Acts, and indeed the keyword *diadochē* and its cognates appear nowhere in the text.<sup>277</sup>

B. Acts *quotes prose texts* just twice (15.24-29, 23.26-30). Both represent the same kind of document often quoted by Greek historians, namely state-issued directives that enact the will of a state (see Appendix 2). Eusebius' range of quotational usage is certainly not prefigured here.

C. Acts avoids *literary history* almost entirely: it famously does not mention Paul's letters or any other works that we have surviving in the New Testament, even though in the author's earlier volume, the gospel of Luke (1.1), the author of Acts mentions "many" who have written gospels before him.

D. For *set-piece orations*, the Acts of the Apostles features a series of famous orations.<sup>278</sup>

E. Acts' *narrative is not static*: The church's fortunes improve as it expands from Jerusalem to Rome (cf. Acts 1.8). Indeed, the author repeatedly reminds readers that Christianity continued to grow and expand in the generation after Jesus.<sup>279</sup>

Even though the Acts of the Apostles was the only text that could be called a "Christian historical narrative,"<sup>280</sup> it prefigures none of the distinctively Eusebian historiographical features that scholars have pointed out.

#### 4c. *Josephus' Jewish Antiquities?*

Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* is the most promising Jewish or Christian model for the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>281</sup> Like the *History*, the *Antiquities* was a multi-volume national history of a people living usually under the rule of external empires; and Eusebius knew the *Antiquities* well.<sup>282</sup> However, even the *Antiquities* supplies a precedent for, at best, just one of Eusebius' divergences from previous Greek narrative historiography.

A. Josephus does use a chronological structure comparable to Eusebius' *successions of non-state actors* as a structuring principle. The *Jewish Antiquities* enumerates the succession of high

<sup>274</sup> Grant 1980: 39f., Trompf 1983: 134f., Momigliano 1990: 140; Winckelmann 1991: 69-71; Fédou 2004; Morlet 2005: 12f.

<sup>275</sup> See Sterling 1991, as well as Dillery 2007, who show that certain Near Eastern elites, subjected for the first time to foreign rule in the Hellenistic period, wrote nationalistic "apologetic histories" that valorize their own people.

<sup>276</sup> So argued already by Carotenuto 2001: xiiiif.

<sup>277</sup> *Pace* the much-cited arguments of Talbert (e.g. 1974: 125-135) pleading that Acts participated in a successions genre.

<sup>278</sup> Acts 2.14-28, 3.11-26, 7, 11.4-18, 13.16-41, 15.6-21, 17.22-31, 20.18-35, 22.1-21, 24.10-21, 26.2-23, speeches that have attracted much scholarly attention since Dibelius 1951.

<sup>279</sup> See Acts 1.8, 6.7, 9.31, 12.24, 16.5, 19.20, 28.30f.

<sup>280</sup> Indeed, book 2 of the *History* often reads like a commentary on Acts (*HE* 2.8-13, 21f.).

<sup>281</sup> So Momigliano 1962: 139f. and 1963: 90-94, Grant 1980: 39f.; Harries 1991: 272f., Carotenuto 2001: 142-153, Morlet 2005: 11-13.

<sup>282</sup> See e.g. Carriker 2003: 157-163, Mendels 2001a and 2001b; Inowlocki 2006: *passim*; cf. Hata 2007.

priests from the building of Solomon's temple at the end of his history (*AJ* 20.224-246). Equally important, when the *Antiquities* outlines the course of Jewish events from the building of the second temple into the time of the Hasmonean monarchy, it is high-priestly succession that communicates continuity for the Jewish community; here Josephus normally marks these successions by a form of the keyword *diadochē*.<sup>283</sup> At one point Josephus even stages a public debate between Jews and Samaritans in Alexandria over which nation deserved political supremacy in Palestine: here, the Jewish high-priestly *diadochē* becomes a justification for the Jewish victory in the debate (*AJ* 13.73-79).<sup>284</sup>

Eusebius was aware that Josephus traced a succession of Jewish high priests in the *Jewish Antiquities*. The first events noted in the *Ecclesiastical History* are Herod the Great's Roman-engineered ascension to the Jewish throne and his removal of "native" Jewish high priest, thus ending the Jewish succession (*diadochē*) in that office (*HE* 1.6).<sup>285</sup> Nonetheless, Eusebius does not associate this high-priestly succession explicitly with Jesus' establishment of the succession of the apostles (cf. *HE* 1.12). Moreover, while like Josephus' high priests Eusebius' bishops derive their power from the divine authorization of their office, the bishops also perform doctrinal duties that Josephus' high priests do not, such as enforcing the boundaries between proper and improper doctrine and supervising the teaching of Christian communities.<sup>286</sup> Still, Josephus' continuous successions of the Jewish high priest could well have been in Eusebius' mind as he planned the successions that structure the *Ecclesiastical History*.

B. Josephus inserts more *quotations of prose texts* than any previous surviving Graecophone historian.<sup>287</sup> As I show in Appendix 2, however, the use of quotations in the *Jewish Antiquities* remains within the conventions of previous Greek and Jewish narrative histories: he quoted relevant state documents and occasionally quoted excerpts of previous Greek historians' works to confirm the narrative that he was rewriting from biblical sources. Eusebius, by contrast, alternates frequently between narrating in his own voice and allowing sources' voices to come to the forefront of the *History*. Quotations sometimes supplemented Josephus' narrative; they often are Eusebius' narrative.

C. Josephus does insert a modicum of *literary history* into the *Antiquities*. His descriptions of the Hebrew prophets sometimes note their literary activity, particularly when a prophet—such as Moses and Samuel—is credited with writing history (which was precisely the genre that Eusebius never credited to previous Christian writers).<sup>288</sup> A few other instances turn up in the

<sup>283</sup> *AJ* 11.158, 297, 302, 347; 12.43f., 224f.; cf. 12.157-167, 237f., 383-385, 414.

<sup>284</sup> In his *Against Apion* (1.30-36), moreover, Josephus proffers the Jewish high-priestly succession to more explicit apologetic ends, arguing that the priestly line's alleged genetic purity has enabled it to protect the Jews' written records. Thornton 2003 argues that the *diadochai* in this episode shares a common source with the *diadochai* emphasized by the Christian writer Hegesippus; yet high-priestly succession need not have been the model for episcopal succession: cf. Le Boulluec 1985, 2000: 309f.

<sup>285</sup> DeVore forthcoming argues that Eusebius fudges these facts to fit his chronological schema.

<sup>286</sup> See chapter 2, pp. 97f. and chapter 5, pp. 185-194 below for the evidence. Note, for example, that when retelling the narrative of the Septuagint's translation from the *Letter of Aristeas* Josephus omits the lengthy speech of the high priest Eleazar that justifies Jewish law through parallels with Greek philosophical doctrine: *Letter of Aristeas* 130-169=*AJ* 12.85-88.

<sup>287</sup> Thus, e.g. Momigliano 1990: 140, Harries 1991: 272, and Gonnet 2001: 187f. see in Josephus a precedent for Eusebius' quotational habit; Carotenuto 2001: 142-151 (cf. 97-99) rightly sees Josephus as prefiguring only Eusebius' quotation of state documents.

<sup>288</sup> Moses: esp. 3.74, 90, 101, 213, 286, 322; 4.196-198 and 302, 308; Samuel: 6.66. Cf. Feldman 1990: 397-400 on prophet-historians. Other historians also went out of their way to name historiographical forbears in their narrative: Herodotus inserted Hecataeus of Miletus as a character into his narrative (5.36, 5.125f.), while Diodorus noted



text.<sup>289</sup> But Josephus' haphazard literary notices are not nearly so systematic as Eusebius', nor do they provide models for Eusebius' form of catalogues (see chapter 2, pp. 84-87).

D. The *Jewish Antiquities* does not *avoid set-piece orations*: in fact, Josephus still composes speeches for his characters fairly frequently.<sup>290</sup>

E. Finally, the *Antiquities* is no *static narrative*. The *Antiquities* follows the rises and falls of the Israelite and Jewish peoples. The Jewish people's fortunes fall when they become slaves in Egypt, go into exile in Babylon, and are banned by the Seleucid Greek king Antiochus IV Epiphanes from practicing their religion, and rise when they escape from Egypt, build their temple, return from their exile in Babylon, and defeat their Greek persecutors.

While the *Jewish Antiquities* may prefigure Eusebius' focus on successions of non-monarchical institutions, Josephus could hardly have inspired Eusebius' literary history, wide use of quotation, exclusion of set-piece orations, or his static narrational arc.

The Jewish and Christian histories that scholars have repeatedly identified as models for the *Ecclesiastical History*—the Hebrew Bible, the Acts of the Apostles, and Josephus—fail almost entirely to prefigure the five genre cues enumerated above that distinguish Eusebius' *History* from previous Greek histories. Only Josephus' *Antiquities* includes even one of these features, successions of non-state actors. However, as we will see, a closer precedent for the successions-topos was available to Eusebius.

Eusebius did not draw the genre cues for which he is best known from the Jewish and Christian literary traditions. However, this does not exhaust the possibilities for Eusebius' historiographical models. So far we have only surveyed the *narrative* histories posited as Eusebian forerunners. As was shown above, however, the Greek tradition of *historia* also included a number of *nonnarrative* histories.<sup>291</sup> One of these nonnarrative genres happens to offer precedents for the *History*'s idiosyncratic features.

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where Herodotus' (11.37.6), Thucydides' (12.37.2, 13.42.5), Xenophon's (13.42.5, 15.76.4), Theopompus' (13.42.5, 14.84.7, 16.3.8, 16.71.3), and Ephorus' (16.76.5) histories began and ended. Eusebius, by contrast, gave no previous Christian the least credit for writing a narrative history (and cf. *HE* 1.1.3-6), even though he credited numerous profiled Christians with the authorship of numerous kinds of text.

<sup>289</sup> *AJ* 7.6 notes David's composition of lamentations for Saul and Jonathan; Isaiah's literary activities come up at *AJ* 10.35; soon thereafter, *AJ* 10.79 mentions Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's writings; finally, several times at the end of book 10 (267, 269, 272 and 276), Daniel is credited repeatedly with leaving prophecies behind in textual form. Thus Feldman 1990: 395 exaggerates slightly in declaring, "If...Josephus is not interested in the prophets as persons or in their writings it is for the same reason that the books of Samuel and Kings do not focus on the prophets, namely because their chief interest is in the political leaders of Israel and their wars." That said, Josephus does not credit every possible character who enters his narrative with literary activity. He does not mention the prophetic books of Haggai or Zechariah, even though both prophets enter the narrative (10.4.5, 7). Josephus only notes that Nahum prophesied against Assyria, but does not attribute the authorship of a book of prophecy to him (9.11.3). Finally, Josephus misses an opportunity to do literary history in his sole mention of Philo (see DeVore forthcoming b).

<sup>290</sup> See e.g. van Henten 2005, Saddington 2007.

<sup>291</sup> Another nonnarrative historian credited with prefiguring Eusebian historiography is Alexander Polyhistor, a freedman polymath active in Rome in the early to mid-first century BC (Carotenuto 2001: 99-101, Morlet 2005: 10). Well over 100 *reliquiae* from Polyhistor's works survive, including lengthy extracts of his *On the Jews*, almost all preserved by Eusebius himself in the *Gospel Preparation* (9.17-39). Polyhistor constructed ethnographies to describe the nations of the (especially eastern) Mediterranean world, describing the respective geographies, customs, and cultural memory of the Jews, Romans, Phrygians, Scythians, and others; he also wrote a *Collection of Marvels* (*Thaumasiōn synagōgē*), and a *Successions of Philosophers* (*Philosophōn diadochai*, about which I say more below). On Polyhistor, see in general Freudenthal 1875: esp. 16-36, Troiani 1988; Sterling 1991: 141-152; Adler 2011.

#### 4. Philosophical Biography as a Model for Ecclesiastical History

A nonnarrative genre that some scholars have mentioned as a model for Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is Greek biography, specifically biographies of philosophers. Already in 1908 Schwartz pointed out that the *Ecclesiastical History* had parallels with such biographies. Schwartz asserted that Eusebius drew his style of presenting information from the *Successions* (*Diadochai*), a genre that traced the past of Greek philosophical schools through biographies of the leaders of philosophical schools.<sup>292</sup> Among those who considered Schwartz's views was Arnaldo Momigliano.<sup>293</sup> In his Sather Lectures of 1962 on *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*,<sup>294</sup> Momigliano made the following assertion:

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Polyhistor is cited as a forerunner to Eusebius because he often reproduced the content of his sources at length, and not in a unified narrative. Like the Jewish and Christian narratives surveyed above, however, Polyhistor does not prefigure the five Eusebian idiosyncracies mentioned above:

A. As his ethnographic works were not unified narratives, they could not be *structured by successions of non-state actors* (and the surviving excerpts certainly show no such structure).

B. Polyhistor's citations are in fact not *verbatim quotations*, but rather summaries of previous texts written in *oratio obliqua* (a fact confirmed in consultation with John Dillery). Polyhistor's only verbatim quotations are some poetic texts (in Eusebius, *PE* 9.22, 28-30, 37), which was common in Greek historiography (see Appendix 2, pp. 242f.) and some state-issued letters (*PE* 9.31-34), which again was regular in previous Greek historical writing (see Appendix 2, pp. 243-246). Eusebius, by contrast, frequently quotes verbatim and almost never quotes poetry.

C. Polyhistor's surviving ethnographic works include *no literary history*.

D. Polyhistor's *On the Jews* includes some *set-piece orations* (in Eusebius, *PE* 9.28-30).

E. Texts that lack a unified narrative in the first place cannot feature a static narrative.

<sup>292</sup> "...seine 'Εκκλησιαστική ἱστορία [will] nicht eine historische Darstellung der Geschehnisse der Kirche sein ....die ἱστορία nimmt auch die Bedeutung der Polyhistorie an und wird auch in diesem Sinne zur literarischen Gattung. Daran hat die alexandrinische Philologie einen sehr wesentlichen Anteil: so seltsam es anmutet, so ist doch Kallimachos, ...der die Sammlung von Exzerpten, das Ausschütten der curieusen Polymathie und Polyhistorie zu einem Literaturzweig gemacht hat [on which, cf. ch. 2, p. 84 with n. 522]. So kommt ἱστορία zu der Bedeutung 'Materialsammlung'. Ist sie ein Sammelurium von allem möglichen, so wird das durch ein Adjektiv wie ποικιλῆ oder παντοδαπή ἱστορία angedeutet; beschränkt sie sich auf bestimmte Gebiete, so heißt sie *Naturalis historia*, was in unserer 'Naturgeschichte' noch fortlebt, oder φιλόσοφος ἱστορία, *Materialien zur Philosophengeschichte*, oder, wie bei Euseb, 'Εκκλησιαστική ἱστορία, *Materialien zur Kirchengeschichte*, richtet zur Geschichte der ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, der Bischöfe, kirchenlichen Schriftsteller, Märtyrer" (Schwartz 1908: 116f.; italics mine). While Schwartz reduced the *History* to a mere compilation, he also saw perceptively that "compilations," including philosophical historiography, were equally Greek *historiai*. See also Schwartz 1907: 1395f., which suggests Porphyry's *History of Philosophers* as a forerunner of Eusebius' *History*, a connection that, I will argue in Chapter 6 (pp. 218-225) below, was deeply perceptive. On the *diadochai* genre, see p. 52 below.

<sup>293</sup> In addition to the following, see Momigliano 1963: 90f. (which cites Schwartz but without naming a specific publication: Schwartz 1907: 1395f.). Also following Schwartz is e.g. Moreau 1966: 1071f. (no citation, but Schwartz 1907 appears in Moreau's bibliography). Cf. Bardy 1960: 79-81, who acknowledges that like Eusebius' *History* histories of philosophers were organized around *diadochai*, but argues that the parallel organization served different purposes: "S'il importe peu que les philosophes reproduisent fidèlement l'enseignement du maître—du moins dans la plupart des cas,—il est au contraire essentiel que les évêques conservent et transmettent tel qu'ils l'ont reçu l'enseignement des apôtres" (81). Contrary to Bardy's distinction, Sedley 1989 argues that Hellenistic and Roman philosophers indeed clung rigidly to the doctrines of their scholastic founders; Hadot 1995: 60 concurs, but cf. Snyder 2000: 42 on Stoic internal dissension.

<sup>294</sup> Unfortunately, Momigliano failed in his lifetime to publish his Sather lectures, which contain a fuller discussion of Eusebius' usage of philosophical biography than the more widely-read Momigliano 1963. Momigliano 1963, meanwhile, makes the observation about philosophers more briefly and does not mention Diogenes Laertius. Had Momigliano's lectures, with their specific mention of Diogenes Laertius as a parallel text for Eusebius' *History*, been published promptly, they may have sparked earlier study of Eusebius' use of intellectual historiography.

There was...one kind of account in pagan historiography that could help Eusebius [with telling a history of “heresy”<sup>295</sup>] considerably. That was the history of philosophical schools—such as we find it in Diogenes Laertius. To begin with, the idea of “succession,” διαδοχή, was equally important in philosophical schools and in Eusebius’ notion of Christianity. The bishops were the *diadochoi* of the Apostles, just as the *scholarchai* were the *diadochoi* of Plato, Zeno, and Epicurus. Second, like any philosophical school Christianity had its orthodoxy and its deviationists. Third, historians of philosophy in Greece used antiquarian methods and quoted documents much more frequently and thoroughly than their colleagues, the political historians. A glance at Diogenes Laertius is enough to show how pleased [the genre of] Ecclesiastical History is to produce external evidence of both the doctrines and the external vicissitudes of the schools Ecclesiastical History examines.<sup>296</sup>

The “history of the philosophical schools” was published in intellectual biographies.<sup>297</sup> Despite Momigliano’s argument, Eusebius’ debt to Greek intellectual historiography has received only occasional lip service and minimal detailed study.<sup>298</sup> Only one recent publication, by Monique

<sup>295</sup> See the Introduction, n. 128 on why I italicize “heresy,” “orthodoxy,” and related terms.

<sup>296</sup> Momigliano 1962: 140f. As the rest of this study should make clear, I dissent from Momigliano’s proposition that Eusebius used philosophical historiography merely as a heresiological strategy.

<sup>297</sup> By “the history of the philosophical schools” Momigliano meant specifically a series of biographical accounts of the heads of the Hellenistic philosophical schools, such as Sotion’s *Successions of the Philosophers*, which Diogenes Laertius cited and imitated (cf. Momigliano 1963: 89f., 1990: 63-65, 1993: 77-84). I extend the genre to include third- and early fourth-century philosophical biographies that imitate these histories. Note also that Eunapius’ *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers* (454) associates Sotion, an exemplar of Momigliano’s “historiography of the philosophical schools” (cf. 1993: 81), with Porphyry’s and Philostratus’ biographical writing; cf. Hahn 1990.

For the rest of this study I use the terms “philosophical historiography” and “philosophical biography” (or “lives”) interchangeably. Ancient testimony confirms that biographies were a kind of *historia*: see the passage quoted from Theon’s *Progymnasmata* above (p. 42). For philosophical historiography/biography specifically, note that Theodoret’s *Cure of Greek Afflictions* refers both to “each life” (ἐκάστου βίου, 2.95=Porph fr. 195T Smith) in Porphyry’s *Philosophical History* and to “the History of Philosophers” (ἡ Φιλοσόφος ἱστορία, 4.31=Porph. fr. 196T Smith) as a whole. Where I use “biography” instead of “historiography,” I usually mean to emphasize one aspect of a given text: by “biography” I emphasize a text centered its material around an individual character, whereas by “historiography” I emphasize a text’s belonging to a genre that recounts a series of past events concerning a group or individual. It should hardly need emphasizing that I do not mean modern biographies by the term “biography” (a confusion criticized by Burrige 2004: e.g. 59f., 79f., 120).

<sup>298</sup> See Grant 1980: 39 n. 14, 46f.; Barnes 1981: 128; Twomey 1982: 30-32 (cf. also 19 n. 19); Louth 1990: 121f.; Perrone 1995: 418; Drake 2000: 358f.; Brennecke 2001: 93; Marksches 2007: 230-235, Morlet 2004: 71f.; Morlet 2005: 8; Morlet 2009: 169 n. 108; Grafton and Williams 2006: 223f.; Inowlocki 2006: 52f.; Kany 2007: 571 with n. 31; Willing 2008: 492; Horn 2011: 238; cf. Timpe 1989: 178f. Beggs 1999: 36-39, 111, 116, both of whom reject Momigliano’s philosophical biographical thesis on weak grounds.

Carotenuto 2001: 104 lists five parallels between Eusebius’ *History* and Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives and Opinions of the Famous Philosophers*: “Infatti, al di là della diversa ampiezza dell’esposizione e di tutte le altre differenze legate alla natura delle loro opera, è proprio nelle biographie di Diogene che si ritrovano gli elementi narrative caratterizzanti le vite scritte da Eusebio: l’interesse per episodi particolari utili a chiarire il carattere dei vari autori; la scarsa attenzione per il contenuto dottrinale del loro pensiero [on which, cf. ch. 2, pp. 87-90 below]; la citazione testuale di testimonianze di altri scrittori a proposito della loro vita e della loro opera; l’indicazione dei maestri e degli allievi di ciascuno; i cataloghi delle opera e la trascrizione da queste di passaggi particolarmente significativi.” Yet Carotenuto does not discuss these parallels in any depth, nor does she consider their implications anywhere in her book outside of her four and a half pages on Eusebius as “literary historian.” The main divergence Carotenuto notes between the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Lives and Opinions* is that “Diogene scriveva ‘vite’, Eusebio inseriva ‘vite’ in un’opera storica” (104 n. 103). Yet, as we have seen, biography (“lives,” “vite”) was a genre within

Alexandre, has discussed Eusebius' use of any kind of intellectual biography.<sup>299</sup> Eusebius' patterning of the *History* after philosophical biography therefore demands further study.

Philosophical historiography, ostensibly nonfictional texts depicting the deeds of philosophers, was a common genre in the Greek-speaking Roman Empire, especially in the century before Eusebius wrote the *History*.<sup>300</sup> Because genres change (see above), it is best to seek comparanda produced at or near Eusebius' day.<sup>301</sup> To be clear, I am not arguing here that Eusebius read any of these biographers specifically; the only one of the following that we know Eusebius read was Porphyry's *Philosophical History*.<sup>302</sup> Rather, I am using these texts as representatives of the genre of philosophical biography around Eusebius' time. From the third and early fourth centuries, there survive:<sup>303</sup>

(a) Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions of the Famous Philosophers* (written probably in the mid-third century);<sup>304</sup>

(b) Porphyry of Tyre's *On the Life of Plotinus* (written in 302)<sup>305</sup> and

(c) Porphyry's fragmentary *Philosophical History* (written between 270 and 305),<sup>306</sup> of which only Porphyry's fairly lengthy *Life of Pythagoras* and a few more *reliquiae* survive,<sup>307</sup>

*historia*. On biographical historiography even within other imperial Greek narrative histories, see e.g. Millar 1964: 171-173, Dihle 1987: chs. 3 and 4, Pelling 1997, Zimmermann 1999a and 1999b. (Burgess 1997: 498 thus misses the mark with his contrast between Eusebius' "idea of a detailed history of the Church" and "separate...Roman history, which was essentially collections of imperial biographies"!)

<sup>299</sup> Alexandre 1998, an excellent article that is rarely cited (an exception: Neri 2008).

<sup>300</sup> Synthetic studies of philosophical biography in the imperial period are few: see Goulet 2001: 3-63; Hägg 2012: ch. 7; cf. Schirren 2005: ch. 3.

<sup>301</sup> It would also be illuminating also to study the "classics" of the genre, since the education of *paideia* stressed the imitation of classical exemplars so strenuously (see pp. 30f. above). Unfortunately, the works of the classical exemplars of philosophical biography, Aristoxenus and Satyrus (noted in the *Progymnasmata* of Theon, quoted on p. 42 above, as well as e.g. the preface to Jerome's *de Viris Illustribus*, cited in Momigliano 1993: 73; on these authors see above all Hägg 2012: ch. 2), no longer survive. Additional, albeit post-Eusebian, evidence that philosophical biography was perceived as a distinct genre comes from Eunapius' preface to his *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers* (454f.), which names Xenophon (for the *Memorabilia*), Porphyry's *Philosophical History*, Sotion's *Successions of the Philosophers*, Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* and *Apollonius*, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, and Lucian's *Life of Demonax* as predecessors of his the *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers*.

<sup>302</sup> See chapter 6 below; cf. DeVore forthcoming b for some philosophical biographies that Eusebius read or probably read.

<sup>303</sup> From the following list I exclude two possible comparanda, Philostratus' famous quasi-biography of *Apollonius of Tyana*, and Eunapius of Sardis' *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists*. Although its subject is a philosopher, the *Apollonius* blends features of Greek travel narrative, novels, geographical literature, and even political history with philosophical biography: see e.g. Flinterman 1995, Elsner 1997, Francis 1998, Schirren 2005, Reger 2007. Eunapius' *Lives*, written in the 390s AD, are too late to represent a genre that could have influenced Eusebius. Moreover, since Eunapius probably wrote his *Lives* partly in reaction against lives of the Christians like Eusebius' (e.g. Rizzo 1998; I owe this point to conversation with Bruno Bleckmann), it is quite possible that Eunapius reacted against Eusebius' changes to intellectual biography.

<sup>304</sup> See now Jouanna 2009 on the date of Diogenes Laertius; cf. Ramelli 2004.

<sup>305</sup> See Johnson forthcoming, with references.

<sup>306</sup> See Johnson forthcoming, with references.

<sup>307</sup> Scholars believe that Porphyry's *Philosophical History* included what we now call Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* because Cyril of Alexandria twice states that passages from our *Life of Pythagoras* came from Porphyry's *Philosophical History* (*Against Julian* 1.19c and 9.300b=Porphyry 207T Smith). However, cf. DeVore forthcoming b, which calls for a more thorough investigation into whether these were separate texts.

Throughout this study I use the term *reliquiae* where most scholars use "fragments" for the reasons stated by Brunt (1980: 477): "I prefer the term 'reliquiae' to 'fragments', a term which most naturally suggests verbal

(d) Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* (written in the later third or early fourth century).

(e) A fifth biographical text, Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (written in the 240s), also follows the genre of philosophical historiography. Although it takes virtuosi of declamatory rhetoric as its subject rather than philosophers, the *Lives of the Sophists* nonetheless features numerous cues to biographies of philosophers.<sup>308</sup>

Intellectual biography was thus a fashionable genre in the third and early fourth centuries, when Eusebius was growing up (see the Introduction, pp. 5-7). Its subjects, philosophers and other intellectuals, were, as we will see below, deeply integrated into the world of Greek-speaking Roman elites. This was therefore a genre that appealed to elite Greek-speaking readers who, like Eusebius' readers, had surmounted the highest stages of *paideia*.

To confirm Momigliano's assertion that biographies of philosophers stood behind many features of Eusebius' *History*, we can ask whether philosophical biographies prefigure Eusebius' idiosyncratic genre cues. This inquiry will show that all five Eusebian cues find parallels in the third- and early fourth-century philosophical biographies.

#### A. Structuring by Succession of Non-State Officials

That Eusebius drew the particular structuring of the *Ecclesiastical History* from philosophical historiography has often been asserted.<sup>309</sup> Since the little-known Peripatetic philosopher Sotion in the early second century BC, Greek authors had regularly structured their histories of the philosophical schools around successions (*diadochai*) of their leaders. Diogenes Laertius cites several authors who had structured their works according to successive teachers of philosophical sects.<sup>310</sup>

For the philosophical biographers in the century before Eusebius, successions of philosophical schools were a deeply engrained structuring thread. The preface to Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions of the Famous Philosophers* lists several philosophical *diadochai*, of the Socratics, Academics, Peripatetics, Cynics, Stoics, Sceptics, and Epicureans (*VSEP* 1.14f.). The ten books of the *Lives and Opinions* follow these successions down several generations.<sup>311</sup>

quotations; in actual fact every collection of 'fragments' abounds in mere allusions, paraphrases, and condensations, which are often very inadequate mirrors of what the lost historians actually wrote."

<sup>308</sup> Indeed, *tous philosophēsantas* are the first two words of the *Lives of the Sophists*, and Philostratus' preface expends significant ink in marginalizing philosophers while elevating sophists (480f.), thus averting readers from expecting to read about the typical subjects of his genre. On Philostratus' distinction between philosophers and sophists, see Bowersock 1969: esp. 10-12, Hahn 1989: 46-53, Flinterman 2004; Sidebottom 2009; *pace* Gleason 1991; and see further n. 357 below). The *Lives of the Sophists* also share certain structural features with contemporary philosophical lives, such as a synchronic structure within each life amid a diachronic structure of the entire succession of philosophers (see Eshleman 2008), heavy presentation of anecdotes, literary history, description of family and home city, and death narratives: see further chapter 2.

<sup>309</sup> In addition to Momigliano 1990, see Schwartz 1907: 1396 and 1908: 118, Moreau 1966: 1071f., Grant 1980: 46f., Perrone 1995: 418; cf. Alexandre 1998: 119, 129. Surprisingly, the list of parallels between Eusebius and Diogenes Laertius in Carotenuto 2001: 104 omits this parallel.

<sup>310</sup> Sotion's *Diadochai* was important enough that an epitome of it was published. On Sotion, see Kienle 1961: 79-91, Wehrli 1978, Aronadio 1990: 203-235. Diogenes Laertius names six other authors of *Diadochai*: see Mejer 1978: 62-74. The *reliquiae* of *Diadochoi* (except for Sotion's) are collected in Giannatasio Andria 1989. Of these other authors, the works of Alexander Polyhistor were known to Eusebius: see n. 173, 291 above.

<sup>311</sup> Diogenes Laertius' use of successions runs even deeper than this. In the *Lives and Opinions* it is typically only the founder of a philosophical sect (*haeresis*) who receives a doxography within each school. So the *Lives* of Plato

Although the word *diadochē* never appears in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*,<sup>312</sup> as Kendra Eshleman has recently shown Philostratus organizes the *Lives of the Sophists* along genealogical lines, following a close-knit genealogy of oratorical teachers and students. The *Lives of the Sophists* note scrupulously which sophist of an earlier generation taught which later one, threading readers through a single genealogy of orators from the mid-first century to the mid-third, concluding with Philostratus' own teachers.<sup>313</sup>

Successions were prominent in individual as well as collective philosophical biography. At the end of his *On the Pythagorean Life*, Iamblichus lists 218 successors (*diadochoi*) of Pythagoras, including such famous classical Greek thinkers as Empedocles, Parmenides, and Damon (*PythV* 267-276). The reader thus learns that Pythagoras is one link in a longer chain of philosophical teachers.<sup>314</sup>

The very first words of Eusebius' *History* are "the successions of the holy apostles" (*tas tōn hierōn apostolōn diadochas*). Eusebius imprinted an unmistakable echo of the histories of philosophical schools right at the beginning of his text.<sup>315</sup> Educated readers, some of whom studied under philosophers themselves, knew that successions were an organizing principle of many kinds of philosophical biographies. This cue thus associated Eusebius' text unambiguously with philosophical biographies.

### B. Extensive Verbatim Quotation

Among ancient historiographical genres, philosophical biographies are the most likely to quote prose texts.<sup>316</sup> Although philosophical biographers did not quote as frequently or for precisely the same purposes as Eusebius does,<sup>317</sup> the genre welcomed a variety of textual quotation.

Of the philosophical biographers, Diogenes Laertius fills the most space with verbatim quotations. No less than three fourths of his *Life of Epicurus*, for example, consists of verbatim quotations of Epicurus' writings.<sup>318</sup> The kind of text quoted the most frequently by Diogenes is letters. In addition to the letters that comprise the bulk of the *Life of Epicurus*, eight of Diogenes'

(3.63-109), Aristotle (5.28-34), Zeno of Citium (7.38-160), Pythagoras (8.9-35), and Epicurus (10.29-154), contain extended doxographies; *Lives* that come in these founders' successions in the middle of books, including those of such original thinkers as Chrysippus, Empedocles, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno of Elea contain few and short notices of original doctrines. This leaves the impression that the sects followed their founders' teachings throughout their existence, with philosophies transmitted like genes in quasi-genetic relationships, as Delattre 2006 and Warren 2007: 141f. have both independently emphasized.

<sup>312</sup> Perhaps the term *diadochē* was too closely associated with philosophers for Philostratus to find it useful for sophists, who played a role that Philostratus wished to distinguish from the philosophers (see Bowersock 1969: 10-12, Hahn 1989: 47-54, Sidebottom 2009).

<sup>313</sup> "His vision of the circle of sophists as an almost incestuously self-contained, self-generating, self-regulating community." comments Eshleman 2008: 396 (see 396-406, with chart on 398).

<sup>314</sup> Eusebius of course had Christian precedents for organizing lists of bishops into episcopal *diadochai*. The second-century apologists Justin, Hegesippus and Irenaeus had each used the lists of successions from the apostles to ensure the continuity of orthodox teaching in the mid- to late-second century (see e.g. Le Boulluec 1985: esp. 39-64, 79-91, Brent 1993, and Boyarin 2004: chs. 2-3). But none of these had periodized a diachronic narrative of the Christian past according to the dates of episcopacies, nor had any written such a historical text.

<sup>315</sup> The term was closely associated with biographies specifically of philosophers: cf. p. 52 above.

<sup>316</sup> Except perhaps for compilations (*Materialsammlungen*); unfortunately, none of these survive intact.

<sup>317</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>318</sup> *VSEP* 10.16-22, 10.35-116, 10.121-135, 10.139-154. Noting the exceptional amount of quotation in the *Life of Epicurus* is Mejer 1992: 3586f.

eleven *Lives* of the canonical Greek sages in book 1 of the *Lives and Opinions* end with a letter to or from the biography's subject.<sup>319</sup> A handful of *Lives* also quote philosophers' wills.<sup>320</sup> The *Life of Zeno the Stoic*, meanwhile, quotes an alleged Athenian decree honoring Zeno with public burial (7.10-12),<sup>321</sup> while the *Life of Plato* presents lengthy extracts from an earlier writer purporting to prove that Plato plagiarized his philosophy from another writer (3.10-17).

Porphry's *Life of Plotinus*, meanwhile, quotes two letters concerning Plotinus in full (*VPlot* 17, 19), and the preface to a pertinent literary text (20f.), as well as a poetic famous oracle of Apollo (22f.). While Porphyry was a student of Plotinus and had enough memories of his master to compose a *Life* without written sources, allegations that Plotinus had plagiarized other philosophers' ideas motivated him to include letters corroborating his own testimony to Plotinus' brilliance.<sup>322</sup>

The evidence of Diogenes Laertius and Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* shows that direct quotation stood well within the genre of philosophical biography, although it was not an absolute requirement. These quotations represent a second cue that associated Eusebius' *History* with philosophical biography.

### C. Literary History

The default assumption in the Roman world was that philosophers would publish their ideas as written discourses in addition to teaching them in their pedagogical institutions.<sup>323</sup> Both Diogenes Laertius and Eusebius thus hint in their prefaces that biographical subjects who wrote nothing were the exception, not the rule. Diogenes' preface notes that "some philosophers left written notes behind, and some wrote up nothing at all" (*VSEP* 1.16).<sup>324</sup> It can hardly be coincidence that Eusebius' preface echoes this emphasis on written production, claiming that the *History* would relate "how many, in each generation, engaged with (*epresbeusan*) the divine Logos whether without writing anything or else through written texts" (*HE* 1.1.1).<sup>325</sup> For Eusebius as for the earlier biographers, literary history was a persuasive signifier of such intellectual achievement.

Accordingly, intellectual biographers regularly embedded literary histories into their biographies.<sup>326</sup> Diogenes Laertius made a point of cataloguing the writings of virtually every

<sup>319</sup> 1.43f., 1.64-67, 1.73, 1.81, 1.93, 1.99f., 1.105, 1.113, 1.122; note also 1.53f. Further quoted letters appear in *Lives and Opinions* 2.4f., 2.141f., 3.22, 5.37, 7.7-9 (discussed in the Introduction, pp. 2f. above), 8.49f., 8.80f., 9.13f., 10.35-83, 10.84-116, 10.121-135.

<sup>320</sup> Plato's at 3.41-43, Theophrastus' at 5.51-57, Strato's at 5.61-64, Lyco's at 5.69-74; Epicurus' at 10.16-22; cf. 2.44. These wills are generally considered authentic; see e.g. Gottschalk 1972: 317 on the Peripatetics', and Dillon 2003: 8-10 on Plato's.

<sup>321</sup> See Haake 2004 on this inscription.

<sup>322</sup> These letters thus had an apologetic purpose that the genre of philosophical biography could certainly accommodate: cf. Digeser 2012: 80, 82.

<sup>323</sup> There was no ironclad requirement that philosophers write down their ideas: see n. 358 below.

<sup>324</sup> καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον ὑπομνήματα, οἱ δ' ὅλως οὐ συνέγραψαν. The passage goes on to list philosophers, including Socrates and Pythagoras ("according to some"; cf. *VSEP* 8.6-9) who wrote nothing, as though the philosophers who wrote were exceptional. *Presbeuein* as meaning "study," "interpretation," or "engagement" with texts or ideas: see Inowlocki 2006: 94, and cf. LSJ s.v. πρεσβεύω I.2.b, as well as *VSEP* 1.18 and Philostr. *VS* 484.

<sup>325</sup> ὅσοι τε κατὰ γενεάν ἀγράφως ἢ καὶ κατὰ συγγραμμάτων τὸν θεῖον ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον, *HE* 1.1.1, my emphasis. Eusebius repeats the disjunction at *HE* 4.7.15.

<sup>326</sup> Indeed, literary history constituted itself a distinct genre within Greek historiography (Hägg 2001: 191f.); this genre came to be included in philosophical biography from very early on (Momigliano 1993: 79, 81).

philosopher he covered.<sup>327</sup> The *Lives and Opinions* sometimes even note how various editors arrange a philosopher's compositions (e.g. 3.57-62) and opinions as to the genuineness of texts credited to certain philosophers (e.g. 6.80, 8.6-7).

Porphry's biographies also include literary history. The *Life of Plotinus* served as an introduction to Porphyry's edition of Plotinus' writings, embodying the close link between intellectual biography and literary history.<sup>328</sup> The *Plotinus* contains two catalogues of Plotinus' written works, one chronological (*VPlot* 4-6) and one thematic (*VPlot* 24). Porphyry even describes Plotinus' habits of composition (*VPlot* 8), documenting Plotinus' inability to read his own work due to poor eyesight, his neglect of aesthetically pleasing penmanship, and his powers of concentration such that he could compose a text in one sitting. In the *Life of Pythagoras*, meanwhile, Porphyry reports that Pythagoras left no writings of his own but directly thereafter notes his pupils' writings (*VPyth* 57f.).<sup>329</sup> Though none of the surviving *reliquiae* confirms this, this notice suggests that the other, lost sections of Porphyry's *Philosophical History* offered literary history.

Philostratus wove a variant literary history into his *Lives of the Sophists*. Philostratus offers thorough literary catalogues only for orators of the distant past (e.g. *VS* 493, 510), whereas for more recent orators—who form the vast majority of his biographical subjects—he names a select few titles of representative or high-quality orations (e.g. *VS* 500, 522, 542, 569, 615). In these notices, moreover, the *Lives of the Sophists* describes each sophist's oratorical style at some length with a string of striking qualitative descriptors.<sup>330</sup> Although Philostratus' literary history differs formally from Diogenes Laertius' and Porphyry's, textual production still looms large.<sup>331</sup>

Eusebius catalogued his subjects' writings to great effect. Such cues evoked the world of philosophical biography, submitting his Christians for comparison with the intellectuals whose writings Diogenes Laertius and Porphyry catalogued and whose intellectual firepower Philostratus and Porphyry praised. We will see in chapters 2 and 5 that catalogues and other references to Christians' writings served a number of his authorial purposes.

#### D. Avoidance of Set-Piece Orations

In contrast to the long speeches composed by most narrative historians, philosophical biographers usually presented shorter enunciations. Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions* and Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* lack any long set-piece orations. In Diogenes Laertius' biographies the longest direct speeches attributed to philosophers are quotations from their

<sup>327</sup> The longest, Diogenes' catalogue of the early Stoic Chrysippus' writings, occupies nine Oxford Classical Text pages (7.189-202).

<sup>328</sup> Collections of an author's works were often prefaced with a biography of the writer in the later Roman Empire, as Lefkowitz 2012: 3 notes.

<sup>329</sup> Meanwhile, the preface of Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* refuses to talk about the "many spurious writings" that "obscured" understanding of Pythagoras' way of life (νόβοις πολλοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐπισκιάζεσθαι, *PythV* 1). This flourish perhaps preempts audiences' expectation for catalogues of writings credited to the biographical subject. Nonetheless, Iamblichus slips some literary historical notes into the biography (25, 104, 146, 149, 151f., 173, 199, 246).

<sup>330</sup> E.g. Polemo's impression (ἰδέα) on his audience was θερμὴ καὶ ἐναγώνιος καὶ τορόν (*VS* 542); Aristides had some passages that showed εὐπαιδευσίαν...καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἦθος, while others παρέπρυσέ τι ἐς φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπεσῶν (585). Such passages also compare sophists from the Roman era to classical exemplars (e.g. *VS* 564) and embed anecdotes that illustrate sophists' effect on audiences (e.g. *VS* 488, 593).

<sup>331</sup> Diogenes Laertius also provides occasional descriptions of a philosophers' written styles: e.g. 3.37, 5.82, 5.89, 7.187f.



writings. Meanwhile, even in his *Lives of the Sophists*, a profession that delivered lengthy orations, Philostratus places only soundbites in his subjects' mouths.<sup>332</sup>

Porphyrus's *Life of Plotinus* likewise leaves its lengthiest direct discourses to quotations; the resulting impression of Plotinus is that of a laconic, reserved thinker. In Porphyrus's *Life of Pythagoras* the title character speaks only indirectly, in the form of doxographic sections detailing his opinions about the good life.<sup>333</sup> Iamblichus' *Pythagorean Life* depicts its title character as delivering orations to large groups, albeit as indirect discourses (*PythV* 9-12). Otherwise, Iamblichus' Pythagoras, like Porphyrus's, prefers to instruct by analogy (*symbolon*, 29.103) and maxims (*gnōmologēsai*, 29.166) rather than lengthy speeches.

The absence of speeches was no insignificant omission. In most Greek histories, speeches came at narrative junctures where characters had weighty decisions to make. From Herodotus to Herodian speeches typically deliberated about which actions characters should perform next. They slow down and thus intensify the narrative, illuminate the discourses that influenced consequential decisions, and indicate alternatives to the actual paths that actors take.<sup>334</sup> By suppressing these indicators of anxiety and suggestions of alternative narratives, the philosophical biographers'—and Eusebius'—omission of speeches removed a key token of contingency from their narrative worlds.<sup>335</sup> The lack of speeches thus enhances the fifth genre cue shared by the philosophical biographies and Eusebius' *History*.

### E. A Static Narrative Arc

Eusebius was not the first author of *historia* to present a world where circumstances, successes, and dispositions remain static. Fritz Wehrli, one of the leading scholars of early philosophical biography, described biographies of philosophers in terms uncannily similar to many scholarly characterizations of the *History*: “Ein gemeinsames Merkmal beinahe aller erhaltenen Biographien besteht darin, dass ihnen eine durchgehende Erzählung des Lebensablaufes fehlt, dass sie vielmehr *ein im wesentlichen statisches Bild der Persönlichkeit und ihrer Lebensweise (bios)* zu vermitteln suchen.”<sup>336</sup>

The most typical structure of third- and fourth-century philosophical biographies presents this static picture.<sup>337</sup> Most intellectual biographies begin with their subjects' childhood and education, describe how subjects attain fame and significance, recount a number of anecdotal encounters or quote documents, and note the subject's death. The narrative rarely betrays any sense of contingency, sidelining the least suggestion that the subject's life could have taken a different path than it did. This disconnectedness and episodic unfolding of Greek biographies excludes the possibility that events could happen differently than they do from the genre's world.

Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, Porphyrus' *Life of Plotinus* and *Life of Pythagoras*, and Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* all center their worlds around their subjects. The force of biographical subjects' personalities exerts social power in virtually every

<sup>332</sup> In the centerpiece of Philostratus' *Sophists*, the *Herodes Atticus*, the title character prevails in a series of dramatic confrontations through *bon mots*, not drawn-out discourses.

<sup>333</sup> *VPyth* 31-53; note also 19, on Pythagorean students' silence, and 37, on his two, both terse, kinds of utterances.

<sup>334</sup> See Marincola 2007: 119f., 127-132.

<sup>335</sup> The *History*'s one exception, the oration for the dedication of the church of Tyre (10.4), looks to the past and present rather than deliberating about future action.

<sup>336</sup> Wehrli 1973: 193 (italics mine); see also Warren 2007: 135-137.

<sup>337</sup> The best studies of the prevalent structures in Greek biography are Frickenschmidt 1997 and Hägg 2012; there is no study of the structures of philosophical biography specifically.

depicted event. The intellectual enters a scene. Someone acts. The intellectual responds cleverly and steals the show. If any third party is watching the event, the party responds by bestowing further honor to the biographical subject. The narrator cuts to the next anecdote. The subjects make things happen; external conditions provoke, but do not constrain or compel them.<sup>338</sup> And then it happens again, a formulaic series of repetitive actions. The logic of the world of philosophical biography places the chief character in the center of a predictably stable present. So it is with Christian leaders in the world of Eusebius' *History*.

Philosophical biographies prefigure the *successions of non-state actors, verbatim quotations, literary history, absence of speeches, and static narrative movement* that scholars have seen in Eusebius' *History*. This confirms Momigliano's assertion that Eusebius patterned the *History* after Greek philosophical historiography. When educated Greek readers saw this combination of cues, they would associate the content of the *Ecclesiastical History* with the world of philosophical biography.

Eusebius therefore combined the existing genres of national history and philosophical biography; this combination of genres, I argue, constituted a new genre, ecclesiastical history.<sup>339</sup> As the genre theory elaborated above indicates, the *History's* genre cues should coalesce to generate a distinctive world. In the world drawn from the *History's* national historical cues, Christianity becomes a distinct and cohesive nation (*ethnos*) within the Roman Empire.<sup>340</sup> But this nation also displays traits of the Greek philosophical schools. Like the biographers' Greek philosophical schools, the Christian church of the *History's* world is led by a stable succession of institutional heads, the bishops. The *History's* world brims with texts that reveal the church's noble character and maintained steady literary activity. This world lacks lengthy orations and the contingencies that motivate them, instead surrounding the church with steady fortune generation after generation. It is the world in which the Roman Empire's imagined philosophers also reside.

## 5. To What Does the Church Compare? Philosophers in the Roman World

As we saw earlier in this chapter, genres are schemas that combine formal, thematic, and rhetorical features. The evocation of a genre in a text guides audiences to associate the text with knowledge and worlds previously associated with the schema (pp. 33-36). Eusebius' decision to depict the church's past through philosophical historiography encouraged his elite readers to associate their knowledge and perceptions of philosophers with Christians in the *History*. We can reconstruct this knowledge and these perceptions through recent studies of the role that philosophers played in Roman society.<sup>341</sup>

<sup>338</sup> Cf. philosophers' training to become impervious to external conditions: esp. chapter 4, p. 118 below.

<sup>339</sup> At least, it became a new genre (rather than a new text) when other authors wrote *ekklēsiastikai historiai*: as In the Introduction above (pp. 11f.), Eusebius' *History* had several continuators who acknowledged the *History* as their genre's prototype.

<sup>340</sup> The rest of this study concentrates on Eusebius' philosophical rather than the national historiography because Johnson (2004b, 2006a: ch. 7, esp. 225-227 on the *History*) has already elaborated on Eusebius' portrayal of Christianity as a nation; but see chapters 3 and 6 below. Christian authors had long portrayed Christianity as a nation or race (*genos* or *ethnos*): see already Harnack 1906: 240-278, and more recently Lieu 2004: ch. 8, Buell 2005.

<sup>341</sup> See Introduction, p. 22 above on social roles, a notion that I draw from Goffman 1959. Since this section studies a role, it does not matter whether particular individuals who claimed to play the role always conformed to that role (cf. Gleason 1991 with pp. 59-62 below).

The role of philosophers in imperial Roman culture was familiar and prestigious. For the following survey I use evidence from the three centuries before Eusebius wrote,<sup>342</sup> since that period offers much literary and material evidence, and since the role of the philosopher, though it overlapped with that of other public intellectuals, remained relatively stable under the Roman monarchy.<sup>343</sup> I emphasize those aspects of the philosopher's role that will prove especially relevant for the agenda behind the *Ecclesiastical History*.

#### A. Professional Philosophers, other Philosophoi, and the Honor of Philosophia

Philosophers were designated by the term *philosophos*; to call someone *philosophos* was to recognize him (or her) in some way as a practitioner of *philosophia*.<sup>344</sup> What was *philosophia*? The most comprehensive description the variety of activities that *philosophia* designated in the Roman world is Pierre Hadot's. For Hadot, ancient philosophy is best understood as "a rupture with what the skeptics called *bios*, that is, daily life, from the complacency of daily life."<sup>345</sup> This rupture propelled the *philosophos* on a rigorous and continuous journey upward "to see things as they are from the standpoint of universal nature."<sup>346</sup> The *philosophos* thus wielded "a kind of self-formation, or *paideia*, which is to teach [people] to live, not in conformity with human prejudices and social conventions...but in conformity with the nature of man, which is none other than reason."<sup>347</sup>

As Hadot has shown, the *philosophos* achieved this universalizing wisdom by undertaking a series of *exercises spirituels*.<sup>348</sup> The method of the *exercises* differed among the various philosophical schools (Platonism, Aristotelianism, Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, or Epicureanism), but their aims were the same. The exercises implanted the rupture with everyday life into the habits of the *philosophos*. *Philosophoi* learned their schools' philosophical doctrines, from the structure of physical matter to the logic of cogent argument to the relationship between different ethical virtues. *Philosophoi* had to pay vigilant attention to every moment; read, hear, and memorize correct doctrines; contemplate daily; carry on dialectic where interlocutors pushed each other to articulate universal truths; and master their emotions and desires into complete

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<sup>342</sup> I exclude the evidence of Christian philosophers only because whether Christianity constituted a *philosophia* was a contentious question, and a question that Eusebius' *History* aimed to address definitively. I also marginalize evidence from schools (the Cynics, Epicureans, and Skeptics) that seem to have had little influence in Eusebius' day, whereas the Stoics, Aristotelians, and especially Platonists remained influential.

<sup>343</sup> Hahn, in my view, exaggerates the distinction between the public role of philosophers up to the mid-third-century and a "Rückzug des Philosophen und der Philosophie aus der Gesellschaft" (2007: 412; cf. also Hahn 1989: 31f., and the analogous periodization presumed by Trapp 2007: esp. xi), by taking Plotinus' alleged withdrawal from civic activity as paradigmatic, when in fact numerous philosophers from the later third century and onward remained engaged in political activity, as Barnes 1978: 105f., Brown 1992: 63f., O'Meara 2003: 17f., Dillon 2004: 404-406, Marx-Wolf 2010a, and Digeser 2012: 164-191 all show; cf. Schniewind 2005. Moreover, some philosophers before the mid-third century, such as Ammonius of Alexandria, seem not to have engaged much with their society; Hahn (1989: 79f.) admits this but explains it away teleologically ("Mit dem Schülerkreis des Ammonius von Alexandria beginnt ein 'drift towards marginality'"; on Ammonius, cf. Digeser 2012: 23-48 with references to earlier literature).

<sup>344</sup> There were numerous female *philosophoi* in antiquity, though these were a minority.

<sup>345</sup> Hadot 1995: 56.

<sup>346</sup> Hadot 1995: 58.

<sup>347</sup> Hadot 1995: 102.

<sup>348</sup> I retain Hadot's French because the French *spirituel* (like the German *geistig*) combines the semantic ranges of the English "intellectual" (connoting seeking answers through rational thought) and "spiritual" (connoting a special relationship with transcendent forces). The Greek practice of philosophy did not distinguish between "intellectual" and "spiritual" as contemporary English does.

subjection to the intellect.<sup>349</sup> Only through such a regimented pursuit of wisdom could human beings shake convention, grow impervious to external vicissitudes,<sup>350</sup> and grasp the nature of life and the universe.

Because the term *philosophia* denoted the practice of *exercises spirituels* for the purpose of self-improvement, the epithet *philosophos* could be applied to any individual perceived as having progressed some distance on the path to wisdom. Scores of imperial funerary and honorific inscriptions, especially in the Greek-speaking eastern Roman Empire and including, as we will see in chapter 4 (pp. 144-149) one in Eusebius' home city of Caesarea Maritima, name an honorand as *philosophos*.<sup>351</sup> Practitioners of other professions recommended study in philosophy or else tried to apply the term *philosophia* to their profession.<sup>352</sup> That *philosophos* appears so often as an honorific term in so much of the Empire exemplifies the prestige that *philosophia* held for most Romans.

Yet not all *philosophoi* were equally *philosophoi*. *Philosophos* had both a nominal usage, for a professional philosopher,<sup>353</sup> and an adjectival usage, for an individual who participated in the self-improvement of *exercises spirituels*.<sup>354</sup> The social category of the *philosophos* had a core of individuals whose philosophical credentials were indisputable, while other participants in *philosophia* were less central to the category.<sup>355</sup> Of course professional philosophers were expected to spend much of their time in contemplation, performing the *exercises spirituels* that defined the philosopher. But in the public eye they distinguished themselves by teaching students. The Stoics Musonius Rufus (third quarter of the first century AD) and Epictetus (ca. 55-125), the Peripatetic Alexander of Aphrodisias (turn of the third century AD), and the Platonists Philo of Alexandria (first half of the first century AD), Calvenus Taurus (mid-second century AD), Ammonius of Alexandria (turn of the third century), Plotinus (205-270), Porphyry (ca. 235-305), and Iamblichus of Apamea (later third and early fourth centuries) were professional teachers who lectured and trained other philosophers when they were not contemplating. Their role in educating students to understand both their sophisticated Greek culture and the structure of the cosmos (see below) assured them of wielding the unquestioned authority of philosophical masters.<sup>356</sup> Confirmation that philosophers' role was above all

<sup>349</sup> Hadot 1995: 59f., 82-93, 101-104. See also Trapp 2007: ch. 2, esp. 49-62.

<sup>350</sup> Philosophers' perceived impermeability to external conditions may underlie the "static" structure of many philosophical biographies as described above.

<sup>351</sup> "...the Empire teemed with such people," concludes J. Barnes 2002: 306; cf. Hahn 1989: 159-164, 192-201, 2009: 250; Trapp 2007: 246-248, Haake 2008; note also the proliferation of philosopher-portraits on third-century sarcophagi (Ewald 1999; cf. chapter 4, pp. 146f. below). A number of additional inscriptions describe their honorands as adherents to particular schools, such as Platonists, Stoics, Peripatetics, Pythagoreans, or Epicureans: e.g. J. Barnes 2002: 294-296; cf. Haake 2007 for Hellenistic precedents.

<sup>352</sup> Recommending studying philosophy: see p. 61 below on Galen's and Sextus Empiricus' use of philosophy; appropriating the term: see Philostratus, VS 480f., while the jurist Ulpian claimed that jurisprudence was "the true philosophy, unless I am mistaken" (*Digest* 1.1.1.2, cited in Hahn 2007: 410).

<sup>353</sup> This study uses the term "philosopher" exclusively to denote professional philosophers.

<sup>354</sup> Cf. J. Barnes 2002: 303f., Haake 2008: 150-154.

<sup>355</sup> Hahn 1989: esp. 33-108 recognizes these gradations of the ideal type of the *philosophos*, as does Trapp 2007: esp. 23-27 (who more closely articulates the center-periphery model of the category *philosophos* presented here). Maier's (1985: esp. 11-16) failure to distinguish between professional and amateur *philosophoi* makes her study less useful for isolating the social roles that philosophical biography evoked.

<sup>356</sup> See in general Hahn 1989: 61-85, Trapp 2007: 18-21, 249-251; on the distinction between Plutarch's status as a *philosophos* and that of the professionals Ammonius and Calvenus Taurus, see Dillon 2002: 32-35; on Plotinus and Porphyry, Dillon 2004: 401-406. In the eastern Empire professional philosophers do seem to have held civic priesthods with some regularity: see Haake 2008: 155-165.

educational comes in Roman legal writings. In the early third century the jurist Papinian stated that “philosophers, who show themselves to be available and useful for those who are seeking to follow that course of study, are exempted from tutelages and likewise from demeaning personal *munera* [civic benefactions].”<sup>357</sup>

Along with their teaching, philosophers were expected to write certain kinds of texts (that is, if they wrote anything at all).<sup>358</sup> Philosophers’ writing reflected their day-to-day instructional activity: they wrote either technical treatises, commentaries intended specifically for knowledgeable philosophers, or else lectures for students on a path to becoming *philosophoi*. These philosophers’ writings assume students’ knowledge of and interest in the minutiae of philosophical texts and aim to guide students through them.<sup>359</sup> The typical subjects of philosophers’ writing reflect the centrality of teaching to the professional philosopher’s job description.<sup>360</sup>

Professional philosophers were also distinguishable by the profession’s stylized physical appearance. Philosophers were expected to dress and groom so as to emphasize their focus on intellectual and spiritual matters, rather than interests in the external and physical as expressed in careful grooming. The *philosophon schēma*, perhaps best translated as “the philosopher’s get-up,”<sup>361</sup> was a costume that required no further explanation in Greek texts (though Dio Chrysostom published an oration about it).<sup>362</sup> Typical literary descriptions of philosophers note a shaggy beard, long, unkempt hair, and an outer cloth garment called a *himation* slung over the shoulder.<sup>363</sup> Corroborating the claim of these descriptions to represent philosophers is the distinctive series of philosopher portraits produced from the fourth century BC until the end of the fourth century AD, which typically dress philosophers with a beard and *himation* over a bare chest, and often in a thoughtful pose marked by a furrowed brow.<sup>364</sup> It is true that philosophically-inclined sophists such as Favorinus donned variations of this philosophical dress

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<sup>357</sup> *Philosophis, qui se frequentes atque utiles per eandem studiorum sectam contententibus praebent, tutelae, item munera sordida corpalia remitti placuit...* (*Digest* 50.5.8.4, trans. Watson; cited in Millar 1983: 78, Hahn 1989: 104f.). Relief from civic benefactions was an honor in the Roman Empire: see in general Millar 1983. The objections of Gleason 1991 to Hahn’s argument that the philosopher was a distinct role fail to take proper account of such legal evidence: Gleason distinguishes (1991: 410) between “the field of law” and “everyday life,” as though legal exemptions from public duties had no everyday consequences.

<sup>358</sup> “Some [masters of philosophical argument] undertook to set down their doctrines in writing, so as to give posterity the chance of deriving some benefit from them; others thought that all that was required of them was to lead the members of their school to an understanding of what they held” (οἱ μὲν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ἐπεχείρησαν τὰ δοκοῦντα σφίσι πραγματεύεσθαι καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν ὠφελείας μετασχεῖν, οἱ δ’ ἀποχρῆναι σφίσι ἠγήσαντο τοὺς συνόντας προβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀρεσκόντων ἑαυτοῖς κατάληψιν). So Longinus of Athens, in *Porph.VPlot*. 20; trans. Armstrong, cited in Lambertson 2001: 437f. and Digeser 2012: 29; cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions* 1.16 (quoted above, p. 54); see also Hadot 1995: 64f., 105-107.

<sup>359</sup> Examples of the scholastic situations of specific philosophers’ writings include Philo’s writings (see Sterling 1999), Arrian’s transcriptions of Epictetus’ writings (Long 2002: 38-51); Plotinus’ works (see *Porph.VPlot* 4-6); Porphyry’s writings (Johnson forthcoming); and Iamblichus’ works (Athanasias 2010).

<sup>360</sup> Hahn 1989: esp. 46-85, Trapp 2007: 23f.; cf. Brown 1980: 3-6, J. Barnes 2002: 303f.

<sup>361</sup> Bowersock 2002: 166 calls the *schēma* a “dress code.”

<sup>362</sup> Dio 72, cited by Hahn 1989: 45.

<sup>363</sup> In addition to Dio 72, see e.g. Pliny, *Ep.* 1.10.5-7, Lucian, *Eunuch* 8-10, *Philosophies for Sale passim*, Herodian 1.9.3-5; with Hahn 1989: 33-45, Gleason 1995: 132f., Bowersock 2002: 161-168, Borg 2004: 157-164; Sidebottom 2009: 83-85; note also the variations among philosophical schools described at Hahn 1989: 37f. with references.

<sup>364</sup> See in general Zanker 1995: esp. 38-49, 62-79, 91-131, 150-154, 168-186, 206-229, 242-251, with Smith 1999: 452-454, as well as Smith 1998, Ewald 1999, Borg 2004: 157-164 and 2009, Sidebottom 2009: 87-92.

code while performing their rhetoric;<sup>365</sup> but they were only able to imitate the philosopher's garb because there was such a "uniform" in the first place. Thus when Eusebius describes Justin Martyr as wearing one with no further comment (*HE* 4.11.8) and quotes Origen describing Bishop Heraclas of Alexandria as wearing one (6.19.14), audiences understood the signal that these men were sending.<sup>366</sup>

A step removed from the professional philosopher were other intellectuals who practiced *philosophia* but did not dedicate their lives to philosophical education and *exercises spirituels*. Some men who were active in politics at the civic or imperial level, such as the Stoic Seneca, the Platonist Plutarch of Chaeroneia, and the Epicurean Diogenes of Oenoanda,<sup>367</sup> produced lengthy philosophical writings, including technical commentaries, and spent their leisure in the *exercises spirituels* expected of philosophers. But their profession was not the teaching of philosophical students. Another professional role that overlapped with the *philosophos* was the professional orator who took on a distinctly philosophical persona. Several sophistic rhetoricians, most famously Euphrates of Tyre, Favorinus of Arles, Maximus of Tyre, and especially Dio Chrysostom styled themselves as philosophers while performing their public oratory.<sup>368</sup> So far as we know these men did not write arguments intended specifically for an audience of philosophers, nor did they train students in *exercises spirituels* or spend much time in contemplation. These sophists who brandished their *philosophia* therefore sat at some distance from the professional core of the category of *philosophos*.<sup>369</sup> We might say that they were not philosophers in the strictest sense, but they played the role in public. Other professionals made competent use of philosophical ideas without practicing its *exercises spirituels* professionally: famous Roman physicians, such as Galen and Sextus Empiricus, could engage intelligently and often brilliantly in philosophical discourse without identifying themselves as professional philosophers.<sup>370</sup> Finally, other authors who did not teach philosophical students or write technical philosophical works were called *philosophoi*. Homer, Aeschylus, and Euripides were *philosophoi* to imperial Greek writers, though by profession they were poets.<sup>371</sup>

At the margins the category of *philosophos* could also include individuals who displayed a particular interest in philosophy or in a particular philosophical school, or else tried (or tried to look as though they were trying) to conform their lives to philosophical doctrines. The emperor Marcus Aurelius was viewed as a shining example of a statesman who ordered his life as a

<sup>365</sup> As Bowersock (2002: 164f.) notes, Favorinus styled himself as a philosopher despite his lack of a beard.

<sup>366</sup> On Christian philosophers who wore the *philosophon schēma* before Eusebius' time, see Urbano forthcoming a.

<sup>367</sup> Trapp 2007: 24 articulates the distinction between professional philosophers and other *philosophoi* best; see also Hahn 1989: 156f. (on Plutarch), Dillon 2002: 32-34, Sidebottom 2009: esp. 72f., 75-87.

<sup>368</sup> Their self-presentation seems to have prompted Philostratus to make his famous distinction between "philosophers who in appearance were sophists," especially Dio and Favorinus, and "those who were legitimately called sophists" (τοὺς φιλοσοφήσαντας ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι...τοὺς οὕτω κυρίως προσρηθέντας σοφιστάς, *VS* 479) in structuring his *Lives of the Sophists*. (Most modern scholars are inclined to invert his first category into "sophists who in appearance were philosophers.") The distinction between "philosopher" and "sophist" is not exclusively Philostratean: see e.g. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5.3, 17.21; Artemidorus, *The Interpretation of Dreams* 1.79, 3.42; *Digest* 27.1.6.4f., 50.5.8.4; cf. Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 1.7 (with Bowersock 2002: 169).

<sup>369</sup> Trapp 2007: 24f. Cf. the jurist Modestinus in *Digest* 27.1.6.4-8. (quoting the jurist Paulus and a law of Antoninus Pius cited by Commodus), which for the purpose of allotting exemptions from civic duties to different professions distinguishes philosophers from orators, elementary-education teachers (*grammatici*), and physicians (cited in Millar 1983: 78 and Hahn 1989: 47 n. 7, 101).

<sup>370</sup> Galen famously wrote a treatise called, *Why the Best Doctor is Also a Philosophos*, while Sextus Empiricus' writings form our best surviving writings from an ancient skeptic (see e.g. Machuca 2008).

<sup>371</sup> Homer: Dio, *Oration* 47.5; Aeschylus: Athenaeus, *Sophists at Dinner* 8.39; the pseudonymous letters of Euripides construct the tragedian as a philosopher: see Hanink 2010: 555-561.

philosopher should, though he did not consider himself a philosopher.<sup>372</sup> It seems likely that, like Marcus Aurelius, most of the people honored as *philosophoi* in inscriptions were perceived also as conforming their lives to the ethical ideals associated with philosophy.<sup>373</sup> Although such individuals comprised marginal members in the category of *philosophos*,<sup>374</sup> the very fact that they could be honored as *philosophoi* reinforced the honor of the professional philosophers at the center of the category. Professional philosophers supplied the center of mass around which, at varying distances, all other *philosophoi* gravitated.

Finally, the figure of the *philosophos* also had a polar opposite, the charlatan or fake philosopher. Various terms could denote this figure, including *alazōn* (charlatan) and *goēs* (magician). *Alazones* made a particularly theatrical show of their philosophical advancement. *Goētai*, meanwhile, were not necessarily so histrionic but claimed in public to have advanced in wisdom through the philosopher's *exercises spirituels* and thus to have special access to divine power.<sup>375</sup> To establish their philosophical credentials, philosophers had to distance themselves from *alazones* and *goētai*.<sup>376</sup> The fact that some were perceived as charlatan philosophers reinforces how central and honored the figure of the *philosophos* was among imperial Greeks.

Thus, *philosophos* was a broad social category, but the category had a clear center and gradations to its marginal members. The philosopher was a distinct and recognizable profession, even though the term *philosophos* was bestowed on many more people than just professional philosophers.<sup>377</sup> The professional role of the philosopher also typically entailed the activities of *exercises spirituels*, technical teaching and writing, and a standard of personal appearance. At the same time, the word *philosophos* was flexible enough that individuals who were not professional philosophers could nonetheless be called *philosophoi*.

Eusebius calls Christians *philosophoi* or credits them with *philosophia* repeatedly in the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>378</sup> The professional philosopher was also the usual subject of the genre that Eusebius used as his model for writing the history of the church; Eusebius' use of philosophical biography in writing the *Ecclesiastical History* thus assimilated Christian heroes with these professional philosophers.<sup>379</sup> At the same time, however, the term *philosophos* had enough ambiguity to be attributed to nonprofessional *philosophoi* along with the professionals.

<sup>372</sup> Marcus' self-perceptions: see van Ackeren 2012: 2f. Numerous later authors depicted Marcus as a philosopher: see Bruch and Herrmann 2012: 483-487.

<sup>373</sup> Hahn 1989: 53, 161-164; cf. J. Barnes 2002: 303f., Haake 2008.

<sup>374</sup> See p. 59 above.

<sup>375</sup> Charlatans: see e.g. Hadot 1995: 57; Fornaro 2009; Schlapbach 2010: 256-258; *goētai*: see Potter 1994: 35; Francis 1995: esp. xviii, 49f., 90-97.

<sup>376</sup> Philostratus must acknowledge, for example, that the hero of his *Apollonius of Tyana* had the reputation of being a *goēs* by arguing at some length to establish Apollonius' philosophical credentials as legitimate: cf. Francis 1995: 90-97, Flinterman 1995: 52f.

<sup>377</sup> We can think of the category of *philosophos* as analogous to a literary genre in the theory of genres sketched above (pp. 33-38). The *philosophos* was a schema that a relatively small number of professional philosophers, distinguished by their contemplation and thought, instantiated fully, while a wider number of others performed the schema at times. Just as a text can perform a single genre or interweave a series of genres, so also a core of individuals performed the role of *philosophos* and nothing else while others sometimes alternated between performing the role of *philosophos* and performing other roles. This account of *philosophos* as a signifier that had a core and peripheral referents in Roman society should meet the objections of Gleason 1991 to Hahn's (1989) "essentialist" description of the philosophers' role.

<sup>378</sup> *HE* 1.2.23, 2.5.4, 2.23.2, 4.7.13, 4.8.3, 4.11.8, ; 4.16.1f., 5.10.1 (with chapter title), 5.17.5, 5.21.2, 6.3.2, 6.3.6, 6.3.9, 6.3.13, 6.9.6, 6.10.1, 6.13.5, 6.15, 6.18.3, 7.32.6, 7.32.22, 7.32.25, 7.32.30, 8.9.6, 8.9.8, 8.10.11.

<sup>379</sup> Similarly as Philostratus' use of a genre usually deployed for philosophers to portray philosophers brought sophists into comparison with philosophers: see p. 52 with n. 308 above.

This ambiguity lay ready to exploit: if Eusebius used *Christianos*, on the analogy of *Platonikos* (Platonist) and *Pythagorikos* (Pythagorean), to denote a *philosophos* adhering to a circumscribed body of doctrines, then *Christianos* could denote either a professional Christian (i.e. a member of the clergy) or a lay Christian who had another profession. Indeed, as we will see in chapter 6, Eusebius distinguishes between Christian clerics and lay Christians in such a way as to mirror the Roman distinction between professional philosophers and other *philosophoi*.<sup>380</sup>

The following sections will discuss two aspects of the social role of the philosopher that are particularly relevant for Eusebius' construction of the church: their education and their roles in the Roman Empire's political system.

### B. A Philosopher's Training

As we have seen, the professional philosopher's first duty was to teach students of philosophy. This occupation, teaching at the highest level of the Roman educational sequence, had philosophical attainment as its prerequisite. Philosophers had to complete the three preliminary levels of *paideia* (see above), and then study with another professional philosopher. As a number of scholars have both shown, a philosophical education was widely viewed as a prestigious and useful attainment, and delivered great cultural authority to its graduates.<sup>381</sup> What was this educational experience like?

The instructional setting for philosophy varied.<sup>382</sup> It is likely that formally instituted schools existed in Eusebius' day. For example, in 176 Marcus Aurelius had endowed chairs in Athens for the four major philosophical sects, namely Platonism, Aristotelianism, Epicureanism, and Stoicism. Apparently the schools continued to operate and draw attention long enough for Plotinus to be in correspondence with their heads (Porph. *VPlot.* 15, 20), though the destruction of Athens by Herulian invaders in 267 may have effectively ended these chairs.<sup>383</sup> We know of other, locally endowed philosophical chairs as well.<sup>384</sup>

Yet for ancient students a formal institutional structure was never the prerequisite to educational legitimacy that it is for modern ones.<sup>385</sup> Philosophers could simply set up shop in a major city. When the word spread about their talents, philosophers would attract students.<sup>386</sup> The relationships between the philosopher and his students, rather than any formally incorporated organization, became the school. As long as a philosopher had students, he had a school (*diatribē, scholē*).<sup>387</sup> Thus, Plotinus found lodging with a wealthy widow in Rome and

<sup>380</sup> See pp. 223-230 below.

<sup>381</sup> Brown 1980: 3-6, 1992: esp. ch. 2; Watts 2006: 2-7, Trapp 2007: 13-18, Hahn 2010.

<sup>382</sup> The fundamental discussion remains Glucker 1978: ch. 3.

<sup>383</sup> See Glucker 1978: 146-153, Watts 2006: 32-41; cf. Oliver 1981. For the immediate aftermath of the Herulian invasion Watts (2006: 41f.) finds evidence only for rhetorical instruction in Athens, not for philosophy. The famous Aristotelian Alexander of Aphrodisias was the Aristotelian *diadochos* in Athens: see Chaniotis 2004 with Sharples 2005: 52f.

<sup>384</sup> E.g. *HE* 7.32.6; see also Oliver 1977: 160-168.

<sup>385</sup> As Gleason (1995: xxiv) points out: "Ancient education was innocent of the sort of objectification effected by degrees and credentials that renders all holders of the same credential formally interchangeable. Degrees and degree-granting institutions in a formalized educational system tend to be sorted by social consensus into a status hierarchy, so that the individual components of the system have a rough idea of where they stand relative to one another before a face-to-face relationship is ever established. In the absence of such standardization, as was certainly the the case in the ancient world, cultural capital tends to be incorporated in particular individuals...."

<sup>386</sup> Fowden 1977: 379; Dillon 2004: 402f.

<sup>387</sup> On these terms, see Fowden 1977: 371f.; cf. Dillon 2004: 403.



established a school. He attracted many qualified high-level students, including at least one senator; Porphyry came all the way from Athens to study with him. His school, however, dispersed upon his death.<sup>388</sup> Likewise, if we are to believe Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers* (written in the 390s), Iamblichus had several estates at his disposal in the Syrian city of Apamea thanks to a wealthy patron and attracted students from Cappadocia and mainland Greece, yet his school seems, like Plotinus' to have dispersed upon his death.<sup>389</sup>

The philosopher's lectures were typically open to anyone who wished to absorb the philosopher's wisdom. Therefore, philosophers had different levels of students, designated by different terms, though we should not assume that these terms always and everywhere had the same meaning. "Auditors" (*akoustai*, *akroatai*) usually signified a casual student, who listened to lectures but had little close contact with the teacher. More intimate students were called "familiars" (*gnōrimoi*), "disciples" (*mathētai*), "emulators" (*zēlōtai*), or "companions" (*hetairoi*).<sup>390</sup> The distinction between different kinds of student could map well onto the distinction between different kinds of *philosophoi* in the Empire. Casual students needed only to hear (*akouein*) lectures for a basic exposure to the methods and public persona of the philosopher. These auditors may have been able to talk intelligently about philosophical discourse or been honored as *philosophoi* in inscriptions, but could not become professional philosophers or be taken seriously by them. More serious students could dedicate themselves to sustained fulltime study, and so become more serious *philosophoi*. Only the very best students would become professional philosophers themselves.

The process of a philosophical education was rigorous, but not so formalized as in today's academy. Although there was no system of credits or examinations, students listened to lectures and took notes. In lectures philosophers read the writings of the founder of their school along with commentaries on these writings. The instructor then explained the meaning of these texts in considerable detail, often by reading the commentaries. After his exposition he entertained questions, the detailed answers to which sometimes occupied the lion's share of his lectures.<sup>391</sup> This education did not refer solely to philosophical texts: allusions to Homer and other classic Greek texts also punctuated philosophers' teaching.<sup>392</sup> An institution that perpetuated the pinnacle of *paideia* demanded nothing less.

Whereas mere auditors only attended lectures, fulltime students received specific reading assignments from their teachers. Sequences of reading assignments differed significantly between schools. Plotinus may not have even kept to a specific sequence,<sup>393</sup> but Iamblichus developed a formalized curriculum mandating a specific sequence of readings through the Platonic dialogues and up through more oracular writings.<sup>394</sup> The sequence guided students in detail through their *exercises spirituels*, pulling them through the hierarchy of Neoplatonic virtues up to physics and finally theology.

In addition to readings and lectures, students also spent time with their philosophers in more dialogic discussion (*homilia*), arguing about certain selected philosophical topics and submitting

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<sup>388</sup> See Goulet-Cazé 1982: 256f.

<sup>389</sup> Dillon 2004: 407f.

<sup>390</sup> See Fowden 1977: 371f., Lambertson 2001: 440, Dillon 2004: 403-405, Watts 2006: 156f.; cf. Iamblichus' similar distinction between *akoustikoi* and *mathēmatikoi* (*PythV* 81-89) .

<sup>391</sup> Snyder 2000: 18-30, 86-91, 111-118; Lambertson 2001: 442-445.

<sup>392</sup> See e.g. Snyder 2000: 22.

<sup>393</sup> Snyder 2000: 94-99; Lambertson 2001: 445.

<sup>394</sup> See e.g. O'Meara 2003: 64-68, Dillon 2004: 407f., Athanassiadi 2010: 133-139; cf. Lambertson 2001: 444f. Among Christian philosophers, Origen also put together a regimented curriculum: Scholten 1995: 24-27.

themselves to their master's correction.<sup>395</sup> These discussions occurred in social settings such as meals. If Porphyry's Plotinus is representative, instructors asked students to write refutations of other philosophers' writings. Sometimes the teacher put his own ideas on trial; sometimes he pitted students against one another in debate (*VPlot* 15, 18). Students wrote refutations of other students' positions and had to defend them orally.<sup>396</sup> All of these assignments trained philosophical students in the *exercises spirituels* essential to the philosophical life.

The philosopher's training, however, was not merely mental. Bodily and emotional distractions would interrupt their contemplation of the nature of the universe unless eliminated. Philosophers therefore had to master their appetites and emotions as they attended to intellectual and spiritual matters. The continuous attention to philosophy required *askēsis*, self-training of the mind to control the body. Philosophers from Musonius Rufus to Porphyry restricted their students' diets, whether demanding moderation in eating or counseling abstention from certain foods, often meat.<sup>397</sup> Sex as well, although not necessarily condemned, was viewed as a distraction, an act not to be enjoyed but endured and undertaken purely for the sake of reproduction.<sup>398</sup> Wealth was equally a distraction, at best an external object with no intrinsic value.<sup>399</sup> Budding philosophers had to temper their attachment even to life itself: numerous *exercises spirituels* were reminders that death is not to be feared, as either a breakdown of the materials that hold a person together (Epicureans, Stoics) or the occasion for the soul to receive its reward (Platonists, Pythagoreans).<sup>400</sup> The mastery of one's needs purged the desires for food, sex, wealth, and even life to focus mental energy on the place of humanity in the cosmos.

Through such training philosophers attained the highest rank in Greek *paideia*. They were the recognized masters and shining exemplars of the shared Greek-language education that unified the Greek-speaking elites of the Eastern Roman Empire.<sup>401</sup> The training required of philosophers was well-known to Eusebius. In chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6 we will see how deeply Eusebius wove such a philosophical education into his presentation of Christianity.

### C. Consummate Outsiders: Advisors and Religious Experts

Despite the prestige of their position in the eastern Roman Empire, philosophers did not fit seamlessly into Rome's social structures. As Hadot has shown, the point of philosophical practice was a radical rupture between philosophers and ordinary mentalities.<sup>402</sup> Philosophers' *exercises spirituels*—their training of the intellect to master desires and emotions, relentless self-scrutiny, attention to the cosmic balance rather than personal situation, and reversal of conventional hierarchies of values—stripped away conventional worldviews and situated them at a critical distance from their society. The practical demands of philosophical study reinforced this social alienation. Most philosophical students traveled away from their families and home cities to study, allowing their social ties to atrophy and replacing these with ties to outsiders

<sup>395</sup> Fowden 1977: 372; cf. chapter 5, n. 1254 below.

<sup>396</sup> Lambertson 2001: 446f.

<sup>397</sup> The diets of Musonius Rufus and Epictetus: Francis 1995: 11-19; see also Valantasis 1999: 224. Vegetarianism was recommended by Plutarch, Plotinus, and Porphyry: the classic study is Sorabji 1993: 178-184.

<sup>398</sup> Classic discussion in Brown 1988: 21-23, 179-183; cf. Gaca 2003: chs. 2-4, Trapp 2007: 155-165.

<sup>399</sup> Francis 1995: 12f., 17f.; Trapp 2007: *passim*.

<sup>400</sup> Hadot 1995: 93-101; Trapp 2007: 60f.

<sup>401</sup> Brown 1980: 3-6, 1992: ch. 2; Watts 2006: 2-7; Trapp 2007: 245-256, Hahn 2010.

<sup>402</sup> Hadot 1995: 56f.

critical of convention.<sup>403</sup> Professional philosophers were expected to devote themselves fully to their contemplation and teaching and to let the pleasures of the mind, and not of the body or of society, be their aim. They were not to pursue the relationships with connected elites that fused the Empire's civic centers into a single elite network.<sup>404</sup>

Philosophers' job description therefore cast them as consummate outsiders, a perception reflected in numerous Roman descriptions of philosophers. Since the second century BC a strand of Roman discourse, exemplified by Cato the Elder, had criticized philosophers for contributing nothing to Roman society.<sup>405</sup> The Latin-speaking western Roman Empire was generally less respectful of philosophers than the Greek-speaking East.<sup>406</sup> Even in the East, where *philosophia* was usually an honorable practice, Lucian's voluminous satiric writings paint some self-styled philosophers as eccentric, self-absorbed exhibitionists, and the famed rhetorician Aelius Aristides could criticize philosophers for their refusal to participate in normal civic practices.<sup>407</sup> The philosopher was therefore virtually a foreigner wherever he practiced philosophy.<sup>408</sup>

While both philosophers and non-philosophers remained well aware of philosophers' outsider status, distance from the centers of Roman political authority could also become a source of power.<sup>409</sup> Philosophers' lengthy education taught them how the best possible societies and political systems worked.<sup>410</sup> Their education also equipped them with a source of cultural authority independent of political actors' often-corrupt favor. Philosophers gained further independence by avoiding the ties of patronage that would have bound them to civic institutions and benefactors.<sup>411</sup> And their self-discipline prepared them to counter political actors' vulnerability to temporary needs and emotional attractions, as well as to flout the temptations of monetary rewards that elites could use to control them.<sup>412</sup> The ideal philosopher was therefore broadly perceived as an autonomous agent, not beholden to the emperor's power.

Philosophers' independence implied that their profession was well-positioned to utter authoritative social critiques. Several scholars, most prominently Peter Brown, have noted how frequently ancient texts credit philosophers with *parrhēsia*, the freedom to speak their minds frankly.<sup>413</sup> The paradigm for Roman emperorship, Augustus, was believed to have allowed certain trusted philosophers special permission to speak freely (see below).<sup>414</sup> The philosopher's claim to *parrhēsia* enabled Dio Chrysostom, while playing the philosopher, to address major

<sup>403</sup> Watts 2004, 2006: 8-10; see also chapter 5, pp. 180f. below.

<sup>404</sup> See chapter 5, pp. 178f. below.

<sup>405</sup> See in general Griffin 1989: esp. 12-18; on Cato, cf. Gruen 1992: 53, 65-67, 81.

<sup>406</sup> See Hahn 1989: 141f.

<sup>407</sup> Aelius Aristides: see *On the Four*, p. 404 Dindorf (cited by Bowersock 1969: 11; cf. Hahn 1989: 171); Lucian: see e.g. Jones 1986: ch. 3, Francis 1995: ch. 3, König 2006.

<sup>408</sup> See Hahn 1989: 156-171 and 2009: 247-252, noting among other evidence that Dio Chrysostom never claims a philosophical persona in orations addressed to his home city of Prusa: he could only play the philosopher where he was a foreigner.

<sup>409</sup> Unless a philosopher let himself be reduced to a mere parasite of the emperor, as some philosophers (including Plato) did: see Flinterman 2004: 362-364, Junqua 2006 and 2007.

<sup>410</sup> See e.g. Trapp 2007: chs. 6-8 on the philosophical schools of the first and second centuries, and O'Meara 2003: esp. 73-76, 87-91, 95f., 99f., 106f., 124-129, 132f. on third-century (Neoplatonist) political philosophy.

<sup>411</sup> Brown 1980: 9f.

<sup>412</sup> See Hahn 1989: 40-42, Brown 1992: 63f., Lendon 1997: 90-92, Flinterman 2004: 361f., Junqua 2006: 33-41, 2007.

<sup>413</sup> In addition to the previous note, the most extensive study of *parrhēsia* remains Scarpat 2001.

<sup>414</sup> Maier 1985: 42-47, Rawson 1989: 243-246, 253.

foreign cities with (ostensibly) frank advice.<sup>415</sup> The most famous of fictional philosophers, Philostratus' Apollonius of Tyana, speaks boldly to a series of Roman emperors.<sup>416</sup> Philosophers' claim to *parrhēsia* gave them a professional license to stand up to political executives all the way up to the emperor's office.

Philosophers' license to speak freely presented Roman officials with potential dangers. More than any other profession, philosophers could broadcast suppressed or latent criticisms of Roman officials out in the open and so disrupt the impression that all was well in the Empire. As Elizabeth Rawson has put it, "What rhetors and sophists did was, primarily to praise—though that might provide a model for the ruler to follow; what envoys did was to request (and praise too). Philosophers might warn."<sup>417</sup> At times, therefore, philosophers were perceived as posing some threat to emperors' regimes. Nero (ruled 54-68), Vespasian (69-79), and Domitian (81-96) all expelled philosophers from Rome, though the first and the last were never considered model emperors. Senatorial critics of Nero and of the Flavian emperors, meanwhile, leveraged the philosopher's aura of independence and wisdom to delegitimize their emperors.<sup>418</sup>

Along with this danger, however, Roman leaders had an advantage available in the philosopher's authority to oppose them. If criticism from the philosopher carried the weight to call rulers' policies into question, then conversely praise from the philosopher could reinforce the officials' success and legitimacy just as authoritatively. Philosophers thus wielded useful voices for supporting the emperor's position. A number of emperors, therefore, let themselves be seen listening to philosophers and keeping philosophers in their retinue, whether to signal their legitimacy or for the frank practical advice that philosophers' *parrhēsia* could lead them to expect.<sup>419</sup> Augustus included Areus of Alexandria and Athenodorus of Tarsus in his circle of friends (*amici*) and associated with other philosophers as well.<sup>420</sup> Trajan was believed to have honored philosophers, including the philosophical sophist Dio Chrysostom, who addressed his *Kingship Orations* to Trajan.<sup>421</sup> Marcus Aurelius famously internalized the mindset of his philosophical teachers.<sup>422</sup> Gallienus was a friend of Plotinus and was ready to commission Plotinus to found a city in Campania that would be governed according to Plato's laws (Porphyry, *VPlot.* 12).<sup>423</sup> In Eusebius' day, philosophers came to the court of Diocletian to offer trusted advice on contemporary problems, and an anonymous student of Iamblichus had a position at Licinius' court.<sup>424</sup> Philosophers were thus available to serve as advisors and legitimators for Roman rulers.

In the third century philosophers developed an additional field of competence that made them attractive associates for Roman officials, namely becoming experts in maintaining right relations with the divine. This expertise emerged with the third-century ascent of Neoplatonism and

<sup>415</sup> Dio appeals to it frequently in *Orations* 32-34 while addressing cities in the guise of a philosopher (citations in Hahn 1989: 42; see also 165-168); cf. *Oration* 12.9.

<sup>416</sup> See *Apollonius* 6.31 with Flinterman 2004: 362, citing evidence in Flinterman 1995: 162-165. Fictional: see esp. Bowie 1978, Francis 1998, Schirren 2005.

<sup>417</sup> Rawson 1989: 253.

<sup>418</sup> Maier 1989: 179-188, 211-220; Rawson 1989: 247-249; Penwill 2003.

<sup>419</sup> Indeed, the figure of the philosophical advisor went back to the Hellenistic period: Scholz 1997: 107-121, 248f.

<sup>420</sup> Maier 1985: 42-47, Bowie 1982: 42, Rawson 1989: 243-246.

<sup>421</sup> It is telling that in his first *Kingship Oration* Dio fashions himself explicitly as a philosopher (ἡμεῖς... ἄνδρες ἀληταὶ καὶ αὐτουργοὶ τῆς σοφίας, 1.9) before he launches into his advice on how Trajan should rule.

<sup>422</sup> Millar 1977: 498; Rawson 1989: 251f.

<sup>423</sup> See e.g. O'Meara 2003: 14-16, Dillon 2004: 404f., Fowden 2008: 97.

<sup>424</sup> The philosophers at Diocletian's court (often identified as Porphyry and Sossianus Hierocles): Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 5.2; on Iamblichus' student at Licinius' court, see Barnes 1978.

Pythagoreanism.<sup>425</sup> Virtually all philosophers who achieved widespread renown from the second quarter of the third century through Eusebius' day were Neoplatonists, while Pythagoreanism gained popularity after the publication of Philostratus' *Apollonius of Tyana*, a fanciful but captivating narrative about an authoritative Pythagorean sage.<sup>426</sup> By the turn of the fourth century Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives* of Pythagoras recast the famous sixth-century sage as a proto-Platonist ascetic philosopher who maintained a particularly harmonious relationship with divine powers.<sup>427</sup> Porphyry's and Iamblichus' other writings claim the authority to understand how rituals affect the will of the gods and change their behavior.<sup>428</sup> As John O'Meara has shown, their Pythagorean-influenced Neoplatonism focused on divinizing the individual by purging lower desires and attainment of a hierarchy of virtues; attainment of the highest level of virtues, theological virtues, marked a human being's unity with the divine unity underlying apparent multiplicity.<sup>429</sup> Neoplatonists thus held an exceptionally strong claim to competence in preserving human-divine harmony.

A major duty of the Roman emperor, meanwhile, was to ensure that his realm stayed in proper harmony with the gods' will. The emperor had to do this by his own proper interactions with the gods and by exemplifying proper interactions with the gods before his subjects.<sup>430</sup> The emperor was, after all, the *pontifex maximus*, the supreme priest of the Empire.<sup>431</sup> It was the emperor who had the final word on permitting cities or provincial organizations to build temples and establish priesthoods, the institutions that secured their own proper relations with the divine.<sup>432</sup> Temples were dedicated to the worship of emperors as divine beings in much of the Empire—including, as we will see in chapter 4, in Eusebius' home city.<sup>433</sup> And imperial discourse credited the emperor with power akin to gods—which in turn charged the emperor with commensurate responsibility to care for his people.<sup>434</sup> Other civic elites had to imitate the emperor's activity in their role as priests, performing rituals that complemented the emperor's maintenance of divine-human relations.<sup>435</sup> The emperor's role required acting as a mediator between humans and the gods, exemplifying proper divine worship before his subjects while taking care that the Empire maintained its piety toward the gods.

Of course, no emperor could be an expert in every activity—law, war, diplomacy, finance, and managing governors and cities—that required his attention.<sup>436</sup> The emperor therefore had long kept an advisory council (*consilium*) composed of his friends (*amici*), as well as specialists in important subjects.<sup>437</sup> Emperors regularly kept religious experts at their courts to manage their relationships with the gods and thus sustain the divinely-sanctioned peace of the Empire.<sup>438</sup> As

<sup>425</sup> For one explanation as to why, see Boys-Stones 2001.

<sup>426</sup> On the reception of the *Apollonius*, see Hanus 2000: esp. 224-231, Jones 2006: esp. 49-56.

<sup>427</sup> See e.g. Edwards 1993, Clark 2000: 41-48.

<sup>428</sup> See e.g. Dodds 1947, Athanassiadi 1993, Marx-Wolf 2010a.

<sup>429</sup> O'Meara 2003: ch. 10.

<sup>430</sup> See e.g. Ando 2000: 388-398, Knepp 2003.

<sup>431</sup> From Augustus until Gratian renounced the "maximus" (but not the "pontifex") title: see Millar 1977: 359-361, Cameron 2007.

<sup>432</sup> See Millar 1977: 447-455.

<sup>433</sup> Price 1984 remains the classic study,

<sup>434</sup> Ando 2000: 388-398.

<sup>435</sup> See Gordon 1990.

<sup>436</sup> Moreover, since the middle of the third century all emperors had risen through the ranks of the Roman army and therefore lacked a philosophical education.

<sup>437</sup> Millar 1977: 110-122, Eck 2000a, Eck 2006a (=Eck 2010: 355-369).

<sup>438</sup> See e.g. Potter 1994: 158-170.

we saw above, a series of emperors kept philosophers among their *amici*; these philosophers stood in position to dispense needed advice about maintaining proper relations with the divine. Neoplatonist philosophers had built a special claim to this competence; as noted above, some Neoplatonists were already bringing a philosophical perspective to the courts of Diocletian and Licinius when Eusebius was writing the *Ecclesiastical History*.

In the Roman Empire *philosophos* could refer both to professional philosophers and to nonprofessionals who practiced *philosophia*. Philosophers attained their way of life by renouncing typical social conventions and learning to conform their minds to the nature of the cosmos through *exercises spirituels*. The role of the professional philosopher demanded lengthy training in an established metaphysical and ethical system, after which philosophers taught students to enact this way of life; philosophers were also expected to wear a recognizable costume and, if they wrote, to write technical and instructional texts. While philosophy was a respectable and honorable profession, philosophers' self-imposed separation from Roman society cast them as outsiders. Their long education and social alienation bestowed on them a specific brand of authority: while they possessed the credentials to provide ostensibly disinterested warnings to emperors, they could wield the same critical distance to reinforce the emperor's legitimacy.

To be sure, Eusebius' portrayal of Christian leaders acting as philosophers was not an original gambit.<sup>439</sup> The Gospel of Luke and Acts of the Apostles already used topoi from philosophical discourse to represent Jesus and his earliest followers.<sup>440</sup> In the middle of the second century Justin Martyr had fashioned himself as a philosopher, complete with the *philosophon schēma* (Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 1.2). In the later second and early third centuries Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Tatian, The shadowy author known as Hippolytus, and Methodius of Olympus had adopted literary genres and argumentative techniques from Greek philosophy as weapons in debates against "heretics."<sup>441</sup> Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others all taught in educational settings modeled after non-Christian philosophical schools; these authors' writings certainly reflect a scholastic setting with an audience of serious, knowledgeable students, analogous to the writings of Roman philosophers like Epictetus and Plotinus.<sup>442</sup> Christian authors had long employed philosophical discourses to articulate Christian theology.<sup>443</sup> And Christians seem to have joined other Romans in deploying images of philosophers on their sarcophagi.<sup>444</sup> Indeed, Elizabeth Penland has recently argued from the evidence of Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine* that Eusebius' own teacher Pamphilus and, as Pamphilus' heir, Eusebius himself were running a philosophical school in Caesarea.<sup>445</sup>

The philosopher was, however, just one recognizable role that Christians could adopt in their self-presentation. Some Christian elites, perhaps most notably Tertullian, had fashioned

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<sup>439</sup> Urbano forthcoming surveys Christian use of philosophical self-fashioning from the middle of the second century. See also Löhr 2010.

<sup>440</sup> Luke: see e.g. Sterling 2001; Acts: see Alexander 2005: esp. ch. 3.

<sup>441</sup> Justin and Irenaeus: e.g. Le Boulluec 1985; Tatian: Hunt 2003: 98-109; Hippolytus: Mansfeld 1992. Methodius: e.g. König 2008: esp. 102-106.

<sup>442</sup> Justin: e.g. Lampe 2003: 272-284, Snyder 2007, Georges 2012, Ulrich 2012; Clement: van den Hoek 1997; Origen: see esp. Scholten 1995, Grafton and Williams 2006: ch. 1.

<sup>443</sup> See e.g. Dihle 2002.

<sup>444</sup> See Huskinson 2008: 288-292.

<sup>445</sup> Penland 2010, 2011. Friendly as Penland's argument is for this study, I will not assume it as proven.

themselves as sophistic orators.<sup>446</sup> Others had taken on the role of prophet.<sup>447</sup> And yet others acted as conventional imperial elites who participated in the politics of their respective cities or even of the Empire.<sup>448</sup> Eusebius had genres available for casting Christians as a whole in any of these roles.<sup>449</sup> His combination of philosophical biography and national history was not an inevitable choice for writing a Christian history.<sup>450</sup> That he chose to do so must therefore reflect a Eusebian literary agenda, one designed to frame the church's identity within the imagined world of Greek philosophy, a world dominated previously by pagan philosophers.

### Summary and Conclusions

Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* was unusual and innovative among ancient histories, with its successions of nonstate officials, frequent verbatim quotations, extensive literary history, avoidance of set-piece orations, and static narrative arc. Eusebius must have composed this *History* for educated Greek-speaking Romans. Having undergone *paideia*, a thorough immersion in the discourses of classic Greek texts, these readers expected newly published texts to display the same level of culture and participate in the same discourses. To articulate how Eusebius' *History* presented the church for his educated audiences, I have attempted to identify the *History*'s genre(s). Here, "genre" is a literary schema involving form, content, and rhetoric that is recognizable within a community. Genres can change as new texts combine and modulate previous schemas. This genre theory is also socially relevant, in that each genre creates a world by implicating a new text with information that audiences would associate with that genre. By combining genres recognizable to his elite audiences, Eusebius' *History* created a new genre, designed to present a new world that would glorify an imagined church of the past.

To interpret the *History*'s imagined world, I showed that the *History* evokes Greek national histories by crediting the church with a succession of leading officials, cultural leaders, rebels (the "heretics"), and wars (the persecutions and the Jewish wars). Yet Greek national history did not prefigure Eusebius' five historiographical innovations listed above. I have therefore taken these features as genre cues—the formal, thematic, and rhetorical signals associated with specific genres. While many scholars have traced Eusebius' originality to his Jewish and Christian reading, no historical narrative from the Jewish and Christian tradition—the Hebrew Bible, the Acts of the Apostles, or Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*—account for these five cues. But the fashionable third- and early-fourth century genre of philosophical biography features all five. Therefore, Eusebius blended the genres of national history and philosophical biography to construct his vision of the Christian past.

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<sup>446</sup> On Tertullian, see Barnes 1971: ch. 14, and note how Paul of Samosata as portrayed (negatively) as a sophist in Eusebius' *History* (7.30.7-16; see Burrus 1989); but Eusebius also presents Paul's oratorical nemesis, Malchion, as a heroic sophist (7.29.2).

<sup>447</sup> Most famously the so-called Montanists as well as Tertullian: see Trevett 1996.

<sup>448</sup> E.g. the Roman senator Marinus of Caesarea, about whom Eusebius recounts two memorable deeds (*HE* 7.15f.).

<sup>449</sup> For sophists and orators, admittedly the appropriate genre, sophistic biography, was quite similar to philosophical biography, as exemplified by Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (see n. 308 above). Yet Eusebius' Christians resemble philosophers far more closely than sophists: the term *sophistēs* and cognates appear just three times in the *History*, two of them negatively (4.16.7, 7.29.2, 7.30.9). Prophets: Eusebius had models in narratives about prophets in the Hebrew Bible as well as a tradition of Greek sacred history (see Higbie 2003, Dillery 2005). Civic elites: numerous models of local history were available (Jacoby, 1949, Clarke 2008).

<sup>450</sup> *Pace* Barnes 1981: 128.

The assimilation of the church with philosophers brought the church into comparison with the role that philosophers played in the Roman Empire. For Romans, *philosophia* denoted the practice of certain *exercises spirituels* that separated their practitioners from convention and focused the mind on the nature of the cosmos and the best, not the conventional, ways to lead one's life within it. *Philosophoi*, the practitioners of these exercises, could be either professional philosophers who taught philosophical students and usually wrote philosophical texts and wore clothing associated with the profession, or else other interested elites who had the leisure and financial means to afford a philosophical education; professional *philosophoi*, the center of the category of *philosophoi*, devoted their lives to teaching others their school's *exercises spirituels*. This education involved studying with a professional philosopher through lectures, intimate conversation, the reading and writing of philosophical works, and ascetic self-disciplining. Philosophers' break with social convention and physical relocation for studies isolated them from the rest of Roman society. But their combination of thorough education and social distance gave them in return an authoritative voice within Roman society. Philosophers therefore had a special claim to frank speech (*parrhēsia*) that qualified them to advise emperors and other Roman officials. And in the third and early fourth centuries, philosophers were fashioning themselves increasingly as experts in discerning the will of the divine, making themselves useful to Roman officials who needed to maintain the Empire's divine favor.

This chapter has argued that in composing the *History* Eusebius did not limit himself to Christian discourse. He selected his genres carefully from the variety of models available in Greek historiography. Christian readers who, like Eusebius, had progressed in *paideia* were in a position to recognize the comparison between Christian leaders and Greek philosophers and consider the world that Eusebius was fashioning for Christian. The *History*, written for such educated readers, rewarded them with a comprehensive vision of a church dressed, as it were, in the *philosophon schēma*.

The rest of this study therefore argues that, in the world imagined by Eusebius, Christians played the same role that philosophers played in the Roman Empire. The *History*'s other genre, national history, generalized the attribution of the philosopher's role to all Christian leaders portrayed in the *History*. In short, Eusebius' church was a nation of philosophers.<sup>451</sup> The next two chapters will aim therefore to explicate this world and so to decipher Eusebius' agenda in designing such an innovative *History*.

