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ABSTRACT

Christian Education and the Three Hierarchs : St Basil the Great,
St Gregory the Theologian and St John Chrysostom.

by Gerald Fitzpatrick.

This study seeks firstly, to outline the world of education as experienced by Basil, Gregory and John, and show that although they had received the traditional Classical education, they nevertheless succeeded in producing and working within a synthesis in which the best of the old structure of education provided a model for the new and allowed it to take its place as the only successor in the fight to establish the Christian paideia and an education for salvation.

Secondly, it has been possible to show that in their writings they were able to highlight various areas of educational concern and to demonstrate that each was dependent for its success upon pursuing Christian virtue achieved only through a conscious ability to judge between that which is of value and which will lead to salvation and that which must be rejected as worthless, whether of pagan philosophy or merely materialistic and secular learning.

Implicit in this process is the theory of knowledge and the gaining of wisdom which as a gift from God had illuminated the Greek paideia and which enabled the new Christian education to reach its full potential together with the corollary of the development of a system of Christian social values as can be seen in Basil's 'Address to Young Men on How They Might Derive Benefit from Greek Literature', and John's 'Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children.'

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE THREE HIERARCHS : ST BASIL THE
GREAT, ST GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN AND ST JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

BY

GERALD FITZPATRICK B. A.

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M. A. Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of Arts

Durham University

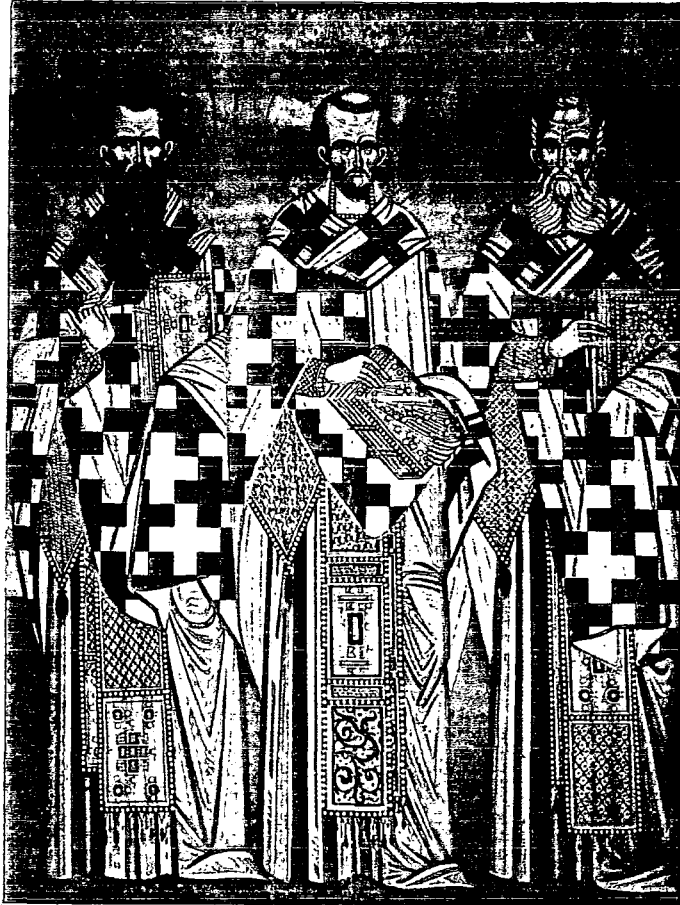
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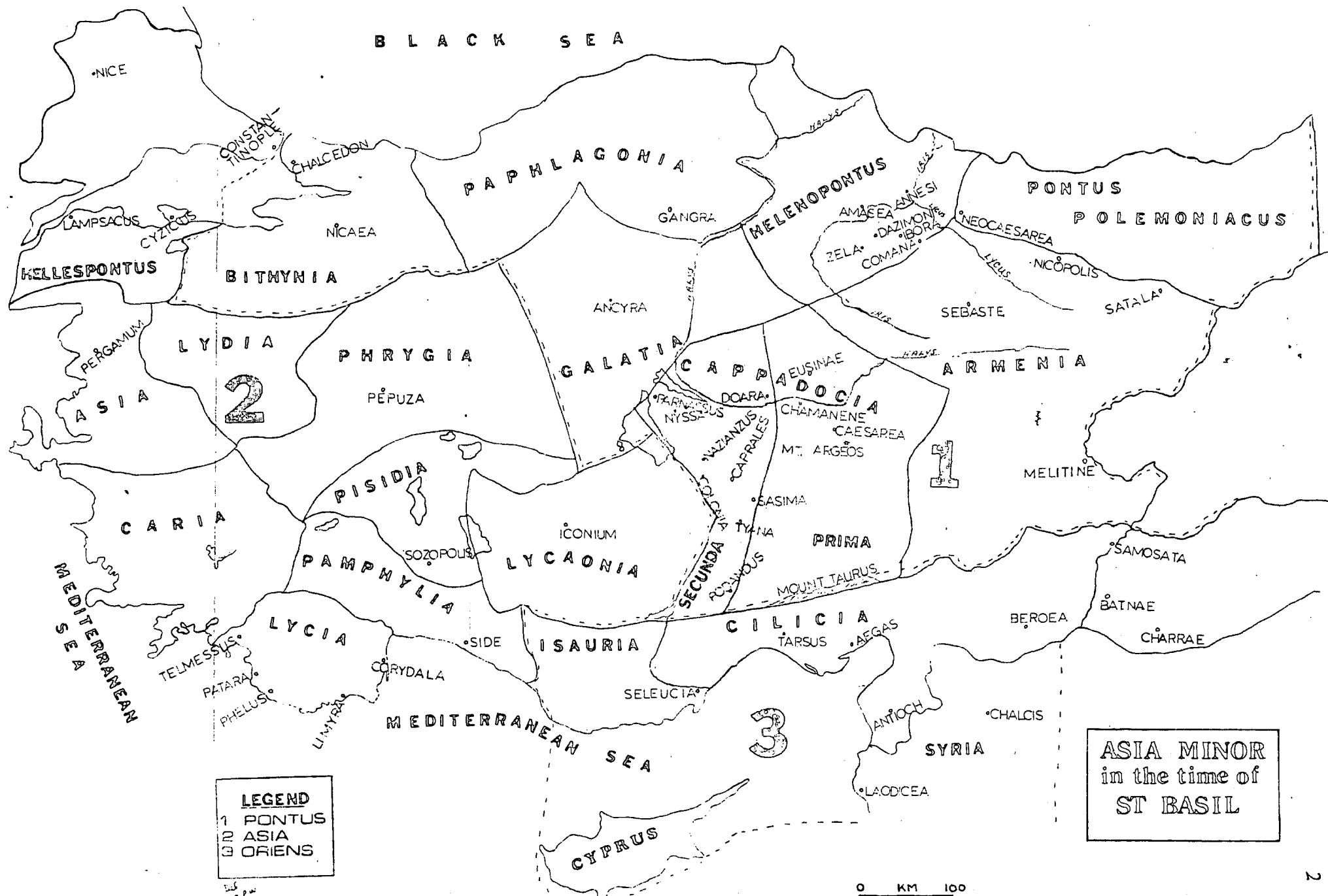
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THE THREE HIERARCHS

