Maria Theotikou: Der Einfluss der griechischen Bildung und Erziehung bei christlichen Kirchenvätern. Eine exemplarische Studie zu Eusebius von Cäsarea. Berlin/Münster: LIT Verlag 2022 (Theologie der Spiritualität 15). IV, 188 p. € 34.90. ISBN: 978-3-643-15272-5.

Education has been an exploding topic in the study of Late Antiquity and of early Christianity since the turn of the twenty-first century. The cultural turn of the 1990s and 2000s renewed interest in the Second Sophistic, ancient oratorical practice, and the Mediterranean-wide system of elite acculturation. Accordingly, scholars of Late Antiquity traced how the Roman educational system continued to shape late-antique culture, particularly under the successive transformations of Christian proliferation, Germanic immigration, and imperial disintegration. Scholarly understanding of the aims, settings, curricula, discursive dynamics, and cultural influence of late-antique educators became considerably enriched, as exemplified in the studies of Edward Watts, Raffaela Cribiore, Peter Gemeinhardt, and most recently Jan Stenger, among others.[1]

Eusebius of Caesarea, however, has been only a sporadic presence in the debate over ancient education.[2] Eusebius' marginalization, to be sure, is nothing new in late-antique studies. For one thing, the field of Late Antiquity has long preferred the synchronic gaze associated with cultural studies rather

1 E. J. Watts: City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria. Berkeley, CA 2006 (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 41); id.: Hypatia: The Life and Legend of an Ancient Philosopher. New York 2017 (Women in Antiquity); R. Cribiore: The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch. Princeton, NJ/Oxford 2007; P. Gemeinhardt/L. Van Hoof/P. Van Nuffelen (eds.): Education and Religion in Late Antique Christianity. Reflections, Social Contexts and Genres. London/New York 2016; P. Gemeinhardt/O. Lorgeoux/M. Munkholt Christensen (eds.): Teachers in Late Antique Christianity. Tübingen 2018; P. Gemeinhardt (ed.): Was ist Bildung in der Vormoderne? Tübingen 2021 (Studies in Education and Religion in Early and Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs 4); J. R. Stenger (ed.): Learning Cities in Late Antiquity: The Local Dimension of Education. London/New York 2019; id.: Education in Late Antiquity. Challenges, Dynamism and Reinterpretation, 300–550 CE. Oxford 2022 (reviewed by P. Gemeinhardt: Plekos 24, 2022, pp. 419–433, URL: https://www.plekos.uni-muenchen.de/2022/r-stenger.pdf).

2 For example, Stenger: Education (note 1), pp. 173–177 spotlights Eusebius just once. K. Pietzner: Bildung, Elite und Konkurrenz. Heiden und Christen vor der Zeit Constantins. Tübingen 2013 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 77), meanwhile, ends before Eusebius.

than the diachronic sweep of traditional narrative history, and this has drawn scholarly attention to the later fourth century and onward, from which far more texts survive and thus a fuller synchronic picture is achievable, rather than the later third and earlier fourth centuries. For another, Eusebius' corpus is difficult for a variety of reasons, from its abundant quotations to its elusive and allusive authorial presence to his unattractive style, which both Socrates and Photius belittled.[3] For another, Eusebius' reputation as both a Constantinian puppet – which despite decades of cogent refutation still dominates perceptions of the Caesarean scholar – and a theological heretic has drawn scholarly attention to voices that seem more independent and enduring.[4] Yet Eusebius' imposing volume of surviving texts across genres, his liminality between the pagan and (as it turned out) Christian empires,[5] and his influence on later authors make Eusebius a very good author for the study of education in Antiquity.

Accordingly, the recent studies of education in Late Antiquity and early Christianity have mostly – and unjustifiably – left Eusebius aside. Meanwhile, excellent works by Aaron Johnson, Sébastien Morlet, Sabrina Inowlocki, and Elizabeth Penland have delineated the educational content of several of Eusebius' works, particularly the *Generalis Elementaria Introductio* (books 6 through 9 of which survive as Eusebius' *Eclogae Propheticae*), *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, and *De Martyribus Palaestinae*.[6]

3 Sokr. hist. eccl. 1.1.3 referred to Eusebius when he pledged ἡμεῖς δὲ προθέμενοι συγγράψαι τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνου [sc. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου] [...] γενόμενα [...] ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέλιπεν ποιησόμεθα, οὐ φράσεως ὄγκου φροντίζοντες [...]; Phot. bibl., cod. 127 said of Eusebius' style: τῆς μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος οὐδὲν μέγα.