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<sup>451</sup> To echo that standard loose translation of a phrase (φιλόσοφοι τὸ γένος ὄντες) applied to the Jews by Theophrastus (as quoted in Porphyry, *Abst* 2.26, cited e.g. in Gruen 2011: 310). Aaron Johnson reminded me of this phrase in connection with the *Ecclesiastical History*.



## Chapter 2

### How Eusebius Used Philosophical Biography: Homogeneity, Universality, Intellectual Prowess

Chapter 1 demonstrated that Eusebius' originality as a historian stemmed from his insertion of features of biographies of philosophers into a national history of the church. The *Ecclesiastical History*'s successions of the church's leaders, portrayal of "heretics" as rebels, and description of Jews and persecutors as threatening enemies constructed the church as a nation. At the same time, the *History*'s chronology by non-state officials, extensive use of quotation, stress on literary history, avoidance of inserted speeches, and static narrative arc evoked biographies of philosophers. Eusebius thus portrayed the church as a nation of philosophers. This literary strategy brought the church into comparison with the professional philosophers of the Roman Empire.

This chapter aims to interpret more explicitly the world in which Eusebius' philosophical biographies set the church. The identification of a text's genres only provides the beginning of an interpretation. As I argued in chapter 1 (pp. 33-36), genres are not static prescriptions that predetermine the structure, content, and tone of a text, but rather fluid, culturally contingent schemas of literary form, content, and rhetoric that authors can combine, subordinate, parody, or otherwise modulate. New texts invite readers to compare the information communicated through genres with information from texts they associate with these genres.<sup>452</sup> Eusebius' use of philosophical genre, therefore, does not unequivocally determine the character of his imagined church. Simply identifying the *History*'s genres does not illuminate the world that Eusebius created in the *History*.<sup>453</sup>

Indeed, the examples of philosophical biography from Eusebius' time noted in chapter 1 exhibit a variety of potential uses to which Greek authors could put a genre. Again, the following five philosophical biographies, presented in rough chronological order, survive from the third and early fourth centuries:<sup>454</sup>

- (a) Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions of the Famous Philosophers* (written probably in the mid-third century);
- (b) Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (written in the 240s);<sup>455</sup>
- (c) Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* (written between 270 and 305, part of Porphyry's lost *Philosophical History*);
- (d) Porphyry of Tyre's *On the Life of Plotinus* (written in 302); and
- (e) Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* (written in the later third or early fourth century).

Beyond their shared focus on the character of philosophers (or, in Philostratus' case, practitioners of a profession related to philosophy), these biographies create a variety of worlds for their philosophers to inhabit.

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<sup>452</sup> See Frow 2006: esp. ch. 4.

<sup>453</sup> Genres as creating worlds: see pp. 38-40 above.

<sup>454</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 51f. above for references on the dates of these texts.

<sup>455</sup> See chapter 1, p. 51 with n. 308 on why I have included Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* even though properly its subject is sophists, not philosophers.

The diversity of this genre manifests itself in the relative homogeneity or diversity of the philosophers being described. Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions* highlight philosophical variety: Diogenes, in Tomas Hägg's words, is "a storehouse of material from lost biographical and doxographical works" who "is content to reproduce what the tradition offers, leaving the gaps wide open"; he thus produced "a philosophical gallery."<sup>456</sup> Diogenes' reproduction of a variety of sources renders the *Lives and Opinions* quite heterogeneous.<sup>457</sup> By contrast, Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* homogenizes 58 sophists into what Hägg calls "a 'basic sameness': 'Characterization of The Sophist [*sic*] is achieved through multiple portraits of the different instantiations of the type."<sup>458</sup> Diogenes Laertius and Philostratus show that Eusebius could have used collective biography to either diversify a group or mold a homogeneous picture of it.

The genre could also portray its subjects as closely tied to local circumstances, or as universal heroes who transcended parochial settings. Philostratus' and Diogenes' subjects both remain closely bound to local contexts.<sup>459</sup> Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives of Pythagoras*, by contrast, portray their hero as amalgamating wisdom from a range of cultures rather than as the product of a single locality.<sup>460</sup> At the opening of his *Life of Plotinus* Porphyry downplays locality even more pointedly:

Plotinus, who was a philosopher in our times, seemed ashamed of being in a body. Due to this attitude he could never bear to tell of his race or his parents or his native country.<sup>461</sup>

Porphyry's declaration that Plotinus refused to divulge his race (*genous*), parentage, or homeland plays on readers' expectation of learning Plotinus' fatherland at the start of the *Life*; he even hated being limited by his body.<sup>462</sup> Such an opening redirected readers' attention away from earthly matters toward the metaphysical issues that Plotinus pursued and the higher levels of reality, up to the transcendent One, in which Porphyry's Plotinus operated. Like Diogenes and Philostratus, Eusebius' philosophical biographies could have accented his Christians' local color; or like Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives*, the *History* could have portrayed its subjects as transcending parochialism.

Finally, while we would expect that philosophers had to be outstanding exemplars of their profession in order to merit a biography, not all philosophical biographies took a positive stance toward their subjects. For his *Life of Pythagoras*, for example, Porphyry takes a neutral tone: in Hägg's words, he "is content to juxtapose the accounts of many different sources," and "prefers dull historical or doctrinal facts to descriptive detail...his aim being documentary and antiquarian."<sup>463</sup> Some *reliquiae* of Porphyry's *Philosophical History*, of which the surviving *Life of Pythagoras* is an excerpt, even emphasize Socrates' youthful indiscretions, casting the great

<sup>456</sup> Hägg 2012: 305, 317f.; see also 316.

<sup>457</sup> "His close reliance on earlier Lives [*sic*] and collections makes rather futile any attempt at defining a typical Laertian Life" pronounces Hägg 2012: 306.

<sup>458</sup> Hägg 2012: 350.

<sup>459</sup> See Hägg 2012: 311, 313, 344f.

<sup>460</sup> See esp. Clark 2000.

<sup>461</sup> Πλωτίνος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς φιλόσοφος ἔωκει μὲν αἰσχυνομένῳ ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἶη. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης διαθέσεως οὔτε περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ διηγεῖσθαι ἠνείχετο οὔτε περὶ τῶν γονέων οὔτε περὶ τῆς πατρίδος (*VPlot* 1, trans. Armstrong, modified).

<sup>462</sup> As Hägg 2012: 368f. notes; cf. Cox 1983: 107-112, Goulet 1992: 83f., 2001: 227f.; Edwards 1993a, 2000: 55.

<sup>463</sup> Hägg 2012: 366f. Diogenes Laertius' tone also remains neutral for the most part.

philosopher in an unfavorable light, as prone to anger, insulting, violent, and polygamous.<sup>464</sup> Such a “philosopher” would hardly conform to Roman expectations that philosophers be self-controlled, contemplative, and enact in their lives the virtues that they contemplated. While we would expect that Eusebius would use philosophical biography to portray Christians positively, he could have used the flexibility of the genre for other purposes.

Since philosophical biographers could portray their subjects in a variety of ways, Eusebius’ readers would not necessarily expect that the genre would endow his church with a foreordained character. This chapter therefore probes what Eusebius did with the philosophical biography that he incorporated into his *History*. A close reading of how Eusebius used the genre will become a cipher for the particular qualities that Eusebius wanted his readers to see in the *History*’s church. Did Eusebius make his Christians diverse or homogeneous? Were his Christians inextricably bound to particular places or was the church a universal institution? Were his biographies uniformly encomiastic?

To answer these questions, this chapter studies the categories of biographical information with which Eusebius represents the Christians. The categories through which which biographers present information about their subjects do much of the work in transmitting their subjects’ character.<sup>465</sup> A fitting model of studying categories of information is Andrew Wallace-Hadrill’s classic study of the early second-century Latin biographer Suetonius. Wallace-Hadrill found that, in representing the first twelve Roman emperors in his *Caesars*, Suetonius concentrated on four Roman elite virtues along with their corresponding vices: clemency (with cruelty), civility (with pride), liberality (with greed), and restraint (with luxury and lust). Emperors’ displays of these qualities, Wallace-Hadrill shows, were central to conceptions of the Roman emperor accepted among Suetonius’ elite contemporaries.<sup>466</sup> Out of all of his material about the emperors, Suetonius thus emphasized the categories of information that readers were especially interested in; entertaining portraits of Roman emperors resulted.

As with Wallace-Hadrill’s work on Suetonius, a study of Eusebius’ categories of biographical information should illuminate the kind of church he wanted to project through his biographies. As I argued in chapter 1, Eusebius’ cues toward the genre of philosophical biography invited readers to compare his portraits of Christian leaders with the subjects of other philosophical biographies they had read. Therefore, the best context in which to analyze Eusebius’ categories of information is in comparison with the five philosophical biographies from the recent past (see above). Eight categories of information appear in most philosophical biographies from the third and early fourth centuries:

- (1) geographical location,
- (2) familial relationships,
- (3) manner of death,
- (4) catalogues of writings,
- (5) exposition of doctrines,
- (6) revealing anecdotes,
- (7) educational relationships,

<sup>464</sup> *Philosophical History* F211-215 Smith; cf. chapter 6, p. 220 below. Porphyry’s source, the Hellenistic biographer Aristoxenus, was known for his negative portrayal of Socrates: see e.g. Hägg 2012: 73-76.

<sup>465</sup> Whether a biographer presented accurate or false information on an individual is beside the point.

<sup>466</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1983: ch. 7.

(8) chronological notices.<sup>467</sup>

The chapter compares the *History*'s use of these categories with the use of the five third- and early fourth-century philosophical biographies listed above. We will see that Eusebius foregrounds and backgrounds, emphasizes and obscures, adjusts and echoes these categories.

If Eusebius' categories of biographical information can illuminate his reimagining of the church, where in the *History* should we look for them? This is an important question because not all of the *History* is equally biographical: as I argued in chapter 1, the *History* mingles philosophical biography with national history. Many passages in the *History* follow the conventions of national history and not those of philosophical biography.<sup>468</sup> It will be most feasible and productive to focus on the passages of the *History* that are the most biographical—that is, passages centered on particular individuals.

This chapter therefore studies the biographies that are embedded in the *History*.<sup>469</sup> The first section of this chapter describes criteria for inclusion in a database of the *History*'s biographies, finding that the *History* includes biographies of 80 individuals; a catalogue of Eusebius' biographies appears as Appendix 3 below and forms the evidentiary base for this chapter.<sup>470</sup> Eusebius devotes biographies to “orthodox” Christians, “heretics,” and two Jews (Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus).<sup>471</sup> All of these biographies, whether of Christians or others, contribute to Eusebius' portrait of the church, the “heretics” and Jews by highlighting relations between “orthodox” Christians and outsiders. Later in this chapter (pp. 96-102) I will analyze passages from outside the biographies, but only because, as we will see, Eusebius decided to restructure two categories of biographical information by placing them outside of his most biographical passages.

Using the database of biographies as its informational base, the chapter then considers Eusebius' use of the eight categories of information that he reports. Eusebius either removes or backgrounds subjects' geographical location, familial relationships, and death narratives. Where in most previous biographies these categories of information had sharpened subjects' individuality, Eusebius either ignores them or selects information that blurs his subjects' distinctiveness, such as by noting the locations almost exclusively of Christians active in the most important cities of the Empire and by emphasizing the deaths of martyrs and no other Christians. The elimination of local color, familial distinctions, and unique death stories constructs a homogeneous and universal church.

Meanwhile, compared to previous philosophical biographies Eusebius retained or enhanced catalogues of literary works, exposition of doctrines, and revealing anecdotes. Eusebius' descriptions of literary works and some of his anecdotes constructed the church as an institution

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<sup>467</sup> These categories represent a simplification of Frickenschmidt's (1997: 210-350) “topoi” from all ancient biography; they are not a comprehensive typology for all categories of information in philosophical biography.

<sup>468</sup> The *History*'s narratives of events, such as the two Jewish revolts (3.5-8, 4.2, 4.6), Christian controversies (e.g. 5.23-25), collective martyr narratives (5.1f., 6.41f., 7.12, 8.6-12; see chapter 3 below), and monarchs' activities relevant to the church (e.g. 3.33, 4.9, virtually all of 9, 10.5-7; cf. esp. chapter 5, pp. 199-204 below) clearly do not focus on a single individual, while most notices of emperors' or bishops' successions offer mere names (see pp. 96-102 below).

<sup>469</sup> The brevity of most of Eusebius' biographies does not constitute an objection to the previous chapter's argument that Eusebius used the genre of philosophical biography. Numerous *Lives* of Diogenes Laertius (*VSEP* 2.1f., 2.105, 2.121-125, 6.32-34, 8.78, 8.84f., 9.24) and Philostratus (*VS* 484, 486, 497, 576f., 596f.) are also quite brief.

<sup>470</sup> Eusebius embeds philosophical biographies in to the *Gospel Preparation* as well (*PE* 7.7.1, 7.8, 7.14, 8.1.1, 10.1.1; see Johnson 2004a, 2006a: 142-149).

<sup>471</sup> No emperor or other Roman official—not even Licinius Constantine—appears in a biography in the *History*.

of sharp intellectuals; other anecdotes, as well as disparaging descriptions of their doctrines, emphasized the church's rejection of evil "heretics." These categories of information reinforce Eusebius' model of the church as a homogeneous institution of formidable intellectuals.

Finally, Eusebius restructures two categories of information from philosophical biography: educational relationships and chronological notices. Rather than following biographical convention and reporting education and chronology solely within biographies, the *History* transposes them to succession notices of the bishops of major Roman cities. These notices not only foreground Christian educational practices, but also associate the bishops with the Roman emperors Eusebius describes in similar notices, suggesting that Christian leaders deserved comparison not only with philosophers, but also with Roman political leaders.

The chapter concludes that Eusebius' systematic removal, retention, and modification of eight common categories of information from philosophical biographies established a formula for the qualities of a Christian hero and a composite model of an ideal church. The formula, I argue, constructed a universal, homogeneous, and intellectually formidable Christian elite.

### 1. Biographies Embedded in Eusebius' *History*

The most concentrated units of philosophical biography in the *History*, and therefore the textual units on which this chapter will focus, are the biographies embedded into the *History*.<sup>472</sup> When I use the term "biography" in this chapter, I mean any passage (or series of sections) within a larger text that summarizes the achievements or manner of life of an individual.<sup>473</sup> As textual units, I distinguish biographies from narratives. Biographies foreground and follow an individual without concern for connections between events, whereas narratives describe individual characters only in passing through an event in which the characters participate. Biographies inform readers about individuals for their own sake, and not to clarify that individual's role within an event or series of events. On the other hand, biographies can also include within them anecdotal narratives that illustrate traits or describe the accomplishments of a character.<sup>474</sup> Biographies may incorporate multiple voices, including quotations, allusions, paraphrases, and echoes from previous authors. Their length may be as short as a couple of clauses, or as long as a book of the *History*.<sup>475</sup> In short, a biography is a "life" inserted into a larger text—in the case of the *Ecclesiastical History*, a text structured as a narrative.<sup>476</sup>

I have compiled a database of biographies in the *History* that is presented as Appendix 3 below. I have selected two criteria for including a character in the database:

<sup>472</sup> In DeVore forthcoming b I called these units "profiles"; I have switched terms for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>473</sup> This narrator's voice is usually Eusebius', but can be one of his sources' (e.g. 3.28, 4.14). In addition to its biographies, the *History* occasionally summarizes the achievements or manner of life of collective groups (2.17, 3.27, 6.38). Some biographies of "heretics" also define the character of an individual "heretic" by describing that individual's followers (e.g. 2.13.6f., 4.7.9-14, 4.29.5; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7.38-160, which describes Stoic doctrines in general within the *Life* of Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism). I limit the current chapter to individual biographies because Eusebius usually focuses on individuals when describing the manner of both Christians' and "heretics'" lives and demonstrably uses categories of data from a genre that treats individuals.

<sup>474</sup> I discuss narratives embedded in Eusebius' biographies below (pp. 90-94) as "anecdotes."

<sup>475</sup> So Irenaeus', Origen's and Dionysius of Alexandria's biographies dominate (but do not monopolize) books 5, 6, and 7. The so-called "Life of Origen" has been the subject of many a study. Among the best and most important are Grant 1975b, Cox 1983: ch. 4, Gärtner and Gärtner 2003, Castagno, ed., 2004, Corke-Webster 2013. Eusebius' portrayals of Irenaeus and Dionysius have not drawn nearly so much attention.

<sup>476</sup> See DeVore forthcoming a for a brief discussion of how synchronic and diachronic passages complement each other in the *History*.

(1) The individual described in a biography must be the subject of the title of the chapter(s) that describe(s) them.<sup>477</sup> Being the (or a) subject of a chapter indicates Eusebius' conscious reservation of a passage in the *History* for a specific individual, and an invitation to read about that individual in a specific chapter.<sup>478</sup>

(2) Biographies must be organized as a synchronic description of a character. In other words, a biography must be framed as a series of data concerning a character that does not follow a tightly unified causal narrative that unfolds over time. Characters who participate in a narrated event or a chain of events but are never the center of a synchronic description are not counted as biographical subjects.<sup>479</sup> Biographies can, on the other hand, include

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<sup>477</sup> Eusebius himself composed the *History's* chapter titles, as Schwartz 1999: CLIf. argued. The chapters are therefore a reliable index of Eusebius' intentions in guiding his audience's acquisition of information.

<sup>478</sup> Biographical chapters need not denote the individuals by name: several chapter titles indicate a focus "On Heretics who were Known at that Time" or "On Ecclesiastical Writers" (e.g. 4.7, 4.11, 5.27, 6.20, 7.32); even though these titles do not specify individual "heretics" or writers by name, the titles indicate a focus on these individuals. Chapters that name the bishops of major cities as part of a line of succession (e.g. 2.24, 3.13f.) are excluded; see criterion (2) with the next note.

Some chapter titles, moreover, name a character but include virtually no description of that character: e.g. 6.18 is entitled "On Ambrose," yet the chapter merely names Ambrose as Origen's convert to "orthodox" Christianity before outlining Origen's curriculum.

Finally, chapters that name an individual but clearly subordinate the character of that individual to an event in which that individual participates are excluded. For example, 6.44, where both content and chapter title, "Dionysius' Narrative about Serapion," clearly subordinates Serapion to the event that he experiences.

This criterion also excludes characters who are described as individuals, but to whom Eusebius does not devote a nonnarrative chapter. One example is Malchion, the presbyter of Antioch who bests Paul of Samosata in a theological debate. Although he describes Malchion at some length (7.29.2; cf. e.g. 6.19.10), Eusebius does not devote a separate chapter to him but subordinates him to a larger narrative, the removal of Paul of Samosata from the episcopacy of Antioch (7.27-30). Eusebius therefore does not seem to have intended to present Malchion as an individual.

<sup>479</sup> The criterion of synchronic description excludes two kinds of recurrent characters in the *History*, even when such characters are alluded to in chapter titles. First, most martyrs in the *History* are excluded. Eusebius only describes the character of most of the *History's* martyrs in the course of narrating their martyrdoms. Martyr narratives thus subordinate the character of the martyr to the event of the martyrdom. For example, Apollonius of Rome (5.21) and Potimiaena of Alexandria (6.5), though they are mentioned in chapter titles and are each described in some detail, are excluded from the database because each appears only in a martyr narrative: the characterization of the individual enhances Eusebius' portrayal of martyrdom, not his series of illustrious Christians (cf. *HE* 1.1.1f., where Eusebius distinguishes martyrs from clerics and "those who engaged with the Logos"). Polycarp, by contrast, is included in the database because 4.14 characterizes him independently of his martyr narrative (4.15); his martyrdom is the conclusion of a longer biography, though the martyrdom occupies the most space within that biography.

Second, bishops named as part of a continuous ecclesiastical succession, but not described in any further detail, are excluded. Eusebius' many notices of episcopal succession do not count as "descriptive, synchronic passages," since these notices, strewn throughout the *Ecclesiastical History*, carry forward the Eusebian narrative of the *diadochai* of the apostles (see also pp. 96-99 below and chapter 5, p. 190 below). However, any chapter that devotes further synchronic description to a bishop than the mere notice of his holding an episcopal seat (e.g. 3.15f., 3.38 on Clement of Rome; 5.19, 5.22, 6.12 on Serapion of Antioch; 6.11, 6.39.2f. on Alexander of Jerusalem) is considered a biography.

Together these two criteria exclude bishops whose only characterization as individuals come in the course of their being martyred. Most conspicuously, Ignatius of Antioch is excluded because he is not described apart from his succession as bishop of Antioch (3.22) and Eusebius' narrative of his martyrdom (3.36; cf. 3.38.1). Similarly excluded are Telesphorus of Rome (4.5.5, 4.10) and Pothinus of Lyons (5.1.29-31, 5.5.8).

narratives, but these narratives must be framed around description of an individual for a unit to count as a biography.<sup>480</sup>

These two criteria apply to passages that describe 80 individuals in the *History*. I have organized the database of these individuals according to characters, and not according to the passages in which they are described, because I expect readers to look up the individual characters more often than passages. The database also notes each character's religious identity according to Eusebius' taxonomy of identities (whether "orthodox," "heretical" or Jewish),<sup>481</sup> since, as we will see, Eusebius emphasizes different traits for "orthodox" Christians than for "heretics."<sup>482</sup>

Biographies in the database may overlap with or encompass other biographies. For example, Eusebius' biography of Origen, occupying much of book 6, encompasses shorter biographies of Origen's students and a "heretic" whose works Origen uses.<sup>483</sup> The shorter biographies enrich Origen's biography by describing the company that Origen kept.<sup>484</sup> Eusebius also sometimes presents joint biographies as a *variatio*.<sup>485</sup> Such joint biographies focus just as much on descriptions of individuals as independent biographies, and so illuminate Eusebius' use of philosophical biography.

The database of biographies constitutes this chapter's evidence for the categories of information that Eusebius used to depict his Christians, although, as we will see, Eusebius reserved some non-biographical sections for biographical information. Passages from the *History* used as evidence in this chapter come exclusively from the biographies in the database. The following sections discuss Eusebius' omission, inclusion, and modification of the eight categories of biographical information noted above. They compare how the *History*'s biographies present this information to the third- and fourth-century philosophical biographies noted at the beginning of this chapter—Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions*, Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* and *Life of Pythagoras*, and Iamblichus' *On the*

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<sup>480</sup> A number of Eusebius' narratives (e.g. 7.15f. on Astyrius of Caesarea) seem designed to prolong the memory of an individual involved in the narrative, and not the event that is narrated. I include such passages among Eusebius' biographies because description of the individual frames the diachronic narrative and so subordinates the event to the memory of the individual.

<sup>481</sup> Under my criteria no pagan is given a biography: every synchronic description of a pagan (e.g. 2.25.1f., 3.17, 8.13.12-14) is subordinated to a longer narrative.

<sup>482</sup> Eusebius describes the two Jews (Philo and Josephus) in his biographies similarly as he describes Christians (see DeVore forthcoming b). The occasional ambiguity in "orthodoxy" (e.g. for Rhodon: see n. 600 below) and characters' change of ethno-religious identity (e.g. for Tatian) are noted in the database.

<sup>483</sup> See e.g. 6.3, 6.17, 6.19.13f.

<sup>484</sup> On the other hand, a number of characters who receive a biography are also described, or participate in events that are narrated, outside of their biography. Such "embedded biographies" of characters who receive independent biographies are included in the database because Eusebius obviously intended to describe the individuals, and excluded when I cannot conclude that he did (cf. n. 478 above on Malchion). Justin, for example, is biographed in four different chapters, at 4.8.3-7, 4.12, 4.16, and 4.18. Each of these sections would constitute a biography on its own, since, as we will see below, a number of different character traits and accomplishments could fill out the content of biography. But at 4.11.8f., Justin also appears in a chapter entitled, "On the Heresiarchs in Their Times," where Eusebius describes Justin's "engagement with sacred Logos in the garb of the philosopher and competing for the faith with written texts" (4.11.8) and notes that Justin wrote a polemic *Against Marcion*. Eusebius then resumes the subject of the chapter by quoting from this polemic (4.11.9). Since this passage further characterizes an individual whom, as his chapter titles indicate, Eusebius intended to describe as an individual, it is included among that passages about Justin's biography.

<sup>485</sup> E.g. 2.1, 2.13f., 3.1, 3.3, 4.3, 4.26f., 5.27, 6.20. Cf. Perrone 2007: 327-333 on Eusebius' stylistic *variatio*.

*Pythagorean Life*. Eusebius' calibration of such biographies' categories of information shaped the character of the *History*'s church.

## 2. Information that Eusebius Downplays

### A. Locations of Birth and of Activity

In the Greek world, one's identity revolved heavily around which city one hailed from.<sup>486</sup> Accordingly, philosophical biographers typically named the fatherland of their subjects at the beginning of their biographies. They also noted relocations of each individual, whether to be educated or to take up an occupation. These notices enabled readers to associate each biographical subject with what they knew of their cities,<sup>487</sup> locating each featured individual within their mental maps. Notices of home cities brushed each biography with a stroke of local color.

Diogenes Laertius, for example, begins his biographies by noting the home city of each Greek philosopher; he also notes philosophers' relocations frequently and even relates disputes among different cities claiming this or that philosopher as their own.<sup>488</sup> Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* likewise state their subjects' cities at the beginning of each biography,<sup>489</sup> and also report sophists' relocations and places of death.<sup>490</sup> Both Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives of Pythagoras* report Pythagoras' travels and locations of activity consistently.<sup>491</sup> Even in his *Life of Plotinus*, after the famous opening anecdote that epitomizes Plotinus' transcendence of mere physical realities (see above), Porphyry reverts to convention and locates Plotinus in specific places.<sup>492</sup>

Eusebius, by contrast, does not always record the locations where individuals in his biographies were active, though he does include this information most of the time.<sup>493</sup> Forty-nine out of eighty, or 61.3%, of individuals in biographies are said to be active in a specific location. Of course, when a Christian is a bishop or another cleric, Eusebius must record his place of activity, as the episcopal office usually involved administering a territory centered around a city. For biographies of non-clerical individuals, Eusebius presents his subjects' places of activity less

<sup>486</sup> "I am a Jewish man, from Tarsus in Cilicia, not a citizen of some undistinguished city." So Paul of Tarsus introduces himself to the Roman centurion (Acts 21.39).

<sup>487</sup> I use the term "location" and not "city" to denote this category because sometimes Eusebius reports the region and not the city of individuals' activity: see 4.11.11 with 4.11.2, 4.30.1, 5.13.1.

<sup>488</sup> E.g. *VSEP* 1.22, 6.84, 7.179, 8.1.

<sup>489</sup> If not already in the name of the sophist (Gorgius of Leontini, Dio of Prusa, etc.), then in the first sentences (e.g. *VS* 489, 570, 581)

<sup>490</sup> See e.g. Rife 2009 on Philostratus' research on places of sophists' deaths.

<sup>491</sup> *VPyth* 1, 6f., 9, 11f., 15-18, 56f.; *PythV* 2-8.

<sup>492</sup> Chapter 2 of the *Plotinus* places Plotinus' death in Campania, and chapter 3 locates him at the Alexandrian philosophical school of Ammonius Saccas, before following him on Gordian II's failed invasion of Sassanian Persia and back to Antioch and finally Rome. Cf. Frickenschmidt 1997: 246-248, Edwards 2000: 55.

<sup>493</sup> For example, he does not note in Tatian's biography that Tatian was active in Rome (4.29), though other passages make it clear that Eusebius knew this (4.16.7-9, 5.13.1). Likewise, Tatian's teacher Justin Martyr is only depicted as active in Rome through his own quotations, which assume knowledge about the Roman church and which imply his presence at events in Rome (4.11.9f. with 4.11.2, 4.11.11, 4.16.5, 4.17).



than half of the time (in twenty-one out of fifty-two non-clerical biographies, or 40.4% of his biographies, of individuals not identified primarily by their ecclesiastical office).<sup>494</sup>

Why does Eusebius note the location of some subjects' activity and not of others'? The prestige of the cities where Christians were active probably motivated Eusebius' downplaying of most locations. Whereas previous intellectual biographers included a variety of cities as the places' of intellectuals' activity, most locations where Eusebius situates his characters' activity were major cities in the Roman Empire. Rome was crucial, hosting a dozen Eusebian characters.<sup>495</sup> Alexandria, the empire's second-most-prestigious city, boasts another seven.<sup>496</sup> Eusebius' own city, Caesarea Maritima is also noted as the location of several individuals; as we will see in chapter 4 below, Caesarea was an important metropolis.<sup>497</sup> Eusebius tends to concentrate famous Christians in especially significant cities of the Roman Empire, insinuating that these Christians were central figures in important urban locations.

Less important for Eusebius were places of origin: only nine out of fifty-two biographies of non-clerics (17.3%) name their subjects' home city or homeland.<sup>498</sup> In addition, while a reader might normally assume that most bishops presided in their home cities, not once does Eusebius specify the fatherland of any individual identified primarily by his clerical status.<sup>499</sup> Obviously Eusebius found his biographical subjects' home cities to be of little significance.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> Non-clerical biographies identifying a location of activity: 2.1.10, 2.4.2; 2.13.3; 2.14.5; 2.15.2-2.16; 2.25.5; 3.9.2; 3.31.3-5; 4.7.3; 4.10 (two individuals); 4.11.1f., 4.11.7f., 11; 4.22.1 (Hegesippus visits Rome for an extended period of time and therefore is considered active there); 4.30.1; 5.10.4; 5.11.1; 5.13.8, 6.1-6.39.4 (Origen's), 6.3.2-6.35 (Heraclas'), 6.20.3; 6.31.2, 6.43, 7.17. Non-clerical biographies identifying no location of activity: 3.4.6f., 3.26, 3.28, 3.29, 4.3 (2 biographies), 4.7.3-14 (3 biographies), 4.25, 4.28, 4.29 (cf. 5.13.8), 5.15, 5.27 (5 biographies), 5.28, 6.7, 6.17, 6.22, 6.31.2 (Julius Africanus visits Heraclas in Alexandria, though the "home base" of his activity goes unspecified), 7.31. I include Origen and Heraclas as two of the individuals "not identified primarily by [his] ecclesiastical office" because Origen's ascension to the presbyterate (6.23) and Heraclas' to the episcopate (6.29.5) come late in their respective, lengthy biographies. Likewise, the apostles Peter, Paul, their agent Mark, and John are not to be identified by their ecclesiastical offices, as each moves between multiple sites of activity.

<sup>495</sup> Simon Magus, the apostle Peter, Mark the Evangelist, Paul the Apostle, Flavius Josephus, Hegesippus, Justin, Cerdo, Valentinus, Marcion, Gaius, and Novatus: 2.13.3; 2.14.5; 2.15; 2.25.5; 3.9.2; 4.10-4.11.2, 7f., 11; 4.22.1; 6.20.3; 6.43.

<sup>496</sup> Philo, Mark, Basilides, Pantaenus, Clement, Origen, and Heraclas: 2.4.2; 2.16; 4.7.3; 5.10.4; 5.11.1, 6.3-6.19.16, 6.31.2.

<sup>497</sup> Origen: 6.19.16; Astyrius: 7.15f.; Pamphilus: 7.32.25. But cf. chapter 4, p. 173 below.

<sup>498</sup> 2.13.3, 3.4.6, 3.26.1, 4.7.3 (twice), 4.11.9, 4.30.1, 5.13.1, 6.1. I omit Eusebius' quotation naming Justin Martyr's home city (4.12) because Eusebius obviously quoted this text for a different purpose than locating Justin (4.11.11), and Eusebius does not name Justin's hometown in his own voice when introducing Justin. However, I retain 4.11.9, where Eusebius in effect outsources his biography of Marcion to a quotation of Justin, because Eusebius does not specify the pertinent information in this quotation, so that Marcion's origins in Pontus may in part have motivated Eusebius' quotation of the passage.

<sup>499</sup> Origen is the only cleric identified by his home city, but Eusebius foregrounds his scholarly activity and not his clerical status; his ordination as a presbyter is an afterthought (6.23.4). Cf. 6.11, 7.11.26, 7.32.6, each of which features a bishop who relocates from an earlier site of clerical activity to preside over new churches: yet in none of these cases does Eusebius name the first location of activity as the individual's fatherland.

<sup>500</sup> Eusebius surely had the information available to him to name more fatherlands than he does. In addition to Justin (n. 498 above), Eusebius omits Tatian's home region, declared in *Against the Greeks*, a text known and quoted in the *Ecclesiastical History* (*Against the Greeks* 42; cf. *HE* 4.16.7-9, 4.29.7). Surely at least one of Papias', Hegesippus', Melito of Sardis', Irenaeus', Clement of Alexandria's, Gaius', Julius Africanus', and Dionysius' now-lost texts known to Eusebius named its author's home city or region. Cf. *HE* 5.pref.4 (quoted in chapter 3, p. 105 below), which belittles combat for one's *patris*, as well as the biography of a martyr at *MP* 4.4: εἰ δὲ χρὴ μνήμην ποιησαμένους καὶ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ....

Thus, while Eusebius names places of activity most of the time, reporting his subjects' home cities was simply not a priority. The local color lent by Diogenes Laertius', Philostratus', and Porphyry's geographical settings became minimized in Eusebian biography: if an individual was tied to a city, that city was usually a major urban center like Rome, Alexandria, or Eusebius' own Caesarea. His bishops and other individuals in biographies were active in the most important cities on both sides of the Roman Empire, which asserted the importance of Eusebius' church.<sup>501</sup> Beyond that, however, Christians did not need to be born in an important urban center to become Christian leaders. The locations of their birth mattered little, if at all. This downplaying of locational particularity painted the church as a universal collection of men, not confined to a small region or a few locations.

### B. Familial Relationships

A subject's family line was a frequent opening detail in philosophical biographies.<sup>502</sup> While the third-century philosophical biographers were not obsessive about naming philosophers' heritage, they do typically say something about it in longer biographies. Diogenes Laertius omits philosophers' parents only in short biographies and repeatedly notes disputes about philosophers' parentage.<sup>503</sup> Porphyry cared enough about Pythagoras' heritage to tell conflicting accounts of Pythagoras' birth (*VPyth* 1), while Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* incorporates Pythagoras' parents into the narrative of Pythagoras' education (*PythV* 2). The famous opening anecdote of Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*, in distracting attention from Plotinus' birthplace, also veils Plotinus' parentage (*VPlot* 1; see p. 73); yet the anecdote reflects readers' expectation that Porphyry would report Plotinus' lineage. Philostratus sometimes dispensed with describing his subjects' families in the *Lives of the Sophists*, especially when recounting philosopher-sophists and sophists of the distant past.<sup>504</sup> Still, after the exceptional first 18 *Lives of the Sophists*,<sup>505</sup> Philostratus notes subjects' families in 15 of his remaining 40 lives.<sup>506</sup>

Eusebius' biographies go further than these philosophers in obscuring parentage and family lines. Just a handful of Eusebius' biographies name a parent or describe a family, and most do so either in a quotation or in a paraphrase that stays close to his source's wording. The only significant Christians to whom Eusebius attributes family relations in his own voice are Origen, James the brother of Jesus, and Simeon the Son of Clopas, a cousin of Jesus.<sup>507</sup> Origen's father was a martyr and therefore himself a Christian hero, while James' and Simeon's relations to

<sup>501</sup> This parallels Eusebius' episcopal successions, anchored in the major cities of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, along with Jerusalem; on these see below, pp. 97-100.

<sup>502</sup> Frickenschmidt 1997: 246-253.

<sup>503</sup> No parent named: e.g. 2.121-125, 7.165; disputes: e.g. *VSEP* 1.109; 9.1, 18.

<sup>504</sup> None of the eight "men among the philosophers who articulated with fluency" (*VS* 484-492; cf. 479) are connected with a family. Among those sophists active before the imperial period (*VS* 492-511), only the families of Critias (501) and Aeschines (507) are noted.

<sup>505</sup> These first 18 texts describe "philosophers who were also sophists" and sophists of the distant past.

<sup>506</sup> Though Philostratus notes characters' parentage more frequently as the sequence of lives progresses to Philostratus' day (530, 545-47, 568, 570, 594, 596, 597, 605, 607, 609, 612, 615, 620f., 621f., 627). Philostratus avoids patronymics, noting instead that a subject had a noble family (530, 568, 570, 594, 597, 605, 612, 621f.; cf. 620f.,) or a particular ancestor who was famous (596; cf. 609).

<sup>507</sup> James as brother of Jesus: *HE* 2.1.2-4. Symeon as nephew of Jesus: (3.11, 3.32.5f., the latter quoting Hegesippus' *Commentaries*)). Symeon, an early bishop of Jerusalem, is called "the son of Clopas" and is described as a cousin to Jesus (3.11.2; note also 3.32); this interest in Jesus' family almost certainly reflects Hegesippus' interest in Jesus' family line (see also 2.23.3, 3.19, with Abramowski 1976: 323).

Jesus obviously offered them exceptional status in the Palestinian church, as both served as bishops of Jerusalem.<sup>508</sup> Only in exceptional circumstances did Eusebius refer to a Christian's family.<sup>509</sup>

Eusebius' omission implies that, like the cities from which they hailed, Christians' family relationships were insignificant for distinguishing the church from outsiders and for intra-ecclesial prestige. Such relationships excited no interest in and of themselves,<sup>510</sup> and the Jews and "heretics" in biographies also lack any but incidental notice of their parentage. Like Eusebius' reticence on Christians' home cities, his omission of parentage removed an index of local color and so increased the universality of Eusebius' church. As we will see, the important genealogy for Eusebius Christians was not the distinctive familial lineage, but a more homogeneous, universal scholarly heritage.

### C. Manner of Death

Like family lines, death narratives were common but not indispensable in Greek biography.<sup>511</sup> Diogenes Laertius inserts numerous epigrams about philosophers' deaths into his *Lives and Opinions*,<sup>512</sup> yet many of his shorter *Lives* omit the deaths of their subjects.<sup>513</sup> Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* sometimes note his subjects' deaths, though the majority of his *Lives* omit death.<sup>514</sup> Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives* of Pythagoras both relate Pythagoras' death near the end of their biographies.<sup>515</sup> Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* narrates the end of Plotinus' life near the beginning (*VPlot* 2), relieving Plotinus quickly of his hated physical body (see p. 73).

Eusebius also includes some death narratives in his biographies, but almost all of these are martyr narratives.<sup>516</sup> Martyrdom was of course a particularly fitting culmination to the biography

<sup>508</sup> The second patronymic appears in the exceptional biography of Origen (6.1). The family of another Christian, Marinus, is described more vaguely as "beloved and notable to all on account of his noble birth and abundant means" (βασιλευσίν τε προσφιλῆς καὶ πᾶσι γνώριμος εὐγενείας τε ἔνεκα καὶ περιουσίας, 7.16). Another Christian, Justin Martyr, and one Jewish author, Josephus, have their fathers named in quotations (*HE* 4.12=Just.*IApol.*1; *HE* 3.9.1f.=Jos.*BJ* 1.3, where both quotations serve other purposes than revealing a family line). As for other family relationships, two students of Origen, Plutarch and Heraclius of Alexandria are brothers (6.3.2). No "heretic" in the *History* has his family described.

<sup>509</sup> One could posit that Eusebius lacked the information to present individuals' parentage. But such a conjecture assumes that Eusebius refused to infer details from his subjects' writings, a common practice of ancient biographers (see Fairweather 1974, Lefkowitz 2012). Eusebius also could have made inquiries to learn more about his subjects' families, by writing to the Christian communities for more information. Yet for Christian luminaries even from Caesarea itself, and from the familiar cities of Jerusalem, Tyre, and probably Alexandria, Eusebius leaves parents' names out. Even his own master Pamphilus receives no patronymic (*HE* 7.32.25, 8.13.6f.).

<sup>510</sup> Even when Eusebius notes a character's parentage, the datum is subordinated to another Eusebian theme: Symeon's parentage, mentioned in the gospels, contributes to his election as bishop of Jerusalem (3.11.2; see previous note). Origen's father was a martyr (6.1), and Eusebius' notice of his martyrdom sets the stage for Origen's engagement with the theme of martyrdom, lending prestige to the most prominent intellectual in the *Ecclesiastical History* (6.2.3-6, 6.3.2-4, 6.4f., 6.28, 6.39.5; cf. 7.1): see Mazzucco 2004.

<sup>511</sup> Cf. Frickenschmidt 1997: 303-350, whose goal of proving that the canonical gospels were *bioi* leads him perhaps to overemphasize the importance of death narratives in ancient biography.

<sup>512</sup> E.g. 1.39, 1.85, 2.15, 2.112, 4.3, 4.55-57, 5.68, 6.79, 9.59; on Diogenes' epigrams, see e.g. Mejer 1978: 46-50.

<sup>513</sup> E.g. 2.120-125, 6.82-84, 7.165f., 7.177f., 8.79-85.

<sup>514</sup> The deaths of the sophists appear at *VS* 502, 506, 539, 543f., 565, 570, 576, 577, 578, 590, 593, 595, 596, 600, 602, 606, 612, 615, 620, 623, 625; cf. 558 and Rife 2009.

<sup>515</sup> Porphyry (*VPyth* 57) and Iamblichus (*PythV* 35) each report two versions of Pythagoras' death.

<sup>516</sup> Martyrs who receive biographies include James the brother of Jesus (2.23), Peter and Paul (3.1.2), Symeon son of Clopas (3.32), Polycarp of Smyrna (4.15), Justin Martyr (4.16.9), Plutarch of Alexandria (6.4.1f.), Alexander of

of a Christian hero: as I will argue in chapter 3 below, the *History*'s martyr narratives exemplify the church's virtues as developed through philosophical self-training. Death narratives without such exemplary value are excluded.

Eusebius narrates the deaths of just two "heretics"; both narratives reinforce the deficient character of the "heretic." At 2.15.1 the death of Simon Magus through the agency of Peter is noted briefly.<sup>517</sup> After God has extinguished Satan's great threat through Peter's agency (2.14.6), Simon dies with a whimper (2.15.1).<sup>518</sup> Second, at 5.16.13 Eusebius notes the deaths of the "heretical" prophet Montanus and of his daughters by hanging: "The report is that they each, deranged by a maddening spirit, hanged themselves not together, but at the time of the death of each as word has it, and thus they perished and ended their lives in the manner of the traitor Judas."<sup>519</sup> The shame involved in death by hanging, coming at the beginning of Montanus' biography, encapsulates Eusebius' depiction of Montanus and his followers as dangerous lunatics (5.16-19).<sup>520</sup> Although death narratives come up infrequently in Eusebius' biographies, deaths that are retold epitomize the kind of individual being described.

Eusebius' biographies downplay his biographical subjects' geographical location, especially their birthplaces, their familial relationships, and narratives of their deaths. His neglect of familial relationships and cities of birth suppresses the status that individuals inherited from these facts. The church avoids the parochialism of belonging to all but the most significant cities or relying on familial heritage for its authority. Christianity thus appears to transcend particular places and inherited prestige; it becomes a universal institution that could thrive anywhere and elevate any individual to prominence no matter that individual's pedigree.

Eusebius notes a series of Christians active in Rome, Alexandria, and Caesarea, locating the church's activity in cities important to the Empire. This places famous Christians in the centers of imperial power, amplifying the church's significance. Meanwhile, the *History* reproduces death narratives only when they reinforce other Eusebian themes: "heretics" die shamefully while "orthodox" Christians' deaths involve an honorable and glorious martyrdom.<sup>521</sup> Yet aside from martyrdoms these are relatively rare occurrences that receive little space in the *History*. Eusebius' careful downplaying of location, family, and death therefore put all the more emphasis on the categories of information that he did include.

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Jerusalem (6.39.2), Dorotheus (8.6.1-5), Pamphilus of Caesarea (8.13.6f.), and Peter of Alexandria (8.13.7, 9.6.2); cf. Origen, who is tortured but whom Eusebius does not quite say is martyred (6.39.5, 7.1; *pace* Grant 1975b: 645-649). Cf. above, n. 479 for my distinction between martyr narratives and biographies. Occasionally also Eusebius records the deaths of Christians who were not martyred in his biographies, when these deaths have structural significance for his narrative. But these notices are rare. See e.g. 3.31 (with the careful Overbeck 1898: esp. 18-32), 7.1.1, 7.28.3.

<sup>517</sup> οὕτω δὲ οὖν ἐπιδημήσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἀπέσβη καὶ παραχρῆμα σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλέλυτο δύναμις.

<sup>518</sup> Eusebius notes Simon's death with a mere *syn*-clause.

<sup>519</sup> τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ πνεύματος βλασφίφρονος ἐκατέρους ὑποκινήσαντος λόγος ἀναρτῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς οὐχ ὁμοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ἐκάστου τελευτῆς καιρὸν φήμη πολλή, καὶ οὕτω δὲ τελευτῆσαι καὶ τὸν βίον καταστρέψαι Ἰούδα προδότου δίκην.

<sup>520</sup> "Within the framework of Roman values only contempt for such unmanly behaviour is dominant" (Van Hooff 1990: 67).

<sup>521</sup> Three Christians in the *History* undergo punishment for their Christianity without being martyred: John the Apostle (3.18.1), Origen (6.39.5), and Dionysius (7.11.2-9).

### 3. Information that Eusebius Emphasizes

#### D. Catalogues of Writings

As chapter 1 showed (p. 60), most ancient philosophers wrote technical and pedagogical texts, and often other kinds of works as well. Accordingly, philosophical biographers had long catalogued the texts written by their subjects at considerable length. Greek scholars had begun cataloguing authors' works at the same time as they wrote the first biographies of philosophers,<sup>522</sup> and continued doing so through the end of the third century AD.<sup>523</sup>

Diogenes Laertius and Porphyry (in the *Life of Plotinus*) each insert catalogues of writings into their philosophical lives.<sup>524</sup> This catalogue of the Socratic philosopher Aristippus' writings exemplifies the form of Diogenes' literary catalogues (*VSEP* 2.84f., abridged):

Of the Cyreneaic philosopher, three books of the history of Libya survive, sent off to Dionysius; and there is one book containing 25 dialogues, some written in the Attic and some in the Doric dialect. Here they are:

*Artabazus*

*To the Shipwrecked Men*

...[21 additional titles follow]

Now some also who studied with him say that he wrote six works, some that he wrote none at all, one of whom is Sosicrates the Rhodian. But according to Sotion in his second book and Panaetius the following texts are his:

*On Paideia*

...[A list of 11 titles follows, five of which correspond to titles in the first list.]<sup>525</sup>

<sup>522</sup> Indeed, the Alexandrian scholar and poet Callimachus' *Tables of Men Brilliant in Literary Culture and the Works they Authored* is, if not the first, at least the most famous early catalogue of texts of various genres (see Asper 2004: 49f. with frs. 493-499; classic discussion in Pfeiffer 1968: 127-134). Said to occupy 120 books, it listed the writings of famous epic, lyric, tragic, and comic poets, as well as philosophers, historians, and perhaps medical writers. Such scholars as Callimachus have been named as a forerunner to Eusebian historiography since at least Schwartz 1907: 1396f.; the notice in Croke's recent survey of late antique historiography on the *Ecclesiastical History* (2007: 574) credits Eusebius' heavy use of quotation in the *Ecclesiastical History* to "the Alexandrian grammarians and antiquarians he knew so well" (citing Momigliano 1962: 138-140). Sotion, the author of the first philosophical biographies following scholastic successors, inaugurated the interest in literary history as an ingredient in philosophical lives (frs. 6, 19, 24 Wehrli=Diogenes Laertius 2.85, 6.80, 8.7). Sotion probably knew Callimachus' *Tables*: see Diogenes Laertius 8.86 with Kienle 1961: 85 with 115 n. 49, 88.

<sup>523</sup> In discussing the care that he took in compiling Plotinus' works (on which see further below), Porphyry cites as exemplars two Hellenistic librarians Apollodorus of Athens (mid-second century BC), and Andronicus the Peripatetic (mid-first century BC) (*Life of Plotinus* 24); on these authors, see Pfeiffer 1968: ch. 8.

<sup>524</sup> See also chapter 1, pp. 54f. above on Diogenes Laertius' and Porphyry's literary history.

<sup>525</sup> τοῦ δὲ Κυρηναϊκοῦ φιλοσόφου φέρεται βιβλία τρία μὲν ἱστορίας τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, ἀπεσταλμένα Διονυσίῳ· ἐν δὲ ἐν ᾧ διάλογοι πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηίδι, οἱ δὲ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένοι, οἷδε·  
Ἀρτάβαζος  
Πρὸς τοὺς ναυαγούς

...  
Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διατριβῶν αὐτόν φασιν ἔξ γεγραφέναι, οἱ δ' οὐδ' ὅλως γράψαι· ὧν ἔστι καὶ Σωσικράτης ὁ Ῥόδιος. κατὰ δὲ Σωτίονα ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ Παναίτιον ἔστιν αὐτῶ συγγράμματα τάδε·  
Περὶ παιδείας

...

Here Diogenes Laertius provides two catalogues of texts allegedly authored by Aristippus, supplying the first list in his own voice, and crediting the second to the exemplary Hellenistic philosophical biographer Sotion.<sup>526</sup>

Porphry's *Life of Plotinus* is equally illuminating as literary biography. As the *Life's* function was to introduce the *Enneads*, Porphyry's edition of Plotinus' works (*VPlot.* 27),<sup>527</sup> the *Life* features two catalogues of Plotinus' writings. First comes a chronological list (*VPlot.*4-6) with comments on the social circumstances of each text's composition. The second catalogue follows Porphyry's thematic rearrangement of Plotinus' works for the *Enneads* (*VPlot.*24-26).

These passages from Diogenes and Porphyry illustrate the purposes of literary catalogues within biographies.<sup>528</sup> The titles of writings confirm a philosopher's intellectual prowess by displaying the topics in which they were interested. They also offer readers access to a deceased philosopher by supplying titles that they could then seek out. Catalogues thus both substantiate each philosopher's intellectual credibility and point readers to evidence beyond the catalogue of each philosopher's intellectual prowess.

Eusebius' documentation of Christian authors' scriptural citations (which I discuss below) has received much more scholarly attention.<sup>529</sup> But neglected amid this ongoing discussion are the *History's* many catalogues of nonscriptural Christian writings (and, of some Jewish and even mildly "heretical" authors). In all, 61.9% (39 out of 63) of the *History's* biographies of "orthodox" Christians and Jews include a catalogue of their writings.<sup>530</sup> Indeed, credit for authoring a text alone warranted an intellectual's inclusion in the *History*. Regarding eleven different individuals, all that Eusebius reports about are titles authored by those individuals.<sup>531</sup>

<sup>526</sup> Diogenes also cites other opinions about how many and which texts Aristippus had written and notes how many books each of Aristippus' works occupies; cf. e.g. *VSEP* 3.50, 3.57-62, 8.6f. Some Laertian biographies consist of nothing more than catalogues of the philosopher's writings (*VSEP* 2.121-125).

<sup>527</sup> A common purpose for ancient literary biography: see e.g. Lefkowitz 2012: 3.

<sup>528</sup> Other third- and early-fourth century intellectual biographies also incorporated literary history, though not in the form of catalogues of subjects' writings. Pythagoras, the subject of Porphyry's other surviving philosophical biography, was widely reputed as having written nothing (which Diogenes Laertius disputes: *VSEP* 1.16, 8.6f., 8.49f.). Yet Porphyry comments that Pythagoras' students wrote what they remembered and notes that Pythagorean commentaries were hard to read because of the Doric dialect in which they were composed (*VPyth* 53, 58). Here, literary history takes the form of historical notes about the act of writing, rather than the titles of texts. Another kind of literary history emerges in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*. Like Porphyry in the *Life of Pythagoras*, Philostratus deemphasizes the titles of his biographical subjects' writings, stressing instead their style of writing. Out of 58 sophists, Philostratus discusses the style of 41. This focus on style is appropriate for a text that more than the other philosophical biographies glorified the face-to-face encounter of public performance.

<sup>529</sup> E.g. Grant 1980: ch. 11; Baum 1997; Le Boulluec 2002; Nielsen 2003: esp. 31-50, not to mention the innumerable studies of the formation of the Christian canon. While the church's grounding in sacred texts justifies this focus, the silence on Eusebius' use of nonscriptural literary catalogues (apart from Alexandre 1998) is deafening, for Eusebius says far more about which writers authored which texts than which authors quoted which scriptures.

<sup>530</sup> 2.5; 2.18; 3.4.2; 3.4.6f.; 3.9; 3.16 (repeated in 3.38); 3.24; 3.36; 3.38; 3.39; 4.3 (2); 4.8.1 (expanded upon in 4.22); 4.14.8; 4.18; 4.22-28 (7); 5.17f. (2); 5.27 (5); 6.7; 6.12.1f.; 6.13.1-4; 6.16; 6.20.2f.; 6.22; 6.24f.; 6.31f.; 6.36; 6.46.5; 7.20; 7.26; 7.32.13; note also 6.11.4-6. At least one text published by each of three sympathetic "heretics" (Tatian, 4.29; Bardesanes, 4.30; and Symmachus, 6.17) is noted as well (and cf. Rhodon at 5.13 with n. 600 below).

<sup>531</sup> About Aristides (4.3), Modestus (4.25), Musanus (4.28), Miltiades (5.17), the five Christian authors noted in 5.27, Judas (6.7), and Hippolytus (6.23), Eusebius reports no information beyond titles and/or content of their texts. Cf. the parallel case for some of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*: p. 82 with n. 513 above. Eusebius' placement of these eleven chapters in the *History* is also revealing: each biography appears within a series of biographical chapters (4.3, 4.21-30, 5.16-19, 5.26-28 (esp. 5.28.4), 6.1-19), reflecting an impulse to prove that as many Christians were writing texts as possible: cf. Bauer 1934: 158-161.

For Eusebius as for Diogenes Laertius and Plotinus, catalogues of writings embody intellectuals' activity and provide readers with access to the thought of famous Christian intellectuals of the past. Proving that many Christians circulated texts was undeniably a central Eusebian aim, and thus essential to his collective portrait of Christianity.

Eusebius' catalogues of individuals' writings highlight the range of subjects' writings. Exemplary is Eusebius' catalogue of the writings of Melito of Sardis (*HE* 4.26.1f.):<sup>532</sup>

...Also flourishing conspicuously was Melito the bishop of the community in Sardis, who addressed arguments of defense to the aforementioned emperor of the Romans [Antoninus Pius] at this time. Of [Melito] the following works that have come to our notice:... the two books of *On Pascha* and the *On Civil Behavior and Prophets* and the *On the Church* and the *On the Lord's Day*, and moreover the *On a Person's Faith* and the *On Molding* and the *On the Sense-Organs' Obedience to Faithfulness* and in addition to these the *On the Soul and Body* [text here unintelligible] and the *On the Bath and the Truth and the Faith and the Birth of Christ* and his account of prophecy and concerning the soul and body and the *On Hospitality* and *The Key* and the works *On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John* and the *On the Embodied God*, and on top of all these also the pamphlet *To Antoninus*.<sup>533</sup>

Like Diogenes Laertius' catalogue of Aristippus' writings, Eusebius' catalogue credits Melito with numerous writings.<sup>534</sup> This catalogue of texts marks Melito as a versatile author, capable of debating on a wide range of topics. The catalogue also enables Eusebius' readers to find Melito's writings for themselves.

So far Eusebius' literary catalogues resemble Diogenes' and Porphyry's, supplying a bare list of an individual's writings. But many of Eusebius' textual catalogues go further by summarizing and extolling a catalogued text. Eusebius inserts such comments most often when he credits a biographical subject with authoring only a single text. For example, Eusebius profusely praises the sole work he knows of Quadratus, an early second-century Christian:

Quadratus addressed [Hadrian] and sent him an argument, composing a defense on behalf of our religious practice, because some wicked men were trying to harass our people; and

<sup>532</sup> Compare 2.18, 3.9, 3.24, 5.26, 6.13,

<sup>533</sup> ...καὶ Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος [Ἀπολινάριος τε τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει] διαπρεπῶς ἠκμαζον, οἱ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἰδίως ἑκάτερος ἀπολογίας προσεφώνησαν. [τούτων] εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἀφίκται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. Μελίτωνος, τὰ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο καὶ το Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὁ Περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ Περὶ πίστεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ Περὶ Πλάσεως καὶ ὁ Περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως αἰσθητηρίων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος <νηνεοισ> καὶ ὁ Περὶ λουτροῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ Περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενεσέως Χριστοῦ καὶ λόγος αὐτοῦ προφητείας καὶ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ ὁ Περὶ φιλοξενίας καὶ ἡ Κλεις καὶ τὰ Περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλυψέως Ἰωάννου καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἐνωσμάτου θεοῦ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ Πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον. Eusebius overlaps his biography of Melito with that of Apolinarius of Hierapolis (cf. p. 78 with n. 485 above); I omit sections describing Apolinarius.

<sup>534</sup> Many of these titles—*On Easter*, *On Civil Behavior (Politeia) and Prophets*, *On the church*, *On the Lord's Day*—indicate a focus on the church's ritual life. *On Soul and Body* seems to address the relation between body and soul, while *On Sense-Organs' Obedience to Faith* appears to discuss the role of sense perception in religious life—both classic philosophical topics. *On Hospitality* must address an ethical question, *On the Revelation of John* appears to discuss a text, and *On the Devil* and *On the Embodied God* seem to tackle specific Christian theological problems.

the defense speech survives even still among many of the brothers, and moreover the writing is even in our possession. From this it is possible to perceive the brilliant proofs of the man's thought and his apostolic orthodoxy. And he himself demonstrates how ancient his own times are through the following things he tells in his own words:...<sup>535</sup>

Rather than simply specifying a title for Quadratus' writing, Eusebius tells the background situation, praises Quadratus' speech and his theological position, affirms that the text has circulated widely, and quotes a portion proving its date and mentioning miracles.<sup>536</sup> This content beyond the title leaves readers with a broader impression of Quadratus than the title of a single text could provide. Where Eusebius lacked quantity for a Christian's literary output, he compensated with quality.<sup>537</sup>

Whereas his catalogues of "orthodox" Christians' writings encourage readers to acquire and read their words, it is revealing that Eusebius credits few "heretics" with authoring texts. Aside from three "heretics" for whom Eusebius shows some respect (Tatian, Bardesanes, and Symmachus),<sup>538</sup> the *History* credits a "heretic" with authoring a text just once.<sup>539</sup> The individuals whom the church rejects have slim publication records. Eusebius thus portrayed "heretics as less intellectually productive than "orthodox" Christians.<sup>540</sup>

Eusebius' numerous literary catalogues foreground Christians' intellectual prowess, while his suppression of "heretics'" writings depicts teachers whom the church rejects as unproductive. Eusebius credits dozens of Christians with writing and highlights either the quantity or, lacking this, the quality of their works. This display of intellectual production fulfilled the Roman expectation, manifested in philosophical biographies, that philosophers would write important texts.

### E. Doctrines

Most third-century biographers devoted space to their subjects' doctrines, though the kinds of doctrines that they presented varied considerably. Both Porphyry and Iamblichus embed philosophical doctrine into their *Lives of Pythagoras* through Pythagoras' instructions to his communities (presented in *oratio obliqua*) and through description of the Pythagorean

<sup>535</sup> τούτω Κοδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογία συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας, ὅτι δὴ τινες πονηροὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρῶντο· εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα. ἐξ οὗ κατιδεῖν ἔστιν λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοτομίας. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρχαιότητα παραφαίνει δι' ὧν ἱστορεῖ ταῦτα ἰδίαις φωναῖς...

<sup>536</sup> The ensuing quotation asserts that some who had been healed and who knew Jesus survived into the speaker's lifetime. On Eusebius' interest in miracles, cf. DeVore forthcoming a.

<sup>537</sup> Note also 3.15, 3.38f., 4.3.3, 4.8.1f., 4.22, 4.25, 4.28, 5.18, 6.7, 6.20.3.

<sup>538</sup> Tatian: 4.29.7; Bardesanes: 4.30.2; Symmachus: 6.17. For each Eusebius praises one written work but names no more, in effect authorizing a single acceptable work while condemning all others to oblivion (cf. esp. 4.29.7). Cf. the case of Rhodon (5.13.8), with n. 600 below.

<sup>539</sup> Namely Basilides' 24-book gospel commentary (4.7.7). This notice comes in *oratio obliqua* summarizing the anti-Basilidean polemic of Agrippa Castor (see 4.7.6), and it suppresses which gospel Basilides commented upon.

<sup>540</sup> Alternatively, Eusebius withheld the information that readers needed to obtain "heretics" writings and come under their influence, even though, as we will soon see, he himself felt free to outline "heretics'" doctrines. The last word on the "heretics" was Eusebius'. By suppressing "heretics'" writings Eusebius effectively damns their memory. Here, as elsewhere, Eusebius shows that he understood the power of his words to carry on and to annul the memory of individuals. Cf. Lateiner 1989: 69 on Herodotus' refusal to name impious individuals, annulling these individuals' memory.



community's manner of life, which represent the actualized teaching of Pythagoras.<sup>541</sup> Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, by contrast presents subjects' doctrines in a direct address to readers,<sup>542</sup> though because they are not philosophers, Philostratus' sophists teach methods of public speech rather than rather than expounding logic, physics, and ethics.<sup>543</sup>

The most prolific presenter of doctrines among third-century philosophical biographers was Diogenes Laertius. Diogenes describes several philosophers' doctrines into his *Lives and Opinions*.<sup>544</sup> Diogenes credits numerous doctrines to the founders of philosophical schools while attributing far fewer doctrines to their successors. Diogenes' reader encounters long summaries of the doctrines of Plato (3.63-109), Zeno of Citium (7.39-160), and Epicurus (10.29-154), and notable albeit short doxographies for Aristotle (5.28-34) and Diogenes of Sinope (6.70-73).<sup>545</sup> By contrast, Diogenes credits few doctrines to successors, even such giants as Theophrastus or Chrysippus, and despite the long catalogues he cites of these successors' writings. By rarely crediting scholastic successors with doctrines of their own, Diogenes suggests that successors held fast to their masters' teachings, which implied doctrinal homogeneity within each school all the way back to their founders.<sup>546</sup>

Doctrine has been seen as a weak point of Eusebius' *History*, which has drawn criticism for omitting Christian theological doctrine.<sup>547</sup> The anachronism of such expectations aside,<sup>548</sup> Eusebius does describe "heretics'" doctrines regularly. For example, Eusebius accuses Beryllus of Bostra of "having the audacity to say that our savior and lord did not preexist in an individual existence of his own before his coming to reside among men, nor had he a divinity of his own, but only the Father's dwelling within him" (6.33.1, trans. Oulton, modified).<sup>549</sup> This is certainly a description of doctrine, though brief. Crucially the assumption Beryllus had the audacity (*tolmōn*) *not* to accept certain doctrine, presumes readers' commitment to the doctrines that Beryllus denied.<sup>550</sup>

Such statements have been explained well by Verdoner's discussion of Eusebius' implied reader (see chapter 1, pp. 29f.). Eusebius presumes readers who share a shared understanding with him about religious loyalty, certain events, personalities, and, tellingly, doctrines.<sup>551</sup> Such an implied audience would explain Eusebius' apparent neglect of doctrine. Since the *History*'s intended readers already know and accept "orthodox" Christian doctrine, detailed discussion of theology is superfluous. And if Eusebius and his readers share the same theology, so do

<sup>541</sup> See *VPyth* 37-52, *PythV* 18.80-34.247.

<sup>542</sup> E.g. 514, 519, 528f., 542, 564f., 580, 589f.

<sup>543</sup> Cf. p. 52 with n. 308 above.

<sup>544</sup> Mejer 2007: 438-441 has recently argued that Diogenes Laertius was the first philosophical biographer to present his subjects' doctrines. However, some *reliquiae* of Sotion are doxographical (see frs. 6, 19, 24 Wehrli=Diogenes Laertius 2.85, 6.80, 8.7).

<sup>545</sup> The most famous Cynic, though not the sect's founder for Diogenes Laertius: see Gugliermi 2006: 179f.

<sup>546</sup> This would confirm the controversial thesis of Sedley 1989, that Hellenistic and Roman philosophical schools clung rigidly to their founders' doctrines. Cf. also the extensive doctrines Diogenes credits to the mavericks Xenophanes and Heraclitus, who founded no schools and so are termed οἱ σποράδην (*VSEP* 8.91 and 9.20).

<sup>547</sup> E.g. Grant 1980: 59; Beggs 1999: 86, 272, 305; Mendels 1999: 32f.; Carotenuto 2001: 104; Treadgold 2007: 35; Junod 2009: 421f.

<sup>548</sup> No genre of historical narrative obligated its author to describe theological doctrines.

<sup>549</sup> τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν λέγειν τολμῶν μὴ προὔφαστάναι κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφὴν πρὸ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίας μηδὲ μὴν θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμπολιτευομένην αὐτῷ μόνην τὴν κατρικὴν. See also 2.13.6f., 3.26.1-3, 3.28.2-5, 3.29.2-4, 4.7.7-11; 4.11.2, 4f., 9; 4.29.2-6; 5.13.2f., 5.18. 2; 6.17; 6.37f., 7.27.2.

<sup>550</sup> Origen's ensuing correction of Beryllus thus puts the church's teaching back into its proper order (6.33.2).

<sup>551</sup> Verdoner 2010: esp. 367-369; see also chapter 1, pp. 29f. and chapter 6, pp. 213-217 below.

Eusebius' intellectual ancestors, the "orthodox" Christians described in the *History*. Eusebius' neglect of "orthodox" doctrine therefore reinforces the *History*'s premise that the church maintained doctrinal unity.

Contrary to his usual presumption of "orthodox" doctrinal unity, however, Eusebius does describe two aspects of Christian doctrine. The first is on the canon of sacred Christian writings. Eusebius makes a special point of cataloguing which Christian writers considered which books to be sacred.<sup>552</sup> These listings of sacred texts show some differences on accepted sacred texts, especially over the book of Revelation, though for the most part the catalogues of various Christian intellectuals' canons remain uniform.<sup>553</sup> This variation on the custom of describing philosophers' teaching allowed Eusebius to highlight a point of ecclesiastical unity: all Christian leaders were learning "orthodox" Christian teachings through study of sacred texts.<sup>554</sup> Amid the details of which writer used which texts, the search for proper teaching within texts emerges as a consistent Christian practice. So Eusebius' first acknowledgement of diverse Christian teachings homogenizes the church rather than diversifying it.

The second Eusebian attribution of doctrines comes in biographies of "heretics," such as Beryllus of Bostra, noted above. As Diogenes Laertius' attribution of doctrines in founders' biographies shows, to attribute distinctive doctrines to a philosopher implied deviation from his school's founder.<sup>555</sup> Likewise, in the *History* teaching a distinctive doctrine implied that Christ did not teach this doctrine. Any individual who innovated in theology must therefore be a "heretic."<sup>556</sup> Because innovation was "heresy," the only Eusebian biographies that bother to mention doctrines are those of "heretics."<sup>557</sup> For example, in 3.26.1f. Menander the Samaritan is described as

lavish with more wondrous stories,...saying that *he* was the savior commissioned from above, from the unseen heavens for the salvation of men, and teaching that no one could overcome the world-creating angels without first undergoing the magical experience imparted by him and the baptism shared by him.<sup>558</sup>

<sup>552</sup> E.g. 3.10.1-5, 3.38.1f., 3.39.15-17, 4.18.8, 4.26.13f., 5.8, 6.12.2-6, 6.14, 6.20.3, 6.25, 7.25. Indeed, Eusebius promises to catalogue which "orthodox" writers used which texts as sacred (*HE* 3.3.3; cf. 3.25) and also notes which sacred texts "heretics" used, sometimes as a way to show their deviation: e.g. 4.29.6, 5.28.13-19.

<sup>553</sup> Cf. e.g. Clement of Alexandria's use of the Epistle of Barnabas (6.14.1). On Revelation, note 3.18.2f., 3.25.2, 4; 3.28.2; 3.39.6; 4.24, 5.8.5-7, 5.18.14, 6.14.1, 6.25.9f., 7.24.2f., 7.25; cf. 5.13.3-7.

<sup>554</sup> Cf. chapter 5, pp. 183-185, 190f. below.

<sup>555</sup> In this way, the *History* replicates Diogenes Laertius' attribution of innovative doctrines to relatively few successors of scholastic founders, which that successors mostly followed their founders' doctrines.

<sup>556</sup> Accordingly, Eusebius repeatedly criticizes "heretics" "innovations" (*kainotomia*, *HE* 4.7.13, 4.27.1, 7.30.4, 7.31.1; this was also a term of reproach in philosophical discourse: Mansfeld 1999: 16, a reference I owe to Elizabeth Penland) and his disparagement of "heretics" "revolutions" in his preface (*neōteropoiia*, 1.1.1).

<sup>557</sup> The only exception, where "orthodox" Christians' biographies mention doctrines, are "orthodox" refutations of "heretics" (e.g. 5.13.2f., 5.18.2). Such rare notices of "heretical" doctrines in "orthodox" Christians' biographies illustrate these Christians' pains to chronicle and oppose such dangerous, innovative teachings.

<sup>558</sup> μείζουσιν ἐπιδαφιλεύεται τερατολογίαις ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἄρα εἶη, λέγων, ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπὶ τῆ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνωθεν ποθεν ἐξ ἀοράτων αἰώνων ἀπεσταλμένος σωτηρία, διδάσκων δὲ μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαί τινα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων περιγενησέσθαι, μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδιδομένης μαγικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀχθέντα καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταδιδόμενου πρὸς αὐτοῦ βαπτίσματος.

Here, presuming that his readers accepted the soul's immortality and the resurrection of the dead, Eusebius ridicules this "heretic's" "wondrous" self-promoting doctrines.<sup>559</sup> Only "heretics" have doctrines worth reporting because only they deviate from the church; therefore only "heretics" exhibit the diversity of doctrine that collective philosophical biographers showed.

By only reporting "heretics'" doctrines. Eusebius reinforces the perception of "orthodox" Christian doctrinal homogeneity.<sup>560</sup> The assumption that only "heretical" doctrines were distinctive painted the church as uniformly hostile to doctrinal innovation and thus wedded to its traditional teachings. For Eusebius, "heretics" produce new doctrines; "orthodox" Christians, by contrast, follow tradition.

#### F. *Anecdotes*

Since literary scholars use the term in a number of contradictory ways, "anecdote" must be defined before any investigation of how Eusebius uses them. To some scholars, "anecdote" denotes a brief textual passage or remembered event;<sup>561</sup> for others, "anecdote" signifies short narratives about a certain subject;<sup>562</sup> other scholars define the category by their content, as "narratives that concern a singular event. They are supposed to be memorable or at least interesting...little stories about big people."<sup>563</sup>

For the purpose of scrutinizing how Eusebius presents information, the most helpful definition of the anecdote delimits the category by textual format and contextualization, and not by subject or the impression made on audiences.<sup>564</sup> This definition requires three criteria. The first is that anecdotes are narratives: they describe an event occurring over as time passes, though anecdotes may recount recurring, and not singular, events.<sup>565</sup> The second is brevity: we would

<sup>559</sup> Menander's preaching reinforces Eusebius' portrait of him as an instrument of Satan (3.26.4; cf. chapter 3, p. 115 with n. 697 below on "heretics" as instruments of Satan).

<sup>560</sup> Eusebius was not alone in this assumption (cf. e.g. Irenaeus, *Against all Heresies* 1.10, 3.24), but this leitmotif in his narrative was certainly successful: it was not until Walter Bauer's seminal work (1964; orig. 1934) that "orthodox" doctrinal unity was decisively questioned: cf. chapter 5, pp. 175f. below.

<sup>561</sup> Cf. Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000: chs. 1 and 2 (who don't explicitly define the term, but where "anecdote" simply means short, decontextualized passages from literary texts or short moments in a people's collective experiences, as in the works of Erich Auerbach, Clifford Geertz, E.P. Thompson, and Raymond Williams). See also Stefanovska 2009.

<sup>562</sup> So Goldhill 2009: 100: "a short and pointed narrative, often of a biographical nature and rarely attributed to an author."

<sup>563</sup> Jullien 2009: 66.

<sup>564</sup> *Pace* Goldhill and Jullien (see previous notes), anecdotes can be about ordinary people as easily as exceptional ones. *Pace* Jullien, anecdotes can be about ordinary and not exceptional events. Finally, Goldhill's and Jullien's criteria (see the previous two notes) that an anecdote be "pointed" or "memorable or at least interesting" require us to recover the subjective judgments of ancient audiences on particular passages about what is "pointed" or "interesting." One repeated ancient narrative that I consider an anecdote encapsulates my differences on anecdotes from these scholars: in ancient biographies, Zeno of Citium's habitual consumption of green figs recurs often (e.g. Diogenes Laertius 7.1; cf. Momigliano 1963: 90). This seems anecdotal. It was certainly about a habitual action and not a singular event. And though Zeno's consumption of green figs may not interest us much, its recurrence in biographies of Zeno implies that it was significant to ancient authors and readers.

<sup>565</sup> My definition includes what Genette (1972: 116f.) calls "iterative" narration, that is, narratives of events that occurred repeatedly. Genette opposes this kind of narrative to "singulative narration," the telling of events as happening just once. (When, for example, Eusebius reproduces Philo's descriptions about the practices of the Therapeutae (*HE* 2.17), where Philo tells the daily regimen of the Therapeutae of scriptural reading, conversation about allegorical interpretations, composing hymns, and so on, he writes iterative narratives.) Including iterative as well as one-time—in Genette's terminology, singulative—narratives in the category of anecdotes implies that such

hardly call a narrative that requires sustained listening “anecdotal.” Third, the events narrated in anecdotes have no causal relationship with events that surround them in the text in which they are recounted.<sup>566</sup> Whether a narrative counts as an anecdote depends on the relation between event narrated and the text in which the event is narrated. The same event—indeed, the same series of words telling an event—may be told anecdotally in one text but causally integrated into another text.<sup>567</sup> Taking these qualities of the anecdote together, my definition of the anecdote is: *A short narrative that tells a singular or recurrent event and is embedded into a longer text, where the event narrated lacks any causal relationship with the series of events in the larger discourse in which it is embedded.*

In philosophical biography anecdotes could either diversify or homogenize the biographer’s picture of philosophy.<sup>568</sup> Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives and Opinions* accumulates a wide range of anecdotes. In anecdotes Diogenes’ philosophers do everything from debating pedantically about the ideal sage’s disposition (*VSEP* 7.177)<sup>569</sup> to Diogenes of Sinope’s multiple humiliations of Plato (6.26, 6.38, 6.68) to Zeno’s eating green figs (7.1). Laertian anecdotes diversify readers’ picture of what a philosopher is, frustrating any homogeneous category of “Greek philosopher.”<sup>570</sup> Porphyry’s *Life of Plotinus* likewise uses anecdotes to establish Plotinus’ exceptionality. Porphyry illustrates Plotinus’ intellectual prowess by describing his concentration on philosophical problems while holding unrelated conversations and his exposing a thief with no evidence (*VPlot* 8, 11).<sup>571</sup> Porphyry’s anecdotes thus exhort readers to hold Plotinus in honor as an exceptional philosopher, similar to the way that Diogenes’ anecdotes make each philosopher individually memorable.

In contrast to Diogenes and Porphyry, Philostratus’ *Lives of the Sophists* recounts a homogeneous series of anecdotes that present a unified picture of sophistic conduct. His sophists invariably gain recognition from other sophists for brash performances, such as Polemo improvising a speech for Marcus of Byzantium, or Hadrian of Tyre’s impressing Herodes Atticus (*VS* 529, 586). Other Philostratean sophists impress emperors, as when Dio Chrysostom coaxes Trajan to admit that he does not understand Dio but loves him (*VS* 488; see also e.g. 512, 582). Philostratus’ anecdotes model how diligent practice and cocky performance propelled sophists to fame, epitomizing a uniform image of the sophist’s role in Roman society.

Philostratus’ use of anecdotes confirms Simon Goldhill’s observation about the conservative motivations behind Greek-speaking Roman intellectuals’ uses of anecdotes. Imperial Greeks tended to repeat a limited collection of anecdotes that exemplified their own acculturation. By trading these anecdotes habitually, elites created a shared understanding of their class’s norms. Anecdotes could also communicate proper behavior for social roles by showing how characters

descriptions are still “anecdotes,” and accords well with the contemporary English use of “anecdote” to denote descriptions of individuals’ odd habits and mannerisms.

<sup>566</sup> Of course anecdotes may be spoken as well as written; but this study only treats written anecdotes.

<sup>567</sup> So, for example, within the *Odyssey* the discovery of Odysseus’ scar by his nurse Eurycleia is not an anecdote (*Od.* 19.388-507); but when Erich Auerbach recounts it at the beginning of his classic *Mimesis* (1946) and analyzes it, the story became an anecdote (cf. Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000: 36-38). The “longer text” in which an anecdote is situated need not be narrative: anecdotal collections and literary analyses, to name just two, lack a narrative structure, but are perfectly serviceable vehicles for communicating anecdotes.

<sup>568</sup> See the argument in Wehrli 1973 that collections of anecdotes formed the core of the first philosophical biographies in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>569</sup> Discussed in DeVore forthcoming a.

<sup>570</sup> Cf. Hägg 2012: 305-318.

<sup>571</sup> Plotinus’ refusal to pose for a portrait becomes an object lesson for valuing the intellectual over the physical (*VPlot* 1; see p. 73 above).

playing two or more roles interact. By modeling social relationships through anecdotes, elites provided paradigms for individuals' status within social hierarchies. Thus, anecdotes were a mechanism by which Greek elites reproduced their norms.<sup>572</sup>

Eusebius adopts this conservative, Philostratean use of anecdotes in the *History*, while eschewing Diogenes' and Porphyry's use of anecdotes to communicate exceptionality.<sup>573</sup> Eusebius' most frequent use of anecdotes is to illustrate proper relations among "orthodox" Christian individuals. Several anecdotes reveal Christians' educational practices. Eusebius' portrait of Origen includes a series of anecdotes about Origen's scholarly activity: Origen's father pushed him hard in his studies but showed pride by kissing Origen's breast at night (6.2.8-11), Origen encourages martyrs in Alexandria with divine teaching (6.3.5f.), and he disciplines himself by sleeping on a floor (6.3.9).<sup>574</sup> Similarly, Eusebius quotes Irenaeus' recollections of Polycarp expounding his interactions (*sunanastrophē*) with John the apostle, his recounting stories about Jesus' miracles and teaching (5.20.5-7).<sup>575</sup> At 3.39.3 Eusebius quotes Papias' statement that he would question "a follower of the elders"<sup>576</sup> about the "elders'" sayings. While Eusebius adduces this passage as proof that Papias was no immediate successor of the apostles (3.39.2, 4),<sup>577</sup> this anecdote also models the Christian practices of discussing Jesus' sayings orally.<sup>578</sup> Such anecdotes coalesce into a pattern whereby elite Christians educate themselves and each other in the church's teachings.<sup>579</sup>

Other anecdotes model the mutual interactions appropriate for different ecclesiastical offices. At 5.24.16 Eusebius quotes a letter of Irenaeus to Bishop Victor of Rome, sent amid a dispute over when the church should celebrate Easter.<sup>580</sup> One of Irenaeus' arguments that different local

<sup>572</sup> Goldhill 2009: 108-112 distinguishes the variety of anecdotes that appear in texts from the Hellenistic era with a more limited collection of Roman anecdotes. (On this theory, Diogenes Laertius' anecdotal presentation was a throwback to an earlier era; indeed, most of Diogenes' authorities for biographical data date to before Augustus: Mejer 1978: 29-46.)

<sup>573</sup> While outlining Eusebius' debt to philosophical historiography, Momigliano (1963: 90f.; cf. Louth 1990: 121f.) dismissed Eusebius' use of anecdotes, criticizing Eusebius on the grounds that "he did away with all that was anecdotal and worldly in the pagan biographies of philosophers. This is why we shall never know whether Clemens Alexandrinus was fond of eating green figs and of basking in the sun—which are established points in the biography of Zeno the Stoic." Momigliano's pairing of "anecdotal" with "worldly," however, presumes that anecdotes must be mundane in subject; and his example of "green figs and basking in the sun" assumes that anecdotes' tone must not be weighty. Such a presumption hardly seems cogent, since anecdotes can have a very serious tone. In *Life of Plotinus* 10, for example, Porphyry relates Plotinus' repulsion of a Greek sorcerer's attempts to kill Plotinus through spells. This narrative, told briefly and divorced from any causal relationships, surely must be an anecdote, but can hardly be called "worldly" or unserious.

<sup>574</sup> Eusebius' Origen goes to such ascetic extremes as to castrate himself (6.8.1f.); cf. Marksches 2007: 15-34, Corke-Webster 2013: 94f.

<sup>575</sup> Horn 2011: 238 has noted the similarity of this passage to anecdotes about teaching in philosophical biography.

<sup>576</sup> παρακολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

<sup>577</sup> Eusebius' denial that Papias learned from John tacitly corrects the earlier statement of his *Chronicle* (219h) that Papias was a student of John.

<sup>578</sup> Eusebius' quotation of Philo at 2.17.11 similarly depicts the Therapeutae as constantly discussing the sacred scriptures. Papias' inquiries about the apostles' words thus bolster Papias' authority as a transmitter of facts, if not as an interpreter of them (cf. 3.39.7, 11-14). Note the parallel with the passages cited by Marincola 1997: 148-158 on Greek and Latin historians' foregrounding of their efforts at inquiry to construct narratorial authority.

<sup>579</sup> Eusebius embeds two other narratives where Christian leaders educate and correct other Christians. The first depicts John the Apostle's correcting a troubled and violent youth (3.23); the second is Dionysius of Alexandria's sitting and interpreting the scriptures for three days with a wayward congregation in the village of Arsinoe (7.24.6-9). On Christian educational activity in the *History*, see also chapter 5, pp. 190-194 below.

<sup>580</sup> See further chapters 5, pp. 187f. below.

churches be permitted to celebrate Pascha on different dates adduces an anecdote of a meeting between Polycarp and Victor's predecessor, Anicetus of Rome. "Neither was Anicetus able to persuade Polycarp not to observe [Easter at that time], nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, as Anicetus said he ought to keep the custom of the presbyters who came before him."<sup>581</sup> At 6.34 the emperor Philip the Arab tries to join a Paschal vigil. When the presiding Christian cleric (*proestōtos*) forbids Philip from participating unless he repents publicly, Philip performs an act of penitence and celebrates with the church. Philip's submission, like Polycarp's respectful discussion with Anicetus, models how an imperial officeholder must defer to Christian clerics in matters of ritual propriety in the church.<sup>582</sup>

Other anecdotes depict subjects' stands against "heretical" or "demonic" practices. For example, in his biography of the "heretic" Cerinthus Eusebius retells an anecdote borrowed from Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*, where the Apostle John, having entered a bathhouse, learns that the "heretic" Cerinthus is inside and rushes away from his bath.<sup>583</sup> In his biography of the Christian bishop Polycarp Eusebius includes a parallel anecdote: "Polycarp himself, when Marcion came into his sight and said, 'Do you recognize us?' replied, 'Oh, I recognize you—I recognize the firstborn of Satan' (4.14.7).<sup>584</sup> In the course of his biography of the Christian senator Astyrius of Caesarea Eusebius describes Astyrius' disruption of a "demonic" ritual with a prayer to God (7.17). Such anecdotes create a pattern of "orthodox" Christians' opposition to "heretical" and demonic activity, policing the doctrinal boundaries of the church, and preventing the demons who stand behind "heretics" from gaining a foothold in God's community.<sup>585</sup>

Anecdotes concerning the "heretics" themselves, meanwhile, highlight "heretics'" deviations from appropriate Christian behavior.<sup>586</sup> The "heretic" Nicolaus gives his wife to the apostles, illustrating his extremist stance on abusing the flesh (3.29.2). Eusebius' descriptions of the followers of Montanus feature a number of anecdotes showing these "heretics'" dishonest behavior (5.18.5-7). A lengthy series of anecdotes displays the outrageous conduct of Paul of Samosata, who walks with a crowd around him in the marketplace, runs his assembly like a Roman judge, slaps his knee like a sophist, holds disorderly assemblies, and keeps several women (7.30.9-11). These anecdotes attribute extremism, dishonesty, and flamboyance to "heretics," unacceptable behaviors that prompt expulsion from the "orthodox" church. The church becomes a more honorable institution for rejecting such individuals.

Eusebius' anecdotes showcase proper social behavior, encourage Christian education, and warn against association with "heretics." Like Philostratus' homogeneous portraits of the sophists, the *History's* anecdotes thus replicate the conservative purpose of standardizing proper behavior in the church.<sup>587</sup> Rather than highlighting Christian diversity, they exhibit ideal Christians who are well-educated, are collegial with other clergy, and who reject deviant members as "heretics." Eusebius thus used a literary device that could have highlighted Christian diversity to reduce Christian conduct to a formula.

<sup>581</sup> οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πείσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν..., οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισεν τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν.

<sup>582</sup> See further chapter 5, p. 205 below, and chapter 6, p. 227 below.

<sup>583</sup> 3.28.6, 4.14.6=Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* 3.3.4.

<sup>584</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνι ποτε εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῶ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι· ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, ἀπεκρίθη· ἐπιγινώσκω ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ.

<sup>585</sup> Note also e.g. 5.13.5-7 (discussed in chapter 5, pp. 188f. below), 6.2.14, 6.12.3-6.

<sup>586</sup> Cf. chapter 5, pp. 188f. below.

<sup>587</sup> His anecdotes are thus comparable to the formulaic portraits of the sophists constructed by Philostratus' *Sophists*.

The three biographical categories of information that Eusebius stresses depict Christians as uniformly upright and intellectually formidable. Eusebius' catalogues of writings amass evidence of Christians' literary productivity, encouraging readers to inspect these writings for themselves. His description solely of "heretical" doctrines constructs "heretics" as the sole deviants from the church's homogeneous teachings, whereas all that differs in "orthodox" Christians' teaching is which texts they use to expound correct doctrine. Finally, Eusebius' anecdotes capture a series of episodes of Christians teaching each other, respecting one other's authority, and warning against unacceptable doctrines, while other anecdotes make "heretics" appear fanatical, flamboyant, or otherwise unworthy of the Christians' philosophical manner of life.

We have seen that by downplaying location, family lines, and death narratives Eusebius removed much of the potential diversity among Christians, depicting the church as a universal and homogeneous construct. Eusebius' literary catalogues, instructional relationships, and anecdotes reinforce his portrayal of a homogeneous church. The categories of information that Eusebius emphasizes—especially his literary catalogues—add the quality of intellectual productivity, even as the *History's* Christians work within an "orthodox" intellectual tradition taught by Christ. As we will see, two categories of information that Eusebius modified reinforce the church's homogeneity and intellectual prowess while again highlighting its universality.

#### 4. Information that Eusebius Restructures

##### G. Teacher/Student Connections

In philosophical biography, scholarly relationships were a crucial category of information. Philosophical biographers had long set their subjects into pedagogical relationships with renowned teachers and students: a number of philosophical biographies even bore the title *Successions* and were structured as genealogies of philosophical teachers and students in different philosophical schools.<sup>588</sup> Understanding philosophers meant knowing their teachers.

While all intellectual biographers from the century before Eusebius incorporate student-teacher relationships into their lives,<sup>589</sup> the collective biographers Diogenes Laertius' and Philostratus' contrasting uses of pedagogical relations are most comparable to the *History's* presentation.<sup>590</sup> Diogenes Laertius consistently places *Lives* of students after those of their teachers. Readers could thus follow continuous lines of succession through each book of the *Lives and Opinions* and expect roughly synonymous philosophical doctrines.<sup>591</sup> Accordingly, book 2 of the *Lives and Opinions* traces the intellectual genealogy of the Socratics, books 3 and 4

<sup>588</sup> The genre was initiated by Sotion, on whom see esp. Kienle 1961: 78-91, Wehrli 1978, Aronadio 1990; see also chapter 1, p. 52 with n. 310 above; on the *diadochai* genre, see the *reliquiae* in Giannatasio Andria 1989.

<sup>589</sup> Porphyry wrote teacher-student relationships into both of his surviving philosophical biographies. Porphyry's personal experiences as Plotinus' student inform and frame the bulk of his *Life of Plotinus*, while his *Life of Pythagoras* traces its title character's absorption of wisdom from several cultures (*VPyth.* 5-8) and his instruction of pupils in Ionia and Croton (*VPyth.* 9, 18-52). Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* expands Porphyry's focus on an educational setting, molding Pythagoras into a hybrid instructor-lawgiver for a separatist philosophical community (*PythV* 5.20-27, and note also 18-34). Iamblichus also stresses Pythagoras' long-term relationship with his teacher Pherecydes (*PythV* 2.9, 30.184, 35.248f., 252) and ends the *Life* with a long, celebrity-studded list of Pythagoras' pupils (36.265-267), crowning a lifetime of teaching.

<sup>590</sup> See also chapter 1, pp. 52f. above.

<sup>591</sup> Cf. p. 88 with nn. 545f. above on Diogenes' habit of crediting doctrines to schools' founders.

follow the Platonists' genealogy, book 5 the Aristotelians, and so forth.<sup>592</sup> Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* also chronicle intellectuals' student-teacher relationships. As Kendra Eshleman has demonstrated, for the imperial era Philostratus follows a master-disciple genealogy from the Neronian sophist Nicetes of Smyrna up to himself.<sup>593</sup> Whereas Diogenes Laertius uses parallel successions to include multiple schools of philosophy and diversify the Greek philosophers, Philostratus systematically excludes sophists outside of his unified intellectual genealogy, making his "sophists" into a unified and uniform dynasty.<sup>594</sup>

Like Diogenes, Eusebius uses pedagogical genealogies to include numerous Christians within his church; like Philostratus, however, Eusebius also proffers pedagogical genealogies to exclude individuals from the church. But while Eusebius notes these relationships frequently in his biographies, he also deviates from both Diogenes and Philostratus by placing his scholastic successions into separate units of text from his biographies.

Eusebius' notices of student-teacher relationships within his biographies are fairly conventional. The *History* traces several scholastic successions, the most prominent being the so-called Alexandrian catechetical school.<sup>595</sup> At 5.10.1 Eusebius introduces Pantaenus as the leader of "a school for studying sacred ideas."<sup>596</sup> Immediately hereafter, Eusebius inserts a biography of Clement of Alexandria (5.11), whose own words Eusebius cites as identifying Pantaenus as his philosophical instructor. In book 6, Eusebius names Clement as Origen's teacher (6.6; cf. 6.14.9).<sup>597</sup> Origen's disciples Heraclas and Dionysius both succeed him as the heads of Alexandrian catechetical instruction (6.29.5, 6.35).<sup>598</sup>

The succession of Alexandrian teachers is merely the most prominent series of teachers and students in the *History*. From books 3 through 5 Eusebius also traces a line of instruction from the apostle John to Polycarp of Smyrna to Irenaeus of Lyons.<sup>599</sup> A third succession of extra-episcopal teacher-intellectuals extends through books 4 and 5, from Justin Martyr to Tatian to Rhodon, though among these at least Tatian became a "heretic."<sup>600</sup> Placed within his biographies, such student-teacher genealogies reinforce Eusebius' picture of a unified Christianity with serious intellectual training.

<sup>592</sup> See esp. Delattre 2006; on the exceptional book 1, see Goulet 1992. Only for the autodidactic philosophers Heraclitus and Xenophanes (*VSEP* 9.1-20) does Diogenes report no instructor: he calls the latter pair οἱ σποράδην (8.91, 9.20; cf. Warren 2007: 148f.).

<sup>593</sup> Eshleman 2008: 396-405, though as I noted in chapter 1, p. 53 above, Philostratus avoids the term *diadochē*.

<sup>594</sup> I owe the emphasis on inclusion and exclusion to discussion with Aaron Johnson.

<sup>595</sup> On this institution generally, see e.g. Bardy 1937; Scholten 1995; van den Hoek 1997: 61-79; Jakab 2001; on Eusebius' portrayal of it in the *History*, see Ferguson 2005: 29f.

<sup>596</sup> ἡγεῖτο... Πάνταινος ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων ἐν αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος. Eusebius' description of the Therapeutae in 2.17 (cf. Grant 1980: 73-75), must lie behind Eusebius' mention of "ancient custom" (*archaiou ethous*). This association adorns Pantaenus' educational institution with the venerable heritage of the Alexandrian ascetics praised in book 2 (see esp. Inowlocki 2004).

<sup>597</sup> On 6.14.9 (Alexander of Jerusalem's letter to Origen), see also chapter 5, pp. 191f. below.

<sup>598</sup> Both later become bishops of Alexandria (6.29.5, 6.35), while other pupils of Origen become bishops elsewhere (6.30, 7.14).

<sup>599</sup> 3.36.1, 4.14.3-6, 5.5.8, 5.20.5f.; cf. 3.39.2-9, 5.24.16.

<sup>600</sup> Rhodon may or may not be a "heretic"; Eusebius neither affirms nor denies his "orthodoxy" (*pace* Willing 2008: 235). The reason for assuming Rhodon to be a "heretic" is his tutelage by Tatian, but Tatian began as an "orthodox" Christian (4.29.3), and Eusebius leaves unspecified whether Tatian taught Rhodon before or after he became a "heretic." Moreover, at 5.13.8 Eusebius notes a text where Rhodon replies to Tatian, implying doctrinal disagreement between the two and perhaps suggesting Rhodon's "orthodoxy." Finally, Tatian has a follower named Severus who exacerbates his "heresy (4.29.4f.), who might serve as a foil to Rhodon.



Eusebius' biographies also place "heretics" into pedagogical genealogies, again rather conventionally.<sup>601</sup> As Meike Willing's thorough monograph on "heretics" in the *History* has shown, Eusebius' reproduction of earlier heresiologists' student-teacher relationships stain students with their teachers' sins, and so confirm the continuity of the "heretical" threat against the church.<sup>602</sup> So, for example, Menander, "Simon Magus' successor, is revealed as a second, formidable weapon of the devil's activity...."<sup>603</sup> Menander produces two successors, Saturninus and Basilides (4.7.3), while Cerdo similarly "received his inclination from Simon's followers" (4.11.2)<sup>604</sup> and himself discipled Marcion (4.11.1f.). Tatian passes his "heretical" teachings on to his disciple Severus (4.29.4f.). Such genealogical ties proclaim individual "heretics" guilty by association with other "heretics" and serve to unify, and isolate, "heretics" as a single entity, which enables Eusebius to exclude all members of this entity equally.<sup>605</sup> At the same time, however, "heretics'" successions are invariably shorter than Christians': even the longest "heretical" line only includes four master-student pairs; "orthodox" intellectual genealogies are far more durable.<sup>606</sup>

Eusebius diverges from the standard format of intellectual biography for his most pervasive descriptions of Christian teaching, namely his successions of bishops. As noted in chapter 1 (pp. 52f.), Eusebius uses successions of Christian bishops as a chronological scaffolding for the entire *History*. He continually notes successions of bishops in Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria.<sup>607</sup> Whereas Diogenes Laertius and Philostratus communicated teacher-pupil relationships by sequencing their biographies with pupil following teacher, Eusebius separates his notices of episcopal succession from his biographies of Christian intellectuals. Here are three representative examples of these successional notices (2.24, 7.14, 7.32.29):<sup>608</sup>

When Nero was in the eighth year of his reign, Annianus succeeded to the service of the community in Alexandria, the first after Mark the evangelist.<sup>609</sup>

Now around the twelfth year of Trajan's reign the bishop of the community in Alexandria mentioned a short while ago by us gave up his life, and Primus, the fourth from the apostles, inherits the office of the Christians there. At this time also Alexander in Rome,

<sup>601</sup> Menander is noted as Simon's student (3.26.1, 3), and Basilides and Saturninus are described in turn as Menander's students (4.7.3). Cerdo is also described as a student of Simon, and Marcion as his student in turn. (4.11.2). Paul of Samosata first appears as a (two-generations-later) disciple of Artemon (5.28.1, 7.30.16f.).

<sup>602</sup> Willing 2008: esp. 455-464.

<sup>603</sup> τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος, ὄπλον δεύτερον οὐ χεῖρον τοῦ προτέρου τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυται.

<sup>604</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν, a quotation of *Iren.Haer.* 1.27.1

<sup>605</sup> Such Christian genealogizing did not of course begin with Eusebius, as Justin, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus had already condemned new "heretics" in part by their associations with "heretics" of previous generations. The classic study is Le Boulluc 1985.

<sup>606</sup> Willing 2008: 464-471.

<sup>607</sup> Sometimes Eusebius notes the bishops of other cities as well: see e.g. 5.5.8; 7.14; 7.32.5f., 21, 24.

<sup>608</sup> See also 3.2, 3.11, 3.13, 3.15f., 3.21f., 3.34f.; 4.1, 4.5, 4.10, 4.11.6, 4.19f., 4.24; 5.pref.1, 5.8f., 5.12, 5.22; 6.8.7, 6.21.1, 6.26f., 6.29.5, 6.35, 6.39.2-4, 6.46.4; 7.2.1, 7.5.3, 7.27.1, 7.28, 7.32 *passim*.

<sup>609</sup> Νέρωνος δὲ ὄγδοον ἄγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.

Evaristus having completed his eighth year, gaining the fifth place of succession from Peter and Paul, undertook the episcopacy.<sup>610</sup>

Over the church in Jerusalem, after Bishop Hymenaeus mentioned a short time above [7.14], Zabdas takes up the office.<sup>611</sup>

Most such notices of episcopal successions are short, formulaic, and matter-of-fact:<sup>612</sup> they name a city's old and new bishops, frequently the number of years served, and key synchronisms, such as with other bishops and especially with Roman emperors (on which see below, pp. 99-102).<sup>613</sup> Readers learn nothing about Annianus, Primus, Hymenaeus, or Zabdas, except that they succeeded other men in prominent episcopacies; such notices are not biographies.<sup>614</sup>

Do Eusebius' bishops serve as teachers of their successors, as Diogenes Laertius' and Philostratus' sophists teach their pupils? The church historian Robert Grant has in fact asserted that Eusebius' notices of episcopal succession "laid no emphasis on the transmission of correct doctrine."<sup>615</sup> A telling passage belies Grant's assertion: at 5.6.5, after reproducing a list of Roman bishops from Peter to the later second century from Irenaeus' *Against all Heresies* (3.3.3), Eusebius continues the quotation, "In this same order and *with this same teaching the tradition in the church* from the apostles and the *preaching of the truth* arrived with us" (italics mine).<sup>616</sup> This quotation states that bishops entrusted their successors with the responsibility of passing on proper teachings to the next generation, foregrounding the didactic duties of the episcopacy. Eusebius did not need to quote this sentence for the purposes of 5.6, a chapter that reproduces the bishops of Rome from Peter to Irenaeus' day.<sup>617</sup> He must have quoted it to make explicit the duty of bishops to transmit the church's teachings to their successors.<sup>618</sup>

<sup>610</sup> ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας ὁ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας δηλωθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάττει, τέταρτος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτοῦ λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρίμος. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ὄγδοον ἔτος ἀποπλήσαντος Εὐαρέστου, πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχὴν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑπολαμβάνει.

<sup>611</sup> τῆς δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὸν μικρῶ πρόσθεν δεδηλουμένον ἐπίσκοπον Ὑμέναιον Ζάβδας τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει....

<sup>612</sup> But cf. Perrone 2007: 324-327 on Eusebius' *variatio* of diction in these notices.

<sup>613</sup> As Simonetti 1997: 54f. notes Eusebius' episcopal successions parallel previous Greek and Roman historians' dating by annual officeholders such as Athenian archons and Roman consuls.

<sup>614</sup> Some successional notices say something more about their officeholders, such as educational connections (e.g. 7.14). A few notices of episcopal succession even say enough about their officeholders to count as biographies (e.g. 3.11.2, 7.32.6-22), though Eusebius usually separates bishops' biographies from their successional notices (e.g. 3.15f., 4.20 with 4.24, 5.22 with 6.12).

<sup>615</sup> Grant 1980: 59, following Turner 1918: 132-142; cf. Grant 1980: 44f., which acknowledges the parallel between Eusebius' and the intellectual biographers' intellectual genealogical structures.

<sup>616</sup> τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδασχῇ ἢ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγμα κατήνηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. A textual problem must be noted (and see n. 618 below): every Greek exemplar but M has *didachēi* at this point, and the early Syriac translation of the *History* agrees with *didachēi*. M reads *diadochēi*, while Rufinus, as often, omits the phrase from his Latin translation.