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BLACK SEA

NICE

CONSTANTINOPLE

CHALCEDON

PAPHLAGONIA

GANGRA

MELENOPONTUS

PONTUS

POLEMONIACUS

KELLESPOINTUS

BITHYNIA

NICAEA

AMÆEA ANESI
ZELA
COMANE
DZIMON
BORA

NEOCAESAREA

NICOPOLIS

SEBASTE

SATALA

LYDIA

PHRYGIA

GALATIA

ANCYRA

CAPPADOCIA

ARMENIA

ASIA

2

PEPUZA

PARHISIUS
NYSSUS

AEUSINAE

DOARA
CHAMANENE
CAESAREA

1

MELITINE

CARIA

PISIDIA

LYCAONIA

ICONIUM

WAZIANZUS
CARRALES

SASIMA

TYANA

PRIMA

SAMOSATA

PAMPHYLIA

SOZOPOLIS

ISAURIA

SELEUCIA

CILICIA

MOUNT TAURUS
TARSUS
AEGAS

BEROEA

BATNAE

CHARRAE

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

LYCIA

TELMESSUS
PATARA
PHELLUS

CORYDALA

SIDE

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

3

ANTIOCH

SYRIA

CHALCIS

LAODICEA

CYPRUS

LEGEND
 1 PONTUS
 2 ASIA
 3 ORIENS

0 KM 100

ASIA MINOR
 in the time of
 ST BASIL

PREFACE.

I first became interested in the role of the three Hierarchs as the educators of the Christian world while looking for a way of deepening my understanding of Orthodox Christianity, having joined the Greek Orthodox Community in Nottingham in 1980.