4 A. P. Johnson: Eusebius. London 2014 (Understanding Classics), pp. 143–169 has shown that Eusebius was never particularly close to Constantine.

5 Cf. D. J. DeVore: Time in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History: Periodization, Narration, Transitions. In: Studies in Late Antiquity 5, 2021, pp. 580–617.

6 A. P. Johnson: Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* as Literary Experiment. In: S. F. Johnson (ed.): Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism. Aldershot/Burlington, VT 2006, pp. 67–90; id.: Eusebius the Educator: The Context of the *General Elementary Introduction*. In: S. Inowlocki/C. Zamagni (eds.): Reconsidering Eusebius. Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues. Leiden/Boston 2011 (Vigiliae Christianae. Supplements 107), pp. 99–118; id. (note 4), pp. 51–83; S. Morlet: La Démonstration évangélique d'Eusèbe de Césarée: étude sur l'apologétique chrétienne à l'époque de Constantin. Paris 2009 (Collection des Études augustiniennes. Série Antiquités 187); S. Inowlocki: Eusebius' Construction of a Christian Culture in an Apologetic Context: Reading the *Praeparatio evangelica*

Maria Theotikou puts the study of Eusebius and education onto solid footing with the monograph under review, a publication of her Masters thesis(!) completed with the Faculty of Protestant Theology at the University of Münster. This is a study firmly planted in *Kirchengeschichte*: it frames Eusebius as a *Kirchenvater* and a *Theologe*, retrospective categories that may raise the eyebrows of more historically-minded students of Late Antiquity. Such readers, though, should be assured that the study offers much of value for them.

If confessional in orientation, this book is philological in approach. Theotikou combs three of Eusebius' most famous surviving writings – the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, and *Historia Ecclesiastica* – for references to education. Instances of such terms as παιδεία, μάθημα, διδασκαλία, παιδαγωγός, φιλοσοφία, ἀγωγή, and comparable relevant words (pp. 25–26) come up for analysis. This is a welcome and useful foundational step for a first comprehensive study of a practice in an author.

More questionable, however, is the choice to frame ancient education with the model of Werner Jaeger's famous earlier twentieth-century study *Paideia*. Jaeger's study is problematic not because of its age, or even because Jaeger wrote under the shadow of the Third Reich (which he fled for North America), but because Jaeger's study centered the aims and ideals of education more than educational personnel, organization, and processes – and more glaringly Jaeger focused on Archaic and especially Classical Greece (with a thick study of Plato), rather than on the Roman period.[7] Theotikou's main takeaway from Jaeger on *paideia* – "dass die Erwerbung von Tugend eine diachronische universale Bedeutung hat" (p. 11) – is not wrong but is abstract and distanced from concrete instructional practices and institutions. More grounding in the other great early twentieth-century scholar of Greek

as a Library. In S. Inowlocki/C. Zamagni: Reconsidering Eusebius (see above), pp. 199–224; E. C. Penland: Martyrs as Philosophers: The School of Pamphilus and Ascetic Tradition. Ph.D. Diss. Yale University 2010; ead.: Eusebius Philosophus? School Activity at Caesarea Through the Lens of the *Martyrs*. In: S. Inowlocki/C. Zamagni (eds.): Reconsidering Eusebius (see above), pp. 87–98.

