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BASIL THE GREAT: FAITH, MISSION AND DIPLOMACY IN THE SHAPING OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

ROUTLEDGE



Basil the Great: Faith, Mission and Diplomacy in the Shaping of Christian Doctrine

Regarded as one of the three hierarchs or pillars of orthodoxy along with Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom, Basil is a key figure in the formative process of Christianity in the fourth century. While his role in establishing Trinitarian terminology, as well as his function in shaping monasticism, his social thought and even his contribution to the evolution of liturgical forms have been the focus of research for many years, there are few studies which centre on his political thought. Basil played a major role in the political and religious life between Cappadocia and Armenia and was a key figure in the tumultuous relationship between Church and State in Late Antiquity. He was a great religious leader and a gifted diplomat, and developed a 'special relationship' with Emperor Valens and other high imperial officials.

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Preface

Strategies for communion

Regarded alongside Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom as one of the three ‘hierarchs’ or pillars of orthodoxy, Basil is a key figure in the shaping of Christianity in the fourth century. While his role in establishing Trinitarian terminology has been the focus of research for many years as well as his function in shaping monasticism, in his social thought and even in his contribution to the evolution of liturgical forms, there are few studies which throw light upon his political thought, this being understood as regarding general politics within the Roman empire of his time, in Basil’s problematic and atypical relationship with the emperor, Valens, but also in connection to Church politics.

Against this background, we have to consider Professor Dumitraşcu’s book and his contribution to contemporary scholarship. He is deemed to be one of the foremost Patristic scholars in Eastern Europe and internationally well known as his various articles and books bear witness. In the present work, he focuses on Basil’s diplomatic skills and strategies in the context of the presence of an emperor opposed to the Nicaean party and launching policies against this. Dumitraşcu privileges Basil’s letters as a genuine source for his strategies of impacting political power in favour of his own views. A highly significant contribution is the author’s insights into the relevance of the Armenian mission carried out by the Cappadocians on behalf of the emperor in the years 372–373.

Dumitraşcu articulates his study in four parts. In the first, he deals with the Cappadocian bishop’s confrontation with Valens in Epiphany 372 and what was at play. He is correct in seeing in this event as a highly significant one, a paradigmatic case of the (difficult) interaction between political and ecclesiastical powers. The difficulties and tensions that precede this conflictive meeting are analysed in detail as well as the consequences of this unexpected understanding of the leaders of opposition. The main consequence is the topic of the second chapter that deals with Basil’s relevant mission (in the name of the emperor!) to Armenia, which Dumitraşcu analyses in parallel with the two missions to Constantinople carried out by the Armenian catholicos Nerses a few years before (358–360). Nerses was a highly prominent leader operating within a conflictive relationship between church and state in Armenia between 353–373. The possibility of the

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influence of Basil's 'Basiliads' upon social institutions created by Nerses in Armenia after the year 368, are also taken here into consideration.

Highly interesting is the third part, where the author researches an essential aspect, not often taken into account when analysing epistolography: the practical problem of (material) communication. Indeed, bringing a letter to its addressee was a complex task due to the lack of an official postal service, the challenge of acquiring appropriate couriers (who were supposed to provide much more than simply delivering the letter), due to lack of ability, the vagaries of weather, and strong likelihood of theft and robbery, among others.

Finally, in the last chapter, Dumitraşcu summarises his previous points by proposing Basil as a 'model for Christian opinion leader'. Within this context, he considers Basil's attitude to Greek culture through a detailed presentation of his biography and then concluding by an analysis of *Ad adulescentes*, particularly of its addressees. Dumitraşcu delves into Basil's character as a leader in his responsibilities, especially towards those who were in different camps, and holding opposing views.

In many aspects, the book fills gaps in our knowledge not only of Basil, but of the churches of his time. In this regard, Basil can be deemed to be an 'ecumenist' *avant la lettre*, in the sense of his deep awareness of the problem of unity among the various local churches. As a matter of fact, the entire book focuses on Basil's strategies of achieving communion through letters to targeted officials of the imperial court, as also seen in his mission in Armenia towards the communion of churches. Not least is his mission to find common views in Greek *paideia*.