Fortuitously, I met Father George Dragas, who was in Lincoln to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the cathedral, and he suggested that a study might be undertaken in the area of Christian education which was particularly relevant as I had been in the field of education for many years.

I was very pleased therefore, to be accepted by the Department of Theology at Durham University and to have Father George as my guide through the complexities of my task.

My efforts have been greatly assisted by the support given me by Leicestershire Education Authority and Belvoir High School who made it possible for me to accept a Schoolmaster Fellowship being offered by Collingwood College, University of Durham, for the Michaelmas term 1986, enabling me to research a substantial proportion of my primary sources. It has also been invaluable to have been able to use the facilities of Nottingham University library.

The discipline of home-based study makes many demands and I would like to thank my wife for her patience and encouragement.

Also, I owe a great deal to the spiritual support of my priest, Father Proterios Pavlopoulos, and his celebration of the Divine Liturgies of St Basil and St John Chrysostom.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

1.1 The Three Hierarchs

'The teachers of the ecumene', 'the depths of wisdom', 'the golden mouths of God', 'the three great luminaries of the three Suns of the Godhead...' such are some of the titles attributed in the Greek Orthodox liturgical books to the three Orthodox saints, St Basil the Great, St Gregory Nazianzen and St John Chrysostom, who are known as the Three Hierarchs and who appear together on their icon as the patron saints of Christian education.

It was not until the reign of Alexios Comnenos (1081-1118) that in order to put an end to the constant bickering of the supporters of each as to their preeminence that the bishop of Euchaita, John Mavropous established January 30th as a combined feast day, in their memory. (1) But what was the connecting link between them which perpetuated their joint role as the educators of Orthodox Christendom?

The answer must lie firstly, in the way that they responded to the problems which Christians had with the education prevalent during their time. The great pagan schools of Athens, Antioch and Alexandria, were still operating and the great poets, philosophers and dramatists were still the staple diet of higher education. There was a genuine concern as to the degree to which a Christian could subscribe and use the pagan classics and by no means any general consensus of opinion amongst the Christian



teachers during this time as what should be accepted and what rejected. (2) Secondly, the whole fabric of the Church was rent with the vicissitudes of all pervading Arianism, and a programme of religious education was essential to combat it. As J.H. Newman says, '...these countries [Illyricum down to Egypt] were by the middle of the fourth century, in a deplorable state of religious ignorance.' (3)

St Basil, St Gregory and St John succeeded in delineating the area between pagan and Christian learning and in so doing ensured the survival of all that was of inestimable value inherent in the concepts of the Greek Paideia and Christian Hellenism. They not only provided the basis of Orthodox doctrine but also enabled the Christian scholar to come to terms with, and be familiar with all contemporary thought both secular and religious. Rather than Classical Greek wisdom being a barrier, through the Three Hierarchs, it became one of the paths through which the creation was better known as the work of God. 'For the Classical Greek tradition was the specific body of scientific and philosophical discourse that was available to them in their time. This tradition they studied and they cherished, defending it with vigour ...' (4)

1.2. The Greek Paideia.

It is necessary at this stage to remind ourselves firstly of what this 'paideia' consisted, and secondly to say briefly at what stage classical education was and with what did it deal

during the fourth century. To illustrate the use of the word 'paideia', we must look briefly at the growth of the concept of Hellenism because they are intimately linked.

Most groups of people: tribes, races and nations, have their peculiar and recognisable culture, often confined to a geographical area. Language and social customs become the marks of recognition that there is present a sense of community. (5) In the case of the Hellenic peoples, originally the same criteria would apply, but there developed an awareness that there was a further strata which was capable of being above and unconfined by local boundaries. That this was not concerned with economic survival or local political affairs but was capable of universalization, - that all over the Greek speaking world, regardless of dialect, language was being used to express universal ideas: the theories and questions concerning the problems of human existence. The Greeks were able to stand back from creation and ask questions about the human condition as the predicate of being born into the human race. (6) It is natural that it is only within the structure of literature, poetry and drama that these questions could be asked, and therefore, be continued in the realm of philosophy and education. (7)

There grew up a sense of intellectual superiority, or enlightenment, that by assimilating the best of the surrounding cultures and subjecting them to the anvil of Greek thought and self-awareness, it [the Greek Paideia] would become the vehicle of rewarding living. It would carry with it the allegorical lessons of Homeric myth; the debate between spirit and matter and

the refinement of language so that it might adequately express the human condition as contained in the work of Euripides and Sophocles and the oration to the people of Athens by Pericles, of loyalty, duty and the responsibilities of public office. It was the creation and growth of what Werner Jaeger calls 'the Greek Soul'. (8)

As Plato explained in The Laws, '...we are not speaking of education in this narrower sense, but of that other education [paideia] in virtue and ...the ideal of perfect citizenship ...how rightly to rule and obey.' (9)

Therefore in this word 'paideia' are included many aspects of the movement forward of human values which serve to modify excess, but do not permit anything but a positive attitude in the field of education and the development of human sensitivity.