7 W. Jaeger: Paideia. Die Formung des griechischen Menschen. 3 vols. Berlin 1933/1944/1947. See in general J. Elsner: Paideia: Ancient Concept and Modern Reception. In: IJCT 20, 2013, pp. 136–152; C. Auffarth: Henri-Irénée Marrous Geschichte der Erziehung im klassischen Altertum. Der Klassiker kontrastiert mit Werner Jaegers Paideia. In: Gemeinhardt (ed.): Was ist Bildung (note 1), pp. 39–65; C. Horn: Werner Jaeger's Paideia and his "Third Humanism". In: Educational Philosophy and Theory 50, 2018, pp. 682–691.

and Roman education, Henri-Irenée Marrou, would surely have enriched this study.[8] Nonetheless, it must be noted that Jaeger's lengthy exposition of Plato's educational ideals surely underlies Theotikou's observation of repeated references to the ideals of education articulated in Plato's *Laws* (pp. 29–32, 48, 53, 64, 133), one of many original findings in her study.[9]

After some exposition on Eusebius' works that will be familiar to Eusebian scholars,[10] Theotikou's first chapter of original research, "Die Rolle und der Einfluss der griechischen Bildung und Erziehung im Werk des Eusebios" (pp. 46–72), demonstrates the centrality of education in Eusebius' *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*. In these texts Theotikou notes emphases on education as inculcating self-control, harmony between Hebrew and Greek education as Eusebius portrays them, a soteriological and provident aim for education, and above all that Greek education served as a *Vorbildung* (*propaideia*) for Christian education. It should be noted that, on Greek education as *propaideia*, Theotikou would find support in Johnson's and Morlet's independent conclusions that Eusebius intended the *Praeparatio* and *Demonstratio* as a comprehensive introduction to educated Christians' readings of the Greek intellectual tradition and subsequent engagement with the Christian scriptures.[11] Theotikou's conclusion is apt: "Mit seinen Werken *Praeparatio Evangelica* und *Demonstratio Evangelica* wollte Eusebios versuchen u. a.

8 H.-I. Marrou: Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité. Paris 1948 (Collection Esprit). Theotikou mentions Marrou's study on p. 10, n. 10, though her bibliography omits it.

9 Theotikou does not, however, stress the polemical context of Eusebius' references to Plato's *Laws* (pr. ev. 12.16–18), in which Eusebius claims that Plato's educational ideals were in fact drawn from Moses' Pentateuch: Eusebius was not simply affirming Greek educational ideals but appropriating them.

10 Theotikou however characterizes the *Praeparatio*, *Demonstratio*, and *Historia* as "erst nach dem Herrschaftsantritt des Kaisers Konstantin fertiggestellt" (p. 42). This obscures Eusebius' political situation between 312 and 324, the period in which he wrote the *Praeparatio*, *Demonstratio*, and the *Historia* except for the latter's last two chapters (hist. eccl. 10.8–9): between 313 and 324 Licinius was ruling the eastern Empire, not Constantine. Eusebius thus wrote these three texts under an unambiguously pagan emperor. See R. Burgess: The Dates and Editions of Eusebius's Chronici Canones and Historia Ecclesiastica. In: JThS 47, 1997, pp. 471–504; and M. Cassin/M. Debié/N. Perrin: La question des éditions de l'Histoire ecclésiastique et le livre X. In S. Morlet/L. Perrone (eds.): Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique, Commentaire. Vol. 1: Études d'introduction. Paris 2012 (Anagôgê 6), pp. 185–207.

11 Johnson: Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (note 6), Morlet (note 6), pp. 80–91.

Normen für einen Kanon der christlichen Bildung und Erziehung zu setzen unter Berücksichtigung von Vorstellungen altgriechischer bzw. heidnischer Bildung und althebräischer bzw. jüdischer Erziehung" (p. 72).

Theotikou's next chapter, "Der Umgang des Eusebios mit der griechischen Bildung in der *Historia Ecclesiastica*" (pp. 72–132), is the strongest in the book. The chapter emphasizes that Greek education is an all but essential prerequisite for Christian leaders. Eusebius, Theotikou shows, stresses education with his programmatic profile of Philo of Alexandria early in the *Historia*,[12] and then such Christians as Justin, Tatian, Pantaenus, Phileas of Thmuis, Heraclas of Alexandria, and Anatolius of Alexandria accumulate into a picture of Christian leaders across the Roman Empire who were also *pepaideumenoi*.[13] Some helpful nuance accompanies this thesis in Theotikou's reading of *Demonstratio Evangelica* 3.7, a hypothetical speech of the apostles in reply to Greek elites' contempt toward their lack of education that has been surprisingly understudied by scholars (pp. 92–96).[14] From this Theotikou asserts that, whereas the apostles had the Holy Spirit to enable them to win converts, post-apostolic Christians required the advanced education that was prerequisite to social influence in the Roman Empire. To be sure, Theotikou's assertion "dass es für Bischöfe und Theologen erforderlich war [*sic*] griechische Bildung zu bekommen und im Bereich der Rhetorik Kenntnisse zu haben" (p. 97) perhaps overstates the urgency of mastering *paideia*. Eusebius never claims advanced *paideia* for such prominent Christians as the second-century Levantine author Hegesippus (hist. eccl. 4.8.1–2, 4.22) or the Jerusalemite bishop Narcissus (hist. eccl. 6.9–10), and praises the theological