Among the huge bibliography referring to the Bishop of Caesarea, there are some included with connections to this book. Here I am referring among others to: Baudry, Bernardi, Fedwick, Gain, Garsoian, Hauschild, Pouchet, Ritter, Rousseau, Sterk, Uluhogian, Raymond van Dam. Nevertheless, none of these exactly covers the topic researched by the present book. Not least, this provides us with the particular views of Eastern European theologians.

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1 St Basil, Emperor Valens and Christianity in Cappadocia

The fourth century is unique in the history of the universal Church. Then took place the most important events, the First Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, 325) and the Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381), then lived the most well-known Church Fathers, and were written some of the most important theological works of all time. Moreover, at that time, the most interesting meetings between emperors and bishops took place which marked the evolution of relations between State and Church: imperial power and religious authority. Among them is also included the famous confrontation between Emperor Valens, who ruled in the Balkan and Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, and St Basil, the uncontested leader of the church in Cappadocia and probably the most complex personality of the Christian world of the time. To better understand the importance and short and long-term consequences of such a meeting, on church life from the empire and, especially from Cappadocia, a brief overview of the evolution of military and religious policy of the time will be necessary.

Brief historical insight

After the death of Emperor Constantine the Great (337) a desperate struggle took place between his three sons to monopolise all power, although each received a significant part of the territory of the empire and, they would have had undoubtedly, enough reasons to work together for the good of the state. The eldest, Constantine II, received the provinces of Gaul, Britain and Spain, with the capital at Augusta Treverum (Trier), Constantius II received the prefectures of Egypt, Orient, Asia and Pontus, with the capital at Constantinople, and to Constans was entrusted Italy, Africa, Pannonia, Illyricum and Thrace, with the capital at Sirmium.¹

Unfortunately, their personal ambitions, intrigues, lack of political and proper social preparation, dictatorial behaviour and outright involvement in the church's policies, brought them into conflict and made them to lose the popular and military support that was given to their father. None of them achieved the dignity and glory of their father. Two sons, Constantine II and Constans, died too young to be able to demonstrate any qualities, and the third, Constantius II, although he reached at the time of his maturity, he tried to find his own place in the history of the Roman Empire.²

2 St Basil and the history of his royal meeting(s): two authorities in confrontation

While Emperor Valens was engaged at the Danube frontier, St Basil consolidated his position, becoming the most authoritative ‘clerical voice’ in Cappadocia. His theological knowledge, his remarkable personality, as well as his wealth and social rank must have played an important part in this respect. In the year 368 Cappadocia was faced with a great famine, and St Basil succeeded in bringing comfort to the poor by selling a part of his fortune.¹

In spite of this, when the time came for his election as Bishop of Caesarea, after the death of Eusebius, he still had to face many difficulties. He had many enemies, both of a lay and clerical order. Among his supporters were the elderly bishop Gregory of Nazianzus and Eusebius of Samosata who were openly supportive at the synod.²

It seems reasonable to assume that the opposition came first of all from the aristocrats of Caesarea, who had been disturbed by St Basil’s assistance of the poor by selling a part of his own inheritance.³ He was therefore identifying with them, and his example could well have brought upon a shift in the relationship between the wealthy landowners and the people who worked on their estates, resulting in riots or rebellion.

There is also the opinion that St Basil would have had *objectors within the monks* who were concerned about the fact that he did not pronounce himself against the new Pneumatomachian heretics. It is known that the monks were the staunchest supporters of the Nicæan Creed,⁴ and St Basil’s friendships with some of the Semi-Arian bishops could lead to suspicions regarding his orthodoxy.⁵ An explanation of the situation is evident in his Church policy, one in which diplomacy played an extremely important part. St Basil wanted to maintain relationships with many hierarchs who were still hesitating to choose between orthodoxy and Semi-Arianism, convinced that inflaming religious atmosphere in the territory would not have been in his favour both from the point of view of Emperor Valens and of the majority of the dignitaries from his court. Therefore, without ‘trumpeting’ his opinions, but remaining strongly attached to Nicæan values, he tried to convince the undecided and to avoid stirring up people in opposition to himself. But it was difficult for those who lived in seclusion or in monastic communities far from the noise and complexities of life in the cities of the empire to understand such a position, where other laws, created according to other principles, functioned.⁶