<sup>617</sup> The title of this chapter is simply, "A list of those who had acted as bishops in Rome" (Τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥωμῆς ἐπισκοπευσάντων κατάλογος). It is unlikely that Eusebius simply continued his quotation of Irenaeus' bishop-list to this point accidentally, as the *History* includes several apparently extraneous quotations that define titles and roles within the church. See *HE* 4.11.9, where a quotation of Justin acknowledges that "heretics" are still Christians, and 5.2.2f., where Eusebius quotes a passage from the *Martyrs of Lyons* that distinguishes "martyrs" from "confessors."

<sup>618</sup> Especially telling about this remark is that to all appearances Eusebius has changed the wording from his *Vorlage*. Apart from *History* 5.6.5, this sentence of Irenaeus' *Against All Heresies* (3.3.3) survives only in a Latin translation, which reads, "In this same order and succession, the tradition in the church that is from the apostles and

Read in light of this statement, Eusebius' notices of apostolic succession invite readers to understand the institutionalized conferral of the episcopal offices of each major city as safeguarding the consistency of Christian teaching.<sup>619</sup> Every bishop in a line of succession thus maintains a pedagogical relationship with his episcopal predecessors and successors.<sup>620</sup> The notices create a rhythm that underlines the melody of Eusebius' narratives and biographies, modeling the regularity and reliability of both Christian and Roman institutions.

Eusebius' brevity about these bishops is suggestive, moreover. It points to numerous Christian lives omitted from the *History*. Eusebius hints regularly that other brilliant Christians existed outside of the *History's* biographies.<sup>621</sup> The mere names of bishops parading before readers' eyes suggest that Eusebius' biographies are just a sample of the many brilliant intellectuals of the church's past; Eusebius simply happened to have enough information to profile some of them in biographies.<sup>622</sup> Such notices reduce the exceptionality of individuals who happen to receive biographies from Eusebius. They hint at a much larger chorus of ecclesiastical intellectuals, unknown to posterity but instrumental in maintaining the church's doctrinal integrity. Their lack of individuality amplifies the homogeneity of Eusebius' church.

Eusebius' notices of episcopal successions also have implications for the universality of Eusebius' church. He places these genealogies in three major cities of the Roman Empire, namely Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, along with the sacred city of Jerusalem. Such recurring reminders of the church's activity in geographically disparate metropoleis confirm the extent of the church's reach. Along with this spatial dissemination, the episcopal successions function in ways similar to Diogenes Laertius' and Philostratus' intellectual genealogies by demonstrating a continuous succession of Christian leaders from Jesus and the apostles to Eusebius' day.<sup>623</sup> A church that reached so far in space and time was no mere local, marginal institution, but a universal society.

the preaching of the truth arrived with us" (hac ordinatione et successione, *ea quae est ab apostolis in Ecclesia traditio et veritatis praeconatio pervenit usque ad nos*). *Successio* is the usual Latin translation of the Greek *diadochē*. So where Eusebius' quotation, in all but one manuscript (M; see above, n. 616), has *didachēi* ("teaching"), the Latin *Against Heresies* reads *successione*. *Diadochē* (= *successio*) was certainly what Irenaeus originally wrote, since the Latin manuscripts of *Against All Heresies* are unanimous, and Irenaeus has just enumerated the line of the Roman bishops' succession, not the Roman bishops' teaching. For *HE* 5.6.5, by contrast, *didachēi* is overwhelmingly the majority reading of the manuscript tradition, and is surely a sensical *lectio difficilior*. That Eusebius heightens the emphasis on teaching when reproducing a pronouncement that already stressed the uniformity of Christian tradition underscores bishops' responsibility for teaching.

<sup>619</sup> Eusebius' bishops ensure proper doctrine in their churches frequently, e.g. in 6.3.8, 6.12, 7.24.6-9, 7.27-30, and through the quotations of Irenaeus' and Dionysius' heresiological remarks.

<sup>620</sup> Possible exceptions are those bishops who moved from their home cities to succeed bishops in new cities. Alexander of Jerusalem (6.11), Eusebius of Alexandria (7.32.5), and Anatolius of Alexandria (7.32.6) all relocate to become bishops, so the reader cannot assume instruction from their predecessors. Nonetheless, Eusebius also makes clear that each of these had a firm Christian education in his place of origin.

<sup>621</sup> Notably at 5.22 (quoted above): "Numerous others also, as is reasonable, were brilliant in addition to these, whose orthodoxy of the faith has come down to us in writing..." (καὶ ἄλλοι δ', ὡς γε εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρία κατὰ τοῦσδε διέπρεπον· ὧν γε μὴν ἔγγραφος ἢ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία); see also 5.15, 5.27, 7.28.1.

<sup>622</sup> Cf. *HE* 1.1.4, and Bauer 1964: 159-161. Bishops of cities besides Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria—e.g. Hierapolis, Corinth, Ephesus, Lyons, Caesarea Maritima, Carthage, Laodicea—pop in and out of the *History* apparently at random.

<sup>623</sup> Note the distinction in *HE* 1.1.1 between the *diadochai* of the apostles and "how many have engaged with the divine Logos".

Thus, Eusebius' student-teacher relationships reinforce the intellectual prowess, universality, and uniformity of the church while excluding "heretics" from this picture. Obviously Eusebius' emphasis on instruction highlights the educational attainments of the church, while "heretics'" bad choices of teachers underscore their intellectual deficiency. As for universality, Eusebius' lines of continuous episcopal succession weave multiple, geographically disparate threads of doctrinal transmission through the *History*. Just as his biographies tend to find Christians in the Empire's most important cities, so also Eusebius follows the episcopal successions of the Empire's three largest cities, namely Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. His biographies and successional notices create homogeneity by implying the same doctrinal uniformity for the church across time that Diogenes Laertius' and Philostratus' successional structures communicate for their philosophical schools.<sup>624</sup> Moreover, Eusebius uses pedagogical relationships to reinforce the continuity of both Christian and "heretical" indoctrination. While "heretical" successions amalgamate scattered deviants into a single threat,<sup>625</sup> episcopal successions unify Christians from across the Roman Empire in the transmission of "orthodox" Christian teaching.

Finally, it is significant that one other kind of individual in the *History* appears frequently in Eusebius' notices of episcopal succession: Roman emperors' reigns serve as regular chronological anchors for Eusebius' Christian leaders. But we will see that Eusebius' association of bishops and emperors served additional purposes.

#### H. Chronological Context

Philosophical biographers of the third and early fourth centuries placed their subjects within a recognizable chronological framework, even if they rarely provided the precise dates for birth and death that modern readers typically demand. Diogenes Laertius cites Olympian dates from chroniclers, most often the second-century BC Athenian Apollodorus, frequently.<sup>626</sup> The other biographers adduce statesmen's presence to communicate their subjects' times, a move that allowed readers to associate intellectual figures with what they knew of the times when these statesmen lived. Philostratus weaves chronological notices into his *Lives of the Sophists* by noting most sophists' interactions with emperors.<sup>627</sup> Porphyry reports the precise year of Plotinus' death and associates some of Plotinus' deeds with various emperors.<sup>628</sup> Both Porphyry's and Iamblichus' *Lives of Pythagoras* date their sixth-century BC hero by synchronisms with known figures from the archaic Greek past.<sup>629</sup>

As with his notices of episcopal succession, Eusebius separates the *History's* chronological notices from its biographies. Here, again, the *History's* genre of national history takes precedence: previous Greek national histories had marked passing time by successions of

<sup>624</sup> On Christian educational practices in the *History*, see further chapter 5, pp. 190-194 below.

<sup>625</sup> A threat backed by the devil: see e.g. 2.13.1; 3.26.1, 4; 4.7.1f.; see also chapter 3, p. 113 with n. 697 below and Willing 2008: 436-452.

<sup>626</sup> E.g. *VSEP* 1.37, 2.2, 2.7, 3.2, 4.65, 5.9, 5.58, 7.184, 8.52, 9.1, 9.25, 10.12f.; cf. 1.74 and Mejer 1978: 34. Sometimes the *Lives and Opinions* discusses of the source tradition of philosophers' chronology (e.g. 9.41).

<sup>627</sup> E.g. Nicetes of Smyrna's letter to Nero, *VS* 512; Hadrian's appointment of Dionysius of Miletus to office (*VS* 524), Alexander of Seleucia's embassy to Antoninus Pius (*VS* 570); Philostratus does not always provide such a notice (e.g. for Lollianus of Ephesus, *VS* 526f.).

<sup>628</sup> Plotinus' death: *VPlot.* 2 (AD 270; and Porphyry then calculates the year of Plotinus' birth back to the third year of Septimius Severus); Gordian: *VPlot.* 3; Gallienus: *VPlot.* 12; see also *VPlot.* 4-6 and Goulet 2001: 154-190.

<sup>629</sup> Porphyry, *VPyth.* 7, 9, 16; Iamblichus, *PythV* 2.11, 18.88.

political officeholders, such as Athenian archons or Roman consuls.<sup>630</sup> The *History*'s chronology revolves around Roman emperors. Woven throughout the *History*, therefore, are notices of Roman emperors' successions such as the following (2.8.1, 4.14.10, 7.28.4):

At any rate, Claudius succeeds Gaius, who did not even hold power four whole years, as emperor....<sup>631</sup>

After Antoninus who was called the Pious had completed his twenty-second year in office, Marcus Aurelius Verus, also called Antoninus, his son, together with Lucius his brother, succeeds him.<sup>632</sup>

Gallienus having controlled the Empire for the whole of fifteen years, Claudius was set in place as his successor. He went through two years and handed his rule to Aurelian....<sup>633</sup>

From the chronological spine of these notices Eusebius fleshes out the church's events and personalities. Whereas previous philosophical biographers had inserted chronological notices into their biographies, Eusebius inserts his biographies between the chronological notices.

Eusebius enriches his notices of emperors' reigns by noting episcopal succession (discussed in the previous section) alongside imperial reigns.<sup>634</sup> The *History* frequently juxtaposes Roman emperors with Christian bishops as successors to institutionalized offices. The following notices are apt examples (3.13f., 5.22, 6.34f.):<sup>635</sup>

In Vespasian's tenth year as emperor Titus succeeds him as supreme ruler; in the second year of his emperorship Linus the bishop of the Romans' church, having held his position of service for 12 years, hands it over to Anencletus. Then Domitian succeeds his brother Titus, who had reigned two years and as many months, and so in Domitian's fourth year Annianus, the first bishop of the community at Alexandria, after fulfilling twenty-two years as bishop, dies, and the second Alexandrian bishop Abilius succeeds him.<sup>636</sup>

<sup>630</sup> See e.g. Marincola 1999: 305f., DeVore forthcoming a. A few had dated events by successive holders of civic or national priesthoods. For example, Thucydides used the priestesses of Argos (see e.g. Hornblower 2006: 620), while Josephus followed the succession of priests in Jerusalem for much of the *Jewish Antiquities* (see chapter 1, p. 46f. above). But these offices were ceremonial positions that did not require the intellectual prowess that (Eusebius') bishops had to display.

<sup>631</sup> ἀλλὰ γὰρ Γάϊον οὐδ' ὅλοις τέτταρσιν ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα Κλαύδιος αὐτοκράτωρ διαδέχεται....

<sup>632</sup> Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ τὸν Εὐσεβῆ κληθέντα, εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεῦτερον ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς διανύσαντα, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, σὺν καὶ Λουκίῳ ἀδελφῶ διαδέχεται.

<sup>633</sup> Γαλλιηνοῦ δ' ἐφ' ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν ἀρχὴν κεκρατηκότος, Κλαύδιος κατέστη διάδοχος. δεῦτερον οὗτος διελθὼν ἔτος Αὐρηλιανῶ μεταδίδωσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

<sup>634</sup> As he declares in his preface (*HE* 1.1.6), Eusebius sequenced the *History*'s constituent narratives and biographies according to the chronology of his earlier *Chronicle* (see the Introduction, pp. 6f. above on dates of Eusebius' writing these texts). The *Chronicle* had synchronized events and personalities from different historical empires up to the time of Augustus, and then, when the civilized world came under one political system, synchronized Roman and Christian events and biographies. Among many excellent studies of the *Chronicle*, see above all Mosshammer 1979, and Sirinelli 1961: 31-134; Croke 1983; Adler 1992 and 2006; Burgess 1999 and 2002; Grafton and Williams 2006: ch. 3; and Andrei 2008.

<sup>635</sup> Note also 3.21, 4.10, 6.21.1f., 6.29.1, 7.30.22f.; cf. 7.28.

<sup>636</sup> ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἔτεσιν βασιλεύσαντα αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται· οὐ κατὰ δεῦτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Λίνος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας δυοκαίδεκα τὴν λειτουργίαν

In the tenth year of Commodus' reign Victor succeeds Eleutherus, who had performed the services of his episcopacy for 13 years; at the same time, after Julian also fulfilled his tenth year, Demetrius takes over the services of the communities in Alexandria; at this time also Serapion, the eighth bishop from of the church of the Antiochenes, who was mentioned already before [5.19.1], was well known still as bishop. And Theophilus was leading the church of Caesarea in Palestine, while Narcissus likewise, of whom the discourse above took note [5.12.1], held the position of ministry of the church in Jerusalem still at that time, while over Corinth in Greece the bishop contemporary with them was Bacchyllus and Polycrates was bishop over the community in Ephesus.<sup>637</sup>

Gordian having completed his rule over the Romans in six years, Philip succeeded to power.... And it was his third year, when Heraclas gave up his life upon the sixteenth year of being in charge of the churches in Alexandria that Dionysius undertook the episcopacy.<sup>638</sup>

Such notices recur from the very beginning of book 2 through the culminating combination of successional notices with biographies at the end of book 7 (7.32; see chapter 3, pp. 124-127). Eusebius also uses much of the same vocabulary for notices of both episcopal and imperial succession.<sup>639</sup> The officeholders in both institutions change, but church and Empire carry on at one another's side.<sup>640</sup>

These juxtapositions of ecclesiastical and imperial leaders invite readers to compare the institutions represented by the two offices. Eusebius' placement of bishops alongside emperors as chronological signposts submits bishops as the Christian counterpart to Athenian or Roman heads of state.<sup>641</sup> The episcopacy emerges as a continuous, stable institution. If Christianity was a nation, as Eusebius says several times in the *History*,<sup>642</sup> then bishops appear to be heads of a Christian state; and indeed elsewhere in the *History* bishops perform duties befitting heads of

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ἐνιαυτοῖς κατασχών, Ἀνεγκλήτω ταύτην παραδίδωσιν. Τίτον δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἀδελφὸς διαδέχεται, δύο ἔτεσι καὶ μηρὶ τοῖς ἴσοις βασιλεύσαντα. τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἔτει Δομετιανοῦ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἀποπλήσας ἔτη, τελευτᾷ, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος.

<sup>637</sup> δεκάτῳ γε μὴν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας ἔτει δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λειτουργηκότα Ἐλεύθερον διαδέχεται Βίκτωρ· ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ δέκατον ἔτος ἀποπλήσαντος, τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίων τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Δημήτριος· καθ' οὓς καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας ὄγδοος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρόσθεν ἤδη δεδηλωμένος ἔτι τότε Σεραπίων ἐπίσκοπος ἐγνωρίζετο. Καισαρείας δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνων ἠγεῖτο Θεόφιλος, καὶ Νάρκισσος δὲ ὁμοίως, οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ λόγος μνήμην ἐποιήσατο, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἔτι τότε τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν, Κορίνθου δὲ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Βάκχυλλος καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας Πολυκράτης.

<sup>638</sup> ἔτεσιν δὲ ὅλοις ἕξ Γορδιανὸς τὴν Ρωμαίων διανύσαντος ἡγεμονίαν, Φίλιππος ἅμα παιδὶ Φιλίππῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται.... τρίτον δὲ τούτῳ ἔτος ἦν, καθ' ὃ μεταλλάξαντος Ἡρακλᾶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ δέκα ἕξ ἔτεσιν τῆς προστάσιος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Διονύσιος ὑπολαμβάνει.

<sup>639</sup> In addition to *diadochē* and cognates, *diaginesthai*, *dianuein*, *diarkein*, *dierchomai*, and *kathistasthai* all recur in both episcopal and imperial succession notices.

<sup>640</sup> Cf. chapter 4, p. 158 below.

<sup>641</sup> Some local histories and chronicles had juxtaposed political and intellectual events and figures: see Clarke 2008: 68-72, 224-227, 326-330. But unlike Eusebius' *History*, these local histories did not juxtapose the heads of intellectual and political institutions like church and Empire.

<sup>642</sup> *HE* 1.4.2, 4.7.10, 10.4.19; cf. 2.pref.1, 2.17.15, 4.7.13, 4.23.2, 5.pref.4, 7.32.30, 9.1.5, 9.9a.1.

state.<sup>643</sup> The parallel between bishops and emperor thus provides a feature that reflects the genre of national history.<sup>644</sup>

While bishops' association with emperors invites readers to consider the political nature of bishops' activities, we saw in the previous section that Eusebius' bishops oversee the instruction of subordinates in correct doctrine and train competent successors to perpetuate their teaching. These are the duties of intellectuals, not of statesmen. Readers could view bishops' juxtaposition with emperors as reflecting bishops' political role, or else could envision bishops as philosophers and so contrast them with emperors. As we saw in chapter 1 (pp. 65-67), Roman philosophers took the stance of outsiders toward the polities where they were active. Eusebius' chronological structure was ambiguous about bishops' place within Roman society: bishops can be seen either as philosophers, disinterested outsiders to Roman society, or as statesmen, the leaders of a Christian polity within the Empire. Indeed, Eusebius' bishops play both roles at different points in the *History*.<sup>645</sup> They are versatile men who combine philosophical and political duties and skills. Complementing the bishops' intellectual prowess, therefore, their versatility reinforced the geographical and temporal universality that Eusebius infused into his portrayal of the church.

Earlier sections of this chapter showed that the categories of biographical that Eusebius removed and emphasized shaped his church as homogeneous, universal, and intellectually formidable. Eusebius' restructuring of two biographical categories reinforced these qualities. Whereas other philosophical biographers had noted their subjects' education and dates within their biographies, Eusebius removed chronological notices and most of his educational notices from his biographies and distributed his biographies around them. His regular notices of pedagogical relationships imply that from generation to generation Christian teaching remained uniformly excellent. They also underscore the universality of Christianity by suggesting the existence of more brilliant Christians than Eusebius could properly profile in biographies. A further index of Christian universality is Eusebius' chronological apparatus. His interlocking successions of emperors and bishops place the episcopacy alongside a political office, inviting readers to compare bishops with Roman emperors and ask whether bishops are mere intellectuals, or the statesmen they would expect from the national-historical genre also incorporated into the *History*. The pairing suggests, where Eusebius' biographies alone would have painted the church merely as a philosophical sect, that the church also had political significance for the Roman Empire.

### **Conclusions: the Character of Eusebius' Church and Relations to "Heretics" and Rome**

While chapter 1 showed that Eusebius patterned much of the *Ecclesiastical History* after Greek philosophical biographies, this chapter has looked more closely at the particular textual world that Eusebius' biographies created. This comparison of the categories of information in Eusebius' biographies has shown that Eusebius patterned his biographies of Christian intellectuals after Greek intellectual biographies. Like previous intellectual biographers,

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<sup>643</sup> Like state leaders, Eusebius' bishops police the church's boundaries (e.g. 4.23.4-6, 12; 5.19f.; 6.12.3-6; 6.43; 7.6; 7.30, and see chapter 5, pp. 188-190 below), petition emperors on the church's behalf (4.13.8, 7.13), proclaim the occasions for Christian events like festivals (e.g. 5.23-25, 7.20, 7.32.14-19), and supply needed provisions for desperate Christians (3.23, 6.44, 7.22; cf. 7.32.8-11).

<sup>644</sup> As Overbeck (1892: 42f.; see chapter 1, p. 43 above) recognized over a century ago, Eusebius' bishops acted in some sense as the church's heads of state. See further DeVore forthcoming a.

<sup>645</sup> See n. 643 above, as well as chapter 6, pp. 228f. below.

Eusebius emphasizes literary production, anecdotes, and doctrine. He also downplays other common biographical information, including locations of activity and especially of origins, familial ties, and death narratives. Finally, while Eusebius stresses instructional relationships and chronological context, he separates the passages that emphasize both from his biographies.

The way Eusebius dealt with these categories of information illustrates the characteristics of the church that he was presenting to his readers. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the genre of philosophical biography was flexible, offering the potential to characterize philosophers or philosophical schools in very different ways. Third- and early fourth-century philosophical biographers portrayed their subjects as either quite particular and parochial, or else as universal and transcendent; as either diverse or else as uniform; and as unworthy philosophical imposters, or else as brilliant intellectuals. This chapter's analysis of Eusebius' deployment of the categories of information from philosophical biography has revealed the *History's* Christians to be homogeneous, universal, and intellectually formidable.

*Homogeneous:* Eusebius' downplaying of family lines and locations of birth strip the church of local color and homogenize his Christian individuals. When Eusebius' biographies do describe Christians' cities, they are almost always important urban centers like Rome, Alexandria, or Caesarea, while the most of the few death narratives among the biographies involve martyrdom. Dozens of Christians' writings appear in very similar catalogues and exhibit consistently high quality, and their teachings are so obviously identical that only deviation from their doctrine requires comment. The *History's* anecdotes revolve around the recurring themes of Christians' education, peaceable interaction, and rejection of "heretics." And Eusebius' successions of bishops suggest that numerous other Christians were just as brilliant as those Eusebius was able to showcase.

*Universal:* Eusebius' "orthodox" Christians could hail from any family or location. While locations of activity are not indispensable to Eusebius' biographies, he places his Christians in the most important cities in both halves of the Mediterranean in both his biographies and in his notices of bishops' succession. The *History's* Christians thus do not depend on the privileges of their home city, their family's wealth or social status, or other inherited qualities to flourish. Christians like Melito of Sardis show a wide range of intellectual capacities. And Eusebius' placement of bishops alongside of Roman emperors hints that Christian leaders were particularly versatile individuals, with one foot in philosophical and one in political activity.

*Intellectually formidable:* The *History's* Christians study under other intellectuals and either write important works themselves, or succeed to episcopacies. A lengthy series of Christians write texts that engage in key intellectual debates and propagate "orthodox" teachings which they learn from venerable (though not always the same) sacred texts. Their doctrinal unity is so obvious that Eusebius need only note "heretics'" teachings to explain these deviants' exclusion from the church. Christians' only genealogy comes from bishops and other teachers who have mastered the perfect metaphysical and ethical doctrines that Christ taught. Eusebius' literary catalogues and anecdotes paint Christians as rivaling Greek philosophers in their intellectual prowess, and his anecdotes portray Christians as educating themselves earnestly and excluding defective intellectuals consistently. Eusebius' successions of bishops, responsible for communicating the *History's* church had the intellectual firepower to compete with any other Roman philosophical school.

Eusebius' biographies also have implications for the place of deviant Christians in the *History*, those whom Eusebius calls "heretics." Eusebius uses the "heretics" in the *History* as a foil for his church, as "heretics" exhibit diversity and intellectual deficiency against the



homogeneity and brilliance of “orthodox” Christians. If they die, it is with a whimper, not the bang of a martyr. The “heretics” are intellectually deficient, as they choose to deviate from the “orthodox” doctrine received from Jesus, or else stand in intellectual genealogies with other deficient intellectuals. Eusebius’ anecdotes regularly cast them as the targets of “orthodox” rebukes. And their lines of succession invariably peter out. Perhaps most importantly, their biographies are invariably shorter than “orthodox” Christians’ biographies: not even an archheretic like Simon Magus or an ostentatious infiltrator of the church like Paul of Samosata warrants the attention of an Irenaeus, an Origen, or a Dionysius of Alexandria. “Heretics” biographies are rarely drawn out in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Their activity is ephemeral; it is the orthodox who endure.

The three qualities of homogeneity, universality, and intellectual prowess work together to showcase Eusebius’ idealized church. Although one might expect the church’s universality and brilliance to spawn dissent and centrifuge, Eusebius’ biographies maintain unity as well as uniformity.<sup>646</sup> The formulaic successions of both apostles and teachers construct a continuous doctrinal transmission. Readers also encounter literary catalogue after literary catalogue, and Eusebius’ anecdotes repeat the same consistent behaviors, teaching and learning, refuting “heretics,” and highlighting elite Christian cooperation. Such carefully deployed information—repetitive, predictable, with few thrilling or memorable moments—reduce Eusebius’ church to a formula. Through it readers are lulled into expecting that every generation will produce more and more accomplished Christians.<sup>647</sup> Eusebius paints this homogeneous picture through a rhetoric of redundancy.

Far from being a weakness, however, the church’s homogeneous and universal intellectual prowess was likely a virtue to Eusebius’ educated Christian readers. These qualities presented the church as reliable in fulfilling the role of philosophers in the Roman Empire. As we saw in chapter 1 (p. 65), philosophers were expected to control themselves through careful training and through the sheer force of their reason. They were to be intellectual and religious guides and ethical paradigms for Roman leaders. If the church collectively was so uniformly brilliant, educating itself and producing works of high intellectual quality generation after generation, then other Roman elites could surely trust Christians to guide their practice of religion and to model the optimum way of life.

This chapter has studied the units of the *Ecclesiastical History* that most conform to the conventions of philosophical biographies. But as noted above, Eusebius’ *History* also includes numerous passages that do not seem on first glance to focus on philosophy. The next chapter therefore addresses a frequent kind of Eusebian narrative that seems less philosophical, martyr narratives. Yet we will see how Eusebius used his martyr narratives to reinforce the impression of uniform Christian philosophical attainment elaborated in his biographies.

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<sup>646</sup> See chapter 5, pp. 185-188 below on the unity of Eusebius’ church.

<sup>647</sup> Cf. the comments of Neusner 1988: xxiii-xv on the effects of the formulaic language of the Mishnah.

### Chapter 3

#### “Wars Contested for Peace in the Soul”: Philosophical Martyrdom as Eusebian War History

Whereas others who composed historical narratives would simply have handed down in writing victories in wars, trophies against enemies, the prizes of generals, and the bravery of hoplites stained with blood and numerous murders for the sake of children and country and other advantage, the narrative account written by us of the polity that follows God’s rule will record on perpetual stone tablets peaceful wars contested for peace itself in the soul, wars among the people for the sake of truth rather than country and for piety rather than the dearest loved ones, proclaiming the resolve and sought-after prizes of athletes for piety, trophies against demons, victories against unseen adversaries, and crowns in all these contests.<sup>648</sup>

So begins the fifth book of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*: Eusebius finds other historical narratives wanting because they neglect metaphysical levels of reality. This passage is the most overt critique of the Greek historiographical tradition in the *History*.<sup>649</sup> Eusebius’ paradoxical and innovative phrase “wars contested for peace itself in the soul” underlines the novelty of his reimagining of warfare.<sup>650</sup> By locating the crux of Christians’ peaceful wars outside the physical realm,<sup>651</sup> Eusebius asks why Greek historians stressed merely physical combat. This spiritualization of conflict critiques Greek war historiography for neglecting those higher levels of reality that Greek philosophy prized and studied.<sup>652</sup> Eusebius thus plays the Greek philosophical tradition against the values assumed by Greek war historians, upholding the efficacy and honor of his “philosophical” Christianity even amid the stress of violence.

Chapter 1 argued that Eusebius infused his national history of the church with the genre of philosophical biography, and chapter 2 revealed Eusebius’ church as a homogeneous, universal,

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<sup>648</sup> ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἱστορικᾶς ποιούμενοι διηγῆσαι, πάντως ἂν παρέδωκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας καὶ τρόπαια κατ’ ἐχθρῶν στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας, αἵματι καὶ μυρίοις φόνοις παίδων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἕνεκεν περιουσίας μινθέντων· ὁ δὲ γε τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν πολιτεύματος διηγηματικὸς ἡμῖν λόγος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εἰρήνης εἰρηνικωτάτους πολέμους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ πατρίδος καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἢ τῶν φιλάτων ἀνδρισσάμενους αἰωνίαις ἀναγράφεται στήλαις, τῶν εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ τὰς πολυτλήτους ἀνδρείας τρόπαιά τε τὰ κατὰ δαιμόνων καὶ νίκας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ἀντιπάλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις στεφάνους (*HE* 5.pref.3f.).

<sup>649</sup> Cf. Verdoner 2007: 91, who complains justifiably that Eusebius obscures his debts to pagan Greek historians. See DeVore forthcoming a for a reading of the preface to book 5 as a “second preface” to the *History*; indeed, Eusebius changed the chronology of the martyrs of Lyons, possibly to place them at the start of a book: see Valdei 2010. See also Trisoglio 1984: 1103f., Beggs 1999: 257f., and O’Loughlin 2009: 96-98; *pace* Chesnut 1986: 131f., the passage does not imply that Eusebius was “committed to nonviolence.”

<sup>650</sup> I can find no comparable conjunction of cognates of *psuchē*, *eirēnē*, and *polemos* before Eusebius. The resourceful translation of εἰρηνικωτάτους πολέμους must be credited to Williamson 1965: 192.

<sup>651</sup> Though he uses the freighted term *psuchē* here, Eusebius seems never to have joined philosophical debate over the status or functions of the soul: cf. Strutwolf 1999: 265-272. “Soul” seems simply to have epitomized the nonphysical realm in this passage (cf. O’Loughlin 2009: 96f., who translates τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εἰρήνης in 5.pref.4 as “inner peace”). A possible source for this usage of *psuchē* may be gospel texts that esteem loyalty for God unto death as more important than physical safety: cf. Matt. 10.39, 16.25f.; Mark 8.36f., Luke 9.24, 17.33, John 12.25.

<sup>652</sup> Perrone 1996: 526 chose well in citing this passage to illustrate “Eusebius’ competition with classical genres.” I would modify his formulation to declare that Eusebius pits classical genres into competition with one another.

and intellectually capable institution through a study of Eusebius' mini-biographies. Whereas chapter 2 discussed the units of the *History* most obviously infused with philosophical discourses, this chapter addresses the *History*'s least obviously philosophical units, its depictions of violence. Eusebius used the national-historical subject of war to reinforce the church's philosophical credentials. As the preface to book 5, quoted above, demonstrates, he used philosophical discourses to stake a claim to the Christian nation's superiority to the Greeks.

The background of the preface to book 5 is an obligatory historiographical topos. Each Greek historian proclaimed that *his* subject was the most important ever narrated; and of all historiographical subjects wars attracted the most bluster of all, as they confirmed the greatness of the fighting nations.<sup>653</sup> War narratives were therefore the crown jewel of Greek national historiography. Since the fifth century BC valorous battles accrued honor for the brave peoples who fought them. All Greek national histories, from Thucydides and Xenophon to Cassius Dio and Herodian, made war narratives their centerpieces. War narrative was an indispensable genre within the genre of national history.<sup>654</sup> If Eusebius was to compose the national history of the church (chapter 1, p. 43), he needed to showcase Christian glory in war.

The norm of including war narratives in national history created a problem for Eusebius. The church, having never fought as an army, lacked the victories in the grand pitched battles that Greek war histories had glorified since Herodotus.<sup>655</sup> Eusebius' Christians could therefore not win in the traditional game of historiographical one-upmanship. Rather than forfeit the game, Eusebius moved the field of play. The church found friendlier turf where demons and not men were the enemy, where doctrinal truth and not deadly weaponry signified strength, where pivotal alliances were with the divine and not with other nations, and where being killed, and not killing, signified victory. Accordingly, at the beginning of book 5, Eusebius redefined war so as to leverage a different kind of violent struggle than traditional combat, Christian martyrdom.

This chapter first offers an overview of material Eusebius had available for constructing "wars for peace in the soul." Martyr narratives were usually centered around a judge's interrogation of the martyr and the martyrs' confession, though sometimes the martyrs' arrest preceded the dialogue and sometimes description of their death followed it. The martyr's interrogation played out an apocalyptic battle between God and the devil, where the martyr's death represented God's victory over Satan.

The chapter then describes how Eusebius refashioned each part of these martyr narratives into "wars fought for peace in the soul." The church's enemies are the "unseen adversaries" of the preface to book 5 (above), who emerge from a cosmos populated by nonphysical, supernatural beings who mediated between the highest God(s) and humans. This cosmology, accepted broadly by both pagan and Christian philosophers, enabled Eusebius to cast the devil and his demons as plausible enemies for the church. Crucially, the satanic agency behind the martyr narratives displaces the agency behind the attacks from the martyrs' most obvious antagonist, the Roman officials who execute the martyrs, onto demons.

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<sup>653</sup> Lachenaud 2004: 73; cf. Marincola 1997: 35-44. This boast of course aggrandized the lengthy text that audiences were about to read. For example, Thucydides' opening compares his war to the Trojan and Persian Wars and declares the Peloponnesian War "the greatest disturbance" ever (κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μέγιστη δὴ, 1.1.2, with 1.23.1-5); Josephus' preface pronounces the Jewish War "the greatest war" (πόλεμον...μέγιστον, *BJ* 1.1) and "the greatest disturbance" (μεγίστου τοῦδε τοῦ κινήματος, 1.4). Eusebius may echo these histories at 8.13.10, where he calls the Diocletianic persecutions "such a disturbance" (τῆς τοιαύτου κινήσεως; cf. 8.App.1).

<sup>654</sup> Cf. chapter 1, pp. 36f. above on genres within genres.

<sup>655</sup> Eusebius abstains from crediting the Christian kingdom of Armenia with military prowess (9.8.2).

The church's warriors in the *History*, meanwhile, arm themselves against the demons not with physical weapons, but through philosophical asceticism. Eusebius makes his martyrs into ascetics by either centering his narratives around Christians who train for death with philosophy, or else describing Christians' philosophical activity immediately before their martyrdoms to imply a causal relation; as we will see, in one revealing passage at the end of book 7 Christian asceticism before battle critiques previous Greek war narratives subtly and devastatingly. In both cases God's warriors arm themselves through philosophy, proving their superiority to warriors in traditional Greek histories as well as the cosmological significance of their victories.

In his narration of the martyrdoms themselves, Eusebius avoids the courtroom dialogues that had dominated most previous martyr narratives; instead, the ghastly violence suffered by martyrs takes center stage. The *History's* constant gruesome brutality, along with the martyrs' virtuous conduct in the face of it, invited comparisons with between Eusebius' heroes and those in paradigmatic Greek war histories and reinforces the church's claim to a superior kind of war.

At the end of Eusebius' wars God rescues his people and punishes their attackers both human and supernatural. Eusebius proclaims the church's triumph through two traditional Greek historiographical topoi, namely by quoting state documents recognizing Christian legitimacy and through a celebratory public oration. Not only do the documents and the oration embody the church's presence as a player in elite Greek culture, but they also represent the Roman Empire's acceptance of the church into its social structures.

### **1. Pre-Eusebian Martyr Narratives: The Advantages and Pitfalls of Demonic Enemies and Orderly Interrogations**

Eusebius obviously intended his "wars contested for peace in the soul" to refer to martyr narratives, an established Christian genre.<sup>656</sup> Although martyr narratives are notoriously difficult to date securely,<sup>657</sup> several circulated before Eusebius, and Eusebius himself published a *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* that he cites several times in the *History*.<sup>658</sup> Eusebius had only limited space for deviation from the martyr narratives that were already circulating.

Another constraint on Eusebius' creativity was his claims to historical accuracy. To bolster his authority as a reliable transmitter of facts, Eusebius represents himself as an organizer of previous narratives quoting heavily and emphasizing his painstaking research and accuracy.<sup>659</sup> Such self-presentation set a high standard for Eusebius' fidelity to the content and wording of his

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<sup>656</sup> Immediately following his declaration of the kind of war narrative he would write are Eusebius' lengthy quotations from the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* (5.1-3), the second-longest quotation in the *History*; I would suggest that the *Martyrs of Lyons* is Eusebius' paradigmatic martyr narratives.

<sup>657</sup> See in general Bisbee 1988 as well as the demolition of the prevalent dating of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* to the 150s or 160s by Moss 2010a.

<sup>658</sup> *HE* 4.15.2, 46-48; 5.1.1; 5.4.3; 5.21.5. These citations indicate that Eusebius' collection included at least some version of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the *Martyrdom of Metrodorus*, the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, the *Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice*, the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne*, and the *Martyrdom of Apollonius*. Versions of all of these except the *Martyrdom of Metrodorus* survive independently.

<sup>659</sup> *HE* 1.1.4: "...picking suitable voices among those ancient authors like flowers from intellectual meadows, we have attempted to flesh them out in a historical narrative" (ἀναλεξάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ λογικῶν λειμώνων τὰς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶν τῶν πάλαι συγγραφέων ἀπανθισάμενοι φωνάς). Eusebius' emphasis on his research: see e.g. *HE* 1.13.5, 6.20.1, with Calderone 1980: 145-148; see also 7.32.26f. with n. 773 below. On ancient historians' emphasis on their research, see Marincola 1997: 86-117, with 148-158.

sources, constraining the creativity that he could exercise as author.<sup>660</sup> Because it is hardly plausible that Eusebius' contemporaries had no access to the texts that he uses,<sup>661</sup> Eusebius had little room to fabricate narratives outright.<sup>662</sup> The genre of the martyr narrative therefore set the parameters for Eusebius' own use of the genre.

The martyr narrative as a genre had probably developed in the second half of the second century,<sup>663</sup> though it had Jewish and New Testament antecedents.<sup>664</sup> While the form of Christian martyr narratives shows some variance, the genre's central feature was a dialogue between an imperial judge and at least one accused Christian.<sup>665</sup> When the judge intimates that accused Christians may keep their lives by denying their devotion to Christ, the accused affirm their faithfulness to God and accept their condemnation and execution gladly. Thereafter, most surviving martyr narratives describe the violent, public deaths of the martyrs.<sup>666</sup>

Illustrative of the form of most martyr narratives is this excerpt from the *Martyrdom of Carpus* (Greek recension, 24-35):

The proconsul... turned to Papyrus and said to him: "Are you a senator?"

"I am a citizen," he replied.

"Of what city?" asked the proconsul.

Papyrus said: "Of Thyatira."

The proconsul said: "Do you have any children?"

Papyrus said: "Yes, many, thanks to God."

But someone from the citizen-body shouted out: "He means he has children in the sense of his holding the faith of the Christians."

The proconsul said: "Why do you lie saying that you have children?"

Papyrus said: "Do you want to learn that I do not lie but I am telling the truth? I have children in the Lord in every province and city."

<sup>660</sup> By contrast, previous ancient historians had plenty of room for creativity, as narrative *inventio* was an acceptable authorial prerogative, as the classic Woodman 1988 showed.

<sup>661</sup> And because Eusebius already had intellectual opponents who might seek to discredit him by exposing misrepresentations in the *History: the Apology for Origen* written by Eusebius with his master Pamphilus shortly before the *History*, involved Eusebius in a serious theological debate before he wrote the *History*: see the Introduction, p. 6 above.

<sup>662</sup> Ancient historians normally assumed significant license in reworking the content of narratives that they received in their sources, as Woodman 1988 famously showed; cf. Bosworth 2003 on the limits of historians' creativity.

<sup>663</sup> The text most often proffered as using *martus* in the sense of "martyr" is the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, but Moss 2010a has shown that *Polycarp* cannot be securely dated to the second century; the *Acts of Justin*, likewise, is impossible to date precisely. Barnes 2010: 15-19 suggests that Ignatius of Antioch invented the term, but Ignatius' epistles could have been written anytime between 105 and 190 (cf. Barnes 2008). The *Acts of Justin*, typically dated to shortly after Justin Martyr's death in the 160s and sometimes considered earliest standalone martyr narrative, cannot be dated with certainty (Bisbee 1988: ch. 4; *pace* e.g. Barnes 2010: 63f.). The earliest securely datable references that I have found to *martus* and cognates as meaning "martyrdom" appear in Hegesippus' *Commentaries* (=Eus.*HE* 2.23.18, 3.32.6, 4.22.4; cf. 2.23.14); Eusebius' dating of Hegesippus to the third quarter of the second century seems fairly secure (*HE* 4.8.1f.; 4.22).

<sup>664</sup> E.g. 2 Maccabees 6f.; 4 Maccabees; Acts 7, 22.20; Revelation 2.13.

<sup>665</sup> Scholarship on martyr narratives since Delehaye 1966 [orig. 1921] has usually distinguish between martyrdom "acta," which represent themselves as court transcripts of martyrdoms, and "passions," which focus more on the martyrs' sufferings (cf. e.g. Musurillo 1972: *lif.*, Barnes 2010: 47). As Eusebius made no such distinction, I refer to all texts typically called by both epithets as "martyr narratives."

<sup>666</sup> Some early martyr narratives, like the *Acts of Justin* and the *Acts of the Scilitan Martyrs*, present themselves merely as court transcripts and do not narrate martyrs' suffering. Among the martyr narratives that Eusebius cites, only the independent text of the *Martyrdom of Apollonius* lacks a description of the martyr's suffering.

“Are you sacrificing [to the Roman emperor],” said the proconsul, “or what have you to say?”

Papylus said: “I have been a slave for God from my youth and I have never offered sacrifice to idols. Rather, I am a Christian, and you cannot hear any more from me than this; for there is nothing greater or nobler that I can say.”<sup>667</sup>

He too was hung up and scraped and endured three pairs [of torturers] in succession, but did not utter a sound; instead, like a noble athlete he received the angry onslaught of his adversary.

The judge’s interrogation constitutes the bulk of most martyr narratives before Eusebius. Papylus’ confession represents the climax, and his endurance of torture is a summarily narrated afterthought.<sup>668</sup> The dialogue communicates order and control in the judicial proceedings.<sup>669</sup> The crisp, predictable back-and-forth reflects widespread perceptions of Roman law, which residents of the Empire generally considered a force for maintaining order.<sup>670</sup> When martyrs died, meanwhile, martyr narratives described a heroic death. The martyrs were typically noble (*gennaioi*), enduring (*hupomenoi*), persistent (*karteroi*), and courageous (*andreoi*) even though physically they were passive.<sup>671</sup> They never fought back when ordered to be killed and sometimes faced their deaths with joy.

Most martyr narratives contextualized the martyrs’ confession and death within an apocalyptic cosmology, where the martyrs’ suffering enacts God’s cosmic victory over Satan. Paul Middleton has traced how an adversarial worldview in the Hebrew Bible, where God’s people are faced with enemies from all sides and must remain faithful to God to achieve victory, underpinned narratives of noble death in the Jewish books of the Maccabees, written around the first century BC. The Pauline epistles, the Gospel of Mark, and especially Revelation write such a holy war into the suffering and death of Jesus and his followers, transferring the field of battle to a metaphysical plane and positing Satan and his demons as enemies. This battle demands that God’s people remain faithful against the physical and psychological onslaught of nonphysical enemies. Hence, Jesus’ followers suffer at the direction ultimately of demons, as, for example,

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<sup>667</sup> καὶ ἔασας τὸν Κάρπον ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ τὸν Παπύλον ἐτρέπετο λέγων αὐτῷ· Βουλευτὴς εἶ;  
 ὁ δὲ λέγει· Πολίτης εἰμί.  
 ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Τίνων πολίτης;  
 Παπύλος εἶπεν· Θυατείρων.  
 ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Τέκνα ἔχεις;  
 Παπύλος εἶπεν· Καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν θεόν.  
 εἷς δὲ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἐβόησεν λέγων· Κατὰ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν λέγει τέκνα ἔχειν. ὁ  
 ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Διὰ τί ψεύδη λέγων τὰ τέκνα ἔχειν;  
 Παπύλος εἶπεν· Θέλεις μαθεῖν ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι ἀλλ’ ἀληθῆ λέγω; ἐν πάσῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καὶ πόλει εἰσὶν μου  
 τέκνα κατὰ θεόν.  
 ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θύεις; ἢ τί λέγεις;  
 Παπύλος εἶπεν· Ἀπὸ νεότητος θεῶ δουλεύω καὶ οὐδέποτε εἰδώλοις ἔθυσσα, ἀλλ’ εἰμὶ Χριστιανὸς καὶ πλέον  
 τούτου παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσαι οὐκ ἔχεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ μείζον τούτου ἢ κάλλιον ἔστι τι εἰπεῖν με.  
 ἀνακρεμασθεὶς δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ξεόμενος ζυγᾶς τρεῖς ἡλλάξεν καὶ φωνὴν οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς γενναῖος  
 ἀθλητῆς ἀπεδέχετο τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ ἀντικειμένου (trans. Musurillo, modified).

<sup>668</sup> Though this description includes the important detail that Papylus’ endurance represented resistance to “the adversary,” i.e. Satan (see below).

<sup>669</sup> Cf. Bryen forthcoming.

<sup>670</sup> Cf. Bryen forthcoming. Eusebius’ own references to Roman law indicate that he accepted this ideology: see e.g. *HE* 1.2.23, 2.23.22f., *PE* 1.4.

<sup>671</sup> See the discussion of Shaw 1996: 286-300, see also Perkins 1995: ch. 4, Kelley 2006, Waldner 2007.

Papylus endures the wrath of “the adversary,” Satan, in the *Martyrdom of Carpus* as quoted above.<sup>672</sup> To suffer in “battle” against evil demons was to struggle for God in a cosmic conflict.<sup>673</sup>

These martyr narratives—with their supernatural battle manifested in the dialogue between martyr and judge—offered two advantages and two pitfalls to Eusebius. The first advantage was that many earlier martyr narratives presented the martyrs as exhibiting virtues accepted by most Roman elites. As Brent Shaw has pointed out, persistence (*hupomonē*), endurance (*karteria*) courage (*andreia*), and nobility (*gennaia*) were all prized qualities, particularly within Stoic philosophy.<sup>674</sup> Martyr narratives already credited martyrs with qualities prized by Roman elites. We will see that Eusebius made use of such rhetoric in his own war narratives.

The second advantage was that the cosmic struggle cohered with Greek philosophical cosmology, particularly in the Neoplatonism that was prevalent in Eusebius’ day.<sup>675</sup> Most Greek thinkers assumed a hierarchy of intermediaries between God and humanity, populated by divine spirits not as powerful as the highest divinities (or divinity) but nonetheless more powerful, sentient, and swift than humans. By the third century AD, as Robert Turcan has shown, demons occupied a firm middle ground between gods and humanity in Greek ontological hierarchies.<sup>676</sup> The problem of placating evil demons was a problem for the third- and fourth-century Neoplatonists with whom Eusebius’ Christians were debating.<sup>677</sup> Among numerous recent studies on late Roman demonology, Heidi Marx-Wolf has recently argued that a “strange consensus” developed between Origen, Porphyry, and Porphyry’s sometime critic Iamblichus about how effectively rituals such as animal sacrifice and theurgy dispelled demonic pollution.<sup>678</sup>

While evil demons were topical in philosophical debate, they were also fundamental to the cosmology of most Christian thinkers. Early followers of Jesus had assumed a universe replete with supernatural spirits, and their presence saturates the texts eventually gathered as the New Testament.<sup>679</sup> Second-century Christians, starting with Justin Martyr in the 150s and 160s, had explained the apparent efficacy of traditional Greek and Roman deities as demonic acts.<sup>680</sup> Demonic activity was a premise that Christians shared with Greek philosophers; Origen’s debate with the pagan critic Celsus, for example, shows that both parties accepted the efficacy of demons.<sup>681</sup> Thus, the broad acceptance of some demons as harming humans rendered the martyr

<sup>672</sup> Other references to the devil’s or demons’ activity in martyr narratives Eusebius knew include *Acts of Apollonius* 16, 19; *Carpus* 6-8, 17, 35; *Martyrdom of Pionius* 12.11, 13.6; 14.7, 9-11; *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 3.1, 17.1f.

<sup>673</sup> Middleton 2006: 128-171; see also Baumeister 1972: ch. 2 and Moss 2010b: 89-102; cf. Moss 2012, who rightly cautions against assuming unity among discourses about martyrdom; yet while Moss (2012: ch. 5) emphasizes apocalypticism as characteristic of martyr narratives from North African Christianity, the battle between Satan and God’s people also appears in martyr narratives from Asia Minor and Rome (see previous note for references, and cf. Moss 2012: 51-57, 95f.).

<sup>674</sup> Shaw 1996: 286-300; cf. Perkins 1995: ch. 4, Moss 2012: 96.

<sup>675</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 67f. above.

<sup>676</sup> Turcan 2003; discussion of demons’ status, nature, and activity had accelerated at the turn of the second century AD in Epictetus’ and Plutarch’s writings (see Brenk 1973 and 1986: 2117-2142, Venière 1989; Méndez Lloret 1993: 29-38; Fick 1994; Francis 1995: 118-126; Dyson 2009).

<sup>677</sup> Plotinus, however, neglected demonology: cf. Rist 1963, Lepajõe 1997.

<sup>678</sup> Marx-Wolf 2010b: esp. 222-229, 232f. Her argument presumes, however, that the Christian Origen is identical to Origen the colleague of Plotinus, even though the evidence is inconclusive. See also e.g. Dodds 1947: 57-59, Athanassiadi 1993, O’Meara 2003: 36-40, Alt 2005: 75-83; Cerutti 2010, Marx-Wolf 2010a: 498-513.

<sup>679</sup> See in particular the essays in Lange, Lichtenberger, and Giethard Römheld 2003.

<sup>680</sup> See Ries 1989: 337-345; on Justin’s translation of Jewish myths into Greek discourse, see Reed 2004.

<sup>681</sup> See Crouzel 1995.

narratives' implication that demonic attacks underpinned persecution believable to educated Greeks.<sup>682</sup>

The Christian martyr narratives also carried two pitfalls for Eusebius. The first pitfall was that the progression of most martyr narratives did not look like wars, in events or in scale. As illustrated above through the example of the *Martyrdom of Carpus* (pp. 108f.), the sine qua non of pre-Eusebian martyr narratives was the martyrs' interrogation and confession before a Roman judge.<sup>683</sup> Constant attention to an institution representing Roman law would have blunted Eusebius' desired assimilation of martyrdom with war. Moreover, most martyr narratives featured a small number of martyrs. The *Martyrdom of Carpus*, for example, narrated the confessions and deaths of just three Christians. Other pre-Eusebian martyr narratives likewise told of a handful of martyrs.<sup>684</sup> We will see below how Eusebius modified the balance of scenes in martyr narratives to amplify their violence and increased the numbers of martyrs to increase the scale of martyrdom.

The second pitfall was that the apocalyptic tradition underlying martyr narratives was the most overtly anti-Roman discourse circulating among Christians.<sup>685</sup> Most martyr narratives cast Roman officials as demonic puppets. Roman authorities force Christians to appear in court, and the judge who tries to persuade them to deny Christ and keep their lives represents Rome.<sup>686</sup> Some martyr narratives portray the martyrs enduring publicly the bloody tortures for which the Romans were famous.<sup>687</sup> Thus, most martyr narratives assume a hostile posture toward Roman institutions.

As we saw in chapter 1, Eusebius' intended audience consisted of educated, elite Christians.<sup>688</sup> How would such an audience have responded to such a starkly dualist, apocalyptic worldview?<sup>689</sup> On the one hand, we might expect some hostility toward Rome. From 303 to 313, Christians had endured harsh persecution from the Empire.<sup>690</sup> Diocletian's edicts had revoked Christians' Roman citizenship, razed Christian buildings, mandated the surrender and burning of the Christian scriptures, and ordered Christian to sacrifice to pagan deities.<sup>691</sup> Numerous

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<sup>682</sup> When I mention "persecution" in this chapter I mean "persecution" according to the narrative of Eusebius, and not in extra-textual reality.

<sup>683</sup> Some texts relate martyrs' arrest beforehand, and others describe their martyrs' violent deaths and even the treatment of martyrs' bodies after their deaths. But martyrs' trial had been indispensable.

<sup>684</sup> E.g. the *Martyrdom of Apollonius* depicted just one martyr; the *Martyrdom of Pionius* named only three; and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* named a mere two. The *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* is exceptional in its high number of martyrs; cf. p. 129 below.

<sup>685</sup> See Thompson 1990: esp. ch. 3 on Revelation.

<sup>686</sup> Castelli 2004: 49; Middleton 2006: ch. 2; cf. Moss 2012: 76, 78, 92, 111, 139, whose regional treatment of martyrdom turns up resistance to Rome in martyr narratives from several regions.

<sup>687</sup> See esp. Potter 1993, Barton 1994.

<sup>688</sup> See pp. 29f. above, as well as chapter 6, pp. 213-217 below.

<sup>689</sup> In addition, most of Eusebius' writings show hostility to apocalypticism. He famously harbored animus against the apocalyptic book of Revelation (*HE* 3.25; 3.28; 3.39.1-6, 12f.; 7.24f.). The most original discussion of Eusebius' eschatology is Strutwolf 1998 (who sets Eusebius' aversion to eschatology in the context of Eusebius' engagement with Middle Platonism); see also e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1960: 187-189; Sirinelli 1961: ch. 13; Trisoglio 1978; Chesnut 1986: 164-170; Thielman 1987.

<sup>690</sup> Christian readers: see chapter 1, pp. 29f. above.

<sup>691</sup> *HE* 8.2.1; Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* 13-15. On Diocletian's edict, see esp. Schwarte 1994: 206-230; Corcoran 1996: 178-182, 249-253.



Christians were killed violently and publicly. Eusebius himself lost many friends in the persecution and had to flee from Caesarea.<sup>692</sup>

It is unlikely, however, that the persecution alone defined the attitude of Eusebius or his Christian readers toward Rome. As we saw in the Introduction (pp. 5f.), for the first forty years of his life Eusebius experienced no persecutions of Christians; indeed, he describes the Roman government as tolerating and promoting Christians in the earliest years of his life (*HE* 7.13, 8.1.1-6; cf. 7.23). As we will see, Eusebius viewed the emperors who had persecuted as punished by God for their offense. Eusebius' audiences, meanwhile, consisted of educated Greek-speakers whose status and prosperity depended on the Roman Empire's social structures.<sup>693</sup> These elites were living under a pagan emperor, Licinius, who was collaborating with a Christian emperor Constantine, who governed the western Empire. While these elites recognized that a bad ruler could decimate the church at any time, they had a stake in the continued strength of the Roman Empire.

Since Eusebius' readers were invested in Roman social structures, they were unlikely to welcome the stark anti-Roman sentiment in Eusebius' martyr narratives, even in the wake of Diocletian's persecutions. It could hardly be pleasing to caricature Roman emperors and governors as puppets of Satan and his demons, when these elites would proclaim loyalty to the emperor and aspired to such offices as the governor. Eusebius therefore had to be careful not to impose too much blame on the Empire his readers depended on.

In sum, the genre of martyr narratives presented a cosmological war narrative. Examples of this genre were available to fill the Greek historiographical requirement that the Christian nation boast glorious victories. Meanwhile, Greek philosophers' acceptance of a cosmology where lower demons inhabited the levels of reality between (the) God(s) and humanity already marshaled battle lines for a kind of Christian war that would resonate with Eusebius' readers. Christian martyr narratives therefore already featured the metaphysical "war for peace in the soul" that Eusebius trumpeted in the preface to book 5 of the *History*. However, in martyr narratives Roman officials were usually the instruments of demonic assaults, which signaled hostility to the Roman Empire and held the potential to alienate Eusebius' elite Roman audiences. If Eusebius was to use martyr narratives as wars in his national history, he had to finesse the presumption of Roman responsibility for the persecutions.

## 2. The Church's Enemies: Demonic Antagonists and the Exculpation of the Empire

From the martyr narratives Eusebius inherited a vision of an apocalyptic battle that elevated martyrdom to the status of war. Eusebius' *History* continued the martyr narratives' emphasis on Satan and his demons as the church's enemy. Yet if the demons were the church's enemy, it remained undeniable that Roman officials had condemned and executed martyrs. To avoid displeasing his elite Roman readers, Eusebius had to minimize the Roman Empire's culpability for attacks on the church. To make martyr narratives into a metaphysical war acceptable to his readers, Eusebius had to emphasize Satanic agency while defusing the Empire's culpability.

For Eusebius as in previous martyr narratives (like the *Carpus*, quoted above), demons work through the arrests, interrogation, and torture of martyrs. The devil is the *generalissimo* of the demons who works through two tactics.

<sup>692</sup> The victims included Eusebius' beloved master Pamphilus, as well as other friends (see esp. Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* 4 [Greek recension] 11 [esp. Syriac recension]).

<sup>693</sup> See esp. chapter 1, pp. 29-32 above and chapter 6, pp. 213-217 below.

Satan's first tactic in the *History* is to orchestrate persecutions. In his own voice Eusebius tells how the "goodness-hating demon" drags the Christian philosopher Apollonius to court in Rome (5.21.2), and states that, as long as the church retains its proper way of life, God protects it from demonic plots (8.1.6). Meanwhile, Eusebius' selection of quotations reminds readers that Satan pulled the strings His excerpts from the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* (*HE* 5.1-3), the longest martyr narrative in the *History*,<sup>694</sup> begin with the adversary (*antikeimenos*), preparing his forces, girding himself to attack, and falling upon the martyrs (5.1.5). Satan is the prime mover of the persecution, working through the presiding officials (5.1.6, 14) and torturers in prison (5.1.27).<sup>695</sup> Elsewhere in the *History* Eusebius quotes Dionysius of Alexandria calling persecution "the plots of vengeful demons" (7.10.4), while Eusebius' excerpts from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* declare that Satan prevented Christians from burying the great martyr Polycarp's body (4.15.40=*Martyrdom of Polycarp* 17.1).<sup>696</sup>

Satan's second tactic is to tempt would-be martyrs to renounce Christ while they suffer at persecutors' hands. In 4.7.1, Eusebius asserts that Satan assaults the church through both persecution and "heresy."<sup>697</sup> This yoking of "heresy" with persecution as Satanic strategies locates persecution in the spiritual domain where "heretics" also threatened Christians. In quotations from the *Martyrs of Lyons*, the devil coaxes tortured Christians to utter blasphemies (5.1.16), and captures the erstwhile apostate Christian Biblis (5.1.25). It is thoughts of betraying God planted by the devil that the martyrs of Lyons must overcome (*diabolikou logismou*, 5.1.35; cf. 5.1.38).<sup>698</sup> Elsewhere, when Origen is arrested and tortured, Eusebius says, "the evil demon marshaled all of his forces in rivalry against the man and led them with every device and power, and singled him out, above all others upon whom he made war at that time, for special attack" amid his tortures.<sup>699</sup> Martyrs' suffering under torture enables Satan to draw Christians away from God and dismember the church; his demons' defeats are therefore "victories against unseen adversaries" (5.pref.4).

<sup>694</sup> The *Martyrs of Lyons* was likely Eusebius' paradigmatic episode of martyrdom, as it follows Eusebius' description of his war narratives quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>695</sup> Note also the declaration that Satan works through persecuting officials in *HE* 10.4.14, quoted below, p. 136.

<sup>696</sup> But note that Eusebius apparently removes two additional references to Satanic activity from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (cf. Buschmann 1998: 113f.). First, *HE* 4.15.5 reads, μάλιστα δὲ ἱστοροῦσιν διαπρέψαι τὸν γενναϊότατον Γερμανικόν, ὑπορρωννύντα σὺν θεῖα χάριτι τὴν ἔμφυτον περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ σώματος δειλίαν; the non-Eusebian text of *Polycarp* (3.1) reads πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος, ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναϊότατος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρώννυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς, ὃς καὶ ἐπισήμως ἐθηριομάχησεν. Second, at *Polycarp* (17.2), Satan engineers (ὑπέβαλεν) the governor's refusal to release Polycarp's body to the Christians; Eusebius (*HE* 4.15.41) merely says that "some people instigated" (τινες ὑπέβαλον) the governor's refusal. Each removal is explicable without concluding that Eusebius downplays Satan's agency. At *HE* 4.15.5, as he was likely beginning to paraphrase the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, Eusebius seems to be attempting to shorten the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*: he therefore eliminates Germanicus' *hupomonē*, even though *hupomonē* was a key virtue in the *History* (p. 131 below). The second reference to Satan basically repeats the mention of Satan at *HE* 5.15.40=*Polyc.* 17.1, and so was redundant. It also remains possible that Eusebius used a text of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* that diminished Satan's agency: on the text of *Polycarp*, see e.g. von Campenhausen 1957, Buschmann 1994: 39-48, Dehandschutter 2007: 44f., 55.

<sup>697</sup> Satan working through "heretics": 2.13f.; 3.26f.; 4.7.1f., 9f.; 4.11.9; 4.14.7; 4.23.12; 5.14; 5.16.8f.; 5.28.18; 6.43.14; 7.31, and Willing 2008: 436-452; on *HE* 4.7, see Perrone 2008.

<sup>698</sup> Even after his defeat, the "wild beast" is impossible to appease (*duspaustōs*, 5.1.57), and he must "vomit out" those whom he left alive (5.2.6). Cf. Moss 2010b: 92-94.

<sup>699</sup> τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐφαμίλλως τάνδρι πανστρατιᾷ παραταξαμένου πάση τε μηχανῇ καὶ δυνάμει κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσαντος παρὰ πάντας τε τοὺς τηνικάδε πολεμηθέντας διαφερόντως ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ, *HE* 6.39.5 (trans. Oulton).

While Satan and his demons remain the constant enemy of the church and prime mover of persecution, Roman emperors and governors had to retain some agency.<sup>700</sup> At the same time, Eusebius not deny that Roman officials had executed numerous Christians, including many in the recent Diocletianic persecutions. Moreover, it is likely that many in Eusebius' audiences respected Roman governors and even aspired to the office.<sup>701</sup> Neither Eusebius nor his quoted sources ever imply that the emperor or his governors ceded control of the proceedings to the demons.<sup>702</sup> Nonetheless, Eusebius developed four tactics to reduce imperial agency and culpability for the persecutions while he raised the devil's profile.<sup>703</sup>

First, Eusebius deemphasizes the courtroom dialogues between Christians and their judges that ended with the judges condemning Christians. Unlike previous martyr narratives, most of the *History's* accounts of persecutions mention judges and confessions only obliquely, making a mere gesture to the genre.<sup>704</sup> Several of Eusebius' martyr narratives suppress the interrogation entirely.<sup>705</sup> The narratives that Eusebius composed entirely on his own about the Diocletianic persecutions all but never mention interrogations.<sup>706</sup> The handful of dialogues between judge and martyr in the *History*, meanwhile, all appear in quotations of older martyr narratives.<sup>707</sup> This subordination of judicial interrogations deflects attention away from the Roman agents of Christian persecution.<sup>708</sup>

Second, Eusebius repeatedly notes that officials who condemn Christians are simply following Roman law as declared by the Senate. Early on, Eusebius cites Tertullian's report that the Senate refused to recognize Christianity as a licit religion because of an old law (*palaiou nomou*) that only the Senate could recognize licit deities (2.2.2).<sup>709</sup> Eusebius does not let readers forget this ancient law, asserting several times thereafter that ancient Roman law compelled the

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<sup>700</sup> Pace the assertion of Morgan 2005: 202f. that Eusebius always personalizes emperors' decisions to persecute. 4.7.1f. belies this assertion. There, at the beginning of a catalogue of "heretics," Eusebius declares that "the demon, the hater of what is good, since he is the foe of truth and always the greatest enemy of humans' salvation...in times past armed himself against the church by persecutions from without, but then had been occluded from these..." (ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων οἷα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ἀεὶ τυγχάνων πολεμιώτατος, ...πάσαι μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν διωγμοῖς κατ' αὐτῆς ὠπλίζετο, τότε γε μὴν τούτων ἀποκεκλεισμένος). Despite Eusebius' declaration here that Satan had worked through persecution, no narrative of persecution theretofore mentions demonic activity explicitly (1.8, 2.1.1, 2.23, 2.25, 3.17-20, 3.32f.). Eusebius must therefore have expected readers to infer the devil's activity as inciting the persecutions even when the agents noted explicitly are human (cf. also 8.4.2, discussed below). See also Perrone 2008: 349-353, 356f.

<sup>701</sup> See esp. chapter 6, pp. 213-217 below.

<sup>702</sup> Cf. Carotenuto 2001: 52-54, Morgan 2005: 202f. (on which see n. 700 above), Corke-Webster 2012.

<sup>703</sup> Cf. Beggs 1999: 214-219, who draws the same conclusion with different evidence, and Lifshitz 2002: 320 (a reference I owe to James Corke-Webster).

<sup>704</sup> Dialogue between martyrs and the judges at trial summarized with minimal detail: 4.15.47f., 5.1.10, 20, 26, 31, 50; 5.21.4; 6.5.2, 6.39.2, 6.41.15-23, 7.11.24f., 7.12, 7.15.3.

<sup>705</sup> Martyr narratives with no interrogation at all: 2.9, 6.3, 6.39.5, 6.41.4-13, 7.11.18-20; cf. 6.40; see also next note.

<sup>706</sup> Courtroom exchanges summarized with minimal detail: 8.3.3, 8.6.2, 8.11.2, 8.13.2=9.6.3, 9.6.1; martyr narratives with no mention of any dialogue at trial at all: 2.9, 6.3, 6.39.5, 6.41.4-13, 7.11.18-20; 8.5; 8.6.5f., 8f.; 8.7-10; 8.12; 8.13.1, 3-7; 9.6.2; cf. 8.10.6.

<sup>707</sup> 2.23.10-15 (quoting Hegesippus; see next note), 4.17.9-12 (quoting Justin) and 4.15.18-24 (quoting the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*); cf. 3.20.2-6, 7.11.3-10 (interrogations that do not result in the confessors' deaths).

<sup>708</sup> In the interrogation of James the brother of Jesus, moreover, the Sanhedrin and not a Roman judge condemns the martyr (2.23.10-15); see also 2.9. Not all martyrdoms come at Roman hands.

<sup>709</sup> Elsewhere in the *History*, Eusebius speaks of the Roman Senate as a prestigious institution and even identifies with a Senatorial perspective: see 2.18.8; 3.20.10; 4.11.11f.; 4.17.12; 7.16; 8.14.2, 4; 9.9.9; cf. 3.17, 3.33.1. On Eusebius' respect for Roman institutions, see esp. chapter 4, pp. 157f. below.

condemnation of Christians.<sup>710</sup> Such a reason for condemning Christians casts these Roman judges in a sympathetic light, since most Romans assumed that conformity to ancient laws was beneficial, because it implied adherence to a people's ancestral way of life.<sup>711</sup> Eusebius also generally assumes Roman law to be beneficial, identifying good behavior with conformity to Roman law.<sup>712</sup> Acting according to traditional laws constituted an understandable reason for condemning Christians (cf. 8.17.6f.).

Third, at other points Eusebius blames urban crowds for some of the persecutions. Eusebius states that, even after Trajan forbade Christians from being sought out (*ekzēteisthai*), “sometimes urban citizen bodies (*tōn dēmōn*)... contrived plots against us” (3.33.2), and explains persecutions in the late second century as “by the hand of the peoples in each city” (*tōn kata poleis dēmōn*).<sup>713</sup> The urban mobs of Smyrna and of Lyons demand the martyrdoms of the Christians there, and both governors acquiesce; other Christians are turned in to the authorities and then insulted by the crowd at trial.<sup>714</sup> Here Eusebius exploits a typical Roman stereotype. The frenzied, unruly, and injurious urban mob was a common scapegoat for the Romans.<sup>715</sup> The Roman state was not to be blamed if the rabble was making life difficult.

Fourth, Eusebius exploits another longstanding Roman scapegoat, bad emperors, to absolve the majority of Roman leaders for the sins of a few bad rulers.<sup>716</sup> Two of the three archetypal “bad emperors” of the first century happen also to persecute Christians.<sup>717</sup> Nero, who murdered his mother, brothers, and wife, also becomes the first persecutor (2.25.2f.), while Domitian exiles and confiscates the property of Roman nobles, and does the same against the church (3.17f.). Eusebius goes out of his way to repeat the accusation that Nero and Domitian attacked the church (4.26.9; cf. 5.5.7).<sup>718</sup> The Roman historiographical tradition's unanimous condemnation of Nero and Domitian made it possible for Eusebius to pin the persecutions on their bad character and leave it at that.<sup>719</sup>

Eusebius employs this identification between bad character and persecution in depicting failed emperors of his own day. Book 9 excoriates the actions and policies of Maximinus Daia, “the tyrant, most impious..., and greatest enemy,” at length, even apart from his persecution of Christians.<sup>720</sup> Eusebius portrays Maxentius as an oppressive tyrant (8.14.1-6) before casting him

<sup>710</sup> 5.21.4, 7.15.2; cf. 8.17.6f.

<sup>711</sup> Antiquity as admired in antiquity: see e.g. Droge 1989, Gardner and Osterloh 2008; on the theme of antiquity in Eusebius' *Gospel Preparation*, see esp. Johnson 2006a: chs. 3-5.

<sup>712</sup> See *HE* 2.2.4, 3.33.1, 4.9, 4.13, 8.10.12, 10.8.11f.; cf. 5.5.7, 8.12.7.

<sup>713</sup> ἔσθ' ὅπη μὲν τῶν δῆμων, ἔσθ' ὅπη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἀρχόντων τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευαζομένων ἐπιβουλὰς.

<sup>714</sup> 4.4.15 *passim*; 5.1 *passim*; 6.5.3; 6.41.11, 16; cf. 4.3.1, 4.16.3.

<sup>715</sup> See e.g. Kelly 2007: 151-156.

<sup>716</sup> As e.g. Grant 1992: esp. 658-660 has noted.

<sup>717</sup> Bad emperors: e.g. Dio, *Roman History* 61f., 67 *passim*; Philostratus, *Apollonius*, 4.35-38, 46f.; 7.4, 7.6, 7.24; 8.1-14; Julian, *Caesares* 310C, 311A. The third is Gaius Caligula, whom Eusebius had no evidence to portray as a persecutor, but who nonetheless is a tyrant in Eusebius: see *HE* 2.5f.

<sup>718</sup> Neither of these quotations is necessary for the point of the passage in which Eusebius evokes it: Eusebius' quotation of Melito in 4.26.5-11 does not prove the point of the chapter, that Melito was a significant Christian intellectual, while 5.5.7 does not prove that Christians brought on the “rain miracle,” the subject of 5.7. Cf. *HE* 4.11.9, where a quotation of Justin acknowledges that “heretics” are still Christians, and 5.2.2f., where Eusebius quotes a passage from the Martyrs of Lyons that distinguishes “martyrs” from “confessors.” Cf. also 5.6.5 with chapter 2, p. 97 above.

<sup>719</sup> Though Eusebius implies elsewhere that Satan provoked their persecutions (4.7.1); cf. p. 113 with n. 697 above.

<sup>720</sup> 9.1.1; see *HE* 9 *passim*, with Neri 2008. The first edition of the *History*, moreover, included an appendix to book 8 (preserved now only in manuscripts AER; see Appendix 1) that portrayed the deaths of the three persecuting

as a persecutor by recounting his murder of a Christian matron (8.14.16f.).<sup>721</sup> Eusebius thus imposes the equation of bad character with persecution on Nero, Domitian, Daia, and Maxentius.<sup>722</sup>

Other imperial officials could play a role parallel to the bad emperor-cum-persecutor. While most governors who condemn Christians in the *History* are portrayed as simply discharging their duty with minimal animosity, perhaps in accordance with Tertullian's ancient law,<sup>723</sup> several appear as beastly and cruel persecutors.<sup>724</sup> Since even equitable Roman governors were not known for their mercy or compassion in their capacity as judges,<sup>725</sup> the stereotype of bad Roman governors allowed Eusebius easily to make them into scapegoats, even as he preserved the efficacy of the Roman gubernatorial office.<sup>726</sup>

Finally, emperors could fall under Satan's influence. Eusebius frequently insinuates that certain persecuting emperors displayed earnest pagan religiosity. Valerian persecutes at an Egyptian holy man's direction (7.10.4-7); Maxentius keeps deceivers and magicians (*goētōn te kai magōn*) as his most trusted advisors and supports idolatry and demons (8.14.8f.);<sup>727</sup> and Daia exhibits "strange superstition" throughout his persecutions (*ektopos deisidaimonia*, 9.4.3).<sup>728</sup> Twice also pagan priests invoke demons against the Christians (6.41.1f., 9.3).<sup>729</sup> Thus, Satan and his demons sometimes work through the advisors of Roman leaders to make war on the church.

One revealing passage encapsulates this synergy between the demons and persecuting emperors. At the climax of his prologue to Diocletian's persecution,<sup>730</sup> Eusebius recalls a

emperors Diocletian, Maximian, and Galerius in excruciating terms. God obviously holds them responsible enough to avenge them, as he soon punishes Daia (*HE* 9.10.12-9.11.5). See also the shorter notices at 8.3.4, 8.13.10, 8.16.3-5 and 8.app.4; note also 8.13.9: τὰ...πρὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, though the grammar of the phrase is ambiguous: if the genitive phrase τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας depends on τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, then the phrase must be translated as "events before the Roman authorities' war against us" (for this translation see Ferguson 2005: 39); if this is how we must understand the translation, then Eusebius was indeed saying that the Roman Empire declared war on the church. But if τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας depends on τὰ (as most English translations assume), then the phrase means "the policies of the Roman authorities before the war against us," which does not imply that Roman Empire was to blame for the persecution.

<sup>721</sup> There is no evidence that Maxentius singled out Christians for persecution (Barnes 2011: 4f.). While Eusebius does not accuse Maxentius of targeting Christians, the casual reader of the *History* is likely to view the solitary murder of a Christian woman as representative of Maxentius' policy toward Christians.

<sup>722</sup> Two other emperors, Maximinus Thrax and Decius, persecute out of hatred for a Christian-friendly predecessor (6.28, 6.30.1 with 6.34). For some persecutors, Eusebius simply notes persecution with no further comment and stresses martyrs' heroics instead: see e.g. cf. 5.1.44-47 with 5.pref.1, 6.1, 7.30.20f.

<sup>723</sup> See above, and 4.15.5, 18-25; 6.41.18; 7.15; 8.9.8; cf. 2.23.2, 23f.

<sup>724</sup> 3.32.6, 4.17.9-12, 5.1 *passim*, 6.5.2, 6.41.21f.; 7.11 *passim*, 8.9.8; 8.12.7; 9.1; cf. 8.14.11, 9.6.1, 9.11.5 (with 9.2.2f.). On Eusebius' portrayal of persecutors as beastly, cf. Corke-Webster 2012 and forthcoming.

<sup>725</sup> See e.g. Shaw 2003.

<sup>726</sup> Note that for his entire life Eusebius lived in a provincial capital, in the principal residence of the governor of Palestine. He therefore had some knowledge and preconceptions about Roman governors.

<sup>727</sup> Cf. chapter 1, p. 62 above on *goētai*.

<sup>728</sup> See also 8.14.13, 8.17.6f., 9.3, 9.8.2f., 9.9.3; cf. 8.app.3. The persecutors' religiosity is neglected by Morgan 2005: 202f., who draws perhaps too sharp a line between divine and human agency.

<sup>729</sup> The best emperors, by contrast, are, if not overtly Christian (Philip, Constantine) at least followers of one God, or else philosophically inclined and by implication monotheist. Monotheists: 6.34, 7.23.4; 8.13.1-14; 9.9.1, 12 [in manuscripts ATER]; 10.4.16, 60; 10.8.6, 8; 10.9.6; philosophy: 4.12f., 4.17.12, 4.26.5-12.

<sup>730</sup> Eusebius must have placed this sentence artfully because, as Barnes notes (1981: 157), he breaks chronological sequence with it: the persecutions in the army date to 299 or 300 (Burgess 1996), whereas 8.2.4 had already noted Diocletian's persecution edict of February 303 (the dating: Lactantius, *DMP* 12).

persecution of Christians in the Roman army that foreshadowed later empire-wide anti-Christian edicts (8.4.2):<sup>731</sup>

For right then, as if aroused from a deep slumber, the one who had taken authority was attacking the churches secretly and undetected after the time between Decius and Valerian, and was dressing himself for war against us not all of a sudden, but rather was still making trials of individual Christians in the armies, for in this way he thought that the rest would easily be captured, if he first prevailed in his attacks against the Christians in the army.<sup>732</sup>

The instigator of the persecution described here must be the subordinate emperor Galerius, who according to both Eusebius and the contemporary Christian orator Lactantius engineered the persecution.<sup>733</sup> Yet Eusebius does not name him, and attributes to him details that seem inappropriate for Galerius.<sup>734</sup> The persecutor is described as arming for war, even though formally the persecutions were a police action for which no emperor strapped on armor (cf. 8.15.2). Eusebius also charges the persecutor with lying in wait since Decius' and Valerian's reigns, when Galerius was likely not yet born.<sup>735</sup> Moreover, Eusebius declares this shadowy figure eager to tempt (*apopeirasthai*) the church. Again, the action denoted must be Galerius' persecution, yet the image of temptation evokes a more archetypal figure. The conclusion must be that Eusebius assimilated Galerius with Satan.<sup>736</sup> The devil, Eusebius implies, worked through the emperor in orchestrating the persecutions of 303 to 313, the greatest war that the Christians had faced. Galerius was doing Satan's work.

Together Eusebius' four tactics—suppressing interrogations, allusion to a coincidentally anti-Christian law, blaming crowds for persecuting, and scapegoating bad emperors and officials—deflect shame for the persecutions from the Roman Empire. Even though Roman officials undeniably mete punishments out to martyrs, Satan remains the personal agent who instigates the persecutions. The church's enemy is not the Empire, but the devil, who attacks Christians by prompting persecutors to harm them and then, once the pressure is on, tempts Christians to renounce Christ.

Eusebius' church, however, has a defense in place against the demons' temptation amid persecution. This strategy followed from the philosophical ethos of Eusebius' church, namely training Christians' minds to handle the onslaught of the persecution.

<sup>731</sup> On the persecutions in the army, see also Humphries 2009: 25f., Leadbetter 2009: 129f.

<sup>732</sup> ἄρτι γὰρ ἄρτι πρῶτον ὡς περ ἀπὸ κάρου βαθέος ὑποκινουμένου τοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότος κρύβδην τε ἔτι καὶ ἀφανῶς μετὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Δεκίου καὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ μεταξύ χρόνον ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιχειροῦντος οὐκ ἀθρόως τε τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαποδομένῳ πολέμῳ, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα μόνων ἀποπειρωμένου, ταύτη γὰρ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀλῶναι ῥαδίως ᾤετο, εἰ πρότερον ἐκείνων καταγωνισάμενος περιγένοιτο, πλείστους παρῆν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ὄραν ἀσμενέστατα τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν προασπαζομένους βίον. Cf. also 9.1.1, 9.2, 9.6.4, 9.8.2, 9.11.2.

<sup>733</sup> Lactantius, *DMP* 11; Eusebius, *HE* 8.app.1; see Portmann 1990: 214f. Morgan's (2005: 202-205) otherwise excellent discussion of the agency behind the Diocletianic persecution omits this passage.

<sup>734</sup> Eusebius sometimes avoids naming particularly unfavorable individuals: Diocletian, Maximian, and Galerius are rarely named in book 8, while Eusebius almost never names Paul of Samosata in *HE* 7.27-30.

<sup>735</sup> Leadbetter 2009: 18-21 places Galerius' birth in the latest years of Gallienus' reign (after 255).

<sup>736</sup> Portmann 1990: 214f. even detects references, which I fail to see, to the beast of Revelation 13.

### 3. Christian Armaments: Philosophical Asceticism in Eusebius' War Narratives

Eusebius' Christians prepare for war through their philosophical activity, training themselves with rigorous asceticism.<sup>737</sup> As we saw in chapter 1 (p. 65), asceticism was essential to Roman philosophers' education. Philosophers underwent *exercises spirituels* to detach themselves from everyday conventions and focus their minds on the nature of the cosmos. They therefore abstained from meat, alcohol, and sex. They did not lather their bodies in oil and comb their hair and or trim their beard like other Greek-speaking Roman elites. They stayed awake for long hours performing their *exercises spirituels* and contemplating.<sup>738</sup>

Philosophical self-training enabled philosophers to endure difficult external circumstances without troubling their purpose of contemplating the cosmos. *Ataraxia*, freedom from anxiety, and *apatheia*, freedom from emotional constraint, underpinned the ideal philosophical disposition.<sup>739</sup> The exemplar of this unemotional disposition was the great philosopher Socrates. According to Plato's *Symposium* (219d), Socrates had the measured disposition (*sōphrosunē*), courage (*andreia*), sensibility (*phrōnēsis*), and endurance (*karteria*) to abstain from loving the quintessential prize youth Alcibiades.<sup>740</sup> When at war, he could endure (*karterein*) hunger and cold, and although he did not like alcohol, he could handle his liquor longer than anyone else (219e-220d).<sup>741</sup> As Socrates was the exemplar of the philosophical life for all philosophical schools from the Hellenistic period onward,<sup>742</sup> such endurance of difficult external circumstances marked philosophers' ideal conduct. The philosophical curriculum's rigorous study along with a physical regimen of self-denial developed the Socratic poise on which philosophers prided themselves.

The association between philosophical asceticism and martyrdom was not transparent. To many Romans, Christian martyrs were viewed as unthinking zealots. Marcus Aurelius, for example, commented in his *Meditations* that Christians face death "merely as if marching to battle" (*kata psilēn parataxin*) and not "out of their own critical judgment" (*apo idikēs kriseōs*), as the ideal wise man should.<sup>743</sup> While some martyr narratives tried to rebut such perceptions by portraying martyrs as philosophers,<sup>744</sup> these texts are unlikely to have changed the dominant perceptions of martyrdom in the Empire.

To harmonize the *History's* philosophical Christianity with the oft-derided practice of martyrdom, Eusebius depicts martyrs unmistakably as philosophers by making asceticism a central precondition for successful martyrdom.<sup>745</sup> He does this in two ways. First, he selects martyr narratives that foreground martyrs' philosophical asceticism. Second, where his narratives do not explicitly mention martyrs' asceticism or philosophical practice, Eusebius sequences the

<sup>737</sup> I am not arguing that Eusebius saw Christians as intentionally undergoing asceticism to prepare for martyrdom (cf. Tilley 1991, Kelley 2006). Rather, asceticism for Eusebius is part of a Christians' more general philosophically manner of life: see chapter 6, pp. 225f. below.

<sup>738</sup> *Exercises spirituels*: see chapter 1, pp. 58f. above.

<sup>739</sup> See also e.g. Trapp 2007: ch. 3.

<sup>740</sup> On *karteria*, see Gould 1994: 177-179.

<sup>741</sup> See also e.g. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.2.1-8, 2.1.1-7.

<sup>742</sup> The Hellenistic period: Long 1986; the imperial period: Döring 1979, with Long 2002 on the case of Epictetus.

<sup>743</sup> See likewise Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* 4.7.6, Celsus, in Origen, *Against Celsus* 8.53-55, 65, 69; recent discussions: Butterweck 1995: 66-69, 90-111; Leivells 2007: 413-419, Engberg 2011: 105-116.

<sup>744</sup> See e.g. Benz 1950: 215-220, Shaw 1996, Kelley 2006, Moss 2012: ch. 3.

<sup>745</sup> Eusebius was not the first to identify asceticism as essential to successful martyrdom: see Tilley 1991, Kelley 2006. Yet not all previous martyr narratives emphasized asceticism: cf. Moss 2012. Corke-Webster 2013: ch. 2 argues persuasively that Eusebius' form of asceticism involved relatively moderate renunciation.

*History* so as to describe Christians' philosophical practice before successful martyrdoms, creating an illusion of asceticism as equipping Christians for martyrdom.

#### A. Selection of Ascetic Martyrs

From among his sources Eusebius regularly highlights martyr narratives that emphasize martyrs' philosophical life in general and their asceticism in particular. The best example is Eusebius' quotations from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the second-longest previous martyr narrative quoted in the *History* after the *Martyrs of Lyons* (*HE* 4.15.2-45). We can study Eusebius' use of the *Polycarp* effectively because a text of the *Polycarp* survives independently of the *History*, allowing for a comparison between Eusebius' version and his *Vorlage*.<sup>746</sup>

In the *Polycarp* Eusebius chose to reproduce at length a text that portrayed its martyr as a second Socrates, who, as we saw above, was the exemplary philosopher for Romans. Candida Moss has recently catalogued the parallels between Polycarp and Socrates in the *Polycarp*; references to parallel passages in the *History* are added in brackets:<sup>747</sup>

The similarities between Polycarp and Socrates, long noted, include: their age (*Apol.* 17D, *Crito* 52E; *Polycarp* 9.3 [*HE* 4.15.20])...their refusal to flee to escape prosecution (*Phaed.* 98E-99A; *Polycarp* 7.1); that they were both charged with atheism (*Euth.* 3B; *Polycarp* 3.2; 12.2 [*HE* 4.15.6, 18]) and refused to persuade others of the veracity of their claims (*Apol.* 35D; *Polycarp* 10.2 [*HE* 4.15.22]); their prayers before death (*Phaed.* 117C; *Polycarp* 14.1-3 [*HE* 4.15.33-35]); the use of sacrificial terminology to describe their deaths (*Phaed.* 118A; *Polycarp* 14.1 [*HE* 4.15.34]); and the exemplary function of their deaths (*Phaed.* 115C; *Polycarp* 1.2; 19.1 [*HE* 4.15.44f.]).

Moreover, one additional Socratic activity receives repeated notice in the *History*, namely Polycarp's teaching, which as we saw in chapter 1 was philosophers' chief occupation (pp. 59f., 65-67). Polycarp's teaching activity is on the lips of the crowd as they cheer his death: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of the gods, who teaches many not to sacrifice or worship" (*HE* 4.15.26=*Polycarp* 12.2).<sup>748</sup> Eusebius' reproduction of these parallels between Socrates and Polycarp for his own rendition of the martyrdom confirms that Eusebius was constructing an exemplary philosophical martyr.

Moreover, if the independent *Polycarp* represents Eusebius' *Vorlage*, Eusebius modified the *Polycarp* at one point to enhance the portrayal of Polycarp as a philosopher (*Polycarp* 5.1=*HE* 4.15.9). I supply Greek texts in parallel columns, underlining the key differences:

<sup>746</sup> Dehandschutter 2007 provides a parallel text.

<sup>747</sup> Moss forthcoming: 129; I have omitted one parallel that does not apply to Polycarp himself.

<sup>748</sup> οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατήρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. See also *HE* 4.15.22, 39, 42=*Polycarp* 10.2, 16.2, 19.1.



*Martyrdom of Polycarp 5.1*

ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἔταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ πόλιν μένειν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διέτριβεν μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίων, ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες αὐτῷ.

The most marvelous Polycarp, having heard this [i.e. that the local authorities were looking to arrest him] at first, was not troubled, but wished to remain in the city. Many persuaded him to leave. And he retired into a little field not far from the city [Smyrna] and spent time with a small group of people, doing nothing night and day except praying especially about all the churches throughout the inhabited world, which was his usual habit.

*HE 4.15.9*

τόν γε μὴν θαυμασιώτατον Πολύκαρπον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τούτων ἀκούσαντα ἀτάραχον μείναι, εὐσταθῆς τὸ ἦθος καὶ ἀκίνητον φυλάξαντα, βούλεσθαί τε αὐτοῦ κατὰ πόλιν περιμένειν· πεισθέντα γε μὴν ἀντιβολοῦσι τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπεξέλθοι παρακαλοῦσι, προελθεῖν εἰς οὐ πόρρω διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως ἀγρὸν διατρίβειν τε σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνταῦθα, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐτι ἕτερον πράττοντα ἢ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κύριον διακαρτεροῦντα εὐχαῖς· δι' ὧν δεῖσθαι καὶ ἰκετεύειν εἰρήνην ἐξαιτούμενον ταῖς ἀνά πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῷ σύνηθες.

[The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* says that] the most marvelous Polycarp, having heard these men, at first remained in an untroubled state, and wished to wait there in the city. When those around him entreated him and persuaded him, encouraging him to withdraw, [the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* says] he went to the country, not far from the city, and spent time with a small group of people there, doing not a thing night and day except persisting in prayers to the Lord. In these prayers, it says, he begged and beseeched for peace, making intercession for the churches throughout the inhabited world, for this had been his usual habit his whole life.

Eusebius' modifications enhance Polycarp's philosophical credentials. First, whereas the independent *Martyrdom of Polycarp* shows Polycarp's calm with the litotes "he was not troubled" (*ouk etarachē*), Eusebius substitutes the adjective *atarachon*. This choice of words evokes more explicitly than the independent *Polycarp* the philosophical virtue of *ataraxia*.<sup>749</sup> Second, where the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* merely reports Polycarp's prayer, Eusebius specifies that Polycarp "persisted constantly in prayers" (*diakarterounta*), thus crediting Polycarp with the same philosophical virtue, *karteria*, that Plato attributed to Socrates (see p. 131). This diction ensures that Polycarp represents philosophical virtues in this trying circumstance. Third, Eusebius declares that in these prayers Polycarp "begged and beseeched for peace," a phrase lacking any parallel in the independent *Polycarp*. Polycarp's prayer thus anticipates Eusebius' preface to book 5, placing Polycarp among Eusebius' "peaceful warriors for peace itself in the soul"<sup>750</sup> Eusebius reinforces Polycarp's position as an advocate for peace by noting at the end of his prayer that such praying "had been his usual habit his entire life." Communication with God for peace, part of Polycarp's ethos, evinces a concentration on the divine characteristic of philosophers' *exercises spirituels*. Eusebius' adjustments to the *Polycarp* make manifest how Christians' philosophical training enables them to resist Satan's temptations during violent suffering.

The philosophical training displayed by Polycarp recurs in most of the *History's* martyr narratives. A parallel example is Eusebius' reproduction of the martyrdom of James, the brother of Jesus and first bishop of Jerusalem, from the second-century Christian writer Hegesippus. Eusebius introduces James as having "pursued the summit of the life of philosophy and piety toward God" (*di' akrotēta hēs metēiei kata ton bion philosophias te kai theosebeias*). Eusebius then begins Hegesippus' narrative at a corroborative point, with a description of James' life. After noting James' office of bishop, Hegesippus/Eusebius extols James' abstinence from alcohol, body oil, and haircuts, his vegetarianism, and his refusal to go to the baths, as well as his constant prayer for the church (*HE* 2.23.4-7). James' lifestyle exhibits the ascetic self-denial for concentration on the divine characteristic of Roman philosophers (see chapter 1, p. 65), substantiating Eusebius' crediting him with *philosophia*.<sup>751</sup> Immediately after these details Eusebius/Hegesippus launches into the events of James' martyrdom, implying a relationship between asceticism and martyrdom.

The longest martyr narrative quoted in the *History*, the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne*, might not seem to focus much on martyrs' asceticism.<sup>752</sup> But Eusebius quotes a passage from the

<sup>749</sup> See above, p. 118. Eusebius also calls attention to Polycarp's *ataraxia* by elaborating that his character (*ēthos*) was steadfast (*eustathes*) and he kept himself unmoved (*akinēton phulaxanta*). Note also Polycarp's lack of *tarachē* at 4.15.25, and cf. the *tarachē* of the urban mob of Smyrna (4.15.7). Twice elsewhere in Eusebius' *History* (7.11.15, 8.5) *atarchē* signifies martyrs' calm in the face of their struggles.

<sup>750</sup> Moreover, the terms that Eusebius uses for prayer, *deisthai* and *hiketeuein*, not only show more earnestness than the *Martyrdom of Polycarp's* *proseuchesthai*, but also are more classical terms where *proseuchesthai* was the usual term for prayer in Christian texts; this diction applies a heroic stroke to Eusebius' portrait of Polycarp.

<sup>751</sup> As Pratscher 2003: 150 points out. The details also conform to the prescription in Numbers 6 of how Nazirites, men devoted ritually to God, are to live: see Chepey 2005 on Nazirites in the Roman Period, with pp. 172-175 on Hegesippus' James.

<sup>752</sup> Eusebius quotes the *Martyrs of Lyons* (5.1-3) immediately after introducing his "philosophical" kind of war (5.pref.3f.). Cf. 5.3.1-3, where Eusebius tells how a martyr who leads so squalid a life as only to eat bread and water is told by a second martyr to eat more after the second martyr experiences a revelation. While this might be read as Eusebian polemic against asceticism (cf. Corke-Webster 2013: 99f., 127), Eusebius' favor for some kinds of asceticism is quite clear from other passages, esp. *DE* 1.8f. (on which, see chapter 6 below; cf. Eusebius' criticisms of extreme asceticism in 3.29f., 4.28f., 6.8 with Willing 2008: 128-133, 204-219, Corke-Webster 2013: ch. 2). It

*Martyrs of Lyons* interpretable as an allusion to asceticism, where the text's narrator contrasts successful martyrs with apostates (5.1.11):

Then the rest were divided, and it became obvious which were ready to become martyrs, who with all eagerness completed the confession of martyrdom, and obvious also which were unready and untrained and still weak, unable to handle the intensity of a great contest.<sup>753</sup>

Whereas successful martyrs are ready (*hetoimoi*) to confess, failed martyrs are untrained (*agumnastoi*) for the violence they are about to experience.<sup>754</sup> The characteristic that divides strong, successful martyrs from weak Christians who break under pressure is *gymnasia*, rigorous training.<sup>755</sup> Such athletic metaphors frequently signified asceticism in philosophical discourse.<sup>756</sup> Eusebius' quotation of this passage invites readers to view the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne as having mastered an ascetic training regimen, as philosophers under the Roman Empire did.

Eusebius selects other narratives from his sources that, without explicitly noting the asceticism of the martyrs, emphasize some aspect of the martyrs' philosophical life and thus guide the reader to assume that, like Polycarp and James, these martyrs were ascetics.<sup>757</sup> In book 4, Eusebius notes that Justin was martyred after his Cynic rival Crescens turned him in to the authorities. Here Eusebius attaches a notice of Tatian, Justin's student, that emphasizes Justin's exposure of Crescens' pederasty, greed, gluttony, and dishonesty (4.16.8f.). Justin's denunciation of Crescens' carnal behavior implies Justin's own self-discipline by comparison.<sup>758</sup> In a brief summary of the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, Eusebius emphasizes aspects of Pionius that coincide with the role of the philosopher, his *parrhēsia* and teaching (4.15.47).<sup>759</sup> By contrast, the text of the *Martyrdom of Pionius* that survives independently never calls Pionius a philosopher.<sup>760</sup> Eusebius quotes Justin's description of a martyr named Ptolemy, a teacher (4.17.8) who before

seems more likely that Eusebius' interest in miracles motivated his mention of these two martyrs (see esp. Kofsky 2000: ch. 6): the title of the chapter is, "The kind of revelation that came to the martyr Attalus through a dream" (Ὅποια τῷ μάρτυρι Ἀττάλω δι' ὄνείρου γέγονεν ἐπιφάνεια). On this point I have benefited greatly from discussion with James Corke-Webster.

<sup>753</sup> ἐντεῦθεν δὴ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποὶ, καὶ φανεροὶ οἱ ἔτοιμοι ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὸ μαρτυρεῖν, οἱ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι.

<sup>754</sup> Note along similar lines *HE* 4.15.7f., where Eusebius elaborates on the unprepared, and therefore failed, martyr Quintus beyond the independently transmitted *Martyrdom of Polycarp's* parallel (*Polycarp* 4).

<sup>755</sup> Cf. 5.1.63's reiteration that the martyrs "showed up ready to death" (ἔτοιμοι...ἤκοντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον).

<sup>756</sup> See e.g. Musonius Rufus' *On Training* (gymnasia), in Stobaeus, *Anthology* 3.29.78, and Dombowski 1987: 704-710 on Plotinus' athletic metaphors.

<sup>757</sup> Even when Eusebius does not explicitly note martyrs' *askēsis*, the description of martyrs' *philosophia* often connotes asceticism. The terms *askēsis* and *philosophia* are often synonymous in Eusebius: see e.g. *HE* 2.23.2, 6.9.5f., 7.32.25.

<sup>758</sup> Eusebius must have found Tatian's testimony particularly essential to his theme, because a few chapters later he would dismiss Tatian as a "heretic" with a harsh quotation from Irenaeus (4.29.2f.). Cf. chapter 2, p. 89 with n. 538 on Eusebius' sympathetic treatment of three "heretics," Tatian (4.29), Bardesanes (4.30) and Symmachus (6.17).

<sup>759</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 66f. above on *parrhēsia* in Roman perceptions of the philosopher.

<sup>760</sup> The *Pionius* mentions philosophy once: when a pagan accuses Pionius of vain posturing (*kenodoxia*), Pionius asks whether three renowned Greek philosophers, including Socrates, were posturing vainly because they endured troubles for philosophizing (*Pionius* 17.3). Pionius' response constitutes a retorsion argument fitting for his character (see also *Pionius* 16.6; cf. Bryen forthcoming). While the *Pionius* evokes Greek philosophy, such evocation serves only to expose hypocrisy in the pagan being criticized. Neither the narrator of the *Pionius* nor any character associates Pionius with any philosopher.

the prefect of the city of Rome “confessed the school of divine virtue” (*to didaskaleion tēs theias aretēs hōmologēsan*, 4.17.10). At 5.21, Eusebius introduces Apollonius of Rome as “a man renowned among the faithful for his *paideia* and philosophy” (*andra tōn tote pistōn epi paideia kai philosophia beboēmenon*, 5.21.2) as he summarizes Apollonius’ death.<sup>761</sup> Eusebius also singles out several Diocletianic martyrs for their philosophy.<sup>762</sup>

Most of Eusebius’ martyr narratives emphasize the philosophical activity, and specifically the ascetic training, of successful martyrs.<sup>763</sup> This portrayal of the martyrs as practitioners of philosophy substantiates Eusebius’ claim that Christian martyrs were fighting a superior, more intellectual kind of war than the merely physical battles narrated in Greek histories. Yet the *History* also includes several martyr narratives that neglect philosophy and asceticism. Indeed, Eusebius’ final version of the ten-year Diocletianic Persecution, which he and his audiences had experienced themselves, makes few references to philosophical activity.<sup>764</sup> Nonetheless, Eusebius’ narrative still portrays martyrs as training through asceticism.

<sup>761</sup> If our current texts of the *Martyrdom of Apollonius* looks anything like the texts that Eusebius had in front of him, the suggestion that Apollonius was “renowned for philosophy” owes more to Eusebius than to his *Vorlage*. Texts of the *Martyrdom of Apollonius* survive in both Greek and Armenian, but both texts seem to postdate Eusebius, rendering it difficult to gauge Eusebius’ emphases and adjustments from his received data: see Saxer 1983-84. But if these texts represent anything like the text that Eusebius had, then he stretched his evidence to describe Apollonius as “philosophical”: the two independent texts of the *Martyrdom of Apollonius* never refer to any asceticism and use the term *philosophia* just twice. At one point in his defense speech Apollonius comments that the unlearned envied Christ “in the same manner as the just and philosophers before him” (καθ’ ἃ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ δίκαιοί τε καὶ φιλόσοφοι, 38; cf. *Pionius* 17.3, previous note), and goes on to compare Jesus to Socrates (41); the other makes a philosopher into one of Apollonius’ opponents (33). Neither of these references appears in the Armenian text of the *Martyrdom*. The language of Apollonius’ defense-speech, as preserved in the Greek *Martyrdom*, uses biblical diction and argumentation far more than the educated Greek that we would expect from a philosopher (cf. chapter 1, pp. 59f. above).

<sup>762</sup> Eusebius notes Phileas of Thmuis’ *philosophia* four times (8.9.6-8, 8.10.11); Peter of Alexandria is “an exemplar for the virtue of his life and rigorous training in the sacred Scriptures (*chrēma biou te aretēs heneka kai tēs tōn hierōn logōn sunaskēseōs*, 9.6.2; cf. 7.32.31, 8.13.7); Lucian of Antioch, “the best man in all respects, kept self-control in his life and was well disciplined through sacred knowledge” (*anēr ta panta aristos biōi te egkratei kai tois hierois mathēmasin sugkekrotēmenos*, 9.6.3; cf. 8.13.2). Note, conversely, 7.32.23, where Stephen of Antioch’s apostasy during the persecution becomes evidence that he was “a dissembler and a coward rather than a true philosopher” (*eirōna mallon deilon te kai anandron ēper philosophon*).

<sup>763</sup> In addition to the *Martyrdoms of Polycarp, Pionius and Apollonius*, (see pp. 119-121 and nn. 760, 761 above), the *Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice* also survives; again, this martyr narrative has no suggestion that its protagonists were philosophers. I would suggest (in addition to other characteristics: cf. n. 792 below) that Eusebius relegated these martyr narratives to the background in part because they emphasize no philosophical activity on the part of their martyrs. For other reasons Eusebius relegated these martyr narratives to the background while featuring the martyrdoms of James, Polycarp, the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, and Dionysius’ martyr narratives (see 6.40-42, 7.11), see n. 792 below.