It must be said that the Greek world was not unanimous as to the definition of 'paideia': Plato, in 'The Republic,' rejected Homer's and Hesiod's work as part of the 'paideia', i.e. as expressing the truth, whereas the Stoics looked upon the works of the above authors as the basis for their norm, hence their creation of a system of allegory to defend them from the charge of blasphemy and thereby brought the concept of literalness and its opposition in metaphor to the notice of the world. (10) But notwithstanding this argument Menander could say 'Of all human things the greatest is "paideia"'. (11) Indeed Werner Jaeger makes the point that what is so unique about the Greek paideia, is that it 'also took into account the influence of the object of learning'. That is, 'if we regard education as a process of shaping

or forming.' From the Homeric base it came to mean all literature which led in turn to the development of the 'liberal arts'. Finally it arrived in the Platonic idea of philosophy, which 'became identical with 'paideia' itself on its highest level.' (12)

Classical Greek education with its special role as the 'cutting edge' of the 'paideia', is a subject which has filled many volumes. Having made some general points concerning the latter, I would like to refer any further discussion to such excellent works as 'Education in Antiquity' by Henri Marrou (13) and concentrate here on its condition between the years AD 329 and AD 407.

1.3. The Christian Paideia. (4th Century AD)

A Christian teacher in the fourth century could no more escape from his immersion in the 'paideia', which was Hellenic education, than could Mahatma Gandhi be unaffected by the influence of the British Raj. His language, his upbringing and his world view would be absorbed in the intellectual power that permeated life from York to the Punjab. He would be differentiated as a teacher from the mass of the populace, by his awareness of the power of that influence instead of merely living in it, as was the pagan teacher. Teachers such as St Basil and St John Chrysostom 'managed to reach a remarkable level of personal culture, which they spread abroad ...' while making the best of the pagan educational environment. (14)

On the pagan side, "Christianity was proving to be a different 'being' from Judaism, because not only did it not seek rapprochement with the civil authorities, but it had no compunction in using Hellenism to gain intellectual credibility while combatting the religious basis of that Hellenism, i.e. the worship (however rich and varied in content) of the pagan deities and the state. (15) In pagan education, there was the prime element of religion which posited that there was an immortality which was achieved through education because the higher the level of personal culture achieved, the better the rewards of the after-life. 'Paideia', here, was 'a heavenly game won through the nobility of the soul. It is possible and fervently hoped that the Elysian Fields may be gained through cultured talk and gracious intellectual activity' (i.e. the eternal spring of 'Axiochus'.) (16).

In R.L. Nettleship's review of Plato's theory of education, we read, 'We know in our time, what a difference it may make in the spirit and working of an educational method, whether the idea with which it starts is that of culture or of training, or of useful accomplishment...' (17) Thus Plato looked upon education as the nurture of the soul. The spiritual was preeminent. He also states that individual culture gained through classical education seemed 'the most precious boon ever granted to mortal man.' (18)

However it would be a serious error to imagine that the concept of 'paideia' was of fixed definition and standard but it would be true to say that the idealism of Plato and Isocrates was very different from that of the time of the Three Hierarchs.

Philosophy, while retaining its labels was corrupted by the desperate need to appear relevant. It assumed the role of a forum for the discussion of salvation and the problems of morality rather than as the propounder of the ideals of wisdom, truth and beauty. The objective was giving way to the subjective polemic of current issues as well as being corrupted by the contentions of the disciples of 'Cybele, Isis and Mithras'. (19) Cato the Censor, criticised Greek culture 'for carrying the poisonous germs of "softness" and immorality.' (20)

1.4. The Decay of the Greek Paideia

In fact this undermining was a general malaise which had its roots in such events as the raising of crippling taxes to pay for the security of the borders of the empire and continuous rivalry between political factions. The lot of the working man was indeed a bitter one. Strict rules were imposed, without regard for area, to control the price of a vast list of goods. The result was that the comparative good life of the merchant became 'a veritable hell on earth,' torture was no longer the preserve of the slave and as Lactantius states, it was 'equally expensive to live as to die.' (21) In this atmosphere religion became corrupted by the growth of oriental cults which often relied heavily on the occult and astrology.