3 St Nerses the Great, Armenia and his blessed mission

The history of Christianity has recorded the famous controversy between St Basil and the Emperor Valens over the relationship, in terms of the exercise of authority, between the Church of Cappadocia and imperial power, in which periods of both tension and stability were experienced. But there has been only a brief mention of the existence of a certain understanding, a certain compromise reached by the two, after which Valens ceased his persecution against Basil and the latter agreed to make a missionary trip to Armenia, as a delegate of the emperor. The declared aim was to put the religious life of the Armenian dioceses in order, but it seems that the mission also had a political purpose. Armenia was, over time, in the area of influence of both the Eastern Roman Empire and the Persian Empire. Therefore, in order to better understand the importance of this trip, we will analyse, in the first part of this chapter, the life and work of another great father of that era, St Nerses the Great. It is known that he was a contemporary of St Basil and, in the view of many people, was influenced directly or indirectly by the Bishop of Cappadocia and the Church from this great Christian province.

St Nerses the Great in the Armenian historiography

Nerses was one of the most important hierarchs of the Armenian Church, or, rather, one of the great leaders, both religious and political, of Armenia.

We have no information as to the date and place of his birth, but this is unsurprising, because the same is also true of Armenian kings. The lack of the Armenian alphabet (written language) which was made only in the early fifth century,¹ means that we have to try to reconstruct a chronology of the life of political and religious leaders of Armenia in the early centuries, using, especially, the information recorded in the writings of Roman and Persian historians, contemporary with the persons concerned and, of course, witnesses to the events in which they took part.² In addition we will also use two Armenian sources, but these were produced much later and contain a great many uncertainties and non-synchronisations both in date and location.³

If we can only approximate the date of his birth (most likely around 325, year of the First Council of Nicaea) we know with certainty that he was ‘great-great-grandson of Gregory the Illuminator’.⁴ More specifically, he was the son of

4 St Basil the Great and his mission in Armenia

The interest of Emperor Valens in Armenia was of a strategic order, because both the Byzantines and the Persians often interfered in the home affairs of this country. The Armenians had formally been converted to Christianity by the end of the 3rd century by St Gregory the Illuminator, who was ordained in Caesarea of Cappadocia and who later became their religious leader,¹ which determined very close relations between the Church of Caesarea of Cappadocia and the Church of Armenia. Consequently, St Basil's involvement in the organisation of the Armenian Church should not seem surprising as he was someone who could establish a connection between the Cappadocian Orthodoxy to which St Gregory belonged traditionally and the Christian Armenian community itself, his homeland.

However, Emperor Valens was Arian. He was one of the fiercest persecutors of the Nicæan Creed, while St Basil was a true follower of the Athanasius of Alexandria, who, in spite of the hardships suffered, had defended unflinchingly the divine humanity of Jesus Christ. It may seem surprising that there was cooperation between a great Orthodox bishop and an Arian Emperor, enemies in faith, but allies in keeping under semi-control a region located in the vicinity of an empire that promoted religious dualism. How could Basil agree to discuss the terms of a common action with a person who 'ordered the exile of 80 Christians, bishops and laymen alike because they had protested against the designation of a notorious Arian, Demophilus, as the bishop of Constantinople, and once they had embarked on the ship, gave an order to set the ship on fire?'²

Preparation of the mission of St Basil in Armenia

Many would say that beyond the numerous qualities that defined Basil as a manifold personality, excelling in all the activities he performed,³ he also had one more: he was a distinguished *religious diplomat*; he knew when and what to say, he could use any context in favour of the Church he served so faithfully and devotedly. He knew that, by accepting a mission entrusted to him by an Emperor, even an Arian one, he would succeed not only in consolidating his position but also his authority.

The most important source, if partial, for reading about the meetings and discussions between the Bishop of Caesarea with Valens is represented by the

5 St Basil's church missionary strategy and society

St Basil and the beginning of his ecclesiastical mission

In a period in which the Church was faced with major internal problems, primarily caused by the Arian political and religious leaders (more interested in the unity of their empire on earth rather than the unity of the Church), the appearance of an educated missionary cleric, open to dialogue and communication, sympathetic to human failings, but with a firm faith and convictions, represented a huge challenge. When the bishops were proving (in a significant number) to have divided loyalties, when kings were attracted more by aberrations than by the 'Word of Truth', when the only defenders of the Nicæan faith were despatched on far-flung exiles, when the orthodox believers could be easily manipulated, it was really difficult to find genuine leaders to coagulate combine all Nicæan forces.