<sup>764</sup> Cf. 8.9.6-8, 9.6.2f. Eusebius’ original account of Diocletian’s persecutions, a truncated recension of his *Martyrs of Palestine* (*MP* 13.9f. see Introduction, pp. 6f. above and Appendix 1 below), which survives as an appendix in manuscripts ATER, makes the relevance of asceticism explicit: “So the aforementioned people were spending time at the segregated place and completing their customary duties in fasting and prayers and the rest of their exercises, God—God himself—thought them worthy to attain saving perfection, providing a listening hand to them. The hateful enemy, however, because he was no longer able to handle their most methodical arming themselves against him through their prayers to God, resolved to kill and remove them from the earth because they aggravated him” (ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους κατὰ τὸν ἀποκριθέντα τόπον διατρίβοντας τὰ τε συνήθη ἐν ἀσιταίαις καὶ προσευχαῖς καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀποτελοῦντας ἀσκήσεσιν, θεὸς μὲν, θεὸς αὐτὸς τῆς σωτηρίου τελειώσεως τυχεῖν ἡξίου, δεξιὰν αὐτοῖς ἐπήκουον παρέχων, ὁ δὲ πολέμιος ἐχθρὸς, ἅτε σχολαίτατα κατ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν πρὸς θεὸν εὐχῶν ὀπλιζομένους μηκέθ’ οἷός τε φέρειν, κτείνειν καὶ μεταίρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ὡς ἂν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐνόμιζεν.).

### B. *Philosophical Activity as Prelude to Martyrdom*

Frequently Eusebius constructs martyrs as ascetics and philosophers through his narrative sequencing rather than (or in addition to) the narration of the martyrdoms themselves. He sometimes describes a martyr's philosophical activity just before his or her martyrdom. Eusebius' portrait of Origen, for example, uses careful sequencing to associate martyrdom with philosophical activity. After Origen founds a philosophical school (6.3.1), he receives among his first students two brothers named Plutarch and Heraclas (6.3.2); Plutarch soon becomes the first of Origen's students to be martyred (6.4.1). Eusebius then praises Origen's encouragement to contemporary Alexandrian martyrs, asserting that Origen escaped martyrdom miraculously (6.3.3-7). A glowing depiction of Origen's activity as ascetic philosopher and catechetical instructor in Alexandria (6.3.7-12) leads Eusebius to catalogue eight of Origen's pupils who were martyred (6.4f.), beginning with Plutarch and culminating with a virgin named Potimiaena, whose immersion in boiling oil Eusebius describes in gruesome detail (6.5.4). While Eusebius' account of these martyrdoms includes few explicit references to asceticism or to other philosophical activities,<sup>765</sup> his sequencing of the martyrdoms immediately after describing Origen's assistance to their *exercises spirituels* associates these martyrs inseparably with Origen's own philosophical life. Fittingly, the last event in Origen's own life is his endurance of torture in Decius' persecution.<sup>766</sup> Although Eusebius' description of Origen's torture avoids philosophical signifiers, its location as the culmination of a long philosophical life associates Origen's endurance of torture inextricably with his philosophical activity (6.39.5; cf. 6.1; 6.2.6-11, 15).<sup>767</sup> Origen's and his students' pursuit of philosophy is clearly an effective preparation for martyrdom.<sup>768</sup>

Eusebius' most revealing sequencing of philosophical activity before a martyr narrative constitutes a subtle but strong polemic against Greek war historiography. It comes at the end of book 7, a major transition in the *History*. Whereas the *History*'s first seven books outline the church's past until Diocletian was emperor (in AD 284-304), following lines of Roman emperors' succession and of successive bishops in major cities,<sup>769</sup> books 8 through 10 narrate the persecutions of the church initiated by Diocletian from 303 to 313 and the church's triumph thereafter.<sup>770</sup> Eusebius' transition between books 1-7 and 8-10, I argue, contextualizes his martyr

Indeed, Eusebius emphasizes the philosophical training of the martyrs of Caesarea throughout the short *Martyrs of Palestine* (see esp. *MP* 4f., 7.5, 10f., 13.7f., with Penland 2011). But since he removed the shortened *Martyrs* with its references to philosophical activity and replaced it with the current book 8 in the *History*, Eusebius obviously did not consider these passages essential to his portrait of the church.

<sup>765</sup> Eusebius calls one Origen's pupil (*phoitetēs*, 6.4.2) and notes Origen's *diatribē* at 6.4.3; and while Potimiaena's abstention from sex was one manifestation of philosophical asceticism (see Brown 1988: esp. ch. 9), Eusebius denotes it using non-philosophical terminology (*hagneias te kai parthenias*, 6.4.1).

<sup>766</sup> Pace Grant 1975b: 645-649, Eusebius does not specify that Origen was killed in 6.39.5; cf. Mazzucco 2004.

<sup>767</sup> Eusebius repeats this pattern at other points in the *History*. See 4.14 with 4.15 (Polycarp), and 4.8.3-8 and 4.10.8-4.11 with 4.16 (Justin), and 6.14.8f., 6.19.17f., 6.27 with 6.39.2f. (Alexander of Jerusalem), and 6.29.5 with 7.11.2-17 (Dionysius of Alexandria).

<sup>768</sup> Again, I am not implying that Eusebius thought Christian philosophers *intended* their asceticism as a preparation for martyrdom: see n. 737 above.

<sup>769</sup> On Eusebius' successions of bishops, see chapter 2, pp. 97-100 above and chapter 6, p. 190 below.

<sup>770</sup> At the end of book 7 Eusebius announces this change in the structure of the *History*. The end of 7 winds the successions down explicitly (τὴν τῶν διαδοχῶν περιγράψαντες ὑπόθεσιν, 7.32.32, corresponding to 1.1.1: τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχάς). (As Schwartz (1907: 1396) notes, the opening of 8 also repeats this closing note: 8.pref.) After noting the end of the *diadochai*, Eusebius declares that from here on he will tell "the struggles contested for piety in my own time" (τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισσαμένων ἀγῶνας, *HE* 7.32.32,

narratives within Greek war historiography, while marking his martyrs as specifically philosophical.

To summarize the passage: in chapter 30 of book 7, Eusebius brings the succession of Roman emperors up to Diocletian and his three co-emperors (Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius, 7.30.22).<sup>771</sup> After chapter 31 (a brief, venomous rant against the upstart Manichees),<sup>772</sup> Eusebius begins the long chapter 32 with a brief notice of the succession of Christian bishops in Rome up to Diocletian's persecutions. The focus soon moves eastward to the churches of Antioch and nearby Laodicea in Syria (7.32.5-23), where Eusebius lingers on certain Christian luminaries of these two cities. Readers then move southward to the bishop and intellectuals of Eusebius' home city, Caesarea Maritima (7.32.24f.). After a pause to note two distinguished men whom "we know" (*ismen*, 7.32.26f.), Eusebius resumes his southward sweep to name the bishop of Jerusalem (7.32.29), and then reaches Alexandria and praises its bishop (7.32.30f.).

In brief, the chapter follows a deliberate geographical arc, journeying from Rome to Syria and along the Levantine coast down to Alexandria.<sup>773</sup> Why does Eusebius place a geographical panorama of famous Christians before Diocletian's Persecution?<sup>774</sup>

The coming persecution looms throughout the chapter. When recording Diocletian's accession shortly before the panorama (7.30.22), Eusebius notes Diocletian's "persecution and destruction of church buildings."<sup>775</sup> The omission of Diocletian's famous administrative reforms points readers to the trauma that Diocletian wreaked on the church.<sup>776</sup> Soon thereafter, 7.32 also notes two martyrdoms that will occur during the persecution, of Pamphilus of Caesarea (Eusebius' master) and Bishop Peter of Alexandria, as well as other Christians' actions during the persecution (7.32.22, 25, 28, 31).<sup>777</sup> The panorama therefore foreshadows the persecution.

picking up 1.1.2: τὰ τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μαρτύρια καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἴλεω καὶ εὐμενῆ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀντίληψιν.

<sup>771</sup> ἐφ' ὧν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς συντελεῖται διωγμὸς καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαίρεσις.

<sup>772</sup> This apparent digression from Diocletian may elevate narrative tension before the persecution, for Diocletian's rescript of 297 or 302 against the Manichees presaged the edicts against the Christians of 303: both pronouncements preface their condemnations by affirming that faithful worship of the Empire's traditional deities would keep the Empire secure and prosperous; as Manichees' and Christians' rejection of that worship threatened the Empire, their deviant practices demanded annihilation. On the parallels between imperial pronouncements against the Manichees in 297 or 302 and against the Christians in 303, see e.g. Ste. Croix 1954: 78; Davies 1989: 92; Corcoran 1996: 181, Humphries 2009: 23f. and Leadbetter 2009: 122f.; cf. Portmann 1990: esp. 223f., Schwarte 1994: 234f.

<sup>773</sup> Pace Beggs 1999: 80, who calls 7.32 "unfocused and disjointed." The chapter has just one interruption of geographical sequence at 7.32.26f., where Eusebius describes Meletius of Pontus and Pierius of Alexandria. I suggest that Eusebius interrupted his southward panorama here to demonstrate his own personal connections in Egypt and Pontus. Accordingly, the digression comes when the panorama reaches Caesarea, Eusebius' home city. By pointing out that Pierius and Meletius are two famous church officials whom "we know" (*ismen*), Eusebius temporarily styles himself as an observer of the phenomena he narrates, claiming more authority than his usual persona as a collector of others' texts (1.1.4) allows. The digression reminds the reader of the connectivity of the church in general and of Eusebius in particular (see chapter 5 below).

<sup>774</sup> Most scholars who have studied this passage have pressed it to serve their hypotheses about the order in which Eusebius composed the different books of the *Ecclesiastical History*. See Harnack 1893: 112f.; Barnes 1981: 191-194, 2009: 6f.; Chesnut 1986: 115-118; Tabbernee 1997: 320f.; cf. Schwartz 1907: 1401-1404; Grant 1972: 239f.; Louth 1990: 122f.; Burgess 1997: 499-501. Little has been said about the literary significance of 7.32.

<sup>775</sup> On Eusebius' references to church buildings, see chapter 4, pp. 164f. below.

<sup>776</sup> Compare Lactantius, *DMP* 7. By way of comparison, Eusebius defames Nero, Domitian, and Maxentius for actions that in no way involve the church (2.25.2, 3.17, 8.14); cf. pp. 115f. above.

<sup>777</sup> On Marcellinus of Rome, who almost certainly handed over scriptures to imperial authorities, see Green 2010: 213 with references; cf. Twomey 1982: 151-154 on Eusebius' silence about Marcellinus.

Eusebius' panorama, I argue, represents his reworking of a topos from numerous Greek histories. Herodotus, the first surviving Greek historian, features several comparable panoramas in his *Histories*, his narrative of the Greeks' war against the Persian Empire in the early fifth century. Herodotus' most famous panorama is his survey of the Persian army shortly before the two sides met in battle. At the beginning of book 7 of the *Histories*, the Persian king Xerxes musters his forces and marches west from Anatolia to annex Greece. Soon after crossing from Asia into Europe, Xerxes halts to count his troops (Hdt. 7.57-59). Herodotus uses this pause to guide his readers on a comprehensive tour of the king's infantry, a tour organized according to the ethno-geographical origins of its units (7.61-81). After digressing to name the Persians' commanders and their elite unit, the so-called Immortals (7.82f.), Herodotus describes the Persians' cavalry units (7.84-88). The panorama concludes with the Persian fleet, enumerating each nation's forces and idiosyncrasies (7.89-98). The geographical provenance of each unit is the organizing principle behind Herodotus' panorama. The catalogue of nations in the Persian army exhibits the range of peoples that the Greeks will soon fight, at a juncture just before the Greeks and Persians sides clash in the iconic battle of Thermopylae.<sup>778</sup> When the battle ensues, audiences know what the Greeks were up against in this epic war.

Herodotus' sometime critic Thucydides (ca. 400 BC), the author of the *Peloponnesian War* and the other model historian of ancient Greek-speakers, also pauses before battles begin to survey the peoples involved.<sup>779</sup> In addition, Thucydides employs a variation of the Herodotean panorama at the beginning of book 6 (6.1-5). As the Athenians are about to make the strategic error of invading Sicily, Thucydides pauses his narrative to survey Sicily's political geography. He describes first the non-Greek Sicilians, and then the Greek communities in the order in which they settled the island. This panorama informs the reader about the communities that the Athenians are about to attack (and by whom, as Thucydides' readers knew, Athens would be defeated ignominiously).<sup>780</sup>

Numerous subsequent Greek historians utilized the topos of the geo-ethnic panorama before a war narrative.<sup>781</sup> The topos was so common, I suggest, not only because the paradigmatic historians Herodotus and Thucydides modeled it, but because it predates historical writing, appearing already in the unrivaled master Greek narrator, Homer.

In book 2 of the *Iliad*, as Agamemnon's Achaeans are about to march upon Hector's Trojans, Homer pauses for the famous "Catalogue of Ships," a 375-line survey of the peoples allied with the Greek king Agamemnon for his fight against Troy (*Iliad* 2.484-858). As soon as the Achaeans line up for battle, the different contingents on their battle line flash before readers' eyes, a sequence organized according to the geographical origins of each ethnic contingent of nearly 300 lines.<sup>782</sup> Starting at line 761, Homer shows audiences what these Achaeans will take on by surveying the Trojans and their allies. Homer thus broadens the audience's perspective

<sup>778</sup> Herodotus surveys the battle-lines of each army elsewhere too, e.g. 6.8, 9.28-33.

<sup>779</sup> Thucydides' most famous military panorama comes in book 5, when the Spartans and other Peloponnesians are about to fight the Argives, Athenians, and their allies at Mantinea of 418 BC, the most detailed description of a pitched land battle in the *Peloponnesian Wars* (Thuc. 5.64-68). Mantinea as paradigmatic: Connor 1984: 144.

<sup>780</sup> On this passage, see e.g. Harrison 2000b, Smith 2004.

<sup>781</sup> Examples: Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.8.4-13; Polybius, *Histories* 5.53, 5.82f., 15.9, 15.11.1-3; Diodorus, *Historical Library* 11.17.2-18.2, 13.13, 13.39, 13.98, 15.55, 15.85.1f., 16.86.1f., 17.19.3f., 17.57f., 18.30, 19.27-29, 19.40, 19.82-83.1-3, 20.10.5-20.11.3, 20.50.2-6; Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.14, 2.8, 3.11.

<sup>782</sup> The panorama lingers particularly on the leaders of each side, but meanders to manifold topics related to each Achaean unit. See the recent discussion of Heiden 2008.

regarding the number of feet about to march, spears about to fly, bodies about to fall to the earth, and quality of the leaders who command the two armies.<sup>783</sup>

Eusebius knew his Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides.<sup>784</sup> The *History*'s sweeping geographical preface to the church's greatest struggle replicates the standard Greek prelude to war.<sup>785</sup> This chapter sent Eusebius' readers an unmistakable signal as they reached Diocletian's persecution: *a war is about to break out*.<sup>786</sup> And the panorama marks much of the Roman Empire as the battlefield.<sup>787</sup>

Equally important, however, are the differences between Eusebius' panorama and those from previous Greek narratives. Unlike the warriors of Homer, Herodotus or Thucydides, Eusebius' Christians lacked armor, weapons, and military tactics.<sup>788</sup> In place of armaments, Eusebius details Christians' intellectual activity. Among the intellectuals appearing in the panorama, Dorotheus of Antioch is learned in Greek and in Hebrew literature (7.32.5); Anatolius is an accomplished Aristotelian philosopher (7.32.6-20); Theodotus of Laodicea is a physician, a profession that demanded engagement with philosophy (7.32.23);<sup>789</sup> Pamphilus of Caesarea—Eusebius' own teacher—lives a distinguished philosophical life and leads a school (*diatribē*, 7.32.25); Pierius of Alexandria lives in poverty and devotes himself to philosophical learning and contemplation; Melitius of Pontus is an erudite dialectician who also lives a virtuous life (7.32.26f.); and Peter of Alexandria, a severe ascetic, concludes the survey (7.32.31). Whereas previous Greek war historians had detailed the armor and weapons that the soldiers of each side would wield, Eusebius' Christians were an army of ascetic philosophers, here and throughout the *History*. At this crucial point in the *History*, Eusebius' geographical panorama brings the contrast between Christians' philosophical “war for peace itself in the soul” and other Greek historians' merely physical wars into stark relief.

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<sup>783</sup> See also *Iliad* 4.188-421, 16.168-209; Edwards 1992: 302f. suggests that the topos was originally an oral storytelling technique. Among texts included in imperial *paideia*, note also e.g. Aeschylus, *Persians* 12-64 and *Seven Against Thebes* 375-676.

<sup>784</sup> See chapter 1, p. 28 with n. 173.

<sup>785</sup> Note also another topos drawn from Greek epic and historiography that Eusebius generally avoids but also appears in 7.32: At 7.32.9, Eusebius reports in *oratio recta* a speech of Anatolius of Alexandria before the city council pleading for a distribution of food to the starving Alexandrians. Although brief by the standards of Greek epic and historiography, this is the longest direct speech delivered by a character in the *History* besides Eusebius' own dedication oration at Tyre (10.4; cf. also the quotations in 7.11.7-11). The speech is a cue to epic and war historiography, where set-piece orations were a staple (chapter 1, p. 27 above).

<sup>786</sup> At least one modern reader, Andrew Louth (1990: 122), put his finger on this: “by the end of Book VII *the ranks of the Church are in place*, so to speak, to face its greatest—and final—test” (italics mine).

<sup>787</sup> The panorama includes only Rome from the western Roman Empire; but cf. 8.13.12f., where Eusebius says that Constantius refused to execute Christians in his territory. The panorama probably focused mostly on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean because Eusebius wrote it for the first edition of the *History*, for which a shortened version of his *Martyrs of Palestine* constituted the account of Diocletian's persecution (see Appendix 1, p. 240f. below). Since the shortened *Martyrs of Palestine* focused exclusively on Palestinian martyrs, Eusebius did not see the need to survey more of the Empire than Palestine and surrounding regions (Egypt and Syria), along with the Roman church that hosted one of the episcopal successions that he followed throughout the *History* (chapter 2, pp. 97-99 above). When Eusebius removed the short *Martyrs of Palestine* and replaced it with a less parochial version of the persecution (8.2.4-8.16), he did not then change the prelude to the persecution, but left the compact panorama of 7.32 in place.

<sup>788</sup> See p. 125 above.

<sup>789</sup> See chapter 1, n. 61 above; for more on Theodotus, see chapter 6, p. 213 below.



Eusebius' martyr narratives portray asceticism as a quality of successful martyrs.<sup>790</sup> Successful martyrs prepare for martyrdom through the rigors of a philosophical life, as Eusebius reminds readers both within his narratives of martyrdom and in passages leading up to the martyrs. The martyrs' philosophical activity explains why the church can win the "wars for peace in the soul" that Eusebius proclaims in the preface to book 5. As we will see, Eusebius' narration of the progress of these wars inserts the Christian warriors' "peace in the soul" into the most violent situations.

#### 4. Eusebian Combat: Enemy Violence and Christian Virtue

Eusebius selects previous martyr narratives and composes his own so as to challenge Greek war historiography. Readers of war history expected lengthy narratives of large-scale, unpredictable, and brutal violence. By contrast, most pre-Eusebian martyr narratives focused on the martyr's interrogation in a Roman courtroom, as for example in the *Martyrdom of Carpus* (see pp. 108f.). Both the courtroom setting and the predictable back-and-forth of the dialogue communicated orderliness and control. Moreover, martyr narratives typically occurred at a small scale, walking readers through a handful of martyrdoms.

Eusebius therefore had to make some effort to infuse his martyr narratives with the violence and scale of war. As we will see, Eusebius' martyrdoms are a brutal combat and occur on an epic scale. These qualities substantiate Eusebius' comparison between his "wars for peace in the soul" and the physical wars of other Greek historians. Where Eusebius' wars were different from paradigmatic Greek war histories was in the language of philosophical praise that highlighted Christians' philosophical virtues into its war narratives.

To amplify the *History's* martyrial violence, Eusebius recalibrated the space devoted to different events in traditional martyr narratives. Where most previous martyr narratives had centered on interrogations in court, the *History* consistently deemphasizes these orderly scenes.<sup>791</sup> Instead, Eusebius' martyr narratives foreground the violence of Christians' executions, both when selected from previous sources and when told in Eusebius' own voice. The best way to confirm Eusebius' emphasis on violence is to compare the martyr narratives that Eusebius reproduced in the *History* with those that he neglected.<sup>792</sup> We have independent texts of three previous martyr narratives that Eusebius mentions but declines to quote in the *History*: the *Martyrdom of Carpus, Papyrus, and Agathonice*, the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, and the *Martyrdom of Apollonius* (4.15.47f., 5.21.5). Each of these texts spends more time on the martyrs' dialogue

<sup>790</sup> Eusebius says this outside of the *History* as well: see *DE* 3.7.39.

<sup>791</sup> The backgrounding of the courtroom may be one reason why Eusebius removed the *History's* original account of Diocletian's persecution, a truncated version of his more traditional martyr narrative, the *Martyrs of Palestine*, inserted originally between *HE* 8.2.3 and 8.17.1 (see Appendix 1 below). The short *Martyrs of Palestine* presents courtroom interrogations at *MP* 1.1, 8.5-8, 11.7-18; cf. also 1.5; 2.2; 3.3; 4.2, 8f., 13; 5.2f; 6.3; 7.1, 4-6; 8.1, 3; 9.4; 10.2; 11.26, 29f.; 13.6.

<sup>792</sup> To my knowledge, only Beggs 1999: 247-253 has compared Eusebius' exceptional narration of martyrdom to previous martyr narratives; cf. e.g. Handrick 1989. In addition to the philosophical activity in the narratives he chooses (n. 763 above), Eusebius had two possible reasons for quoting at length the martyrdoms of James (2.23), Polycarp (4.15), Ptolemy and Lucius (4.17), Lyons and Vienne (5.1-3), Origen's students (6.4f.), and Dionysius' fellow Alexandrians (6.40-42, 7.11), whereas Eusebius merely notes or summarizes other martyr narratives that we know he had available (*Carpus, Pionius, and Apollonius*—see 4.15.47f., 5.21.5): (1) all of these martyrs were either bishops or otherwise closely connected with another individual described at length in the *History* (cf. Eusebius' emphasis on Christian networks, chapter 5 below); (2) all of these narratives (except Justin's description of Ptolemy and Lucius) emphasize the violence suffered by its martyr to a greater extent than his dialogue in the courtroom.

with interrogators than on their violent deaths. The martyr narratives that Eusebius chose to quote avoid such dialogues and instead dwell on the horrific violence suffered by martyrs. James the brother of Jesus is first thrown down from the roof of the temple in Jerusalem, then stoned, then bashed in the head with a club (2.23.15-18). Polycarp is bound to a pyre to burn to death, and when that fails, is stabbed with a dagger that unleashes a torrent of blood (4.15.29-38). Excerpts from Dionysius of Alexandria reduce Decius' edict of universal sacrifice to a litany of disfigured bodies (6.41f.).<sup>793</sup> Perhaps most tellingly, Eusebius' lengthy excerpts from the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* parade a flurry of nonstop violence before readers (5.1), while relegating other scenes from the original *Martyrs of Lyons* to two subsequent chapters that read like appendices (5.2.1-5, 5.3.1-3). The result is that, instead of finding periodic respites from the carnage that the martyrs of Lyons endured, readers encounter a parade of tortures.<sup>794</sup> The concentration on Christian suffering substantiates Eusebius' claim that martyrdom was a war.

In addition to his amplification of violence and downplaying of interrogations, Eusebius broadened the scale of his martyr narratives compared to previous exemplars of the genre. One means of augmenting his martyrdoms' scale was to foreground a rare martyr narrative with a massive number of martyrs. The most prominent mass martyrdom comes in Eusebius' quotations from the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne*. Eusebius' quotations from the *Martyrs of Lyons* note ten martyrs by name,<sup>795</sup> but more often refers to its martyrs by a nameless "they," implying that many more martyrs died than were being named. Eusebius' quotations from Dionysius of Alexandria on Decius' and Valerian's persecutions also imply that huge numbers of martyrs were dying for their loyalty to God (6.40-42, 7.10f.).

In other martyr narratives Eusebius suggests the scale of war by lining up series of several allegedly contemporaneous martyrdoms.<sup>796</sup> For example, the two martyrdoms narrated in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (Germanicus' along with Polycarp's, 4.15.5) appear in the same chapter with another five allegedly contemporaneous executions, including that of a "heretical" Marcionite named Metrodorus (4.15.46-48),<sup>797</sup> and the next chapters narrate three other martyrdoms (Justin's, Ptolemy's, and Lucius', 4.16f.).<sup>798</sup> Such clustering of allegedly

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<sup>793</sup> Dionysius' account of Valerian's persecution (7.10f.) is less violent, largely because Eusebius burnishes Dionysius' credentials by presenting his confession of Christianity and consequent exile (7.11.3-19; cf. nn. 704-707 above), though Eusebius keeps moments of torture in these excerpts from Dionysius (7.11.20, 25). See also the account of Origen's death at 6.39.5.

<sup>794</sup> Eusebius claims to have removed some sections of the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* (5.1.4, 36, 62; 5.2.1, 5, 6); we do not know how much material he removed, or how much of what he removed he reinserted in 5.2f. (cf. the speculations of Löhr 1989: 139f.). It is no coincidence that Eusebius excerpted the violent sections of the original *Martyrs of Lyons* at such length in 5.1, as they come immediately after the preface to book 5 (quoted at the start of this chapter) and thus substantiate Eusebius' construal of martyrdom as war. Other interesting topics from the *Martyrs of Lyons*—martyrs' humility, mutual assistance, and opposition to "Montanism," and a martyr's vision from God—come in 5.2f.; the martyrs' letter of recommendation for Irenaeus (*HE* 5.4, on which see chapter 5, pp. 185f. below) is another appendix.

<sup>795</sup> *HE* 5.1.9, 17, 25, 29, 49, 53; 5.3.

<sup>796</sup> Despite the large scale of martyrdom, however, martyrial violence remained contrary to the normal relations between church and Empire: cf. pp. 114-116 above.

<sup>797</sup> The fact that several of the martyrdoms clearly dated after Polycarp's shows that Eusebius either did not check his dates carefully or willfully dated them wrongly to inflate the scale of martyrdom. See Barnes 1968: 514f., 529-531. the juxtapositions of contemporaneous martyrdoms at 6.39f. and 7.10-12.

<sup>798</sup> See also 6.3-5 (noted above, p. 124), and 3.17-20, where Eusebius heaps up three instances of persecution under Domitian, none resulting in an execution (3.17-20; see Ulrich 1996). But Eusebius' bunching of martyr narratives leaves large stretches of the *History* without any trace of martyrdoms, indicating that martyrdoms were actually exceptional events in an Empire that had generally been friendly to the church: see 3.33, 4.9, 4.13, 4.26.7-11, 5.5.7,

contemporary martyrdoms creates the impression that the martyrs were participating in a grand conflict rather than a few isolated executions.

Eusebius' style of narrating his martyrdoms bolsters the violence and scale of the events. To amplify the scale and violence of martyrdom and assimilate martyrdom with war, Eusebius often reduces martyr narratives to series of severe punishments.<sup>799</sup> The *History's* account of the Diocletianic persecutions, stripped of preliminaries like the arrests and trials of Christians is an unrelenting montage of violence against Christian victims.<sup>800</sup> Here is one example (8.8, trans. Oulton, modified; key elements underlined):<sup>801</sup>

Anyone would admire those of them also that were martyred in their own land [Egypt], where countless numbers, men, women, and children, despising this passing life, endured various forms of death for the sake of our Saviour's teaching. Some of them were committed to the flames after being torn and racked and grievously scourged, and suffering other manifold torments terrible to hear, while some were engulfed in the sea; others with a good courage stretched forth their heads to them that cut them off, or died in the midst of their tortures, or perished of hunger; and others again were crucified, some as malefactors usually are, and some, even more brutally, were nailed in the opposite manner, head-downwards, and kept alive until they should perish of hunger on the gibbet.<sup>802</sup>

The violence undergone by the martyrs hits the reader like a sequence of quick cuts in a modern war or slasher film, rather than like the systematic courtroom-to-arena progression of most martyr narratives. Eusebius rarely lingers on any one martyr. Instead a series of antitheses juxtapose and compare different tortures, conveying the variety and ubiquity of atrocity. To create the impression of a wide scale of martyrdom, Eusebius also assures readers repeatedly that “many” “numerous,” or “countless” Christians suffered.<sup>803</sup> The large-scale violence renders the persecution indistinguishable from war.

The passage also, however, notes the martyrs' “good courage” (*eutharsōs*), a virtue that might not be expected among passive, suffering individuals. Though they were not original in Eusebius' martyr narratives (see p. 109), such notes of Christian virtue reinforced Eusebius' picture of a philosophical war: while the scale and the violence put Eusebius' war narratives on

7.13, 8.1.1-6, showing that persecution was not the normal state of relations between church and Empire; cf. chapter 5, pp. 199-206 below.

<sup>799</sup> In addition to the following, see e.g. *HE* 5.1, 6.40-42, 8.6-12.

<sup>800</sup> This description applies as well to book 8's sole quoted martyr narrative, a letter of Phileas of Thmuis (8.10).

<sup>801</sup> Note the constructions with *hoi men...hoi de* (or its variant *hote men...hote de*), *loipoi, alloi* (or the variant *allote...allote*), and *heteroi*: *HE* 8.3; 8.6.5-8; 8.7.2-6; 8.8; 8.9.2-5, 8; 8.10.4-9; 8.12.1f., 5-7, 10.

<sup>802</sup> Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς μαρτυρήσαντας, ἔνθα μυρίοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἄνδρες ἅμα γυναιξίν καὶ παισίν, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας, τοῦ προσκαίρου ζῆν καταφρονήσαντες, διαφόρους ὑπέμειναν θανάτους, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μετὰ ξεσμῶν καὶ στρεβλώσεις μάστιγας τε χαλεπωτάτας καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ποικίλας καὶ φρικτὰς ἀκούσαι βασάνους πυρὶ παραδοθέντες, οἱ δὲ πελάγει καταβροχθισθέντες, ἄλλοι δ' εὐθαρσῶς τοῖς ἀποτέμνουσιν τὰς ἑαυτῶν προτείναντες κεφαλὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐναποθανόντες ταῖς βασάνοις, ἕτεροι δὲ λιμῶ διαφθαρέντες, καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἀνασκολοπισθέντες, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῆθηδες τοῖς κακούργοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ χειρόνως ἀνάπαλιν κάτω κάρᾳ προσηλωθέντες τηρούμενοί τε ζῶντες, εἰς ὅτε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἰκρίων λιμῶ διαφθαρεῖεν (8.8, trans. Oulton, modified slightly).

<sup>803</sup> “Many,” “how many,” or “the multitude” (*pleistoi, murioi, hosoi, to plēthos*) suffers at 8.3.1; 8.4.1-3, 5; 8.6.5f., 9f.; 8.12.1 and 8.12 title; 8.13.7.

par with those of Greek historians, Eusebius distinguishes his “wars for peace in the soul” by foregrounding his martyrs’ philosophical virtues. Where previous martyr narratives already attributed several mainstream philosophical virtues to the martyrs, and Eusebius reproduces these both in his own voice and in those of his sources. Nobility (*gennaios*), for example, appears nine times; it was a characteristic of Socrates, the prototypical philosophical martyr (*Phaedo* 58D).<sup>804</sup> The Stoic virtues of persistence, patience, and endurance (*hupomonē, enstasis, karteria*) crop up dozens of times.<sup>805</sup> *Aretē*, the umbrella term for “virtue” in philosophical discourse, appears in six descriptions of martyrdom.<sup>806</sup> Alongside of these philosophical virtues, Eusebius highlights the warriors’ characteristics of courage (*andreia, adiatreptos, tharsaleōs*) and virtue (*aretē*).<sup>807</sup> This juxtaposition of philosophical and martial virtues implies that the church’s philosophical way of life underpinned the expected bravery of victors in war.<sup>808</sup> Indeed, the passage quoted above says explicitly that Christ’s teaching (*didaskalia*) had led them to such courageous deaths, making the link between philosophical learning and virtuous martyrdom explicit.<sup>809</sup>

The philosophical virtues of Eusebius’ martyrs distinguish them from the fighters of previous Greek war histories, even as Eusebius’ violence and scale of war were standard elements of the genre. We can take as an example a passage from Thucydides’ famous narrative of the civil war at Corcyra in the third book of his *Peloponnesian War*, when a group of suppliants leaves the refuge of a sanctuary under promise of safety only to be slaughtered (Thuc. 3.81.3-5, trans. Crawley, modified):

The mass of the suppliants who had refused [to leave the sanctuary of Hera], on seeing what was taking place, slew each other there in the consecrated ground; while some hanged themselves upon the trees, and others destroyed themselves as they were severally able....the Corcyraeans were engaged in butchering those of their fellow-citizens whom they regarded as their enemies, and although the crime imputed was that of attempting to put down the democracy, some were slain also for private hatred, others by their debtors because of the monies owed to them. Every form of death occurred, and, as usually happens at such times, there no act that did not happen, then went even further; sons were killed by their fathers, and suppliants dragged from the altar or slain upon it, while some were even walled up in the temple of Dionysus and died there.<sup>810</sup>

<sup>804</sup> *Gennaios* and cognates: 4.15.5; 5.1.7, 17, 19f., 36; 6.5.4; 8.7.1, 8.12.7, 9.1.10; I owe the reference to the *Phaedo* to Moss forthcoming: 129.

<sup>805</sup> *Hupomonē* and cognates: 3.32.6, 3.36.15; 4.15.47, 5.1.4, 6f., 16, 20, 27, 39, 45; 5.2.4; 6.1.1; 6.4.3; 6.39.5; 7.11.18; 8.5.1, 8.7.1, 8.8, 8.9.1; 8.10.3, 6; 8.11.2, 8.12.7, 8.13.4f., 8.14.13, 9.6.2, 9.8.11, 9.10.12; 10.4.15, 31; 10.8.11; *enstasis*: HE 4.15.4, 5.pref.4, 6.5.5, 6.39.5, 8.4.4; 8.6.2, 10; 8.7.1; *karteria* and cognates: 4.15.9, 47; 6.1.1, 6.39.5, 6.41.14, 8.7.4, 8.10.9, 8.13.4, 10.4.15, 31. Jewish and Christian authors had long exploited these terms to bolster martyrs’ respectability: cf. Shaw 1996: 286-300 (who downplays *karteria* in Christian discourse but misses its prevalence in the New Testament: see Romans 12.12, 13.6; Colossians 4.2, Acts 1.14, 2.42, 2.46, 6.4, 8.13, 10.7).

<sup>806</sup> *Aretē* and cognates: 4.15.6, 8.10.4; 8.12.3, 7; 8.13.6; 9.6.2; cf. 4.17.11.

<sup>807</sup> *Andreia* and cognates: 4.15.6, 5.pref.4, 6.41.16, 8.6.1, 8.9.8, 8.12.10f., 8.13.6; cf. 8.14.15; *adiatreptos*: 8.6.3, 8.7.4; *tharsaleōs* and cognates: 4.15.25, 6.5.3, 6.41.23, 8.8, 8.10.9.

<sup>808</sup> While previous martyr narratives had emphasized these virtues (Perkins 1995: ch. 4, Shaw 1996, Kelley 2006, Waldner 2007), they had not located them within a larger model of Christian philosophical practice.

<sup>809</sup> See chapter 6, pp. 222f. below on the significance of *didaskalia* in Eusebius’ works.

<sup>810</sup> οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν, ὡς ἐώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο, οἱ δ’ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύνατο ἀνηλοῦντο. ἡμέρας τε ἕπτα...Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνεον, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δὲ τινὲς καὶ ἰδίας ἐχθρας ἕνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου, καὶ οἶον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γίγνεσθαι,

Like Eusebius, Thucydides flashes quick, antithetically constructed scenes of terrible bloodshed before his readers' eyes, and so conveys the violence of war. The scale of war manifests itself in Thucydides' antitheses, which communicate variety, and his declarations that many suffered. Eusebius' slasher-film martyrdoms echo Thucydidean war historiography.<sup>811</sup> What Thucydides' narrative lacked was the philosophical virtues that Eusebius' martyrs display repeatedly. By narrating Christians' suffering with such recognizable narrative constructions, Eusebius invited readers to compare martyrs' courage, endurance, and other virtues with the senseless violence committed by Greeks under the pressure of war.

Eusebius sharpens his comparison between Christian virtue and non-Christian dishonor by embedding an internal Thucydidean foil for his martyrs into the *History*. Aside from martyrdoms, the only extended narrative of violence in the *History* is Eusebius' account of the Romans' siege against Jewish rebels in Jerusalem in AD 70. Eusebius takes his account from Josephus' *Jewish War*, a text patterned after Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*.<sup>812</sup> Under pressure from the Roman siege and impending starvation, the rebels roam the city seeking food and torturing and murdering anyone who has it (*HE* 3.6.1-10=*Jos.BJ* 5.424-438, *HE* 3.5.18=*BJ* 6.195). The rebels kill the starving and refuse to bury the dead, throwing corpses off the city walls instead (*HE* 3.6.11-15=*BJ* 5.512-519). The culmination of this inhumanity comes when a Jewish woman kills her infant son and serves his flesh to the rebels (*HE* 3.6.20-28=*BJ* 6.200-213). These carefully selected quotations dramatize the dissolution of Jewish social bonds and the ensuing violence under the pressure of war. The Jews' shameful brutality and refusal to help suffering fellow-Jews contrasts with Christians' virtuousness and composure when the church is under attack.<sup>813</sup> In their wars, Eusebius' Christians come off as far more virtuous and cohesive than the other people in their most important war.<sup>814</sup>

In sum, Eusebius carefully adjusts the traditional form of the martyr narrative to bring his Christians into comparison with the protagonists of Greek war histories. Eusebius exhibits the violence of war by accentuating his martyrs' gory punishments while downplaying the more orderly aspects of martyrdom. He suggests the grand scale of a military conflict by selecting large-scale martyr narratives and juxtaposing martyr narratives in series. If Eusebius' scale, violence, and narration put his martyrs into comparison with Greek warriors, the martyrs' philosophical virtues prove Christian superiority to the unphilosophical warriors in Greek histories such as Thucydides' and Josephus'.

Eusebius' adjustments to traditional martyr narratives transform smallscale, orderly executions into epic onslaughts. As we are about to see, the fruits of Christians' philosophy, their proximity to the divine, earns the church its victory over its enemies and authenticates the

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οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ ξυνέβη καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατήρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον. See also Thuc. 2.51, 7.84, and 7.87. (The other surviving Greek histories that Eusebius read—Herodotus', Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities*, Diodorus' *Historical Library*, and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and *Jewish War*—lack so close a stylistic parallel to Eusebius' depictions of martyrs' suffering.)

<sup>811</sup> If there was one thing that Eusebius learned from reading Thucydides, it was the enormity of suffering that Greeks inflicted upon Greeks. In *Theophany* 2.68 (which survives only in Syriac), Eusebius summarizes Thucydides' narratives of violence and suffering inflicted by Greek against Greek.

<sup>812</sup> See Mader 2000: esp. ch. 3.

<sup>813</sup> On the communal emphasis in Eusebius' martyr narratives, see further Corke-Webster 2013: ch. 4.

<sup>814</sup> Eusebius also invited comparison between how his Christians and Josephus' Jews handled themselves in the situation of a plague by including quotations from Dionysius of Alexandria describing Christian reactions to a plague in Alexandria: compare *HE* 3.7 (= *Jos.BJ* 4.424-438, 512-519, 566, 6.193-213) with *HE* 7.22.

Christians' superiority over Greek philosophers and other educated elites in the Roman Empire. This victory represented the culmination of Eusebius' philosophical riposte to the war historians of the nation that invented philosophy.

### 5. Christian Victory in the Empire and in the Soul: Imperial Recognition and a Triumphal Oration

Eusebius ends his war narratives with declarations of the church's victory. For Eusebius, God delivers triumph to the church because of his favor toward the martyrs. Eusebius then marks the church's renewed peace with two devices drawn from Greek war historiography. The first, marking his wars' earthly outcome, is sealed with the quotation of legal documents recognizing the church; these recur throughout the *History* from book 3 through book 10, indicating the Empire's renewed favor toward the church. The war's heavenly outcome, God's defeat of Satan through the martyrs, is celebrated through a public oration that articulates the cosmic significance of the martyrs' victory and reintegrates the church into the civilized imagined landscape of Roman life.

Eusebius' war histories result in God's people triumphing over their enemies both physical (the persecutors) and psychical (Satan). At the end of Eusebius' martyr narratives Satan, the orchestrator of the persecutions (pp. 109f.), is restrained from tempting the church and disappears.<sup>815</sup> As for earthly persecutors, the vengeance of God ends several persecutions in books 2 through 7. Persecutors such as Herod, Decius, and Valerian—as well as the Jewish people, who collectively killed Christ—receive their punishment.<sup>816</sup>

Eusebius' explanation for the cessation of the Diocletianic persecutions exemplifies this pattern: God ends the wars against the church by striking down its human instigators.<sup>817</sup> At the end of book 8 Eusebius announces that God's grace and providence bring about peace “when the divine and heavenly grace demonstrated its accountability toward us kindly and propitiously...But no human cause proved responsible for this, and not the pity, as it might appear, nor the humanity of the rulers” (8.16.1f.).<sup>818</sup> God's accountability (*episkopē*) toward the church represents a reciprocal favor to the martyrs' faithful suffering. Galerius' nasty fatal sickness, a divinely driven punishment (*theēlatos kolasis*), ends book 8's account of Diocletian's persecutions.<sup>819</sup> Book 9 repeats the pattern, narrating the deaths of two more persecuting emperors, Maxentius (9.9.1-11) and Maximinus Daia (9.10f.).<sup>820</sup> Both narratives clearly credit God as instigating the tyrants' downfalls, with Constantine and Licinius, the respective victors, acting as God's instruments.<sup>821</sup>

<sup>815</sup> 4.7.1f., 5.2.6, 8.1.6, 8.4.2.

<sup>816</sup> 1.8.4f. (a misleading use of Josephus; see Hata 2007 for others), 3.7.1, 6-9; 6.9.7-6.10; 7.30.21; cf. 7.1, 7.13.1.

<sup>817</sup> See in general Gödecke 1987: 147-150, Trompf 1983 and 2000: 122-134 and Morgan 2005: 198, 204 on divine vengeance in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>818</sup> ὡς γὰρ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκοπὴν εὐμενῆ καὶ ἴλεω ἢ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἐνεδείκνυτο...οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον δέ τι τούτου κατέστη αἴτιον οὐδ' οἶκτος, ὡς ἂν φαίη τις, ἢ φιλανθρωπία τῶν ἀρχόντων.

<sup>819</sup> As described in Appendix 1 below, the first edition of book 8 of the *History* ended with the deaths of Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximian; this narrative is preserved as an appendix in manuscripts AER. Like 8.16 and 9.11, this appendix chronicled God's vengeance. Eusebius removed it for the *History*'s second edition. See further Christensen 1983 and Van Dam 2011b: 85.

<sup>820</sup> Maxentius as persecutor: see pp. 115f. above.

<sup>821</sup> Eusebius' narrative of Maxentius' end portrays Constantine as God's instrument for liberating his chosen people, a new Moses: see esp. Carotenuto 2001: 113-117, Morgan 2005: 205f., Van Dam 2011: 85-87. Soon thereafter, Eusebius narrates the deaths of Daia, his family, and his administrators almost entirely in the passive voice, even

Eusebius confirms the Empire's peace with the church by quoting a series of Roman documents recognizing the church's legitimacy and privileges. Unlike some of Eusebius' other uses of verbatim quotation,<sup>822</sup> his reproductions of imperial edicts and rescripts replicate a quotational habit common in Greek narrative historiography.<sup>823</sup> Greek historians had quoted official state documents regularly, often to mark changes of diplomatic status between nations. Such inserted documents embody the changing political relationships between nations and states.<sup>824</sup> Similarly, Eusebius reproduces a number of imperial declarations of toleration or protection of the church.<sup>825</sup> He quotes Tertullian's report of Trajan's rescript prohibiting officials from seeking out Christians to arrest, Hadrian's and Antoninus Pius' edicts of toleration, and a rescript of Gallienus recognizing bishops' right to own property.<sup>826</sup> The quotations of these documents affirm that the emperors were protecting the church, and thus end imperial persecution.<sup>827</sup>

At the end of the church's longest war, the Diocletianic persecutions, Eusebius also quotes the longest series of state documents in the *History*. Galerius, stricken with a grotesque disease, becomes the first persecutor to surrender to the church's resistance; Eusebius ends book 8 by quoting a Greek translation of Galerius' Latin edict ending the persecution (8.17.3-10). After Maximinus Daia renews persecution again in book 9, Eusebius marks the end of these persecutions again with two of Daia's rescripts, which allow Christians to return from exile (9.9A.1-9), and finally abolish all restrictions on Christians through an edict (9.10).<sup>828</sup> Eusebius' quotation of these edicts communicates the church's legitimacy through a recognizable Greek historiographical topos, further tightening the link between Eusebius' war narratives and Eusebius' *History*.<sup>829</sup> Eusebius' state documents embodied a powerful state's recognition of

though Licinius was performing the punishments (cf. 9.11.6): on Eusebius' portrait of Licinius here, cf. Montgomery 2000: 132.

<sup>822</sup> See Appendix 2 below.

<sup>823</sup> In discussing the precedents for Eusebius' quotational habit, scholars tend to privilege Jewish historiographical precedents while neglecting the longstanding Greek habit of quoting treaties: e.g. Momigliano 1963: 89-91; 1990: 138-141, Carotenuto 2001: ch. 3, Verdoner 2011: 69-84, Williams forthcoming. Indeed, Thucydides quoted state documents at approximately the same time as the editor of Ezra-Nehemiah quoted Persian rescripts.

<sup>824</sup> For example, Thucydides, for example, quotes verbatim no fewer than nine treaties between states in his *Peloponnesian War* (4.118, 5.18f., 5.21, 5.47, 5.77, 5.79, 8.18, 8.37, 8.58; cf. 4.16f.); Similarly, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* quotes Roman decrees and rescripts that confirm Jewish honors and privileges earned from Roman authorities: *AJ* 11.3, 11.22-29, 12.28-31, 12.45-50, 12.138-144, 14.190-264, 16.162-173, 19.280-311; see esp. Pucci ben Ze'ev 1998: chs. 2-3 and 2006.

<sup>825</sup> The only quotation of an imperial pronouncement that does not favor the Christians is Maximinus Daia's edict rekindling persecution, at 9.7 (cf. Portmann 1990: 227f.).

<sup>826</sup> 3.33 (on which, see chapter 6 below), 4.9, 4.13, 7.13; cf. 4.26.10f., 5.5.7.

<sup>827</sup> Cf. 3.33.2, 4.7.1f., 5.1

<sup>828</sup> These two quotations come after Eusebius has narrated Daia's renewal of persecution largely by quoting Daia's documents: see *HE* 9.1.4-6, 9.7.3-14. Again, Eusebius' quotation of these state documents conforms to Greek (as well as Hebrew) historiographical practice (Appendix 2, pp. 243-246 below).

<sup>829</sup> In its first and second editions the *History* ended with the reproduction of six imperial documents, which in modern editions are arranged as chapters 5 through 7 of book 10. These documents were Greek translations of the following imperial pronouncements: (1) Licinius' so-called Edict of Milan, which granted Christians religious toleration throughout the Empire (10.5.2-14); (2) a letter of Constantine ordering the restoration of property confiscated from Christians in the persecution (10.5.15-17); (3) a letter whereby Constantine summon bishops to a council at Rome (10.5.18-20); (4) a Constantinian letter summoning the bishop of Syracuse to Arles for a synod (10.5.21-24); (5) Constantine's letter commissioning Bishop Caecilian of Carthage to distribute cash under the Roman government's protection (10.6); and (6) a letter exempting "catholic" Christian clergy from civic obligations (10.7). Eusebius announces these documents as tokens of imperial beneficence toward the church (10.2.2): "the

another organization's prerogatives and the concomitant abolition of mutual hostility. They communicated Christian legitimacy in standard Greek historiographical form.

Eusebius celebrates the psychical dimension of the church's victory through a second reconfiguration of a Greek historiographical topos. In book 10, after declaring the church's triumph, he inserts his own public oration for the rededication of a basilica that was destroyed in the persecutions (10.4.2-74).<sup>830</sup> It is the *History's* only embedded oration longer than a few sentences, as well as the longest quotation in a text replete with long quotations.<sup>831</sup> With it Eusebius breaks his striking silence toward a salient feature of Greek war historiography: as I noted in chapter 1 (p. 27), Herodotus, Thucydides, and later Greek historians had always punctuated their histories by putting speeches into characters' mouths. Eusebius, by contrast, refuses to insert speeches into characters' mouths.<sup>832</sup> Only in book 10, almost at the end, does a character—Eusebius himself—come forward to speak. The oration thus joins Eusebius' declaration of “wars contested for peace in the soul,” his pre-war geographical panorama (pp. 124-128), and his violent, large-scale martyr narratives (above, pp. 128-133) in drawing an analogy with Greek war narratives.<sup>833</sup>

The occasion for Eusebius' oration is the dedication of a Christian basilica in Tyre, rebuilt after its demolition during Diocletian's persecutions. Bishop Paulinus of Tyre dedicates it during with a festive celebration (10.3-10.4.1). It is appropriate that Eusebius chose a building dedication for his statement of Christian triumph. In the Roman world monumental edifices built with the spoils of defeated nations had long commemorated martial victory.<sup>834</sup> In addition to their function as victory monuments, civic buildings such as basilicas, temples, porticoes, theaters, and baths represented the civilization, order and ease that Rome lavished upon its citizens. The rebuilding of a demolished church building thus signified both victory and

highest emperors also kept strengthening the blessings of munificence from God for us... unremitting with lawgiving on Christians' behalf, and letters while honors and financial donations kept arriving in the bishops' presence from the emperor too” (...καὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀνωτάτω συνεχέσι ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν νομοθεσίαις τὰ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ μεγαλοδωρεᾶς ἡμῖν...ἐκράτουν, ἐφοῖτα δὲ καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπισκόποις βασιλέως γράμματα καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρημάτων δόσεις). Like the *History's* earlier quotations of emperors, these authorized the Christians' worthiness to receive honor.

Eusebius removed the imperial documents from the third edition of the *History*, published in late 324 or 325, as represented in manuscripts BD as well as the Syriac and Latin translations (see Appendix 1 below on Eusebius' revisions of the *History*). The documents' authorization under Licinius' name must have prompted the removal, as in 324 Constantine defeated Licinius and damned his former colleague's memory (see Barnes 2011: 106f.). For discussion of the documents, see esp. Carotenuto 2001: 164-179 and 2002.

<sup>830</sup> Eusebius calls the speech's author merely “someone of moderate talents” (τις ἐν μέσῳ παρελθὼν τῶν μετρίως ἐπικεικῶν, λόγου σύνταξιν πεποιημένος, 10.4.1).

<sup>831</sup> Scholars have discussed the oration as much as any passage in the *History*, yet their analyses tend either to read it purely as a standalone composition, or else to heap up citations to it along with other citations of the *History*. To my knowledge only two scholars have discussed why Eusebius inserted the oration into the *History* (Taberneer 1997: 330f. and Schott 2011: 187f. (cf. 195); cf. Smith 1989: 237). Reading the oration as a standalone composition: Barnes 1981: 162f.; Smith 1989; Simmons 2001; Amarise 2008; Schott 2011. Parts of it cited as part of the *History*: e.g. Gödecke 1987: *passim*; Morgan 2005: 205f.

<sup>832</sup> “It would never have occurred to any [ancient] historian to write a narrative history wholly without reported speech” (Marincola 2007: 119). The longest direct discourses in the *History* before 10.4 are 7.11.7-10 and 7.32.9.

<sup>833</sup> But note that most orations in Greek histories were deliberative, i.e. they looked forward to upcoming action. Eusebius' oration for the basilica at Tyre, by contrast, was epideictic, celebrating the present occasion of a church at Tyre. On the uses of oration in ancient historiography, see Marincola 2007: 127-132.

<sup>834</sup> See e.g. Woolf 1998: chs. 3, 5, Noreña 2003; for examples in Eusebius' home province, Palestine, see Eck 2005 and chapter 4, p. 172 below.



civilization. Accordingly, Eusebius' oration mobilizes the association between conquest, building, and civilization to celebrate the church's triumph.<sup>835</sup>

The entire oration proclaims the church's victory.<sup>836</sup> It rings with biblical quotations that evoke divine triumph, while providing elaborate descriptions (*ekphraseis* in Greek rhetorical terminology) of the basilica that represents this victory; the basilica's builder, Paulinus the bishop of Tyre, receives lengthy praise for his efforts. The passages that make the oration an especially fitting culmination for the *History*, however, are its two retellings of the church's victory over its demonic enemies. The first retelling comes when Eusebius recalls Satan's torments (10.4.14):

And now...goodness-hating envy and the evil-loving demon had all but broken out and marshaled all his death-bearing powers against us and raving like a dog...He then unleashed his dreadful hissings and birdlike noises—sometimes in the form of the threats of irreligious tyrants, sometimes in the blasphemous battle-lines of impious officials, continually vomiting out his death<sup>837</sup> and drugging the souls captured by him with poisons and life-destroying potions and all but mortifying them with all of the death-generating sacrifices to dead idols, and provoking every beast in human form and every savage method into a mania against us....<sup>838</sup>

Satan wages a manic, beastly, uncontrollable war against God's people through idols. But God fights back through the martyrs (*HE* 10.4.14):

Again the angel of the Great Council, the commander-in-chief of God, after the self-sufficient training which the greatest generals of his kingdom demonstrated through their endurance and persistence amid all situations, emerged so explosively and set the hostile enemy forces into disappearance and into nothing, so that it isn't proper even to name them at this point....<sup>839</sup>

Here, Eusebius claims the victory of God's soldiers, the martyrs, in their wars. This declaration recalls Eusebius' emphasis, discussed above, that the martyrs' sufficient training (*autarkē diagumnasia*) prepared them for violence.<sup>840</sup> The martyrs therefore suffered with the philosophical virtues of endurance and persistence (*hupomonē, karteria*). After the martyrs have demonstrated their virtues, Christ can vanquish hostile forces and glorify his church.

<sup>835</sup> On Eusebius' attitude toward church buildings, see chapter 4, pp. 164f. below.

<sup>836</sup> Eusebius calls the oration a "victory hymn" (*hymnon epinikion*, 10.4.6).

<sup>837</sup> Note the echo here of the image of *HE* 5.2.6, and cf. Moss 2010a: 92f.

<sup>838</sup> ἄνδρ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τοῦ μισοκάλου φθόνου καὶ φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος μόνον οὐχὶ διαρρηγνυμένου καὶ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς θανατοποιούς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστρατεύοντος δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κυνὸς δίκην λυττῶντος.... εἶτα δὲ δεινὰ συρίγματα καὶ τὰς ὀφιδώδεις αὐτοῦ φωνὰς τοτὲ μὲν ἀσεβῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαίς, τοτὲ δὲ βλασφημίαις δυσσεβῶν ἀρχόντων διατάξεσιν ἀφίεντος καὶ προσέτι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἐξερευγομένου καὶ τοῖς ἰώδεσι καὶ ψυχοφθόροις δηλητηρίοις τὰς ἀλίσκομένας πρὸς αὐτοῦ ψυχὰς φαρμάττοντος καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ νεκρῶν τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν εἰδώλων νεκροποιούσας θυσίαις πάντα τε ἀνθρωπόμορφον θῆρα καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἄγριον καθ' ἡμῶν ὑποσαλεύοντος....

<sup>839</sup> ...αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη διαγυμνασίαν ἣν οἱ μέγιστοι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας στρατιῶται διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντα ὑπομονῆς καὶ καρτερίας ἐνεδείξαντο, ἀθρώως οὕτως φανείς, τὰ μὲν ἐχθρὰ καὶ πολέμια εἰς ἀφανῆς καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν κατεστήσατο, ὡς μὴδὲ πῶποτε ὠνομάσθαι δοκεῖν....

<sup>840</sup> Cf. the description of the failed martyrs as *agumnastoi*, *HE* 5.1.11 (=Martyrs of Lyons), p. 121f. above.

Later in the oration Eusebius recapitulates this battle between God’s people and the demons, but locates the battle in the psychic realm, a site appropriate for “wars contested for peace in the soul.” Eusebius introduces the soul as existing in the pristine condition in which God had created it (10.4.56). Then the soul falls. For Eusebius, unlike the illustrious recent thinkers Plotinus and Origen,<sup>841</sup> the fall does not come entirely from an internal impulse:

But then by the enviousness and the zeal of the evil-loving demon, the soul became focused on the senses and evil-loving from its own free choice, and when its divine overseer had withdrawn as though the soul was deserted, it was exposed, easy prey for the plot of beings long corrupt. Having been cast out to the siege engines and machinations of unseen enemies and intelligible foes, it fell an extraordinary fall, to the extent that of its virtue not even did stone remain standing upon stone, but it lay wholly dead on the ground, deprived completely of natural notions about God.<sup>842</sup>

While Eusebius retains the Platonist doctrine that the soul chose its own descent (*autexousiou hairesēōs*),<sup>843</sup> Satan’s *phthonos* and *zēlos* appear as external agents catalyzing such descent, a stimulus absent in other recent Platonists. Eusebius’ martyr narratives, which pit Satan as the antagonist in the war for peace in the soul, are inscribed into a narrative of the soul’s fall. The ensuing siege and death of the soul parallels Eusebius’ descriptions of Christians’ recent experience of persecution from earlier in the oration.<sup>844</sup> Again to the rescue comes Christ. He cleanses the civilized world (*oikoumenē*) of the souls of the evil rulers through good rulers, promotes souls acceptable to him, and cleanses besmirched souls by his awe-inspiring teachings (10.4.60f.; cf. 10.4.10), just as he avenges the martyrs through the policies of good rulers.

Eusebius concludes both parallel victory narratives with parallel descriptions of the new basilica at whose dedication he performed the oration. Right in the heart of the Roman city of Tyre, alongside the marketplace, theaters, temples, and other public buildings,<sup>845</sup> the basilica monumentalizes the church’s victory; and as a beautiful building, it symbolizes the good order that God has reestablished after the chaos of the persecution. In Eusebius’ first description of the

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<sup>841</sup> While the psychologies of Plotinus and Origen are obviously bigger topics than can be discussed here, the key texts of both philosophers shows no external agent of the soul’s descent. On the descent of the soul in Plotinus, see *Ennead* 4.8.4f. with e.g. Bowe 1997-98; on the same topic in Origen, see *On First Principles* esp. 1.7, 2.6.5, 2.8f., and e.g. Lyman 1993: 60-66, Edwards 2002: ch. 3.

<sup>842</sup> ἄλλα γὰρ φθόνῳ καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος φιλοπαθῆς καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ἐξ αὐτεξουσίου αἰρέσεως γενομένη, ὑπαναχωρήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἂν ἔρημος προστάτου, εὐάλωτος καὶ εἰς ἐπιβουλήν εὐχερῆς τοῖς ἐκ μακροῦ διαφθονομένοις ἀπελήλεγκται, ταῖς τε τῶν ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν καὶ νοητῶν πολεμίων ἐλεπόλεσι καὶ μηχαναῖς καταβληθεῖσα, πτώμα ἐξαίσιον καταπέπτωκεν, ὡς ὅσον οὐδ’ ἐπὶ λίθῳ λίθον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ διαμεῖναι, ὅλην δὲ δι’ ὅλου χαμαὶ κείσθαι νεκράν, τῶν περὶ θεοῦ φυσικῶν ἐννοιῶν πάμπαν ἀπεστερημένην.

The theme of the fall of the soul as precipitating war and the desolation of buildings for God’s people continues in the next sentence: πεπτωκυῖαν δὴτα αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἐλυμήνατο οὐχ ὡς οὗτος ὁ ἐκ δρυμοῦ τοῦ παρ’ ἡμῖν ὄρατοῦ, ἀλλὰ τις φθοροποιὸς δαίμων καὶ θηρὲς ἄγριοι νοητοί, οἱ καὶ τοῖς πάθεισιν οἷα πεपुरακτωμένοις τῆς σφῶν κακίας βέλεσιν αὐτὴν ἐξυφάσαντες, ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ θεῖον ὄντως ἀγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν τε ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, εἶτα πολλῶ τῷ προσχώματι τὴν ἀθλίαν κατορύξαντες, εἰς ἀνέλπιστον πάσης περιέτρεψαν σωτηρίας.

<sup>843</sup> See Struttwolf 1999: 265-271; cf. Lyman 1993: 102-106.

<sup>844</sup> The phrase about “stone not remaining upon stone” alludes unmistakably to the Synoptics’ prophecy by Jesus of the fall of God’s temple in Jerusalem (Matthew 24.2=Mark 13.2=Luke 21.6). This allusion compares the fall of the soul to the destruction of sacred edifices, where Eusebius’ oration celebrates the rebuilding of one such edifice.

<sup>845</sup> Cf. chapter 4, pp. 164f. below.

basilica he performs an *ekphrasis* of Paulinus' monument, feature by feature. The basilica's enclosure separates God's people from outsiders; the vestibule brings light; the pools at the entrance allow visitors to wash their feet of impurities; bronze plates adorn the panels that face visitors; thrones provide seats for the clergy; and the floor is gleaming marble (10.4.37-45). Throughout this *ekphrasis* Eusebius employs terms from the root *kosmos*, in its original sense of "beautiful order," (10.4.40, 42, 44f., 48; cf. 10.4.20, 51, 65). The basilica becomes a microcosm of the order that God has imposed on the universe in the wake of Satan's chaos (cf. 10.4.9), representing divinely sanctioned stability and rationality.

Eusebius' second narrative, of the psychical fall of the soul and consequent victory of Christ, prompts a metaphysical description of the basilica. For Eusebius, the souls of the church's members are the psychical edifice that the physical church merely represents (10.4.63-68). The souls of Christians with weaker loyalty to God stay at the church's outer wall; souls just inside have absorbed the four gospels for the first time; those at the center have souls that are cleansed to be as pure as gold; and the altar is the locus of Jesus' beneficence (as represented by the officiant, Paulinus) for the community. As Jeremy Schott has aptly commented, "The architectural space of [the] church maps the inner soulscape of the congregation."<sup>846</sup> Eusebius infuses his previous emphasis on the Tyrian sanctuary's beautiful order with new meaning by dubbing the basilica an intelligible earthly icon (*noēron tautēn epi gēs eikona*, 10.4.69) of the ordered hierarchy of God's community. The basilica represents God's community, intact and orderly and harmonious, triumphantly emergent from the horrific suffering endured at demonic hands.

The Tyrian oration links cosmic significance, philosophical training, victory in combat, and architectural monumentalization in a triumphal nexus. When the church trains itself by studying God's wisdom and translates that wisdom into virtuous action, God rewards it with victory. A sumptuous, rationally ordered building, worthy of a philosophical church, marks that victory. The basilica becomes a physical manifestation of the order of Christianity's civilized values, placed in a deservedly conspicuous setting in the Roman city. And Eusebius' rhetorical glorification of the basilica epitomizes the church's triumphal return to divinely sanctioned order after the persecution.

By quoting authoritative imperial documents and inserting his Tyrian oration, Eusebius memorialized the church's victories in forms traditional to Greek war histories. Roman rulers authorize Christian legitimacy through legal documents. The oration at Tyre declares the church's philosophical defeat of Satan through the description of a Christian civic building that manifests the church's philosophical order. The documents and the oration draw Eusebius' war narratives to a triumphant conclusion in both the political and the metaphysical domains. And the Tyrian oration in particular affirms that it was the church's philosophical practices that catalyzed its triumph.

### **Conclusions: Philosophical War Historiography and the Roman Empire**

Chapter 1 argued that Eusebius combined the genres of national history and philosophical biography in the *Ecclesiastical History* to portray the Christian church as a nation of philosophers; chapter 2 then studied the most biographical passages of the *History* to reveal Eusebius' ideal Christians as homogeneous, and intellectually brilliant. This chapter has investigated Eusebius' depictions of martyrdom, showing that martyrdom, not immediately

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<sup>846</sup> Schott 2011: 195.

associated with philosophy, furthered Eusebius' construction of a philosophical church. Because Greek national history required war narratives as sites for displaying valor amid violence, Eusebius emphasized martyr narratives as the church's wars. Rather than making the Roman Empire into the church's adversary in these narratives, however, Eusebius emphasized Satan as the orchestrator of the persecutions. And rather than depicting an orderly police action centered around the judge's interrogation and the martyr's confession, the *History's* martyr narratives dwell on the violence suffered by martyrs. The *History's* martyrs arm themselves for war through their philosophical asceticism, as Eusebius indicates both during and before the martyr narratives. The church's wars themselves feature nonstop violence, but prompt the martyrs to display philosophically developed virtues like endurance, courage, and persistence. God repays his martyrs' virtues by lifting the persecutions and granting the church its triumph; Eusebius marks this triumph with the standard historiographical topoi of quoted state documents and a set-piece oration meditating on the significance of the Christian victories.

The *History's* martyr narratives foreground Eusebius' most overt competition with Greek historians such as Thucydides and Josephus.<sup>847</sup> The previous two chapters have shown that Eusebius distinguished Christianity from other nations by constructing it as exceptionally philosophical. Eusebius' cues to war narratives—his bragging about his war, geographical prelude, echoes of Thucydidean narration, quotation of state documents, and his sole, strategically placed oration—invite readers to contrast Christian martyrdom against the wars narrated in the Greek narrative tradition. Eusebius' use of Greek historiographical genres simultaneously staked a Christian claim to mastery in three arenas: philosophy, violence, and historical writing. Too often the *History* is read in isolation from the Greek historiographical tradition; few scholars of early Christianity pursue Eusebius' dialogue with Herodotus, Thucydides, and other Greek narrative historians.<sup>848</sup> This chapter has shown that a dialogue with the Greek historians underpinned Eusebius' agenda.

Eusebius' martyrs also show how philosophical practice delivers honor to the church in the political sphere. Because of the church's homogeneous philosophical training, Christians could look past the merely physical world and take on Satan and his demons, the ultimate agents behind chaotic violence. Like Eusebius' Christians, Greek philosophers withdrew from political competition, tamed their bodily desires, and contemplated the nature of reality.<sup>849</sup> But unlike other Greek philosophers, Eusebius' Christians gain honor in the political activity of warfare through their philosophical discipline. The *History's* constant reminders that Christians endured violence through philosophical training staked Christians' claim to surpass Greeks as the best philosophers in the Roman world. We will see in chapter 6 (pp. 228f.) that this claim complements Eusebius' other, more explicit polemics against Greek philosophers.

Eusebius' narrative pattern portraying martyrs' training as channeling God's power fixed into Christian memory a particular model of spiritual power. By training themselves in a manner analogous to philosophers to remain loyal to God amid demonically-instigated violence, martyrs become an army of God. I would suggest that the reception of Eusebius' *History* made the thesis that asceticism enabled martyrs to resist the devil into accepted Christian doctrine. As the number of martyrs plummeted in the fourth century, the ascetic practice that Eusebius attributed to them endured: as David Brakke's recent work has shown, fourth-century monks, from Antony to Evagrius Ponticus, propagated a vision of asceticism as training for combat against hostile

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<sup>847</sup> The martyr narratives thus confirm the observations of Perrone 1995: 420 and 1996: 526.

<sup>848</sup> See the Introduction, pp. 18f. above.

<sup>849</sup> Chapter 1, pp. 62, 64-66 above.

demons.<sup>850</sup> The exploding monastic movement institutionalized the ascetic combat against demons that Eusebius engrained into Christian memory.

Eusebius' account of martyrdom also had crucial consequences for the church's imagined relationship with the Roman Empire. When Eusebius wrote the *History*, after all, the Empire had just lifted a ten-year persecution against the church. But under the pagan emperor Licinius, the church's continued security in the Empire was not assured.<sup>851</sup> By transferring responsibility for the persecution to Satan and his demons, unruly urban mobs, archaic law, and a few bad emperors, Eusebius absolved Roman institutions from guilt for persecuting Christians.<sup>852</sup> If the source of the persecution lay elsewhere, then Rome's institutions, including its ruling classes, had no irredeemable flaw that should compel Christians to distance themselves from the Empire.

This chapter has reinforced the previous two chapters in analyzing the literary genres of the *Ecclesiastical History*. They have shown that Eusebius constructed the church as a philosophical school (chapter 1)—an exceptionally brilliant, universal, and reliable school (chapter 2) capable of winning victory in violent contests comparable to war (chapter 3). The next chapters will show how Eusebius' philosophical church fit into the larger elite social structures of Eusebius' Roman Empire. Chapter 4 will provide a thick description of the city of Caesarea, the site of Roman power for Eusebius, to show us how the Roman Empire structured Eusebius' world. We will then see how these Roman social structures pervaded Eusebius' church (chapter 5) and motivated the Eusebian literary program of the 310s, of which the *History* was one part (chapter 6).

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<sup>850</sup> Brakke 2006, which only mentions Eusebius' *History* in its endnotes (p. 255, nn. 19-20).

<sup>851</sup> See the Introduction, pp. 10f. above.

<sup>852</sup> Cf. Richard 2006, which concurs on Eusebius' attitude toward the Roman Empire.

## Chapter 4

### How Caesarea Maritima Shaped the Church's History: Eusebius' Roman Environment

The previous chapters of this study have focused on the world that Eusebius created in the *Ecclesiastical History*. The ways he combined the Greek genres of national history and philosophical biography constructed Christianity as a philosophical nation (chapter 1). The particular information included in his philosophical biographies presented the church as a homogeneous, universal, and intellectually formidable philosophical school (chapter 2). And Eusebius put forward martyrs armed with ascetic training as the Christian nation's victors in a philosophical "war" (chapter 3).

The next three chapters will broaden the focus from the world constructed through the genres of Eusebius' text to the wider Roman world to which Eusebius addressed his *History*. Chapter 4 provides a thick description of the built environment in which Eusebius conceived his works; this environment is necessary for understanding how Eusebius meant the *History* both to reflect and to reshape his own society. Chapter 5 examines how Eusebius meant the philosophical church of the *History* to interact with his built environment. Then, Chapter 6 places the *History* within the context of Eusebius' contemporary writings, showing how Eusebius' textual program placed Christianity into its philosophical role in his Roman world.

To understand Eusebius' relation to the Roman world, we must study the particular environment in which he interacted with that Roman world. The environment that predominantly shaped Eusebius' worldview was the city of Caesarea Maritima, the largest city in Roman Palestine (for its location, see figure 1).

As far as we know, Eusebius lived in Caesarea his entire life.<sup>853</sup> He was about 40 years old before the Diocletianic persecutions began in 303.<sup>854</sup> After the persecution, Eusebius became the bishop of Caesarea's Christian community, probably between 313 and 315.<sup>855</sup> In the years after 325 he was offered the episcopacy of the city of Antioch. Even though Eusebius called Antioch's episcopacy one of the most renowned in the world (*HE* 1.1.4), he declined the office to remain in Caesarea.<sup>856</sup> Moreover, as bishop Eusebius tried to elevate the influence of the Caesarean church in competition with the bishop of Jerusalem.<sup>857</sup> Eusebius' obvious attachment to the city makes Caesarea an essential context for understanding the world that he tried to influence with his written works.

Caesarea has been very well studied through both textual and archaeological sources. On the one hand, the city has been the subject of three narrative histories in the past 40 years that thoroughly combed the textual and numismatic sources about the city.<sup>858</sup> On the other, a series of

<sup>853</sup> Caesarea was almost certainly Eusebius' home his entire life: see Introduction, pp. 6f. above. The *History* includes much information about Caesarea: see *HE* 5.22, 5.23.2, 6.26, 7.12, 7.14-17, 7.28.1, 7.32.21, 24f.

<sup>854</sup> Eusebius certainly lived there by 301, when he claims to have seen Diocletian and Constantine at their ceremonial arrival in Caesarea (date: Barnes 1982: 40, 55).

<sup>855</sup> See the Introduction, p. 8 above.

<sup>856</sup> See *VC* 3.59-4.63.1, with Barnes 1981: 227f., Parvis 2006: 97-110.

<sup>857</sup> See Irshai 2011.

<sup>858</sup> The three narrative histories of Caesarea, Levine 1975, Ringel 1975, and Holum et al. 1988, all appeared before much of the recent excavations in Caesarea and so must be checked against more recent publications.

excavations by Israeli, Italian, and North American teams since the 1950s have unearthed much of Caesarea's topography and many monuments.<sup>859</sup> These studies have allowed us to reconstruct much of the topography of the city in Eusebius' day (figure 2) and generate a narrative outline of Caesarea's history from its founding until Eusebius' time in the early fourth century.

Caesarea was located at the site of a Hellenistic fort-city called Strato's Tower. After Augustus made Herod the Great's status as the client king of Judea secure, Herod completely rebuilt the site between 22 and 10/9 BC, with a monumental palace, city walls, paved streets, a theater, and a hippodrome-stadium.<sup>860</sup> After Rome annexed Herod's former kingdom in AD 6, Caesarea became the seat of the Roman prefect who administered Judea.<sup>861</sup> In the first century Caesarea was the site of ethnic violence between Jewish and Greek residents: a fight between Jews and Greeks was a cause of the Jewish revolt of AD 66 to 70 (Jos.*BJ* 2.284-292). After the revolt much of Caesarea seems to have been deserted. Vespasian settled some Roman veterans from the Jewish war there,<sup>862</sup> and Caesarea became a colony, that is, a city of higher status exempt from some taxes and whose local elites were Roman citizens.<sup>863</sup> It also became the capital of the new province of Judea-Palestine.<sup>864</sup> The city remained the capital of the renamed Syria-Palestine after the Jewish revolt of 132 to 135;<sup>865</sup> we have no evidence of large-scale violence among Caesarea's different ethnic groups between that time and Eusebius' day.<sup>866</sup> In the early third century, Caesarea attained the higher civic status of metropolis while remaining the provincial capital of Palestine.<sup>867</sup> It likely had a growing population in Eusebius' lifetime.<sup>868</sup> Caesarea was the capital of Palestine throughout Eusebius' lifetime and, even after Constantine rebuilt Jerusalem as a Christian monument, Caesarea would remain the capital and largest city of Palestine until the Arabs conquered it decisively in 640 or 641.<sup>869</sup>

Eusebian scholars have taken little notice of his Caesarean context. The most prominent exception, Jörg Ulrich, has argued in some detail that Eusebius interacted with the vibrant Jewish community of Caesarea.<sup>870</sup> But the scholarship that has placed Eusebius into his Caesarean

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<sup>859</sup> On excavations at Caesarea, see the helpful summaries in Levine 1986, Holum et al. 1988: 16-19; Evans 2006: 3-5, 8.

<sup>860</sup> On the hippodrome-stadium, see below. Herod's construction work is described by Josephus, *BJ* 1.408-416=*AJ* 15.331-341; on Herod as builder, the scholarship is vast. See e.g. Richardson 1996: ch. 8, Netzer 2006, Rocca 2008: ch. 7.

<sup>861</sup> Eck 2007: 39.

<sup>862</sup> *NH* 5.69: *Stratonis Turris, eadem Caesarea ab Herode rege condita, nunc colonia Prima Flavia a Vespasiano imperatore deducta*. See Cotton and Eck 2002, Eck 2009b: 34f., and Patrich 2011b: ch. 3 on Caesarea's colonial status and the settlement of veterans there; *pace* Isaac 1998: 94-98, 109f., 2009: 57-60 (whose evidence, *Digest* 50.15.8.7 and Jos.*BJ* 7.216, does not exclude the settlement of veterans in Caesarea); cf. Patrich 2011b: 71f.

<sup>863</sup> See esp. Patrich 2011b: ch. 3 on the significance of Roman colonial status, see Lintott 1993: 137-141.

<sup>864</sup> Eck 2007: 39f.

<sup>865</sup> As Eck 1999: 88f. points out, the Romans, unusually, removed the name of "Judea" from the provincial title after the Jewish revolt of 132 to 135.

<sup>866</sup> In the fifth and sixth centuries, however, Caesarea was the site of a series of Samaritan revolts: see e.g. Levine 1975: 137, Pummer 2000: 191-196.

<sup>867</sup> Levine 1975: 47; Patrich 2011b: 101; note, however, that distinctions of civic status meant much less in the third century than previously as virtually all imperial residents became Roman citizens: Carrié 2005: 272f.

<sup>868</sup> On Caesarea in late antiquity, see e.g. Holum et al. 1998: ch. 5, Patrich 2011b: ch. 4. Patrich 2011b: 94 n. 10 reviews estimates of the city's population, suggesting final numbers of between 35,000 and 100,000 in the later fourth century.

<sup>869</sup> The date: Holum et al. 1988: 203.

<sup>870</sup> Ulrich 1999: 14-27; see also Barnes 1981: 81f., Winckelmann 1991: 18-26; Kofsky 2000: 12-15, Carriker 2003: 1f., Grafton and Williams 2006: 18-20.

context has maintained the same narrow focus as most studies of Eusebius (see the Introduction, pp. 18f.): just as scholars have read the *Ecclesiastical History* all but exclusively in its Christian (and Jewish) context to the neglect of his interaction with the wider Greek and Roman world, so scholars who have studied Eusebius' Caesarean background have looked all but exclusively at the Christian and Jewish communities of Caesarea.<sup>871</sup> With the exception of one archaeological survey by Joseph Patrich, no scholar has attempted to place Eusebius in the wider Greek and Roman contexts of Caesarea.<sup>872</sup>

The neglect of the Roman context of Caesarea has obscured Eusebius' experience of Roman rule. The excavations of Caesarea offer an excellent opportunity to reconstruct the built environment with which Eusebius interacted from day to day.<sup>873</sup> In a world where long-distance travel was fairly rare and relocation rarer yet, local environments were dominant in shaping individuals' view of the entire Empire.<sup>874</sup> And as numerous scholars have shown, built environments are not ideologically neutral: by placing humans in certain habitual locations, buildings, streets, and other manmade architectural features entrench social hierarchies and political ideologies.<sup>875</sup> Yet the connections between Eusebius' written works and his built environment have gone unexplored.

Caesarea's material environment, I will argue, underpins the worldview that informs the *Ecclesiastical History*. Eusebius was not the stereotypical cloistered monk with his nose always in a book. We will see that he was acutely conscious of the buildings, monuments, and public events facilitated in the Roman city, and appreciated the material benefits that Roman political institutions secured. He wanted the Christian church to participate as a partner in the Roman civic life that he experienced. This chapter aims to show how the specific urban environment in which Eusebius spent most of his life shaped his views of Roman society.

The approach adopted here for tracing Caesarea's influence on Eusebius is a thick description of the monuments that survive from Caesarea in Eusebius' day. I aim, that is, to explicate the meaning of the objects and structures—including buildings, statues, inscriptions, pottery, traded goods, governmental institutions, and social stratification—attested in Caesarea, along with the practices that these objects facilitated and structures and that gave them meaning.<sup>876</sup> Roman elites were very conscious of the power that the organization and

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<sup>871</sup> Eusebian scholars' relatively narrow interest in Eusebius' surroundings is illustrated aptly by Inowlocki's and Zamagni's description (2011: x) of Patrich 2011a as surveying Eusebius' "multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment." In fact, at most a third of Patrich's chapter is devoted to Caesarea's identities and religions (2-5, 9-13); the rest discusses the city's streets, governmental buildings, entertainment structures, and trade. This summary reduces Eusebius' Caesarean environment to the narrow range of contexts in which scholars have read Eusebius.

<sup>872</sup> Patrich 2002b=Patrich 2011b: ch. 12, 2011a. McGuckin 1992 attempts carefully to situate Origen within the archaeological remains of Caesarea with frequent reference to Eusebius, though McGuckin wrote before many recent excavations in Caesarea.

<sup>873</sup> I mean "built environment" in the sense of Sewell 2005: 369: "the complex and inescapable ontological ground of our common life as humans. It is best understood as, first, an articulated, evolving web of semiotic practices...that, second, builds up and transforms a range of physical frameworks that both provide matrices for these practices and constrain their consequences..." (quoted in the Introduction, p. 21 above). Among the many "physical frameworks" in which humans act, this chapter will emphasize space and monuments, the latter being both physical and semiotic.

<sup>874</sup> See e.g. Revell 2009, Whitmarsh 2010.

<sup>875</sup> The classic argument for the ideological significance of built space is Lefebvre 1991.

<sup>876</sup> I mean "thick description" in the sense of Geertz 1973: ch. 1, esp. 9: "...sorting out the structures of signification...and determining their social ground and import." In the ancient world as today, space cannot be separated from the practices that take place in them: see the classic treatments of Bourdieu 1973: ch. 2, and de Certeau 1984: chs. 5-7.



monumentalization of space could exert.<sup>877</sup> The routines of life in Caesarea must have molded Eusebius' worldview.

This chapter begins with a close study of several monuments of philosophers that survive from Caesarea, arguing that these monuments reflect a high status held by philosophers in the city, a status that Eusebius structured into the *History*. The chapter then broadens its focus to the other prestigious social roles in Caesarea, those of Roman officials and local elites, showing the prestige that these elites implanted into the spaces of Caesarea; Eusebius' writings exhibit willing consent to these elites' authority and honor. The authority of Rome also infused Caesarea's religious spaces and monuments: although Eusebius found pagan cults repulsive, he consistently praised a divinity worshipped in Caesarea's most prominent religious space, the emperor Augustus. Eusebius also enjoyed the life that Roman rule gave him, benefiting from long-distance trade and from such civic spaces as theaters, baths, and agoras that facilitated enjoyment and embodied Roman "civilization." He also made use of the roads and harbor that connected Caesarea to other cities, infrastructure that made the Empire a connected network. The chapter closes with a brief survey of two other cities in Roman Palestine that Eusebius knew, Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) and Paneas: the parallels between these cities and Caesarea showed Eusebius that his own experience of Rome was not unique: rather, the Empire was a universal force that God was using to civilize the world. The Empire therefore deserved Christians' respect and commitment.

### 1. Caesarean Monuments and the Honor of the Philosopher

In previous chapters I have argued that Eusebius intended to assimilate Christian leaders with the social role of the Roman philosopher. The philosopher, as I showed, was generally a prestigious position in Roman society. However, philosophers were not equally honored in all parts of the Empire.<sup>878</sup> Within Roman Palestine monuments to philosophers are quite rare: outside of Caesarea, only two monuments to philosophers have been found in Palestine, and literary notices of philosophers are also few.<sup>879</sup> If a contemporary had to guess which province would produce a philosophical history of Christianity, Palestine is unlikely to have been the obvious answer. It was therefore not inevitable that the first writer of a history of the church would choose to construct the church as a philosophical school.

In many Roman cities elites dedicated buildings, statues, and other memorials to celebrate individuals who had performed some distinguished service. Some such monuments were erected in public space, while individual elites also set up monuments in their houses. All of these monuments were to some extent public, so that even if a wealthy elite set up a statue in his house, the statue had to reflect publicly acceptable taste. Studies of Roman households have long shown that Romans did not consider art to be meant solely for the owner's enjoyment: Romans placed sculptures and paintings in the most public parts of their house to share with their guests

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<sup>877</sup> As the work above all of Tonio Hölscher has shown: see Hölscher forthcoming.

<sup>878</sup> For example, the western Empire honored philosophers less than the East: Hahn 1989: 141f.

<sup>879</sup> Two philosopher monuments: a portrait head identified as depicting the Epicurean philosopher Hermippus was found in Sebaste (Vermeule and Anderson 1981: 12, Fischer 1998: 160), and one head from Raphia seems to portray a philosopher (Fischer 1998: 158). As for literary references, Geiger 1994: 222 finds one reference in the Mishnah to a philosopher visiting the famous rabbi Gamaliel (*Avoda' Zarah* 3.4). By contrast, most intellectuals Geiger traces to Palestine by Geiger are rhetoricians and not philosophers. If Eusebius had hailed from any other city in Palestine, the *Ecclesiastical History* may well have looked quite different.

and looked down upon those who kept art to themselves.<sup>880</sup> Therefore, even if these artworks stood in a house, they were visible to many of Caesarea's citizens. Monuments in both civic and domestic space represented a lasting reminder of the service done by an individual. They commended certain deeds and roles as valuable for the population of the city and thus reinforced prevalent values.

In Caesarea, as it happens, several monuments produced between the second century and Eusebius' day celebrated philosophers. Philosophers were therefore considered a praiseworthy profession in Caesarea.

One portrait head depicting a philosopher was found during excavation in 1992.<sup>881</sup> Rivka Gersht has identified the head as a portrait of Carneades, a famed second-century Platonist philosopher; a comparable portrait is in the Antikenmuseum of Basel (figures 3 and 4).<sup>882</sup> The Carneades of Caesarea was carved in the second century AD.<sup>883</sup> The portrait is life-sized and thus conspicuous. Despite much wear, the cheeks and the back of the head evince many fine details that reflect skilled crafting; this was an expensive statue. One telling mark indicates that the statue stood in the space of Caesarea in Eusebius' day: the portrait has a cross etched into its forehead. By this apotropaic mark a Christian "sanctified" the portrait, allowing an image that, as many Christians believed, could host pagan demons to remain standing in Christianized public space;<sup>884</sup> all evidence for the practice postdates Eusebius' composition of the *History*.<sup>885</sup> The portrait was therefore likely on display through Eusebius' day. In his lifetime, therefore, Carneades was honored in Caesarea.

The portrait of Carneades reflects the role that, as I argued in chapter 1 (pp. 65-67 above), philosophers held in the Roman Empire. Although his mouth is closed, his full lips make his mouth appear slightly open, as though he is interested in something external to himself. Yet the remains of Carneades' eyes stare past any viewer of the portrait, detaching him from human interaction. Carneades thus expresses the distance from the viewer that, as I argued in chapter 1, philosophers were expected to display in Roman society. His beard, moreover, is strikingly bushy compared to the carefully trimmed facial hair usually expected of a typical citizen.<sup>886</sup> Carneades put little effort into grooming himself for his fellow-citizens; his priority was contemplation. The distance that Romans expected philosophers to keep from the society that surrounded them thus manifested itself in this portrait of Carneades.

A similar portrait depicts a poet who was sometimes considered a philosopher, namely Euripides (figure 5).<sup>887</sup> The portrait is small, with a face only 16 centimeters in height. Although the top left part of the head's face is sawed off, what does survive shows little wear. The head

<sup>880</sup> The classic study is Wallace-Hadrill 1994: esp. chs. 1-2. See also e.g. Stewart 2008: ch. 2, esp. 45f., with references.

<sup>881</sup> It was found in a disturbed archaeological context in Herod's hippodrome-stadium (Gersht 1996b: 99; on the hippodrome-stadium, see p. 167 below). I have examined the portrait myself.

<sup>882</sup> Published in Gersht 1996b: 99-103, though her speculations about its context (in Origen's school in Caesarea) cannot be confirmed; the comparandum: see Richter 1965: 250 with figures 1689-1692.

<sup>883</sup> Carneades' eyes show evidence of drilling. Use of a drill to achieve such facial effects is characteristic of Roman sculpture beginning in the second century AD: see e.g. Strong 1988: 200.

<sup>884</sup> Gersht 1999: 395f.

<sup>885</sup> For example, the emperor Julian criticized this Christian practice: *Epistle* 79 lines 36-38 (reference in Saradi-Mendelovici 1990: 54); see also Kristensen 2009: 229f.

<sup>886</sup> Though long, wavy hair and beard sometimes did come into fashion for non-philosophical portraits: see e.g. Zanker 1995: 208, 222-233, 242-251, 288-300.

<sup>887</sup> The head was discovered north of the crusader castle that covered much of Caesarea's city center: Fischer 1998: 147. Euripides as philosopher: see Hanink 2010: 555-561. I have examined this head myself.

dates to the second century AD, though we do not know that it stood in Eusebius' day.<sup>888</sup> Euripides has wrinkles around its eyes, revealing the poet's age and eschewing a typical youthful appearance. Like that of Carneades, Euripides' beard is bushy though not especially long, and his hair is wavy. The hair on top has thinned out compared to the hair on its sides, suggesting near-baldness.<sup>889</sup> This was not an attractive individual; but then again Roman philosophers were not expected to be attractive. Euripides' expression is contemplative: he seems to stare past any viewer, detached from the outside world. As with Carneades, the philosopher's distance from others manifests itself in Euripides' expression. The fine cut of the eye shows that its owner paid for a quality piece of art.<sup>890</sup> This portrait both reflects the role of the philosopher as the detached contemplator and reinforces the prestige of the profession of philosophy in Caesarea.

A third sculptural monument depicting a philosopher has been discovered on a sarcophagus panel (figure 6).<sup>891</sup> Sarcophagi were popular burial repositories from the second to the fourth centuries AD in much of the Roman world, especially in Rome, mainland Greece, and Asia Minor; fragments of several sarcophagi have also been found in Caesarea.<sup>892</sup> Many sarcophagi, both elsewhere and in Caesarea, were decorated with human and other living figures.<sup>893</sup> A relief panel on a Caesarean sarcophagus features a bearded man standing and facing toward the viewer's right. His right elbow is in a sling, a common style of drapery for upper-class males. His hands hold an unfurled scroll, which presumably he is reading. The man's head is tilted slightly downward; his mouth is closed but his lips are not pursed: he may have paused in the reading, though his eyes do not survive to indicate the object of his attention. It seems most likely that he was focusing on someone other than the viewer, either on a lost part of the panel or a figure who is not depicted. Like Carneades, he shows detachment from onlookers.

Although it cannot be ruled out that the sarcophagus figure represents a poet, it is more likely to depict a philosopher. As Björn Ewald's definitive study of philosopher sarcophagi has shown, sarcophagus portraits of philosophers became fashionable in the second and third centuries. Many sarcophagus panels depicted philosophers reading scrolls, while many more show philosophers holding scrolls.<sup>894</sup> The panel from Caesarea, unusually, depicts its philosopher as standing with an unfurled scroll.<sup>895</sup> This is likely because the philosopher is portrayed as teaching, an activity during which at least some teachers stood with unfurled books.<sup>896</sup> The man's long, elaborate beard and drapery make it likely that he was a philosopher. The panel

<sup>888</sup> The carving of the eyes and drill-work allows us to date the production of the head.

<sup>889</sup> Baldness was a source of humor for Romans: see Beard forthcoming.

<sup>890</sup> Ringel 1975: 115; Fischer 1998: 147.

<sup>891</sup> Gersht 1986-87; Gersht and Pearl 1992: 227.

<sup>892</sup> On Caesarea's sarcophagi, see Gersht and Pearl 1992, Fischer 1998: 207-209.

<sup>893</sup> Among many studies of the art of Roman sarcophagi, see esp. Zanker and Ewald 2004. The marble of this sarcophagus was quarried from the marble-rich Aegean island of Prokonnesos, though we do not know where it was carved: see Gersht and Pearl 1992: 235.

<sup>894</sup> Reading scrolls: Ewald 1999: e.g. plates 4.2, 5.3, 6.1, 7.2, 11.1, 11.3, 11.4, 13.3, 17.3, 24.1, 26.1, 26.2, 26.3, 27.1, 27.2, 28.1, 28.2, 28.3, 29.1, 29.3, 31.1, 37.2, 38.2, 42.2, 47.1, 48.1, 48.2, 55.3, 56.1, 58.3, 60.1, 62.2, 64.3, 64.4, 74.4, 85.1, 93.1, 98.1, 98.2, 99.3, 100.2, 100.3, 101.2, 105; holding scrolls: Ewald 1999: plates 2.3, 5.2, 5.4, 7.3, 10, 13.4, 15.3, 20.1, 20.2, 21.1, 32.3, 35.1, 35.4, 44.1, 44.2, 53.2, 60.3, 63.3, 65.2, 66.1, 67.2, 72.1, 72.3, 72.4, 74.3, 76.1, 76.4, 81.5, 83.1, 84.3, 88.1, 88.2, 89.1, 89.3, 90.1, 92.2, 94.2.

<sup>895</sup> The man on the panel from Caesarea does not show the horizontal protrusions of a leg that we would expect from a seated individual. None of the panels displayed in Ewald 1999 (see previous note) features a standing, bearded philosopher reading from an unfurled scroll like that of the panel from Caesarea; most philosophers who read scrolls are seated, the usual position for philosopher portraits in antiquity (as I learned from conversation with Andrew Stewart). Gersht 1986-87: 68f. also notes the distinctiveness of the combination of standing and reading.

<sup>896</sup> Snyder 2000: 1.

indicates Caesareans' awareness that philosophers' central duty was to instruct citizens at the highest levels of Roman education (see chapter 1, pp. 59f., 63-65).

To be sure, Roman sarcophagi were not public monuments; no one but the family of the deceased saw the sarcophagus of a deceased individual after burial.<sup>897</sup> It is highly unlikely that Eusebius saw this particular monument. However, sarcophagi did depict figures that held significance for the wealthy patrons who commissioned them. They are therefore a useful index of wealthy patrons' values.<sup>898</sup> That one such patron used a sarcophagus with a philosopher confirms the prestige that philosophers held in Caesarea.

An epigraphic find corroborates the evidence of these sculptures that intellectuals received honor in Caesarea (figure 7). A statue base shaped like a short column featured five different inscriptions at various points in time; Caesarea's civic elites recycled the column to honor different individuals when they needed to honor someone new, a practice about which I will say more below (pp. 154f., 158).<sup>899</sup> One of the column's three legible inscriptions honors a man active in philosophy who also contributed to the city:

Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Μάξιμον  
 φιλόσοφον  
 Ούάριος Σέλευκος  
 4 κουράτορ πλοίων  
 κολ(ωνίας) Καισαρείας  
 τὸν προστάτην

(It is) Titus Flavius Maximus, the philosopher, (whom) Varius Seleucus, curator of boats for the colony Caesarea, (honors as) his patron.<sup>900</sup>

A statue of Titus Flavius Maximus almost certainly stood atop this column.<sup>901</sup> Although the statue does not survive for our inspection, if Titus Flavius Maximus fashioned himself as a philosopher then his statue probably depicted a man with a philosopher's beard, *himation*, and the contemplative mien associated with philosophers.<sup>902</sup> We do not know how long the statue of Titus Flavius Maximus stood upon this column; the monument for him may have remained standing in Caesarea into Eusebius' lifetime.<sup>903</sup>

<sup>897</sup> See Zanker and Ewald 2004: 33-36.

<sup>898</sup> Zanker and Ewald 2004: 28-31. Sarcophagi from Caesarea depict mythological images like Dionysiac symposia, the battle of the Amazons and the Greeks, Heracles and Hermes: see Fischer 1998: 207-209.

<sup>899</sup> Eck 2010b: 175-179.

<sup>900</sup> My translation. *Editio princeps*: Burrell 1993: 287, 291-295; see also Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 12 (with 13-14); Eck 2010b: 175-179; Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1266 (with 1267-1268). It is unfortunately unclear what exactly the "curator of boats" did; the office appears to be unparalleled.

<sup>901</sup> Eck 1996: 131. We do not know where the column was located when it honored Titus Flavius Maximus. Since the column was found in the promontory palace that housed the Roman governor (see below, pp. 152), it is likely to have served as a statue base in the palace, visible primarily to the governor and his administrative staff, when it featured its last honorand (the emperor Galerius: see below, pp. 154f., with Eck 2008: 287-289). But the column may have been moved to the promontory palace from elsewhere in Caesarea before the statue of Galerius was placed atop it.

<sup>902</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 60f. above, with references.

<sup>903</sup> The next legible inscription on the column dates between 276 and 282 (Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 13=Ameling et al. 2001: no. 1267). If Titus Flavius Maximus was the last figure honored on the column before

While the inscription confirms the honor that a philosopher could receive in Caesarea, it also complicates the standard image of a philosopher as detached from the city. Titus Flavius Maximus is identified solely as a *philosophos*, a designation that receives its own line in the inscription. Most honorific inscriptions between the first and the early third century BC name the civic or imperial offices that individuals held;<sup>904</sup> the claim to be a *philosophos* was thus deemed a worthy substitute for honorable civic offices on inscriptions.<sup>905</sup> Whereas, as we saw in chapter 1 (pp. 65-67), philosophers were expected to keep their distance from political affairs, Titus Flavius Maximus did become involved in Caesarea's civic administration by patronizing the city's curator of boats.<sup>906</sup> He thus contributed to his home city—as many philosophers in fact did despite their pose of distance.<sup>907</sup> The inscription both manifests respect for the honorand's philosophical activity and monumentalizes him as a philosopher. Finally, the language of the inscription is significant. It is one of just three honorific inscriptions in Caesarea from before the Constantinian period that was written in Greek; the vast majority were inscribed in Latin (see p. 156).<sup>908</sup>

The people of Caesarea honored philosophers with portrait heads, sarcophagi, and at least one freestanding statue.<sup>909</sup> Admittedly, we do not know where these five monuments originally stood because none was found in situ. Sarcophagi were viewed only by the deceased's family, whereas the statue of Titus Flavius Maximus probably stood in a public location.<sup>910</sup> The heads of Carneades and Euripides could have stood either in a public location or in a house; the lack of archaeological context limits our analysis of these monuments' meaning. Yet as we have seen,

Probus, then it is likely that Eusebius lived while this statue honored a philosopher, since Eusebius was born before 265 and likely lived his entire life in Caesarea (see the Introduction, pp. 6f. above).

<sup>904</sup> Cf. Eck 2010; at Caesarea, see e.g. Lehmann and Holum 2000: 3-11, 13-18, 20-22, 27, 31, 43, 122.

<sup>905</sup> If Titus Flavius Maximus held no other offices in Caesarea, then he may have been living the typical philosophical life apart from entanglement with political life (see chapter 1, pp. 65f. above). Alternatively, if he did hold civic offices that are not mentioned on the inscription, then he did not want to memorialize these offices, because such overt involvement in civic affairs would have contradicted his claim to be *philosophos*. Either way, Titus Flavius Maximus seems not to have not wished any civic services to be displayed on a monument to him.

<sup>906</sup> It is unclear what exactly this "curator of boats" did: see Burrell 1993: 292, Ameling et al. 2011: p. 210.

<sup>907</sup> See Hahn 1989: 156-164. Indeed, as Johannes Nollé pointed out to me, the inscription does not honor Titus Flavius Maximus *for* his philosophizing, but for his patronage.

<sup>908</sup> The other is Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 5=Ameling et al. 2011: 1288; but see also Ameling et al. 2001: 1289 (with Cotton and Eck 2009: 99f.).

<sup>909</sup> One more philosophical portrait may survive from Caesarea, but scholars dispute whether the portrait depicts a philosopher. Plato von Ustinov, a Russian aristocrat who emigrated to Jaffa in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, owned a second portrait head that one scholar has identified as a philosopher (first published by Hanauer 1890: 159f.). This head, now in Oslo, has the moniker ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ inscribed across the chest. Scholars have been almost unanimous in identifying the head as Olympiodorus, a victorious general of early third-century Athens (on whose career, see Gabbert 1996): so Thiersch 1914: 62f. with pl. 13; Richter 1965: 161; Ringel 1975: 116; Zanker 1995: 89f.; Geiger 1997; Fischer 1998: 147; Stewart 2004: 181f.; Ikupińska-Løvset 2008: 923-925; Ameling et al. 2011: 357f. Gersht (1996b: 101f., 1999: 395f.) has argued that the head did not represent the Athenian general, but rather a later second-century BC Academic philosopher named Olympiodorus of Gaza. Gersht's conclusion is questionable for two reasons. First, most scholars have dated the head's style to the third-century BC, as both published stylistic analyses concur, and as Tonio Hölscher has affirmed to me in detail in private conversation. Stylistic dating, however, should not be taken as definitive because sculptors can always resurrect old styles and invent new ones. Second, Olympiodorus of Gaza was obscure: he is mentioned just once in all surviving ancient literature, in Philodemus' *Index Academicorum* 24.6 (p. 164 Dorandi). Gersht's objection (1996b: 101) to the portrait's identification as the Athenian archon—that it is implausible that an obscure Athenian archon would be honored in Palestine—has force. But an even more obscure personage seems little better as an alternative. See Geiger 1997 for an attempt to harmonize Gersht's objection with the art-historical evidence.