That the 'paideia' was sick was equally obvious to pagan and Christian alike, but the awareness of the problem did nothing to alleviate it, although attempts were made on two fronts to

improve matters with a third factor underpinning them of which Christian teachers were particularly conscious. (22)

In Hellenistic Rome the senatorial class (i.e. the class of well educated men) undertook to transcribe the Classic literature and disseminate it in the schools. M.L.W. Laistner says 'with great fervour.' Their efforts were complimented by the 'third factor' which was the tenacious loyalty to the old forms of belief through all social levels. 'The evidence for this is abundant and unequivocal' - despite repeated warnings from the bishops. He goes on to say, 'Nevertheless such practices and beliefs continued and were still being denounced in the sixth century and later.' (23)

The case of the Emperor Julian (361--363), is of a different order. He was a man of considerable ability both administratively and on the field. A man who thought he knew the error inherent in the 'Galileans' and also realised that the method by which to achieve the renaissance of classical learning and at the same time reduce to nothing the power of the Christians, was to control the schools, the teachers and the curriculum. (24)

His main thrust was to issue, in 362, three related directives. The first, on May 12th, laid out the duties of school teachers. The second, on June 17th, asked that the selection of teachers by the 'curiales' should be confirmed by the 'optime'. They were to be what they should be, i.e. models of morality and eloquence. These confirmations then should be sent personally to himself!

The duties of the teacher, as Julian saw them, were summed up in his ability to inculcate in his pupils a healthy attitude of mind so they could distinguish between good and evil, what was

proper and what was not. Nothing that was contrary to the Hellenic tradition should be taught, while the authors of ancient literature should be properly respected as inspired by the gods, in fact as C.N.Cochrane puts it, Julian's view was 'the formation of a classical ideology.' (25)

His final and, at last, open attack on Christian teachers was a condemnation on the charge of hypocrisy: that 'when a man thinks one thing and teaches his pupils another, in my opinion, he fails to educate exactly in proportion as he fails to be an honest man.' Of course he means the Christian teacher who uses Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes and Isocrates who, in his opinion is the hypocrite ...because he dishonours the gods by so doing. (26)

Julian's aim now becomes clear, 'It was to close the secular schools to all Christian teachers. They must either abandon their belief in Christianity, and return to belief in the old pagan gods, or cease to teach.' Thus eventually the cultural stream of the church would dry up and there would be no one capable of defending the superstitions of the Galileans. It is interesting to note here that Prohaeresius, the Christian teacher, who had actually taught Julian, consulted the Oracle at Delphi to find how long the crisis would last. Not long, he was told! W.Barclay makes the point that even for a Christian philosopher at this time, the gods were not too far away. (27) One of the positive effects of this attempt by Julian to reverse the 'march of progress' was the reaction which it provoked among the Christian teachers and which bore lasting fruit in such works as the two

orations 'Contra Julianum', written with some feeling by Gregory Nazianzen shortly after Julian's early death. (28)

Mention should be made that it would be a mistake to assume that there was unanimous agreement on Julian's policies among pagan intellectuals as expressed by Ammianus, who thought the decrees should be ignored, or as he put it 'passed over in perpetual silence.' (29)

However, M.L.W. Laistner in his article on 'Pagan Schools and Christian Teachers', (30) warns against the dangers of easy generalizations in the 'matter of Julian', and refers to points made by G.Bardy, which I will quote in full: 'He suggests that Julian's edict of June 17th, A.D.362, which in effect debarred Christians from teaching in Pagan schools, compelled Christian leaders [Basil, Gregory et al], to face the whole problem of instruction for Christians. But Julian died a year later and there is no proof - indeed, it is very unlikely - that the law was effectively enforced throughout the empire even during his lifetime. The problem had confronted Christians long before. If a dividing line were needed, which I venture to doubt, the adoption by Constantine of a policy of toleration would seem more reasonable. It radically altered the status of Christian communities and brought about some reorientation of their literary activities.' (31)