The years after the first ecumenical synod of Nicæa (325 A.D.) led to a regrouping of Arian forces, under similar names and doctrines, designed to forge a formula for compromise between the Orthodox party and the other Christian factions, as were the decisions of Serdica synods or the four formulas from Sirmium.¹ None of them, however, led to the relief in the tension that persisted with the world church at that time. A person was required who possessed outstanding diplomatic skills, deeply rooted in the apostolic and post-apostolic tradition, raised in the spirit of sacrifice of the martyrs in periods of persecution, educated in the great schools of history, aware of the value of prayer and sacrifice for one's neighbour, stable in their confession, yet balanced and conciliatory in dialogue. The great bishop of Caesarea, St Basil, fitted the missionary challenge as no-one else could.

The ascetic, the theologian and society

After his journeys to the Middle East, St Basil retired to his small property in Annesi,² in a family house, to lead a life of silent asceticism, where in search of self, through prayer and contemplation, he could study the Holy Scripture and the work of the great parents of the Church.³ Yet something troubled him. He could not completely separate himself from the challenges of the society he had known so well; he was interested in people and their problems, he listened carefully to the stories of those who came to visit him, about the theological controversies of

6 Mission and counter-mission in St Basil's correspondence

St Basil remained in the consciousness of all those who came into contact with his work and life as a person endowed with a multitude of qualities. His remarkable achievements in a period of great upheaval are recorded in historical sources and have transformed him into a true legend for posterity.

Considering the extraordinary power of the word transmitted through any form of communication, one of the most interesting aspects of his work refers to the way in which messages are sent to society. He was a fine psychologist who knew how to use all the means of communication of the time to keep in touch with the other Nicaean clergy, and the most important of these was *the sending of letters* by means of highly experienced couriers. If the recipients were also trustworthy people whom he knew personally or through common friends, and if they were also from the same province of Cappadocia, then things were undoubtedly simplified and the chance that his plans would be carried out successfully was much greater. Unfortunately, in many cases he had to confront dishonest and duplicitous people who developed a counter mission which threatened the unity and prosperity of the Church of God.

Messengers and their challenges

The rapid succession of political and religious events of this 'golden century' of Christianity has 'made history' allowing both the Church hierarchy and the people to seek the best and fastest means of communication between them, and the most inventive and gifted at this was St Basil. He developed a peerless epistolary mission theology, both for his innate diplomatic skills, aided by a science of composition, logic and argumentation, which he acquired during the time of his studies, and also because of periods of illness which restricted him to bed for months on end. Since he was not as mobile as he might have wished, he developed a network of communication through letters that allowed him to stay in contact with his supporters, clerics and lay people. Through his correspondence, he could also attempt to resolve conflict within the Church, to preserve unity of faith and transmit important messages to the Church for the clarification of doctrinal issues or of aspects of social life.¹

The process of communication by letter was not without of danger, or indeed, risk of death for messengers. They were required to be persons of trust and

7 St Basil and St Athanasius, epistles and the unity of the church

In the second half of the fourth century, the Church was in major crisis. Although, at the first ecumenical council of Nicaea in 325, the truth of the identity of the Son with the Father, encapsulated by the well-known formula *homoousios to patri*, had triumphed. After the death of the Emperor Constantine the Great and the division of the empire between his three sons, there began a process of relativisation of the importance of complying with the judgements at Nicaea. Gradually, little by little, an ambiguous formula was propagated, that is, the Son is *like* the Father, which should not agitate any Christian sect, or at least to leave room for discussion and ‘negotiation.’ Of course, this formula, with its various nuances of expression, founded on Eusebians, Marcelians, Acacians, Eudoxians, Eunomians, and many others, did not really benefit anyone, instead it opened the way for doctrinal struggles that lasted for several decades at least. That is how, despite the attempts of the great hierarchs and theologians of the fourth century to bring peace among Christians, the Church went through an unprecedented crisis; synods convened in various places in the West – and particularly in the East – whether Rome (341), Antioch (341 and 345), Serdica (343–344), Sirmium (351, 357 and 358),¹ Rimini (359) and Seleucia (359) or Constantinople (360), to which could be added many other creeds, made in other synods or local assemblies, proposed or imposed by certain church leaders, supported by the local or imperial authorities, all failed to bring peace within the Church.