<sup>910</sup> Eck 2008: 287.

even art displayed in households was visible to many fellow-citizens and reflected values that its patron wished to exhibit. In Caesarea, therefore, the position of the philosopher held prestige.

Caesarea has yielded a smaller number of philosopher monuments than survive from other cities in the Roman Empire, such as Rome and Aphrodisias.<sup>911</sup> But fewer sculptures of all kinds survive from Caesarea than from these cities. For the city experienced much destruction in the medieval period. In the first half of the seventh century it was caught in devastating wars, captured by Persians, again by Byzantines, and finally by Arabs; later Caesarea was captured by crusaders and remade into a medieval fortress.<sup>912</sup> Along the way, many statues from Caesarea were destroyed: bronze statues were melted down to make weapons, while marble was burned to make quicklime for new building projects.<sup>913</sup> Enough fragmentary pieces of sculptures have turned up in the archaeological record to support the conjecture that more such sculptures existed in the Roman city of Eusebius' day.

Literary evidence corroborates the monuments' indication of Caesarea's respect for intellectuals.<sup>914</sup> A letter attributed to the legendary first-century philosopher Apollonius of Tyana approves of Caesarea's "Hellenic" customs, pursuits, and activities, a commendation that implied philosophical practices.<sup>915</sup> In the third century Caesarea hosted Origen's school of philosophy, which attracted students from as far away as Cappadocia;<sup>916</sup> and Eusebius' own master Pamphilus may have been running a philosophical school as well. The philosopher was not a marginal role in Caesarea.

The monuments of Caesarea gave Eusebius strong reason to believe that the philosopher held an integral role in governing the Roman Empire. Yet the philosopher was just one elite role memorialized in Caesarea's topography: as we will soon see, emperors, governors, procurators, and local elites were honored as well.<sup>917</sup> Honorific statues, columns, inscriptions, and other monuments immortalized men who had bettered the city in a number of roles.<sup>918</sup> Therefore, the next section discusses the political hierarchy that governed Caesarea and the space that this hierarchy carved for itself in the city.

## 2. Eusebius' Experience of Roman Governance: Institutions, Buildings, Monuments

As noted above, Caesarea was the capital of the Roman province of Palestine in Eusebius' day. The city therefore acquainted Eusebius with Roman governance. Caesarea's public space underscored the significance of imperial oversight by providing prominent, lavish buildings for Roman governors. And the city's numerous statues honoring Roman leaders who had benefited Caesarea embodied an ideology that reinforced Roman elites' authority and prestige. After his continuous experience of Roman governance in Caesarea, I will show, Eusebius' writings not

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<sup>911</sup> Rome: see e.g. Borg 2009; Aphrodisias: see e.g. Smith 1990.

<sup>912</sup> Holum et al. 1988: chs. 6-7.

<sup>913</sup> Stones destroyed: Fischer 1998: 290 (still, a relatively high proportion of the sculpture survives from Herod's theater: see Frova et al. 1965: 193-216, Gersht 2008: 511-513); cf. Eck 2008: 289. Bronze statues melted down: Eck 2007: 94.

<sup>914</sup> Evidence is collected in Patrich 2011b: 114-116.

<sup>915</sup> Apollonius, *Letter* 11; cited in Patrich 2011a: 3, 2011b: 115.

<sup>916</sup> Origen's school: see e.g. Scholten 1995, Grafton and Williams 2006: 23-25.

<sup>917</sup> Emperors: Ameling et al. 2011: 1199-1226; governors, procurators, and other imperial officials: Ameling et al. 2011: nos. 1227-1281; local elites: Ameling et al. 2011: nos. 1358-1381, with Cotton and Eck 2002.

<sup>918</sup> E.g. Lehmann and Holum 2000: nos. 2-23, 27-37, 43. Many other Roman cities were likely full of statues and other monuments, the best surviving example being Pompeii: see e.g. Beard 2008: 77f., Laurence 2008.

only support Rome's imperial hierarchies, but also apply the language of Rome's imperial ideology to Christians and applaud Christians' roles within these hierarchies.

Scholars have tended to describe the populations of Caesarea along religio-ethnic lines.<sup>919</sup> Indeed, Caesarea had Jewish, Christian, Samaritan, and other assorted populations in Eusebius' day. A line of renowned Jewish rabbis taught in Caesarea in the third century,<sup>920</sup> and a neighborhood on the northern edge of Caesarea has been identified as a Jewish quarter because excavations there have yielded many artifacts bearing Jewish symbols.<sup>921</sup> As for the Samaritans, rabbinic sources from late antiquity call Caesarea a Samaritan city because of the large number of Samaritans dwelling there, and numerous oil lamps have been attributed to Samaritans.<sup>922</sup> About Caesarea's Christians, the Acts of the Apostles places a community of in Caesarea in the first decades of the Jesus movement.<sup>923</sup> Caesarea had a bishop as of the final decades of the second century and a large community in the third century, which included the great philosopher and scholar Origen.<sup>924</sup> In Eusebius' day, however, Italians, Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, Arabians, and members of ethnic groups associated with pagan ancestral religions are likely to have constituted the majority of Caesarea's population.<sup>925</sup>

What scholars of Eusebius have not emphasized, however, is the identity that all residents of Caesarea shared: by the turn of the fourth century, all were Romans. In AD 212 the emperor Caracalla had issued a famous edict that declared virtually all residents of the Roman Empire to be Roman citizens. It was Roman status groupings that determined the social privileges of Caesareans of all religions and ethnicities, and Roman political institutions that distributed power among all Caesareans. All citizens of Caesarea owed taxes according to Roman assessments, fulfilled civic obligations as specified by Roman directives, and were judged under Roman law.<sup>926</sup> Whatever language they spoke or divinities they worshipped, the Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Italians, Samaritans, Christians, were all Romans. What did these Roman institutions look like, and how did Eusebius respond to them?

The institutions that most intensely shaped Caesarea in Eusebius' day were Caesarea's civic government and the Roman imperial offices based in Caesarea. After its refounding as a Roman colony,<sup>927</sup> the civic government of Caesarea was structured like that of a typical Roman colony. A city council called the curia deliberated and voted on all-important local laws and expenditures, collected taxes, maintained a local police force, and kept records.<sup>928</sup> Membership in this curia, which was modeled after the Senate in Rome, was limited strictly to citizens of

<sup>919</sup> E.g. Levine 1975: 57-134, Ringel 1975: 110-141, Ulrich 1999: 14-27.

<sup>920</sup> Rabbinical school: see e.g. Levine 1975: 86-106.

<sup>921</sup> The symbols include numerous inscriptions with menorot, inscriptions that mention "one God" and "the Lord" and a quotation from Isaiah. The assemblage of so many Jewish objects (see Govaars, Spiro, and White 2009: ch. 7) secures the district's identity as a Jewish neighborhood. While the district was once thought to contain a synagogue, the recent investigation has cast doubt on the presence of a synagogue there (see Govaars, Spiro, and White 2009: ch. 5, esp. 139-141).

<sup>922</sup> For references to the large Samaritan population, see Levine 1975: 107; Ringel 1975: 89; and Hopfe 1990: 2404f.; oil lamps: Patrich 2011b: 94. The Samaritans have, however, left few other distinctive archaeological remains: Eck 2007: 168 notes just three Samaritan inscriptions in Caesarea. See in general Patrich 2011b: 94-96.

<sup>923</sup> Acts 10f., 21.7-15; cf. 8.40, 9.30.

<sup>924</sup> Caesarea's bishop: *HE* 5.23.3, 5.25; the third century: see e.g. McGuckin 1992: 16-21.

<sup>925</sup> Cf. Ringel 1975: 89-92, Holm et al. 1988: 142-147, though their evidence is open to dispute; note also Lehmann and Holm 2000: no. 158.

<sup>926</sup> The classic study is Sherwin-White 1973: ch. 16.

<sup>927</sup> See p. 142 with n. 862 above on Caesarea's colonial status.

<sup>928</sup> Carrié 2005: 282-290.

Caesarea who held a minimum amount of property; council members were called decurions. Each year the curia elected two men to act as duovirs, an office modeled after the consulate in Rome. The duovirs were the ceremonial heads of the city and presided over meetings of the curia. Both Caesarea's duovirs and its decurions are attested in inscriptions from the city.<sup>929</sup> If Caesarea resembled other cities with Roman constitutions, then its curia also elected other annual officials, including aediles to care for the city's infrastructure, quaestors to oversee its treasury, and pontifices to officiate at religious ceremonies.<sup>930</sup> This curia thus, for example, paid for and executed maintenance work on Caesarea's famous street grid.<sup>931</sup> Like other Roman cities, Caesarea operated as an oligarchy governed by an exclusive propertied class.

Caesarea differed from most Roman cities, however, in being the primary residence for the most powerful official in Palestine, the Roman governor,<sup>932</sup> and his staff of perhaps 100 men.<sup>933</sup> While governors' terms in office were not fixed, they were typically quite short—our best evidence would indicate that an average term lasted two years.<sup>934</sup> Residents of Caesarea therefore did not experience one individual's term in office long enough to identify the office with the officeholder; instead, the routine activities performed by the Roman governor defined perceptions of the position. The governor's chief responsibility was to hear court cases and issue edicts that responded to problems in the province.<sup>935</sup> He also presided over festivals and financed the construction of buildings and roads.<sup>936</sup> When emperors came through Caesarea, therefore, the governor represented the province and city in organizing and presiding over the *adventus* festival that greeted the emperor on his arrival; Eusebius himself claims to have attended at least one *adventus* in Caesarea (VC 1.19.1). Finally, the governor acted as a mediator between provincials and the emperor, publishing the emperor's edicts and communicating affairs in the province to the emperor by letter.<sup>937</sup> After Diocletian reformed Roman administration in the 290s (see below), the governor was also responsible for collecting imperial taxes from cities.<sup>938</sup> Living in Caesarea, therefore, Eusebius was in a position to observe the official representative of Roman power in Palestine.

In Eusebius' earlier years Caesarea had also been the home of the financial procurator of Palestine. The procurator was responsible for the province's finance, collecting taxes and distributing funds, and for managing imperial properties.<sup>939</sup> Under Diocletian, however, the office began to fade away as responsibility for collecting taxes and distributing funds went to governors.<sup>940</sup> The last procurator is attested in Caesarea during Diocletian's rule, between 284

<sup>929</sup> See Cotton and Eck 2002, Patrich 2011b: 75-77.

<sup>930</sup> Quaestors and aediles: see Lintott 1993: 144-147; pontifices: cf. below, p. 153f.

<sup>931</sup> On the street grid, see McGuckin 1992: 8; Holum 2009: 193-196.

<sup>932</sup> In Eusebius' day the governor's title was *praeses* (Lehmann and Holum 2000: nos. 9, 13, 14, 16, 17=Ameling et al. 2011: nos. 1267, 1268, 1270, 1271, 1272). In the second and third century the governor had been a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*: Eck 2007: 82f., 109f. The change in governors' titles likely happened under Gallienus (AD 260-268): Wilkes 2005: 705.

<sup>933</sup> Sloomtjes 2006: 29, with references.

<sup>934</sup> Sloomtjes 2006: 26.

<sup>935</sup> Corcoran 1996: ch. 16; Eck 2000c: 272-278; Sloomtjes 2006: 31-34.

<sup>936</sup> Presiding at festivals: Futrell 1997: 131, 148; Sloomtjes 2006: 146f.; financing infrastructure: Sloomtjes 2006: 79-88.

<sup>937</sup> See Corcoran 1996: ch. 9.

<sup>938</sup> Lo Cascio 2005: 179f.; Sloomtjes 2006: 34-39.

<sup>939</sup> See Lintott 1993: 122; Eck 2000b: 241-245; Lo Cascio 2005: 145f., 148-150.

<sup>940</sup> Cf. Lo Cascio 2005: 179.



and 305.<sup>941</sup> Still, having been born before 264, Eusebius lived at least the first 20 years of his life in the same city as the two most important officials in Roman Palestine.

The built environment of Caesarea emphasized the importance of the Roman governor and procurator by devoting an important building to each imperial official. The first palace served in Eusebius' earlier years as the praetorium of the Roman governor (figures 8 and 9; called "praetorium/mansion" in figure 2). It was originally built by Herod as his residence in Caesarea atop a short, west-facing promontory on the southern shore of Caesarea. The palace was imposing: its lower level, which was the governor's private residence, lay directly on the shore at the edge of the promontory to be washed by Mediterranean waves.<sup>942</sup> Its public upper story, meanwhile, extended from above the lower level westward; it was centered around a large peristyle courtyard that measured 65 by 42 meters.<sup>943</sup> The grounds included clubrooms reserved for prison guards (though not the prison itself), couriers, military administrators, and soldiers.<sup>944</sup> The palace was thus not only the governor's residence, but the headquarters from which much of Rome's oversight extended through Palestine. The governor of Palestine resided in this palace up through the reign of Diocletian. During or after Diocletian's reign the governor moved to what had been the procurator's palace, which became his praetorium. The promontory palace may have been the residence of the dux, the military commander of the province, when he sometimes stayed in Caesarea.<sup>945</sup> The palace was thus an impressive locus of Roman administration during the first 40 years or so of Eusebius' life.

The spatial context of the promontory palace signified additional prestige. This palace was joined to Caesarea's stadium on its northeast corner (figure 10; cf. figure 2). This stadium was one of the chief entertainment complexes in the city (see pp. 167f.). To its southwest, meanwhile, was Herod's theater, another important venue for civic entertainments. The governor's proximity to these sites of civic entertainment made manifest the Roman Empire's provision of recreation for Caesarea's citizens.

When Caesarea was the residence of the Roman financial procurator, he also resided at a choice location. His palace sat just south of the temple of Roma and Augustus (on which see pp. 159-161), along the city's decumanus, its main east-west street, and very close to the sea (figures 11 and 12; it is labeled "praetorium" in figure 2).<sup>946</sup> The size of this palace was considerable, with a length of around 65 meters east to west and a width of 54 meters north-south, and two stories high.<sup>947</sup> The lower story consisted of storage rooms and vaults for holding supplies as

<sup>941</sup> Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 6=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1266.

<sup>942</sup> The lower story measured 80 meters by 55 and was not open to outsiders. In the center of these rooms, inside a rectangle of columns, was a 35 x 18 m. stepped pool; on the outside were high, solid walls, broken only by two peristyle courts on the west and south ends, toward the sea: Burrell 1996: 240.

<sup>943</sup> Netzer 1996: 193-201 and 2006: 106-112; Gleason et al. 1998: 36-50; Burrell 1996: 240-247; Patrich 2010: 175-178=Patrich 2011b: 206-210.

<sup>944</sup> Eck 2008: 284-286; Patrich 2010: 178=Patrich 2011b: 209f.

<sup>945</sup> As Joseph Patrich suggested to me in conversation (August 2011). Patrich et al. 1999: 99-101 (reaffirmed by Patrich 2011a: 16; but cf. Patrich 2002b: 329-333=Patrich 2011b: 278-281) emphasize that the promontory palace discontinued as the residence of the governor. Yet Burrell 1996: 230 and 244f. describes Diocletianic renovations that indicate continuing use of the Byzantine period.

<sup>946</sup> Patrich et al. 1999: 70; Patrich 2010: 178=Patrich 2011b: 211. See Cotton and Eck 2009 on the inscriptions that identify the building as the palace of a procurator; see also Patrich et al. 1999: 85-95.

<sup>947</sup> Patrich 2010: 178f.=Patrich 2011b: 211.

well as a *skrinion*, an office for imperial recordkeepers.<sup>948</sup> The upper story featured a fairly large audience hall with a pool and a fountain in center, and an archive, latrine, and a colonnade on the periphery.<sup>949</sup> The palace's connection to Rome was unmistakable, as it bore a Latin inscription that credited Vespasian with building it,<sup>950</sup> while its interior featured several statues with Latin inscriptions that honored outstanding procurators.<sup>951</sup> When Rome no longer appointed procurators after Diocletian's reign, the governor made this building into his praetorium while the promontory palace probably became the residence of the *dux* when he was in Caesarea. The size, location, and beauty of the governor's palace reinforced the power and prestige of this official. The two buildings together made obvious to Caesarean residents such as Eusebius the significance of these representatives of Rome.

The two palaces were the residences that occupied the most surface space in Caesarea, but not the only monuments to Roman power. While the monuments for philosophers discussed above were significant, Caesarea's topography featured more statues to Roman statesmen, from emperors, governor, and procurators down to decurions. While almost none of these statues survive and we cannot always be certain of where attested statues stood,<sup>952</sup> we know that such statues existed because a number of statue bases from Caesarea do survive. In particular, a number of inscribed statue bases have been excavated in Caesarea;<sup>953</sup> they stand between 0.4 and 1.5 meters high and are all large enough to bear a life-sized human statue.<sup>954</sup> The statues honored various Roman elites, from emperors to governors and procurators to local elites.

Two statue bases exemplify the prestige expressed through Caesarea's statues.<sup>955</sup> The first base was found in the satellite village of Shuni (about six kilometers northeast of Caesarea). It is about 83 centimeters tall and about 66 centimeters in diameter, and has three holes drilled into its top to hold the pins that bear a bronze statue (figures 13 and 14). It features the following inscription:

M(arcum) F(lavium) Agrippam pontif(icem)  
 II viral(em)  
 Col(oniae) I Fl(aviae) Aug(ustae) Caesareae ora-  
 4 torem ex dec(reto) dec(urionum) pec(unia) publ(ica)

<sup>948</sup> Patrich 2010: 181=Patrich 2011b: 214f., though the mosaic inscriptions (Lehmann and Holum 2000: nos. 88-91=Ameling et al. 2011: 1334-1336, 1339) that identify the *skrinion* quote the New Testament and are therefore post-Eusebian.

<sup>949</sup> Patrich 2010: 179-182=Patrich 2011b: 212-215; see also Patrich et al. 1999: 99-107.

<sup>950</sup> Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1282=Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 27 (with Eck 2000d: 538f.); see esp. Cotton and Eck 2003: 29-36, Patrich 2010: 178=Patrich 2011b: 211.

<sup>951</sup> Eck 2008: 288, Cotton and Eck 2009; the inscriptions include Lehmann and Holum 2000: nos. 4-6=Ameling et al. 2011: nos. 1284, 1286, 1288.

<sup>952</sup> One marble head, apparently representing the emperor Antoninus Pius, does survive (see Gersht 1999: 108-110). Survival: prevalent materials for sculpting statues, bronze and marble, were common targets for recycling: see e.g. Fischer 1998: 290; Eck 2008: 289. Location: Eck (esp. 2008: 287-291) has argued that statue bases were not moved far from their eventual findspots; he asserts, for example, that the columns found in the promontory palace (including the column with honorific inscriptions to Titus Flavius Maximus, Probus, and Galerius) must have been set up in the promontory palace. Eck therefore envisions "eine Galerie römischer Macht" (2007: 102; see also 97, 100) as lining the halls of Caesarea's two imperial officials' palaces.

<sup>953</sup> On the columns as statue bases, see esp. Eck 2008: esp. 277f. My own inspection of the column that I discuss here, however, found the kind of holes in which the struts for statues usually fit.

<sup>954</sup> For description, see Lehmann and Holum 2000: nos. 4-26, Ameling et al. 2011: nos. 1227-1302 *passim*; see also Eck 2007: 90-94, 2008: 274-278, 284-293.

<sup>955</sup> I have examined both statue bases myself.

(It is) Marcus Flavius Agrippa, the pontiff, the duovir of the colony of Caesarea Maritima, orator, (who) by decree of the decurions, out of public funds (is honored with a statue).<sup>956</sup>

Pontiff and duovir were important civic offices in Caesarea (see above, pp. 150f.); Agrippa thus contributed to Caesarea as a civic leader. The title of “orator,” meanwhile, almost certainly signifies Agrippa’s undertaking of an important embassy to the emperor on behalf of Caesarea, and not a profession as an orator.<sup>957</sup> The inscription thus displays three duties by which Marcus Flavius Agrippa served his city. As Werner Eck has noted, such inscriptions constituted “neither a biography nor a *curriculum vitae* in our sense of the word,” but rather “what was done for the *res publica* and in its service.”<sup>958</sup> The decurions’ public financing of the statue rewarded Agrippa for his benefits to his city. Important service brought lasting memorials in the exchange of favors between cities and elite individual citizens.<sup>959</sup>

The second statue base was the column that named the *philosophos* Titus Flavius Maximus as the honorand of its statue (figure 8; see above). Maximus’ statue, however, was removed, the inscription honoring him plastered over, and the column rotated 180 degrees to make room for a statue of the emperor Probus, who reigned in Eusebius’ youth (between 276 and 282):

[I]mp(eratori) M(arco) [Aurel]io

Probo Aug(usto) [invicto? Ac]

super omnes retro

4 principes fortiss(imo) Clod(ius?) Passenianus

v(ir) c(larissimus) praes(es) prov(inciae) Syr(iae)

Pal(aestinae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) e(ius)

For Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus, invincible and braver than all emperors who came before him, Clodius Passenianus, with the rank of *vir clarissimus*, governor of the province Syria Palaestina, devoted to his might and majesty (erected this statue).<sup>960</sup>

The statue atop this base offered honor to the emperor as the Latin inscription identified the governor of the province, Clodius (?) Passenianus as the bestower of that honor. The statue thus associated the governor with the emperor in a relationship predicated on an exchange of beneficence for praise.<sup>961</sup> Probus, however, reigned just six years and was little-loved by Roman elites.<sup>962</sup> It is unlikely that anyone objected to removing the statue of Probus when a better use

<sup>956</sup> Translation mine. On this statue base, see Zangemeister 1890: 25-30; von Mülinen 1908: 240-242 with pl. 104-105; Levine 1975: 37; Lifshitz 1978: 498f.; Holum et al. 1988: 114-115, 118; Lehmann 1996: 385; Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 3; Haensch 2002: 325; Ameling et al. 2011: no. 2095.

<sup>957</sup> So Ameling et al. 2011: no. 2095 (and as both Werner Eck and Kenneth Holum have confirmed to me by personal communication).

<sup>958</sup> Eck 2010a: quotation from 394.

<sup>959</sup> See in general Lendon 1997 on the pervasiveness of such exchanges of honors in Roman culture; cf. the Introduction, p. 4 n. 26 above.

<sup>960</sup> Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1267 (whose text and translation I adopt)=Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 13. See also Burrell 1993: esp. 292f., Eck 2010b: 175-179.

<sup>961</sup> See e.g. Lendon 1997: 55, Noreña 2011: 113.

<sup>962</sup> See e.g. Drinkwater 2005: 56.

for its materials arose.<sup>963</sup> Under Diocletian, therefore, the column was turned upside-down and the dedication to Probus effaced as so that a new inscription could be written on it:

Fortissimo et consult(issimo)  
 iuventutis principi  
 Galer(io) Val(erio) Maximiano  
 p(io) f(elici) invict(o) nobil(issimo) Caes(ari)  
 4 Aufid(ius) Priscus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses)  
 prov(inciae) Pal(aestinae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) e[or(um)]

For the strongest and most prudent leader of the younger generation, Galerius Valerius Maximianus, the faithful, happy, invincible and most noble Caesar, Aufidius Priscus, with the rank of *vir perfectissimus*, governor of the province Palaestina, devoted to their might and majesty, (erected this monument).<sup>964</sup>

A new emperor required a new statue and inscription for his honor.<sup>965</sup> The practice of honoring important Romans—including emperors, governors, decurions, and, as we saw with Titus Flavius Maximus, philosophers—within the topography of Caesarea continued even if some particular monuments were removed.

These two monuments exemplify how all elites who were important for Caesarea's public life, from its decurions up to the Roman emperor, participated in a shared exchange of monumentalized honor.<sup>966</sup> The statues celebrated the elites, both local and imperial, who managed, supported, and protected Caesarea.<sup>967</sup> Most statues there were dedicated to decurions, governors, procurators, and emperors.<sup>968</sup> The restriction of statues to the highest status groups thus erected a boundary between rulers and ruled in Caesarea. While there were distinctions among these Roman elites, their shared honor on statues distinguished these status groups from people of middling and lower status who could never hope for the memorialization of a standing image. The presence of statues thus unified elites of varying status into a single, albeit internally stratified, entity.<sup>969</sup> For Caesarea's decurions, the statues presented models of successful elite

<sup>963</sup> Another column (Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 16=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1270) was also dedicated to Probus, and also erased to make room for a dedication to Constantius. The columns dedicated to Constantius and Galerius were likely part of the same monument: see Eck 2006b: 334-337.

<sup>964</sup> Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1260 (whose text I adopt and whose translation I modify)=Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 14; see also Burrell 1993: esp. 293f., Eck 2010b: 175-179.

<sup>965</sup> As it happens, this statue base for Galerius was likely part of a statue group of four statues representing the four-man college of emperors ruling under Diocletian: see Eck 2006b: esp. 334-337. Another part of this monument survives in the almost identical column dedicated to Constantius (Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 17=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1271).

<sup>966</sup> On how Roman civic monuments fit into an economy of honor, see e.g. Stewart 2008: 108-130; for examples of statues' role, see Lendon 1997: 61, 65, 78f., 82f., 103f., 134, 157, 195, 210.

<sup>967</sup> One of the public inscriptions of Caesarea honored freedmen who served as imperial procurators, as Eck 2007: 98-100 notes (of Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 2=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1302). For such freedmen the meritorious office and relationship to the emperor that facilitated the appointment delivered honor that their status did not normally allow: cf. e.g. Lendon 1997: 19f.

<sup>968</sup> The only exception that I have found in either Lehmann and Holum 2000 or in Ameling et al. 2011 is the statue of the philosopher Titus Flavius Maximus (above, pp. 147f.).

<sup>969</sup> Cf. Noreña 2011: 273-276 on local elites' association of themselves with imperial elites through a shared statuary medium. The decurion class of Caesarea claimed honor by symbolic integration into the ruling classes throughout the Empire. Its participation in the hierarchical Roman status groups, rankings by which elite identified their social

activity, dangling before their eyes the prospect of having their own image memorialized in the landscape of the city. From the perspective of outsiders to the decurions' status group, meanwhile, they evoked the benefits that the elite class conferred their community, encouraging them to accept the elite's elevated status and power.<sup>970</sup>

The language of the inscriptions on Caesarea's statue bases reinforced the message of elite solidarity that the statues implied. Virtually all statue bases in Caesarea through Diocletian's reign were inscribed in Latin.<sup>971</sup> By contrast the *lingua franca* of Roman Palestine, as in most of the eastern Roman Empire, was Greek, and most indices of Caesarea's spoken languages indicate a predominantly Greek-speaking population by Eusebius' day.<sup>972</sup> The use of Latin, as Eck has pointed out, asserted Roman power. Laws were published in Latin; judges declared verdicts in Latin; imperial expenditures on infrastructure were noted in Latin; Roman roads were marked with Latin milestones; and the army spoke Latin.<sup>973</sup> In short, "Latin was the language of the dominant power."<sup>974</sup> The Caesarean decurions' systematic use of Latin signified linguistic unity with Roman rulers. It distinguished the decurions from the majority of the population that spoke Greek and other languages and made a claim to privileged access to Roman power.

One of the two exceptions to the prevalence of Latin among Caesarea's monumental inscriptions,<sup>975</sup> however, is telling: Titus Flavius Maximus' statue base was inscribed in Greek. Greek, of course, was the language of philosophy in the Roman Empire. The use of Greek could differentiate one elite role from another in Caesarea.<sup>976</sup>

This description of the political institutions and monuments of Caesarea has shown that Eusebius lived in close proximity to a regional center of Roman power, and that the topography of Caesarea featured monumental reminders of the power of Roman elites, from the decurion status-groups up to the emperor. How did this proximity to Roman political leaders and to these monuments shape Eusebius' views of Roman power?<sup>977</sup>

standing relative to one another. Several members of the equestrian status group are attested in the Latin inscriptions of Caesarea (Cotton and Eck 2002: 381), a status that required both the possession of a minimum amount of property and service to the Empire by either oneself or an ancestor. Equestrian status brought potential access to power in Eusebius' day: it had taken over increasing governing duties in Roman administration from Senators (Jones 1964: 525f.). Men who claimed equestrian status were thus claiming to be participants in the wider imperial aristocracy, so that such claims displayed access to positions of administrative authority. The fact that Caesareans were claiming equestrian status demonstrates the integration of Caesarea's elite into the Empire's ruling classes (see e.g. Eck 1996: 133f.; cf. Eck 2010b: 182-184 on the possible presence of an inscription to a Caesarean senator).

<sup>970</sup> See n. 977 below on whether Eusebius was himself a member of the decurion order.

<sup>971</sup> Eck (2001: 55-58, 2007: 191f., 2009: 36-38) has pointed this out in a number of publications. There are just two exceptions, the dedication to Titus Flavius Maximus (see pp. 147f. above) and another columnar statue base dedicated to a procurator (Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 5=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1288). A break under Diocletian: Eck 2001: 52f., 2007: 196-198, 2008: 293.

<sup>972</sup> As even Eck (2007: 193f.; cf. 196-198), the foremost proponent of a large and lasting Latin-speaking population at Caesarea, concedes, though he maintains that much of Caesarea's population spoke Latin in the late first and second centuries. For example, the vast majority of grave inscriptions are in Greek (though these are difficult to date); most inscriptions on dedications are in Greek (though again, these are hard to date); and Origen delivered his sermons to the (multi-ethnic) Christian congregation of Caesarea in Greek in the mid-third century.

<sup>973</sup> Eck 2007: 158-161, 182.

<sup>974</sup> Eck 2009b: 39; see also Eck 2001.

<sup>975</sup> The other (Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 5=Ameling et al. 1288) appears on a statue base dedicated to a procurator named Aurelius Maron in the third quarter of the third century.

<sup>976</sup> Eusebius was therefore not resisting or distancing himself from Caesarea's political leadership by writing his works in Greek.

<sup>977</sup> It cannot be ruled out that Eusebius was himself a member of Caesarea's decurion status group. Yet while he was one of the wealthier citizens of Caesarea (see below, p. 165), we have no evidence that he ever served in any civic

Eusebius paid attention to such civic monuments as imperial palaces and honorific portraits and clearly accepted the premise that monuments signified prestige.<sup>978</sup> In the *Ecclesiastical History* he goes out of his way to note inscriptions relevant to the church's past, describes statues, and laments persecution through the metonymy of Diocletian's destruction of church buildings.<sup>979</sup> The existence of a monument to an individual or an institution thus signified honor for Eusebius.<sup>980</sup> His other writings concur that statuary representation was an honor, as Aaron Johnson has shown.<sup>981</sup> Eusebius' attentiveness to monuments and acceptance of the prestige of dedication no doubt responded to the Roman ideology communicated in Caesarea's monuments.

To be sure, Eusebius' attentiveness to monuments does not necessarily imply his acceptance of the imperial ideology communicated through the monuments, however. Eusebius had ample reason to resent Roman rule. He experienced some of the harshest effects of Roman power during the Diocletianic persecution of Christians, as he watched dozens of coreligionists, including many of his closest friends and his beloved teacher Pamphilus, die as martyrs.<sup>982</sup> Eusebius' library gave him the discursive resources to articulate protests against the Roman Empire: the Christian apocalyptic tradition offered him a tradition of strong critique against Rome that began with the book of Revelation.<sup>983</sup> If he did not wish to risk open criticism of the Empire along the lines of apocalyptic literature,<sup>984</sup> Eusebius could simply have maintained silence toward the Empire.

Nonetheless, instead of criticism or silence, the *Ecclesiastical History* maintains a respectful tone toward Roman leaders and shows acceptance of Roman authority.<sup>985</sup> As noted in chapter 3 (pp. 134f.), Eusebius proudly quotes emperors' edicts and rescripts that prohibited Christian persecution;<sup>986</sup> if he did not respect Roman authority, it is hard to see why Eusebius would have found such directives worthy of repeated mention. He also shows no hesitation to cite texts written in Latin, which, as we have seen, was the language of Roman power.<sup>987</sup> Eusebius' chronology, in both the *History* and his *Chronicle*, dates events by emperors of Rome, even

office himself. He most likely viewed these statues as an outsider to the decurions. Eusebius certainly paid attention to statues and inscriptions.

<sup>978</sup> Not all early Christians were so receptive to figural art: see e.g. Murray 1977: 322f.

<sup>979</sup> Pace Behrwald 2009: 232. Inscriptions: see *HE* 5.1.4, 9.9.11, 10.2.2, statues: see *HE* 2.10.3, 2.12.3, 2.13.3, 2.14.5, 2.23.18, 3.9.2, 7.18f., 8.13.15, 9.3, 9.9.10f., 9.11.2, 5-7; cf. 2.5.3, 2.6.2, 4, 7.25.16; church buildings: 7.30.22, 8.1.5, 8.2.1, 8.2.4, 8.13.13 (contradicting the better informed Lactantius, *DMP* 15: see Barnes 1973a: 41-45), 10.3f. (on which cf. chapter 3, pp. 135-138 above). Eusebius' other writings, especially his *Oration for the Dedication of the Holy Sepulcher* and his *Life of Constantine*, likewise assume that material monuments signify honor: see e.g. *VC* 1.3, 1.8, 1.40, 1.42, 1.47, 1.57, 2.45f., 3.25-43, 3.48-57, 4.16, 4.50, 4.58-60, 4.72; cf. 2.5, 1.28, 2.16; and see Behrwald 2009: 232-235. See also pp. 164, 168 below.

<sup>980</sup> Though Eusebius often insinuates that undeserving individuals received these honors: e.g. 2.5.3, 2.13.3.

<sup>981</sup> See Johnson 2004a: esp. 261. See also Murray 1977: 330f., 334f.

<sup>982</sup> See *HE* 7.32.2-4 with 8.1.4 and 8.6.5, 7.32.25-28, 8.13.3-6; *MP* *passim*.

<sup>983</sup> Revelation as critique of Rome: see e.g. Thompson 1990. Eusebius, however, became increasingly hostile to apocalypticism as his career progressed: see esp. Thielman 1987; see also chapter 3, n. 689 above.

<sup>984</sup> Cf. Johnson 2006a: 181-183, who reads some passages in the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* as covert criticism of Rome; I rebut Johnson's views in chapter 6, pp. 231-235 below.

<sup>985</sup> The exception, of course, is his vituperation toward bad emperors: see chapter 3, pp. 115-117 above. But criticism of bad emperors was a common Roman literary topos that aligned Eusebius' interests with those of the Roman ruling status groups: see n. 717 above.

<sup>986</sup> *HE* 4.9, 4.12, 7.13, 8.17, 9.1.3-6, 9.9a, 9.10, 10.5-7; cf. 2.2, 3.33, 5.5.7, 9.7.

<sup>987</sup> Eusebius notes that he is quoting texts translated from Latin several times in the *History*: e.g. 2.2.4, 4.8.8, 9.1.2, 9.9.13, 9.10.6, 10.5.1. Some imperial Greek writers did eschew Latin entirely: see Swain 1996: 40-42.

though he had alternative dating systems available.<sup>988</sup> He goes out of his way to quote past Christians who praise the Roman Empire and its emperors.<sup>989</sup> He speaks of high Roman rank or the performance of Roman imperial offices as prestigious.<sup>990</sup> Finally, Eusebius speaks repeatedly of the Empire as a necessary precondition for the spread of God's teaching.<sup>991</sup> In short, Eusebius' every mention of Roman imperial action indicates an acceptance of the Roman Empire's authority, despite the persecution that he witnessed. Since Eusebius experienced the Roman Empire predominantly through the Empire's effects on his local environment, his experience of Roman government in Caesarea must have inculcated this positive attitude toward imperial governance.<sup>992</sup>

It is important to emphasize that Eusebius' respect for Roman authority had to have resulted from a positive experience of Roman institutions, and not simply from particular Roman officials. Because the first 20 years or so of his life happened during the so-called "third-century crisis" (see pp. 165f.), Eusebius grew up amid frequent turnover in emperors: from the early 260s until Diocletian's accession eight different emperors held sovereignty over the Roman realm.<sup>993</sup> The frequent changes in emperors was mirrored by the cycling in and out of governors and procurators noted above. The erasure and reuse of monuments such as the column of Titus Flavius Maximus, Probus, and then Galerius was a monumental reflection of the turnover in Roman leaders. The brief tenure of officials (and monuments) no doubt taught Eusebius that tenure in imperial offices could be brief and precarious.

Nonetheless, the environment created by Roman rule remained stable throughout Eusebius' lifetime. Officeholders rotated in and out, but the offices themselves remained constant.<sup>994</sup> In a symbolic parallel, the practice of dedicating statues to deserving elites continued even if some individual elites' statues were removed. Emperors (and governors) came and went, but the Empire was a constant. As far as Eusebius knew, the Empire had continued to foster the environment that he enjoyed, from governmental institutions to honorific statues, no matter which individual agents performed the duties or appeared on the statues, since Augustus.<sup>995</sup> (And as we will see pp. 159-161, 163f., the founder of the Roman Empire happened also to have patronized the foundation of Caesarea.)

In short, the stable political institutions and the ordered, beneficent ruling status groups that constituted the Roman Empire were welcome to Eusebius. He incorporated the *History's* Christians into the Roman ruling classes wherever he could and boasted when a Christian subject was noted in the inscriptions and statues that honored Roman elites. Caesarea's institutions and monuments thus generated in Eusebius a respect for Rome's political structures. This positive attitude toward Rome infused his presentation of Christianity. Where the previous section showed that the philosopher was one elite role that attracted honor among the elites of Caesarea,

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<sup>988</sup> Thanks to his synchronisms between Roman and Olympiad datings in his *Chronicle*; cf. DeVore forthcoming a on Eusebius' choice of chronological system.

<sup>989</sup> *HE* 4.26.5-11, 5.5.7, 7.23.

<sup>990</sup> *HE* 2.2.4, 2.3.3, 5.5, 6.41.16, 7.15-17., 7.32.4, 8.1.2, 8.9.7, 8.11.1f.; see chapter 6, esp. p. 232 below.

<sup>991</sup> E.g. *HE* 1.2.22, *PE* 1.4; *DE* 6.20.

<sup>992</sup> In addition, Eusebius claims to have participated in at least one Roman imperial ceremony, namely Diocletian's *adventus* in 301/02, where, Eusebius claims, he first caught sight of the future emperor Constantine (*VC* 1.19.1).

<sup>993</sup> Gallienus (260-268), Claudius Gothicus (268-270), Aurelian (270-275), Tacitus (275-276), Florinus (276), Probus (276-282), Carus (282-283), Carinus (283-285). At *HE* 7.30.22 Eusebius omits the short-lived Tacitus and Florinus; cf. *Chronicle* Olympiad 263i, k (p. 185 Schoene).

<sup>994</sup> Cf. chapter 2, pp. 97-102 above.

<sup>995</sup> Cf. p. 158 with nn. 1038f. below.

this section has suggested that Eusebius found Caesarea's elites as a whole to be a desirable group to join. Still, not all of Caesarea's civic structures were so comforting for him. The next section considers a sphere of Caesarean city life that Eusebius consistently condemns: its civic religion.

### 3. Between Dissent and Integration: Caesarean Civic Religion and Space for Eusebius' Church

Central to civic life in Roman cities was each city's local religion, which except in Jewish and Samaritan settlements, was almost always some form of traditional paganism.<sup>996</sup> Pagan religion reinforced all of the aspects of Roman civic life discussed already in this chapter, from political hierarchies to public recreation to economic prosperity to mobility. Religion reinforced local elites' position by providing priesthoods open only to people of decurion rank,<sup>997</sup> while the cult of the emperor channeled elites' reverence for the ruler of the Roman world.<sup>998</sup> Local religions provided occasions for the festivals where citizens gathered to feast, dance, sing, and enjoy performances.<sup>999</sup> The economic benefits of religion included the exchange of sacred objects such as sacrificial animals, votive offerings, and amulets.<sup>1000</sup> And the desire to communicate with divinities in different places inspired travel through pilgrimages.<sup>1001</sup> Roman civic life was thoroughly suffused with religious activity and significance.

Like all Roman cities, Caesarea had several sacred places devoted to the worship of pagan divinities.<sup>1002</sup> The city's most prominent building was its temple of Roma and Augustus (figures 15 and 16; cf. figure 2). Herod had built this temple to honor Augustus when he founded the city. The temple overlooked Herod's harbor, greeting sailors as their ships approached Caesarea.<sup>1003</sup> On the other side of the platform, residents of Caesarea who walked to the center of the city's street grid also could not miss the temple: the northeast corner of the temple platform was where Caesarea's two main streets, its *cardo maximus* and *decumanus*, intersected.<sup>1004</sup>

The temple platform has been carefully excavated; excavators have found that the temple of Roma and Augustus stood at the center of Caesarea from the founding of Caesarea until at least late in the fourth century.<sup>1005</sup> Josephus' brief description underscores the awe that the temple surely inspired, comparing its cult statues (neither of which has survived) to two of the most famous cult images in ancient Greece:

On an eminence facing the harbor-mouth stood Caesar's temple, remarkable for its beauty and grand proportions. It contained a colossal statue to the emperor [Augustus], in

<sup>996</sup> See the Introduction, n. 50 above on my use of the term "pagan."

<sup>997</sup> Rizakis 2007: esp. 321f.; Caesarea had such priesthoods: Marcus Flavius Agrippa (see above, p. 153f.) was a pontifex.

<sup>998</sup> The classic study is Price 1984; see also Ando 2000: 373-385.

<sup>999</sup> See e.g. MacMullen 1981: 18-34.

<sup>1000</sup> See e.g. MacMullen 1981: 34-48.

<sup>1001</sup> MacMullen 1981: 26f., André and Baslez 1993: 247-260.

<sup>1002</sup> Pace Richardson 2002: 121f., who asserts that Caesarea was a monotheistic city, Josephus asserts that Herod had multiple sanctuaries built in the city (*BJ* 2.266, reference in Turnheim and Ovadiah 2002: 15).

<sup>1003</sup> The temple had been part of the harbor district of Sebastos when Herod had first constructed it; by Eusebius' day, the city of Caesarea annexed Sebastos: Raban 2009: 57-61, esp. 61.

<sup>1004</sup> Stabler et al. 2008: 18.

<sup>1005</sup> Molded stucco pulled from one of the columns was found with pottery that dated to around the turn of the fifth century: Holum 2004: 191, Stabler et al. 2008: 20f.



no way the lesser of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, and another of Roma, the equal to Hera at Argos (*Judean War* 1.414, trans. Thackeray, modified; cf. *Judean Antiquities* 15.339).<sup>1006</sup>

Enough architectural fragments have survived for archaeologists to reconstruct this beautiful temple (figure 15). The temple platform, which faced slightly north by northwest, was surrounded on three sides by colonnades (cf. figure 16). In it a hexastyle forecourt (in Greek, *pronaos*) led to a main cella with the cult statues.<sup>1007</sup> Its columns were Corinthian with Attic bases (figure 18).<sup>1008</sup> Built by Herod out of local limestone, the temple stood on an 11-meter platform, with the base of a 4.2 meter podium, columns about 17.76 meters high, and entablature 3.9 meters high. Even excluding its roof, which is entirely lost and therefore impossible to measure, the total height of the temple was well over 36 meters above sea level. This temple therefore towered over both sailors and passersby on the streets of Caesarea.<sup>1009</sup> The temple was thus both sumptuously decorated and an impressively large central landmark.

The temple was almost certainly the site of active worship in Eusebius' day. Continued use of the sanctuary manifests itself in a major renovation of its podium in Eusebius' lifetime.<sup>1010</sup> Evidence that Caesarea's citizens were still celebrating festivals to Augustus there comes in a silver cup now in the Louvre. Dated to the mid-fourth century, the cup features a painted narrative of Caesarea's founding.<sup>1011</sup> In the top register of the cup a head of Augustus watches over the founding of Caesarea along with heads of Athena, Poseidon, Tyche, and an unidentified figure (figure 17).<sup>1012</sup> Augustus' presence as a god on a cup roughly contemporaneous to Eusebius strongly suggests that some Caesareans still viewed him as a god in Eusebius' day.<sup>1013</sup> This temple celebrating the first Roman emperor likely remained the center of Caesarea's civic religion throughout Eusebius' lifetime.

Along with its great size and beauty, the rituals and location of this temple made it highly significant for residents of Caesarea. Caesarea supported a priesthood for Augustus according to a late first- or early second-century inscription, while Augustal games (*ludi Augustales*) are attested in Caesarea as of the turn of the third century.<sup>1014</sup> As in other celebrations of the imperial cult, the priests no doubt held sacrifices for Roma and Augustus and said prayers to them. The

<sup>1006</sup> καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἀντικρὺ νὰς Καίσαρος ἐπὶ γηλόφου κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διάφορος· ἐν δ' αὐτῷ κολοσσὸς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν Διός, ᾧ καὶ προσείκασται, Ῥώμης δὲ ἴσος Ἡρᾶ τῇ κατ' Ἄργος.

<sup>1007</sup> Holum 1999: 19-26 and 2004: 187-190. The number of columns is derived from temples of comparable size: see Kahn 1996: 139-141, 145. See also Turnheim and Ovadia 2002: 19-25; Netzer 2006: 103-106.

<sup>1008</sup> The columns: Kahn 1996: 138-141, Stabler et al. 2008: 19f.; the architrave: Turnheim and Ovadia 2011: cf. Kahn 1996: 140f.

<sup>1009</sup> Heights of platform, columns, and entablature: Stabler et al. 2008: 17-20; height of the podium: Holum 2004: 188. Alternative reconstructions include Kahn 1996: 141-145; Turnheim and Ovadia 2002: 23 and 2011: 57f.; Netzer 2006: 103-105.

<sup>1010</sup> For most of Eusebius' life, a lengthy staircase guided visitors up to the temple platform toward the house of Roma and Augustus (figure 16; Holum 2004: 187). Around 300, however, the temple platform was extended toward the harbor and the temple's steep staircase up to the platform was all that stood between travelers and the looming sanctuary. On the renovation, see Porath 1998: 46; Holum 1999: 13, 2004: 190f.

<sup>1011</sup> See in general Will 1983 on the Caesarea cup; his dating (1983: 2f.) follows the stylistic analysis of Bielefeld 1972: 432-434. The narrative on the cup writes Herod out of the founding of Caesarea by portraying Strato, the Tyrian king who founded the city on which Herod built Caesarea, as Caesarea's founder.

<sup>1012</sup> See Will 1983: 7 for identification of the heads.

<sup>1013</sup> Cf. Holum 2004: 190f.

<sup>1014</sup> Lifshitz 1978: 505f., based on Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 122 (=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1363).

celebrations of the imperial cult provided occasions for residents of Caesarea to feast and to hold communal games.<sup>1015</sup> The temple's location reinforced its significance for Caesarea. Simultaneously at the intersection of Caesarea's *cardo maximus* and *decumanus* and at the focus of the harbor, it embodied both centrality and liminality: it both greeted ships from other Mediterranean regions and drew the focus of residents throughout Caesarea. One visitor to Caesarea simply called it "the temple."<sup>1016</sup>

The dedicatees of these rituals and the placement of the temple reinforced the city's great debt to Roman power. Civic celebrations of Roma and Augustus obviously signaled commitment to the Roman Empire. Caesarea, however, owed a special debt to Augustus, as the city had been founded during Augustus' reign (see p. 142); the city existed due to the peace that Augustus had brought to the Mediterranean. Eusebius, for one, was well aware that Augustus' support had put Herod into power and knew from his reading of Josephus that Herod had founded Caesarea under Augustus' patronage.<sup>1017</sup> To celebrate the eponymous goddess of Rome and the founder of Roman monarchy in such a central, liminal, and impressive location expressed the city's devotion to the Roman Empire.

Caesarea hosted other sanctuaries in Eusebius' day as well. On the periphery of the city, five kilometers to the northwest in a village now called Shuni, was an open-air sanctuary dedicated to Hygeia, the Greek goddess of health. The sanctuary had its own theater and carried a reputation for healing pilgrims' maladies.<sup>1018</sup>

A third pagan sanctuary in Caesarea was dedicated to Caesarea's Tyche, a goddess that represents the conscious guardian spirit of the city. Tyche is depicted in numerous images from Caesarea across several media.<sup>1019</sup> The most famous of these images, and possibly Caesarea's cult statue, is a larger than life-sized marble statue excavated in 1971 in a Byzantine statuary street (figure 19).<sup>1020</sup> The use of the drill dates the statue to the mid-second century.<sup>1021</sup> The statue depicts a woman in heavy drapery and weaponry, but with a bare right breast, her right foot atop the prow of a ship. Her mostly lost left arm was up high and her right arm likely aiming downward, to judge by her shoulder. The cape slung over the top of her left shoulder resembles the cape of soldiers in Greek statues. She stands high, proud and erect. Other images of Tyche (figure 17), especially the image of the Caesarea cup (see above), allow us to reconstruct what she held in her hands: a head (Augustus?) in her extended right hand and a spear or a standard

<sup>1015</sup> See Price 1984: esp. chs. 3, 5, 8, and 9.

<sup>1016</sup> A second-century Egyptian papyrus (*Berlin Papyrus* 21652) describes a procurator as being "in Caesarea in the temple" (ἐν Καισαρίαι [sic] ἐν τῷ ναῶ). As Eck 2009a: 231f. has pointed out, "the temple" in Caesarea must have been the Temple of Roma and Augustus.

<sup>1017</sup> Putting Herod into power: "[Herod was] entrusted with the Jewish nation by the Roman Senate and by the emperor Augustus" (ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου Ρωμαίων Αὐγούστου τε βασιλέως τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐγχειρίζεται, *HE* 1.6.7; see also *DE* 1.6.43). Herod's founding of Caesarea: see *Chronicle Olympiad* 192x (pp. 142f. Schoene). Eusebius' knowledge of Josephus: see e.g. Mendels 2001b, Inowlocki 2006: *passim*, Hata 2007.

<sup>1018</sup> See Henderson 1992, Belayche 2001: 197f. with references.

<sup>1019</sup> The majority of scholars assume that this goddess was a Tyche, on three grounds: (1) Tyche was a widespread goddess in Palestine (e.g. Gersht 1984: 110, Belayche 2003; cf. Wenning 1986: 118-120, 124f.); (2) Eusebius describes a martyrdom as occurring at a feast of Tyche (*MP* 11.30: Belayche 2001: 181-183); and an inscription on the Caesarea cup reads GE/NI/O CO/LO/NI/A, identifying its dedicand as the guardian divinity of Caesarea (Latin *genius*=Greek *tyche*: see Will 1983: 4). Meyer 2010: 164f. has recently argued that this goddess was not a Tyche, but rather a personification of Caesarea, based on coins that depict this goddess with the legend "Caesarea." Here Meyer presumes rather than proving that the legends of these coins must name the deity depicted on them.

<sup>1020</sup> The findspot: Holum 1992a: 77. I have examined this statue myself and record my own observations.

<sup>1021</sup> Dating by use of the drill: Strong 1988: 2000.

planted in the ground in her left.<sup>1022</sup> To the Tyche's left a much smaller figure holds a harness; this figure has been identified as Sebastos, the eponymous spirit of Caesarea's harbor. The quality of the sculptural work is manifested in the intricate folds of her drapery, which exhibit vitality and vigor. The statue cost whoever commissioned it dearly, showing how significant it was to Caesarea's identity. The statue may have stood in Caesarea in Eusebius' day,<sup>1023</sup> though even if it did not Eusebius certainly knew the image, since coins and gems from Caesarea depict a very similar image.<sup>1024</sup>

We can infer that a temple was dedicated to her because coins with female warrior statues almost identical to the large statue surrounded by legends mentioning Tyche depict an image of the deity inside a tetrastyle temple.<sup>1025</sup> The site of the temple has not yet been identified. This temple was, however, the center of a civic feast in Eusebius' day. Eusebius himself refers to two martyrs killed at civic gatherings that celebrated Tyche's birthday (March 5) and on the day after (*MP* 11.30).<sup>1026</sup> Her cult was alive and strong when Eusebius lived in Caesarea.

Caesarea seems also to have contained a fourth sanctuary dedicated to the emperor Hadrian. A larger-than-life-sized togate statue, made from rare porphyry marble, was excavated in 1951. It sat 2.45 m. high even without its head (figure 20). That the statue wears a toga indicates a human and not a divine figure, and since so far as we know the only humans to be depicted in porphyry marble were emperors, the statue must portray an emperor. The style of the toga indicates a date in the first or second centuries AD, and the most likely emperor to be worshipped at Caesarea is Hadrian, who visited Palestine in AD 129/130, and whose soldiers built the longest of Caesarea's aqueducts.<sup>1027</sup> A column from the fifth or sixth century mentions the renovation of a Hadrianeum in Caesarea, confirming that such a building existed. It is most likely that this Hadrianeum was a shrine dedicated to a cult of Hadrian,<sup>1028</sup> though we know neither where this building was located nor whether worship of Hadrian continued into Eusebius' day.<sup>1029</sup>

The city also contained sacred spaces that were not temples but rather smaller shrines. A nymphaeum with a statue of Hygeia was carved into the northwest flank of the temple platform for Roma and Augustus (figures 21 and 22).<sup>1030</sup> Caesarea's hippodrome-stadium (see below) had a similar shrine where the feet of deities identified as Isis, Serapis, and the Tyche of Caesarea

<sup>1022</sup> Gersht 1984: 116; Wenning 1986: 114; Meyer 2010: 162.

<sup>1023</sup> The identification: Gersht 1984. An acute study building from Gersht's: Wenning 1986. Holum et al. 1988: 11-16; see also Seyrig 1972: 114 for the coin of Tyche.

<sup>1024</sup> See the list in Meyer 2010: 161f., with images. A base survives from Caesarea that may have featured a replica or variant of the Tyche: see Gersht 1984: 111; but cf. Wenning 1986: 115.

<sup>1025</sup> See previous note for references.

<sup>1026</sup> See esp. Patrich 2002b: 336-340=Patrich 2011: 277-281 on the topographical and political significance of this passage.

<sup>1027</sup> Avi-Yonah 1970 made this widely accepted argument; see Fischer 1996: 256 for additional discussion. See also Holum 1992b on Hadrian's impact on Caesarea.

<sup>1028</sup> Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 58, who note (p. 82) an alternate interpretation of "Hadrianeum," that this name denoted a martyrdom for Hadrian, a martyr in Caesarea under Galerius (*Eus.MP* 11.29), but this seems less likely than a shrine being dedicated to the emperor.

<sup>1029</sup> The statue remained a part of the public topography of Caesarea as late as the sixth century, when it was reinstalled in the Byzantine esplanade in the east-central part of the city: see e.g. Holum 2008: 542-551. A necessary caveat is that not all structures named after a Roman emperor were shrines: it is most likely, for example, that the "Tiberieum" dedicated by Pontius Pilate in Caesarea (Lehmann and Holum 2000: no. 43=Ameling et al. 2011: no. 1277) was a lighthouse (Alföldy 1999, 2002) or another kind of building not dedicated to ruler-cult (cf. e.g. Labbé 1991, who posits a library) and not a temple dedicated to Tiberius (*pace* e.g. Taylor 2006: 567-570).

<sup>1030</sup> See Porath 1998: 45-47; Gersht 2008: 532f.

have been found (figure 23; it is labeled “sacellum” in figure 24).<sup>1031</sup> And statues depicting deities have turned up in droves in Caesarea, though they did not always adorn a god’s sanctuary.<sup>1032</sup>

Thus, the city of Caesarea and its environs contained at least three, and almost certainly four, pagan sanctuaries, as well as additional shrines and numerous representations of the pagan gods.<sup>1033</sup> These idols no doubt provoked a pious Christian such as Eusebius. While, as we have seen, Eusebius did not object to statuary depiction of living beings, his neighbors’ worship at “the houses of the idols” (*tous tōn eidōlōn oikous*, *MP* 4.8) provoked his contempt, as he called idols and idolatry “dead,” “impious,” “perverse,” “superstitious,” and a “deception” regularly.<sup>1034</sup> In this stance toward cult images he adopted a common Christian (and Jewish) topos, as Jewish and Christian authors had long inveighed against the worship of manmade images.

The cult images of Caesarea were not, however, simply dead to Eusebius: he also insinuated repeatedly that iconic religion evoked demons and not gods.<sup>1035</sup> While again this was a longstanding Christian apologetic topos, the city of Caesarea offered Eusebius numerous loci to provoke him to evoke the topos. As we saw in chapter 3 (pp. 116f.), Eusebius argued that these demons instigated the Diocletianic persecutions of Christians.

While Eusebius’ experience of watching idol-worship throughout his lifetime no doubt intensified his monotheistic convictions, we need not appeal to the particular religious topography of Caesarea to explain this: temples and cult statues were fixtures in the topography of Roman cities. What was exceptional about Caesarea, however, was the identity of the divinities worshipped in the city’s most prominent temple. As we have seen, the temple of Roma and Augustus dominated the city’s topography.<sup>1036</sup> The centrality in Caesarea’s topography of Rome’s eponymous deity and the Roman monarchy’s founder, I suggest, impacted Eusebius’ stance toward the Roman Empire.

<sup>1031</sup> Gersht 2008: 513-523. Patrich 2002a: 64f.=2011b: 200, 281 has recently argued that this shrine was turned into a martyrs’ chapel after the Diocletianic persecutions, citing an analogous martyrium in an amphitheater in Saloniae. If Patrich is correct that this happened “at the beginning of the Byzantine period” (2011b: 2000), then it is possible that Eusebius was the bishop who presided over the creation of this Christian space in Caesarea, claiming space for Christianity within Caesarea’s topography (cf. p. 164 below).

<sup>1032</sup> See in general Gersht 1996a, 2008. Among Caesarea’s statues are three statues of Aphrodite Pudica, two representations of the healing god Asclepius, and a replica of Artemis of Ephesus (from Herod’s theater): Fischer 1998: 141-144; Gersht 1999: 113-115.

<sup>1033</sup> Caesarea also had a famous Mithraeum in one of the vaults underneath the procurator’s palace. The use of the Mithraeum is usually dated to the second to the mid-third centuries: see Blakely et al. 1987: esp. 27-35, 61-107, 149-152; cf. Turnheim and Ovadia 2011: 59f., who date the Mithraeum to the third and fourth centuries, but oddly do not cite Blakely’s report anywhere.

<sup>1034</sup> E.g. *HE* 1.2.22, 2.3.2, 5.11.3f., 8.14.4, 9.8, 9.10.14, 10.4.14-16, *MP* 4.8, *PE* 1.3.15, 1.4.6, 1.5.1, 2.1.22, 2.5.3, 4.16.18-20, 13.3.30, 13.14.3, 13.13.55, 14.26.10-12, *DE* 1.2.8; 1.6. *passim*; 2.3.38; 2.3.72, 130; 3.2.6-9, 3.6.31, 4.9.11, 4.17.14, 5.4.17, 5.30.2; 6.13.8, 18; 6.16.3f., 6.20 *passim*, 7.1 *passim*, 8.pr.3, 8.2.10, 9.1.10, 9.2.5, 9.3.1, 9.14.6, 9.16.7; *VC* 3.54; on the place of pagan worship in Eusebius’ thought, see esp. Sirinelli 1961: ch. 5, Schott 2008a: 140-142.

<sup>1035</sup> *HE* 8.14.8, 9.8.2; cf. 7.17 (discussed below, p. 173 n. 1121); *MP* 4.8, *PE* 1.5.1, 4.16.20, 4.23.8, 5.17.4, 13.14.3, *DE* 2.3.38, 3.2.9, 4.9.10-12, 5.4.16f.; 6.13.9f., 18; 6.16.4; 6.20.5, 16-18; 7.1.103, 8.pr.3, 9.1.5-7, 9.2.5, 9.14.6f.

<sup>1036</sup> Caesarea’s topography exhibited a theological subordinationism of the other cults to that of Roma and Augustus, a ranking analogous to Eusebius’ own theological subordination of God the Son to God the father (cf. esp. Strutwolf 1999). And since one of the two highest divinities in Caesarea was a human being, while the other personified the Roman Empire, the topography placed the Empire and its founder at a higher rank than any of Caesarea’s full-fledged divinities. This monumental hierarchy surely validated Eusebius’ combination of respect for the Roman Empire with disdain for the gods that underpinned the Empire’s ideology.

Eusebius emphasized the synchronism between Augustus' rule and Jesus' birth repeatedly in his works.<sup>1037</sup> His most famous notice of the synchronism comes in the opening chapters of his *Gospel Preparation*:

All the Romans' polyarchy was stripped away as Augustus became monarch at the time of the appearance of our savior. And from that point and until now you could not have seen, as before, cities waging war against cities nor people battling it out against people life worn way in the old political confusion.<sup>1038</sup>

Here Eusebius links a cessation of violence with Augustus' sovereignty over Rome. He went out of his way to repeat and elaborate upon this synchronism in the *Ecclesiastical History* and his *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration*.<sup>1039</sup> To be sure, Eusebius was not the first Christian author to note the Augustus-Christ synchronism: the Gospel of Luke had dated Christ's birth to Augustus (2.1), and Melito of Sardis (in the later second century) and Origen (mid-third century) had proffered the synchronism as proof of a symbiosis between Christianity and the Roman Empire.<sup>1040</sup> But no previous Christian noted the synchronism as often as Eusebius. Augustus' elevated place in the topography of Eusebius' home city may well have led Eusebius to emphasize Augustus as frequently as he did. Although Eusebius never spoke of Augustus as a divine being, his frequent complimentary mentions of Augustus certainly echo the honored position that Augustus held in the topography of Caesarea.

The temples of Caesarea may lie behind another interest of Eusebius, his interest in church buildings. In the *History's* account of the Diocletianic persecutions Eusebius followed the fate of church buildings quite closely. He recalls with obvious pride the church's dissatisfaction with older, more modest church buildings, "by reason of which they...would erect from the foundations churches of spacious dimensions throughout all the cities" (*HE* 8.1.5). When he first introduces the great persecutor Diocletian, Eusebius notes not that many Christians were killed under Diocletian, but the widespread destruction of church buildings (7.30.22). Eusebius' lament for the persecution repeatedly recalls the razing of churches along with the burning of scriptures, products of his life's work as a biblical scholar (8.2.1, 8.2.4).<sup>1041</sup> And as we saw in the previous chapter, the culmination of Eusebius' narrative of Christian triumph is an oration that celebrates the construction of a church building (*HE* 10.4; see chapter 3, pp. 135-138). The place of pagan temples at many locations in Caesarea's topography must have inspired an expectation in Eusebius that Christian churches deserved the same representation in Roman cities: if vain idols and demonic beings could be worshipped in Roman cities, so too should the Christian God.

<sup>1037</sup> See e.g. Peterson 1935: 71-82, Sirinelli 1961: ch. 11, Kofsky 2000: 215-219.

<sup>1038</sup> πᾶσα μὲν αὐτίκα περιηρέϊτο πολυαρχία Ῥωμαίων, Αὐγούστου κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείᾳ μοναρχήσαντος. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις, ὡς τὸ πρῖν, πόλεις πόλεσι πολεμούσας οὐδ' ἔθνος ἔθνει διαμαχόμενον οὐδέ γε τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συγχύσει κατατριβόμενον.

<sup>1039</sup> Other episodes of synchronism between Augustus, the beginning of Roman peace, and the beginning of Christianity include *HE* 1.5.2, 1.6 (see DeVore forthcoming a), 4.26.7f.; *PE* 1.4.3-5; *DE* 3.2.31, 37; 7.2.22; 8.1.16, 43; 8.2.17, 80, 86, 88; 8.4.10f., cf. *DE* 6.20.20, 8.4.13. Johnson 2006a: 174-185 minimizes the importance of the synchronism; on his argument, see chapter 6, pp. 231-235 below.

<sup>1040</sup> See esp. Sirinelli 1961: 388-390. Melito of Sardis, as quoted in Eus.*HE* 4.26.7f.; Origen, *Against Celsus* 2.30. However, we only know about Melito's use of the topos because Eusebius goes out of his way to quote him in *HE* 4.26, and Origen was also living in Caesarea when he wrote the *Against Celsus*.

<sup>1041</sup> And Eusebius communicates that Diocletian's subordinate emperor Constantius abstained from persecutions by claiming that Constantius did not destroy churches (*HE* 8.13.13), an assertion that contradicts the better-informed Lactantius' narrative (*DMP* 15).

Caesarea thus provided numerous loci of civic religion, from statues and shrines to a very magnificent temple. While like most of his Christian predecessors Eusebius spurned traditional civic cults as empty or demonic, Caesarea's most important temple was a monument to Rome's patronage of Caesarea's foundation as both the city's center and its gateway into the Mediterranean. Thus, Eusebius repeatedly adduced his city's central divinity to express his loyalty to Rome. Moreover, Eusebius' emphasis on church buildings reflects a desire to claim space for the church alongside the other sanctuaries in the Roman city. And as we will see, the amenities that Caesarea provided gave him good reason to be grateful to the Empire that allowed him to live in Caesarea.

#### 4. Enjoyment and Recreation in Caesarea: Why Eusebius Could Appreciate Empire

Caesarea surrounded Eusebius with an environment that gave him an enjoyable life. The city's position as the central city with a surrounding hinterland allowed it to extract many local goods from nearby, while its harbor and roads (see next section) attracted numerous traded goods from distant regions. In addition, imperial investment established numerous places in the city for recreation and relaxation. And it was unmistakable that Rome was the source of these material enjoyments and comforts. Living in Caesarea, therefore, Eusebius had every reason to appreciate the life that the Roman Empire created.

Most residents of Roman cities did not have an easy life. As Alex Scobie showed in a classic article, Roman cities were often unsanitary and rife with disease despite such infrastructure as sewage drains and aqueducts, and they usually provided flimsy, overcrowded housing for their residents.<sup>1042</sup> Avoidance of the poor living conditions endured by most city-dwellers required wealth. Eusebius, as it happened, was among the wealthier citizens of Caesarea. Not only does his education imply wealth,<sup>1043</sup> but his collection of books confirms it. In his meticulous recent study of Eusebius' book collection Andrew Carriker estimated that Eusebius possessed about 400 texts of varying length.<sup>1044</sup> Books were a luxury object in the ancient world. As I show in chapter 6, for example, a copy of the *Ecclesiastical History* even with low-quality production cost one to two months wages for the average agricultural laborer;<sup>1045</sup> and Eusebius owned longer, more costly books than this. To borrow a term from recent American political discourse, Eusebius was among the top one percent of the Roman Empire.<sup>1046</sup>

Caesarea provided Eusebius with numerous material amenities that probably strengthened his appreciation for Rome. This should not be taken for granted, since the later third century in which Eusebius grew up was not a time of prosperity in the Empire. Due to political unrest and constant war,<sup>1047</sup> long-distance trade within the Empire seems to have slowed, and civic elites

<sup>1042</sup> Scobie 1986.

<sup>1043</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 31 above, though household slaves could also attain a high education: see Mohler 1940.

<sup>1044</sup> Carriker 2003: 299. Of course, Eusebius inherited the library from Pamphilus in 310 (see Introduction, pp. 6f. above). Before 313 the books must have been under private title because the church was not a legal institution and could therefore not own property before the so-called Edict of Milan (see Cooper 2011: 333f.). Eusebius must have owned most of these books before 313 since Pamphilus cites many of them in his *Apology for Origen* and Eusebius cites many himself in his *Chronicle*.

<sup>1045</sup> See chapter 6, p. 212f. below. See also Johnson 2010: 17-22.

<sup>1046</sup> Most wealthy citizens in the Roman Empire were required to serve on their city's curia, unless they could wrangle an exemption from civic duties out of the emperor: see esp. Millar 1983. Did Eusebius (or his master Pamphilus) have an obligation to serve on Caesarea's curia (see above, pp. 150f.)?

<sup>1047</sup> Emperors had to fight an array of enemies, including Germanic tribes along the Empire's western frontier in the Rhine and Danube valleys, seaborne invaders along the Black Sea, and especially the aggressive empire of

reduced their investment in their cities.<sup>1048</sup> The so-called third-century crisis, however, hurt some provinces more than others.<sup>1049</sup> Doron Bar has argued recently that Palestine was relatively prosperous in the third century. Survey archaeology has revealed much new settlement, agriculture, and building in the third century. Cities such as Scythopolis and Paneas expanded. And rabbinic texts recall the third century as peaceful and prosperous.<sup>1050</sup> The region in which Eusebius grew up thus offered stability and prosperity in a period that was turbulent elsewhere.

Objects found in Caesarea reflect a strong economy in the late third and early fourth centuries, which made local elites such as Eusebius prosperous. To be sure, most of artifacts found in Caesarea were manufactured in Palestine or surrounding regions. Syro-Palestinian amphorae dated to the third and fourth centuries, as well as disk lamps and glass bowls similar to those from around in Palestine, have been found in abundance in the procurator's palace.<sup>1051</sup> The majority of coins dating between Claudius Gothicus and Constantine's reign with Licinius were struck in the closest Roman mint, Antioch.<sup>1052</sup> Most produce, meat, fish, and wine kept in Caesarea's storerooms and sold in Caesarean markets came from local farms.<sup>1053</sup> And Caesarea consumed local pottery, lamps, glass, textiles and dye, jewelry, metal, stones, bones, ivory, and cosmetics.<sup>1054</sup>

This concentration of local manufacture was normal in the ancient world, where long-distance travel was expensive and risky.<sup>1055</sup> Still, residents of Caesarea enjoyed many imported goods. Excavations in the procurator's palace (see pp. 152f.) have yielded African red-slip table ware and amphorae from Mauretania.<sup>1056</sup> Other amphorae dating to the later third century seem to have originated from the Aegean Sea.<sup>1057</sup> These amphorae brought olive oil, wine, and perhaps the prized fish sauce known as *garum* to the tables of Caesarea.<sup>1058</sup> Caesareans were also importing lamps from Africa, Corinth, and Cyprus.<sup>1059</sup> Along with the pottery, Caesareans imported marble objects.<sup>1060</sup> Sarcophagi came from both Rome and Attica during the third and early fourth centuries, including the philosopher sarcophagus discussed above.<sup>1061</sup> Other marble objects include a medallion with a Mithraic symbol from the Danube and a short full-figure

Sassanian Persia that lay to the East of the Euphrates River. Internal revolts by generals increased the threats against emperors significantly. Emperors were all but constantly at war after 235 (see the narratives of Potter 2004: chs. 6-7 and Drinkwater 2005). To pay their troops emperors had to devalue the metal in their coins; by the 270s inflation seems to have been crippling to the economy of much of the Empire (see Howgego 1995: 135-140).

<sup>1048</sup> Long-distance trade: see Nappo 2007 (a reference that I owe to Jason Klazmer); a decline in euergetism: cf. Corbier 2005: 413f.

<sup>1049</sup> See Witschel 1999, Duncan-Jones 2004.

<sup>1050</sup> Bar 2002. Levine 1975: 48f. notes rabbinic evidence for a Palmyrene siege of Caesarea in the 260s.

<sup>1051</sup> Amphorae: B. Johnson 2008: 35-39, 83-98; lamps: Blakely 1988: 35-39, Sussman 2008: 223-239, Patrich 2011b: 124; glass bowls: Israeli 2008: 376f., see also Patrich 2011b: 125.

<sup>1052</sup> Evans 2006: 129-135.

<sup>1053</sup> Fradkin and Lernau 2008, Ramsay 2010, Patrich 2011b: 118f., 133-136. On farming in Caesarea's hinterland, cf. Hirschfeld and Birger-Calderon 1991 and Gendelmann 2011, though neither of these articles cites finds dated precisely to Eusebius' time.

<sup>1054</sup> Patrich 2011b: 125-132; on bones and ivory, see also Ayalon 2005.

<sup>1055</sup> See chapter 5, pp. 180f. below.

<sup>1056</sup> Johnson 2008: 59, 98-105; see also Avner and Gendelmann 2007, Patrich 2011b: 122f.

<sup>1057</sup> Blakely 1987: 87-91, esp. 88f. on Peacock and Williams Class 47.

<sup>1058</sup> Cf. Patrich 2011b: 122.

<sup>1059</sup> Hartelius 1987: 98f.; Sussman 2008: 227-229, 233f.; Patrich 2011b: 124.

<sup>1060</sup> Since there is no source of local marble in Palestine, all marble in the region was imported (Fischer 1998: 29).

<sup>1061</sup> Fischer 1998: 207-209. Without any discussion of dating, but with a discussion of the sarcophagus industry in Caesarea, see Gersht and Pearl 1992.

funerary relief stele that resembles contemporary Danubian grave markers.<sup>1062</sup> These third- and early fourth-century objects demonstrate that residents of Caesarea were prosperous enough to participate in Empire-wide fashions in Eusebius' day.<sup>1063</sup>

Thus, Caesarea offered all of the material objects that a wealthy elite like Eusebius could want. Eusebius is likely to have appreciated these amenities, the already-strong Christian impulse toward material denial notwithstanding. As James Corke-Webster has shown, Eusebius eschews stark material self-denial in favor of a more moderate asceticism that emphasized self-control.<sup>1064</sup> Although Eusebius' writings say little about his own manner of life, the character of the asceticism that he prescribed allowed him to enjoy the goods delivered by Caesarea.

Caesarea also contained numerous sites for its citizens' enjoyment. As the capital of the province of Palestine, Caesarea needed the grand public buildings in which a Roman governor and (until the early fourth century) a Roman procurator could host spectacles for the city's residents.<sup>1065</sup> The topography of every Roman city featured theaters and arenas for entertainment, baths for exercise and relaxation, and marketplaces for commerce, as well as temples for worship and celebration (previous section). Although we have not found examples of all of these buildings in Caesarea, the city certainly offered everything needed for a civilized Roman life.

Caesarea had no fewer than five buildings designed to host events for public entertainment.<sup>1066</sup> The first was the "hippodrome-stadium," an exceptional architectural combination of a hippodrome and stadium (figure 24; it is called the "amphitheater/hippodrome" on figure 2).<sup>1067</sup> It stood along the south shore of Caesarea. While its original length was 265 meters, in either the second or third centuries the structure was shortened to around 136 meters, and thus changed into a stadium. It hosted gladiatorial games, hunting spectacles, athletic events, and short horse races. Caesareans gathered there to enjoy spectacles of all kinds.<sup>1068</sup>

Southwest of the hippodrome-stadium was a second entertainment building, a typically Roman semicircular theater built by Herod (figure 11). The theater had 13 entrances, accommodated between 3500 and 4000 spectators, and featured intricate passageways to channel crowds. The cavea was renovated and the scaenae frons replaced in the second century AD, and a floor was renovated in the fourth century, evincing continued use into Eusebius' day.<sup>1069</sup> Whereas the hippodrome-stadium hosted athletic events, this theater hosted dramatic performances, orations, recitals of poetry, and music, providing a space for the high culture that Roman elites prized.

<sup>1062</sup> The stele: Fischer 1998: 148f.; the medallion: Bull 1974: esp. 189f.

<sup>1063</sup> In addition to the pottery and marble objects, coins uncovered in Caesarea suggest long-distance exchange (Evans 2006: 19f., 130-135). Under Diocletian coins from Antioch, Tripolis, Cyzicus, Alexandria, Heracleia, and even a coin representing Carausius, the imperial usurper who controlled Britain from 286 to 293, were found in Caesarea; a coin of Maxentius from Aquileia and coins of Daia from Thessalonica, Siscia, and Heracleia reached Caesarea. During the 310s coins featuring Constantius and Licinius from Tome, Ticinum, Arles, Aquileia, and Thessalonica reached Caesarea. Since, as Evans notes (41f.), most cities in Palestine have only yielded coins from Tripolis and Cyzicus, Caesarea's reception of coins was exceptional.

<sup>1064</sup> Corke-Webster 2013: ch. 2; cf. chapter 3, pp. 118-128 above.

<sup>1065</sup> On the governor's hosting of spectacles, see p. 151 above.

<sup>1066</sup> The outlying community of Shuni had a sixth theater dedicated to Apollo: see p. 161 above.

<sup>1067</sup> On the hippodrome-stadium, see esp. Porath 1995; Humphrey 1996; Patrich 2001, 2002 (=Patrich 2011b: ch. 7).

<sup>1068</sup> On the uses of the stadium, see Patrich 2002a: 41-61 (=Patrich 2011b: 182-197). On the shortening (also attested at a number of other East Roman stadia): Patrich 2002a: 61-63 (=Patrich 2011b: 197-199); it was a typical topographical change in the Roman Near East in the third and fourth centuries.

<sup>1069</sup> Report: Frova et al. 1965: 57-244; see also Holum et al. 1988: 82-85; Netzer 2006: 112-115, Patrich 2011a: 18f., 2011b: 106f.; cf. McGuckin 1992: 7.



A third entertainment structure was a large odeum (bottom of figure 2).<sup>1070</sup> According to the sixth-century chronographer Johannes Malalas (*Chronographia* 10.46), Vespasian built the odeum on the site of a Jewish synagogue. The site of the odeum has recently been identified as part of a later fortification wall to the southwest of Herod's theater.<sup>1071</sup> Like Herod's smaller theater, it hosted musical and poetic performances.

The fourth entertainment structure was a hippodrome built in the southeast in the second (or third) century AD (site in figure 25; bottom right of figure 2). This building took up the most space of all buildings at Caesarea, measuring 450 by 90 meters. It had an obelisk in its center and intricate systems of seating, starting gates, and turning posts for horses.<sup>1072</sup> As late antique renovations show that it was in use through the fifth century, this building provided the setting for Caesarea's horse races after Herod's hippodrome-stadium was shortened.

The fifth entertainment structure was an amphitheater in the city's northwest (figure 26; top right of figure 2), which was thoroughly robbed out by the modern period.<sup>1073</sup> It was built around the third century.<sup>1074</sup> As with Caesarea's odeum, little is known of this structure beyond its existence, though its stones were not completely robbed out after antiquity; a team under the Israel Antiquities Authority is currently excavating the remains.<sup>1075</sup>

Caesarea's entertainment structures provided venues for different kinds of spectacles that delivered enjoyment to the city's citizens. Each complex could contain thousands of people, of all classes, who came together to celebrate their shared identity as Romans living in Caesarea.<sup>1076</sup> Eusebius almost certainly attended performances in Caesarea's theaters.<sup>1077</sup> He speaks positively of nonviolent theatrical performances such as oratorical performances and horse-racing, although he disparages violent gladiatorial games and criminals being thrown to the animals.<sup>1078</sup> Eusebius' disapproval of theatrical violence was, however, an acceptable position for Roman elites: numerous elite voices also deplored the senseless bloodshed perpetrated in Roman amphitheaters and stadia.<sup>1079</sup> Nonetheless, Eusebius claims to have been present in the hippodrome-stadium to view Christian martyrdoms.<sup>1080</sup> Thus, the entertainment complexes of Caesarea seem on balance to have enriched Eusebius' life and reinforced his positive view of Roman civic life.

<sup>1070</sup> See the bottom of figure 2.

<sup>1071</sup> See Patrich 2011b: 44, 94, Gersht 2008: 530-532, Holum 2009: 190; the original excavation report is Peleg and Reich 1992.

<sup>1072</sup> Humphrey 1974, 1975; see also Holum et al. 1988: 129-131, Patrich 2011a: 20f., 2011b: 43f. It was thoroughly quarried for stones by the sixth century (Humphrey 1975: 6-7).

<sup>1073</sup> It measures 60 m. by 95 m. On the northeast amphitheater, see Reifenberg 1950-51: 24-26; Holum et al. 1988: 87f.; Raban and Holum 1996: xxiv.

<sup>1074</sup> Holum 2009: 198 estimates its date as the third or early fourth century; Patrich 2011a: 20 suggests the second or third.

<sup>1075</sup> The excavations, under Peter Gendelmann's direction, have to my knowledge not yet been published.

<sup>1076</sup> However, not all citizens of Caesarea were equal in the theater. Some surviving Roman laws regulated that seating was determined by status: the presiding official sat front and center with any senators around him, while civic elites held the seats in the rows above them, and citizens of the city held the seats above them, with non-citizens filling the seats the furthest away from the spectacles. See Futrell 1997: 164f., Rose 2005: 100f.

<sup>1077</sup> Christians and Jews were not excluded from attending events: cf. Weiss 1996.

<sup>1078</sup> Positive words about the theater and spectacles: *Theophany* 2.61, *LC* 1.5, 6.6, *VC* 2.61.5; *Psalms Commentary* (PG 23.153, 24.37); cf. *PE* 14.2.4, *Theophany* 2.17, *Psalms Commentary* (PG 23.524); disapproval of gladiatorial events: *MP* 6.1 (long recension; reference in McGuckin 1992: 7), *VC* 4.25.1, on which see Potter 2010.

<sup>1079</sup> See e.g. Rohmann 2009.

<sup>1080</sup> The hippodrome-stadium was the site of at least one martyrdom that Eusebius witnessed (*MP* 6.3-7): Patrich 2002b: 341-346=Patrich 2011b: 277-281.

Caesarea also offered baths and an agora (a public marketplace). These were essential venues for Romans to relax and to buy and sell goods, respectively. Unfortunately, neither Caesarea's public baths nor its agora has been found. We know that public baths existed because Malalas mentions the emperor Antoninus Pius' underwriting a public bathhouse in Caesarea (*Chronographia* 11.25).<sup>1081</sup> Eusebius himself notes baths as sites that Christians frequent.<sup>1082</sup>

We do know that an effective system for supplying Caesarea's baths was in place: the city had two aqueducts that brought water into the city from miles away to the north (figures 27 and 28). One, the so-called high-level aqueduct, had been built by Hadrian's troops.<sup>1083</sup> A second, low-level aqueduct was built in the third century, also from the north.<sup>1084</sup> Caesarea had other aqueducts as well.<sup>1085</sup> The fresh water that the aqueducts transported into the city supplied water for baths and latrines as well as other amenities in the city.<sup>1086</sup>

As for Caesarea's still-unlocated agora, Josephus notes that Herod built a worthy agora for the city (*BJ* 1.415),<sup>1087</sup> and Eusebius himself mentions several agoras in the city as the sites through which a martyr named Ennathas was dragged before her death (*MP* 9.7; cf. 9.11).<sup>1088</sup> Like the citizens of other eastern Roman cities, Caesareans bought and sold their food and other necessities in the central agora, and also socialized and kept up with the city's business. Eusebius assumes that Christians will be active in their cities' agoras.<sup>1089</sup>

Caesarea brought in numerous traded goods from both local and distant sources throughout Eusebius' life. The city featured numerous sites that facilitated pleasure, relaxation, and prosperity. The city thus offered Eusebius much reason to appreciate the lifestyle made possible by the Roman Empire.

Indeed, Roman agency lay behind all of Caesarea's enjoyments. Roman military power kept pirates off the seas so that traders could enter the harbor, and deterred bandits from preying on travelers on the inland roads.<sup>1090</sup> The governor oversaw expenditures on building projects,<sup>1091</sup> took the seat of honor at Caesarea's theaters, and convoked all spectacles.<sup>1092</sup> Emperors had funded the building of Caesarea's aqueducts and baths, and, as Eusebius knew from Josephus' accounts of the foundation of Caesarea, Augustus' patronage had enabled Herod to build the first two entertainment complexes in Caesarea.<sup>1093</sup> Finally, the built environment of the city emphasized Rome's patronage of Caesarea's recreation. The hippodrome-stadium lay right next to the Roman governor's palace, and the theater lay within 100 meters of his palace. As several

<sup>1081</sup> Patrich 2011a: 23, 2011b: 44. The Babylonian Talmud also records one of Caesarea's rabbis as visiting a bath: see Holm 2009: 191.

<sup>1082</sup> *HE* 3.28.6, 4.14.6, 5.1.5; cf. *MP* 9.2; *Onomasticon* 58, *VC* 4.61.1.

<sup>1083</sup> Hadrian's troops as builders: see Lehmann and Holm, nos. 45-54 (=Ameling et al. 2011: nos. 1200-1209), di Segni 2002: 47-55; on the aqueducts in general, see Porath 2002, Patrich 2011a: 22f.

<sup>1084</sup> See Peleg 2002.

<sup>1085</sup> Porath 2002: 119-125; Oren 2010.

<sup>1086</sup> Public latrines have been found at the procurator's palace (Patrich 2011b: 214). Note, however, that the low-level aqueduct did not deliver drinkable water to the residents of Caesarea, and so it must have been used for baths, latrines, or some other amenity: Porath 2006: 256.

<sup>1087</sup> Cited e.g. in Burrell 2009: 227.

<sup>1088</sup> One market complex has been found in Caesarea, to the southwest of the temple of Roma and Augustus: see Raban and Yankelevitz 2008: 115-119.

<sup>1089</sup> *HE* 5.1.5, 9.1.11, *VC* 1.43; cf. *HE* 5.20.5, *Psalms Commentary* (PG 23.576, 1241).

<sup>1090</sup> See further chapter 5, pp. 180 below.

<sup>1091</sup> Furtrell 1997: 131, 148.

<sup>1092</sup> Slootjes 2006: 146f.

<sup>1093</sup> *BJ* 1.408-416=*AJ* 15.292-298.

scholars have noted, the triangle created between the palace where the Roman governor lived and the two centers of spectacles must have stayed in the back of citizens' minds (figure 10; cf. figure 2): Roman oversight and public recreation went hand in hand.<sup>1094</sup> Roman governance underscored the “civilized” quality of life in Caesarea.

In sum, Caesarea was to all appearances an enjoyable place to live. It attracted numerous traded goods and offered entertainment complexes, baths, and marketplaces that facilitated a civilized life. Eusebius enjoyed these imported objects and building facilities, with the exception of the spectacles rejected by many other imperial elites. Eusebius thus had good reason to be grateful to live under the rule of the Roman Empire. And thanks to Roman governance Caesarea was not the only city that Eusebius had the opportunity to visit.

### 5. Caesarea Connected: the Infrastructure of Mobility

The Roman Empire was famous for ensuring passage so that travelers could journey where they pleased.<sup>1095</sup> Caesarea was a particularly well-connected city. As the largest coastal settlement between the two largest cities of the eastern Roman Empire, Antioch and Alexandria, Caesarea served as a major gateway between the Mediterranean and the Roman Near East. And it had infrastructure that encouraged residents to travel.<sup>1096</sup>

Caesarea had two harbors in Eusebius' day. The larger harbor, built by Herod the Great between 22 and 9 BC, was not what it once had been (figure 29, cf. figure 2). Originally the harbor had featured two extended quays along which ships could dock. While the beating of Mediterranean waves had worn away the extended quays,<sup>1097</sup> there is evidence that the city maintained the space for docking on the shore through the third century, so that ships could still drop anchor at the harbor.<sup>1098</sup> In addition to Herod's harbor, Caesarea had a second, humbler harbor to the south; this local landing required less maintenance and certainly continued in use to Eusebius' day.<sup>1099</sup> Through these harbors ships came and went through Caesarea regularly. The harbors thus gave residents the facilities to travel to other major cities in the Mediterranean. They also attracted goods and people in from other cities in the Mediterranean, as I showed earlier (pp. 166f.).

<sup>1094</sup> Gleason 1996: 209-213, Porath 1996: 114f., and Richardson 2002: 108-110 emphasize this proximity.

<sup>1095</sup> So Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 100f. (trans. Oliver): “Now indeed it is possible for Hellene or non-Hellene, with or without his property, to travel wherever he will, easily, just as if passing from fatherland to fatherland. Neither Cilician Gates nor narrow sandy approaches to Egypt through Arab country, nor inaccessible mountains, nor immense stretches of river, nor inhospitable tribes of barbarians cause terror, but for security it suffices to be a Roman citizen, or rather to be one of those united under your hegemony....You have measured and recorded the land of the entire civilized world; you have spanned the rivers with all kinds of bridges and hewn highways through the mountains and filled the barren stretches with posting stations....”

<sup>1096</sup> Provided these residents were fit and wealthy enough to afford to travel safely: see chapter 5, pp. 180f. below.

<sup>1097</sup> Herod's engineers had built two ingeniously designed quays to serve as breakwaters to protect incoming ships from damaging waves, and thus encourage trade by sea (Raban 2009: ch. 5). However, the quays seem to have begun to collapse by the end of the first century AD: see Reinhardt and Raban 2008: 172-174, Raban 2009: 187-206. Dey and Goodman-Tchernov 2010 argue that a tsunami of AD 115 (recorded in Dio, *Roman History* 68.24f. and in two passages of the Talmuds), did much of the damage to the quays.

<sup>1098</sup> A number of small finds along the shore show continuing use of the harbor: see esp. Vann 1995, Oleson 1996, with Reinhardt and Patterson 1999, Yule and Barnham 1999; cf. Reinhardt and Raban 2008: 172. See also Ringel 1988: 70f. for coins minted at Caesarea also suggest continuing use of the harbor.

<sup>1099</sup> Raban 1992: 120-123.

Caesarea also offered excellent facilities for residents to travel by land. Israel Roll has shown that by Eusebius' day five Roman roads emanated from Caesarea (figure 30).<sup>1100</sup> A coastal highway, stone-paved and well-attested with milestones, connected Caesarea with the northern cities. By journeying along the coast travelers could reach Tyre, Beirut, and eventually the major city of Antioch, while an inland route from this road led to the important cities of Paneas, Damascus, and Palmyra. If travelers took the road directly south of the city, they could visit Ashkelon and Gaza. Three southwest roads, all attested by milestones, led travelers to the local cities of Ginae, Sebaste and Flavia Neapolis, and Antipatris; from there, they had a choice of several southwestward highway routes to Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem).<sup>1101</sup> Northwest routes connected Caesarea to Gaza and to Maximianopolis and to the Galilean city of Sepphoris.<sup>1102</sup> This network of roads enabled Eusebius and other residents of Caesarea to travel to important inland locations.

Eusebius knew Caesarea's land and sea connections well. He escaped Diocletian's persecution by fleeing Caesarea for Egypt, a journey that he most likely made by ship;<sup>1103</sup> it seems likely that he passed through Caesarea's harbor. Eusebius also exploited the roads around Caesarea. He traveled north to Tyre and Paneas, and south to Aelia.<sup>1104</sup> Between his escape to Egypt and his travels within the southern Levant he certainly took advantage of the connectivity of the Roman Empire.<sup>1105</sup>

Both Caesarea's harbor and its roads featured numerous reminders that the Roman Empire was facilitating travelers' mobility. As noted above, the Temple of Roma and Augustus loomed over the harbor as a gateway between land and sea. When boats entered Caesarea's harbor, the temple grew more and more towering (figure 16). The two personalities worshipped there—the eponymous goddess of the city of Rome and the first Roman emperor—left no mistake as to what authority was facilitating the travel of everyone who weighed in at Caesarea. Caesarea's sea travel was the product of Roman power.

The roads around Caesarea likewise featured monuments to Roman power.<sup>1106</sup> Nine milestones have been found at distances between two and seven miles from the center of Roman Caesarea.<sup>1107</sup> All were inscribed in Latin, which reinforced the message of Roman control.<sup>1108</sup> These monuments represented Rome's long-term investment in a connected Empire. And the

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<sup>1100</sup> Roll 1996 is a highly respected survey. Except for the road south to Joppa (the only evidence for which is some Byzantine pavement), all seven roads are attested by at least one of three types of evidence: milestones (which date to the first and second centuries), Roman pavement, or a Roman itinerary.

<sup>1101</sup> The Jaffa-Jerusalem highway: Fischer, Isaac, and Roll 1996.

<sup>1102</sup> On Maximianopolis, see Barnes 2008: 64.

<sup>1103</sup> For the evidence of Eusebius' flight, see Barnes 1981: 149f. with 355n.

<sup>1104</sup> Tyre: *HE* 8.7.4; Paneas: *HE* 7.18.3 (cf. *Commentary on Luke* (PG 24.541)); Aelia: *HE* 6.20.1 (cf. 7.19); Eusebius may also have visited Antioch: see *HE* 7.32.4.

<sup>1105</sup> Eusebius also presumes easy travel in his *Onomasticon*, a glossary of place-names mentioned in the Bible. In it, Eusebius makes "more than 30 references to 20 roads in Palaestina, Arabia, and Syria" by Isaac's count (1998: 293). Although Eusebius used textual sources when composing his *Onomasticon* (Isaac 1998: 302), his casual mention of roads there shows how natural the roads that Rome had brought were in the worldview reflected in Eusebius' textual production (for more on the *Onomasticon*, see Groh 1983 and Jacobs 2004: 34-36). I omit Eusebius' later travels e.g. to the council of Nicaea in 325 because these happened after he wrote the *History*.

<sup>1106</sup> Cf. Roll 2005: 108, who notes that most Roman roads in Palestine actually predate Rome; Roman administrators coordinated earlier roads into a system. Of course, the milestones that signified Roman intervention did not say this.

<sup>1107</sup> Lehmann and Holum 2000: nos. 99-108. I write "nine or ten" because nos. 101 and 102 (the latter only attested in an early antiquities inspector's traveler's report) may be part of the same milestone (Lehmann and Holum *ad loc.*).

<sup>1108</sup> As Eck 2007: 185f. and 2009: 233 points out.

milestones reminded any traveler, including Eusebius, that he owed his passage on these roads to Roman administration.<sup>1109</sup>

We will see in chapter 5 below how pervasively Eusebius incorporated the sea and land travel that the Empire's infrastructure provided into the *Ecclesiastical History*. For now, however, we can note the other cities that this infrastructure enabled Eusebius to see, and how these cities affected his understanding of the Roman Empire.

## 6. Caesarea's Normality: Eusebius' Wider Roman World

Caesarea was not alone among Palestinian cities in providing a civilized manner of life for its residents. The topography of Aelia Capitolina and Paneas, two cities that Eusebius visited (see p. 171) and which have been excavated, show that Roman rule brought benefits to cities other than Caesarea, giving Eusebius reason to appreciate Roman rule for bringing universal prosperity.

Aelia Capitolina had been founded as a veterans' colony on the site of Jerusalem after the Romans crushed the Jewish revolt of 132 to 135 under Hadrian.<sup>1110</sup> Its topography is somewhat disputed, since relatively few remains from Aelia have been found, yet we know enough to see that Aelia was also a comfortable Roman city (figure 31).<sup>1111</sup> Like Caesarea, Aelia had an agora at a central location where residents could shop and catch up on the city's business.<sup>1112</sup> Like Caesarea, Aelia had a large bathhouse and a system of at least four aqueducts to bring residents water.<sup>1113</sup> Like Caesarea, Aelia featured numerous monuments to Roman power, beginning with colossal triumphal arches for Hadrian and Septimius Severus on its outskirts; almost all of Aelia's monuments bore Latin inscriptions, confirming Rome's agency in creating this built environment.<sup>1114</sup> Aelia Capitolina was thus another pleasant place to live thanks to Roman imperial power. Like Caesarea, however, Aelia contained temples to several pagan deities, including Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Aphrodite, and Asclepius.<sup>1115</sup>

Paneas was an equally well-ordered and well-endowed city (figure 32: Wilson 2004: 86); it had been built by Herod's son Philip and known as Caesarea Philippi in the first century. Again, excavations are ongoing, but what has been found in Paneas would reinforce conceptions of an easy life generated by Roman order. Paneas had a large aqueduct for bringing water into the city.<sup>1116</sup> A magnificent bathhouse that had once been the palace of one of Herod's sons stood in the city center, inviting anyone who entered the city to relax.<sup>1117</sup> An off-hand mention by Josephus about spectacles at Paneas implies that Paneas had an entertainment complex like Caesarea's.<sup>1118</sup> As at Aelia, inscriptions and statues in Paneas reminded travelers and residents that Roman power had provided this infrastructure,<sup>1119</sup> a high proportion of the inscriptions of

<sup>1109</sup> Eck 2007: 75-78 makes this point.

<sup>1110</sup> See in general Eck 1999 and 2007: 115-150 on the significance of this revolt.

<sup>1111</sup> My discussion of Aelia follows the conservative reconstruction of Eliav 2003; for an alternative reconstruction, see e.g. Geva 1993 and Belayche 2001: 131-135. (Unfortunately, my ignorance of modern Hebrew has impeded further engagement with the archaeological reports about Aelia.)

<sup>1112</sup> Eliav 2003: 246f.

<sup>1113</sup> Mazar 2002.

<sup>1114</sup> The arches: Eck 2005: 159f., 2007: 65-69; Latin inscriptions: Eck 2001: 51f., 54f., 2007: 189-191; cf. Isaac 2009: 60f.

<sup>1115</sup> See e.g. Belayche 2001: ch. 3, Turnheim and Ovadiah 2011: 81-83.

<sup>1116</sup> Hartal 2002, Tzaferis 2007: 342; Wilson and Tzaferis 2008: 20f.

<sup>1117</sup> Wilson 2004: 36-38, 41, 48f., 52; Tzaferis 2007: 342f.

<sup>1118</sup> Jos. *BJ* 7.23f., cited in Wilson 2004: 34.

<sup>1119</sup> Turnheim and Ovadiah 2011: ch. 1; see also Wilson 2004: 40, 50, Tzaferis 2007: 345f.

Paneas were in Latin.<sup>1120</sup> Paneas thus offered the order and enjoyment that Eusebius had come to expect from Caesarea. Yet like Aelia Capitolina, Paneas also featured several temples, including a temple for the healing god Asclepius and a famous healing sanctuary for Pan.<sup>1121</sup>

Through his travels to such cities as Aelia and Paneas Eusebius learned that Caesarea was one of many communities that benefited from Roman prosperity. These cities were smaller than Caesarea and hosted the Roman governor less frequently, but otherwise differed little. Despite the ubiquity of pagan temples and demonic rituals, all of these cities in Roman Palestine provided roads, baths, entertainment complexes, and marketplaces. All were prosperous and peaceful in the third century, as the crisis that had rattled much of the Empire largely missed Palestine (see p. 165f.). Eusebius' acquaintance with them allowed him to infer that Roman rule benefited the entire Empire. He had every reason to believe that Roman citizens from Britain to Arabia were enjoying the same Roman-provided amenities.

The apparent universality of well-ordered, enjoyable Roman cities may explain one remarkable aspect of Eusebius' writing: his indifference to local pride. Despite his refusal to leave Caesarea when he had the opportunity and his moves to increase the Caesarean episcopacy's power (p. 9), Eusebius' writings are silent about any attachment or affection for Caesarea as a distinct city; distaste for Caesarea is equally absent.<sup>1122</sup> Even in the Caesarea-centric *Martyrs of Palestine* Eusebius does not seem to have considered his identity as a Caesarean important enough to emphasize. He correlates Roman hegemony with the betterment of all humankind, and not just of Caesarea or Palestine.<sup>1123</sup> Eusebius was content simply with being Roman. When Eusebius looked at residents of other Roman cities, he did not see Caesareans, Aelians, and Panaeans, but Romans. The Empire spread the civilization inculcated in its roads, buildings, and monuments to all of its residents everywhere.

## Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to situate Eusebius in the built environment of Caesarea Maritima at the turn of the fourth century AD. Through a thick description of the remains of Caesarea it has attempted to describe how Eusebius' built environment informed his mentality as he wrote the *Ecclesiastical History* and his contemporary works.

Eusebius experienced different sides of Roman rule. Having lived in a provincial capital for forty years before Diocletian's persecution and fifty before he wrote the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius experienced the presence of a Roman governor at close hand. Caesarea's topography pointed Eusebius to the Roman political structure that safeguarded the prosperity that he enjoyed. Caesarea's monuments valorized the outstanding achievements of both civic and imperial officials, recalling elites' benefits for the people of Caesarea. The Latin language of the city's public inscriptions underscored the Roman power that had established and sustained the city. Even the city's central temple of Roma and Augustus, a site that we might expect to be abhorrent

<sup>1120</sup> Latin inscriptions: Isaac 2009: 64.

<sup>1121</sup> Eusebius uses the temple of Pan as the setting for a story of a healing by a Christian from Caesarea named Astyrius (*HE* 7.17). Astyrius came upon a festival of Pan in which a sacrifice tossed into a sacred spring would disappear. Pitying the participants for worshipping a demon, Astyrius prays to God. The sacrifice quickly rises to the top of the spring, signaling the end of the demon's power.

<sup>1122</sup> For example, Eusebius' note of the founding of Caesarea at *Chronicle Olympiad* 192x (p. 142f. Schoene) is matter-of-fact, according to both surviving translations (the anonymous Armenian and in Jerome's Latin). But cf. *HE* 5.pref.4 on valuing truth more highly than country (*patridos*).

<sup>1123</sup> E.g. *HE* 1.2.22, *PE* 1.4; *DE* 6.20.

to Eusebius, pointed to Rome's agency in creating the space for him to prosper. Virtually everything Eusebius says about Roman governance is positive, and he commends the peace and prosperity ushered in by Caesarea's central divinities repeatedly.