12 Cf. D. J. DeVore: Eusebius' Un-Josephan History: Two Portraits of Philo of Alexandria and the Sources of Ecclesiastical Historiography. In: Studia Patristica 66, 2013, pp. 161–179.

13 J. Corke-Webster: Eusebius and Empire: Constructing Church and Rome in the Ecclesiastical History. Cambridge 2019, pp. 89–120, 217–226 has demonstrated the existence of this network; see also D. J. DeVore: Character and Convention in the Letters of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. In Journal of Late Antiquity 7, 2014, pp. 223–252. One anachronism warrants notice: while Eusebius does emphasize Christian activity in a variety of cities in the Roman Empire, he nowhere acknowledges any exceptional reputation for education among the populations in Alexandria (cf. pp. 75–76) or Antioch (cf. p. 91).

14 One exception is D. S. Wallace-Hadrill: Eusebius of Caesarea. London 1960, pp. 98–99, and see Morlet (note 6), pp. 258–271. On apostolic as opposed to post-apostolic Christianity in Eusebius' thought, cf. DeVore: Time (note 5), pp. 590–603.

acuity of Bardaisan while stressing that he wrote in Syriac, attributing no Greek education to him (hist. eccl. 4.30).[15] Such cases of Christian non-*pepaideumenoi*, though, are clearly a minority in Eusebius' *Historia*, rendering an advanced Greek education if not necessary at least highly preferable.

In the same chapter Theotikou proceeds to a study of the most memorable Christian *pepaideumenos* in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Origen. Particularly notable in this section is the range of subjects that Eusebius praises in Christians' education: Hebrew, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and grammar as well as philosophy are all subjects worthy of Christian mastery to Eusebius (pp. 108–119), and Eusebius also emphasizes a danger of Greek education, its potential connection to heresy (pp. 119–125).[16] The chapter concludes with a reaffirmation, based on the characters of Origen and Malchion of Antioch (7.29), "dass die *egkyklios paideia* in der Spätantike als eine Art Vorbildung, also als *propaideia*, vermittelt wurde" (p. 132).

After a brief and helpful summary of her results about Eusebius (pp. 133–135), Theotikou concludes with a final substantive chapter, "Eusebios von Cäsarea und die (griechische) Bildung und Erziehung bei weiteren Kirchenvätern und Theologen" (pp. 135–162), that compares Eusebius' representation of education to those of Athanasius; the Cappadocians Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Basil of Caesarea; Epiphanius of Salamis; John Chrysostom; and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. While the chapter seems to be designed to show how representative Eusebius was of late-antique Christian thought, the chapter ends up classifying these thinkers according to whether their respective attitudes about Greek education were positive (the Cappadocians, Theodoret) or negative (Athanasius, Epiphanius, Chrysos-

15 Eusebius' assertion (hist. eccl. 6.9.6) that Narcissus had been "embracing the philosophical life a long time" (ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαζόμενος βίον) must refer to Narcissus' asceticism, not to advanced textual or doctrinal study; cf. Peter of Alexandria in hist. eccl. 7.32.31, 9.6.2. On Hegesippus, see C. Antonelli: Hégésippe chez Eusèbe. Histoire Ecclésiastique, IV, 21–22: Διαδοχή et origine des hérésies. In: Apocrypha 22, 2011, pp. 185–232; on Eusebius' representation of Bardaisan, see D. J. DeVore: Ambiguous Christians and Their Useful Texts. Tatian, Bardaisan, Symmachus, and Rhodon in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. In: ZAC, forthcoming.