St Basil and his ecumenical vision of unity

St Basil could not remain indifferent to the destruction of ecclesiastical unity due to the obtuseness or the petty interests of some, the malice, or simply the ignorance of others. Shortly after his election to the metropolitan seat of Caesarea, he developed his missionary strategy for defending the truths the Nicæan creed: a prodigious correspondence, elaborated in a balanced ecumenical manner, which included all the Eastern and Western hierarchs. He probably felt alone many times, but the faith in God and the triumph of his sincere evangelical love in spite of the indifference servitude of some of his colleagues, gave him hope that his actions would sooner or later contribute to a settlement of misunderstandings within the Church and to establishing a natural climate of peace and collaboration.

8 Christ, religious leader and communities

St Basil was undoubtedly one of the most famous fathers of the universal Church. Hierarch and devoted pastor of souls, theologian and scientist, monk by vocation and wise missionary, he left a huge spiritual heritage behind him which, unfortunately, has probably never been harnessed to its fullest potential. Church historians and all those interested in the patristic world explored almost exclusively, his theological work, his role in preserving and strengthening the Nicene faith, or his social and pastoral missionary activity, but less his diplomatic art put to the service of witnessing the Gospel of Christ in a society marked by religious and social inequalities, where an instinct for survival was more important than truth. Aware of the mission entrusted to him by God, St Basil proposed to his contemporaries the model of an authentic Christian leader who can create, with wisdom and humility, but also with authority, a bridge between two cultures apparently irreconcilable, the Christian and the pagan, that complete each other, rather than exclude or reject each other.

Building leadership in church and society

St Basil openly undertook a mission of great courage, which was regarded with circumspection and surprise by some, including his colleague Gregory, or with a kind of disguised admiration by others, whether we are talking about his friends from the imperial court, or even of his opponents led by Emperor Valens. He tried and succeeded to keep a balance of power between Church and State, despite adverse political and religious conditions. He cultivated friendships with significant public or military positions, he mediated the majority of the conflicts in the Church, he bore all the unfounded criticism which came from his opponents both within and without; all with humility, believing that his power and wisdom came directly from God, through an inner illumination and through the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Besides, all his activities are in the service of the Church, but not just of the institution itself, but also of the people who are clearly part of it. He tried to meet the challenges faced by those who seek God, or, on the contrary, deny Him and despise His will. For those people, he himself had to approach the truth with all his being, then to live this truth, and later to express it, to interpret and to support it without any restraint. Only in this way he could transmit the faith to others, but also

9 St Basil and his diplomacy toward the Greek culture

Although it might seem strange that there is a relationship between St Basil's attitude toward the Greek culture and what we have already called in this work his *ecclesiastical diplomacy*, this should not surprise, but rather inspire us. Let us recall that once he ascended to the imperial throne, Julian completely forgot his first contacts with the Church of Christ, and sought by all means to destabilise the roots of Christianity and instead restore the rule of pagan culture.¹ Julian's adopted strategy was – we must recognise it! – highly effective, namely, prohibition of any form of Christian education in schools of the empire, being convinced that during a generation, Christianity would lose its importance or would completely disappear.²

There was the danger of the systematic replacement of the Christian faith with one polytheistic religion,³ or, at best, with a mystical Neo-Platonic religion.⁴ In this context, a strong response from the Church was needed. But was it wise for Basil to openly oppose the new imperial policy, or perhaps better to seek a compromise? And if so, what kind of compromise? Clearly, one which on the one hand would not expose the Church (and implicitly its Christians) to more severe sanctions, that could go to the restoration of the persecution, and on the other hand, to assure the preservation of doctrinal identity and the freedom to perform Christian rituals and take part in worship. Basil found a suitable antidote for this new challenge faced by the Church, namely: to promote not a *compromise*, but rather a *conciliation* between the value systems of the two traditions, paganism and Christianity.⁵ It was an appropriate response because it came from someone who knew them both very well. The principle underlying his entire argument is discovering, understanding and exploiting the moral precepts from the works of the pagan authors in a Christian spirit.⁶