Caesarea also remained peaceful and prosperous throughout Eusebius' days, offering numerous spaces for public enjoyment and an array of enjoyable material goods. The officials' palaces, entertainment structures, baths, and marketplace all underscored the benefits that Rome was bringing to residents of Caesarea. As a wealthy man, Eusebius was able to enjoy a protected, enjoyable, and civilized life there. Caesarea itself was a testament to Rome's beneficence to its citizens; so too were other Palestinian cities such as Aelia Capitolina and Paneas that offered comparable benefits. Eusebius' writings indicate that he accepted and even welcomed Rome's activity as the human catalyst for his civilized life.

Eusebius' experience in Caesarea sharpened the distinction for him between the Empire as an institution and the particular leaders who governed the Empire. In Caesarea he saw numerous governors and procurators enter and leave office. Doubtless some were very effective, others of middling accomplishment, others harmful.<sup>1124</sup> Nevertheless, amid the revolving series of leading officials the Empire continued to protect and benefit Eusebius and other residents of Caesarea. As chapter 3 showed (pp. 114-117), he made an effort to exonerate the Roman Empire for persecuting Christians. Despite some bad individual leaders, the Empire remained a vehicle for spreading civilization.

And it remained a beneficial state for all peoples in it. As we have seen, Caesarea did not look so different from other cities in Roman Palestine that Eusebius knew: Aelia Capitolina and Paneas had very similar buildings, sites, and amenities. The homogeneity of the cities that he knew overshadowed distinctions between local communities. To all appearances the Roman Empire bestowed the same civilization on all its residents.

The surviving monuments of Caesarea also hint at a system for allocating prestige in the Empire's cities. Decurions, procurators, governors, and emperors who performed particularly pleasing service in Caesarea received statues in their honor. These statues represented a reward for these leaders' beneficence, an incentive to future elites to serve their cities equally capably, and a signal to subelites that their local and imperial rulers were worthy of deference. Occasionally a Caesarean erected a monument to a philosopher alongside of these political elites, showing that philosophers could attain honor comparable to that of Roman statesmen. The prestige that philosophers held in Caesarea presented Eusebius with a role that leaders of the Christian church could play within the Empire. It was in this role, I have argued, that he wished to integrate the church into the Empire that had given him so much.

Finally, we have seen that Caesarea was deeply integrated into the networks of the Empire. Its roads brought travelers from much of the Near East, while its harbor made it an important port for Mediterranean ships. Travel between different cities in the Mediterranean no doubt seemed fairly easy to Eusebius. We will see in the next chapter that Eusebius integrated such connections pervasively into the *History's* image of the church, both making the church into its own network and bringing it into relation with the network that was the Roman imperial elite.

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<sup>1124</sup> Indeed, the governors that Eusebius saw executing in during the persecution seemed incompetent and uncontrollable: see Corke-Webster 2012.

## Chapter 5

### Eusebius' Christian Network and its Role in the Roman Empire: A Proposal for Strength of Weak Ties

After chapters 1 through 3 argued that Eusebius portrayed the Christian church as a philosophical school in his *Ecclesiastical History*, chapter 4 showed that Eusebius lived in a thoroughly Roman built environment in Caesarea Maritima and cities that he visited. The monuments, buildings, infrastructure, and other objects that Eusebius experienced on a day-to-day basis constructed a world permeated by Roman power. This chapter shows how he placed the Christian church in relation to that Roman power in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

The traditional narrative of the church's early centuries in the Roman Empire that runs as follows. Jesus transmitted a revelation from God to his apostles, and the apostles disseminated it to the entire civilized world. As long as the apostles lived Christianity held onto its pristine early doctrine. Yet in the second and third centuries the "orthodox" Christian church faced constant threats to its integrity. "Heretic" after "heretic" enticed Christians with defective ideas that would have contaminated the pristine doctrine that the church received from Jesus and the apostles. But the church put up a united front against these deceivers. It barred "heretics" from contaminating its doctrines and instructed generation upon generation of "orthodox" Christians in the true nature of God. Having maintained its integrity and cohesion for so long against all of these evils, the church stood ready to prop up a decaying Roman Empire when it became legal in the fourth century.

This image of a harmonious church that repelled "heretical" dissidents was axiomatic among scholars of early Christianity until the early twentieth century. In 1934 Walter Bauer challenged this narrative with one of the most important studies of early Christianity in the twentieth century, his *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*. Bauer argued that in many parts of the Roman Empire doctrines that were later condemned as "heretical," such as Docetism, Gnosticism, Marcionitism, and so forth, were the prevalent systems of belief.<sup>1125</sup>

The myth that Bauer exposed was the Eusebius' creation. Though Bauer does not name Eusebius explicitly as his foil, his constant references to "KG" (*Kirchengeschichte*) make it clear that the *Ecclesiastical History* was the principal source of the traditional narrative.<sup>1126</sup> At every turn it is Eusebius' assertions that Bauer rebuts, even if Bauer, under the common assumption that Eusebius simply accepted the "orthodox" presumptions of his day, never assigns Eusebius agency in constructing a homogeneous church.<sup>1127</sup> Eusebius' narrative of a unified church was so successful that Bauer had to make a careful and sustained effort to dismantle it.

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<sup>1125</sup> Bauer 1964 (a re-edition of the original edition from 1934); the narrative is outlined at pp. 1f.; see next note.

<sup>1126</sup> Bauer 1964: esp. 7-15, 49f., 65-68, 112f., 134-137, 150-161, 167-169, 172f., 176f., 186f., 192-197, 199-201. Every element of the narrative that Bauer opposes (1964: 3f.) is present in Eusebius: (1) Jesus' revelation to the apostles: *HE* 1.12; (2) the apostles spread the revelation to the world: *HE* 2.1-3.1; (3) the "heretics" arise after the apostles: *HE* 2.13f., 3.26-31, 4.22.4f.; (4) the church weathering the "heretics": e.g. 4.7.15. On Eusebius' treatment of "heresy" see esp. Willing 2008, Junod 2009.

<sup>1127</sup> Perhaps because Bauer himself also depended so heavily on information from the *History*. His most explicit criticism of Eusebius (1964: 150-161, summed up at 160f.) is "die von Eusebius aus durchsichtigen Gründen geflissentlich genäherte Auffassung, daß es in der kirchlichen Kirche bereits während der beiden ersten Jahrhunderte unserer Zeitrechnung, ein reiches rechtgläubiges Schrifttum, gegeben hätte, das sich seiner Verbreitung, guter



However, a modified image of a unified second- and third-century church has resurfaced among historians of early Christianity. If the church was not unified by doctrine, then it was affiliated through durable lines of communication. Rowan Williams made the definitive statement of this position in a 1989 essay:

...we have an extensive record in Eusebius of the epistolary habit of Christian leaders. From the time of Ignatius [i.e. Trajan's reign] onwards, the letter reinforcing the authority of the leader of another community by reaffirming fellowship is a widespread phenomenon; and for Eusebius, the stature of a bishop is evidently measured in part by the range of his recorded correspondence, the degree to which he activates the lines of communication between churches and participates in the debates of sister communities....Disagreement may be sharp, it may even reach...quite fundamental points of practice; but the very expression of disagreement *within* the network of correspondence means that it remains a "domestic" affair, a family quarrel.<sup>1128</sup>

For Williams, Eusebius' presentation of continuous Christian epistolary communication revealed a second- and third-century church that maintained "familial" ties over long distances, even if it disagreed on doctrines or on practice. Williams thus replaces unified theological doctrine with unified dialogue as the church's glue.

Williams' premise demands scrutiny, however. Can we consider Eusebius' presentation of Christian letters to be a "record"? This assertion assumes that the *History* was simply a collection of unmediated historical data, rather than an ideologically motivated text.<sup>1129</sup> If we assume that Eusebius selected and even fabricated his narratives, however, other assertions of Williams come into question. Did the range of a bishop's contacts as it appears in the *History* imply prestige for that bishop's contemporaries, or in Eusebius' retrospective narrative? Did Eusebius so subtly weave ties among Christians that historians have attributed to the second- and third-century "orthodox" church writ large a consistency of cooperation that was a Eusebian construct?

A preliminary reading suggests that Eusebius took pains to inscribe interregional unity into the church's past. For example, while narrating the church's spread through the Roman world in books 2 and 3 of the *History*, Eusebius goes out of his way to show that the earliest Christian leaders were in contact with one another. The following passages are illustrative:

... Paul, having been judged, was sent as a prisoner to Rome. Aristarchus was together with him, whom he also suitably calls his fellow prisoner somewhere in his letters.<sup>1130</sup>

In the twelfth year of Anencletus' leadership over the Roman church, Clement succeeded him, whom the apostle [Paul], writing to the Philippians, presents as having become his

Erhaltung, und eines langen und blühenden Lebens erfreuen durfte, das so kraftvoll heranwuchs und um sich griff, daß es die Ketzler und ihre Lebensäußerungen zu erdrücken oder doch in den Winkel zu schreiben imstande gewesen ist." Yet Bauer goes on to explain Eusebius' slant more by the accidents of papyrus decay in Eusebius' Caesarean library than to Eusebius' selective agenda (161).

<sup>1128</sup> Williams 1989: 12f.; italics his.

<sup>1129</sup> See the Introduction, pp. 13-15 above for criticism of this position in studies of the *History*.

<sup>1130</sup> δικαιολογησάμενος ὁ Παῦλος δέσμιος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄγεται. Ἀρίσταρχος αὐτῷ συνῆν, ὃν καὶ εἰκότως συναιχμάλωτον που τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκαλεῖ (2.22.1).

fellow-worker: "...with Clement and the rest of my fellow-workers, whose names are in the book of life" [Philippians 4.3].<sup>1131</sup>

Now, it has been mentioned in previous pages that at Hierapolis Philip the apostle, together with his daughters, was spending time [or: leading a school]; since Papias came to be there at the same time, he mentions having received a marvelous narrative at the hands of Philip's daughters....<sup>1132</sup>

Eusebius notes these and numerous connections between Christians for their own sake, and not to explain any particular event.<sup>1133</sup> Most of these ties are quite close, manifested in travel companionship, collaboration on writing a text, or being called a "fellow-worker." While each individual mention of Christian bonds might seem extraneous, cumulatively they weave a dense, durable network of ecclesiastical interconnection.<sup>1134</sup>

Whereas Bauer and Williams focused on Christian leaders' internal relationships, a cursory reading of books 2 and 3 of the *History* suggests that Eusebius himself did not limit Christians' ties to other Christians. Eusebius mentions Christians' encounters and relationships with the Ethiopian royal attendant converted by Philip, Cornelius the centurion, the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria, a consul's niece named Flavia Domitilla, the emperor Domitian, and the famous senator Pliny the Younger.<sup>1135</sup> Eusebian Christians' connections with outsiders are certainly weaker than those with other Christians, typically involving a single encounter. Church leaders keep their distance from the power structures of the Roman world's ruling classes, maintaining instead a distinct, independent network. Nonetheless, Eusebius' mention of these fleeting moments of contact renders significant even distant ties with non-Christian elites.

This chapter shows that Eusebius forged a unified and uniform ecclesiastical network through his narratives of individual Christians' interactions.<sup>1136</sup> By "network" I mean a transregional group, members of which identify as a group, are acquainted, and communicate regularly with other members; a network may assume equal status among its members or may exhibit internal hierarchies.<sup>1137</sup> The interactions narrated within the *History*'s network do more, I

<sup>1131</sup> δωδεκάτω δὲ ἔτει τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Ἀνεγκλητον... διαδέχεται Κλήμης, ὃν συνεργὸν ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστέλλον ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων· μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς (3.15; cf. 3.4.9).

<sup>1132</sup> τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσιν διατρῖψαι διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδήλωται· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος, διήγησιν παρεληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει... (3.39.9; cf. 3.39.4-6).

<sup>1133</sup> See also: 2.1.3-5, 2.15, 2.22.1, 3.2 (echoed at 3.4.8), 3.4.4f., 3.4.6, 3.4.9, 3.4.10, 3.11, 3.15, 3.32.4, 3.36.1 (cf. 4.14.6), 12; cf. 3.39.4-6, where Eusebius disputes Irenaeus' claim that Papias knew the apostles personally at length.

<sup>1134</sup> The mutual relationships among Christians come up throughout the Eusebius narrative of the church's past up to the Diocletianic Persecution (books 1-7), and surface occasionally even in the persecutorial and post-persecutorial books: see *HE* 8.10.11, 10.2f.

<sup>1135</sup> 1.13 (noted again at 2.1.6f.), 2.1.13 (cf. Acts 8.26-40), 2.3.3 (cf. Acts 10), 2.17.1, 2.16.2-2.17.24, 3.18.4, 3.33.1 (on which see pp. 202-205 below). Moreover, immediately before book 2 Eusebius describes Jesus' and his disciple Thaddaeus' interactions with Abgar, the king of Edessa (*HE* 1.13; see the Introduction, pp. 1-4 above).

<sup>1136</sup> To my knowledge just one scholar has used a concept of "network" to interpret Eusebius' construction of the church, namely Mendels (1999: ch. 5, esp. 160), who scrutinizes Eusebius' narrative techniques rather than interpreting the church's imagined past church within Roman society. James Corke-Webster's forthcoming Manchester dissertation will rectify this void, with arguments parallel to those in this chapter.

<sup>1137</sup> Where most network theorists distinguish networks from "hierarchies" (cf. e.g. Holton 2008: 32-39), my definition of "network" allows hierarchies to exist within a network. Eusebius' imagined church obviously constituted a network under this definition, even though its constituent parts also existed within a formal hierarchy

submit, than put up a unified front against “heretics,” as Bauer and then Williams argued. Eusebius’ emphasis on ties with non-Christian Roman elites communicates a vision for the church’s role in Roman imperial society: as I have argued in previous chapters, that role was a philosophical school whose members could capably advise Roman rulers.<sup>1138</sup> Christians’ purposes, behaviors, and activities during interactions with outsiders reveal Christians’ status in relation to the ruling classes of the Roman Empire. Their interactions with each other, meanwhile, model how the institution of the church should work and what kind of society it should be.

The first section of this chapter contextualizes Christians’ interactive practices within the socio-material conditions that informed Eusebius’ world, namely the conventions and habits of Roman elites. There I discuss the significance of the mutual encounters, travel, letters, and citations that recur throughout the *History*. These four interactive activities characterized respectable Roman elites, and so cast the *History*’s Christian leaders as performing elite Roman roles. The chapter then shows how by showcasing these practices Eusebius emphasizes the “orthodox” Christian network’s transregional cohesion and harmony, its self-policing to suppress “heretical” behavior and doctrines, and the education of new adherents to transmit its pristine “orthodox” tradition to new generations. The church’s transregional cohesion enables it to remain uniformly philosophical and virtuous across space and time. Third, the chapter shows that connections with outsiders, while weaker, are no less revealing. Christians impress good Greek philosophers and Roman administrators and humiliate bad Roman leaders and charlatan intellectuals. Some Christians participate in ruling the Roman Empire, yet as a whole the *History* maintains separation between the two institutions. The chapter closes by arguing that Eusebius located his Christian network at a distance from other Roman elites deliberately, as this distance was precisely the relationship that elite Romans expected of leading philosophers who needed that distance to wield independent authority while advising Roman rulers.

### 1. Interactive Habits and Social Status: A Semiotics of Connectivity in Eusebius’ World

Personal interactions were important to Roman elites because the imperial government comprised a tiny proportion of the populations that it ruled.<sup>1139</sup> Only a few the Empire’s senators and equestrians—who themselves were perhaps one percent of the population—attained the position of governor, procurator, or dux (military general). These ruling men had to maintain good relations with the emperor and the emperor’s administrative staff to be appointed to governing roles in the first place.<sup>1140</sup> Governors also had to maintain communication with the emperor and with other governors and generals through letters and personal travel if necessary.<sup>1141</sup> And like the emperor, governors needed a council of specialists in disciplines such as law, communication, and religion, to handle pedantic but important questions.<sup>1142</sup> They also had to interact with the local elites of the cities they were leading, who hosted the governor as he

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with ranks of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, while it also exhibits informal hierarchies such as the deference that bishops show non-bishops Pantaenus, Clement, and Origen on theological matters (see e.g. 6.14.8f., 6.33, 6.37).

<sup>1138</sup> See the Introduction above on social roles.

<sup>1139</sup> Even Diocletian’s bureaucratic buildup left Rome’s government smaller as a proportion of the Empire’s population than most historic empires: see Lo Cascio 2005: 172-181. Most of the increase in the size of Diocletian’s government likely came from the increased size of the Roman military: see Campbell 2005: 123f.

<sup>1140</sup> Lendon 1997: chs. 3-4.

<sup>1141</sup> See Jördens 2010: 231-238.

<sup>1142</sup> See Eck 2000a, 2006a.

toured their cities, collected taxes, carried out censuses, and who might call on the governor to solve their problems.<sup>1143</sup> Personal acquaintance and trust among men in power was thus for governing such a diffuse and thinly governed empire as Rome's.

The Roman Empire was thus governed by a geographically dispersed network of elites.<sup>1144</sup> The kinds of activities in which individuals interacted had powerful semiotic effects understood by elites across the Empire.<sup>1145</sup> The signals that such interactions sent became standardized over centuries of Roman rule, and coalesced into a semiotics of connectivity.

Having lived in the provincial capital of Caesarea (chapter 4), Eusebius understood well how dependent Rome's political structures were on strong relationships among geographically disparate elites, and the need for broadly shared elite codes that this spatial separation engendered. The *Ecclesiastical History* attributes four elite Roman interactive habits to Christian leaders: mutual encounters, travel, epistolary correspondence, and citation of intellectual predecessors' writings. Eusebius' repeated attribution of such interactions to his Christians constituted a claim that these Christians deserved high status among the Roman elite.

#### A. Status in Mutual Encounters and Relationships

As the passages from books 2 and 3 noted at the beginning of this chapter illustrate,<sup>1146</sup> Eusebius used encounters and relationships as stages to showcase the status and capabilities of Christian heroes for Eusebius' Roman audiences.

It was elite protocols, known widely across the Empire, that reinforced the prestige of supra-local elites wherever they went. These protocols determined the motions for interacting with any other individual according to his status. Only an honorable person warranted such gestures from other elites as personal invitations from long distances, privileged claims to hosts' attention at public gatherings, a prominent spot in hosts' seating arrangements, and lavish expenditure.<sup>1147</sup> At theaters, citizens of higher status received seats closer to the action.<sup>1148</sup> In court, the judge always received deference, but Roman authors were aware that the status and cultural authority of the litigants could influence the outcome of a case.<sup>1149</sup> At all these events elites had to exhibit behavior befitting their status if they hoped their status to be recognized.<sup>1150</sup> And elites were distinguishable from subelites even as they walked through the streets: lower-status individuals stood up or uncovered their heads for Roman aristocrats when they walked through the streets.<sup>1151</sup> Such protocols were recognizable from Spain to Mesopotamia and from Britain to Egypt. Any Roman author could introduce them as codes for distinguishing higher- from lower-status individuals, or for equating the status of two individuals. These signals were patent to Eusebius' readers, and the differences in status that they connoted required little specification.

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<sup>1143</sup> The governor's travel: the classic article is Burton 1975, though as Sootjes 2006: 3 points out, the assize-tour probably faded after Diocletian increased the number of Roman provinces and with it the number of Roman governors available to try cases. Civic elites: Carrié 2005: esp. 282-293.

<sup>1144</sup> Noreña 2010: 542f., whose observations hold for the early fourth-century Empire as well as his stated period in the first- and second-century Empire.

<sup>1145</sup> See in general Lendon 1997 and 2010, Noreña 2011.

<sup>1146</sup> Note also the anecdotes as described in chapter 2, pp. 89-93 above.

<sup>1147</sup> Dunbabin and Slater 2010: 442f.; Coleman 2010: 338-342.

<sup>1148</sup> See Futrell 1997: 164f., Rose 2005: 100-102.

<sup>1149</sup> See Garnsey 1970: ch. 8; see also Noreña 2012 on the case of Apuleius.

<sup>1150</sup> See Dunbabin and Slater 2010: 460-462.

<sup>1151</sup> Lendon 1997: 59.

Accordingly, Eusebius employs a number of signifiers both of first-time encounters and of long-term relationships. He narrates numerous encounters between Christians, between “orthodox” Christians and “heretic,” or between Christians and Roman elites.<sup>1152</sup> The most common long-term relationship in the *History*, meanwhile, is discipleship by one Christian of another.<sup>1153</sup> Long-term relationships are also adumbrated in quotations of bishops speaking on behalf of other bishops, a speech-situation that projects dialogue and consensus among Christian leaders—a projection that, as we saw, led Williams to locate Christian unity in such interactions.<sup>1154</sup> But even when he presents them in an earlier author’s words, Eusebius was the puppetmaster of these voices.

### *B. Elite Travel*

As Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell showed in their influential monograph *The Corrupting Sea*, the premodern Mediterranean was divided into an ecologically diverse patchwork of varying regions, each of which had its own idiosyncratic store of resources to offer. Exchange between neighboring regions promoted interregional trading networks.<sup>1155</sup> The expansion of Roman power reinforced the already existent tendency to connect varying regions of the Mediterranean.<sup>1156</sup> The Roman military provided greater security than previous political systems could offer both by land and by sea. The needs of the military and other administrative units also generated a logistical infrastructure to move from one province to the next. The *cursus publicus* provided wide roads and support posts,<sup>1157</sup> while for travel by sea, complaints about pirates seem to have abated in the imperial period, and evidence from shipwrecks, harbor archaeology, small finds that traveled long distances, legal structures facilitating sea trade, and literary observations of trading activity suggest that sea travel was relatively open.<sup>1158</sup>

While its physical infrastructure eased travel, the Empire’s social structure promoted it. Roman elites had strong occupational, religious, educational, and cultural incentives to travel long distances. As noted above, senators and equestrians had to travel to assume governorships and procuratorships along their *cursus honorum*.<sup>1159</sup> Generals had to travel to command armies in time of war. In the religious sphere, elites also took pilgrimages to important religious shrines and traveled to important urban centers for key events like their emperor’s Decennalia or Vicennalia.<sup>1160</sup> As for education, the Empire supported a handful of “university cities” that attracted numerous students (e.g. Athens, Pergamon, Alexandria, and Rome), to which elite

<sup>1152</sup> E.g. 2.17.1, 3.28.6, 4.14.6f., 5.5, 5.24.16f., 6.19.5, 6.21.3f., 6.34.

<sup>1153</sup> See chapter 2, pp. 95-97 above.

<sup>1154</sup> E.g. 5.23.2, 5.24.1, 6.46.3, 7.30.2.

<sup>1155</sup> Horden and Purcell 2000: esp. chs. 4 and 5.

<sup>1156</sup> Moatti 2006 explores how Roman mobility affected Roman thinking.

<sup>1157</sup> Evidence on the Empire’s transportation infrastructure is collected in André and Baslez 1993: esp. 388-482 (a reference I owe to Hélène Roelens-Flouneau), whose preference for using literary and elite evidence, and their tendency to take it at face value, does not detract from this study, since my focus is on perceptions of travel. On the *cursus publicus*, see Kolb 2000; on the evidence of milestones for the longterm stability of Roman roads throughout the Empire, see Laurence 2004.

<sup>1158</sup> Rickman 2008.

<sup>1159</sup> In addition to pp. 178f. above, see André and Baslez 1993: 192-204.

<sup>1160</sup> André and Baslez 1993: 247-280.

scions were sent to pursue advanced *paideia*.<sup>1161</sup> Anyone who wanted to become a philosopher did well to travel outside the Empire, to India or Ethiopia, which broadened his intellectual perspective and thus burnished his philosophical credentials.<sup>1162</sup> Orators, whose profession required close engagement with cities, traveled to perform at festivals.<sup>1163</sup>

Being elite meant having traveled. The converse, however, did not always hold true, as numerous subelites also traversed the Mediterranean. Mobility was a job requirement for sailors, merchants, migrant workers, and soldiers, while papyri from Egypt suggest that local, inter-settlement travel was fairly frequent.<sup>1164</sup> However, the financial and social resources of elites made travel over longer distances significantly easier for them than for the lower classes.<sup>1165</sup> On land, elites traveled on horseback and could journey with slaves or other dependents to guard against violence on the road. Interregional elite networks could deliver both directions to reach a new place and a friend's home for relatively comfortable lodging.<sup>1166</sup> In addition, steep harbor taxes and searches of personal possessions restricted entry by sea into a new city, while all travelers might have to identify themselves upon entering a new city, so that witnesses, identifying documents, and proper elite manners were needed for successful entry.<sup>1167</sup>

Eusebius knew Roman infrastructure and understood elites' incentives for travel. As chapter 4 showed, Caesarea Maritima exemplified Roman connectivity as a hub of Roman Palestine. Its harbors and road network, which eased access to distant cities, were an integral part of the Roman society in which Eusebius grew up. Eusebius' own travels, by road to Tyre, Aelia Capitolina, and Paneas, and by sea to Egypt (see chapter 4, p. 171), show that he knew well the advantages that Rome's protection and infrastructure offered for travelers.

In the *Ecclesiastical History*, therefore, numerous Christians travel, and they do so for the elite Roman purposes of seeing new places or meeting specific people. Some Christians travel to learn from master teachers or in famous ecclesiastical centers,<sup>1168</sup> while others journey to teach correct Christian doctrine.<sup>1169</sup> Another motivation for travel is administrative, where Christians ensure the correct performance and transmission of doctrine, ritual, or other communal practices. Synods, where bishops from various cities unite to discuss church matters, are one example of such travel. Several times bishops gather in a city to make key doctrinal or disciplinary decisions.<sup>1170</sup> Individual bishops (and intellectuals) also travel for administrative reasons.<sup>1171</sup>

<sup>1161</sup> André and Baslez 1993: 297-316. Centers for oratorical training: e.g. Bowersock 1969: ch. 2, Peusch 2002: 17-23. Philosophical schools (cf. chapter 1, pp. 65f. above): e.g. Hahn 1989: 119-155, on their continuing relevance into late antiquity, see Watts 2004, 2006: 7-10.

<sup>1162</sup> André and Baslez 1993: 283-297.

<sup>1163</sup> André and Baslez 1993: 224-230.

<sup>1164</sup> Sailors: Rauh, Dillon, and McClain 2008; merchants: Giardina 1989: 257-264, Moatti 2000: 945-950; migrant workers: Grey 2004; interregional travel in Egypt: Adams 2001.

<sup>1165</sup> Despite the infrastructure and protection that Rome brought, travel remained proverbially difficult, and for good reason: see André and Baslez 1993: 437-449, 483-540. Travel on land was physically taxing, and one could lose one's direction easily. Dangers awaited travelers by land (such as robbery or other attack in unfamiliar territory) and by sea (storms and violent sailors both presented frightening prospects). When one needed to stop for the night, inns tended to be crowded, dirty, and magnets for violent activity (Rauh, Dillon, and McClain 2008: 230-238). The wealthy and well-connected could mitigate these risks far more easily than Rome's subelites.

<sup>1166</sup> André and Baslez 1993: 408-410, 449-454.

<sup>1167</sup> Moatti 2000: esp. 945-953; 2006: 117-123.

<sup>1168</sup> *HE* 4.11.11f., 5.11.4f., 5.13.1, 4.22.1f., 6.15.10f., 6.27, 6.30, 6.31.2.

<sup>1169</sup> E.g. *HE* 1.13, 2.1, 2.3, 2.14-16, 3.1, 5.10.2f., 6.19.1, 6.27, 6.21.3f., 7.24.6-9.

<sup>1170</sup> E.g. 3.11, 5.23, 25; 6.33.2f., 6.43.2, 6.46.3, 7.27, 7.29f. Pace Mendels 1999: ch. 5, esp. 151-157, who reads these councils as colorful media events designed to draw attention to an alleged ecclesiastical eruption into the

Eusebius' elite Christians consistently travel for purposes that mirror Roman elites' travels: to instruct other Christians, learn from important teachers, assume new administrative roles, respond to administrative emergencies, and oversee communities' performance of proper Christian practice. These travel practices parallel elite norms and thus buttress Christian claims to elite status. Indeed, Eusebius reinforces the normality of Christians' elite status by rarely narrating any of these journeys at length, sometimes leaving the fact of travel implicit.<sup>1172</sup> Through these casual notices elite travel emerges as a normal, expected activity for the church's leaders.

### *C. Epistolary Exchange*

The same qualities of the Roman Empire that enabled elites to travel and cohere into an interregional social superstratum—relative safety within the Empire's borders, the political system that required consistent contact between center and peripheries, the relative ease of travel that increased face-to-face contact, the standardized educational curriculum with Greek (or, in the western Empire, Latin) as a *lingua franca*, and the prestige that followed the divulgence of acquaintance with a household name or holder of a key governmental office from a distant place—all encouraged the regular exchange of letters among elites. Letters in effect allowed elites to share communications ranging from the instrumental to the intimate even when on opposite sides of the Mediterranean. Letters mediated business deals between distant agents. They made the Roman emperor's (and other officials') presence felt and will enacted for provincials on the periphery.<sup>1173</sup> Letters supplied intellectuals with a vehicle for targeting their ideas to specific audiences encapsulated in the identity of the named recipient(s).<sup>1174</sup> Epistolary communication enabled Roman elites to nurture and to benefit from their familial, patronal, friendship, and professional relationships at great distances across the Mediterranean's many roads, mountains, and bodies of water.

Like travel, letters were not merely an elite practice; but readers knew an elite's letter when they saw it. The cost of papyrus and ink, while not prohibitive, was fairly high, so that one needed some means to send frequent letters in several directions.<sup>1175</sup> Moreover, the style and structure by which authors expressed themselves invested cultural capital through the Roman Empire and beyond, as the words of each letter betokened the cultural power of its sender.<sup>1176</sup> In an Empire punctuated by a homogeneous elite educational system based on venerable texts (chapter 1, pp. 30-32), allusions to canonical Greek (or Latin) authors signaled a writer's belonging to a wealthy family and graduation from a rigorous *paideia*.<sup>1177</sup> Letters thus displayed tokens of individuals' elite status as well as one means of maintaining that status.

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Roman public sphere, Eusebius' narratives of councils are quite austere. There is little vivid imagery or evidence of outsiders' noticing the gatherings, the kind of details that we would expect in a "media event."

<sup>1171</sup> 4.14.5=5.24.16; 5.4; 6.11.1f.; 6.23.4; 6.12.2-6; 6.30=7.14; 6.33.2f.; 6.37; 7.32.5, 21.

<sup>1172</sup> He sometimes notes, e.g., simply that an individual from one region studied or took up an episcopacy in another. Changes of certain Christians' locations are derivable not explicitly stated at e.g. 4.12, 4.29.3, 5.13.1, 5.20.5.

<sup>1173</sup> E.g. Millar 1977: 213-228; Ando 2000: ch. 4, Jördens 2010.

<sup>1174</sup> See e.g. Griffin 2007.

<sup>1175</sup> Drexhage 1991: 384-389; Bagnall 2009: 52f.; see also chapter 6, p. 212 below.

<sup>1176</sup> Note the prominence of letter-writing in Greek rhetorical handbooks: Poster 2007; on subelites' letters, see Jördens 2010: 240-243; cf. Hutchinson 2007 on subelite letters.

<sup>1177</sup> See the essays in Morello and Morrison 2007, as well as Noreña 2007 for a case study of Pliny's letters to Trajan.

Eusebius adduces letters promiscuously. The *Ecclesiastical History* catalogues several Christians' letter collections, catalogues that show each Christian interacting with a wide range of other individuals.<sup>1178</sup> Eusebius quotes from Christians' letters at least 45 times,<sup>1179</sup> cites Christian epistles at dozens of other points,<sup>1180</sup> and also quotes a series of imperial rescripts.<sup>1181</sup> The text of a letter appears in every book of the *History*.<sup>1182</sup> Eusebius both notes Christians' correspondence among themselves and with others and uses letters as plot devices for moving events forward, and by quoting them makes the letters themselves blend into his own narratorial voice. Particularly revealing is how regularly Eusebius quotes epistolary greetings, which previous Greek historians rarely if ever excerpted on their own;<sup>1183</sup> we will study several of these below. Clearly Eusebius wanted readers to see which Christians were corresponding continuously with which other Christians—a picture that most church historians have accepted as simply how the church worked rather than as Eusebius' construct.

#### D. Citation of Predecessors' Writings and Actions

While one often thinks of the ancient Christians as exceptionally obsessed with texts,<sup>1184</sup> the citation of past intellectual giants was indispensable to Roman elite life more generally. Hellenophone elites had to be steeped in the Greek classics and be ready to recognize allusions and quote them,<sup>1185</sup> while elite Latin speakers, if not required to know all classic Greek tragedy, history, and philosophy, had to know the (smaller body of) Latin classics so well instead.<sup>1186</sup> Philosophers in particular had to recall their philosophical classics. Platonists, for example, were expected to know the writings of Plato forward and backward and be conversant with interpretations of Plato by his famous followers, and to understand rival schools' views sufficiently to rebut them. Interpreting founding texts from one's school was the central intellectual activity of philosophical schools.<sup>1187</sup>

Since, as previous chapters have argued, Eusebius was patterning his church after a philosophical school, the *History's* Christians had to cite, discuss, and apply philosophical texts.

<sup>1178</sup> Catalogues of letters: 3.36, 4.23, 5.20.1, 6.12.1f., 6.36.3f., 6.46, 7.20, 7.26.

<sup>1179</sup> 1.7.2-16, 1.13.6-8, 1.13.10, 2.15.2, 2.22.3-5, 3.4.7, 3.15, 3.31.3-4, 3.36.7-9, 3.36.11, 3.36.13-15, 4.15.15-45, 4.23.10-13, 5.1.2, 5.19.2-3, 5.20.4-8, 5.24.2-8, 5.24.12-17, 5.25, 6.2.6, 6.11.3, 6.11.5-6, 6.14.8-9, 6.19.12-14, 6.40, 6.41-42, 6.43.5-20, 6.44, 6.45, 6.46.4, 7.1, 7.5.1-2, 7.5.4-7.6, 7.7.1-5, 7.8, 7.9.1-5, 7.10.2-9, 7.11.2-19, 7.11.20-25, 7.21.2-10, 7.22.2-10, 7.24.4-9, 7.25, 7.30.2-17, 8.10; cf. 6.19.17-18.

<sup>1180</sup> Except for book 10 when Eusebius removed Licinius' and Constantine's correspondence for the *History's* final edition (see appendix 1). See e.g. 1.12.2, 1.13.3, 2.17.12, 2.22.1-7, 2.23.25, 3.2, 3.3.1, 3.3.4, 3.4, 3.16, 3.25, 3.36, 3.38, 4.15.46, 4.23, 5.3.4, 5.20, 5.23.2-3, 5.26, 6.2.1, 6.12.1, 6.20.1-2, 6.31.1, 6.31.3, 6.28.1, 6.36.3-4, 6.39.5, 6.46, 7.7.6, 7.9.6, 7.22.11-12, 7.20, 7.26, 7.27.2. For the difference between my usage of "quote" and "cite," see chapter 1, n. 160 above.

<sup>1181</sup> *HE* 4.9, 4.12, 7.13, 8.17, 9.1.3-6, 9.7.3-14, 9.9a.1-9, 9.10.7-11, 10.5-7; cf. 3.33 (discussed at pp. 202-205 below); see chapter 3, pp. 134f. above.

<sup>1182</sup> Except in book 10 in the final edition of the *History*, when Eusebius removed the imperial rescripts of 10.5-7 after Licinius' defeat by Constantine.

<sup>1183</sup> E.g. 5.19, 6.10.3, 6.11.5, 7.30.2; cf. 5.25. Even texts not usually considered epistolary are also quoted in the form of letters: so he quotes the epistolary greetings that introduce the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the *Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne* verbatim (4.15.3, 5.1.3).

<sup>1184</sup> Cf. e.g. Gamble 1995, Young 1997, Hurtado 2006.

<sup>1185</sup> See chapter 1, p. 33f. above.

<sup>1186</sup> See e.g. Johnson 2010 *passim*.

<sup>1187</sup> See Sedley 1989, Dillon 1992 on the case of Plotinus' engagement with Plato, and Lambertson 2001: 441-445 on texts read in Plotinus' school.



Their words had both to show intimate knowledge both of their own body of writings and to engage competing schools of thought. Accordingly, copious citations were precisely what Eusebius attributed to his Christians.

The most-studied Eusebian engagement with Christians' citation is his notices of which authors quoted which texts as sacred.<sup>1188</sup> Most scholars have read these notices as Eusebius' attempt to identify definitively the authoritative canons of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>1189</sup> While Eusebius was undeniably interested in influencing the scriptural canons (*HE* 3.3.3, 3.25), this is only part of his interest in citation: he was also demonstrating later Christian intellectuals' reading and conformity to normative texts written by their intellectual forebears.

Thus, beyond his tracking of the Christian textual canon, Eusebius also notes which Christian intellectual predecessors major Christian authors cite repeatedly.<sup>1190</sup> While many a scholar, typically while plotting the convergence of the New Testament canon, has scrutinized Eusebius' statements of which authors considered which texts to be sacred scripture, fewer have noted that Eusebius did not limit these notices to citations of scripture. Clement of Alexandria, for example, "mentions Tatian's discourse *To the Greeks* and Cassian, since he also had composed a chronography, and moreover Philo and Aristobulus and Josephus and Demetrius and Eupolemus, Jewish writers, in that they would show, all of them, in writing" (6.13.7, trans. Oulton).<sup>1191</sup> The harmony among Christian writers not just in their scriptural preferences, but also in reading and quoting post-apostolic Christians' and even authoritative Jewish authors' texts was a further index of the intellectual cohesiveness of succeeding generations in the Christian network.

Engaging with intellectual predecessors involved more than just citing predecessors' texts. Ancient intellectuals peppered their own discourse, both written and oral, with reminiscences about predecessors' acts and activities as well as ideas.<sup>1192</sup> These reminiscences lent the speaker the authority of continued exposure to a great intellectual, and staked a claim to continue the tradition of the intellectual. Eusebius evokes such continual engagement with the life and thought of Christian intellectuals regularly, mentioning, for example, later Christians' evocations of the apostles repeatedly: James the brother of Jesus is mentioned in seven passages after his death, Peter in 23, Paul in 16, and John in 17.<sup>1193</sup> Eusebius' reproductions of later Christians' references to earlier ones remind readers that "orthodox" Christians were men of tradition, who trusted and explored their institution's founders; it also reminds readers of the importance of Christians

<sup>1188</sup> This practice that goes beyond the literary catalogues included in his philosophical biographical models: cf. chapter 2, pp. 84-87 above.

<sup>1189</sup> Numerous studies have discussed Eusebius' canonical pronouncements: see e.g. Grant 1980: ch. 11, Baum 1997, Le Boulluec 2002, Nielsen 2003: 31-60.

<sup>1190</sup> 3.38, 5.8, 6.14, 6.25, 7.25, 7.32.16; note esp. 5.28.4f., part of the last quotation of the book 5, which recapitulates a number of intellectuals featured in the first half of the *History*.

<sup>1191</sup> μνημονεύει τε τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας Τατιανοῦ λόγου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου, ἔτι μὴν Φίλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου Ἰωσήπου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Εὐπολέμου, Ἰουδαίων συγγραφέων, ὡς ἂν τούτων ἀπάντων ἐγγράφως πρεσβύτερον τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀρχαιογονίας Μωυσῆα τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀποδειξάντων. See also e.g. 5.6.3, 5.28.4f., 6.19.13, 7.7.4, 7.9.2, 7.32.16.

<sup>1192</sup> E.g. Philostratus claims to have heard previous sophists (*VS* 602, 624, 627), and most of Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* consists of such memories.

<sup>1193</sup> James: 3.5.2, 3.7.9, 3.11, 3.25.3, 4.5.3, 4.22.4, 7.19. Peter: 3.2, 3.21.2, 3.35.2-4, 6, 3.30-3.31.1, 3.36.2, 11; 3.38.5, 3.39.4f., 16f.; 4.14.9; 5.8.3, 7; 5.11.5; 6.12.1, 3f.; 6.14.1, 6f.; 6.25.5, 8; 7.18.4; 7.25.14f. Paul: 3.21.2, 3.23.4, 3.24.4, 15, 3.25.2, 4, 3.30.1, 3.31.1, 3.36.13, 3.38.2; 4.23.3; 4.29.3; 5.8.2f., 5.11.5; 6.2.14; 6.14.2-4; 6.25.6f., 13; 7.18.4. John: 3.39.1, 4-6, 14, 16; 4.14.6; 4.18.8; 4.24.1; 4.26.2; 5.8.4-7; 5.11.5; 5.14.7; 5.18.13; 5.20.6; 5.24.2, 16; 5.28.3; 6.24.1; 6.25.6f., 9f.; 6.28; 7.24.3f.

described earlier in the *History* by providing a *Wirkungsgeschichte* of these men on later generations.

The *History's* encounters, correspondence, traveling, and citation together constitute a semiotics of connectivity resonant to Roman audiences. By deploying these semiotics Eusebius signals Christian inclusion in the Roman elite classes, assimilating Christian interactive habits to those of Roman elites. The parade of these habits marks the church as an honorable Mediterranean-wide association, and not merely Bauer's doctrinally uniform religious sect.

But beyond the mere fact of their elite status symbols, what do these connections do? What kind of a network do such interactions reveal Eusebius church to be? What qualities did Roman readers see in this church? We must go beyond the modes of connection to explore the kinds of ties that the Christian connectivity created and the social role that it modeled for the church.

## 2. Harmony, Self-Policing, and Replication: The Benefits of Strong Ecclesiastical Ties

In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius' composite picture of Christians' mutual ties presents three distinctive traits as shared by the church everywhere throughout its first three centuries of existence: the unity of its leaders across the Roman Empire, collective mechanisms for expelling defective doctrines and degenerate morals, and institutionalized instruction of new generations in the Christian manner of life. These traits manifest themselves in the mutual encounters, travel, letters, and citations discussed in the last section. The interconnected maintenance of Christians' morals and manner of life construct the church as a philosophical organization that deserved honor in the Roman Empire.

### A. Transregional Unity

Eusebius' church preserved maximal unity both within individual bishops' administrative areas and across different regions. Many Eusebian Christians' encounters, travel, letters, and citations serve this end.

One passage illustrative of Christian unity comes in book 5, soon after Eusebius' presentation of the *Martyrs of Lyons* (*HE* 5.1-3), which marks the first appearance of the great heresiologist Irenaeus as a character in the *History* (5.4.1f.):

The same martyrs also recommended Irenaeus, who at that particular point was a presbyter of the community in Lyons, to the aforementioned bishop at Rome, vouching much for the man's character, as the words that concern him state in the following way:

We pray that you rejoice in God now and always, father Eleutherus. This letter we urged our brother and community-member Irenaeus to deliver to you, and we encourage you to hold him in your commendation, since he is an ardent supporter of the covenant of Christ. For if we knew that anyone's position implied righteousness, we would be presenting him first of all as a presbyter of the church, which is his very position.<sup>1194</sup>

<sup>1194</sup> οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες καὶ τὸν Εἰρηναῖον, πρεσβύτερον ἤδη τότε ὄντα τῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ παροικίας, τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ συνίστων, πλείστα τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς αἰ τοῦτον ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον δηλοῦσι φωναί· χαίρειν ἐν θεῷ σε πάλιν εὐχόμεθα καὶ αἰεὶ, πάτερ Ἐλευθερε. ταῦτα σοι τὰ

I have not found any previous ancient narrative history that quotes a letter of recommendation.<sup>1195</sup> What is the point of this innovative gambit? The letter assumes that Irenaeus and Bishop Eleutherus were not previously acquainted; indeed, 900 kilometers separated their respective churches in Lyons and Rome. The letter's rhetoric, though not particularly memorable, performs systematically what Roger Rees calls "*amicitia* triangulation."<sup>1196</sup> The soon-to-be-martyrs of Lyons surely indicate their status in the letter's greeting, which Eusebius summarizes rather than quoting. Their courageous affirmation of Christianity, narrated by in a letter quoted by Eusebius three chapters earlier (*HE* 5.1), lent them the authority to make recommendations to outside bishops.<sup>1197</sup> The quoted portion of the text refers to Eleutherus as "Father." While it is unclear how commonly this title was attributed to the bishop of Rome before Eusebius,<sup>1198</sup> it certainly located the confessors of Lyons in a quasi-familial relationship with the bishop of Rome. This relationship, the first line of the *amicitia*-triangle, suggests proximity and subordination to Eleutherus, while casting the Roman bishop into the paternal role of being obligated to fulfill their needs.<sup>1199</sup> The confessors then introduce Irenaeus, the second line in the *amicitia*-triangle: their assurance of Irenaeus' righteousness (*dikaiosunē*) offers Eleutherus strong reason to welcome their client.<sup>1200</sup> Their certification of Irenaeus' character, Eusebius implies,<sup>1201</sup> sufficed to gain Eleutherus' goodwill for Irenaeus and complete the *amicitia* triangle.<sup>1202</sup>

The connection forged here between Irenaeus and Eleutherus—and between the churches of Lyons and Rome—exemplifies Eusebius' repeated notices of collegial encounters between Christian bishops and other intellectuals. Alexander of Jerusalem writes to the Christian philosopher Origen to all appearances simply to get to know him (6.14.8f., discussed below). Polycarp travels to Rome to meet Anicetus, an event that Eusebius mentions repeatedly (4.14.1, 5=5.24.16f.). Origen and another Christian writer, Hegesippus, both travel to Rome to see the kind of Christianity observed there (4.11.7, 4.22.1-3, 6.14.10). Julius Africanus travels to Alexandria to meet the renowned Christian intellectual Heraclas (6.31.2). These journeys and letters have no apparent purpose except to create connections between geographically separated Christians and churches. Together they construct transregional unity and harmony in the church.

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γράμματα προετρεψάμεθα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινῶν Εἰρηναῖον διακομίσαι, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει, ζηλωτὴν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης Χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἤδειμεν τόπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν πρώτοις ἂν παρεθείμεθα.

<sup>1195</sup> Though some Greek biographies cited letters as character references: cf. Porphyry's *VPyth* 7f., which does not quote the proffered letter, and *VPlot* 17-19, which are not properly letters of recommendation.

<sup>1196</sup> Rees 2007: 156-159 (with further observations of on how some complicated transactions of praise were manifested textually in 159-164).

<sup>1197</sup> Cf. e.g. Shaw 1996; Castelli 2004: chs. 2-3; Moss 2010b: esp. ch. 5.

<sup>1198</sup> This may be the first instance of another Christian addressing the bishop of Rome with a paternal title. Cross and Livingstone 2005, s.v. "Pope," list Bishop Marcellinus was the first bishop of Rome to use the title "papa" in the early fourth century.

<sup>1199</sup> See Saller 1994: ch. 5.

<sup>1200</sup> It was not always necessary in letters of recommendation to praise the recommended individual, since the recipient's respect for the recommender often sufficed to win the aim of the recommendation (Rees 2007: 152-156).

<sup>1201</sup> By not indicating that Eleutherus turned Irenaeus away; cf. p. 194 below.

<sup>1202</sup> Compare 6.14.8f., discussed below.

This unity comes under threat repeatedly in the *History*. At six points Christian leaders descend into a divisive controversy.<sup>1203</sup> In each dispute Eusebius recounts an ecclesiastical reconciliation effected by leaders who either travel or send letters to address the controversy.

Illustrative of the interconnective maintenance of Christian unity is the *History*'s narrative about a famous controversy over the proper day for celebrating Easter (5.23-25). Eusebius first describes the reason for the controversy: whereas the churches of Asia Minor celebrated Easter on a fixed day, no matter on what day of the week it fell, churches elsewhere always celebrated Easter on Sunday (5.23.1). Eusebius packs all of this information into a long genitive absolute, which subordinates the doctrinal dispute to Eusebius' main point,<sup>1204</sup> that "many synods and gatherings of bishops happened for this, and through letters all formulated with one resolution an ecclesiastical doctrine," that Easter had to be celebrated on Sunday (5.23.2).<sup>1205</sup> Controversy thus serves as a background to the performance of unifying action. Eusebius substantiates this assertion of harmony by naming the bishops who chaired each regional synod, who hailed from Palestine, Rome, Gaul, Pontus, Osrhoene, and Corinth (5.23.3f.).<sup>1206</sup> When these bishops read a single resolution (*miai gnōmēi*, 5.23.2), the chapter ends on a note of ecclesiastical unanimity.

The next chapter expands on this unity, however, by reporting that the bishops of Asia did not assent to the other churches' decision to celebrate Easter on Sunday. Eusebius quotes a letter that Polycrates, the bishop of Ephesus, addressed to Bishop Victor of Rome, which defends Asian practice on the grounds that the Asian churches learned it from the apostles Philip and John as well as from the renowned bishop Polycarp (5.24.2-8). Bishop Victor excommunicates the churches of Asia on the spot (5.24.9). The consensus of church leaders on the celebration of Easter seems to have alienated one region's churches from the others.

In response, however, several bishops write urging Victor to rescind his divisive action (5.24.10). Eusebius exemplifies these pleas by quoting a letter of Irenaeus, now the bishop of Lyons, that advocates peace within the church despite a diversity of practices (5.24.11-17). Here Irenaeus cites the examples of previous Christian heroes' practices and refers to Victor's more tolerant predecessors in the episcopacy of Rome (5.24.14-16), again using citation to unify Christian leaders across the generations. Eusebius concludes the controversy in the next chapter by summarizing the Palestinian synod's letter (noted in 5.23.3) proclaiming concord between the Palestinian bishops and the church of Alexandria (5.25). To all appearances Irenaeus' intervention has settled the matter.<sup>1207</sup>

Eusebius thus narrates reconciliation as the end of a controversy that threatened to tear the churches of Asia away from other churches. Irenaeus in particular attracts high praise from Eusebius for his exhortations toward peace: "As someone who, true to his name, in this very manner was a peace-maker, Irenaeus expressed such encouragements for peace in the church, and he held conversations through letters about affairs related to the disturbance not only with

<sup>1203</sup> 5.23-25 (discussed below), 6.19.16-19 (over whether lower-ranked Christians could preach to bishops), 6.33 (on whether Christ existed before his birth), 6.36 (about whether the soul dies with the body), 6.43-7.9 (over whether a second baptism was required before Christians who renounced Christ could rejoin the church), 7.24 (on millenarianist doctrine).

<sup>1204</sup> Cf. chapter 2, pp. 87-90 on the *History*'s selective treatment of Christian doctrine.

<sup>1205</sup> *σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταῦτον ἐγίνοντο, πάντες τε μὲν γνώμη δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διετυπῶντο.*

<sup>1206</sup> Eusebius had already introduced these bishops in his succession notice of 5.22 (cf. chapter 2, p. 101 above).

<sup>1207</sup> See below, p. 194. Pace Petersen 1992, there is no reason to assume that Eusebius revised this account in light of the council of Nicaea, as Eusebius' attitude toward Rome does not demonstrably change in the *History*.

Victor, but also with various leaders of churches.”<sup>1208</sup> Along with their forging of new connections among Christians of different locations, ecclesiastical leaders’ travel and epistolary communication keep the Christian network harmonious.<sup>1209</sup>

### *B. The Quality of Christians’ Doctrines and Manner of Life*

Many of the interactions that Eusebius narrates showcase mechanisms for maintaining high intellectual and ethical standards in the church. Leaders frequently send letters or circulate other texts that criticize false doctrines and bad behavior, and also travel and meet to discuss proper practice and authorize the rejection of “heretics” who defy correction. Christian leaders’ connectivity thus enables them to maintain the church’s homogeneous virtuousness and fidelity to the truth through their interrelations. Through these means Eusebius’ bishops put up the united front against the devil’s threats that Bauer called into question as a historical reality.<sup>1210</sup>

Frequently false doctrines prompt Christian leaders’ corrective writings and journeys. Irenaeus writes to Florinus, a Christian in Rome, to dissuade them from accepting the “heretic” Valentinus’ doctrines (5.20; cf. 4.11.1-3). Origen travels twice to Arabia to refute “heretical” doctrines (6.33.1-3, 6.37). Serapion, the bishop of Antioch, travels to the church of Rhossus to ensure that the Rhossians are using sound sacred texts (6.12.2-5). The correction of “heretical” teachings also prompts Christians’ circulation of more specialized texts. Justin, Irenaeus, and other Christian leaders publish refutations of “heresies” that Eusebius cites frequently.<sup>1211</sup> Eusebius’ notices and quotations of these texts portray the ecclesiastical network as vigilantly proscribing any teaching that might degrade the church’s uniform brilliance.

The church’s policing of the quality of its doctrines emerges in several personal encounters where Christians confront and expose “heretics”’ defective doctrines. One confrontation comes when the Christian thinker Rhodon rebukes the “heretical” teacher Apelles, a follower of the arch-“heretic” Marcion (5.13.5-7). In Rhodon’s voice, Eusebius recounts how Rhodon coaxed the “heretic” to admit that he does not know, but merely believes, that (as Marcion taught) there is just uncreated deity for the universe (*mē epistasthai pōs heis estin agenētos theos, touto pisteuein*). A public contest forces a deviant to concede the defectiveness of his thought.<sup>1212</sup> Other confrontations with “heretics” end with reconciliation rather than bragging, as intellectuals disabuse other Christians of “heresies.” Origen’s arguments convince the bishop Beryllus of Bostra (in Arabia) that Christ existed as a distinct being before his human birth (6.33.2), and the bishop Dionysius of Alexandria spends three days in dialogue with Christians in Arsinoe to persuade them that their methods of biblical interpretation are unsound (7.24.6-9).<sup>1213</sup> Whether a Christian dismisses the “heretics” or corrects their “heretical” beliefs, Eusebius’ stagings of

<sup>1208</sup> καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος φερώνυμος τις ὦν τῆ προσηγορίᾳ αὐτῷ τε τῷ τρόπῳ εἰρηνοποιός, τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης παρεκάλει τε καὶ ἐπρέσβευεν, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὐ μόνῳ τῷ Βίκτορι καὶ διαφόροις δὲ πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ κατάλληλα δι’ ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τοῦ κεκινήμενου ζητήματος ὠμίλει.

<sup>1209</sup> See, similarly, 6.33.1-3, 6.36, 6.45-7.9, 7.8.

<sup>1210</sup> On “heresy” as a Satanic strategy, see e.g. 2.13-2.15.1, 4.7.1f. with chapter 3, p. 113 with n. 697 above.

<sup>1211</sup> Justin: 2.13.2-4, 3.26.3f., 4.11.8-10; Irenaeus: 2.13.5, 3.26.2, 3.28.6, 4.7.4, 9; 4.11.3, 4.14, 4.29.2f. Other works devoted to refuting “heresies”: 4.7.6, 4.22.4-6, 4.23.3-6, 4.24.3, 4.25, 4.27f., 5.13, 5.16-18, 5.28, 6.22.2, 6.38, 7.24.

<sup>1212</sup> In other confrontations with “heretics,” Peter’s Eusebius quotes both John’s flight from a public bath where Cerinthus was present and Polycarp’s dismissal of Marcion as the spawn of Satan (3.28.6=4.14.6, 4.14.7). The bishops of Asia Minor challenge Montanus’ and his followers’ false prophecies (5.16.17, 5.18.13), and the bishops arrayed against Paul of Samosata commission the learned intellectual Malchion to refute Paul publicly (7.29.2).

<sup>1213</sup> Cf. the episodes of reconciliation with erstwhile Christians who rejected ecclesiastical norms at 3.23, 5.28.10-12.

victorious confrontations between “orthodoxy” and “heresy” dramatize the church’s efforts to ensure that their institution retains its philosophical character.

More often than “heretics” doctrines, however, Eusebius emphasizes the ecclesiastical network’s repudiation of “heretics” degenerate manner of life. This Eusebian preoccupation appears most prominently in Eusebius’ description of the “heretical” Antiochene bishop Paul of Samosata. After a circle of other bishops removes Paul from his episcopacy for denying Christ’s divinity, Eusebius quotes extensively from their announcement of the removal in 7.29f. As Doron Mendels has pointed out,<sup>1214</sup> Eusebius notes the theological case against Paul only briefly (7.27.2; cf. 5.28.1), but defames Paul’s character in colorful language and at much greater length (7.30.7-15).<sup>1215</sup> Paul was a *novus homo* who accumulated wealth by deceit and plunder, taking bribes and breaking promises (7.30.7); he claims an administrative title that he has not earned and struts around in the agora with a bodyguard (7.30.8); he sits on a high throne in worship and behaves like an actor, a sophist,<sup>1216</sup> or a *goēs*, the very antithesis of a philosopher (7.30.9);<sup>1217</sup> he conducts liturgies with chilling hymns and invites other clerics to flatter him (7.30.11); and he bribes clerics to help him get away with his crimes (7.30.12f.). The climactic charge in Eusebius’ excerpts is that Paul keeps two young women as his consorts (7.30.14).

In short, the evidence that Eusebius presents against Paul consists of Paul’s lawlessness, impiety, greed, flamboyance, audacity, ostentation, luxuriousness, satiety, and tyranny, all violations of the proper Christian discipline (*ton bion tou autou hoias...agōgēs*, 7.30.6). Such activities were unbecoming of the elite Christian network that Eusebius was constructing as a philosophical school, a vocation that required a disciplined lifestyle indifferent to public display.<sup>1218</sup> The Christian network therefore had to expel Paul. At several other points Eusebius’ Christians circulate texts that condemn the unphilosophical manner of “heretics” life, and thus distance the church from these men’s ostentatious, dissolute manner of life.<sup>1219</sup>

The Eusebian church’s vigilance against both impure doctrines and unbecoming conduct comes particularly to the fore when bishops travel to anti-“heretical” synods. The most impressive synod, again, removes Paul of Samosata from his episcopacy in Antioch (*History* 7.27-30).<sup>1220</sup> Here Eusebius quotes a letter announcing the removal of Paul signed by 17 Christian leaders from many regions of the eastern Roman Empire who concur in banishing Paul (7.30.2; see below). The display of the letter’s addressees, the bishops of Rome and Alexandria (7.30.2), authorizes the Christians who remove Paul by manifesting their willingness to publicize their actions to peers in the Christian network. Eusebius also presents a concurring vote for the putsch by citing Dionysius of Alexandria’s apparent approval (7.27.2).<sup>1221</sup> By such notices of synodical removal of “heretics” Eusebius manufactures the impression of a united, organized episcopal front against “heretical” teachings and norms that impressed church historians until Bauer into generalizing such unity across the entire pre-Eusebian church.

Thus, ecclesiastical connectivity, as represented in travel, circulated texts, and the citation of concurring authorities, ensures that “heretics” cannot insinuate a deficient manner of life into the

<sup>1214</sup> Mendels 1999: 31-33; for a summary of other evidence about the controversy, see Lang 2000.

<sup>1215</sup> The evidence certainly did exist for Eusebius to outline the “heresy” in more detail: cf. Lang 2000: 55-61.

<sup>1216</sup> *Sophistēs* is presumably meant in Plato’s disparaging, and not in Philostratus’ admiring, sense.

<sup>1217</sup> See chapter 1, p. 62 above.

<sup>1218</sup> See chapters 1 and 3, (pp. 65 and 118-128) above and Burrus 1989.

<sup>1219</sup> See also 2.13.3-7 with 2.14.4, 3.26.2f., 3.28.2-5, 4.7.9-14, 4.11.4f., 5.16-19, 5.28, 6.43, 7.25.3.

<sup>1220</sup> See also 5.16.10, 6.33, 6.37, 6.43.2, 6.46.3; cf. 5.24 7.7.5.

<sup>1221</sup> Apparent approval: see p. 194 below.

church. Christian connectivity creates self-policing mechanisms that maintain the high ethical and doctrinal standards expected of Greek philosophers.

### *C. Education and the Replication of the Christian Elite*

Eusebius' Christian network exhibits active mechanisms for educating adherents. As with Christians' transregional unity and collaborative boundary-marking, so teaching new generations motivates encounters, travel, letters, and the citation of predecessors. This indoctrination into Christ's philosophy ensures that each new generation will yield another crop of brilliant leaders.

Eusebius' most patent mechanism for narrating the replication of the Christian elite was the *History's* continuous succession of bishops. As I showed in chapter 2 (pp. 96-99), Eusebius structures the *History* around notices of episcopal successions in the important cities of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch as well as Jerusalem; and he asserts (through Irenaeus' voice, 5.6.5) that bishops were responsible for teaching Christianity to their churches. The frequent notices of episcopal succession create a regular rhythm that underlies the *History's* narratives, reminding readers that the church always installed capable and trustworthy heads whenever any bishop died.<sup>1222</sup> These bishops then ensure that their followers receive the doctrines that the apostles taught.

As noted in chapter 2, Eusebius also depicts non-episcopal Christian intellectuals as educating younger generations. The most conspicuous series of instructional relationships is the succession of Alexandrian philosophers, from Pantaenus (5.10) to Clement (5.11) to Origen (6.6, 6.14.8f.) to Heraclas (6.15, 6.26) and Dionysius (6.29.4).<sup>1223</sup> Such instructional practices were, however, part of the church's practice from the start, as Eusebius describes Thaddaeus as instructing the followers of Abgar in Jesus' doctrines (1.13.19f.; see the Introduction, pp. 2f.), and Jesus' apostles as teaching throughout the Roman world (e.g. 2.3.2, 2.15.1). The *History* also notes a number of specific relationships between famous Christian teachers and pupils.<sup>1224</sup> Instructional relationships recur throughout the *History*, complementing the successions of bishops as manifesting the institutionalized educational practices that replicated the church's intellectual elite.

These educational relationships underlie many Christians' citations of predecessors' teachings. Papias describes his asking his elders about forerunners' teachings (3.39.4). Irenaeus twice cites the example of the early bishop Polycarp as guiding his opinions (5.20.4-7, 5.24.14-17), and Polycrates of Ephesus cites the examples of Philip the evangelist, the apostle John, Polycarp, and his episcopal predecessors as having taught him when to celebrate Easter (5.24.2-7; see above). Origen cites his imitation of fellow Alexandrian Christian intellectuals Pantaenus

<sup>1222</sup> Cf. Van Dam 2011a, who points out that low life expectancy at birth even for elites would ensure that few bishops held their offices for more than a handful of years, which implied a high turnover rate among bishops and therefore made the problem of continuity of doctrine especially acute.

<sup>1223</sup> Scholars such as Grant (1972: 240) and Barnes (2009: 6) have complained about Eusebius' omission of successors to the Alexandrian school past Dionysius; in a national history such as the *Ecclesiastical History*, however (cf. chapter 1, p. 43 above), it is striking that Eusebius traced any part of this scholastic line in the first place.

<sup>1224</sup> Eusebius also focuses on a number of Origen's relationships with his students, noting eight who went on to the glory of martyrdom (6.4f.), and others who became bishops, including Heraclas (6.3.2, 6.15, 6.19.13, 6.26) and Dionysius (6.35 with 6.29.5); see also 6.30. In addition, the apostle John is the teacher of Polycarp (5.20.6; cf. 3.36.1), Papias learns from Philip and his daughters at Hierapolis (3.39.9, quoted at the beginning of this chapter), Irenaeus was Polycarp's hearer (5.5.8, 5.20.6f.), Justin teaches Tatian, who in turn teaches Rhodon (4.16.9; 4.29.1, 3; 5.13.1, 8), and Ptolemaeus is active in Rome as a teacher (4.17.8).

and Heraclas in acquiring Greek erudition (6.19.13).<sup>1225</sup> These citations show later Christians looking to their predecessors as exemplars for proper Christian conduct. They reinforce Eusebius' picture of Christian educational practices as sustaining the church's doctrinal and behavioral uniformity over time.

This emphasis on the unchanging continuity of tradition explains a practice that can be seen as a sign of Eusebius' disorganization, the *History's* occasional repetition of the same event.<sup>1226</sup> Sometimes Eusebius recounts the same anecdote once when describing an individual involved in the event recounted, and again when profiling a teller of the anecdote.<sup>1227</sup> So, for example, Eusebius quotes Irenaeus' famous anecdote of the apostle John's fleeing from the "heretic" Cerinthus when profiling Cerinthus (3.28.6=*Iren.Haer.* 3.3.4); in the next book, Eusebius' profile of Polycarp characterizes Polycarp by putting the same anecdote into his mouth (in a quotation of Irenaeus, 4.14.6).<sup>1228</sup> This doublet adduces the same act first to condemn a "heretic" and then to substantiate Polycarp's discipleship by John. A variation on the reuse of anecdotes is repeated attributions of textual authorship. Eusebius sometimes mentions a Christian's authorship of the same text twice or more often, first when describing the subject of the text, and later when profiling the text's author. In the most extreme example, Eusebius notes the composition of the Gospel of Mark at Peter's behest in Rome no fewer than five times, in five different voices including his own.<sup>1229</sup> Such repeated anecdotes and attributions of authorship become points of diachronic convergence. They bestow a transtemporal continuity and unity to Eusebius' chronologically and spatially disparate Christian network.

A shared education at the hands of past teachers even becomes a resource for unifying new generations of Christian luminaries. At *HE* 6.14.8f., Eusebius quotes a letter of Alexander of Jerusalem to Origen that attempts to create a rapport between writer and recipient:

And moreover, the aforementioned Alexander mentions Clement, and at the same time also Pantaenus in a letter to Origen, on the grounds that they had become acquaintances of his; he writes as follows:

This came to be the will of God, as you know, that our friendship might remain unspoiled, and be warmer and firmer instead. For we know that those blessed fathers who traveled this road before, in whose company we will be after a short time, Pantaenus, the truly blessed master, and holy Clement, who came to be my master and helped me, and anyone else at all; through these I have come to know you, the best man in all respects and my master and brother.<sup>1230</sup>

<sup>1225</sup> Further examples: 5.28.4f, 6.10.3, 7.7.4, 7.9.2.

<sup>1226</sup> See chapter 2, pp. 90-93 above on Eusebius' use of anecdotes.

<sup>1227</sup> Cf Mendels 1999: 7, who notes Eusebius' use of "frequent flashbacks...that hamper the flow of events" as evidence that Eusebius was "a subtle writer who knew exactly what he was doing."

<sup>1228</sup> Other repeated anecdotes: 3.11=4.22.4, 3.28.4f.=7.25.2f, 4.10=5.6.4, 4.14.5=5.24.16f., 5.11.1=6.14.9.

<sup>1229</sup> 2.15=3.39.15=5.8.2=6.14.6=6.25.5. See also e.g. 3.24.6=3.39.16=5.8.2=6.25.4 (the Gospel of Matthew), 3.24.11-13=5.8.4=6.14.7 (the Gospel of John), 1.7=6.32.3 (Julius Africanus' *Epistle to Aristides*), 3.16=3.38 (1 Clement), 3.36.13=4.14.8 (Polycarp's *Letter to the Philipians*).

<sup>1230</sup> πάλιν δ' ὁ δηλωθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πανταίνου ἐν τινὶ πρὸς Ὀριγένην ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει, ὡς δὴ γνωρίμων αὐτῶ γενομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γράφει δὲ οὕτως:

τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ θέλημα θεοῦ, ὡς οἶδας, γέγονεν ἵνα ἡ ἀπὸ προγόνων ἡμῖν φιλία μένη ἄσυλος, μᾶλλον δὲ θερμότερα ἢ καὶ βεβαιότερα. πατέρας γὰρ ἴσμεν τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκείνους τοὺς προοδεύσαντας, πρὸς οὓς μετ' ὀλίγον ἐσόμεθα, Πάνταινον, τὸν μακάριον ἀληθῶς καὶ κύριον, καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Κλήμεντα,



Like the letter of the martyrs of Lyons to Eleutherus discussed above, this communiqué creates an *amicitia*-triangle linking Origen, Clement, and Alexander. But whereas the martyrs' recommendation relies on the martyrs' authority as Christian heroes, Alexander's epistolary voice attempts to use Clement's independent tutelage of Origen and himself to connect himself with Origen. Alexander does this by adducing two metaphorical relationships with great Christians of previous generations, namely Clement and Clement's teacher Pantaenus (cf. *History* 5.11.1-5). The first metaphor is Alexander's portrayal of Clement as his father, which places Origen into a parallel genealogical relationship to that claimed by the speaker.<sup>1231</sup> Alexander can thus hail Origen with the intimate address of "brother" (*adelphos*) at the end of the letter. The second metaphor is Alexander's characterization of Clement and Clement's teacher Pantaenus as his "masters" (*kurioi*), presumably in their role as philosophical teachers.<sup>1232</sup> If such accomplished philosophers were his masters, so must their star student Origen hold the same authority over Alexander. Eusebius invites his readers to see Alexander's familial (*pater, adelphos*) and political (*kurios, martyres*) metaphors as moving Origen. Origen eventually leaves Alexandria for Caesarea, where Alexander continues to learn from his teaching (6.27). The citation of special relationships with Christians of the past forges unity among contemporaries.

At another climactic point Eusebius narrates the success of Christians' networks in acculturating succeeding generations into proper doctrine and practice. The deposition of the flamboyant "heretic" Paul of Samosata from the episcopacy of Antioch (see above) comes after 33 chapters consisting almost entirely of quotations and summaries of the bishop Dionysius of Alexandria's letters (6.40-7.26). Dionysius' letters epitomize Christian connectivity: Eusebius' quotations and catalogues of them address or name 35 Christian elites outside of Dionysius' bishopric with whom Dionysius had contact.<sup>1233</sup> The locations of his interlocutors stretch from Armenia in the east (6.46.2) to Rome and Carthage in the west (6.46.3, 7.3-5), and Dionysius claims to speak for bishops from as far as Mesopotamia as well (7.5.2). In these chapters,

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κύριόν μου γενόμενον καὶ ὠφελήσαντά με, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος τοιοῦτος· δι' ὧν σὲ ἐγνώρισα, τὸν κατὰ πάντα ἄριστον καὶ κύριόν μου καὶ ἀδελφόν.

<sup>1231</sup> As Eusebius asserts Clement was for Origen (*HE* 6.6) and later quotes Origen on Pantaenus (6.19.13). Cf. Watts 2006: 11 on the use of family metaphors for fourth-century teacher-student relationships.

<sup>1232</sup> At this point in his narrative Eusebius has already substantiated this claim for Pantaenus' and Clement's mastery of Christian philosophy at *HE* 5.10f., 6.13-6.14.7.

<sup>1233</sup> Dionysius communicates with the following 23 men: Fabius, the bishop of Antioch (6.41.1), Fabius of Antioch (6.44.1), Novatian of Rome (6.45; cf. 6.43), Hermammon (presumably an Egyptian cleric, 7.1, 7.10.1, 7.22.12), Conon of Hermapolis (6.46.2), Origen in Caesarea (6.46.2), Thelmyrides of Laodicea (6.46.2), Merozanes of Armenia (6.46.2), Cornelius of Rome (6.46.3), Stephen of Rome (7.3f.), Xystus of Rome (7.5.3, 7.9.1), Philemon of Rome (7.7.1; cf. 7.5.5), Dionysius of Rome (7.7.6, 7.26.1; cf. 7.5.5), Flavius, Domitius, and Didymus (not otherwise described: 7.20), Hierax, a bishop in Egypt (7.21.2), Ammon of Bernike (7.26.1), Telesphorus, Euphranor, and Euphorus (7.26.1f.), a "boy" named Timothy (7.26.2), and Basilides of the Pentapolis (7.26.3); finally, he wrote his opinion (*gnōmēn*) to the bishops who ousted Paul of Samosata from the Antiochene episcopacy (7.27.2).

Furthermore, in his letter Dionysius drops the names of 12 elites from outside of his own community: Germanus (an opposed bishop, 6.40.1, 7.11 *passim*), Chaeremon (another distant bishop, 6.42), Helenus of Tarsus (6.46.3; 7.5.1, 4), Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia (6.46.3; 7.5.1, 4), Theotecnus of Caesarea in Palestine (6.46.3, 7.5.1), Demetrianus of Antioch (6.46.4, 7.5.1), Alexander of Jerusalem (6.46.4), Marinus of Tyre (7.5.1), Mazabanes of Jerusalem (7.5.1), Heliodorus of Laodicea (7.5.1), Nepos, a theologian (7.24.4), and Corcorian, another theologian (7.24.9). At one point Dionysius claims that he could cite his reception of news from more bishops, but has only named the most illustrious bishops (*periphanesterous*, 7.5.1); note also "a certain man from among the brothers from Rome who were present" (perhaps the courier for some of Dionysius' correspondence with Rome (?), 7.11.3).

covering the period from Decius' alleged persecution through Gallienus' twelfth year (ca. AD 250-264), Eusebius' extensive quotation makes Dionysius appear to address every Christian community regularly, weighing in on the most difficult controversies and all but singlehandedly holding the church together when doctrinal controversies threatened to break the church's peace.<sup>1234</sup> Dionysius' voice becomes a guide for the entire church.<sup>1235</sup>

The removal of Paul of Samosata follows Dionysius' correspondence and encapsulates Dionysius' achievements, showing that Dionysius has taught his correspondents well (7.27-30). Eusebius' quotation of the greeting to the letter announcing Paul's removal heralds Dionysius' success in instructing future generations of Christian elites:<sup>1236</sup>

To Dionysius [the bishop of Rome] and Maximus [of Alexandria] and to all fellow-ministers throughout the inhabited world, bishops, presbyters and deacons, and to the entire catholic church under heaven, Helenus and Hymenaeus and Theophilus and Theotecnus and Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas and Aelianus and Paul and Bolanus and Protogenes and Hierax and Eutychius and Theodore and Malchion and Lucius and all the other who, with us, sojourn in the adjacent cities and provinces, bishops and presbyters and deacons and the churches of God, as to brothers beloved in the Lord: greetings (*HE* 7.30.2).<sup>1237</sup>

Several of the bishops who announce Paul's removal here appear earlier in the *History* in Dionysius' correspondence.<sup>1238</sup> Dionysius' epistolary activity thus shapes readers' impression of the authors named here.<sup>1239</sup> The bishops' coordinated, univocal removal of Paul shows that they have learned from Dionysius both the unity and the self-policing that previous generations of Christians modeled.<sup>1240</sup> Such a decisive measure implemented by a harmonious authoritative

<sup>1234</sup> Eusebius' portrayal of Dionysius is surprisingly neglected: I have not found a single publication dedicated to Eusebius' use of Dionysius' letters.

<sup>1235</sup> Cf. *HE* 7.pref.: τὸν ἑβδομὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας αὐθις ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἰδίαις φωναῖς συνεκπονήσει, τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν πεπραγμένων ἕκαστα ἐν μέρει δι' ὧν καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολῶν ὑφηγούμενος.

<sup>1236</sup> The network does not consist only of bishops: cf. as Malchion, an Antiochene presbyter, signs the letter (7.29.2).

<sup>1237</sup> Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαχίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσιν συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἑλενος καὶ Ὑμέναιος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεότεκνος καὶ Μάξιμος Πρόκλος Νικομάς καὶ Αἰλιανὸς καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Βωλανὸς Πρωτογένης καὶ Ἱεραξ καὶ Εὐτύχιος καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Μαλχίων καὶ Λούκιος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν παροικούντες τὰς ἐγγυς πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

<sup>1238</sup> From 7.30.2, Helenus of Tarsus (6.46.3; 7.5.1, 4), Hierax (location unspecified: 7.21.2, and unlikely to be the Egyptian bishop of 7.21.2), and Theotecnus of Caesarea Maritima (6.46.3, 7.5.1) are among Dionysius' correspondents; the bishops also (7.30.3) cite Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia (cited by Dionysius at 6.46.3; 7.5.1, 4) as condemning Paul and traveling to join the deliberations against him, but dying en route to Antioch (7.30.4f.). In addition, the father of Paul's successor, Domnus (7.30.17), had been bishop of Antioch and a correspondent of Dionysius (7.5.1). Note also the repetition of several names from the notice at 7.28.1 of the distinguished bishops in 7.30.2.

<sup>1239</sup> Eusebius can therefore glide from Dionysius' letters to their actions without making much of Dionysius' illness or death (cf. 7.27.2, 7.28.3).

<sup>1240</sup> Dionysius' apparent approval of the move, noted just before 7.27.2, seals this potentially divisive intervention with the blessing of the bishop who had worked so hard to instruct other bishops everywhere. But did Dionysius in fact approve of their action? Eusebius says explicitly only that Dionysius "presented his opinion, which he held concerning the issue in question" (δι' ἐπιστολῆς τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἣν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου,

network betokens the church's uniform practices of enforcing doctrinal concord and ethical integrity.

Eusebius' church trains itself to exhibit the same elite habits across time as well as across space. Chapter 2 above showed that Eusebius' repeated presentation of certain categories of biographical data—educational activity, anecdotes, and literary catalogues—created a rhetoric of redundancy, so that each generation produced more and more virtuous and brilliant Christians. Eusebius' construction of diachronic Christian networks explains and narrates this redundancy. The *History's* episcopal successions and teaching activity safeguard the continual replication of well-instructed Christian elites. They narrate the unadulterated reception of Christ's teaching up to Eusebius' own day that, as I showed above, waited until the early twentieth century to draw critical scrutiny.

Eusebius constructs the church as a tightly-knit network of intellectuals who also administered themselves adroitly.<sup>1241</sup> Historians should therefore question Williams' assertion that Eusebius was leaving a "record...of the epistolary habit of Christian leaders."<sup>1242</sup> Clearly the reproduction of letters, along with notices of travel, mutual encounters, and didactic successions, bolstered Eusebius' construction of a cohesive, unified, and elite Christian network. They are no disinterested "record" of the church's past.

Indeed, we must go beyond Eusebius' "record" to confirm the continual fusion of the ecclesiastical bonds that Williams likens to familial ties. The *History* often declines to specify whether featured church leaders' attempts to maintain the Christian network succeeded. Eusebius never tells us that Bishop Eleutherus welcomed Irenaeus at Rome (5.4), nor whether Victor of Rome reconciled with the churches of Asia (5.24),<sup>1243</sup> nor whether Origen accepted Alexander's offer of friendship (6.14.8f.). Eusebius becomes especially reticent about the results of his epistolary communications in contexts where bishops fought among themselves, such as the Easter controversy (5.23-25) and the later controversy over rebaptism after Decius' sacrificial edict (6.43-7.9); in both of these cases we know from other sources that the controversy continued into Eusebius' day.<sup>1244</sup>

Indeed, Eusebius systematically silences voices resistant to ecclesiastical peace, leaving the impression that the church resolved each of these conflicts.<sup>1245</sup> He rarely presents more than one voice in an epistolary exchange,<sup>1246</sup> and often keeps mum even on whether an encounter between

παράσπῆσας, 7.27.2). Eusebius may well have suppressed some disagreement on Dionysius' part with the methods used by his fellow-bishops.

<sup>1241</sup> Also asserted by Verdoner 2011: 127-131.

<sup>1242</sup> Cf. Barnes 1981: 141, cited in the Introduction, p. 14, n. 108 above.

<sup>1243</sup> The title of 5.25, the last chapter on the Easter controversy, contains more overt misdirection. The chapter title, "How a single resolution was agreed upon by all for the Pascha" (*hopōs tois pasi mia psēphos peri tou pascha sunephōnēthē*), intimates that the church reached a concord on the celebration of Easter. But the chapter itself says only that the Palestinian bishops circulated their tradition (*paradosin*) on the question throughout the church.

<sup>1244</sup> Novatian's movement demanding rebaptism survived for centuries after Eusebius discusses him (see Papandrea 2012: 69f.), while the issue of the celebration of Easter resurfaced at the Council of Nicaea: see e.g. Brox 1972 (and Eusebius' own quotation of Anatolius' Paschal Canons at *HE* 7.32.14-19 may be a volley in this debate).

<sup>1245</sup> Cf. Williams 1989: 12f., who voices no suspicion that the apparent resolutions were Eusebian fictions: "...when dissolution of the networks does loom (5.23.25, 6.19.15-19, 6.43-7.9, 7.24), Eusebius' heroes patch up their differences and maintain their ties. Their bonds are indissoluble as well as 'catholic.'" For a more critical reconstruction of the events that generated Eusebius' narratives of connection, see Nautin 1961.

<sup>1246</sup> Exceptions: 1.13.6-9, 4.23.7f., 6.31.1.

two Christians was friendly.<sup>1247</sup> When Eusebius quotes two or more testimonies or opinions about an event or individual, the voices invariably concur.<sup>1248</sup> This univocality suppresses discordant episodes from the church's past, reinforcing the Eusebian model of a uniform and cohesive church.<sup>1249</sup> The Eusebian "record" is so carefully selected as to distort events egregiously.

By parading Christians' continual meeting, corresponding with, traveling to, or citing other Christians, Eusebius leaves the impression that these habits unified the church even in the face of divisive controversies. The sum of these interactions is a consistently brilliant and virtuous church. But Eusebius' Christians do not interact merely with their own: they encounter, write to, and travel to visit individuals outside the church as well. And here, too, Eusebius handled his sources so as to construct a highly unified, virtuous, and honorable church.

### 3. Weaker Ties with non-Christians: Intellectuals, Statesmen, and their Respect for the Church

Where in the *History* Christians' internal interactions highlight the distinctive traits of the Christian network, the composite picture of this network's interactions with prominent non-Christians locates the church within the social structures of the Empire. For since as we saw above, encounters with important individuals were important signifiers of social status, a series of such encounters between individuals belonging to a group could constitute a composite image of the social status of that group. The church's interactions with outside elites therefore had to evince both Christians' contributions to the Empire and the receptiveness of the Empire's representatives to those contributions. Outside elites had to display respect for Eusebius' Christians, and in turn these Christians had to act in conformity to elite norms and play a recognizable role within the imperial elite.

Eusebius brings his Christians into contact with two kinds of representative of the Empire's non-Christians elite: other philosophers and Roman statesmen.<sup>1250</sup> Eusebius consistently depicts the Christians respecting and deferring to Roman officials, while with non-Christian intellectuals, Christians act as social equals or even superiors. The two groups' interactions with Eusebius' Christians confirm, as argued in chapters 1 through 3, that for Eusebius the Christians' role in Roman society paralleled the role of philosophers.

#### *A. Encounters with Outside Philosophers: Bolstering Christian Intellectual Credentials*

Occasionally, Eusebius burnishes the church's intellectual credentials by bringing Christians into contact with famous non-Christian philosophers. While there are only a handful of such encounters in the *History*, every one showcases either the Christian leader's parity with the outside intellectual or in the Christian's superiority.

<sup>1247</sup> E.g. 5.4, 6.19.16-19, 6.23.4, 6.31.2, cf. 5.24.16f., 2.17.1. Note also Eusebius' vagueness on Dionysius of Alexandria's opinion of the ouster of Paul of Samosata, p. 189 above.

<sup>1248</sup> E.g. 2.14, 3.26, 3.28, 3.31, 3.39.10-14, 4.7.4-8, 4.16.3-9, 5.16-19, 5.24, 6.43 with 7.8.

<sup>1249</sup> Cf. the observation of Willing 2008: 469-471 that the *History* mentions most "heretics" activity at just one point and remains silent on them thereafter, leaving the impression that the "heretic" faded from prominence as soon as a Christian denounced him.

<sup>1250</sup> But cf. the one encounter between a non-Roman statesman (Abgar of Edessa) and a Christian (Thaddaeus) in *HE* 1.13, discussed in the Introduction, pp. 1-4 above. I argue there that Eusebius meant Abgar to call Roman emperors to mind.

One such meeting comes early in the *Ecclesiastical History*, after the apostle Peter has come to Rome: “Tradition has it that Philo also in the time of Claudius at Rome came into discourse with Peter, who at that time was preaching to the people there...” (*HE* 2.17.1, author’s translation).<sup>1251</sup> This anecdote is short and forgettable; nothing transacted at this meeting draws description.<sup>1252</sup> Obviously, Philo of Alexandria was a famous Platonist philosopher, as Eusebius has stated earlier (*HE* 2.4.2f.),<sup>1253</sup> and famous philosophers do not hold *homilia* with just anyone.<sup>1254</sup> This notice therefore shows that Peter was worthy of holding a serious discussion with Philo. Philo’s *homilia* legitimates the status of Peter, the first bishop of Rome and a representative of the apostles, among the web of intellectuals in the Roman Empire.<sup>1255</sup>

Another Christian ascends to the top position within a non-Christian philosophical school. In 7.32, Eusebius profiles the Christian philosopher Anatolius of Alexandria. Anatolius is named to the chair of Aristotelian philosophy in Alexandria (7.32.6)—an honor that required the acclaim of his philosophical peers in a city known for its distinguished intellectuals.<sup>1256</sup> Anatolius goes on to abdicate this chair to become the bishop of Laodicea.

Two more hostile encounters with outside intellectuals display Christian thinkers’ superiority to another philosopher. First, Eusebius recounts Justin’s feud with the Cynic philosopher Crescens. Eusebius asserts in his own voice that, because Justin refutes Crescens so often, Crescens plots to turn Justin in to the authorities (4.16.1f.). Eusebius supports this narrative by quoting Justin’s invective against Crescens’ philosophical incompetence (4.16.3-6) and Justin’s student Tatian’s exposure of Crescens’ pederasty and greed (4.16.7-9).<sup>1257</sup> Only such a stupid, hypocritical, and immoderate “philosopher,” Eusebius implies, could fear Christians enough to accuse them.

Eusebius shows more respect to a second hostile philosopher, Porphyry of Tyre, who in the later third century authored an influential series of books *Against the Christians*.<sup>1258</sup> Indeed, the *History* quotes Porphyry’s own words about an encounter with Origen, inverting Porphyry’s critique of Origen into a victorious contest for Origen. I quote Eusebius’ account at length to highlight the overdetermining detail with which Eusebius frames Porphyry’s words (*HE* 6.19.1f., 5-7, trans. Oulton, modified):

<sup>1251</sup> [Φίλωνα] καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρῳ, τοῖς ἐκέῖσε τότε κηρύττοντι.... Eusebius goes on to support this by quoting a passage of Philo’s *On the Contemplative Life* that describes an ascetic Jewish community in Egypt, which Eusebius asserts must be Christian in all but name (2.17.4). On Eusebius’ use of Philo in this passage see the perceptive Inowlocki 2004; cf. DeVore forthcoming b.

<sup>1252</sup> Eusebius further obscures the anecdote by citing only *logos echei* for it: on Eusebius’ use of this phrase, cf. Carriker 2003: 64, who assumes too readily that Eusebius had a source for each such citation, even though it is quite possible that Eusebius simply invented the encounter between Peter and Philo. Cf. Olson 1999 and forthcoming, who makes a strong case that Eusebius forged the so-called Testimonium Flavianum, the report about Jesus in *Jewish Antiquities* 18.63 (*HE* 1.11.7=*DE* 3.5.105).

<sup>1253</sup> See DeVore forthcoming b for Eusebius’ portrait of Philo.

<sup>1254</sup> The term implies “association,” “conversation,” “transaction,” “business,” “instruction,” and other interactions between social equals joined in some kind of formalized relationship: see LSJ s.v. ὁμιλία. Fowden 1977: 372 notes that *homilia* denotes philosophical conversation in Porphyry’s *Life of Plotinus*.

<sup>1255</sup> In the same chapter Philo goes on to document the admirable philosophical regimen of the Therapeutae, an ascetic community near Alexandria that Eusebius identifies as Christian (2.17.2-24). Eusebius uses Philo’s documentation of this community to bestow more philosophical credentials on the church: see esp. Inowlocki 2004.

<sup>1256</sup> But cf. Glucker 1978: 150f. Anatolius may have been Iamblichus’ philosophical teacher (see e.g. Athanassiadi 1995: 246).

<sup>1257</sup> On Eusebius’ complex treatment of Tatian, see chapter 2, n. 538 above.

<sup>1258</sup> Scholarship on Porphyry’s *Against the Christians* abounds. For an overview, see Morlet 2011b.

Now, as witnesses also to Origen's achievements in these areas stand the philosophers of the Greeks themselves who flourished in his day, in whose treatises we find many a mention of the man....But why need one say this, when even Porphyry, who settled in our day in Sicily, issued treatises against us, attempting in them to slander the sacred scriptures, and mentioned those who had given their interpretations in them? And since he could not by any other means whatsoever bring any base charge against our opinions, for lack of argument he turned to deride and slander their interpreters too, and among these Origen especially....And then after other remarks he says,

Now this manner of absurdity comes from a man whom I met when I was still quite young, who had a great reputation, and still holds it, because of the writings that he has left behind him, I mean Origen, whose glory has been widespread among the teachers of this kind of learning. For this man was a hearer of Ammonius, who had the greatest proficiency in philosophy in our day; and so far as a grasp of knowledge was concerned he owed much to his master, but as regards the right choice in life he took the opposite road to Ammonius. For Ammonius, on the one hand, a Christian reared by Christian parents, when he came into contact with sensible thinking and philosophy, changed immediately to a way of life according to the laws; but Origen on the other, a Greek educated in Greek learning, drove headlong towards barbarian rudeness, and going straight after this he sold himself and his status as an erudite man; and while in his manner of life he was a Christian and lived lawlessly, in his opinions about material things and the divine he played the Greek, and introduced Greek ideas into foreign fables....<sup>1259</sup>

If we can assume that Eusebius copied exactly the text that he found,<sup>1260</sup> Porphyry appears to have recounted this anecdotal encounter only briefly, indicating only that he met Origen in his youth. No more detail, no major confrontation, no grand insight into Origen follows from Porphyry's account. Rather, Porphyry uses this encounter as his point of departure for criticizing Origen: he proceeds to compare Origen unfavorably to Origen's teacher Ammonius and denounce Origen's "lawless" (*paranomōs*) blending of Greek and Christian intellectual

<sup>1259</sup> μάρτυρες δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ κατορθώσεως αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἡκμακότες φιλόσοφοι, ὧν ἐν συγγράμμασιν πολλὴν μνήμην εὐρομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός...τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταστάς Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πεπειραμένος τῶν τε εἰς αὐτὰς ἐξηγησαμένων μνημονεύσας, μηδὲν μηδαμῶς φαῦλον ἔγκλημα τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐπικαλεῖν δυνηθεῖς, ἀπορία λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται καὶ τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐνδιαβάλλειν, ὧν μάλιστα τὸν Ὀριγένην...εἶτα μεθ' ἑτερά φησιν·

ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ καὶ γὰρ κομιδῇ νέος ὧν ἔτι ἐντετυχηκα, σφόδρα εὐδοκίμησαντος καὶ ἐτι δι' ὧν καταλέλοιπεν συγγραμμάτων εὐδοκίμουτος, παρελήφθω, Ὀριγενους, οὐ κλέος παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτων τῶν λόγων μέγα διαδέδοται. ἀκροατῆς γὰρ οὗτος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ πλείστην ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις ἐπίδοσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐσχηκότος γεγωνῶς, εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν ὠφελίαν ἐκτήσατο, εἰς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ πορείαν ἐποίησατο. Ἀμμωνίος μὲν γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἀνατραφεὶς τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἤψατο, εὐθύς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο, Ὀριγένης δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐν Ἕλλησιν παιδευθεὶς λόγοις, πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἐξώκειλεν τόλμημα· ᾧ δὲ φέρων αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἕξιν ἐκαπήλευσεν, κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον Χριστιανῶς ζῶν καὶ παρανόμως, κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἐλληνίζων τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς ὀθνεῖοις ὑποβαλλόμενος μύθοις....

<sup>1260</sup> Cf. Lawlor and Oulton 1929: 19-27 for evidence of Eusebian tampering with some of his sources in the *History*.

practices.<sup>1261</sup> The mere mention of the meeting authorizes Porphyry with the acquaintance with Origen's thought required for an informed critique.<sup>1262</sup>

Eusebius exploits Porphyry's brevity to rehabilitate the Christian philosopher's superiority. His respectful introduction of Porphyry suggests that Porphyry was a capable interlocutor for the great Christian philosopher. But then Eusebius claims preemptively that this famous philosopher failed to refute Christianity on a philosophical level.<sup>1263</sup> The claim that Porphyry could only resort to ad hominem attacks frames this anecdote for readers of the *History*: since Porphyry is both a skilled philosopher and an enemy of the church, any compliment he pays Origen bears the credibility of a knowledgeable, hostile witness's word. Eusebius' assertion that Porphyry failed to refute Christianity also colors Porphyry's vagueness about what transpired between him and Origen.<sup>1264</sup> That Porphyry does not disclose any details about the encounter leaves Eusebius the space to emphasize the grudging compliments that Porphyry pays Origen while summarily dismissing the criticism (6.19.2). Eusebius thus uses Porphyry's omissions to assert that the greatest philosophical opponent of Christianity could not refute this Christian intellectual.<sup>1265</sup>

In addition to their encounters with non-Christian intellectuals, Eusebius' Christians occasionally exhibit their ties with elite Romans by undergoing an education in one of the non-Christian philosophical schools. Along with the distinguished Aristotelian Anatolius of Alexandria (see above), Pantaenus achieves distinction as a Stoic philosopher (5.10.1), while Justin also undergoes a Platonist education (4.8.5). Origen, as Porphyry concedes, has a thorough Greek philosophical education (6.2.7-9, 6.19.5-8, 12f.), and Origen's philosophical teacher Ammonius is a Christian as well (6.19.10).<sup>1266</sup> Christians also show themselves capable of citing classical texts, and thus drawing connections with the classical tradition.<sup>1267</sup> Eusebius portrays his Christians as engaging with the same philosophical texts as other Greek-speaking philosophers.

On the other hand, the relative scarcity of such citations in the *History* makes it clear that the classical texts dear to educated Greeks were not central to his Christians' identity. Eusebius' Christians quote biblical and New Testament texts far more frequently than classical texts. Origen subordinates his Greek education to the study of sacred learning (6.2.8), and Anatolius resigns his post as chair of Aristotelian philosophy in Alexandria to take up the episcopacy in the less prestigious city of Laodicea (7.32.6). Indeed, in the *History* only "heretics" adopt the practices of Greek thinkers wholeheartedly.<sup>1268</sup> While good elite Christians can play the Greek

<sup>1261</sup> On this passage, see Johnson 2012, with references; cf. Schott 2008b: 262-271.

<sup>1262</sup> Where the factuality of the events recounted was at stake, claims to eyewitness testimony had long been prized as guarantors of truth: see Marincola 1997: 86-95.

<sup>1263</sup> Since he is writing an *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius may be excused for asserting without proof that Porphyry failed to refute Christianity. Eusebius' 25-book *Against Porphyry* would bear the burden of refuting Porphyry, though we know little about this text: cf. Kofsky 2000: 271-273.

<sup>1264</sup> Perhaps Porphyry tried and failed to refute Origen at this encounter, or perhaps he became so disgusted with Origen's cultural hybridity that he could not engage with him at all, as the disgust in the ensuing text might indicate.

<sup>1265</sup> At 6.19.10f. Eusebius also scores points by catching Porphyry in an error: where Porphyry says that Origen's teacher Ammonius renounced his Christianity for Hellenism (6.19.7), Eusebius adduces Ammonius' Christian compositions to declare Ammonius a lifelong Christian. On Ammonius, see most recently Digeser 2012: ch. 1.

<sup>1266</sup> On Ammonius, see the previous note. Note also Eusebius' complimentary notice of Philo's engagement with Plato and Pythagoras at 2.4.3.

<sup>1267</sup> Dionysius of Alexandria alludes to Thucydides' classic account of the Athenian plague of 430 to describe a contemporary plague (*HE* 7.24.6= *Thuc.*2.64.1, *HE* 7.22.10=*Thuc.*2.52.2), and Eusebius himself quotes an arcane Hippocratic text in his oration at Tyre (10.4.11=*Hipp. Flat.* 1).

<sup>1268</sup> *HE* 4.7.7, 5.28.13-15.

game of citing classical texts, they subordinate this game to their own, superior authoritative texts. As we will see in chapter 6, this subordination of classical learning parallels the argument of Eusebius' writings contemporary to the *History*.

In sum, Christians such as Peter, Origen, and Anatolius earn the respect of their non-Christian philosophical peers. Hostile non-Christian philosophers like Crescens and Porphyry could not refute these Christians in person, resorting instead to innuendo and or conspiracy to discredit the church. Eusebius' Christians prove the depth of their connection with Greek learning by engaging fluently with Greek philosophical texts, though Greek philosophy remained inferior to Christian philosophy. Cumulatively this handful of encounters and scattering of citations reinforces the portrait of Christianity as a philosophically proficient network, a network with different sources of intellectual authority than those of Greek philosophers.

### *B. Relations with Roman Imperial Leaders: Harmony at a Distance*

Christians in the *Ecclesiastical History* encounter political figures—emperors, members of the imperial family, and governors—fairly often. While bad emperors and governors persecute the church, Christian leaders impress most Roman elites they encounter, though, as we will see, Eusebius had to perform some of his most manipulative massaging of his sources to create these episodes. While most such relationships between Roman leaders and Christian heroes are temporary and do not spark long relationships, they establish a pattern of cordial interaction between the Christian and Roman ruling networks. Equally important, a number of Eusebius' Christians—but almost always never clerics, and never a bishop—take on roles in Roman governance themselves.

A celebrated encounter between a Christian and a member of the imperial family depicts the Christian as fulfilling the imperial family's needs:

The emperor's mother, named Mamaea, a most pious woman if ever there was one, as Origen's fame was being shouted everywhere so as to reach her hearing, considered it very important to be deemed worthy of seeing the man and to make an attempt at the comprehension about divine things marveled at by everyone. When she was spending time at Antioch she summoned him with a military escort. After spending some time at her court and expounding everything for the glory of the Lord and of the virtue of the divine school, he hurried away to his usual activities.<sup>1269</sup>

Origen is important enough to draw an invitation, complete with the honor of an armed imperial escort, to instruct an intellectually inclined member of the imperial household.<sup>1270</sup> He proves successful enough at this task to spend significant time at her court, perhaps instructing her in the

<sup>1269</sup> τοῦ δ' αὐτοκράτορος μήτηρ, Μαμαία τοῦνομα, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη θεοσεβεστάτη γυνή, τῆς Ὀριγένους πανταχόσε βοωμένης φήμης, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν ἀκοῶν, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θεᾶς ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ πάντων θαυμαζομένης περὶ τὰ θεῖα συνέσεως αὐτοῦ πείραν λαβεῖν. ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δῆτα διατρίβουσα, μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς δορυφορίας αὐτὸν ἀνακαλεῖται· παρ' ἧ χρόνον διατρίψας πλεῖστά τε ὅσα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλείου ἀρετῆς ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἔσπευδεν διατριβᾶς.

<sup>1270</sup> Military escort as an honor: Lendon 1997: 91.



Christian way of life.<sup>1271</sup> Nonetheless, Origen refuses to become coopted into the Mamaean court, returning instead to Caesarea to write his scriptural commentaries (6.22.1f.).<sup>1272</sup>

Origen's invitation to court exemplifies the cordial but distant relations throughout the *History* between bishops and Christian intellectuals on the one hand, and most Roman rulers on the other. Good emperors consistently listen to Christian intellectuals' pleas and protect the church.<sup>1273</sup> Tiberius tries to secure legality for the church, but the Senate refuses (2.2).<sup>1274</sup> Hadrian protects the Christians from persecution (4.9). Marcus Aurelius recognizes a legion of Christians for stopping a storm with their prayers (5.5).<sup>1275</sup> Gallienus grants Dionysius of Alexandria's request to return Christians' property to the church and even issues a rescript affirming toleration for Christianity (7.13). Aurelian takes heed of the bishop of Rome's endorsement of the coalition of bishops arrayed against Paul of Samosata, and as a result rejects Paul's claim to the Antiochene church's property (7.30.19).<sup>1276</sup> In all of these encounters Christian leaders persuade emperors to show favor to the church, creating a consistent pattern of friendly, albeit not particularly close, relations between church and Empire.

Indeed, at one point Eusebius manufactures a favorable encounter between Roman emperor and Christian intellectual by juxtaposing two quotations whose contents show no narrational relationship. At the climax of his profile of Justin Martyr (4.12.11-4.13), Eusebius asserts:

This same man Justin..., also made other arguments on behalf of our faith, including a defense-speech addressed to Antoninus of the epithet Pius and the Senate Council of the Romans....He introduces himself, who he was and where he came from, in these words:

To the emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Caesar Augustus and to Verissimus the philosophical son and to Lucius, the natural son of the philosophical Caesar and the adopted son of Pius, the lover of *paideia*, and to the holy Senate and to all the People of the Romans, on behalf of the people from the entire nation that is hated and despised unjustly, I, Justin the son of Priscus the son of Baccheius of the people from the Flavia Neapolis in Syria Palaestina, have made the address and plea.”