16 Theotikou also notes the sometime trope of heresy as born of Greek philosophy at p. 53, and does not cite a revealing passage in support of the philosophy-heresy connection, Eusebius' lengthy quotation of the anonymous polemic the *Little Labyrinth* in hist. eccl. 5.28.

tom).[17] This binary may strike some readers as reductive, particularly after the preceding chapters have revealed ample nuance in Eusebius' thinking about *paideia*.

As I have noted above, the volume is a worthy and helpful first attempt at delineating Eusebius' thought about education comprehensively. Its philological orientation captures many important passages in which Eusebius directly addresses education and her analyses yielded many insights, this reviewer's quibbles with some evidentiary decisions and inferences notwithstanding. Indeed, the greatest overall shortcoming of the book is the organization; being arranged more by source than by theme, and lacking an index locorum, subject index, or cross-references, the book addresses some key topics in multiple passages and does not make it easy to find, for example, different passages about the relationship between education and heresy (pp. 53, 119–125, 147).

This reader, though, certainly hopes that other scholars supplement Theotikou's solid first study by addressing education across more Eusebian works. While Eusebius' *Generalis Elementaria Introductio* and *De Martyribus Palaestinae* are hazardous texts to study,[18] both clearly concern education and could enter analyses of Eusebius and education. Eusebius' biblical commentaries, gospel canons, and *Onomasticon* would surely also be usefully studied as edu-

17 In addition, this comparison solely of Christians to Eusebius constitutes a missed opportunity. The educational thought of such non-Christian fourth-century Hellenophone thinkers as the emperor Julian and Eunapius of Sardis seems worthy of comparison to Eusebius, particularly as Julian (like all of the thinkers whom Theotikou surveys) knew Eusebius' works, and Eunapius may have too: on Julian and Eusebius, see D. J. DeVore: On the Fourth-Century Reception of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. In: ChHist 92, 2023, forthcoming; on Eunapius' possible reaction against Eusebius, cf. F. P. Rizzo: "Sofisti" e "Santi". Due esemplarità a confronto nell'Impero Romano-Cristiano dei secoli IV e V d.C. In: CrSt 19, 1998, pp. 243–253.

18 The *Generalis Elementaria Introductio* still has no critical edition more recent than the *Patrologia Graeca*, much less a translation into any modern language, while the *De Martyribus Palaestinae* survives in two versions, a shorter but intact Greek version in some manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* that seems originally to have been intended as Eusebius' book 8 of the *Historia*, and an expanded version that survives in a complete Syriac translation along with some Greek fragments inserted into catenae.

cational aids.[19] The relationship between Origen's pedagogical practice and Eusebius' writings is also a potentially fertile field for study. Finally, scholars could compare the educational content of Eusebius' texts to Eusebius' educational practice. Hiding in plain sight is a corpus ripe for comparison with Eusebius: Eusebius of Emesa, a student of Eusebius and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, left about thirty sermons that survive mostly in Latin translation.[20] For all of the study of Eusebius as a pedagogical theorist and author, to my knowledge no scholar has studied how Eusebius of Caesarea might have educated his best-known student.

19 Cf. C. Markschies: Pagane Methoden und christliche Theologie bei der Exegese jüdischer Psalmen: Ein Blick auf den Pselmenkommentar des Eusebius von Caesarea. In: C. Frevel (ed.): "Mit meinem Gott überspringe ich eine Mauer": Interreligiöse Horizonte in den Psalmen und Psalmenstudien. Freiburg/Basel/Wien 2020, pp. 237–262; J. Coogan: Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity. New York 2022 (Cultures of Reading in the Ancient Mediterranean).

20 Sokr. hist.eccl. 2.9.3; Soz. hist. eccl. 3.6.2; see further DeVore: On the Fourth-Century Reception (note 17). Eusebius of Emesa's sermons have been collected in Latin translation by E. M. Buytaert (ed.): Eusèbe d'Émèse: Discours conservés en latin: Textes en partie inédits. 2 vols. Leuven 1953/1957 (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 26/27), and see R. E. Winn: Eusebius of Emesa: Church and Theology in the Mid-Fourth Century. Washington, DC 2011.

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Empfohlene Zitierweise

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