However, the question arises: how could a champion of orthodoxy, a figure almost legendary for the whole history of the universal Church, display such an indulgent attitude towards the classical pagan literature, while St John Chrysostom, another great student of the famous Libanius, chose to manifest much more caution or indifference, even if he did not declare that he was an opponent of the pagan culture?⁷

It is possible that for some Basil's attitude seems to be odd, incomprehensible, even reprehensible, but, as we shall see, truly it is prophetic, visionary and

10 The art and the value of teaching leaders of the future

St Basil studied Greek literature, poetry and philosophy intensely, as well as Greek legends and histories. His encyclopaedic knowledge of these sources can be seen very clearly in the *Address to Young Men on Reading Greek Literature*. By studying the sources Basil cites, one can create an index of the works studied by him during his student years, especially in his years at Athens. Moreover, the fact that in most cases he uses the indirect method of citation shows how well Basil knew those works. He does not reproduce the text literally, but paraphrases and analyse it in a personal manner, which shows us the ease with which he could ‘move’ between different genres. St Basil was a master of the rhetorical sciences. He knew how to build each argument, so that the message of his speech reached his listeners in a pure state, untainted, and, set his detractors at a disadvantage from the outset.

Short introduction

Basil says that his intention to teach young people how to choose their path in life, how to distinguish between right and wrong, how to make the most appropriate choices, is based on his knowledge gained by his own experience regarding human affairs.¹ He does not speak to them about topics he does not know nor impose on them certain restrictions in their education, but suggests that they cherish any source of information, as did he, convinced that sooner or later all additional knowledge, will help them unravel the mysteries of the secret teachings from Holy Scripture.² He does not forget, however, to warn them that they must learn the art of selection, to allow no pagan author, no matter how famous, to take over their minds, because it would be extremely dangerous and harmful for their entire existence.³ He urges them to remain awake and not to confuse the little things of this life with the great joys brought by the eternal life, about which however, he does not venture to speak too much, due to the lack of preparation and the youth of his audience. To talk about the hidden truths of the Holy Scripture, the ultimate goal of any educated Christian who is aiming for a public or church position in the future, his young listeners needed a gradual preparation, to master all means of persuasion and communication characteristic to the intellectual duel, to attain self-control in the process of discernment of what can be useful for them in this world, as a foretaste of the indescribable goodness of the eternal life.⁴ That is why

General Conclusions

St Basil is a true institution of the early Christian Church. None of what happened in the life of Christians was alien to him whether we refer to cult, church organization, monastic and social life, politics, art, science, education, mission or diplomacy. A person so complex that any attempt to describe him represents a great challenge. During the writing of this volume, which does not specifically refer to St Basil's theology, although inevitably, in some contexts, I had to bear in mind his contribution to the development of the Trinitarian terminology, I faced an unusual situation. The more I studied the life and activity of St Basil, the more I had the feeling that I knew less and less. That is why I have postponed publication of this book for several years. Gradually, I began to understand why I had this feeling and became used to it. I was in an unknown universe that looked more and more like a labyrinth; every time I felt that I was close to the exit, another room opened before me. I decided to stop, to write down what I learned and to prepare for yet another adventure that might eventually bring me towards the light. It will probably be an even longer journey, but I hope to have as my companion St Basil himself, to whom I will pray for illumination on the path and to reveal to me the mysteries of his miraculous life. It is very difficult to emphasise the most important features of St Basil's personality because they are part of a unique combination, each facet shines in its own way, yet at the same time defines and completes them. However, I have tried in this study to highlight some of them, with the risk of exposing myself to the criticism that I may have been somewhat limited.

St Basil was a *diplomat of the highest order* in a world dominated by cruelty, in which law was overruled by the will of the Emperor. Understanding that alone one could not achieve anything, he sought allies both at the Imperial Court and in the offices of the Prefect. He developed and maintained connections with powerful military figures, representatives of central and local government, governors in positions of power who could exert significant political and religious influence, and, of course, with his own colleagues, Bishops, whether friends or enemies.

In critical situations, when his life might depend on the caprice of the Emperor, or on a hasty decision, given as advice by his adversaries, only his strong belief in God's guidance and his own diplomatic talent saved him. The most eloquent example of this is undoubtedly the meeting with Emperor Valens in the