Then, after being met also by other brothers who were being oppressed at the hand of local citizen bodies with all kinds of outrage, the same emperor judged the league of Asian cities in need of the following kind of order:

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<sup>1271</sup> *Diatribō*, the verb by which Eusebius denotes both Mamaea's and Origen's stay at Antioch, often connotes educational instruction.

<sup>1272</sup> Cf. 6.19.15, where a prefect of Arabia summons Origen to settle some unspecified matter there. Eusebius does not say whether this prefect was Christian or not.

<sup>1273</sup> See also the telling, extraneous quotation of Tertullian, *Apology* 5.7 at *HE* 5.5.7.

<sup>1274</sup> An event that, of course, contradicts the relationship between Tiberius and the Senate as portrayed by the Roman historians Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio. Tiberius would be a weak emperor indeed if he could not impose his will on the Senate.

<sup>1275</sup> On this episode, see esp. Sage 1987. Cf. 5.pref.1, where Eusebius dates the mass martyrdom of Lyons to “the seventeenth year of Antoninus Verus.” Eusebius apparently names Lucius Verus as the emperor, even though Verus did not reign for seventeen years: cf. Grant 1975a: 416, Barnes 1981: 137.

<sup>1276</sup> Though in the very next chapter Aurelian decides to persecute and is only stopped by a sudden death (7.30.20f.).

The emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, having tribunician power for the fifteenth time, consul for the third time, to the League of Asian cities, greetings....<sup>1277</sup>

When he says that Justin “addressed... a defense-speech” (*apologian prosphōnei*) to the emperor and Senate, Eusebius encourages the reader to imagine Justin delivering his *First Apology* to the emperor, without saying unequivocally that Justin won a personal audience with the emperor.<sup>1278</sup> Justin’s description of Pius as “the lover of *paideia*” adduces the Empire’s shared education as a signifier of elite status.<sup>1279</sup> Eusebius then sequences his text so that Pius’ alleged rescript protecting Christians follows Justin’s pleas. By stating that Pius “met also” (*enteuchtheis kai*) with Christians from Asia claiming abuse, Eusebius depicts Justin as one of several Christian representatives important enough to draw the emperor’s scarce attention. Yet Eusebius’ quotation of Justin’s plea foregrounds Justin’s influence and implies that Justin’s philosophical acumen persuaded the emperor, even though Pius’ quoted words respond to the needs of Christians in Asia, and not Justin’s.<sup>1280</sup> Justin thus appears skilled enough in philosophy to change an educated emperor’s mind.<sup>1281</sup> Eusebius’ narrative sequencing turns Justin into a model of the clout that philosophical Christians had with emperors.

In addition to Christian elites, the *History* features encounters between Christians and Roman rulers in the form of martyr narratives. As argued in chapter 3 (p. 114), only bad emperors and governors condemn Christians. Moreover, although (as argued in chapter 3) Eusebius downplays judges’ interrogation of Christian heroes in his martyr narratives, his rare interrogation scenes always depict Christians who comport themselves with the elevated thought and behavior appropriate to a Roman court.<sup>1282</sup> The most extended example comes in a narrative from the second-century Christian writer Hegesippus (*HE* 3.19-3.20.7). Domitian, fearful of rebellion from the family of David (cf. 3.12), accuses some of Jesus’ nephews, the sons of the savior’s brother Jude. After interrogating them about their ancestry, he asks them how wealthy they are. Hostile and defensive, Domitian thus conforms to his reputation as the stereotypical tyrant (cf. *HE* 3.17). The grand-nephews of Jesus, meanwhile, answer all of the emperor’s questions respectfully. Revealing that they have only middling landholdings and no other property, they

<sup>1277</sup> ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰουστίνος...καὶ ἑτέρους λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογία ἔχοντας βασιλεῖ Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ δὴ ἐπικληθέντι Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτῳ βουλή προσφωνεῖ...ἐμφάνει δ’ εαυτὸν ὅστις καὶ πόθεν ἦν, διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐν τούτοις·

Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Οὐηρισσίμῳ υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος φύσει υἱῷ καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῷ, ἐραστῇ παιδείας, ἱερᾷ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ παντὶ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων Ἰουστίνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαυίας Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἰς αὐτῶν, τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἔντευξιν πεποίημαι.

Ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑφ’ ἑτέρων ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀδελφῶν παντοίαις ὕβρεσιν πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων δήμων καταπονουμένων, τοιαύτης ἤξιωσεν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας διατάξεως·

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός, Ἀρμένιος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημορχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ὕπατος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν....

<sup>1278</sup> Cf. also *HE* 5.5.6, according to which Tertullian “addressed (*prospōnēsas*) his *Apology* to the Roman Senate.”

<sup>1279</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 31f. above.

<sup>1280</sup> Jerome, follows Eusebius in imagining Christian apologies as prompting emperors’ protective rescripts: see *Ep.* 70.4, that Quadratus’ *Apology* ended persecution under Hadrian (cf. *HE* 4.3, 4.9), even though Hadrian’s rescript does not mention (or, as far as we have *reliquiae* from it, echo) Quadratus’ *Apology*.

<sup>1281</sup> Pace Morgan’s assertion (2005: 203) that “Christians themselves have nothing to do with [emperors’] changes of heart” in the *History*.

<sup>1282</sup> In addition to the following, see 4.15.22 (= *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 10.2), 4.16.6-13, 5.21.4, 7.11.8).

raise their hands to display skin toughened from agricultural labor. Asked about the kingdom of their great-uncle, they cite the Christian scripture (John 18.36) that Christ's kingdom is not of this world. Thus, these ostensibly simple folk prove able to see past the material realm, unlike Domitian. Although they obviously lack the wealth that was normally essential to claim the elite status of most Eusebian Christians, they have certainly shown themselves higher-minded than the Roman emperor and rendered Domitian's accusations ridiculous. Eusebius' reproduction of this episode exploits these simple men as exemplars of a church that fixed humans' eyes beyond merely worldly goods.<sup>1283</sup>

In one passage Eusebius manipulates his evidence especially subtly to create a favorable flesh-and-blood encounter between Christians and emperor.<sup>1284</sup> In 3.33 Eusebius recounts the famous encounter between the famous Roman author and statesman Pliny the Younger and some Christians when Pliny was governing the province of Pontus and Bithynia in northern Asia Minor, which Pliny had recounted in one of his letters to the emperor Trajan (Pliny, *Epistles* 10.96f.). Not only do Pliny's letter and Trajan's rescript survive, but so does Eusebius' direct source for the exchange between Pliny and Trajan, the famous Christian rhetorician's Tertullian's Latin *Apology*, written around the turn of the third century.<sup>1285</sup> The surviving texts offer the opportunity for an extended comparison between Eusebius' narration and the incident as found in his source.

In his own letter Pliny tells Trajan how in his province some Christians had been turned in to his court. Pliny offered them three opportunities to worship the emperor, and if they obstinately refused, he would execute them. Pliny also reports that he tortured deaconesses to learn something about Christian habits, but learned only that they exhibited odd religious habits and took oaths not to commit certain misdeeds. Along with his conclusion that the Christians were harmless, Pliny characterizes Christianity as an empty, over-the-top, and infectious superstition and decried the Christians' stubborn and unyielding obstinacy.<sup>1286</sup> Trajan replies that Christians were not to be sought out, but were to be executed if they confessed and refused to renounce loyalty to Christ.

Having almost certainly never read Pliny's letters, Eusebius learned about the exchange from Tertullian's *Apology* (2.6-9) as translated into Greek.<sup>1287</sup> There, Tertullian notes that Pliny was worried about the massive numbers of Christians he was finding in Asia. Tertullian recounts Pliny's inquiries into Christian morality and then describes Trajan's reply that Christians were not to be sought out for arrest, but were to be punished if they confessed in court (*Apology* 2.6f.). Tertullian proceeds to criticize Trajan's policy as incoherent, famously asking, if Christianity is illegal, why not seek Christians out? and, if it is harmless enough not to be worth seeking out, why is Christianity illegal (*Apology* 2.8f.)?

While Eusebius' version of Pliny's consultation has drawn little notice from scholars,<sup>1288</sup> the passage demonstrates how he manipulated his sources to depict admirable Roman elites as favorable to Christianity (*HE* 3.33.1, 3f.):<sup>1289</sup>

<sup>1283</sup> Cf. *HE* 5.pref.3f. with chapter 3, pp. 105-107 above.

<sup>1284</sup> In addition to what follows, note also 2.2.4; 4.3; 4.26.1, 5-11; 5.5.

<sup>1285</sup> Though Eusebius had only a Greek translation: see Carriker 2003: 261f. with 18 n. 53; on the translation of Tertullian's *Apology* into Greek, see Fisher 1982: 203-207.

<sup>1286</sup> Pliny calls Christianity *pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem* (*Epistle* 10.97.3), *superstitionem pravam et immodicam* (10.96.8), and *superstitionis istius contagio* (10.97.9).

<sup>1287</sup> See the Introduction, n. 144 above.

<sup>1288</sup> The only previous discussion I have found is Beggs 1999: 220-222, who anticipates some points made here.

The persecution against us was extended so massively and in so many places that Pliny Secundus, most distinguished of governors, upset by the great numbers of martyrs, communicated about the masses of people being slain for their faith to the emperor, and at the same time informed him that nothing unholy was going on among those being killed, nor were they caught doing anything illegal, except for their gathering together at dawn and singing a hymn to Christ in the manner of a god, and that they renounce adultery and murder and immoral offenses related to these while doing everything in keeping with the laws. To this, Trajan established the following decree, that the tribe of Christians was not to be sought out, but when happened upon to be punished....The narrative from which we have told the above is from the Latin defense-speech of Tertullian, the translation of which runs like this:

And yet we have found also that investigation into us is hindered. For when Pliny Secundus, as governor of a province, condemned some Christians and deprived them of their status, but was troubled by their large numbers, he therefore did not know what else had to be done and therefore communicated to Trajan the emperor, saying that apart from their refusal to worship idols he had found nothing unholy among them; he informed Trajan of this, that the Christians rose at dawn and sang a hymn to Christ in the manner of a god and according to their skill swore to keep themselves from murdering, committing adultery, rapaciousness, robbery, and things like these. To this Trajan issued a rescript that the tribe of the Christians was not to be sought out, but if happened upon was to be punished.<sup>1290</sup>

Taken together, Eusebius' portrayal of Pliny and Trajan transforms a famous Roman administrator and author—whose own, independently preserved words drip with disdain for Christians—into an advocate of the church's virtues.<sup>1291</sup> Although he leaves Pliny's

<sup>1289</sup> I have omitted 3.33.2 from this quotation, where Eusebius digresses to describe the nature of persecution across the Empire during Trajan's reign.

<sup>1290</sup> τοσοῦτος γε μὴν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμός, ὡς Πλίνιον Σεκοῦνδον, ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαρτύρων κινήθηνα, βασιλεῖ κοινώσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναιρουμένων, ἅμα δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μηνῶσαι μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατελιφέναι, πλὴν τό γε ἅμα τῇ ἔω διεγειρομένους τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις ἀθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν πάντα τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις· πρὸς ἃ τὸν Τραϊανὸν δόγμα τοιόνδε τεθεικέναι, τὸ Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι...εἰληπται δ' ἡ ἱστορία ἐξ ἧς ἀνώτερον δεδηλώκαμεν τοῦ Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ρωμαϊκῆς ἀπολογίας, ἧς ἡ ἑρμηνεῖα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·

καίτοι εὐρήκαμεν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιζητησὶν κεκωλυμένην. Πλίνιος γὰρ Σεκοῦνδος ἡγούμενος ἐπαρχίου κατακρίνας Χριστιανούς τινες καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλὼν, ταραχθεὶς τῷ πλήθει, διὸ ἠγνόει τί αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἴη πρακτέον, Τραϊανῶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνεκοινώσατο λέγων ἔξω τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρηκέναι· ἐμήνυνεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀνίστασθαι ἔωθεν τοὺς Χριστιανούς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν κωλύεσθαι φονεύειν, μοιχεύειν, πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν Τραϊανὸς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι.

<sup>1291</sup> Of course, Tertullian had already suppressed some sections of Pliny's description of Christians that contradict Eusebius' picture of the church. Tertullian's summary of Pliny's letter omitted such harsh words for Christianity as *superstitionem pravam, immodicam* (10.96.8) and omitted Pliny's report that he learned of Christianity from two slave-women, removing the letter's evidence that low-status women represented the church to Pliny (10.96.8).

condemnation of the Christians intact in his quotation of Tertullian's *Apology*,<sup>1292</sup> Eusebius' omission of Pliny's executions in his own narratorial voice obscures the harm that Pliny did to Christians. Readers hear twice of Pliny's anxiety about executing Christians (*kinētheis*, 3.33.1; *tarachtheis*, 3.33.3), twice of his discovery that Christians swore off wickedness and lived pious lives, and twice that Trajan forbade pogroms against Christians (3.33.1, 3), but just once that Pliny executed Christians. And Pliny's anxiety about punishing Christians and his complimentary description of Christian practice imply that he executed Christians reluctantly, and only to fulfill his official duty.<sup>1293</sup> Thanks to Eusebius' framing of the episode, Pliny appears to protest such a harsh penalty: for all that Eusebius' readers know, Pliny's letter may merely have reported Christians' good deeds and a plea to stop the mass execution of this upstanding minority.

Moreover, Eusebius ends his quotation of Tertullian at a strategic moment, right before Tertullian deconstructs Trajan's Christian policy. Eusebius thus removes the section of his source that criticized a widely-acclaimed Roman emperor. In Eusebius' telling, Pliny and Trajan simply mitigate persecution; there is no need to criticize the coherence of their policy.<sup>1294</sup> Whereas Tertullian had proffered Pliny and Trajan to prove the unfairness of imperial treatment of Christians, Eusebius' repackaging of the same information transforms Pliny into an advocate for the church, and Trajan into a reasonable protector of the church.

In addition to such encounters, a number of Christians—none of them bishops or professional intellectuals—occupy elite positions and important administrative roles in the Roman Empire in the *History*. The most conspicuous Christian to ascend Rome's imperial hierarchy is of course Constantine, who ruled the western Roman Empire when Eusebius wrote all but the final two chapters of the *History*.<sup>1295</sup> But for Eusebius Constantine is not the first Christian emperor, since Philip the Arab was also a Christian (6.34; see below).<sup>1296</sup> Other Christians are in elite households: Flavia Domitilla, the niece of a consul, is banished for professing Christianity,<sup>1297</sup> while Alexander Severus' household includes many Christians.<sup>1298</sup> Others help to govern the Roman Empire: Tertullian is an expert in Roman law; two encomiastic chapters praise Astyrius, a Roman senator from Caesarea; an erudite Christian, Dorotheus, becomes procurator of the emperor's purple-dying operations; Philoromus is such an important imperial administrator as to require an armed military escort; Adauctus is the equestrian financial minister (*a rationibus*) of

<sup>1292</sup> The notice of Pliny's condemnation remains in a subordinate clause: *katakrinas Christianous tinas, tinas tēs axias ekbalōn*, 3.33.3=Tert.*Apol.*2.6. Tertullian's Latin puts the condemnation into an ablative absolute in the passive voice: *damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsus*.

<sup>1293</sup> Cf. chapter 3, pp. 114f. on Eusebius' report of an "ancient law" that declared Christianity illegal (*HE* 2.2.2).

<sup>1294</sup> Cf. *HE* 5.5.7, where, extraneously for its immediate subject, Eusebius quotes Tertullian's *Apology* 5.7, which trumpets Trajan's prohibition of seeking Christians out (as well as Vespasian's, Hadrian's, and Pius' nonpersecution).

<sup>1295</sup> Constantine is noted in *HE* 8.13.12-14, 9.9.1-11. 10.9. On the composition of the *History*, see Appendix 1 below.

<sup>1296</sup> See pp. 205, 227 below on Philip. Eusebius also notes that Origen wrote to Philip and to Philip's wife (6.36.3).

<sup>1297</sup> *HE* 3.18.4; cf. Dio, *Roman History* 67.14.1f., Suetonius, *Domitian* 15. The controversy over the identity of this Flavia Domitilla—whether she was Christian or Jewish, and whether she was Domitian's or the consul Titus Flavius Clemens' niece—is a long and vexed question: see Lampe 2003: 198-205 for a summary. For my purposes, what matters is how Eusebius portrays her.

<sup>1298</sup> 6.28. Although Eusebius' wording allows that the members of Alexander's household (τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου οἶκον) whom Maximinus Thrax loathes may be low-ranking slaves, since slaves constituted much of the Roman imperial household, it seems unlikely that Eusebius' readers would infer that these household members were mere slaves. Maximinus would hardly have unleashed the persecution that Eusebius says he did in response to Alexander's Christian-friendliness if the recipients of Alexander's kindness were slaves.

an imperial diocese, and several Christians fight in the Roman army.<sup>1299</sup> Everywhere Christians serve the Empire with distinction.

However, it was significant that all but one of these Christians serving in Roman administration are *lay* Christians. No bishop also serves as a high Roman administrator, and only one presbyter, Dorotheus of Laodicea, also holds a prominent imperial office as procurator of purple-dying operations (7.32.2-4). The *History* thus does not concentrate both imperial and ecclesiastical power in a single individual. Moreover, in the only passage in the *History* where a Christian in a position of imperial authority enters a situation where a Christian cleric is performing his sacred duties, the imperial leader obeys the cleric.<sup>1300</sup> At 6.34 the emperor Philip the Arab tries to gain entry into a Christian liturgy. The Christian clergyman in charge refuses to grant Philip entry until he confesses his sins and repents.<sup>1301</sup> Here, the emperor, the *pontifex maximus* of the Roman Empire,<sup>1302</sup> defers to a Christian cleric on a matter of Christian ritual.

This incident, I suggest, models the proper deference that, in Eusebius' view, Roman officials owed Christian leaders deference in the latter's spheres of authority. Throughout the *History* Roman rulers administer legal, military, financial, and building affairs, while Christian leaders advise the emperor about the proper relationship between God and humanity and perform ritual duties to maintain that proper relationship.<sup>1303</sup> Philip shows his proper deference to the church's sphere of authority in this encounter, while Eusebius' Christians obey Roman emperors and governors consistently, except where obedience would imply renouncing their religion. That no Christian in the *History* ever combines imperial with religious authority as both a bishop and an emperor or governor sustains a separation between imperial and religious authority. While the Christian and Roman networks overlap considerably, as authoritative hierarchies church and Empire remain distinct. Eusebius, I argue, intended this separation to be programmatic.

In all, Eusebian Christians' encounters with Roman officials exhibit healthy relations between church and Empire. In some cases (Origen, Justin) Christians influence and impress Roman leaders. Good Roman leaders uphold Christians' prerogatives (Trajan, Hadrian, Gallienus, Aurelian), take notice of Christians' upright way of life and services to the Empire (Tiberius, Pliny, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius), or are themselves Christians (Philip and Constantine).<sup>1304</sup> These encounters with Roman elites foreground mutual respect and harmony between Christians and Rome, punctured only by attacks against the church by recognizably bad emperors like Domitian. Christians' service in high positions in the Roman elite illustrates their loyalty and investment in the Empire. At the same time, however, Eusebius keeps the church and the Empire carefully separated as institutions: no individual holds the high office in both hierarchies, and Christians show consistent deference for Roman rulers (unless the rulers tried to discourage the practice of Christianity), while in the one episode where a Christian clergyman

<sup>1299</sup> *HE* 2.2.4, 2.3.3, 5.5, 6.41.16, 7.15-17., 7.32.4, 8.9.7, 8.11.2; note also 8.1.2, 8.11.1. On procurators of the imperial clothing industry, see Jones 1964: 836f.; the *a rationibus*: Jones 1964: 411-413; the status of both positions: Jones 1964: 525f.

<sup>1300</sup> Eusebius may not have found this narrative immediately plausible: he introduces it with a citation of *katechei logos*, which denotes an oral source (cf. Carriker 2003: 67); moreover, Eusebius tells it in *oratio obliqua*, a Greek construction that emphasizes the secondhand nature of discourse that Eusebius does not use often.

<sup>1301</sup> The clergyman could be either a bishop or a presbyter: Eusebius denotes the clergyman with *proestōtos*, which could denote either a bishop or a presbyter (cf. Lampe 1968 s.v. προΐστημι).

<sup>1302</sup> See Millar 1977: 359-361, Cameron 2007.

<sup>1303</sup> A duty of the philosopher in the Roman Empire: see chapter 1, pp. 67-69 above.

<sup>1304</sup> Note also the ambiguous religious commitments of Constantius (*HE* 8.13.12f.) and Licinius (in the first and second editions of the *History*: *HE* 9.9A.12; 9.11.6f.; 10.4.16, 60; 10.5.4)

holds authority over a Christian emperor, the emperor obeys the Christian. Church and Empire, Eusebius was suggesting, had usually gotten along. And, I will suggest, he was proposing a more symbiotic relationship than this.

### **Conclusion: the Potential Strength of Weak Ties Between Church and Empire**

The narrative of a church unified and acting harmoniously throughout the Roman Empire, the narrative that Bauer deconstructed and Williams revived, was Eusebius' legacy. Like other Roman elites, Eusebius' Christians correspond and meet regularly, often traveling to do so. They teach one another and cite each other's writings and sayings. Cumulatively these mutual interactions paint a network that remains unified and harmonious, behaves with the manners of Roman elites, and inculcates its way of life in future generations. Christian leaders earn the respect of reputable intellectuals they encounter, and impress emperors and other Roman officials enough to earn their approval and sometimes hold prestigious Roman posts themselves. Yet Christian intellectuals and bishops retain distance from the centers of Roman power, never holding a Roman imperial office nor even enjoying a particularly tight relationship with an emperor or governor.

Bauer was right to deconstruct Eusebius' unified "orthodox" narrative, and Williams did well to notice the mutual communication that marks the *History's* church, even if he accepted it too quickly as historical fact. Eusebius' Christian network certainly put up a unified front against the "heretics." Yet we miss the point of Eusebius' Christian interconnections if we view them only in a heresiological context. Eusebius' Christians do not maintain their unity in a vacuum, but in the particular built environment of the Roman Empire, which encouraged and eased transregional elite connectivity (see chapter 4 above). Eusebius' Christian networks assume the Roman elite infrastructure and incentives for encounters, relationships, travel, epistolary exchange, and citation discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Eusebius' Christians continually perform Roman elite interactive practices. And the reason Eusebius worked so hard to unify his imagined church comes into focus only when viewed within the context of the larger Roman Empire that his church occupies.

Eusebius wove the church as he did to position it within the Roman Empire's social structures. His church's internal social practices fit squarely within the Roman elite circles that, as a resident of a large Roman provincial capital (chapter 4 above), Eusebius had observed all his life. At the same time, the *History's* Christian leaders do not simply work alongside other Roman elites within Rome's imperial structures. The church's ties with emperors, the imperial family, and Roman officials are harmonious but distant. While the church has some adherents in important Roman positions, including two emperors, almost no Christian in the *History* is both a bishop or professional teacher and a high-ranking Roman statesman, the presbyter and procurator Dorotheus of Laodicea being the closest figure to an exception. Bishops' authority to perform Christian rituals and administer and represent the church is never combined with political power to lead armies, collect and expend tax money, and dispense extra-ecclesial justice.

This separation between church and Empire fit the social role for which Eusebius' *History* was auditioning the church. Eusebius was, I have argued in previous chapters, patterning the church after the model of Roman philosophical schools. As I showed in chapter 1 (pp. 65-67), philosophers had to create a perception of distance between themselves and the centers of political power. This critical distance enabled them to keep a pose of independence and impartiality toward any human patron. Philosophers lost their credibility as sources of truth if

they fell completely under the emperor's influence, and held a maximum of authority when they did not appear to be mere lackeys of the emperor.

That Eusebius' Christians exhibit only weak ties with the Empire fit the standard model of the philosophers' social role. The church had to remain a separate institution to have intellectual authority in the Roman Empire. But even if the ties between church and Empire were too weak for the Empire's political structures to assimilate the church's, and vice versa, that hardly precluded both networks from leveraging these ties from their mutual distance. The kind of relationship that Eusebius envisioned, I propose, anticipated the groundbreaking sociological insight articulated by Mark Granovetter in a celebrated 1973 article.

Granovetter showed that most people in the contemporary United States do not find new jobs within their densest social networks, i.e. their array of strong ties, among groups all of whose members know each other and interact frequently. This is because in general individuals within the same close network of acquaintances who interact regularly already have access to the same array of information, contacts, and skills. Therefore, little outside transformative knowledge, such as access to a new professional position, enters people's tightest social circles. Instead, people usually find opportunities for new jobs through their weaker ties, with acquaintances whom they do not contact so often and whom their closer friends or colleagues do not know. Frequent contact with distant acquaintances, which Granovetter calls "the strength of weak ties," leads more reliably to transformative information like the existence of new professional positions than do strong ties alone.<sup>1305</sup>

Eusebius envisioned church and Empire as maintaining collectively the strength of their weak ties. The two networks had to avoid overlapping and so blurring their boundaries. As separate networks, each could retain the skills and knowledge proper to it: the church could retain its intellectual and religious preeminence, while the Empire could continue to fight wars, collect taxes, administer public works, and enforce laws. Bishops had to remain bishops and emperors and governors had to govern. Merging the church and the Empire would dissolve the competence of each in its own sphere of activity.

But while separating the two networks, Eusebius' model also positioned church and Empire to leverage their weak ties with one another. Eusebius was proposing a partnership between the two institutions,<sup>1306</sup> where each could secure advantages that it could not otherwise acquire. As we saw in chapter 4 above, the Roman Empire offered physical protection, infrastructure for communal prosperity, cohesion, comfort, and widely recognized honor to its favored subjects. But in order to keep the Empire safe and prosperous, its rulers needed specialists who understood the divine powers that granted these advantages, and who could identify the best possible moral order for the emperor to implement and for elites to enact (see chapter 1, pp. 68f.). As long as the church maintained its self-harmonizing habits and self-aculturating institutions that Eusebius' *History* emphasized, it would furnish the best philosophical advisors available.

As I showed in chapter 1 (p. 67), Greek philosophers often played a role as religious and ethical advisors to Roman rulers in the Roman Empire. The *History* implies, I argue, that the Roman ruling classes could do better than these philosophers: Eusebius' Christian heroes' lives prove the inferiority of traditional Greek learning compared to the Christian scriptures. Eusebius' networks among Christians, and the validation that Christians' encounters with philosophers represent, showed that the church was ready to displace other philosophers in this role. The next

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<sup>1305</sup> Granovetter 1973.

<sup>1306</sup> The next chapter shows how Eusebius' contemporary writings, especially his massive two-part *Gospel Preparation* and *Gospel Demonstration*, prepared Christian intellectuals for this role.



chapter shows how the *History's* presentation of an honorable, exemplary, and holy network motivated Eusebius' other writings from when he was writing the *History*.

**Chapter 6**  
**A Christian Curriculum, a Nation-School, and Roman Imperialism:**  
**The *Ecclesiastical History* within Eusebius' Social Agenda**

...en somme, on n'interprète jamais un document que par insertion dans une série chronologique ou un ensemble synchrone.<sup>1307</sup>

Previous chapters have studied the *Ecclesiastical History* in its literary tradition and social context. Chapters 1 through 3 argued that Eusebius combined the genres of national and philosophical historiography in the *History* to depict the church as a nation of philosophers. To use the terms from genre theory laid out in chapter 1 above, the generic commingling of the *Ecclesiastical History* created a textual world. In this world, Christian elites' uniformly superior skills and accomplishments made the church a reliably brilliant institution (chapter 2), while martyrs' philosophical virtue amid suffering delivered victory in Christianity's contest against supernatural enemies (chapter 3).

Chapters 4 and 5 showed how Eusebius fit this textual world into the Roman built environment that he experienced as a Roman. Chapter 4 argued that Eusebius absorbed imperial ideology and social structures while living in Caesarea Maritima, and chapter 5 contended that the *History* constructed the church as a unified network of philosophers ready to educate and advise the network of elites that constituted the Roman Empire. The *History* thus represented the church so as to assume an honorable and influential role in the Empire.

This chapter shows how Eusebius' agenda motivated his works that he published around the same time he published the *History*. As I noted in the Introduction (pp. 10f.), Eusebius worked on a number of texts while living under the rule of the pagan emperor Licinius between 313 and 324. He composed his 35-book *Gospel Preparation* and *Gospel Demonstration* when he published the *History*. The first and second editions of the *History* appeared in 313/314 and 315/316, while he circulated the *Preparation* before 316 and the *Demonstration*, which he had always planned as a bookend to the *Preparation*, between 317 and 324. The *Preparation* and *Demonstration* were his magnum opus, as I showed. Moreover, Eusebius had also written a similar text, his *General Elementary Introduction* to Christianity between 308 and 310, shortly before he wrote the *History* and the *Preparation-Demonstration*. As noted in the Introduction, no scholar has offered a comprehensive reading of the *Ecclesiastical History* as a part of Eusebius' larger oeuvre between 313 and 324. This chapter attempts to demonstrate how Eusebius designed the *History* as part of this larger textual program.

The chapter begins by returning to Eusebius' intended audiences from the same time as the *Ecclesiastical History*, the *General Elementary Introduction*, *Gospel Preparation* and *Gospel Demonstration*. As with the *History*, the knowledge and religious commitment that Eusebius assumed of the *Introduction's* and *Preparation-Demonstration's* readers reflect an audience of bishops, Christians intellectuals, and high-status Christian Romans, who were all wealthy, well-educated elites. These readers likely had to interact with educated pagans in their daily lives and so to justify their adoption of Christianity; Eusebius' *General Elementary Introduction* and *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration* provided these. The *Ecclesiastical History* complemented this Christian pedagogy as a narrative of the Christian educational success as taught in the *Introduction* and *Preparation-Demonstration*. As I show, evidence that Eusebius planned this

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<sup>1307</sup> Bloch 1949: 65.

unified Christian curriculum appears in the striking parallel of Porphyry of Tyre's interrelated pedagogical and biographical works.

These works together, I then show, constructed Christianity as an efficacious philosophical school. They emphasize Christianity's pedagogical success and its implementation of the most divinely approved mode of life, both of which replicated the expertise of the Greek philosophical schools. While, like the philosophical schools, Eusebius' Christianity was stratified between philosophical specialists and nonprofessional adherents, Eusebius distinguished his Christianity through its universal reach in educating even subelites and non-Greeks in its philosophy and its victories in the "war" of martyrdom, whereas the philosophical schools were merely parochial associations with minimal political accomplishment. The chapter concludes by outlining the role that Eusebius' works proposed for his Christian philosophy within the ruling apparatus of the Roman Empire: by portraying the church as capable of mitigating the barbarism of the harsh populations at Rome's boundaries, Eusebian Christianity supplanted Hellenism as the bearer of a civilized manner of life that Roman imperial ideology purported to inculcate.

### **1. The Audience of the *Ecclesiastical History*, *General Elementary Introduction*, and *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration*: Religion, Education, Wealth**

As noted in the Introduction, Eusebius published the first and second editions of the *Ecclesiastical History* between 313 and 315, as he was writing the *Gospel Preparation and Demonstration*, and only shortly after his *General Elementary Introduction* (written between 310 and 312).<sup>1308</sup> All four texts purport to treat some aspect of Christianity comprehensively; all four demanded careful structuring and extended research; and previous studies have demonstrated the coherence of thought and even overlaps in wording among them.<sup>1309</sup>

To show that Eusebius meant the *Introduction*, *Preparation-Demonstration*, and *History* to constitute a unified program, it is necessary to show that Eusebius aimed them at the same audience. In chapter 1 (p. 29 above) I seconded Marie Verdoner's argument that Eusebius aimed the *Ecclesiastical History* at an audience of well-educated elite Christians. Did Eusebius write the *General Elementary Introduction* and the *Gospel Preparation and Demonstration* for the same audience?

Eusebius aimed his *General Elementary Introduction* at Christians. Although the preface to the sixth book, the beginning of the portion of the text that survives, has come to us only in a fragmentary state, it describes the (lost) first five books as presenting "clear and trustworthy and true proofs" of Christianity that are "abundant to those who do not yet believe in them." Only at the end (*en telei*) do these books quote scriptures accepted by Jews and Christians,<sup>1310</sup> which

<sup>1308</sup> See the Introduction, pp. 6-8 above. Other, more specialized Eusebian works, including the *Apology for Origen*, *Against Hierocles*, *Gospel Questions and Answers*, and the *Onomasticon*, were composed in this period. The only verifiable change in Eusebius' theological and historical views was increased hostility to millenarianism: see esp. Thielman 1987: 227-229.

<sup>1309</sup> E.g. Sirinelli 1961, Strutwolf 1999, Kofsky 2000, Studer 2004, Ulrich 2005 and 2007, Morlet 2006.

<sup>1310</sup> My interpretation of this passage contradicts that of Johnson 2011: 107f., who argues that the first half of the text is intended for unbelieving readers, the second for already-Christians. To me it does not seem plausible *prima facie* that Eusebius intended two different audiences for two halves of the same text. Johnson's argument depends on his reading of the preface to book 6 of the *Introduction*, which I reproduce here as emended by Johnson (*GEI* 6.pref.=PG 1021A): λόγου τε καὶ βίου διεξοδευθεῖσα τὰς περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας, δι' ἐναργῶν καὶ πιστῶν καὶ ἀληθῶν ἀποδείξεων τε καὶ συλλογισμῶν ἐπιστοῦτο, βραχείαις κομιδῇ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ τε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν πεπιστευμένων θείων γραφῶν ἐπὶ τέλει χρησαμένη μαρτυρίας, ἐπεὶ μηδαμῶς ἦρει λόγος τοῖς ἔτι πάντῃ ταῖς θείαις ἀπιστοῦσιν γραφαῖς δαψιλῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν

suggests that the scriptural texts merely confirm that other proofs cohere with Christian teaching. The sixth and subsequent books, by contrast, supply scriptural confirmations of Christian doctrines for those who already know the scriptures and should know their doctrines.<sup>1311</sup> Aaron Johnson has recently shown that the *Introduction* mimicked pagan philosophical introductions such as Albinus' and Alcinous'. Like these authors' introductions, Eusebius' *General Elementary Introduction* both exposed readers to its school's doctrines and modeled their reading of their school's central texts.<sup>1312</sup> The surviving text of the *Introduction* thus presumes an audience that accepts the Christian scriptures as sacred. Although this could leave room for Jews among the *Introduction*'s implied audiences, the preface to book 9 asks how "the Jews" can consider the scriptures sacred and not become Christian—hardly a welcoming greeting for implied Jewish readers.<sup>1313</sup>

Since we have lost so much of the *Introduction*, this text will not figure much in the ensuing discussion of Eusebius' literary program. It does show, however, that Eusebius was publishing a longer series of works than the *History* and *Preparation-Demonstration* that served the same audiences and, as we will see, fulfilled complementary purposes.<sup>1314</sup>

The lengthy *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration* is, as Morlet's study has demonstrated, an "oeuvre encyclopédique."<sup>1315</sup> The *Gospel Preparation* demonstrates Christianity's superiority to Greek theology (*PE* 1-6) and philosophy (*PE* 10-15), with a central interlude (*PE* 7-9) that praises, often through Greek voices, the intellectual and ethical virtue of the Hebrews, the Christians' primordial intellectual, religious, and ethical forerunners.<sup>1316</sup> The *Gospel Demonstration* first outlines the Christian ethical life (*DE* 1), then proves the coherence between the Old Testament and Christian doctrine (*DE* 2-10 and presumably the lost 11-20).<sup>1317</sup>

As Jörg Ulrich and Johnson have shown, Eusebius published the *Preparation* and *Demonstration* for educated Christians.<sup>1318</sup> Ulrich has adduced many passages in the *Preparation-Demonstration* presuming readers concerned with defending their Christian beliefs.<sup>1319</sup> Johnson has concluded from Eusebius' statements in the first chapter of the

παρατίθεσθαι τὰς συστάσεις. In his article Johnson reads the dative phrase τοῖς ἔτι πάντα ταῖς θείαις ἀπιστοῦσιν γραφαῖς as an indirect object, so that it would indicate the recipients of Eusebius' *sustaseis* (confirmations, quotations). Based on the word order—*dapsileis* stands between the dative phrase and the infinitive and the infinitive's accusative subject—I understand τοῖς...ἀπιστοῦσιν as a dative of reference dependent on *dapsileis*, which specifies to whom—i.e. in whose minds—the proofs should be abundant. This would imply not that unbelievers are the target audience, but rather that the evidence presented in this text will respond to objections from unbelievers. Aaron Johnson himself has confirmed by email (February 2012) that my reading is plausible.

<sup>1311</sup> τὰ γε μὴν ἐν χερσὶν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀποδείξεως οἶα δὴ θείαις ἤδη καὶ θεοπνεύστοις πιστεύειν ὀφείλουσιν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς τὸ λείπον ἐκείναις ἀποπληροῦντα πεπόνητο, συναγωγὴν περιέχοντα (PG 1021A).

<sup>1312</sup> Johnson 2011: esp. 108-118; he cites the *Introduction*'s relative brevity and its (sometimes oblique) citation of authorities as characteristic of the genre of philosophical introductions.

<sup>1313</sup> *GEI* 9.pref. (PG 1193A).

<sup>1314</sup> The contemporary *Chronicle* and *Onomasticon* could also have contributed to this program in ancillary ways, as references for specific knowledge while undergoing a Christian philosophical education.

<sup>1315</sup> Morlet 2009: quotation from 623.

<sup>1316</sup> On Eusebius' treatment of "Hebrews" and "Greeks," see e.g. Ulrich 1999: 57-110, Jacobs 2004: 29-32, Johnson 2006a: esp. 37-44, ch. 3, Schott 2008a: 149-154, DeVore forthcoming b. See also the outline of the *Gospel Preparation* of Johnson 2006a: 234-236, which differs from mine on *PE* 9 (cf. *PE* 15.pref.).

<sup>1317</sup> See Morlet 2009: esp. 95-101; see *ibid*: 110-147 on the lost books 11-20.

<sup>1318</sup> See also Sirinelli 1974: 36-38 on the audience of the *Preparation-Demonstration*.

<sup>1319</sup> Ulrich 1999: 40-49.

*Preparation* (1.1.1, 12) that the *Preparation* was “an introduction for fledgling Christians.”<sup>1320</sup> On the other hand, Morlet cautions that Eusebius leaves space for Jewish and pagan addressees in allusions to his readership.<sup>1321</sup> Yet Morlet’s argument that the *Demonstration*’s purpose was to describe Christian doctrine in detail (see below) indicates a predominantly Christian intended audience.

As to the educational attainment of the *Preparation*’s and *Demonstration*’s readers, Morlet shows that Eusebius’ argumentative voice presumes a particularly learned reader.<sup>1322</sup> Both texts display complex syntax and a wide vocabulary tailored to highly educated readers. Both also assume a thorough knowledge of subjects taught in Greek *paideia*.<sup>1323</sup>

In addition, we can deduce that readers of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and *Preparation-Demonstration* had to be wealthy enough to spend money and labor on many heavy texts and leisured enough to have the time to read them. We should assume that Eusebius, whom Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams dubbed “the impresario of the codex” for his creative use of the codex book-format in his *Chronicle*, published these texts in the codex layout, which generally cost about 25% less than a scroll.<sup>1324</sup> An extrapolation from Roger Bagnall’s recent estimates of the cost of producing biblical codices would put the price of a codex of the *Ecclesiastical History*, including all of book 10 and the second edition of book 8, written in even a “second quality” hand (that is, not by the best scribes, but not by a scribal novice either), at around 56 denarii; a codex of the *History* in a high-quality hand would have cost about 69 denarii. Codex copies of the *Preparation* and *Demonstration* in a “second quality” hand would have cost significantly more, around 309 denarii.<sup>1325</sup> By way of comparison, typical daily wages for day laborers in the Roman East from the first to the early fourth centuries, according to papyrological evidence from Egypt and Palestinian rabbinic texts, was one to two denarii plus a bread ration.<sup>1326</sup> Even a relatively short text such as the *History*, in the less expensive codex form and copied in a middling hand, was a luxury product.

Although Eusebius surely sent copies of these texts to his immediate readers within his personal networks, any subsequent readers had to expend much money for the papyrus and either hire copyists or expend their skilled slaves’ time in copying these texts.<sup>1327</sup> Surely there were more essential books for most readers to own, such as biblical texts or Greek classics. For a

<sup>1320</sup> Johnson 2006a: 14f. (quotation from 15); Johnson 2006b: esp. 70-73.

<sup>1321</sup> Morlet 2009: 77-79; see along similar lines Verdoner 2010: 374f.

<sup>1322</sup> “C’est un lecteur travailleur, prêt à aller consulter d’autres livres...un lecteur susceptible de faire celui-ci par une méditation prolongée...un lecteur susceptible de faire attention aux moindres détails du texte. Autrement dit, c’est un φιλομαθής, un lecteur doué de curiosité intellectuelle” (Morlet 2009: 79).

<sup>1323</sup> The areas of required knowledge include Greek history (e.g. *PE* 5.21f.), Roman imperial history (e.g. *PE* 5.17, *DE* 2.3), Greek mythology (e.g. *PE* 2 *passim*), and Greek philosophy (e.g. *PE* 14.7, 15-20). Cf. Carriker 2003: 98-108, 131-138, 151-153.

<sup>1324</sup> Grafton and Williams 2006: ch. 4; on the cost of producing codices, see Skeat 1982.

<sup>1325</sup> If we assume that that last ten books of the *Demonstration* were approximately as long as the first ten books. See Bagnall 2009: 50-57, for the constants on which I base these calculations. Fortunately, this cost is relatively easy to calculate, as the source of the prices of scribal activity in denarii, Diocletian’s price edict of 301, came within just fifteen years before Eusebius wrote the *History*.

<sup>1326</sup> Scheidel 2010: 444-446.

<sup>1327</sup> See Starr 1987 and O’Donnell 1996 on the circulation of books from the Late Republic to the High Empire in Rome; I know of no evidence that different practices governed the circulation of literary texts in Eusebius’ world.

reader to spend between 50 and 70 denarii on the *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>1328</sup> let alone to spend over 300 denarii on the *Preparation-Demonstration*, demanded wealth.

A final parallel about the implied audiences of the *Preparation-Demonstration* and the *Ecclesiastical History* is Eusebius' dedication of at least part of all three texts to bishops. Eusebius dedicated book 10 of the *History* to Paulinus of Tyre,<sup>1329</sup> a prominent neighboring bishop, who was obviously a well-educated Christian and had a close relationship with Eusebius.<sup>1330</sup> Eusebius' dedication to Paulinus corroborates Eusebius' targeting of the *Ecclesiastical History* at a small audience of well-educated Christian elites interested to read about the Christian past.<sup>1331</sup> Where Eusebius had dedicated the tenth book of the *History* to Paulinus, he dedicated the *Preparation* and *Demonstration* to Theodotus, the bishop of Laodicea.<sup>1332</sup> Eusebius had singled out Theodotus for praise in his survey of Christianity on the eve of Diocletian's persecution for both his nonreligious education (in medicine) and his religious learning, along with the virtues of "humanity, sincerity, sympathy, zeal" (*HE* 7.32.23; see chapter 3, p. 127).<sup>1333</sup> As with the *History*, Eusebius was signaling that bishops—even well-educated, respected ones—would find use for the *Preparation-Demonstration*.

This survey of the intended audiences of the *General Elementary Introduction*, *Gospel Preparation*, and *Gospel Demonstration* indicates that Eusebius aimed the major works that he wrote between 310 and 324 at wealthy, educated Christian readers.<sup>1334</sup> It is *prima facie* likely that he designed all three texts to accomplish the same agenda that motivated the *Ecclesiastical History*. But wealthy elites were not a single, unified class in the Roman Empire; and different groups of wealthy elites faced different challenges. Therefore, further scrutiny is required to pinpoint the situation of Eusebius' readers. The identity of Eusebius' intended audience, and this audience's concerns and problems between 313 and 324, are the subject of the next section.

## 2. The Social Situation of Eusebius' Readers: Christian Elites in the Greek-Speaking Roman Empire under Licinius

Two aspects of Eusebius' readership are apparent: his readers' education and their wealth. Eusebius' writings demanded readers who had undergone a full Greek *paideia*, at least to the third paidetic level of the lower rhetorical schools, if not further (see chapter 1, pp. 30f.). They also required enough disposable wealth to wish to purchase objects that cost around two months' wages for the average day-laborer. These deductions allow us to converge on Eusebius' intended audiences with some specificity. Identifying the situation of Eusebius' readership requires attention to demographic nuances within the Roman elite. Closer scrutiny of the political status, occupations, and sex of the Roman upper classes yields five broad categories of individuals who had the means and incentives to consume Eusebius' text: wealthy Roman civilians of high status,

<sup>1328</sup> Assuming roughly equivalent costs for paper in Palestine as in Egypt, though there were probably additional transportation cost.

<sup>1329</sup> Noted briefly by Verdoner 2010: 374 with n. 50.

<sup>1330</sup> On Paulinus' career, see Vinzent 1999: 149-151. Paulinus would later take sides with Eusebius in the lengthy controversy surrounding the theology of Arius of Alexandria: see Parvis 2006: 39-50, 75-81, 100-133.

<sup>1331</sup> Though she rejects Jews as an implied audience, Verdoner 2010: 374f. attempts to keep the implied audience open to pagans as well as Christians. Her appeal to *HE* 1.2.1 is not entirely convincing.

<sup>1332</sup> As Johnson 2006b: 81 notes.

<sup>1333</sup> φιλανθρωπίας γνησιότητος συμπαθείας σπουδῆς, a rare and thus emphatic asyndeton.

<sup>1334</sup> Whether directly or indirectly: cf. Johnson 2006b: 81.

wealthy individuals excluded from these status groups, soldiers, intellectuals, and Christian clergy.<sup>1335</sup>

The first group comprises members of the highest Roman political orders, particularly the decurions. Free Romans of the early fourth century ranked themselves according to four hierarchical orders of senators, equestrians, decurions, and mere citizens;<sup>1336</sup> the lowest of these four, the decurions, are most likely to have included large numbers of Christians, though it cannot be excluded that some Senators and equestrians were Christians as well.<sup>1337</sup> Decurions had to be male, freeborn, meet a minimum property requirement that varied from city to city, and be either native to or a resident of the city.<sup>1338</sup> The wealth needed to acquire Eusebius' books fits the means of these Roman elites, and the education to read them corresponds to the education that local elites needed to participate in Roman culture. As we saw in chapter 4 above, epigraphic evidence reveals a thriving decurion status group in Eusebius' home city, and Eusebius' travels in Palestine and Syria and to Egypt and connections with Christians in Tyre and Laodicea (see below) probably acquainted him with elites outside of Caesarea. Decurion families had incentive to provide their children with the best Greek education, as these families usually hoped to join the equestrian and senatorial orders, whose daily activities of reading, exchanging rhetoric, and enjoying learned conversation presumed *paideia*.<sup>1339</sup>

Some wealthy Romans were excluded from the decurion status group. This group included unmarried women with property, traveling merchants, and freedmen, none of whom could meet the requirements for decurion rank.<sup>1340</sup> These individuals had the wealth to acquire an advanced literary education, yet the limited social status of women and freedmen and the mercurial lifestyle of traveling merchants probably decreased the incentive for it. On the other hand, Eusebius does not exhibit the contempt that many elite Roman authors evince for wealthy upstarts,<sup>1341</sup> though he occasionally demeans women.<sup>1342</sup> Unlike many elite ideologies, Eusebius' Christianity does not categorically exclude those of low status.<sup>1343</sup>

The third group of wealthy, super-regional elites was military leaders. Soldiers are less likely to have been part of Eusebius' audience, though again they cannot be completely excluded.<sup>1344</sup> While high-ranking soldiers were often rich and attained high *de facto* status within the Empire's political structures, their usual career path required less literary education than senatorial, equestrian, and decurion Romans. It is therefore unlikely that Eusebius intended his works for

<sup>1335</sup> See in general Sloopjes 2009 for distinctions among the Roman elite (though she prefers the term *potentes* to elites: p. 417). Whereas I have argued that Eusebius assimilated Christian clergy with philosophers (esp. chapters 2 and 5 above), it is not clear that Eusebius' contemporaries already considered Christian clergy to be professional intellectuals. For the purpose of determining Eusebius' audience, therefore, I distinguish the two groups here.

<sup>1336</sup> Aside from the exceptional imperial family.

<sup>1337</sup> I owe this point to Olivier Hekster. Eusebius' readership may have included equestrian or even senatorial men: see Eck 1971: particularly 388f., for evidence (including *HE* 7.16f.) of Christians in the senatorial order before Constantine. In addition, *HE* 8.1.2 implies that some Christians were governing provinces before Diocletian's persecution (cf. T. Barnes 2002: 194), which entailed equestrian rank. On the other hand, Salzman 2002 (esp. 222) shows no evidence of any Christian senators in the Roman East from Diocletian's accession to Constantine's death.

<sup>1338</sup> Jones 1964: 738f., Sloopjes 2009: 418f.; note also 421-428, which points out that the decurion order included supra-regional elites who could hold province-wide offices such as the priesthood.

<sup>1339</sup> See esp. Johnson 2010: chs. 3-8.

<sup>1340</sup> Cf. Sloopjes 2009: 420, 431f.

<sup>1341</sup> Contempt for wealthy upstarts: see e.g. Giardina 1989: 246-250.

<sup>1342</sup> See Clark 1992.

<sup>1343</sup> Cf. e.g. the emphasis on including the poor and women in *PE* 1.4.

<sup>1344</sup> See Sloopjes 2009: 423, 428.

them, though as with women, businessmen, and freedmen, Eusebius does not exclude them from the church either.<sup>1345</sup>

A fourth category of possible readers comprises intellectuals. Orators, philosophers, and physicians had to come from the wealthy classes, as money and leisure were the prerequisites for their education.<sup>1346</sup> Beyond this minimum threshold, however, professional intellectuals had to attain sufficient merit in oratory, philosophy, medicine, or law to instruct students. Although many Roman intellectuals lived ascetic lives, they usually had the means to acquire mental stimulus in the form of books or to travel. Eusebius himself obviously fit into this category, and he must have hoped to impress some of his fellow-intellectuals with his work.

Finally, like intellectuals and soldiers, the occupation of Christian clerics set them apart from contemporary elites, although most bishops probably came from highly ranked or otherwise wealthy families.<sup>1347</sup> Bishops and presbyters did not need a high rank or the most advanced education, though by the early fourth century the majority probably had one or both.<sup>1348</sup> Moreover, regardless of their personal resources, bishops had access to wealth in the form of church property. They allocated finances, oversaw Christian education, patronized lower Christians, and performed rituals.<sup>1349</sup> Their task of educating Christians made them especially prime audiences for Eusebius' works between 311 and 324.

Eusebius' dedications of the *Preparation-Demonstration* and of book 10 of the *Ecclesiastical History* confirm that bishops were part of his intended audience. Beyond this, Christian decurions and intellectuals possessed the education and wealth to benefit from these writings, while Eusebius leaves space for other status-groups, including women, other non-decurion wealthy, and soldiers, to share in Christianity.

Why might bishops, Christian civic elites, and intellectuals have been interested in texts like the *History*, *General Elementary Introduction*, and *Preparation-Demonstration* between 313 and 324? Insofar as they shared a Christian identity, different elites did not keep apart from one another, in pedigree or in social interaction. Most bishops and intellectuals likely hailed from the decurion or higher orders and had family and friends in those orders, while Christian decurions would no doubt find a career in the clergy or as a Christian teacher appealing. In addition, the church depended on harmony among its constituent clerical and lay leaders. Relationships of mutual dependence were no doubt developing already within Christian networks: decurions and other wealthy elites contributed money and other resources to bishops, while clerics performed rituals for the wealthy and intellectuals taught others about the religion in return.<sup>1350</sup> It seems reasonable, therefore, to hypothesize that Eusebius, an intellectual who knew both Christian and non-Christian texts thoroughly, would see the need to educate Christian elites both clerical and non-clerical.

The social situation of most Christian elites demanded interaction with outsiders as well as other Christians. Since their religion had been legalized by Licinius through the so-called Edict of Milan in spring of 313 (see the Introduction, p. 7), they could interact again with their elite peers. And far from living completely separate lives, Christian elites maintained ties with pagan elites in their cities. Decurions and other high-status Romans participated in town councils and in

<sup>1345</sup> See e.g. *HE* 5.5, 6.41.16, 7.15, *MP* 11.20-23 and *DE* 1.8.3.

<sup>1346</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 31f. above.

<sup>1347</sup> We cannot be certain that Eusebius was already a bishop when he published the first edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* (see pp. 7f. above).

<sup>1348</sup> See Rapp 2005: 174-176, 178-180, 183f., Haensch 2007: 159-161.

<sup>1349</sup> See e.g. Slootjes 2011: 103f., 109-114.

<sup>1350</sup> On Christian church-building, see Haensch 2007.



the social life of their cities;<sup>1351</sup> intellectuals performed publicly and had to attract students;<sup>1352</sup> and most bishops, intertwined with these two groups as they were, could hardly escape contact with outsiders. All of them attended performances in the theater, relaxed in the public baths, and were active in other public spaces in Roman cities.<sup>1353</sup> The shared language of these sites of elite social interaction was Greek *paideia*, not specifically Christian discourse.<sup>1354</sup>

Although many interactions between Christian and non-Christian were no doubt smooth, uneasiness and even animus about Christians must have remained, creating discomfort or even hostility within the Empire's ruling status groups. While in 313 Licinius had restored confiscated church property and punished the persecutors, he did not grant the church any special privileges.<sup>1355</sup> The end of Diocletian's persecution did not mark the end of Christians' need to defend their religious identity.<sup>1356</sup> Christian civic elites and intellectuals in the eastern Empire had to negotiate with their peers and balance their Greek, Roman, and Christian identities and loyalties delicately. It is likely that the church's situation in wake of Diocletian's persecutions elevated these elites' urgency to balance their identities as Christian and as Roman.

Moreover, inhabitants of the eastern Empire had been aware that the western emperor Constantine was a Christian since the news of his victory at the Milvian Bridge in autumn 312.<sup>1357</sup> The sudden emergence of a Christian emperor in the west likely reinforced the newly legal status of the church to prompt eastern elites to take another look at Christianity. We can conjecture that these elites acquired available books about Christianity: along with Christian apologies, they could turn to the critiques of Christianity written by Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles.<sup>1358</sup> These interested elites would likely have turned to their Christian fellow-decurions as the first informants about the western emperor's new creed.

Elite Christians had to know what Christianity was, and why they professed this new faith rather than the inherited theologies of other elites. These inherited beliefs were articulated through Greek discourses, as Hellenism's cultural dominance in the Roman East made theologies of Greek origin the default dialect for expressing traditional beliefs. Moreover, honor, an asset fundamental to elite social interaction throughout the Empire, was at stake in any discussion about their religious identity.<sup>1359</sup> Finally, Christian elites' sons, the continuators of the family's household and honor, would need the same array of knowledge for future discussions.

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<sup>1351</sup> On the governing roles of decurions, see chapter 4, pp. 150f. above, and in general Carrié 2005: 282-308.

<sup>1352</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 58-69 above on philosophers; on other intellectual professions, see e.g. Gleason 1995: esp. ch. 6; Schmitz 1997: chs. 6-7.

<sup>1353</sup> Cf. Eusebius' casual assumption of Christians' presence in baths: *HE* 3.28.6, 4.14.6, 5.1.5; *MP* 9.2; cf. also 5.20.5.

<sup>1354</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 31f. above.

<sup>1355</sup> T. Barnes 2002: 195-198. Barnes cautions, however (2002: 200), that Licinius did not even restore property appropriated from individual Christians.

<sup>1356</sup> See e.g. Digeser 2000 on Lactantius' contemporary apologetics, Cameron 2011: esp. ch. 2, Elm 2012. The only practice where Christianity is certain have disrupted elites' prescribed roles within the Roman political and social system was in decurions' and higher orders' performance of religious rituals, as worship of pagan deities, especially in the form of sacrificial ritual, was anathema to virtually all Christians. Since decurions and elites of higher rank held most local priesthoods, Christian decurions' refusal to participate in the priesthoods may have disrupted relations with non-Christian civic elites: cf. canons 1-4 of the Iberian Synod of Elvira, dating between 295 and 313, which delineate Christian elites' roles in local priesthoods delicately (commentary in Reichert 1990: 21-24, 75-87).

<sup>1357</sup> As Eusebius shows: *HE* 9.9.1-12; cf. Lactantius, *DMP* 44.

<sup>1358</sup> On debates between Christians and pagans, see e.g. Edwards, Goodman, and Price 1999, Levieils 2007, Jacobsen and Ulrich 2007, Jacobsen, Ulrich, and Brakke 2009, and Ulrich, Jacobsen, and Kahlos 2009.

<sup>1359</sup> Lendon 1997: esp. ch. 1.

Eastern Roman Christian elites, therefore, needed tools to defend their choice to associate with a religious community that complicated their identities and, for religious events, hindered their participation in Roman civic life. The next section explains how Eusebius' works from 313 to 324 fulfilled these elites' need to understand and defend their religious community.

### 3. The Purpose and Precedent of the *Preparation-Demonstration* and *History*

Eusebius' *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* met contemporary Christian elites' need to understand their creed, and in particular to articulate their reasons for being Christian before their peers.<sup>1360</sup> The opening chapters of the *Preparation* ask a number of questions that could be put to Christians about their identity (*PE* 1.2), indicating that the *Preparation* would help to answer such queries.<sup>1361</sup> Eusebius' exposition of Christianity was thus designed to help elite Christians defend their Christianity in inevitable interactions with non-Christian acquaintances.

Johnson and Morlet have demonstrated that the *Preparation's* and *Demonstration's* 35 books served as an introduction to Christianity.<sup>1362</sup> Johnson has shown that numerous traits of the *Gospel Preparation* parallel introductions to Platonism from the Roman imperial period. Whereas these texts answered the question, "What is Platonism?", the *Preparation-Demonstration* answered the question, "What is Christianity?" Moreover, the goal of introducing Christianity to educated Greeks underpins the *Preparation's* adoption of institutionalized threefold division of philosophical teaching (into logic, physics, and ethics), its exhortations to study and learning, its chapter headings for reference, and its commentary on privileged texts. In addition, the *Preparation's* structure as an ascent from a critique of outsiders' teachings (the lower civic to the higher philosophical in the *Preparation*) to an exposition of more esoteric doctrines (in the *Demonstration*) mirrors the implied narrative arc of philosophical introductions. All of these tactics enabled a thorough indoctrination into Christian teaching and the absorption of Christian intellectual habits.<sup>1363</sup>

Morlet has noted many of the same pedagogical features in the *Demonstration*. Determining its genre to be that of the *summe apologetique*, he emphasizes that the progression from "preparation" to "demonstration" is mirrored in numerous Greek philosophical texts focused on pedagogy: according to Albinus (*Didaskalikos* 6), among others, the refutation of rival philosophical systems should purge falsehoods from students' minds, so that their minds lay open for correct doctrines.<sup>1364</sup> The purging of rival doctrines fits the relentless refutation of Hellenic theologies in the *Preparation*; the introduction of correct doctrines corresponds to the *Demonstration's* proofs of Christianity.

Like the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration*, the *Ecclesiastical History* works to educate its readers, as Verdoner already showed in her study of Eusebius' readership. While "der Leser wird in theoretische Diskussionen als dem Erzähler beinahe gleichgestellt mit einbezogen,"

<sup>1360</sup> The *General Elementary Introduction* no doubt had a similar purpose: see Johnson 2011.

<sup>1361</sup> As Johnson 2006b: 70 as well as Morlet 2009: 77f. n. 83 both note, Eusebius exhort readers in the words of 1 Peter 3.15: "Be ready for a defense before all those who might question us about the reason for the hope in us."

<sup>1362</sup> Cf. Kofsky 2000: ch. 3, had already noted the *Preparation-Demonstration's* "didactic-educational traits" (79), but still emphasizes the work's polemical aspects.

<sup>1363</sup> Johnson 2006b: 75-86. Johnson leaves open (81) the possibility that the *Preparation-Demonstration* were written as "teachers' manuals" for catechetical instructors. For my purposes, whether Eusebius envisioned teachers or students as looking at the very words on the page matters less than the setting in which he foresaw the texts' information being disseminated.

<sup>1364</sup> Morlet 2009: 50-63.

nonetheless “der Erzähler [bleibt] überlegen, da er gegenüber seinem Adressaten einen Wissensvorsprung besitzt und sich so als Lehrer konstituiert.”<sup>1365</sup> The *Ecclesiastical History* thus constructs its narrator’s voice as instructing an interested but less erudite reader.<sup>1366</sup> The *History*’s first sentence provides an excellent example of Eusebius’ guidance for readers. It begins, if not narratively, then thematically *in medias res*, with several terms that presume a reader comfortable with Christian discourse: “our savior” (*tou sōtēros hēmōn*),<sup>1367</sup> “ecclesiastical” (*ekklēsiastikēn*), “the most distinguished communities” (*tais malista episēmotatais paroikiiais*), “the divine Logos” (*ho theios logos*) and “the dispensation of...Jesus Christ” (*tēs kata Iēsoun ton Christon oikonomias*). The first sentence also includes two New Testament allusions, to “introducers of falsely-so-called knowledge” (*pseudōnumou gnōseōs*, 1 Timothy 6.20), and “rough wolves” (*hoia lukoi bareis*, Acts 20.29).<sup>1368</sup> This reader, Eusebius implies, is already comfortable with Christian discourse but desires and requires instruction about the heritage of the system of thought to which he is committing himself. The *History* thus complements the *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration* as a text designed to educate readers about basic facts regarding Christianity.

Eusebius’ efforts to guide readers who wanted an education in Christianity in the *History*, *Preparation*, and *Demonstration* indicates that creating a program for instructing educated Greek-speaking Christians in their Christian identity was Eusebius’ foremost literary concern between 313 and 324. While the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration* modeled Christian doctrine and reading practices in detail, the *Ecclesiastical History* taught readers about the church’s glorious heritage. The *Preparation-Demonstration* and *History* together constituted a textual curriculum introducing the church’s doctrines and past deeds.

The identification of the *History* and the *Preparation-Demonstration* as components of an educational curriculum seems especially plausible in light of a parallel program designed by a recent author whom Eusebius knew very well: Porphyry of Tyre.

Porphyry (ca. AD 230-305) is perhaps best known today as the arch-enemy of Christianity. Porphyry wrote at least one work *Against the Christians*, which provoked varying levels of response from Christian scholars for over a century after he died.<sup>1369</sup> According to Jerome (*VI* 81), Eusebius himself wrote a 25-book refutation of Porphyry.<sup>1370</sup> Many scholars have assumed that the *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration* was a lengthy refutation of Porphyrian anti-Christian polemics in *Against the Christians* or elsewhere.<sup>1371</sup> Yet Eusebius’ extant writings rarely name Porphyry as his foil,<sup>1372</sup> and the number of passages where Eusebius cites *Against the Christians*

<sup>1365</sup> Verdoner 2010: 371-374; quotations from 374.

<sup>1366</sup> See also Verdoner 2011: 89-98.

<sup>1367</sup> Cf. Verdoner 2011: 91-93.

<sup>1368</sup> Philosophical biographical prefaces, such as Diogenes Laertius’ and Philostratus’ to the *Lives of the Sophists*, likewise assume readers already knowledgeable about and committed to their subjects.

<sup>1369</sup> Which Christians responded to this particular work remains a vexed question. For arguments that Porphyry’s anti-Christian work(s) sparked responses from numerous Christian apologists, see e.g. Digeser 1998, 2006, 2012, Edwards 2007, Schott 2008: chs. 2-5; for a more minimalist view (which in my view is more persuasive), see Riedweg 2005, Johnson forthcoming. Against the views of P. Beatrice (e.g. 1992) that the *Against the Christians* should be identified with Porphyry’s *Philosophy from Oracles*, see Goulet 2004.

<sup>1370</sup> The best discussion of what we know about Eusebius’ *Against Porphyry* is Kofsky 2000: 71-73.

<sup>1371</sup> E.g. Barnes 1973b, 1981: 174-182, 1994; Frede 1999; Simmons 2006, 2009, 2010; Kofsky 2000: esp. 17-25, 250-275; Schott 2008: ch. 5; Mertaniemi 2009, Smith 2009.

<sup>1372</sup> The debate around Porphyry’s significance therefore hangs on how often we can show that Eusebius implies an attack on Porphyry: see e.g. Morlet 2009: 41-48 and Johnson 2010, who have shown, *pace* the much-accepted (e.g. by Harnack 1913: 186) arguments of Wilamowitz 1900, that *PE* 1.2 is unlikely to mimic Porphyry’s arguments.

explicitly is small.<sup>1373</sup> Finally, Morlet's thorough analysis has traced more of the polemics answered in the *Preparation-Demonstration* to Celsus, the late second-century Platonist and polemical target of Origen, than to Porphyry.<sup>1374</sup> We therefore cannot assume that the *Gospel Preparation* (or the *Gospel Demonstration*, or the *History*) mounted a defense against Porphyry's objections.

Eusebius, I argue, made a different extended use of Porphyry's writings extensively in a different way: as the textual models for his textual presentation of Christianity. Alongside of his polemics, Porphyry published several philosophical and religious introductions. Johnson has recently argued that Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*, a collection of prophecies and commentary quoted frequently by Eusebius, served as an introduction for students of philosophy. The text's introductory aims are manifest in the quotation of oracular texts and commentary that models the processes of comprehending their wisdom, while the implied audience, Johnson shows, is already initiated in philosophy, though less experienced than the text's authorial voice. The *Philosophy from Oracles* thus taught philosophical students how to apply reason to divine revelation, to ensure that knowledgeable, educated elites alone (like Porphyry) are interpreting these crucial enunciations.<sup>1375</sup>

Johnson has shown that several of Porphyry's other writings served pedagogical purposes.<sup>1376</sup> Porphyry composed two additional *Introductions* (*Eisagōgai*), one to Aristotle's *Categories* and another to Ptolemy's *Four Books on Astrology*. The *Introduction to Aristotle's Categories* showed how a thinker working within a Neoplatonist metaphysical system, or else communicating to a less-educated audience, could still apply Aristotle's logic.<sup>1377</sup> Porphyry's *Introduction to Ptolemy's Four Books on Astrology*, meanwhile, elucidates terminology that was antiquated or esoteric to students, "providing the student with the knowledge deemed requisite to understand the text at hand" without taking specific positions on the truth or value of Ptolemy's ideas.<sup>1378</sup> Both of Porphyry's introductory approaches, which Johnson calls, respectively, "textual" and "doctrinal," equip budding philosophers to employ the intellectual tools that earlier texts had provided but whose handling was not intuitive for Porphyry's students.

Johnson's reconstruction of Porphyry's introductory curriculum suggests a new possibility for the purpose behind other Porphyrian texts. As chapters 1 and 2 noted, Porphyry's oeuvre included a *Philosophical History*, which probably included the surviving *Life of Pythagoras*.<sup>1379</sup> The *Philosophical History* is hard to examine because other than the *Life of Pythagoras* it survives only in later authors' citations. The testimonia describe the *Philosophical History* as a four-book narrative of Greek philosophers and their opinions from the beginnings of Greek thought to Plato.<sup>1380</sup> Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, which probably represents a large proportion

<sup>1373</sup> Eusebius cites Porphyry's *Against the Christians* in the *Chronicle's* preface (pp. 7f. Helm); *HE* 6.19.3-12; *PE* 1.9.20f., 4.6.2, 5.1.9 (=frs. 40, 39, 41, 80 Harnack). There is also strong evidence that Porphyrian arguments lie behind *DE* 6.18.11 (=fr. 47 Harnack), where Eusebius responds to the charge that Daniel was written under Antiochus Epiphanes (see Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel=Against the Christians* fr. 43 Harnack).

<sup>1374</sup> Morlet 2011, summarizing arguments in Morlet 2009 (see esp. 17-21, 45-48, 274-282, 628-630). Admittedly, far more of Celsus' anti-Christian polemics survives independently as a control than of Porphyry's.

<sup>1375</sup> Johnson 2009, forthcoming: ch. 4; see also e.g. Chiaradonna 2008, Johnson 2011: 103-106.

<sup>1376</sup> See along similar lines Krulak's (2011) identification of Porphyry's *On Images* as an introductory text.

<sup>1377</sup> "The aim is the inculcation of ideas, or rather, or certain ways of thinking and speaking, and the introduction of the tools requisite for analysis and evaluation of the ways of thinking and speaking" (Johnson forthcoming: ch. 4).

<sup>1378</sup> Johnson forthcoming: ch. 4, who compares it to a glossary.

<sup>1379</sup> DeVore forthcoming b calls for further research on the *Philosophical History's* relationship with the *Life of Pythagoras*.

<sup>1380</sup> See frs. 198T, 200F-203F, 221F, 223F Smith.

of book 1 of the *Philosophical History*,<sup>1381</sup> may illuminate the *Philosophical History*'s purpose. Many of the *Pythagoras*' anecdotes occur in a pedagogical setting: Pythagoras learns (*VPyth* 6-8, 10-12) and teaches (9, 13-15, 18-20), and his doctrines (*didaskalia*, 37, 48, 50) are described as though being imparted orally upon his disciples (37-54). The *Life of Pythagoras*' pedagogical setting, I suggest, mirrors the purpose of introducing the proper philosophical life and thus presumes a readership of philosophical students.

The content of the surviving *Philosophical History* also implies an already-educated audience interested in philosophy. The *Life of Pythagoras* narrates its title character's miracles and promoting his manner of life (*bios, politeia*, *VPyth* 16). Several other *reliquiae* from the *Philosophical History* describe Socrates' life, and particularly his calling into philosophy. Porphyry even included many unflattering Socratic anecdotes, though the *reliquiae* seem to portray Socrates as growing out of his youthful indiscretions.<sup>1382</sup> Doxographical sections covering physics and ethics, in both the *Life of Pythagoras* and other *reliquiae*, summarize philosophical doctrines from longer philosophical texts.<sup>1383</sup> Information useful for chronicling philosophers' pursuits of wisdom seems to have been his criterion for inclusion.<sup>1384</sup>

Finally, the *Philosophical History*'s construction of its narrator's authority implies a readership of budding scholars. When constructing a narrative of Pythagoras' life in the first half of the *Life of Pythagoras*, Porphyry cites authority after authority.<sup>1385</sup> He assumes readers interested in knowing different versions of the Pythagoras' early life and who therefore might evaluate these sources themselves. The breadth of knowledge expected of readers suggests a high level of education.<sup>1386</sup> Porphyry provides his information through short phrases and an easy style, with minimal literary pretension—an ideal packaging for students seeking digestible data about the heritage of intellectual activity in which they were participating.

<sup>1381</sup> See fr. 207T Smith for the evidence; cf. DeVore forthcoming b, which calls for further research on the identification of the *Life of Pythagoras* as part of the *Philosophical History*.

<sup>1382</sup> See frs. 211F-215F Smith, with Johnson forthcoming: ch. 1.

<sup>1383</sup> Frs. 205F, 220F-223F Smith.

<sup>1384</sup> Cf. a quotation from book 3 preserved by both Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret of Cyrhus (fr. 212F Smith): "...let us say about Socrates those things that are counted worthy of memory in other writers, distinguishing briefly things told repeatedly by learned men to praise and blame him and leaving unexamined whether he worked in stonemasonry with his father or whether his father did it alone. For this did not cut into his movement toward wisdom, as it was work done for only a short time, and if he was a herm-cutter, all the more so, as the craft was pure and not a source of reproach" (λέγωμεν περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους τὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μνήμης κατηξιωμένα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἔπαινον αὐτοῦ καὶ ψόγον πολλαχῶς ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων ἀνδρῶν μεμυθευμένα ἐπ' ὀλίγον φυλοκρινούντες, καταλιπόντες δὲ ἀνεξέταστον τὸ εἴτε αὐτὸς εἰργάσατο σὺν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν λιθοτομικὴν, εἴτε ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μόνος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐνέκοπτεν αὐτῷ τούτο πρὸς σοφίαν, πρὸς ὀλίγον γε χρόνον ἐργασθέν. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἔρμογλύφος ἦν, καὶ μᾶλλον· καθάρειος γὰρ ἡ τέχνη καὶ οὐ πρὸς οὐείδους; translated with reference to Sodano 1997: 77). This tantalizing notice at least tells us that Porphyry presented himself as a sifter and compiler of information about Greek intellectuals, maintaining a stance of nonpartisanship among the philosophers he treats. Cf. Clark 2000: 33: "Porphyry's life of Pythagoras...does not suggest any special commitment to Pythagoras." This nonpartisanship over Pythagoras and Socrates may accrue credibility for Porphyry as narrator in preparation for the no doubt favorable account of Plato in book 4 (cf. frs. 219F-223F Smith).

<sup>1385</sup> As Edwards 1993b: 159 notes. Virtually all information about Pythagoras in *VPyth* 1-11 is told in *oratio obliqua*.

<sup>1386</sup> For example, Porphyry mentions Polycrates (*VPyth* 7-9, 16), the sixth-century-BC tyrant of Samos from book 3 of Herodotus' *Histories* (3.39-57, 120-142), and expects that readers will recognize Polycrates by name. Porphyry's play (via his cited source Antiphon) with Herodotean knowledge is quite deep, as Porphyry/Antiphon portrays Polycrates as writing a letter of recommendation to the Egyptian king Amasis, which echoes the letters exchanged between these two monarchs in Hdt. 3.39-44. Compare also *VPyth* 14 to Hdt. 4.94-96.

The formal, thematic, and rhetorical features of the *Philosophical History* suggest that the text complemented Porphyry's philosophical curriculum. It provided students with a carefully researched, authoritative narrative of the profession to which they were dedicating themselves. These students were likely also primed to view the *Philosophical History's* characters as paradigmatic of the philosophical life. Greek and Roman educators, after all, used historical figures as models for disciples' behavior. Accordingly, the *Life of Pythagoras* presents Pythagoras as a paradigm for leadership of a philosophical community; at least one fragment of Porphyry's picture of Socrates may reflect a negative exemplum, on how the pursuit of pleasures could hinder a philosopher's career.<sup>1387</sup> A compilation of information coalesces into exempla of the philosophical life.<sup>1388</sup>

Porphyry's combination of exemplary narratives with doctrinal introductions prefigures Eusebius' literary program from 313 to 324.<sup>1389</sup> We saw in previous chapters that Eusebius transposed formal, thematic, and rhetorical tactics from philosophical biographies of the third and early fourth century into the *Ecclesiastical History*, especially in his biographies of Christian intellectuals and his notices of successions of bishops. While the *Ecclesiastical History's* successions of bishops signify the transmission of Christian teachings from Jesus to Eusebius' own day (chapter 5 above), its biographies act as snapshots of intellectuals who enact and disseminate Jesus' teachings (chapter 2 above). In addition, the *Ecclesiastical History's* implied reader, educated and committed to Christian doctrines but less erudite than its narrator, mirrors the *Philosophical History's* presumption of educated readers seeking information about the heroes of Greek philosophy.

Porphyry's publication of a combination of texts that so closely paralleled Eusebius' literary output from 313 to 324 cannot be coincidence. Eusebius knew at least Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* and the *Philosophical History* well.<sup>1390</sup> As noted above, Eusebius also respected Porphyry enough to cite him frequently as an exemplar of Hellenism. Eusebius, I argue, patterned his Christian curriculum after Porphyry's combination of philosophical introductions with philosophical history.<sup>1391</sup> Just as Porphyry's biographical works celebrated and modeled the philosophical life by documenting philosophers' honor and efficacy, so also the *Ecclesiastical History* provided exempla of ideal Christian activity and confirmed the success of Christian teaching. And as we will see below, Eusebius even mimicked Porphyry's *Philosophical History* in the very title of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Unwittingly, Porphyry modeled the first systematic glorification of the church's past as part of a comprehensive introduction to Christian doctrine.

A final confirmation that Eusebius intended the *History* to introduce educated students to a philosophical Christianity comes in a striking term that Eusebius employs to describe Christianity. Throughout the *History*, *Preparation*, and *Demonstration* Eusebius repeatedly

<sup>1387</sup> Fr. 214F Smith (noted in chapter 2, pp. 73f. above).

<sup>1388</sup> Pace Clark 2000: 33; cf. n. 1384 above. Porphyry was not the only philosopher around the turn of the fourth century who published philosophical biography along with his philosophical handbooks: his student Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* served as the introduction to his sequence of philosophical instruction. While this biography differs from Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras/Philosophical History* in significant ways (Edwards 1993b, Clark 2000), it also portrays Pythagoras as the exemplary leader of a philosophically progressing community (Clark 2000: esp. 33-35, 39f.; Lurje 2002: esp. 233-236, 242-248; von Albrecht 2002).

<sup>1389</sup> One could also compare Porphyry's and Eusebius' respective commentaries and question-answer texts.

<sup>1390</sup> See, respectively, Carriker 2003: 115 and Smith 1988.

<sup>1391</sup> This is not an entirely new proposition. Morlet 2004: 71f. has suggested that Eusebius meant the *Ecclesiastical History* to reinforce the *General Elementary Introduction* and the *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration* similarly as Porphyry's philosophical historiography complemented his philosophical curriculum; see also p. 225 with n. 1422 below.

refers to Christianity as a teaching (*didaskalia*). While the New Testament describes Jesus and the apostles several times as transmitting *didaskalia*, and Christians since Clement of Alexandria had used the term to refer to totality of Christian doctrine,<sup>1392</sup> Porphyry also used *didaskalia* in the *Life of Pythagoras* to denote Pythagoras' doctrines (*VPyth* 37, 48). In Eusebius' *Gospel Preparation-Demonstration*, the term appears over 180 times in Eusebius' voice, signifying the mitigating effects of Christ's teaching on individual Christians and Christian communities.<sup>1393</sup> *Didaskalia* even becomes a historical agent in itself, so that its acceptance and absorption brings favor with God.<sup>1394</sup> Eusebius' description of Christianity as a *didaskalia* packaged the faith so as a body of efficacious philosophical teaching.

The *Ecclesiastical History* narrates the enactment of the *didaskalia* presented in the *Preparation-Demonstration*.<sup>1395</sup> In the *History* God's *didaskalia* was rejected by Adam, enacted in the lives of the Hebrews of old, discarded by the Jews, announced by the prophets, and reintroduced by Jesus (*HE* 1.2-4).<sup>1396</sup> The homogeneous *didaskalia* of Christ is taught throughout the church: it is proclaimed to all nations in all regions of the inhabited world, and several paradigmatic Christians spend their lives pursuing and then spreading this teaching.<sup>1397</sup> God's power accompanies Christ's teaching, enabling Christians to overcome "heretical" threats,<sup>1398</sup> and the *didaskalia* becomes famous enough to catch the attention of the Roman Senate and Roman authors.<sup>1399</sup> The Jews, "heretics," bad emperors, and Satan plot against it, and martyrs die rather than renounce it.<sup>1400</sup> God's teaching cleanses the fallen soul and inculcates numerous virtues, including moderation, justice, persistence, and courage, and piety. In short, Christian teaching civilizes.<sup>1401</sup> Eusebius' emphasis on *didaskalia* and its enactment fits the social purpose of informing students about the successes of Christianity, as well as providing models for Christians, perfectly.

Thus, Eusebius composed the *Ecclesiastical History* to inform Christian bishops, intellectuals, and civic elites about the heritage of the men who taught the doctrines they were learning about in the *Gospel Preparation and Demonstration*. I suggest that these texts molded

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<sup>1392</sup> New Testament usages: see Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich s.v. *didaskalia*; later Christian usages: Lampe s.v., who misses a possible use in Papias, cited in Eus.*HE* 3.39.15. Clement is quoted on *didaskalia* at *HE* 5.11.5. Liddell, Scott, and Jones define *didaskalia* narrowly, as signifying "teaching, instruction" (I.1); they do not distinguish between teaching activity and the content of teaching.

<sup>1393</sup> *PE* 1.1.10, 1.4.6, 2.4.1, 2.5.1, 3.5.5, 4.15.3, 4.21.3, 6.6.63f., 69f; 6.11.83; 7.5.2, 7.8.35, 11.4.6; 12.16.9, 14.1.3; *DE* 1.1.9, 1.6 *passim*; 1.7.15, 19; 1.9 *passim*; 1.10.18, 35; 2.pref.1; 3.pref.1; 3.1.2, 3.4.16-20, 38; 3.5.74; 3.6.1, 5, 10; 4.10.14, 5.pref.9, 23; 5.1.28, 5.2.8; 6.18.48, 6.20.12; 6.21.7; 7.1.76; 7.3.34; 9.11.12, 9.13.3, 9.17.15, 9.18.6; 10.3.12.

<sup>1394</sup> *PE* 1.3.8, 14; 1.4.1 *passim*; 2.1.51; 2.4.1, 6; 2.7.8; 4.15.7; 4.17.5, 8; 4.21.3; 5.1 *passim*; 5.17.14; 6.pref.1, 6.6.63, 68, 72; 7.16.11; 8.1.6; 10.9.2; *DE* 1.1.8; 1.6.39, 1.8.4, 1.10.18, 35; 2.pref.1; 2.1.11; 2.3.138, 147; 3.1.4; 3.2.6, 8 40; 3.3.5; 3.5.108; 3.6.7, 15, 25; 3.7.18, 33f.; 4.13.18; 4.16.3, 23, 42; 4.17.19; 5.pref.9; 5.1.1, 5.2.8; 5.3.26, 6.10.2; 6.11.3; 6.13.8; 6.15.14; 6.18.49; 6.20.9-17 13; 6.21.7; 7.1.16, 91, 132, 148; 7.3.44; 8.pref.14, 8.1.46, 73; 8.2.108f.; 9.2.6; 9.3.5; 9.11.5, 12; 9.13.9; 9.17.15; 10.4.7, 10.7.7.

<sup>1395</sup> Note also that Eusebius characterizes his *Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms* (including the *Martyrs of Lyons*, which he proceeds to quote) as a "didactic narrative" (*didaskalikēn diēgēsīn*, 5.pref.2); cf. Grant 1980: 117, Gödecke 1987: 112 and 145, and Mühlhberg 2002: 200.

<sup>1396</sup> *HE* 1.2.18, 23; 1.4.10, 1.10; cf. 1.4.1.

<sup>1397</sup> *HE* 1.4.15, 1.13.4, 2.1, 2.17.24, 3.34, 3.37.4, 3.39.12, 4.2.1, 4.17.11, 4.22.1, 5.10.1, 4; 6.3 *passim*; 6.8.6, 6.15; 6.19.10, 6.21.4; 6.26; 7.32.30; cf. a quotation of an otherwise lost letter of Irenaeus about Polycarp's *didaskalia*, *HE* 5.10.6, and the "heretics'" teaching at 4.7.3, 4.11.2, 4.29.3, 5.13.4, 6.3.14, 6.12.2, 7.30.3 (in a quotation).

<sup>1398</sup> *HE* 2.15.1; see also 2.3.2, 3.5.2, 4.7.14, *MP* 7.4.

<sup>1399</sup> *HE* 2.2.2f., 3.18.4.

<sup>1400</sup> *HE* 4.18.7, 4.24, 6.28, 8.8, 8.14.14, 9.6.3.

<sup>1401</sup> 1.4.7, 2.3.2; cf. 2.17.24, 8.8; cf. *HE* 10.4.60.

these elites into reading communities in which they would implement an ideal Christian social structure.<sup>1402</sup> However, Eusebius' Christianity was not reducible to a teaching: the *Ecclesiastical History* was also a national history, and the church was also a nation. How Eusebius forged a church that was both a philosophical school and a nation is the subject of the next section.

#### 4. The Christian Nation-School: Elite Philosophical Professionals within a Pious Nation and Christian Superiority to Hellenism

While the philosophical character of Eusebian Christianity pervades the *Preparation-Demonstration* as well as the *Ecclesiastical History*, previous chapters have shown that the *History* is more than a series of philosophical biographies: Eusebius also outlines a history of the Christian "nation" (*ethnos*, *HE* 1.4.2, 4.7.10, 10.4.19). The same conclusion holds for the *Preparation* and *Demonstration*. As Johnson and Valerio Neri have argued, the *Preparation* constructed Christianity as an interregional nation and an ethnic group (in Greek, *ethnos*, *genos*).<sup>1403</sup> Johnson's "ethnocentric" reading of the *Preparation* also explains much of Eusebius' argumentation in the *Demonstration*.<sup>1404</sup> It shows further how Eusebius picked up the longstanding portrayal of Christianity as an *ethnos* (or *genos*) that had characterized Christian discourse since the New Testament and especially among the apologists of the second century.<sup>1405</sup>

Johnson's thesis that Eusebius' works between 313 and 324 constructed Christianity as an ethnicity might seem to contradict Eusebius' use of the introductory literary genres and argumentative techniques of philosophical schools.<sup>1406</sup> Could a philosophical school simultaneously be a nation? In fact, it is Eusebian Christianity's dual identity as both a nation and a philosophical school that substantiates its superiority over Hellenism.

As I showed in chapter 1 (pp. 58-62), philosophers were an honored profession in much of the Roman Empire in Eusebius' day. Philosophers were almost always identified with the Greek nation, although experience of respected "barbarian" cultures was advantageous for a

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<sup>1402</sup> Cf. Stock 1983: ch. 2 and 1984: 16-20, with the Introduction, pp. 21f. above. I thus concur with Gödecke (1987), Verdoner (2011: esp. ch. 4), and Corke-Webster (2013) that Eusebius aimed to propagate a vision of Christian community (see the Introduction, pp. 17f. above), though my reconstruction differs on some points from theirs (especially from Gödecke's). My contextualization of the *History* within late Roman ethnic discourses also contextualizes the apologetic aims of the *History* within Eusebius' polemics against Hellenism, while accepting theological readings of the *History* insofar as Eusebius was affirming Christianity's superior relations with and support from the divine (Introduction, pp. 16f. above).

<sup>1403</sup> Johnson 2006a: esp. ch. 7; Neri 2010.

<sup>1404</sup> Johnson 2006a: 220-232, to which I add some structural points: book 1 of the *Demonstration* continues Eusebius' ethnic *sugkrisis* by affirming that Christian way of life represents a continuation of the Hebrews' philosophical ideals (albeit with modifications: *DE* 1.9f.). The rest of the *Gospel Demonstration* shows the congruity between the Jewish Bible and the New Testament, proving that the Jewish scriptures that the Christians have embraced announced Jesus as the restorer of the Hebrews' way of life (see esp. *DE* 3). On the other hand, whereas Eusebius organized the *Preparation* specifically to critique supposed tenets of Hellenism, the *Demonstration* is arranged according to christological doctrines, so that argument against the Jews is *ad hoc* rather than systematic (though Ulrich 1999: esp. ch. 5 goes too far in portraying Eusebius as respectful and sympathetic of Judaism).

<sup>1405</sup> See esp. Lieu 2004: ch. 8, Buell 2005.

<sup>1406</sup> Johnson has also called Eusebius' three references in the *Preparation* to Christianity as a school "strategic application of metaphor" (2006a: 221; citing *didaskaleion* in *PE* 4.4.1; 12.33.3, 14.3.4). This dissertation argues that Eusebius did not mean his portrayal of Christianity as a school as a merely a metaphor.



philosopher's credentials.<sup>1407</sup> Philosophy was the pinnacle of Hellenism, and philosophers were therefore the most highly-esteemed professionals among Greeks.

Eusebius' works between 313 and 324 assume this cultural hierarchy within the Greek nation where professional philosophers were superior to other Greeks. In defining Christianity against the Greek nation, the *Gospel Preparation* speaks of philosophers with greater respect than other Greeks. The structure of the *Gospel Preparation* criticizes the worst of the Greeks before moving on to the best.<sup>1408</sup> Books 1 to 6 present arguments against Greek civic theologies, including a genealogy of popular Greek theologies as descended from disreputable Phoenician and Egyptian sources, proofs of the demonic and therefore evil nature of Greek religion, and refutations of Greek ideas of fate. Along the way, Eusebius reveals his respect for Greek philosophers by quoting several philosophers who corroborated his critiques.<sup>1409</sup> After these sweeping denunciations of popular Greek beliefs, Eusebius narrows his focus to critique Greek philosophers in books 10 to 15 of the *Gospel Preparation*. At the start he states philosophers' superiority to other Greeks (10.1.7): "You would find that the number of those honored in the first ranks of philosophers among the Greeks is easy to count, because, as they say, all admirable things are hard, so that, with their great approval, they overshadow those of similar perspective."<sup>1410</sup> He then exposes Greek philosophers' doctrines as either derivative from Hebrew philosophy (*PE* 10-13.13), incorrect (e.g. *PE* 13.14-21), or inconsistent with one another (*PE* 14f.).

Thus, while philosophers were the most honorable representatives of Hellenism in Eusebius' eyes, Hellenism was not reducible to Greek philosophy, nor were the Greeks reducible to philosophers.<sup>1411</sup> And whereas Eusebius criticizes many Greek practices,<sup>1412</sup> and although in Porphyry's *Philosophical History* he had damning information about at least one Greek philosopher (see p. 221), Eusebius accuses no philosopher of immorality. For Eusebius, therefore, philosophers were an exceptionally respectable profession within the Greek nation.

Just as Greek philosophers held a prestigious and skilled role within the Greek nation, so the *Ecclesiastical History* constructs the church as a group of specialist intellectuals within the Christian nation. Eusebius' choice to title his narrative *Ekklēsiastikē Historia*,<sup>1413</sup> rather than *Christianē* or *Christianikē Historia*,<sup>1414</sup> reveals that the *History* was a narrative about such intellectual experts. The term *ekklēsiastikos* had denoted the properties, qualities, or objects

<sup>1407</sup> See e.g. Swain 1999, 2009; Warren 2007.

<sup>1408</sup> The *Preparation* thus ascends from vituperation against Greek civic theologies (*PE* 1-6) to a more respectful critique of philosophical doctrine (*PE* 10-15), with an interlude about the ancient Hebrew philosophy in between (*PE* 7-9). Cf. Morlet 2009: 50-61 on the "ascent" from the *Preparation* to the *Demonstration*, which corresponds to the "progression spirituelle" of philosophical introductions such as Albinus' (ibid, 52), where a critique of incorrect philosophies acts as a catharsis of impurities before the ascent of the soul with the true philosophy. I would suggest that the *Preparation* also follows an internal "progression spirituelle," so that readers purify themselves first from lower civic theologies on to the more worthwhile, though still flawed, philosophers' teachings.

<sup>1409</sup> *PE* 1.8.14, 2.7, 4.16-19, 6.7-9, cf. Neri 2010: 69. The only criticism of Greek philosophy in 1-6 comes in book 3, which reproves philosophers' attempts to save Greek physical theology through allegory.

<sup>1410</sup> τούτους δ' ἂν εὖροις ἀριθμῶ μὲν ὄντας ληπτούς, ὅτι καὶ πάντα χαλεπὰ φασι εἶναι τὰ καλὰ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρωτείσι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσόφων τετιμημένους, ὡς διὰ τὴν πολλὴν εὐδοκίμησιν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦς ὁμοίους καλύπτειν. See also *HE* 1.2.23, which labels philosophers the civilizers (ἡμέρωτο) of humanity.

<sup>1411</sup> Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Philostratus in the *Lives of the Sophists* differentiate individuals within Hellenism rather than contrasting Hellenism with other nations (pace Swain 1999: 166-168, 183f., and Warren 2007: 140-142 on Diogenes Laertius).

<sup>1412</sup> See Johnson 2006a: 88-93.

<sup>1413</sup> Here I pick up the discussion of Eusebius' title for the *History* from chapter 1, pp. 41f. above.

<sup>1414</sup> Philip of Side published the first *Christianikē Historia* in the fifth century: see the Introduction, n. 94 above.

associated with the institutionalized church since Irenaeus.<sup>1415</sup> Eusebius deploys the term *ekklēsiastikos* to refer either to “orthodox” Christian teachings,<sup>1416</sup> institutionalized rituals, gatherings, and customs,<sup>1417</sup> and intellectuals affiliated with the “orthodox” church.<sup>1418</sup> The term thus designates an institution bound together by traditional Christian teachings,<sup>1419</sup> but is not coextensive with “Christian.”<sup>1420</sup> While Christians were a nation (*ethnos*) for Eusebius,<sup>1421</sup> the church was a network of like-minded intellectuals.

In narrating the role of philosophers within a larger nation, Porphyry’s *Philosophical History* again provided a model for Eusebius. Both the philosophers described in Porphyry’s *Philosophical History* and Eusebius’ *ekklēsiastikoi* were elite specialists within the larger nation that propagated a divine philosophy. And where Porphyry wrote his *Philosophos Historia* about philosophers who established schools rather than about the nation (the Greeks) who produced the philosophers, Eusebius focused his *Ekklēsiastikē Historia* on the elite network that taught followers the best kind of life rather than the life of all Christians everywhere. The Christians were a nation; the *ekklēsiastikoi* were its philosophical leaders. In his title, therefore, Eusebius pitted the church into competition with the philosophical schools.<sup>1422</sup> Eusebius’ *History* followed Porphyry in constructing an intellectual elite within a larger nation.

Eusebius’ most explicit distinction between professional and lay Christians comes not in the *Ecclesiastical History*, but in the *Gospel Demonstration*. In *Demonstration* 1.8 he differentiates two Christian *tropoi*, a frequent Eusebian term perhaps best translated here as “regimen,” of the Christian life.<sup>1423</sup> The first *tropos* is meant for extraordinary (*huperphuē*) people, forbidding marriage, childbearing and acquisition, and indeed all human property. Instead, these people are to live in undivided devotion to God, “dedicated to the God over all...and to the correct teachings of true piety and to the disposition of a purified soul” (1.8.2)<sup>1424</sup> and performing good works pleasing to God. The second *tropos* is described as “lower, more human” (*hupobebēkōs anthrōpinōteros*, 1.8.3): it permits marriage, childbearing, property, political action, and fighting

<sup>1415</sup> Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich s.v. ἐκκλησιαστικός. Crouzel 1992 uncovers precisely the same range of usage for the term in Origen. On the term in Tertullian and Clement, cf. Ohme 1998: 108-110, 137-143, 193f., 204-207. The only previous scholar who has commented on the term in the *History* is Verdoner 2011: 100f.

<sup>1416</sup> HE 3.23.2, 3.26.4, 4.7.5, 5.23.2, 6.13.3, 6.18.1, 6.25.3, 6.27, 6.33.1, 6.43.8, 7.27.2; cf. 5.28.6 (in a quotation from the anonymous heresiologist). Eusebius variously calls these teachings *didaskalia*, *orthodoxia*, *paradosis*, *dogmata*, *kanon*, or *logos*.

<sup>1417</sup> HE 2.17.15, 23; 7.30.9, and possibly 6.23.4; cf. MP 12 (“the ecclesiastical treasury”).

<sup>1418</sup> HE 1.1.5, 2.25.6, 3.3.2f., 3.25.6, 3.39.13, 4.7.5, 5.8.1, 5.18.1, 5.27, 6.12.1, 6.20.1, 6.23.4, 8.13.1.

<sup>1419</sup> Pace Timpe 1989: 179, who declares, “Die Kirche ist bei Eusebius keine Institution”!

<sup>1420</sup> Cf. HE 4.11.9, where in one of his extraneous but revealing quotations (cf. chapter 2, n. 718 above) Eusebius quotes Justin Martyr as conceding that “heretics” were nonetheless Christians, even though their doctrines excluded them from the church.

<sup>1421</sup> HE 1.4.2, 4.7.10, 10.4.19.

<sup>1422</sup> Cf. Morlet 2004: 74f.: “D’ailleurs, le titre meme de l’‘Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία’ portrait contenir une reference implicite non seulement au genre litteraire de l’histoire philosophique, mais meme au livre de Porphyry, ‘Φιλόσοφος Ιστορία’” (a connection implicit in Schwartz 1907: 1395). Morlet’s subsequent remarks ring with considerable plausibility: “Contre les attaques de Porphyre et des philosophes en general contre l’Église, Eusèbe suggèrait ici une these au’il développe ailleurs: le christianisme est la vraie philosophie. Les convergences de forme et de fond entre l’*Histoire de la philosophie* et l’*Histoire ecclésiastique* tendrait donc à prouver qu’Eusèbe avait peut-être la première oeuvre à l’esprit lorsqu’il composait la seconde.”

<sup>1423</sup> Cf. *bios*, 1.8.1; *politeia* 1.8.3.

<sup>1424</sup> ἱερωμένοι τῶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῶ...δόγμασι δὲ ὀρθοῖς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας ψυχῆς τε διαθέσει κεκαθαυμένης.

wars, with asceticism and learning required only at certain reserved moments and days (*kairoi*, *hēmerai*).<sup>1425</sup>

The first kind of life was the life of a professional philosopher.<sup>1426</sup> As shown in chapter 1 (pp. 58f.), philosophers performed *exercises spirituels* to detach themselves from normal human concerns; Eusebius' description of the privileged Christian *tropos* as “dedication to God, ... the correct teachings of pure piety, and the disposition of a purified soul” (*DE* 1.8.2) obviously required such *exercises spirituels*. *Exercises spirituels* also demanded the renunciation of normal human transactions like sex and market transactions in favor of full devotion to divine doctrines and the purification of the soul.<sup>1427</sup> Eusebius' first Christian *tropos* was thus unmistakably a *philosophos tropos*. Such a Christian life could only be realized by a few elites who could afford to renounce earthly pursuits and dedicate their lives to living a fully philosophical life. By contrast, the apostles had taught the second way of life solely “to condescend to the weakness of the masses” (*sugkationtes tēi tōn pleionōn astheneiai*, 1.8.1).<sup>1428</sup> A less honorable and less authoritative group led the second *tropos*. The *Gospel Demonstration* thus proposes a distinction between a few Christian philosophers and other adherents to the faith who lead more “worldly” lives.

The *Ecclesiastical History* inscribes the supremacy of the Christian stratum that practices the first *tropos* into the Christian heritage. The *History*'s biographies paint Christian heroes as studious intellectuals who immerse themselves in Christian doctrine through Christian texts; Christians' educative practices and intellectual output thus reflect the performance of *exercises spirituels* (chapter 2 above). Eusebius focuses on heroes, such as James the brother of Jesus, Polycarp, Pantaenus, Origen, and Narcissus of Jerusalem, who complete *exercises spirituels*,<sup>1429</sup> while the ascetic Therapeutae are Eusebius' ideal Christian community (2.17).<sup>1430</sup> As chapter 2 showed (p. 95), several successions of Christian philosophers shined in the Empire for a century and taught bishops in much of the eastern Roman Empire by Eusebius' day.<sup>1431</sup> The bishops whose successions in office provide the constant rhythm underneath the *History* practice and teach *exercises spirituels*.<sup>1432</sup> And, as chapter 3 argued, the *History* depicts philosophical asceticism as a consistent prerequisite for successful martyrdom. Christian elites' manner of life, immersed in *exercises spirituels*, made them successful philosophers.

The *Demonstration*'s “lower, more human *tropos*” (*DE* 1.8.3) is practiced by those who wage war, who grow food and sell their wares, and have routines more involved in civic life (*politikōteras agōgēs*). This lower stratum of Christians receives less emphasis in the *History* but remains nonetheless in the background. The presence of a second stratum of Christians mirrors the structure of the Greek philosophical schools. As noted in chapter 1 (p. 64), Greek philosophers usually allowed people who were not full-time students to hear their lectures and

<sup>1425</sup> Cf. in general Hollerich 2002 on *DE* 1.8; note also Brown 1988: 205-207.

<sup>1426</sup> This was so obvious that Eusebius need not use the term *philosophia* in 1.8.

<sup>1427</sup> Sex: see chapter 1, p. 65 above; market transactions: cf. the rejection of Abgar's gifts by Thaddaeus in *HE* 1.13.21 (with the Introduction, pp. 3f. with n. 26 above).

<sup>1428</sup> In Eusebius' *History* even the apostles did not fully renounce such earthly pursuits as sex: cf. *HE* 3.30, a chapter devoted to stressing and emphasizing the apostles' choice to marry, a refutation of the extreme asceticism of the Encratites described in the previous chapter).

<sup>1429</sup> James: *HE* 2.23.4-7; Polycarp: 4.15.9f.; Pantaenus: 5.11.1; Origen: see esp. 6.2f.; Narcissus: 6.9; see also e.g. 4.8.3, 6.30, 7.32.31, 9.6.2.

<sup>1430</sup> See Corke-Webster 2013: 106-110; cf. Inowlocki 2004.

<sup>1431</sup> See esp. *HE* 3.36.1; 4.14, 4.16; 5.10f., 5.13, 5.20, 7.2-19; 7.32.23, 27, 32f.

<sup>1432</sup> Shortly after its description of the two *tropoi* the *Demonstration* identifies at least some of the ascetic few as Christian clerics (1.9.21), as Hollerich 2002: 182.

learn the basics of philosophy. People who were not professional philosophers, such as the emperor Marcus Aurelius, performed the *exercises spirituels* to create the rupture with traditional values and to master their lower desires and put reason in charge of their disposition. Although in their day-to-day lives these people had to perform everyday tasks such as childbearing, exchanging property, political action, and fighting wars, they could justifiably present themselves as *philosophoi* on inscriptions or other media. In the *Gospel Demonstration* explicitly, and in the *History* implicitly, Eusebius inscribed the distinction between professional philosophers and nonprofessional *philosophoi* into the social structure of the Christian nation. The church was thus a nation of both professional philosophers and lay *Christianoi*, just as Greek philosophical schools consisted of professional and nonprofessional *philosophoi*.

Eusebius' lower *tropos* for nonprofessional Christians was fit for Roman elites who did not wish to reduce their interaction in the Roman political and economic spheres. As chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 158, 204f.) showed, Eusebius' Christians interacted fairly regularly with Roman authorities and stood ready to advise them if called upon.<sup>1433</sup> Some Christians even held important imperial offices. On the other hand, these Christians do not seem to have performed Eusebius' higher *tropos*.<sup>1434</sup> Even emperors were lower within the church's sphere of influence than the higher stratum of Christians. Eusebius' anecdote about Philip the Arab illustrates even the emperor's lower status in the Christian hierarchy (*HE* 6.34).<sup>1435</sup> When debarred by a Christian cleric (*proestōtos*) from joining a liturgy unless he repented of his sins, Philip does not compel the cleric to admit him to the service; instead, he obeys the cleric eagerly (*peitharchēsai ge prothumōs*). For Eusebius, Philip's respect for this cleric's authority within ecclesiastical ritual marks him out as "demonstrating genuineness and piety of disposition vis-à-vis fear of the divine in his actions."<sup>1436</sup> Philip's deference exemplifies the distinctions that Eusebius draws between professional Christian leaders and the subordinate stratum of lay Christians, even if these lay Christians held a higher political rank.

Thus, Eusebius' *History* joins the *Preparation-Demonstration* in locating the church within its larger society in a parallel role to that of philosophers in the Greek nation. Just as Greek philosophers engage in *exercises spirituels*, serve as ethical exemplars, and teach nonprofessional Greek *philosophoi*, so also professional Christians, including clergy and other scholars, train themselves to conform to divine ideals, and teach the second stratum of Christians to do the same. In short, the church was to the Christians what professional philosophers were to the Greeks. Christianity was a nation led by a philosophical school.

For Eusebius, however, Christianity was a superior philosophy to any Greek philosophical school. Johnson and Morlet, among others, have explained well the grounds on which Eusebius advocated Christian superiority in the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration*: the church promulgated the original, pristine, uncontaminated philosophy received from God in the earliest times; the church exemplified the most upright and pure life possible; the Greeks, meanwhile, offered a much more carnal theology; while Greek philosophers had improved upon most Greeks' manner of life, even the best of them simply stole the Christians' pristine teaching by

<sup>1433</sup> See also my reading of the narrative of Abgar's conversion in the Introduction, pp. 1-4 above.

<sup>1434</sup> With the possible exception of Dorotheus (*HE* 7.32.3-5), who is the procurator of the emperor's purple-dye factory but also an accomplished scholar and a presbyter, though not a bishop: cf. chapter 5, p. 205 above.

<sup>1435</sup> Eusebius may not have been convinced of this anecdote's historicity, as he tells the entire episode in *oratio obliqua* and twice includes qualifying statements indicating an oral source (*logos katechei, legetai*). That he nonetheless included it in the *History* indicates its importance.

<sup>1436</sup> τὸ γνήσιον καὶ εὐλάβες τῆς περὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβον διαθέσεως ἔργοις ἐπιδειγμένον.

learning the Hebrew wisdom promulgated in the law and the prophets; and Christians had special access to the divine through their knowledge of God's *Logos*.<sup>1437</sup>

Eusebius' reasoning in asserting Christianity's superiority to Greek philosophy in the *Ecclesiastical History* enhances these arguments in two ways. The first is that the church boasted more political success than the Greek philosophical schools, particularly in Christians' glorious endurance of violence, and so was more capable of imposing law on its subelites; the second is that Christian philosophy had a more universal effect on Christians than Greek philosophy had on Greeks.

For political success, Christianity needed both to impose order on its adherents and to surpass other nations in prestige. Eusebius' *History* showed that the church was capable of acting as a political institution that could manage its subelite masses.<sup>1438</sup> As chapters 2 and 5 showed, the church educated each generation almost flawlessly in its way of life. The church also had systematic mechanisms for expelling poorly-behaving members, as chapter 5 showed. And its regular hierarchy with bishops leading lay Christians mirrored the order that Roman governors and other imperial officials maintained in their realm. The church's hierarchy, self-regulation, and lawfulness represented political qualities appropriate for a distinguished nation.

Eusebius' most prominent claim for the church's political activity was the church's victories in his new kind of war. This was a prerequisite to nationhood, as paradigmatic Greek peoples such as Athens and Sparta gained honor through physical wars.<sup>1439</sup> Yet, as chapter 3 showed, Eusebius' Christians claimed victory in psychical wars, by maintaining their loyalty to God and their philosophical virtues amid demon-provoked violence. Both of these qualities followed from the ascetic *tropos* that Christian leaders exemplified and taught. The same quality that defines the two Christian strata throughout the *History* also defeats their enemies. The church's victories presumed that the church was a political institution with a superior ethos to the Greeks, as it was able to look past the physical powers and conquer psychical adversaries.

In the context of combat Eusebius could emphasize the church's character explicitly as a political organization. Eusebius' description of his psychical war at the beginning of book 5, which marks the difference between the Christian victories and those of other nations (quoted at the beginning of chapter 3, p. 105), calls the church "the polity that follows God's rule" (*tou kata theon politeumatos*). In imperial Greek *politeuma* typically designated a body of citizens who maintained separate governing structures from the city in which they lived.<sup>1440</sup> So, while trumpeting Christianity's valor in violent contests, Eusebius made explicit the claim of Christianity to be a distinct and distinguished political organization within the Roman Empire.

Eusebius made it clear that this political organization could coexist with the Roman Empire. The church had just successfully resisted an attempt at annihilation from Rome's imperial apparatus, which might have rendered coexistence between the Christian nation and the Roman Empire impossible. Eusebius, however, blamed the persecution on bad emperors and demons, enemies that non-Christian elites also feared (chapter 3, pp. 112-117). He thus absolved the

<sup>1437</sup> Johnson 2006a: 59-80, 94-114, 128-151, 201-231; Morlet 2009: 151-307. See also e.g. Schott 2008a: 145-154.

<sup>1438</sup> Beggs 1999 has already argued for this point. The philosophical histories are not completely devoid of parallel social structures. Porphyry's Pythagoras acts as a lawgiver and resolver of civic disputes and as a priest and religious shaman broaden his image from that of a teacher. See Zambon 2004: 130-137.

<sup>1439</sup> Paradigmatic Greek states: cf. e.g. Origen, *Against Celsus* 2.30, Eusebius, *Theophany* 2.68.

<sup>1440</sup> As Rudolf Haensch pointed out to me in conversation. See LSJ s.v. πολιτεῦμα IV.2a; cf. also Tetz 1982: 40f., and Johnson 2006a: 220-227, esp. 224, who in discussing Eusebius' designations of Christianity in the *Gospel Preparation* conflates *politeuma* and *politeia*: 224. I suggest that Eusebius weighed carefully his choice to call the church a *politeuma*, not a *politeia*, at such a programmatic moment as 5.pref.3f.

Roman state with which his readers identified from responsibility for the recent assault on the church. As we will soon see, Eusebius' stance of accommodation with Rome of them opened space for the church to participate in Roman imperialism.

The second advantage that Eusebius' *History* claimed for the church over Greek philosophical schools was the universality implicit in the church's reach beyond the immediate circle of an individual philosopher. As chapter 1 showed (pp. 59-62, 64), Greek philosophical schools were not limited solely to fulltime professionals and students: nonprofessional *philosophoi* also participated in Greek philosophy.<sup>1441</sup> Yet the philosophical schools rarely spread beyond the circle of a particular teacher.<sup>1442</sup> They therefore could not match the church's ubiquity in the Mediterranean world, which allowed Eusebius to downplay the particular places where Christians were active (cf. chapter 2, pp. 81-83 above). Every significant city had a bishop trained in Christian teaching and authorized to correct and support lay Christians. Moreover, Eusebius' Christian leaders both supervise the correctness of their respective communities' teaching and maintain the long-distance cohesion of distant local churches (chapter 5, pp. 188-194). Eusebius' *History* told of a church that had long grown from *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft*.

The church's universality extended temporally as well as spatially. The continuance of the Hellenic philosophical schools depended either on the endowment of a patron, such as an emperor's or a city's endowment of philosophical chairs, or else on the charisma of an individual teacher. So, for example, bereft of the charisma of their founders, Plotinus' and Iamblichus' schools apparently dispersed upon its master's death.<sup>1443</sup> The Greek schools did not develop a self-perpetuating institutional structure to routinize their founders' charisma or to become independent of patronal largesse. Whereas there were too few men like Plotinus or Porphyry out there, Eusebius' church could boast a stable succession of bishops in each Roman city the time of the apostles (chapter 2, pp. 96-99 and chapter 5, p. 190). The stability of Eusebius' church gave it a reliable future educating and advising Roman elites than any Greek philosophical school.<sup>1444</sup>

The universalism of the *History's* church also underlies its education of non-Greeks and individuals of subelite status whom the Greek philosophical schools could not instruct. The Greek philosophical schools had high thresholds for entry, including completion of the three levels of the standard *paideia* and enough money and leisure to pursue philosophical study (see chapter 1, pp. 31). The church, by contrast, was open to subelites and non-Greeks, though for Eusebius subelites were clearly of the lower Christian stratum. The nephews of Jesus who humiliate Domitian when he brings them in for a hearing, for example, are clearly subelites, and Eusebius emphasizes slaves' glorious martyrdoms.<sup>1445</sup> Moreover, the church's reach extends

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<sup>1441</sup> Within literature about philosophers, Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* features multiple levels of participation, where his students can be either "disciples" (*mathēmatikoi*), who learn his doctrines thoroughly and accurately, or "hearers" (*akousmatikoi*), who learn only the basics of Pythagorean philosophy, making room for scholastic adherents to enact only part of Pythagoras' regime (*VPyth* 37; see also Iamblichus, *PythV* 18.80). Yet in Porphyry's *Life* the Pythagoreans never develop a polity larger than Pythagoras' personal association. See Zambon 2004: esp. 125-130.

<sup>1442</sup> See chapter 1, p. 63 above.

<sup>1443</sup> See chapter 1, p. 64 above.

<sup>1444</sup> Cf. *PE* 14-15 *passim*, where Eusebius traces successions of Greek philosophers, showing how frequently they disagree (*diastasis*, *diaphōnia*) with one another (as Johnson 2006a: 142-149 notes). The implicit foil for the dissention and fragmentation of Greek philosophical teaching was the homogeneity and unity of Christian doctrine.

<sup>1445</sup> *HE* of 3.20, 5.1.17f., 8.1.3, 8.2.4, 8.6.

geographically beyond the Greek-speakers who had the linguistic competence for *paideia*.<sup>1446</sup> The first ruler to convert to Christianity, King Abgar, is a Mesopotamian (*HE* 1.13 2.1.6-8, with the Introduction above); another Mesopotamian, Bardesanes, defends Christian doctrine in Syriac (4.30);<sup>1447</sup> and Dionysius of Alexandria communicates with a bishop in Mesopotamia (7.5.2). Eusebius stresses the Ethiopian eunuch converted by Philip (2.1.13), reports which apostles brought the gospel to Scythia and Parthia (3.1.1), notes a bishop in Armenia and eventually the conversion of Armenia to Christianity (6.46.2, 9.8.2), and asserts that the philosopher Pantaenus tried to bring the gospel to India only to find Christians already there (5.11.2f.). Unlike the philosophical schools, Eusebius' church was capable of reaching and teaching all peoples in the known world. We will soon see that this universal reach was central to Eusebius' projected role for the church in the Empire.

To summarize: Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, *Gospel Preparation*, and *Gospel Demonstration* together present Christianity as a nation-school. Where the *Preparation-Demonstration* describe Christianity as a two-tiered hierarchy of professional intellectuals and nonprofessional Christians—as both a school and a nation—the *Ecclesiastical History* inscribes this hierarchy into the church's past, putting the church's ideals into narrated action.<sup>1448</sup> Along with Eusebius' other arguments against Hellenism in the *Gospel Preparation*, the *History* located Christianity's superiority to Hellenism in the church's political competence—especially as manifested in its victory in violent struggles—and its universal reach. Christianity therefore deserved both prestige and an influential role in Roman society. The final section shows that Eusebius was submitting Christianity for a leading role in the Roman imperial project.

## 5. The Role for Eusebius' Church: Christian Civilization within Roman Imperialism

In this chapter I have argued that Eusebius wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* for educated Christian elites of the eastern Roman Empire. In their interactions with other elite Romans, these elites needed to balance and justify their Christian identity within their other, overlapping identities as Greeks and Romans. On the model of Porphyry's *Philosophical History*, Eusebius composed a narrative of the Christian past to memorialize his Christian intellectuals' acts and provide exempla for Christian living. Accordingly, the Christianity that Eusebius constructed was a "school" like Pythagoras' or Plato's, designed to inculcate adherents in the teaching of its founder and to model an ideal manner of life harmonious with divine norms. But Eusebius' Christianity was also, like the Greeks, an interregional nation of different social strata. The *History* narrated the heritage of the group whose doctrines the contemporary *Gospel Preparation* and *Gospel Demonstration* presented systematically. Eusebius' narratives staked a claim that the Christian nation had surpassed the Greeks as the embodiment of right relations with the divine and of the best, most cultured manner of life.

While Eusebius clearly tried to convince Roman elites of Christianity's superiority to Hellenism, his readers also had another identity to negotiate along with their Christian religion and Greek culture. The polity that enveloped most Greeks and Christians was the Roman Empire. This chapter therefore concludes with a more direct treatment of the role that the

<sup>1446</sup> Or the Latin competence for the parallel educational system in the western Empire.

<sup>1447</sup> Which may have motivated Eusebius to speak kindly of him despite his "heretical" beliefs: cf. 4.30.3 with chapter 2, nn. 530 and 538 above.

<sup>1448</sup> Cf. the insights of Verdoner 2011: ch. 4.

*History*, in concert with the *Gospel Preparation and Demonstration*, created for the church in the Roman Empire.

Recent debate over Eusebius' attitude toward the Empire has been divided over the question of whether Eusebius was constructing a "universalist" Christianity. The dominant opinion among scholars, first articulated by Erik Peterson in 1935 and exemplified most recently in Jeremy Schott's work, is that Eusebius attempted throughout his works between 313 and 324 to construct a "universalist" Christianity.<sup>1449</sup> For these scholars, Eusebius constructed a religion that crossed boundaries of space, time, and ethnicity to unite widely varying peoples under a single cult, one that was not limited to time or place, but could encompass the entire Roman Empire. These scholars tend to emphasize how Eusebius' *Chronicle* set the church into a world-historical context, while Eusebius' synchronisms between Augustus and Christ, and between subsequent emperors and Christian leaders, entwined the fates of church and Empire.<sup>1450</sup> The model for Eusebius' universalist Christianity was, of course, the Roman Empire's transcendence of geographic and ethnic boundaries. By patterning Christianity's reach after Rome's, Eusebius implanted an imperialist ethos within Christianity that would complement the Roman Empire's political domination.

Aaron Johnson has offered a powerful critique of this consensus.<sup>1451</sup> Johnson correctly notes that in defining Christianity against Hellenism and using Greek ethnographic discourses, the *Gospel Preparation* constructed Christianity as more than just a religion: Eusebius' Christian identity encompassed myths of genealogical descent, cultural and intellectual contributions, and ethnical norms. In all of these spheres Eusebius' descriptions of Christianity constructed boundaries to mark Christians off from Greeks, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and, less explicitly, Romans. While Johnson concurs that Eusebius' Christianity transgresses national boundaries and absorbs peoples from other nations, he stresses that new Christians did not migrate into Christianity unchanged: converts had to adopt Christian religious loyalties and ethical norms. Accordingly, "Christianity's 'universalism' [is] shown to mask particularity."<sup>1452</sup>

With Johnson, my reading of the *Ecclesiastical History* with Eusebius' contemporary works confirms Eusebius' Christian particularism (though it is perhaps better termed "Christian exceptionalism"). The *History*'s picture of Christianity as both a leading philosophical school and a nation of divinely-sanctioned mores complements the *Preparation and Demonstration*'s emphasis on Christianity's venerable age, ethnic and geographical expansiveness, and illustrious deeds and way of life.

Unlike the advocates of Eusebian universalism, however, Johnson does not explore how Eusebius' exceptional Christianity would fit into Roman imperial society.<sup>1453</sup> Yet Eusebius could hardly have failed to consider the church's role in the Roman Empire: as we saw in chapter 4,

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<sup>1449</sup> Peterson 1935: 71-82; Sirinelli 1961: esp. 495; Bovon 1967: 134; Koenig-Ockenfels 1976; Gödecke 1987: esp. 187-219; Inglebert 1996; Ulrich 1999: *passim*, 2007: 74; Wischmeyer 2005; Simmons 2006; 2009: 186-190, 2010; Schott 2008: 136-155; Neri 2010 (a trenchant treatment, though Neri does not distinguish consistently between Eusebius' writings before and after Constantine became sole emperor). A problem with most of the last decade's affirmations of Eusebian universalism (apart from Neri's) is the presumption that the *Preparation-Demonstration* responded to Porphyry's arguments.

<sup>1450</sup> See esp. Schott 2008: 155-165. For advocates of this position, Eusebius' merger of church and empire culminated in Constantine's reign as Christian emperor: cf. Amarise 2010, Van Dam 2011: ch. 4.

<sup>1451</sup> Johnson 2006a: ch. 7.

<sup>1452</sup> Johnson 2006a: 200.

<sup>1453</sup> Johnson 2006a: ch. 7 contextualizes his discussion of Eusebius' picture of the church in relation only to Hellenic universalism, after marginalizing Rome as a theme in Eusebius' ethnic discourse (ch. 6, esp. 174-185).



Eusebius' Roman built environment permeated much of his thought. Likewise, Eusebius' elite Christian audiences could hardly have compartmentalized their Christianity as something disconnected from their identities as elite Romans.<sup>1454</sup> If Eusebius was to present his audiences with an attractive Christianity, he needed to establish harmony between the imperial structures that constituted *Romanitas* and an identity in the Christian nation.

As chapters 3 and 5 have shown, the *Ecclesiastical History* does much to integrate the church into the Roman Empire's social structure. The *Ecclesiastical History* featured several Roman elite Christians. Eusebius' church also shows respect for the governing structures within which Eusebius' elite Roman readers lived and which sustained their own positions.<sup>1455</sup> Christians speak with deference to Roman authorities,<sup>1456</sup> and write to (good) emperors, convincing them (so Eusebius implies) that the church is harmless.<sup>1457</sup> Eusebius trumpets Marcus Aurelius' gratitude for Christians' successful prayers for rain, and asserts that Tiberius tried to persuade the Senate to recognize Christianity as a legitimate religion.<sup>1458</sup> Christians pray for their Roman rulers even amid persecution.<sup>1459</sup> Eusebius' reproduction of Roman edicts also assumes that the Roman Empire's pronouncements held legitimate legal force.<sup>1460</sup> Even in his criticism of "bad emperors," Eusebius echoes Roman senatorial historians uncannily, emphasizing the outrages that Domitian, Maximinus Daia, and Maxentius committed against the Roman Senate.<sup>1461</sup> Finally, Eusebius' polemics against millenarianism, the Christian discursive tradition most hostile to Roman rule, further blunted possible points of incompatibility between church and Empire.<sup>1462</sup> Thus, as Eusebius' showcasing of Roman elites in the *History* depicted a church friendly to elite Romans, his stance toward Rome's governing structures accepts, obeys, and replicates the Roman governing order.

On the other hand, the hierarchy within his church did not simply mirror the hierarchy of Roman orders: the same elites who ruled Roman cities and administered the Empire did not hold positions of power in Eusebius' church. Eusebius' church was an institution with a separate hierarchy, distinct administrative structures, and a different social role. The church claimed authority over ethics and over relations with the divine—the same sphere where Porphyry, Iamblichus, and other philosophers were claiming the supremacy of Greek philosophers.<sup>1463</sup> In practices within this sphere it was possible for a Christian cleric to halt a Roman emperor (Philip) from participating in a liturgy (see above). Thanks to the understanding accumulated through its special relationship with the divine, Eusebius' church supercedes the brightest of the Greeks as educators of Roman elites. And Christian leaders stood ready to advise Roman emperors and to maintain their right relations with the divine.<sup>1464</sup>

Although Eusebius' works from 313 to 324 do not model a relationship between Empire and church explicitly, his rhetoric suggests how a Christian nation-school would fit into Roman

<sup>1454</sup> Revealingly, in identifying the audience of the *Gospel Preparation* Johnson (2006a: 14-17 and 2006b) nowhere probes Eusebius' audiences' roles within the Roman Empire.

<sup>1455</sup> I am hardly the first to argue this. See e.g. Verdoner 2011: 160-167; cf. Grant 1992; *pace* Petersen 1992.

<sup>1456</sup> *HE* 3.20, 4.15.19-25, 7.11.3-11; cf. 5.1.19f., 26, 31; 49f. 5.21.

<sup>1457</sup> *HE* 4.3.1, 4.8.3-4.9, 4.18.2, 4.26.7-11; cf. 7.13.

<sup>1458</sup> *HE* 5.5; 2.2; despite this snub Eusebius usually mentions the Senate respectfully: see chapter 3, n. 709 above.

<sup>1459</sup> *HE* 5.2.5, 7.11.8; cf. 4.26.8, 8.17.1.

<sup>1460</sup> 3.33, 4.9, 4.11, 7.13, 8.17, 9.1, 9.9a, 10.5-7; cf. 4.26.10, 9.7. See further Carotenuto 2001: ch. 3.

<sup>1461</sup> 3.17, 8.14, 9 *passim*, 10.8; cf. 2.25.1-4, 4.26.9; Neri 2008. Eusebius identifies emperors as good or bad by their treatment of senators, despite his relation of Tertullian's report that the Senate declared Christianity illegal (2.2.1-3).

<sup>1462</sup> 3.25.2, 4; 3.39.5-13, 5.8.5-7; 7.25; cf. Hippolytus' rejection of Roman power, noted in Perkins 2009: 17f.

<sup>1463</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 67f. above.

<sup>1464</sup> Cf. chapter 5, pp. 206-208 above.

society.<sup>1465</sup> In contexts where he describes Christianity's activity among the world's ethnic groups, Eusebius consistently portrays Christianity as a civilizing force. The most prominent example comes at *Gospel Preparation* 1.4.6:

You would see a manifest sign of the help [i.e. the happy life, *euzōia*, 1.4.2] from his principles mentioned beforehand if you notice that never yet out of any of the famous old men, but only from his utterances and his teaching that's been disseminated throughout the entire inhabited world have the customs of the nations become happily settled, when before these were beastly and barbarous, so that the Persians no longer marry their mothers after having become his disciples, nor do the Scythians eat their dead because Christ's message has reached them, nor do other races of barbarians lie with their daughters and sisters, nor do males go crazy with malice and pursue unnatural pleasures nor do people expose corpses of family members to dogs and birds of prey who did it for ages nor do they strangle the elderly as they had before, nor do they feast on the flesh of corpses of their closest friends as was their practice, nor do they perform human sacrifice to demons as if to gods in the manner of primitive people, nor do they slaughter their most beloved creatures under the assumption that it's piety.<sup>1466</sup>

In this and many other passages Eusebius describes how Christianity has influenced “barbarous” peoples—Persians, Egyptians, Scythians—to renounce their savage customs and become civilized.<sup>1467</sup> God's power as revealed in Christian teaching becomes the instrument through which even the most intractable peoples on the edges of the earth adopt a softer, more human lifestyle.<sup>1468</sup>

Johnson astutely associates Christianity's softening of “barbarian” lifestyles with Eusebius' crediting the church with the Hellenic virtue of *philanthrōpia*.<sup>1469</sup> This concept, which entered political philosophy through fourth-century biographical literature about monarchs, denoted a disposition to benefit all humanity, through mildness, mercy, benefactions, and justice.<sup>1470</sup> *Philanthrōpia* could only occur in an asymmetrical power relationship, where the dominant party

<sup>1465</sup> Pace Neri 2010: 85-87, who in addressing the relationship between Roman imperialism and Eusebian universalism distinguishes Eusebius' Christian mission of civilization too neatly from Rome's.

<sup>1466</sup> τῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων προφαινομένης ὠφελείας δείγμα ἑναργὲς ἴδοις ἂν ἐπιστήσας, ὡς οὐδ' ἄλλοτε πω ἐξ αἰῶνος οὐδ' ὑπὸ τινος τῶν πάλαι διαφανῶν, ἐκ μόνων δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φωνῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διαδοθείσης διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ εὖ τὰ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων νόμιμα κείται, αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρὶν θηριώδη καὶ βάρβαρα, ὡς μηκέτι Πέρσας μητρογαμῆν τοὺς αὐτῶ μαθητευθέντας μηδ' ἀνθρωποβορεῖν Σκύθας διὰ τὸν καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν ἔλθοντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον μηδ' ἄλλα γένη βαρβάρων ἐκθέσμως θυγατράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς μίγνυσθαι μηδ' ἄρρενας ἄρρεσιν ἐπιμαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονὰς μετιέναι μηδὲ κυσὶν καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς οἰκείους νεκροὺς προτιθέναι τοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο πράττοντας μηδ' ἀγχῶνη τοὺς γεγηρακότας, ὡσπερ οὖν πρότερον, περιβάλλειν μηδὲ σάρκας νεκρῶν τῶν φιλτάτων κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος θοινᾶσθαι μηδ' ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν ὡς θεοῖς τοῖς δαίμοσιν κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς μηδὲ τὰ φίλτατα κατασφάττειν ἐπ' εὐσεβείας ὑπολήψει. Eusebius goes on to quote Porphyry (*PE* 1.4.7=Porph.*Abst* 4.21) without explicit citation to corroborate that human sacrifice and live burial were no longer practiced.

<sup>1467</sup> E.g. Johnson 2006a: 205-207, 215f. Cf. also e.g. *HE* 1.17-23, 10.4.17f.; *PE* 1.2.15, 2.5.3; *DE* 1.2.15-17; 1.6.34, 54; 3.2.40; 3.3.7; 7.3.34f., 8.pref.11. Much of *PE* 2-5 lump exemplars of Hellenism (especially Greek deities) with barbarians as the doers of inhuman deeds: see *PE* 2.4, 2.6-8, 3.5, 4.5, 4.10, 4.16f., 5.1. 5.18; note also *DE* 5.pref.

<sup>1468</sup> See esp. Wacht 1993 on the place of “civilization” in Eusebius' thought.

<sup>1469</sup> Johnson 2006a: 210-218. Eusebius calls Christian civilization of barbarians *philanthrōpia* in *HE* 1.2.21, 10.4.18, *PE* 1.5.3; cf. *DE* 1.9.9.

<sup>1470</sup> See Noël 2006: 135-138, 144; cf. Berthelot 2003: 19-27, noting that *philanthrōpia* was first attributed to deities. The most comprehensive study of this term's changing usage up to the early Empire is Berthelot 2003: 13-47.

exercised it through undeserved beneficence.<sup>1471</sup> As a natural virtue for an imperial overlord, *philanthrōpia* came to denote Roman rulers' mild treatment of prisoners. Accordingly, Latin authors of the late Republic and early Augustan period translated *philanthrōpia* into *humanitas*, a crucial term that valorized the mild, reasoned, magnanimous comportment that elite Romans were supposed to show, again gained through education.<sup>1472</sup>

Over time Greek authors associated Roman rulers' *philanthrōpia* with their fluency in civilized Hellenic culture, claiming mild, "humane" treatment of subordinates as a product of their Hellenism.<sup>1473</sup> *Philanthrōpia* was potentially inclusive any human being could be the object of its benefits. But to perform *philanthrōpia*, an individual needed the elite training in *paideia* necessary to dislodge savage behavior. *Philanthrōpia* thus mandated the spread of civilization, and charted the attainment of universalist ideals through the privileged means of one particular ethnicity.<sup>1474</sup> Imperial Greek authors such as Aelius Aristides praised Roman *philanthrōpia* when they represented the Roman Empire as spreading *paideia* among "barbarian" peoples—even as elite Greeks affirmed their own superiority within Roman culture because of their superior mastery of *paideia*.<sup>1475</sup> The valorization of *philanthrōpia* thus implied a role for Greek philosophers in disseminating the civilization of *paideia*.

As Johnson shows, Eusebius' argument that the Christians' "civilization" of other cultures represented *philanthrōpia* claimed for Christianity a role that Greek education had played. But Johnson neglects the implications that Eusebius' civilizing discourses carried for the church's contribution to Roman imperialism. For the concept of *philanthrōpia* had long justified Roman domination of "barbarian" peoples. As Greg Woolf has pointed out, the Romans considered it their mission to spread civilization (*humanitas*) to their subjects.<sup>1476</sup> By acculturating ruling elites on the Roman Empire's frontiers into Roman behavioral codes and assimilating these elites into the Empire's elite networks, Roman civilization pacified Rome's subjects. The education of "barbarians" on the Roman periphery to "become Roman" (i.e. civilized) was thus a central mechanism in maintaining Roman domination.<sup>1477</sup> Greek intellectuals in general and philosophers in particular filled this imperialist role as educators.<sup>1478</sup> By casting Christianity as an educating and thus civilizing agent, Eusebius transferred this role within Rome's imperialist structures from Hellenic intellectuals to the church.

<sup>1471</sup> Berthelot 2003: 43; see also Bell 1949.

<sup>1472</sup> See Veyne 1989: 342-354, Braund 1997, Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 32-35; cf. Schaldewalt 1973. On the ideology of *humanitas* and *philanthrōpia* in the fourth century AD, see Dauge 1981: 316-325, Hiltbrunner 1990.

<sup>1473</sup> "It semble que la *philanthrōpia* soit aux yeux des Grecs quasi-inséparable des termes 'civilisation' et 'hellénisme' (l'un et l'autre étroitement liés, dans une vision grecque du monde)" (Berthelot 2003: 47).

<sup>1474</sup> On *philanthrōpia* in Philo, see Berthelot 2003: ch. 4, Konstan 2006: 65-68; on the term in Josephus, see Berthelot 1999: 102-114, 120-122 and 2003: ch. 5; in Plutarch, Martin 1961 and Roskam 2004: esp. 252-273; on *philanthrōpia* in Stoic authors of the Empire, see Morana 1999: 74-76. The term appears in Christian discourse as a divine virtue as early as Titus 3.4 and in other early second-century texts (Hiltbrunner 1990).

<sup>1475</sup> E.g. Strabo 2.5.26, 4.1.5, Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 96f. On the civilizing role of *paideia* in Roman imperial culture, see esp. Whitmarsh 2001: 5-17, 20-26, 96-130; 2005: 10-15, Perkins 2009: 18-28.

<sup>1476</sup> Woolf 1998: 56f., 68-70 cites Cicero, *pro Caelio* 26, Vitruvius 2.pref.5 and 2.1.6, 2.8.12, *Aeneid* 6.851-853, Pliny, *Natural History* 3.39, and Tacitus, *Agricola* 21 as articulating this idea. See also Hiltbrunner 1992: 195-198.

<sup>1477</sup> Dauge 1981: esp. 527-544; Veyne 1989: esp. 363-369, Woolf 1998: 54-60, Perkins 2009: 18-28. Kousser 2005 argues that the ideology of civilizing the barbarian developed over about a century from Cicero to Claudius, while Isaac 2004: ch. 2 traces the Romans' imperialist ideology of cultural superiority and amelioration to classical Greek texts.

<sup>1478</sup> See chapter 1 above; cf. also Swain 1999: esp. 168, Hahn 2010.

The education of elites in a fused Greco-Roman culture of appropriate elite behaviors unified the Empire's racially diverse and geographically disparate elite. As we saw in chapter 1, philosophers' chief occupation under the Roman Empire was to educate its elites. In stressing how Christianity had purged barbarians of their inhuman customs, Eusebius signaled that Christianity could educate the most intractable savages. The *Ecclesiastical History*, along with the *Gospel Preparation* and *Demonstration*, promoted a Christianity that would appeal to Roman elites educated in *paideia* who also worshipped the Christian God. These Christian elites could then present the church as a civilizing institution ready to support the Roman Empire's acculturation of subjects. Eusebius thus grafted Christianity within the Roman Empire by co-opting Greek philosophers' civilizing role. Through his curriculum Eusebius laid the social vision for Christianity to reinforce elite Romans' self-conception of their own civilizing mission.

## Epilogue

Eusebius could hardly have foreseen how influential the role that he created for the church, of educators and religious experts, would be. After all, he wrote the *History*, the *Preparation*, and the *Demonstration* under the pagan emperor Licinius. Eusebius designed his role for Christianity with a pagan ruler in mind. The independence that the philosopher was expected to keep from rulers (chapter 1, pp. 65-67) and that Thaddaeus maintains from Abgar (pp. 3f.), was especially necessary if an emperor did not share the church's theological tendencies: Eusebius' church reserved the right to resist a pagan emperor if he should attempt to violate the church's prerogatives. The *History*, *Preparation*, and *Demonstration* were designed to guide the church's life without the support of a Christian emperor.<sup>1479</sup>

Eusebius could not have foreseen the power and influence that the church would accrue when late in 324, when Constantine became sole Roman emperor and began to patronize Christianity throughout the Empire.<sup>1480</sup> Before the arrival of a Christian emperor Eusebius had already staked out a role for the church as the Empire's educators and religious advisors, a role that displaced the Greeks but supported Roman imperialism. But the church would only step into the role that Eusebius envisioned when a sympathetic emperor was in power.

Eusebius could present the church as an institution friendly to the Roman Empire precisely because he was both a Greek and a Roman. He knew the classical literary tradition thoroughly and his adroit selection from it designed a church to attract educated Greeks. The role that he recommended for the church was a venerable Roman role that would perpetuate the manner of life that he and his readers lived as wealthy Roman citizens. Like many other early Christians, he was a full participant in Greek culture and in Roman politics.<sup>1481</sup> In Eusebius' vision, the church would reinforce and perpetuate the power of the Empire. The *Ecclesiastical History* was a deeply elitist, deeply conservative, deeply imperialist text. And it paved the way for the church's fortunes to become thoroughly entwined with those of the Roman Empire in the fourth century and to create a Christian Empire.

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<sup>1479</sup> Pace Van Dam 2007: 224 n. 4, who declares Sirinelli's great *Vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée* "distinctively odd because it never mentions Constantine." This remark is first of all inaccurate (see Sirinelli 1961: 243, 411, 434, 439, 447f.), but secondly ignores that Sirinelli limited his study to Eusebius' works before 325, whereas Constantine only gained control of the eastern Roman Empire in autumn of 324.

<sup>1480</sup> See esp. Drake 2000; cf. Barnes 2011: 133-136, Potter 2013: chs. 12, 26, 31.

<sup>1481</sup> See now Elm 2012.

**Appendix 1**  
**Evidence and Hypotheses for Dating the *Ecclesiastical History***

The dating of the *Ecclesiastical History* has been the source of considerable disagreement. Three main hypotheses have been published that have gained widespread acceptance; I accept that of Richard Burgess. This appendix will present the external and internal references in the *History* that have been adduced to prove the *History*'s date. After this I will outline the three competing hypotheses, and adduce the evidence to outline why I have accepted Burgess' hypothesis.<sup>1482</sup>

The text of the *History* quotes or mentions the following texts, all of them fairly securely datable, that were authored by Eusebius or by Eusebius' teacher Pamphilus.<sup>1483</sup>

- (1) Eusebius' and Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen* (6.23.4, 6.33.4, 6.36.4), published between 307 and 310;<sup>1484</sup>
- (2) Eusebius' *Chronicle* (1.1.6), whose publication date has been disputed and is argued for below;
- (3) Eusebius' *Prophetic Extracts* (books 6 through 9 of his *General Elementary Introduction*) (1.2.27), published between 310 and 312;<sup>1485</sup>
- (4) Eusebius' *Life of Pamphilus* (6.32.3), published after 310;
- (5) Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine* (8.13.7), published after 310, but cited as a text to be published in the future (see below); and
- (6) Eusebius' oration for the rededication of a basilica at Tyre (10.4), delivered between 313 and 316.<sup>1486</sup>

The following texts mentioned but not authored by Eusebius have also been adduced as relevant to dating the *History*'s editions:

- (7) the forged *Memoirs of Pilate* (1.9.2f., 9.5), published in 312 or 313,
- (8) Galerius' edict of toleration for the Christians (8.17), issued in the spring of 311, and
- (9) the six documents issued under the names of Constantine and Licinius granting toleration and privileges to various Christian groups (10.5-7).

The following internal cross-references within the *History* have been deemed relevant to the debate:

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<sup>1482</sup> Aaron Johnson has told me that he is formulating a fourth dating hypothesis, for a single edition dated to AD 325. I still find that Burgess' hypothesis best explains the evidence. In my opinion, compared to Burgess' hypothesis, a one-publication hypothesis requires more complicated explanation of the differences between manuscripts ATER and BDM ((15)-(18) below) and of Eusebius' dedication of book 10 and "putting" the book "upon" the *History* (*epithentes*, often translated as "adding" (LSJ s.v. ἐπιτίθημι s.v. III, IV); (14) below).

<sup>1483</sup> For arguments about the dating of these texts, see the notes to the Introduction, pp. 6f. above.

<sup>1484</sup> Sirinelli 1961: 19; Barnes 1981: 198-201.

<sup>1485</sup> Sirinelli 1961: 21f., Johnson 2011: 100.

<sup>1486</sup> Cf. Amarise 2008. Eusebius also refers to his edited collections of martyrdoms (4.15.47), but this text does not survive and nothing is known of its date except that it predates the *History*.

- (10) At the end of his first sentence detailing the subject of the *History*, Eusebius says that he will narrate “the propitious and kind rescue of our savior” (*tēn...hileō kai eumenē tou sōtērou hēmōn antilēpsin*, *HE* 1.1.2) from persecution and martyrdom. When the church is about to be rescued from the Diocletianic persecution, Eusebius says that divine grace “showed its oversight of toward us propitious and king (*tēn eis hēmas episkopēn hileō kai eumenē...enedeiknuto*, *HE* 8.16.1). The repetition of this phrase may appear coordinated.
- (11) The martyrdom of Eusebius’ teacher Pamphilus is foreshadowed in book 7 before Diocletian’s persecution (*HE* 7.32.25), and then mentioned again Eusebius’ narrative of Diocletian’s and Galerius’ persecution (8.13.6).
- (12) The martyrdom of bishop Peter of Alexandria is foreshadowed in book 7 before Diocletian’s persecution (*HE* 7.32.31) and noted as occurring under Maximinus Daia (9.6.2).
- (13) Events during the Diocletianic persecution are a handful of other times, though they go unmentioned in Eusebius’ accounts of the martyrdoms themselves.<sup>1487</sup>
- (14) Eusebius claims to be putting the tenth book upon (*epithentes*) the *History*, a book that he dedicates it to Paulinus of Tyre (10.1.2f.).

Finally, a number of discrepancies between manuscripts of the *History* are also relevant in the debate. The manuscripts in question are seven Greek exemplars, dated between the tenth and twelfth centuries, as well as the consensus of manuscripts of the early Syriac translation and Rufinus’ Latin translation.<sup>1488</sup> The following are the most significant discrepancies:<sup>1489</sup>

- (15) Manuscripts ATER (and in one case M and the Syriac) note the emperor Licinius’ name, office, and positive achievements in a number of passages. The equivalent passages in manuscripts BDM, Rufinus’ Latin translation, and the Syriac translation remove Licinius’ name when crediting an emperor for a positive achievement, or remove his imperial titles, when they mention him they append notes that Licinius had not gone mad yet when he is mentioned.<sup>1490</sup>
- (16) AER include an “appendix” to book eight that details the deaths of the persecutors graphically; BDM, Rufinus, and the Syriac lack this appendix. This “appendix” duplicates information given in *HE* 8.13.13f.
- (17) ATER include a shortened version of Eusebius’ *Martyrs of Palestine*; this does not appear in BDM, or the Latin, or the Syriac.
- (18) Only ATER include the six imperial documents signed by Licinius and/or Constantine ((8) above). After *HE* 10.4; BDM, Rufinus, and the Syriac lack them, even though in these traditions as well as in ATER *HE* 10.2.2 looks forward to them.<sup>1491</sup>

<sup>1487</sup> *HE* 1.1.2, 7.11.26, 7.30.22, 7.32.1, 4, 28f.

<sup>1488</sup> The Greek manuscripts are the following (see Schwartz 1999: XVII-XLI):

A=Codex Parisinus 1430, eleventh century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

T=Codex Laurentianus 70.7, tenth or eleventh century, in the Laurentian Library, Florence.

E=Codex Laurentianus 70.20, tenth century, in the Laurentian Library.

R=Codex Mosquensis 50, twelfth century, in Moscow.

B=Codex Parisinus 1431, eleventh or twelfth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

D=Codex Parisinus 1433, eleventh or twelfth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

M=Codex Marcianus 338, in St. Mark’s Library, Venice.

<sup>1489</sup> See Schwartz 1999: XLVII-XLIX and Barnes 1980: 196f. for longer lists of discrepancies.

<sup>1490</sup> *HE* 8.17.5, 9.; 9.9.1, 9.9.12; 9.9a.12; 9.10.3; 9.11.8.

<sup>1491</sup> See above all Carotenuto 2002.

The three competing theories of the *History's* composition, which aim to explain this evidence, are the following:

*Eduard Schwartz's hypothesis.* In the introduction to his critical text, published in 1909, Schwartz argued that the *History* was published in four editions.<sup>1492</sup> Eusebius' first edition, completed in 311 or early 312, included the current books one through eight, ending with Galerius' edict of toleration (8.17); Schwartz's evidence that books one through eight were a single edition was (10) above, the repetition of "propitious and kind" (*hileō kai eumenē*). This document must have been the planned culmination of the *History*. Eusebius' second edition of later 313 or 314 added book nine, an account of Maximinus Daia's actions called for when Daia renewed the persecution that Eusebius had believed to be over. For his third edition, published before the battle of Cibalae (now dated to 316), Eusebius added book 10 up to chapter 7, ending with six documents proclaiming imperial favor to Eusebius' "orthodox" Christian church. For the fourth edition published in late 324 or early 325, Eusebius removed the Constantinian documents, erased every instance of Licinius' name, and inserted a brief account of Licinius' madness and Constantine's victory over him (10.8f.).

*Timothy Barnes' hypothesis.* Timothy Barnes' reworking of Richard Laqueur's earlier hypothesis has found wide acceptance.<sup>1493</sup> To Laqueur and Barnes, Eusebius' supposedly more sober, documentary books one through seven could not have been written by the same biased apologist who composed books eight through ten; the persecution must have pushed Eusebius to become more biased. Accordingly, Laqueur and Barnes dated books one through seven to the 290s. Barnes saw Eusebius' repeated wording between 1.1.2 and 8.17.1 ((10) above) as no reason to separate books one through eight from book 9; his second edition, published in 313 or 314, included books 1 through 9. For book 8, however, Barnes incorporated accepted Laqueur's brilliant observation that a shorted version of Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine* ((17) above), which now survives as an appendix in four manuscripts, fit nicely between the current *HE* 8.2.3 and 8.17, and so probably formed the bulk of book 8 in the first edition of the *History*; the so-called appendix to book 8 ((16) above) also came after the end of the current 8.17. Book nine plus the first seven chapters of book 10, including the documents of Constantine and Licinius, constituted a unified third edition, published while Constantine and Licinius were ruling together at peace between 315 and 316. Their fourth edition was all ten books up to 10.9 minus the Licinian-Constantinian documents of 10.5-7, with Licinius' name and/or achievements erased.

*Richard Burgess' hypothesis.* Burgess has rejected Laqueur's and Barnes' compositional hypothesis while simplifying Schwartz's. Burgess accepted that the shortened *Martyrs of Palestine* was probably the original book 8, but argued that books one through nine otherwise formed a cohesive unit that must have been published together in 313. Burgess accepted the evidence that book ten, including the Constantinian-Licinian documents, formed a second edition published before 316. His third edition, published in late 324 or early 325, lacked the Constantinian documents (10.5-7) and Licinius' name but included the account of Licinius' decline and Constantine's final victory (10.8f.).

<sup>1492</sup> Schwartz 1999: XLVII-LXI; summarized in Schwartz 1907: 1402-1404.

<sup>1493</sup> Laqueur 1929; Barnes 1980, with details filled in at 1981: 154-163, 192-194. Barnes 1980: 199f. adds some arguments to Laqueur's, but Louth 1990 refutes most of these convincingly.

The following evidence refutes Barnes' and Laqueur's hypothesis of Eusebius' composing a first edition, consisting of roughly the current books 1-7, in the 290s:

A. Eusebius cites his own *Apology for Origen* ((1) above), his *Prophetic Extracts* ((3) above), and his *Life of Pamphilus* ((4) above) in books 1 and 6; he composed all of these texts between 307 and 311. If Eusebius wrote the original draft of books 1 through 7 in the 290s, these references had to be interpolations.<sup>1494</sup>

B. Eusebius would also have had to interpolate his reference to the *Acts of Pilate* ((7) above) into book 1 in 312.<sup>1495</sup>

C. Eusebius would also have had to interpolate his references to the martyrdoms of Pamphilus and Peter ((11) and (12) above), which happened in the Diocletianic persecution, as well as other references to martyrdoms included throughout book 7 of the *History*.<sup>1496</sup>

D. The most decisive blow to a *History* a first edition of the *History* in the 290s is a later dating of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Not only does Eusebius cite the *Chronicle* in 1.1.6, but he claims to have structured the *History* around its datings, and his frequent synchronisms between bishops and emperors resulted from transpositions of data from the *Chronicle* (see chapter 2, pp. 99-102).

Burgess has shown that the *Chronicle* dates between 306 and 311. The reason is the following. For the Roman imperial period Eusebius dated events by coordinating emperors' regnal years with Olympiads and years after Abraham's birth. Over the course of the third century his count of emperors' years had lost sync with Olympiads and years of Abraham, so that by the reigns of Carus and his sons Carinus and Numerian (AD 282-285) the regnal years were two years ahead of the Olympiads and Abrahamic years. Eusebius solved this problem by cutting the reign of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian from three years to two, and then deleting the sole year of Constantius' reign as senior emperor (305-306). Since the *Chronicle* correctly re-synchronizes Olympiads and years of Abraham with emperors' regnal years only as of 306, the *Chronicle* must date to 306 or later.<sup>1497</sup> If Eusebius had finished the *Chronicle* in the reign of Probus, as Barnes had argued, the *Chronicle*'s Olympic and Abrahamic years would have been out of sync with his regnal years.<sup>1498</sup>

E. Though this is not properly evidence, Barnes himself has now abandoned his own hypothesis and accepted a modified version of Burgess'.<sup>1499</sup>

In short, Laqueur's and Barnes' hypothesis of a first edition in the 290s forces advocates to posit extensive Eusebian reworking of books 1, 6, and 7 to insert references to events after 306. It should therefore be put to rest.

The following evidence is relevant to Schwartz's argument for a first edition after Galerius' edict but before Maximinus Daia's renewed persecution:

<sup>1494</sup> Burgess 1997: 484.

<sup>1495</sup> Burgess 1997: 484.

<sup>1496</sup> Laqueur 1929 and Barnes 1980: 201 and 1981: 192-194 must posit numerous interpolations in the *History* to sustain their dating theory.

<sup>1497</sup> See Burgess 1997: 497 for further speculations narrowing a date for the *Chronicle*.

<sup>1498</sup> Barnes 1980: 192f., 1981: 111-113.

<sup>1499</sup> Barnes 2009: 6f.



A. The martyrdom of Peter of Alexandria, which occurred under Maximinus Daia and is mentioned in book 9 of the *History* (9.6.2), is noted at the end of book 7 (7.32.31). This would suggest that Eusebius already knew about this martyrdom when he composed book 7 of the *History*.

B. Schwartz asserted that Galerius' edict constituted the end of the first edition of the *History* because Eusebius introduces Galerius' edict with the phrase *hileō kai eumenē* (8.16.1), which repeats the phrase with which Eusebius described the savior's rescue of his church in his preface (1.1.2; (10) and (8) above). The repeated phrasing seems at first glance to be coordinated, and to suggest that Eusebius saw Galerius' edict as the rescue of the church and meant to end the *History* with this edict settling the persecution.

Burgess calls this repeated wording "inconclusive."<sup>1500</sup> We can go further: the phrase *hileō kai eumenē* (or *eumenē kai hileō*) is fairly common in Eusebius' writings. A search on the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae finds it in seven passages in Eusebius' works beyond those cited by Schwartz, including two in the *History*.<sup>1501</sup> Eusebius' repeated use of the phrase renders the repeated use in books 1 and 8 less significant than it seems when these two passages are read in isolation. It is a weak foundation for a dating hypothesis.

This combination of evidence for Eusebius' knowledge of events in book 9 when book 7 was composed and the weakening of the best evidence in favor of an ending with the end of book 8 renders implausible Schwartz's hypothesis of a first edition consisting exclusively of books 1 through 8.

Burgess' hypothesis, meanwhile, explains the many references forward to events and publications between 303 and 313 recounted in books one through nine of the *History* ((1)-(5), (7), (8), (11)-(13) above). Books 1 through 9 thus formed a cohesive edition dating to late 313 or early 314. This first edition included the shortened *Martyrs of Palestine* between 8.2.3 and 8.17 (17) above), and the so-called appendix to book 8 (16) above.

Burgess argues, following Barnes, that Eusebius published a new edition between 315 and 316. This would explain Eusebius' claim to have added (*epithentes*) the tenth book and the dedication of this book to Paulinus of Tyre (10.1.2f.; (14) above). It was unusual to dedicate a single book of a larger text to an individual in antiquity; this most likely implies that the tenth book was attached to a previously disseminated text.<sup>1502</sup> For this second edition Eusebius removed the shortened *Martyrs of Palestine* and inserted the new narratives of martyrdom under Diocletian and Galerius ((17) above) and the appendix to book 8 ((16) above, replacing the latter's information with *HE* 8.13.13f.).<sup>1503</sup>

The text of the tenth book is represented in manuscripts ATER. It included Eusebius' oration for the rededication of Paulinus' basilica at Tyre, dated after spring of 313 ((6) above), and concluded with the six imperial documents issued in Licinius' and Constantine's names (10.5-7; (18) above) and glorified Licinius alongside of Constantine ((15) above). It may have included the short *Martyrs of Palestine* and the appendix to book 8 as appendices ((16) and (17)) above).

<sup>1500</sup> Burgess 1997: 485 n. 35.

<sup>1501</sup> *GEI* PG 1032B, *HE* 8.1.8, 9.8.15, *PE* 4.13.1 (a quotation of a letter of Apollonius of Tyana), *DE* 3.3.11 (another quotation from Apollonius), 4.10.16, *VC* 4.13.1.

<sup>1502</sup> I know of no other ancient example of the dedication of one book of a larger text but have not been able to find a scholarly work on the question.

<sup>1503</sup> I plan in a future publication to explain why Eusebius removed the shortened *Martyrs of Palestine* and the appendix to book 8.

After Constantine defeated Licinius in September of 324, Eusebius issued a third edition. This edition is represented in manuscripts BDM, Rufinus' Latin translation, and the Syriac translation. Eusebius added a short narrative about Licinius' decline into superstition and evils and Constantine's victory over him (10.8f.). Since Licinius was an enemy of Constantine and could no longer be glorified, Eusebius either removed Licinius' name, efface his positive achievements, or add that he would soon go mad ((15) above).<sup>1504</sup> He also removed the six imperial documents issued in Licinius' or Constantine's name ((18) above).<sup>1505</sup>

The greatest problem for Burgess' theory has been noted by Michael Beggs.<sup>1506</sup> Beggs, who argues for a variation of Laqueur's and Barnes' compositional hypothesis, points out that namely that Eusebius claims, in the future tense, that he will publish the *Martyrs of Palestine* in book 8 (8.13.7; (5) above).<sup>1507</sup> Burgess follows Laqueur and Barnes in accepting Eusebius had already written the long version of the *Martyrs of Palestine* (which survives only in a Syriac translation), and truncated the *Martyrs of Palestine* for his original book 8 ((17) above).<sup>1508</sup> The internal evidence of the *Martyrs of Palestine* bears this out: the long version reads like a cohesive whole, with a specific introduction and conclusion dedicated to its content, while the shortened version begins abruptly.<sup>1509</sup> The long version must have been written before the short; the short version, by contrast, fits perfectly between *HE* 8.2.3 and 8.17.

Burgess recognizes the problem and notes that Eusebius says merely that he will make the sufferings that he saw known (*gnōrimous...poiēsomai*), not that he will write them, in the future.<sup>1510</sup> This could indicate that Eusebius had *written* some version of the *Martyrs of Palestine* but not yet *circulated* it. Admittedly this solution is open to question, as it seems hard to believe that Eusebius did not circulate his *Martyrs of Palestine* when the *History* had undergone two editions since the *Martyrs'* first publication. But this scenario remains superior to a reversion to Schwartz's or Barnes' hypothesis.

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<sup>1504</sup> It is most likely that Eusebius, and not a later copyist, removed these names. The most plausible occasion for the removal of Licinius' name from manuscripts of the *History* was in the immediate aftermath of Eusebius' defeat, and it is unlikely that if Eusebius had not circulated an edition of the *History* already he would have allowed some instances of Licinius' name to circulate. Moreover, Richard Burgess has pointed out to me that erasing the names of disgraced imperial figures seems to have been a Eusebian habit: see Burgess 2008: 11f.

<sup>1505</sup> The Syriac translation also eliminates the name of Constantine's son Crispus, whom in 326 Constantine executed as traitor, from 10.9.4 and 10.9.6, where it exists in BDM (Barnes 1980: 197).

<sup>1506</sup> Beggs 1999: 74-76.

<sup>1507</sup> οἷς γε μὴν αὐτὸς παρεγενόμεν, τούτους καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γνωρίμους δι' ἑτέρας ποιήσομαι γραφῆς.

<sup>1508</sup> Laqueur 1929: 6-16; Barnes 1980: 193-196, 1981: 154-158; Burgess 1997: 187.

<sup>1509</sup> Laqueur 1929: 6-16.

<sup>1510</sup> Burgess 1997: 504f.

## Appendix 2: Verbatim Quotation in Previous Greek Histories and in the *Ecclesiastical History*

Among students of western historiography, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is perhaps best known as the first narrative history to quote its sources frequently and at length.<sup>1511</sup> Whereas previous Greek historians preferred to rewrite sources' content in their own words and rarely quote prose texts verbatim,<sup>1512</sup> a little under half of Eusebius' *History* consists of the words of his sources.<sup>1513</sup> Scholars have typically assumed that Eusebius quoted so often because Jews or Christians were particularly text-oriented groups, or because of Eusebius' training as a biblical commentator, or because Jews and Christians quoted texts as an apologetic strategy.<sup>1514</sup> Yet these appeals do not explain the contexts or the scale of Eusebius' quotation. Previous Jewish and Christian narratives do not quote as extensively as Eusebius does; biblical commentaries quote texts for exegesis, not narration; and not all of the *History*'s quotations are defensive.

This appendix argues that Eusebius' quotational practices were in fact rooted more in Greek historiography than in Jewish or Christian narrative. Eusebius used three quotational practices that appeared in previous Greek histories: first, the reproduction of state documents that drove a narrative's plot; second, quotations that corroborated a historian's narrative of the distant past; and third, quotations that revealed the character of an individual or a group. I conclude by attempting to explain why Eusebius' *History* quoted at a scale never before seen in Greek or Jewish historiography.

### 1. "Quotations"

Before proceeding I must clarify what I mean by quotation, since scholars use the term to denote a variety of textual maneuvers.<sup>1515</sup>

First, I mean *verbatim quotations*, that is, the transposition of the *precise words* of a previous text into a new text. I do not mean the mere crediting of a source, which is fairly common in previous historiography and requires little explanation.<sup>1516</sup>

Second, I also exclude *verbal allusions and other echoes* that are not presented as quotations. Allusions and echoes are legion in ancient historians; *explicit quotations* from previous texts are rarer, have different purposes, and have received little study as a communicative tactic.

Third, *how accurately* historians reproduced their quotations is *not* a central issue. What matters are the purposes behind the quoted texts, as manifested in the thematic and rhetorical force of their quotations.

Fourth, my scope is restricted to quotations of *prose* texts. All Greek historians from Herodotus to Cassius Dio (220s or 230s BC) quote *poetry* fairly often. Verbatim quotations of

<sup>1511</sup> See e.g. Momigliano 1990: 136-143, Grafton 1997: 155-158.

<sup>1512</sup> See e.g. Marincola 1997: 100-107.

<sup>1513</sup> Estimate by Treadgold 2007: 38.

<sup>1514</sup> The most extensive study of Eusebius' quotational habit is Carotenuto 2001, who rightly distinguishes literary from documentary quotations, but whose limited engagement with non-Christian and non-Jewish ancient historiography limits her conclusions. See also the works cited in chapter 1, n. 162 above.

<sup>1515</sup> See also the definition of "quotation" in chapter 1, n. 160 above.

<sup>1516</sup> For example, Herodotus cites the city from which a story comes frequently in his *Histories*; Diodorus says quite explicitly that he is condensing previous histories (1.3f.); Arrian says at the very beginning that he follows the Alexander-histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus and cites them (*Anabasis of Alexander* 1.pref., 1.8.1,4.6.1, etc.).

prose texts are far more scarce. (I do, however, discuss Thucydides' use of the poetic *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* below because, although the text quoted is poetic, the practice recurs in both prose and poetry, as the examples from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Josephus show.)

Fifth, I mean only the quotation only of *written texts, not of the spoken word*. The lengthy orations that adorn many an ancient "pagan" history, as well as biblical narratives and Josephus' histories, are not relevant.

With these qualifications in mind, I now describe the three quotational practices that Eusebius drew from Greek historiography.

## 2. State Documents as Narrative Catalysts in Greek and Hebrew Histories

Eusebius' first quotational practice features state-issued documents, including treaties, laws, rescripts, decrees, and other authoritative, mostly legal documents. Both Jewish and Greek historians since the fifth-century BC had quoted documents by which a state or states announced and pronounced their will.<sup>1517</sup> The following lists passages in Greek and Jewish narrative histories from the fifth century BC to Eusebius' day that quote state documents, in rough chronological sequence.<sup>1518</sup>

Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 4.118, 5.18, 5.24, 5.76, 5.78, 8.18, 8.36, 8.58 (cf. 4.16)

Ezra 1.2-4, 4.8-22, 5.6-17, 6.3-12, 7.12-26

Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.1.31

Esther (LXX) 3.13, 8.13

Polybius, *Histories* 3.22-3.29, 21.42 (cf. 15.18)

1 Maccabees 8.23-30, 11.30-37, 12.6-23, 13.36-40, 14.20-23, 15.2-9

2 Maccabees 1.1-2.18, 11.16-38

Diodorus, *Historical Library* 16.57.3, 18.8.4, 18.56

Acts of the Apostles 15.23-29, 23.26-30

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11.3 (=Ezra 1.2-4), 11.12-15 (=Ezra 6.3-5), 11.22-29 (=Ezra 4.8-17), 11.273-283 (=Esther 8.13 LXX), 12.28-31 (=Letter of Aristeas 22), 12.45-50 (=Aristeas 35), 12.138-153, 14.145-155, 14.310-322, 16.162-173, 19.280-291; cf. 14.190-264<sup>1519</sup>

Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.14

Appian, *Embassies* fr. 4, *Civil Wars* 1.23, 2.135, 3.61, 4.31, 4.38; cf. *Punic Wars* 108, *Mithridatic Wars* 47, *Civil Wars* 3.63, 5.130

The practice of quoting state documents within historical narratives was typical of both Jewish and Greek authors. I discuss one early example to illustrate how state documents enhanced ancient historical narratives, from book 5 of Thucydides' history of the *Peloponnesian War*

<sup>1517</sup> I know of no scholar who has discussed this historiographical practice, even though, as my catalogue of passages shows, both Jewish and Greek authors seem to all appearances have introduced it independently. Momigliano 1990: 12-14 argued more broadly that Persian documentary practice prompted the "use of documents" independently in both Jewish (Ezra) and Greek (Thucydides, Ctesias) historiography; however, even he tacitly admitted (13) that Persian influence could not explain the quotation of all documents in Thucydides (the treaties quoted in books 4 and 5 of Thucydides have nothing to do with Persia).

<sup>1518</sup> "Rough chronological sequence" because the dating of some of these texts, such as Ezra and Esther, is contentious and sometimes indeterminable.

<sup>1519</sup> On this passage, see section 5 below.

between Athens and Sparta in the fifth century.<sup>1520</sup> The following is a summary; passages where Thucydides quotes a text are in italics:

- 5.18 [421 BC] *Athens and Sparta join a bilateral, 50-year alliance of mutual defense when either city is invaded.*
- 5.27f. Argos becomes convinced that Sparta will use Athens to invade it.
- 5.31f. Argos joins an alliance of Sparta's rivals, without Sparta.
- 5.35 Athens claims Sparta has not fulfilled its obligations in the treaty.
- 5.42-46 Athens claims Sparta is continuing not to fulfill its treaty obligations, moves to conclude a treaty with Argos instead and rebuffs Spartan ambassadors.
- 5.47 *Athens allies itself with Argos (as well as Mantinea): All will carry on all wars together and defend any of the four who is invaded; the length of time for quartering in the invaded city is specified; the city invaded will have command.*
- 5.57-59 [418 BC] Argos attacks a Spartan ally; Sparta comes to her ally's defense, but Argos submits the dispute to arbitration.
- 5.62-74 Argos, leads Athens and its other allies in attacking another Spartan ally; Sparta comes to its ally's defense; the Spartans fight Athens and Argos near Mantinea and win; Argos capitulates to Sparta, which never again fights with Athens.

This stretch of narrative comes after Athens and Sparta have just made peace after the first ten years of the Peloponnesian War, a peace that Thucydides signals by quoting a bilateral treaty of alliance between Sparta and Athens. The ensuing narrative, however, tells how Athens and Sparta go to war again. The reason for this rupture is, to distill a complex story, that Athens became suspicious of Sparta's intentions and made an alliance with Sparta's arch-enemy, the city of Argos. Thucydides marks this crucial move by quoting the treaty between Athens and Argos. For Thucydides' readers, the quotation of these two treaties in short succession manifests Athens' simultaneous alliances with two states openly hostile to one another. Soon, when Argos and Sparta find a reason to fight, Argos appeals to the terms of its alliance to call Athens to its defense, and Athens suffers defeat against Sparta at the battle of Mantinea of 418 BC. The peace between Athens and Sparta is effectively broken.

Thucydides' quoted treaties declare the boundaries that two states may not cross without ending their current status as allies or peaceful neighbors, commit two states to fighting on each other's side under certain conditions, and then warn states of the sworn-upon boundaries that they must not cross if they wish to maintain interstate peace. His quotations describe the parameters that affected his narrative's actors in the very words that enacted those parameters in the past.

The biblical book of Ezra, written in the later fifth or early fourth century BC, shows a parallel purposes for the quotation of state-issued documents. I take as my example the famous edict of Cyrus releasing Jewish captives back into Jerusalem (RSV):

In the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia so that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom and also put it in writing:

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<sup>1520</sup> These Thucydidean treaties have prompted much discussion: see e.g. Meyer 1955, Crane 1996: 14-20, Müller 1997, Rood 1998: esp. 91-93, Hornblower 2008: 543-568.

Thus says Cyrus king of Persia: The Lord, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and rebuild the house of the Lord, the God of Israel -- he is the God who is in Jerusalem; and let each survivor, in whatever place he sojourns, be assisted by the men of his place with silver and gold, with goods and with beasts, besides freewill offerings for the house of God which is in Jerusalem.

Then rose up the heads of the fathers' houses of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites, every one whose spirit God had stirred to go up to rebuild the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem; and all who were about them aided them with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, with beasts, and with costly wares, besides all that was freely offered....

Here, the narrator inserts what he claims are the very words by which Cyrus allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem from their exile in Mesopotamia. The text following the edict duly narrates the implementation of the edict's commands, and chapter 2 is a long list of Judahite clans that returned to Jerusalem from Babylon. As with Thucydides' treaties, Ezra's quotation of the edict transposes a speech act that had important consequences in the Jewish past into his narrative. The edict thus orders actors within the narrative to take certain courses of action, which those actors then fulfill.

These two passages illustrates well how treaties, edicts, and other state documents fit into historical narratives, both Greek and Jewish, from Thucydides and the roughly contemporary Ezra up to the Roman Empire: each quotation reproduces a state's commitment to an alliance, declaration of peace, or command to its citizens and so brings readers into direct contact with the actions of the past, mediated only by textual transmission. The historian's text then plays out the effects of these state directives and declarations.

Eusebius uses state documents similarly to previous histories.<sup>1521</sup> Here are the state documents quoted in the *History*:<sup>1522</sup>

4.9 (*a rescript from Hadrian*)

4.13 (*a rescript from Antoninus Pius*)

7.13 (*a rescript from Gallienus*)

8.17 (*an edict of Galerius*)

9.1.3-6 (*a rescript of Sabinus, a prefect of Maximinus Daia*)

9.7.3-14, 9.9a, 9.10.7-11 (*two rescripts and an edict of Maximinus Daia*)

10.5-7 (*six rescripts and edicts of Licinius and Constantine, removed from the final edition of the History*)<sup>1523</sup>

Eusebius' quotations of these texts work similarly as Thucydides' state documents, reproducing the very words that affected the safety of Christianity in the Roman Empire at certain points in

<sup>1521</sup> Carotenuto: 2001: ch. 3 has already pointed this out, but only in reference to Jewish and Christian narratives; she does not consider the independent Thucydidean origins of the practice of quoting state documents.

<sup>1522</sup> Cf. 3.33 (a summary of Trajan's rescript to Pliny), 5.1.44-47 (summarizing a rescript of an unnamed emperor), 8.2.4f. (summarizing Diocletian's first anti-Christian edict).

<sup>1523</sup> See Appendix 1 above. Since the documents of *HE* 10.5-7 are not in the manuscripts that reproduce Eusebius' final edition of the *History*, it is likely that Eusebius removed them from his final edition.

time. Like Thucydides', Eusebius' state documents often come in causal chains. For example, Eusebius strategically quotes Antoninus Pius' edict of toleration for Christianity after noting Justin Martyr's *Second Apology* in book 4, implying a causal connection (see chapter 5, pp. 200f.). While there is nothing in the text of Justin's *First Apology* or of Pius' rescript that implies that Justin persuaded Pius, Eusebius' juxtaposition and framing of the two texts gives readers the impression that Justin persuaded Pius to protect Christians. A number of other state documents appear in the *History*, ending persecutions.<sup>1524</sup> So, like Thucydides and other historians both Jewish and Greek, Eusebius quoted state documents as catalysts for narrative action.

Moreover, I would suggest that Eusebius uses his quotations to construct the church as a nation, in his reproduction of past Christians leaders' pronouncements of which books belong to the Christian canon. Here is a list of such quoted pronouncements:

- 3.39.3f., 14-16 (Papias of Hierapolis)
- 4.26.13f. (Melito of Sardis)
- 5.8.2-8, 10-15 (Irenaeus of Lyons)
- 6.12.3-6 (Serapion of Antioch)
- 6.14.3f., 8f. (Clement of Alexandria)
- 6.25 (Origen of Alexandria)
- 7.25 (Dionysius of Alexandria)

While Christianity was led by its bishops and intellectuals, it was also a people of the book, with the words of its sacred texts defining Christians' shared norms. But which books defined the Christians remained unclear.

I would suggest that in the *Ecclesiastical History* past Christian leaders' pronouncements about canonical books act like the laws or decrees of individual states. After all, the *Ecclesiastical History* constructed Christianity itself as a nation.<sup>1525</sup> Christian leaders' determinations can therefore fruitfully be treated as state pronouncements. But whereas Thucydides' treaties and Ezra's state documents made things happen solely within these texts' narrated worlds, Eusebius' pronouncements about the canon reach beyond the *Ecclesiastical History's* narrative into his readers' own world, where they act as directives. These pronouncements would require Christians even beyond the confines of Eusebius' narrative to consider certain texts sacred and to reject others.

### 3. Corroborative Quotations: Substantiating Narratives of the Distant Past

A second regular use of quotations that appears in Greek histories—but to my knowledge no Hebrew-language history—is to confirm historians' assertions about the distant past. I call these passages “corroborative quotations.” It is important that these quotations confirm the historian's narrative; they do not themselves tell the historian's narrative. In typical corroborative quotations

<sup>1524</sup> Other examples: Trajan's rescript (which Eusebius must cite at secondhand, from Tertullian's *Apology* 2, at 3.33) protects Christians from being sought out (3.33.2; alluded to at 4.7.1, 5.pref.2); Gallienus' rescript legalizing Christianity ends a series of persecutions and precipitates an era of Christian prosperity that lasts until Diocletian's nineteenth year (*History* 7.13); Galerius' edict ends the Diocletianic persecution (8.16f.); and book 9 (passim) narrates the vicissitudes of Maximinus Daia's Christian policies largely through a series of Daia's pronouncements.

<sup>1525</sup> See chapter 1, p. 43 above and chapter 6, pp. 223-230 above; see also *HE* 1.4.2, 4.7.10, 10.4.19; cf. 2.pref.1, 2.17.15, 4.7.13, 4.23.2, 5.pref.4, 7.32.30, 9.1.5, 9.9a.1.

the historian asserts what happened, and then immediately quotes a brief selection of words—usually no more than a line or two—from a source that present the same story.

As with state documents, Thucydides was a pioneer of corroborative quotation. For example, when describing a festival to Apollo on the island of Delos Thucydides proves the festival's antiquity by quoting the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo of Delos* and showing that the festival of the Homeric hymn matches the festival of his own day (3.104.4-6, trans. Crawley):

After the purification, the Athenians for the first time celebrated the Delian games, which were held every four years. There had been in ancient days a great gathering of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders at Delos; whither they brought their wives and children to be present at the Delian games, as the Ionians now frequent the games at Ephesus. Musical and gymnastic contests were held there, and the cities celebrated choral dances. The character of the festival is attested by Homer in the following verses, which are taken from the hymn to Apollo (=Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo 146-150):

At other times, Phoebus, Delos is dearest to thy heart,  
Where are gathered together the Ionians in flowing robes,  
With their wives and children in thy street:  
There do they delight thee with boxing and dancing and song,  
Making mention of thy name when they gather at the assembly.

...Thus far Homer, who clearly indicates that even in days of old there was a great gathering and festival at Delos....But the games and the greater part of the ceremonies naturally fell into disuse, owing to the misfortunes of Ionia. The Athenians now restored the games and for the first time introduced horse-races.<sup>1526</sup>

Here Thucydides describes a festival, and then quotes lines of a hymn that replicate the content of his description: Thucydides' description of "a great gathering of the Ionians" finds confirmation in the hymn's having "the Ionians gathered together"; Thucydides' mention of "wives and children...present" is picked up by the hymn's "their wives and children in thy street" and Thucydides' "musical and gymnastic contests" and "choral dances" is paralleled in the Homeric hymn's "boxing and dancing and song." The quotation is relatively brief: the five lines are just enough to confirm Thucydides' quotation and nothing more. Thucydides has

<sup>1526</sup> καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἴώνων τε καὶ περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναίξιν καὶ παῖσιν ἐθεώρουν, ὡς περ  
νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, χοροὺς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἔστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος·  
ἄλλ' ὅτε Δήλω, Φοῖβε, μάλιστα γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,  
ἔνθα τοι ἔλκεχιτῶνες Ἴαονες ἠγερέθονται  
σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναίξιν τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυῖαν·  
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίη τε καὶ ὄρχηστῦν καὶ ἀοιδῆ  
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.  
...τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ: ...τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὡς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν (Thuc. 3.104.3-6; trans. Crawley).  
(The first elided section is another passage from the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* quoted to corroborate Thucydides' narrative; I cut it for the sake of brevity)



carefully selected his quoted text so as to corroborate his version of the event. In this and other Thucydidean passages a brief quotation of a text proves that specific details recounted by the historian are accurate.<sup>1527</sup> For events nearer his own time, by contrast, Thucydides does not substantiate his version of the past through quoted texts. The great Greek historian quotes where his own authority was not sufficient, perhaps because no living witnesses could confirm his accuracy. Two other Greek-language historians, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Josephus, use similarly brief, carefully selected quotations to corroborate their narratives about the distant past.<sup>1528</sup>

Like these Greek historians Eusebius regularly quotes texts to corroborate his narrative. And like these historians, Eusebius uses corroborative quotations most often when recounting the distant past, especially when the *History* treats the so-called apostolic age in books 2 and 3.<sup>1529</sup> For example, right after Eusebius describes Pliny's famous correspondence with Trajan about the Christians, he quotes Tertullian's version of the same story:<sup>1530</sup>

The persecution against us was extended so massively and in so many places that Pliny Secundus, most distinguished of governors, upset by the great numbers of martyrs, communicated about the masses of people being slain for their faith to the emperor, and at the same time informed him that nothing unholy was going on among those being killed, nor were they caught doing anything illegal, except for their gathering together at dawn and singing a hymn to Christ in the manner of a god, and that they renounce adultery and murder and immoral offenses related to these while doing everything in keeping with the laws.....The narrative from which we have told the above is from the Latin defense-speech of Tertullian, the translation of which runs like this:

And yet we have found also that investigation into us is hindered. For when Pliny Secundus, as governor of a province, condemned some Christians and deprived them of their status, but was troubled by their large numbers, he therefore did not know what else had to be done and so communicated to Trajan the emperor, saying that apart from their refusal to worship idols he had found nothing unholy among them; he informed Trajan of this, that the Christians rose at dawn and sang a hymn to Christ in the manner of a god

<sup>1527</sup> In his opening chapters, Thucydides argues that the Peloponnesian War is the heaviest war the Greeks had ever experienced by quoting figures from Homer on the numbers of Greek ships that fought in the Trojan War (1.10; cf. 1.3, 1.9). And in a famous digression Thucydides quotes three inscriptions to prove that his Athenian contemporaries did not know who ruled them three generations ago (6.54-59).

<sup>1528</sup> Later Greek-language historians quoted texts verbatim to confirm narratives about the distant past. In his history of Rome up to the first Punic War Dionysius of Halicarnassus quotes earlier texts only in book 1, which treats the prehistory of the city of Rome up to its founding (*Roman Antiquities* 1.12.3, 1.25.3, 1.28.2f., 1.29.3, 1.48.3, 1.64.5, 1.73.4). All eight of Dionysius' quotations are brief; they corroborate assertions about the nature of the peoples and land of Italy in the obscure times before the foundation of Rome. Similarly, at eleven points in his *Jewish Antiquities* Flavius Josephus quotes brief passages from Greek-language histories that confirm his narratives of the distant past (*AJ* 1.93-95, 1.118f., 1.158-160, 1.240f., 7.101-103, 10.20f., 13.287, 13.319, 14.35, 14.112-118, 15.9). For both Dionysius and Josephus, as for Thucydides, quotations from earlier texts confirm that the story they are telling is accurate.

<sup>1529</sup> *HE* 1.8, 1.11, 1.13, 2.5f., 2.10-12, 2.15, 2.20f., 2.23, 2.25, 3.5-8, 3.19f., 3.33, 5.5; cf. 3.39.

<sup>1530</sup> A passage also discussed in chapter 5, pp. 202-205 above.

and according to their skill swore to keep themselves from murdering, committing adultery, rapaciousness, robbery, and things like these.<sup>1531</sup>

Tertullian's voice corroborates Eusebius' statements that Pliny was upset, that he dealt with large numbers of Christians, that were condemned to martyrdom, that Pliny found nothing unholy happening in Christian meetings, and that Christians sang hymns to Christ and denounced adultery, murder, and other crimes. Eusebius' use of corroborative quotation with Tertullian parallels Thucydides' use of the *Hymn to Apollo* almost exactly.

Eusebius corroborates through quotation repeatedly. Like Thucydides and other Greek-language historians, Eusebius tells a narrative and then quotes his evidence. Like these historians, Eusebius presents corroborative quotations most often when narrating the distant past. Here, as with his quotation of state documents, Eusebius employed a quotational practice from Greek historiography.

#### 4. Character References: Quotation in Greek Biography and Apologetics

The third use of quotation that Eusebius drew from Greek historiography was character references. The list of state documents reproduced on p. 243 includes one exceptional passage where a historian quotes state documents not in order to narrate events, namely a famously long series of Roman decrees and rescripts quoted in book 14 of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (14.190-264). Here, when Josephus' narrative reaches 44 BC and the Jews move to make an alliance with Caesar, who is about to crush his last Roman opponents, Josephus pauses his narrative and addresses the reader (trans. Marcus):

And here it seems to me necessary to make public all the honours given our nation and the alliances made with them by the Romans and their emperors, in order that the other nations may not fail to recognize that both the kings of Asia and of Europe have held us in esteem and have admired our bravery and loyalty. Since many persons, however, out of enmity to us refuse to believe what has been written about us by Persians and Macedonians, because these writings are not found everywhere, and are not deposited even in public places, but are found only among us and some other barbarian peoples, while against the decrees of the Romans nothing can be said...from these same documents I will present proof of my statements....<sup>1532</sup>

<sup>1531</sup> τσοῦτός γε μὴν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμός, ὡς Πλίνιον Σεκοῦνδον, ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαρτύρων κινήθη, βασιλεῖ κοινώσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναιρουμένων, ἅμα δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μνηῦσαι μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατελιφέναι, πλὴν τό γε ἅμα τῇ ἔω διεγειρομένους τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις ἀθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν πάντα τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις...εἴληπται δ' ἡ ἱστορία ἐξ ἧς ἀνώτερον δεδηλώκαμεν τοῦ Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπολογίας, ἧς ἡ ἑρμηνεία τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·

καίτοι εὐρήκαμεν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιζητησὶν κεκωλυμένην. Πλίνιος γὰρ Σεκοῦνδος ἡγούμενος ἐπαρχίου κατακρίνας Χριστιανούς τινες καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλὼν, ταραχθεὶς τῷ πλήθει, διὸ ἡγνόει τί αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἶη πρακτέον, Τραϊανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνεκοινώσατο λέγων ἔξω τοῦ μη βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρηκέναι. ἐμήνυσεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀνίστασθαι ἔωθεν τοὺς Χριστιανούς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν κωλύεσθαι φονεύειν, μοιχεύειν, πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια.

<sup>1532</sup> ἔδοξεν δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι πάσας ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμᾶς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον ἡμᾶς τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων

A series of documents from Roman leaders that grant privileges to the Jews follows.<sup>1533</sup> Josephus makes explicit his reason for quoting the long series of state documents that follows: the texts reproduce a chorus of authoritative Roman voices that honor the Jews. Unlike the state documents from previous Greek historiography discussed in section 3 above, Josephus' documents lack causal force within his narrative; and unlike the corroborative quotations discussed in section 4, they do not confirm Josephus' narrative of a particular event. Rather, Josephus' quotations rebut imagined Greek objections to the Jews' national honor by displaying authoritative Romans' acceptance of the Jews' significance.

I suggest that Josephus borrowed this tactic of quoting documents to buttress his people's prestige from a third Greek quotational habit, which I call character references. This practice does not surface in Greek narrative histories, this unusual digression in Josephus' *Antiquities* excepted, but is common in genres on the margins of Greek historiography, apologetic and biographical literature. Apologies and biographies quoted texts written by or about their subjects relatively frequently, in order to paint their subjects' character in a positive or negative light.

The following example will illustrate how character references work. Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions of the Famous Philosophers* quotes a number of documents to shed some light on the character of Greek thinkers. Here is a catalogue of Dionysius' quotations:

- 1.43f., 1.53f., 1.64-67, 1.73, 1.81, 1.93, 1.99f., 1.105, 1.113, 1.122 *Letters exchanged among the Seven Sages (and the ruler Pisistratus of Athens)*
- 2.4f. *Letters exchanged between Anaximenes and Pythagoras*
- 2.44 *A letter about Arcesilaus' will*
- 3.10-17 *A letter proving Plato drew his philosophy from Epicharmus*
- 3.21f. *A letter of Archytas urging Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse to release Plato*
- 3.41-43 *Plato's will*
- 5.12-16, 5.51-57, 61-64, 69-74 *Peripatetic philosophers' wills*
- 7.7-9 *An exchange of letters between Zeno of Cittium and King Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon*
- 7.10-12 *An alleged Athenian decree honoring Zeno*
- 8.49f. *A letter from Pythagoras to Anaximenes*
- 8.80f. *Letters exchanged between Archytas and Plato*
- 9.13f. *Letters exchanged between Heraclitus and King Darius of Persia*
- 10.16-22 *Epicurus' will*
- 10.35-116, 121-135, 139-154 *Philosophical letters and maxims of Epicurus*

How does Diogenes use these quoted documents? In book 1 he quotes a series of letters allegedly exchanged among the legendary Seven Sages, which depict these sages' mutual affection and sharing of wise advice, visits with one another, and interest in each other's thought. The letters bind the Seven Sages as a network whose mutual esteem for each other's intellect bestows honor on the entire circle of the Sages. Elsewhere Diogenes inserts certain philosophers' wills. These

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ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ ἡμῶν τῶ μηκέτ' αὐτὰ πανταχοῦ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν... παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρὸς τε Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

<sup>1533</sup> Cf. *Antiquities* 14.265-267, 16.161, 174-178; see esp. Pucci ben Ze'ev 1998, 2006.

wills show how each philosopher provided property for his dependents, and made arrangements to keep their respective schools running after their own time. The wills illustrate the conscientious manner in which each philosopher planned for the legacy of his school.

Greek-language apologetic literature, meanwhile, quotes documents to similar effect, as the example of Josephus' *Against Apion* shows.<sup>1534</sup> The *Apion* is structured as a response to a series of ethnologically grounded criticisms. In book 1 of the *Apion* (1.162-218) Josephus quotes verbatim a series of Greek historians who have complimented the Jewish people; he states his reason for doing so as follows (1.161):

Since it is necessary to satisfy the requirements of persons who put no faith in barbarian documents and think only Greek documents worthy of trust, I must produce many of these who were acquainted with our nation and quote the occasional mentions that they may of us in their own writings.

Josephus goes on to quote a series of Greek authors who have complimented the Jews (Hermippus of Smyrna, Theophrastus, Herodotus, Choerilus, Clearchus, Hecataeus of Abdera, and Agatharchides of Cnidos). These quotations advance Josephus' defense of the Jews by testifying to the Jews' honorable manner of life. Through these Greek voices Josephus shows his implied Greek audience that the Jewish race is worthy of Greek praise.

Whereas both state documents and corroborative quotations enhance a the historian's description of changing circumstances, character references bring readers into contact with unchanging nature of the individuals or nation being treated. Josephus' quotation, in the *Jewish Antiquities*, of the documents honoring the Jews represents a transposition of this quotational practice from apologetic discourse into narrative historiography.

Many texts quoted in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* highlight the glowing character of Christians from the past. Eusebius' reproductions of martyrdom acts proffer eyewitness testimony to the heroics of Christians who endure tortures and die rather than renouncing Christ.<sup>1535</sup> His quotations of letters, like those of Irenaeus of Lyons or Dionysius of Alexandria, illustrate how a good bishop must conduct himself in communication with distant Christian communities.<sup>1536</sup> Some of these letters call for peace and concord within the church; others denounce the impieties and immoralities of so-called "heretics; and others expose the behavior of those "bad emperors" who persecuted Christians. All are written in Greek styles that highlights the education and intelligence of these Christian heroes. The letters thus act as character references for the leaders of Eusebius' church.

So, like Josephus and Diogenes Laertius, Eusebius reproduces voices from the past to bolster his own portrayals of specific individuals' character. That Eusebius employs a literary practice from philosophical biography in particular should hardly surprise us. Not only did the *Ecclesiastical History* have an apologetic purpose, but Eusebius drew heavily on the genre of philosophical biography in constructing his history of the church.<sup>1537</sup> Just as Diogenes' insertion of wills and letters by famous philosophers brought the reader into immediate contact with

<sup>1534</sup> εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἀπιστούντων μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀναγραφαῖς μόνοις δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πιστεύειν ἀξιούντων ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν καὶ παρασχεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ τούτων ἐπισταμένους τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ καθ' ὃ καιρὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς μνημονεύοντας παραθέσθαι ἐν ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν συγγράμμασι.

<sup>1535</sup> HE 2.1.1, 2.9, 2.23, 2.25, 3.17-20, 3.32, 3.36, 4.15-17, 5.1f., 5.21, 6.1, 6.4f., 6.39-42, 7.10-12, 7.15, 8.4-13, 9.6.

<sup>1536</sup> Irenaeus: 5.20, 5.24; Dionysius: 6.40-7.25; see also e.g. 3.36, 4.23, 6.12, 6.14.8f., 7.30.

<sup>1537</sup> See esp. chapters 1 and 2 above.

voices from these important philosophers, so Eusebius' *History* made manifest the character of past Christians. He thus both valorized the church and provided models for contemporary Christian leaders' conduct.

In sum, while each of Eusebius' individual quotational practices appears in previous Greek histories, his combination of them fashions the church as a unique nation of philosophers. This nation was protected by Roman directives, staked secure historical claims, and boasted past heroes worthy of emulation—and its own words were so authoritative that they needed no historian to rework their story. It was a church configured to appeal to educated Greek readers, Christian and pagan, in a position to follow the narrative moves Eusebius was making and to appreciate the words of educated Christians that Eusebius was reproducing.

**Appendix 3:**  
**A Database of Biographies in the *Ecclesiastical History***

<b>Chapters in <i>History</i></b>	<b>Character</b>	<b>Religious Identity</b>	<b>Data in Biography</b>
2.1.2-4, 2.23	James the brother of Jesus	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, familial relation, martyrdom
2.1.10, 3.31.3-6	Philip the Evangelist	“Orthodox”	Anecdotes, locations of activity, death
2.4.2-2.5, 2.18.1-8	Philo of Alexandria	Jew	Location of activity, educational activity, writings, honors received
2.13-2.15.1	Simon Magus	“Heretic”	Locations of origin and activity, doctrine, anecdotes, death
2.14.4-2.15., 2.25, 3.1.2, 3.3.1f., 3.3.4, 3.4.2f.	Peter the Apostle	“Orthodox”	Locations of activity, educational activity, writings, disciples, martyrdom
2.15f., 2.24	Mark the Evangelist	“Orthodox”	Locations of activity, educational activity (association with Peter), ecclesiastical position
2.22, 2.25, 3.1.2, 3.3.5-7, 3.4.1, 3.4.3-10	Paul the Apostle	“Orthodox”	Locations of activity, writings, educational activity, writings, martyrdom
3.4.6f., 3.24.15	Luke the Evangelist	“Orthodox”	Location of origin, educational activity (profession and association with Paul), writings
3.4.9, 3.15f., 3.38	Clement of Rome	“Orthodox”	Educational activity (association with Paul), ecclesiastical position, writings
3.9f.	Flavius Josephus	Jew	Location of activity, familial associations,

			honors received, writings, anecdotes
3.11.2, 3.32	Symeon son of Clopas	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, familial association, martyrdom
3.18.1-3; 3.20.9; 3.23; 3.24.7-14, 17; 3.31.2f.	John the Apostle	“Orthodox”	Confessordom, educational activity, death, writings
3.26	Menander	“Heretic”	Location of origin, educational activity, doctrines, anecdotes
3.28	Cerinthus	“Heretic”	Doctrines, anecdote
3.29	Nicolaus	“Heretic”	Anecdote, doctrines
3.36.1, 4.14f.	Polycarp of Smyrna	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, anecdotes, writing, martyrdom
3.36.2, 3.39	Papias of Hierapolis	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, writing
3.37.1, 4.3.1f.*	Quadratus	“Orthodox”	Educational activity, writing
4.3.3	Aristides	“Orthodox”	Writing
4.7.3	Saturninus	"Heretic"	Educational activity, location of origin, doctrine
4.7.3-8	Basilides	“Heretic”	Educational activity, location of origin, doctrines
4.7.9-14	Carpocrates	“Heretic”	Doctrines
4.8.1f., 4.21f.	Hegesippus	“Orthodox”	Writing, locations of activity
4.8.3-7, 4.11.8-4.12, 4.16, 4.18	Justin Martyr	“Orthodox”	Educational activity, writings, locations of origin and activity, martyrdom

4.10-4.11.1f.	Cerdon of Rome	“Heretic”	Location of activity, educational activity, doctrine
4.10-4.11.1, 4.11.3	Valentinus	“Heretic”	Location of activity, doctrine
4.11.4f.	Marcus	“Heretic”	Doctrines, anecdotes
4.11.8-10	Marcion of Pontus	“Heretic”	Locations of origin and activity, doctrines
4.20f., 4.24	Theophilus of Antioch	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writings, anecdote
4.21, 4.23	Dionysius of Corinth	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writings, anecdotes
4.21, 4.25	Philip of Gortyn	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writing
4.21, 4.25	Modestus	“Orthodox”	Writing
4.21, 4.26	Melito of Sardis	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writing
4.21, 4.26.1, 4.27	Apolinarius of Hierapolis	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writing
4.21, 4.28	Musanus	“Orthodox”	Writings
4.21, 4.25, 5.4.1f., 5.5.8, 5.8, 5.20, 5.24.18, 5.26	Irenaeus of Lyons	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical positions, anecdotes, writings, educational activity
4.29	Tatian	“Orthodox”/“Heretic”	Educational activity, doctrines, writings
4.30	Bardesanes	“Heretic”/“Orthodox”	Locations of origin and activity, educational activity, writing
5.10	Pantaenus	“Orthodox”	Educational activity, locations of activity, ecclesiastical position
5.11, 6.6, 6.13-6.14.9	Clement of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Educational activity, locations of activity,



			writings, anecdotes
5.12.1, 5.23.3, 6.8.7-6.11	Narcissus of Jerusalem	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, anecdotes, educational activity
5.13	Rhodon	“Orthodox”? “Heretic”?	Location of origin, location of activity, educational activity, anecdotes, writings
5.14, 5.16, 5.17.1-4, 5.18	Montanus	“Heretic”	Locations of activity, doctrines, anecdotes, death
5.17	Miltiades	“Orthodox”	Writings, anecdote
5.19, 5.22, 6.12	Serapion of Antioch	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writings, anecdote
5.27	Heraclitus	“Orthodox”	Writing
5.27	Maximus	“Orthodox”	Writings
5.27	Candidus	“Orthodox”	Writing
5.27	Apion	“Orthodox”	Writing
5.27	Sextus	“Orthodox”	Writing
5.28	Artemon	“Heretic”	Doctrines, educational activity, anecdotes
6.2-6.6, 6.8, 6.14.10-6.19; 6.21.3f.; 6.23-25, 6.27, 6.30, 6.32, 6.33.2-4, 6.36f., 6.39.5	Origen of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Locations of origins and activity, familial connections, educational activity, anecdotes, ecclesiastical position, writings, confessorship, death
6.3.2, 6.4.1f.	Plutarch of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Familial relationship, location of activity, educational activity, martyrdom
6.3.2, 6.15, 6.19.13f., 6.27, 6.29.5, 6.35	Heraclas of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Familial relationship, location of activity, educational activity, ecclesiastical position

6.7	Judas	“Orthodox”	Writing
6.11, 6.39.2f.	Alexander of Jerusalem	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical positions, anecdotes, writing, educational activity, confessorship
6.16.4-6.17	Symmachus	“Heretic”	Doctrines, writing, anecdote
6.20.2, 6.33	Beryllus	“Heretic”/“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, writings, doctrine
6.20.2, 6.22	Hippolytus	“Orthodox”	Chronological era, list of written texts, description of chronicle
6.20.3	Gaius	“Orthodox”	Writing, location of activity
6.31	Julius Africanus	“Orthodox”	Writings, location of activity
6.35, 6.40, 6.45f., 7.4-7.9; 7.11, 7.20-26, 7.28.3	Dionysius of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Educational activity, anecdotes, writings, confessorship
6.43, 7.8	Novatus (=Novatian) of Rome	“Heretic”	Ecclesiastical position, anecdotes, doctrines
7.11.26, 7.32.5	Eusebius of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Anecdotes, ecclesiastical position
7.11.26, 7.28.3, 7.32.30.	Maximus of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Confessorship, ecclesiastical position, death
7.14, 7.32.21, 24	Theotecnus of Caesarea	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, anecdote
7.16f.	Astyrius of Caesarea	“Orthodox”	Location of activity, imperial position, anecdotes
7.24.1-6	Nepos	“Heretic”	Ecclesiastical position, doctrines, anecdote
7.27, 7.30.1-21	Paul of Samosata	“Heretic”	Ecclesiastical position, doctrine,

			anecdotes
7.31	Mani	“Heretic”	Doctrines, location of activity
7.32.2f., 8.6.1-5	Dorotheus of Antioch	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, imperial position, martyrdom (probably)
7.32.6-22	Anatolius of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, anecdotes, writings
7.32.22	Stephen of Laodicea	“Orthodox” (lapsed)	Ecclesiastical position, education, failed martyrdom
7.32.23	Theodotus of Laodicea	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity
7.32.24	Agapius of Caesarea	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, anecdote
7.32.25, 8.13.6	Pamphilus of Caesarea	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, martyrdom
7.32.26f.	Piereus	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity
7.32.26-28	Meletius	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, confessorship
7.32.30	Achillas	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity
7.32.31, 8.13.7, 9.6.2	Peter of Alexandria	“Orthodox”	Ecclesiastical position, educational activity, martyrdom

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### 1. Abbreviations: Primary Sources<sup>1538</sup>

- Abst.*=Porphyry, *On Abstinence* [*de Abstinentia*]  
*AJ*=Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* [*Antiquitates Judaicae*]  
*ApTy*=Philostratus, *On Apollonius of Tyana*  
*BJ*=Josephus, *Jewish War* [*Bellum Judaicum*]  
*Chron.*=Eusebius, *Chronicle*  
*Dig.*=*The Digest of Justinian*  
*DMP*=Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* [*de Mortibus Persecutorum*]  
*Diog.Ep.*=*Epistle of Diogenes* (included in the *Cynic Epistles*)  
*Eus.DE*=Eusebius, *Gospel Demonstration* [*Demonstratio Evangelica*]  
*Eus.HE*=Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* [*Historia Ecclesiastica*]  
*Eus.MP*=Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* (short recension unless otherwise noted)  
*Eus.PE*=Eusebius, *Gospel Preparation* [*Praeparatio Evangelica*]  
*GEI*=Eusebius, *General Elementary Introduction*  
*Hdt.*=Herodotus, *Histories*  
*HE*=Eusebius (or Socrates, Sozomen, or Theodoret), *Ecclesiastical History* [*Historia Ecclesiastica*]  
*Iren.Haer*=Irenaeus, *Against All Heresies*  
*Jos.AJ*=Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* [*Antiquitates Judaicae*]  
*Jos.BJ*=Josephus, *Jewish War* [*Bellum Judaicum*]  
*Lact.DMP*=Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* [*de Mortibus Persecutorum*]  
*LSJ*=Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*  
*MP*=Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* (short recension)  
*MP* (Syriac)=Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine* (long recension, which survives only in Syriac)  
*MPolyc*=*Martyrdom of Polycarp*  
*Orig.Cels*=Origen, *Against Celsus*  
*Porph.Abst*=Porphyry, *On Abstinence* [*de Abstinentia*]  
*PythV*=Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life* [*De Vita Pythagorica*]  
*Soc.Ep.*=*Epistle of Diogenes* (included in the *Cynic Epistles*)  
*Soc.HE*=Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* [*Historia Ecclesiastica*]  
*Soz.HE*=Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* [*Historia Ecclesiastica*]  
*Theod.HE*=Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* [*Historia Ecclesiastica*]  
*Thuc.*=Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*  
*VC*=Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* [*Vita Constantini*]  
*VI*=Jerome, *On Illustrious Men* [*de Viris Illustribus*]  
*VPlot*=Porphyry, *On the Life of Plotinus* [*De Vita Plotini*]  
*VPyth*=Porphyry, *The Life of Pythagoras* [*Vita Pythagori*]  
*VS*=Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* [*Vitae Sophistarum*]  
*VSEP*=Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Famous Philosophers* [*Vitae et Sententiae Eminentorum Philosophorum*]

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<sup>1538</sup> For in-text citations of primary sources, I have cited an abbreviated version of the Latin title of the text, sometimes with an abbreviated name of the author.

## 2. Abbreviations: Journals and Publishers<sup>1539</sup>

*AHB*=Ancient History Bulletin  
*AJP*=American Journal of Philology  
*AJS*=American Journal of Sociology  
*ANRW*=Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt  
*AS*=Ancient Society  
*ASOR*=American Schools of Oriental Research  
*AW*=Ancient World  
*BAR*=British Archaeological Reports  
*BASOR*=Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research  
*BICS*=Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies  
*BMCR*=Bryn Mawr Classical Review  
*CA*=Classical Antiquity  
*CBQ*=Catholic Biblical Quarterly  
*CH*=Church History  
*CJ*=Classical Journal  
*CM*=Classica et Mediaevalia  
*CQ*=Classical Quarterly  
*CP*=Classical Philology  
*CW*=Classical World  
*DOP*=Dumbarton Oaks Papers  
*ESI*=Excavations and Surveys in Israel  
*ET*=Expository Times  
*GR*=Greece and Rome  
*GRBS*=Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies  
*HSCP*=Harvard Studies in Classical Philology  
*HT*=History and Theory  
*HTR*=Harvard Theological Review  
*IAA*=Israel Antiquities Authority  
*ICS*=Illinois Classical Studies  
*IEJ*=Israel Exploration Journal  
*IJNA*=International Journal of Nautical Archaeology  
*JAAR*=Journal of the American Academy of Religion  
*JAC*=Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum  
*JECS*=Journal of Early Christian Studies  
*JEH*=Journal of Ecclesiastical History  
*JHS*=Journal of Hellenic Studies  
*JJS*=Journal of Jewish Studies  
*JLA*=Journal of Late Antiquity  
*JQR*=Jewish Quarterly Review  
*JRA*=Journal of Roman Archaeology  
*JRS*=Journal of Roman Studies  
*JTS*=Journal of Theological Studies

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<sup>1539</sup> I abbreviate lengthy publisher names and the titles of periodicals that I cite more than once (and some additional ones as well).

MAAR=*Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*  
 MEFRA= *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*  
 MH=*Museum Helveticum*  
 MHR=*Mediterranean Historical Review*  
 NEA=*Near Eastern Archaeology*  
 NLH=*New Literary History*  
 NTS=*New Testament Studies*  
 PEQ=*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*  
 PG=*Patrologiae Graecae*  
 P&P=*Past & Present*  
 RAC=*Reallexicon der Antike und Christentum*  
 RE=*Pauly-Wissowas Realenzyklopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*  
 REA= *Revue des Études Anciennes*  
 REAug=*Revue des Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*  
 REG=*Revue des Études Grecques*  
 RSC=*Rivista di storia del cristianesimo*  
 RSQ=*Rhetoric Society Quarterly*  
 SC=*Syllecta Classica*  
 SCI=*Scripta Classica Israelica*  
 SO=*Symbolae Osloenses*  
 SP=*Studia Patristica*  
 SPCK=*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*  
 TA=*Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University*  
 TAPA=*Transactions of the American Philosophical Association*  
 VC=*Vigiliae Christianae*  
 YCS=*Yale Classical Studies*  
 ZAC=*Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*  
 ZDPV=*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*  
 ZNW=*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*  
 ZKG=*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*  
 ZPE=*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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