This reorientation allowed the teachers such as Basil, Gregory and John, to pursue, sometimes amidst hostility, a notion of education which was integral with a Greek Classical paideia which fearlessly explored the world of universal ideas and did not

become seduced by the concept of 'paideia' held by Julian and Libanius, which was as proscriptive for the liberal pagan as for the Christian teacher. This was a fossilized concept that all learning had been achieved and was collected in the museums and libraries, such as those in Alexandria, Athens and Pergamon and was to be ever fenced around. It certainly was not the symbol of the Hellenism which as Gilbert Murray said had 'lost its nerve'. So by due process the true 'paideia' must remain as it always had with the power of truth, wisdom and beauty inherent in Christian education. Thus 'Origen finds the evidence of [the] Logos and of Providence in the history of humanity, and builds up a picture of history that comprises and welds together the facts both of biblical history and the history of the Greek mind.' Paideia' is thus the gradual fulfillment of the divine providence.' (32)

1.5. The Christian teacher, and the traditional ideas of education.

The Christian teacher was in a position of having to use a system of education that had remained virtually unchanged since the time of Isocrates, the founder of the school of thought which insisted that the young person needed to be skilled in those areas of life which would enable him to take his place within the city's 'body politic'. He had to teach with the knowledge that the 'seven liberal arts' on the one hand, were tools of learning, while on the other, these also meant the wholesale inclusion of all the

religious and cultic traditions which constituted the scaffolding, as it were, of all Hellenic learning. (33)

It is well to be reminded of what was involved in a student's curriculum. He would study grammar, history, astronomy, poetics, neo-platonist number, some medicine, but some of these not to any high standard, and the main thrust would be in philosophy, which would include logic, ethics, physics and rhetoric. There were also subdivisions of these. Overall there would be the continuous reading of classical literature. (34)

Formal education in the pagan world had the task of preparing the young in loyalty to his city, state and emperor, together with teaching him how to deal with his responsibilities in law, diplomacy and administration. He had to learn the social mores of the ensuing life-style and be able to participate with his peers. All his education was geared to teaching him the difference between virtue and evil, knowledge and ignorance. As H. Marrou says, 'In theory, the crowning point of all this learning was "judgment." 'i.e. the ability to discern the truth. (35)

The question could be asked then, what was the significance of the 'classical paideia' for teachers such as Basil, Gregory and John, who were themselves part of the educational process in Antioch, Athens and Caesarea? A case could be made that it was because the Greek experience of education ultimately failed that it provided the very tools Christianity needed to break through into, and thereby transforming, the very concept of 'paideia', with its connotations of ephebic education, the vehicle of culture within an era of civilization (using that word in its

widest sense), and the preparation of the soul for receiving the means of salvation. W. Jaeger talks of an overview which allowed the 'Greek idea of paideia and education which offered a unique general denominator for both.' (36)

We have mentioned the 'failure of nerve' which caused Hellenism to lose its way and which was only emphasized by the failed mission of Julian. There was the realization that it could not answer the three fundamental questions: What is Man? What is his purpose? How should Man live? And further, as A. J. Toynbee again states, Hellenic man was bored and Hellenism was 'dry bones waiting for a renaissance'. (37)

All the peaks of Greek scholarship had been approached - Homer's theology proposed that Man and gods were locked together interdependently, the gods bargaining for sacrifice and adulation were tyrannical and arbitrary. But in Homer's art there were seeds that would flourish - those of community, duty and service, loyalty to family and the love of beauty. It is not the place here to study all the contributors to the saga of the marriage between philosophy and religion in the Hellenic world, but an examination of the theories of Plato regarding the soul, with the dichotomy between matter and spirit, the unreal particular and the real unknowable and the place of education in the service of salvation, show that the correct questions were being asked. Meanwhile in the market place, the pragmatic Sophists were preparing their pupils to reach new heights in the use of language and argument and with Isocrates especially, the notion of 'paideia' was a living entity and a national pride. The latter

succeeded in secularizing the discussion and prepared the ground for another sort of knowledge which was not in itself spiritual but allowed the tools to be fashioned. (38)

The concept of paideia having gained its momentum, has to be seen in the light of the syncretist: i.e. that not all parts have equal value, but which when seen as a whole, thus seem increasingly to lack a focal point. It can be seen in hind sight, that that ultimate point was only achieved through the minds of the Fathers of the Church. Again A.J. Toynbee makes the point that Christianity, using 'Hellenic visual art', the Greek language, 'Hellenic philosophy and political institutions', revived the languishing 'paideia' (39)

1.6. From the Classical Greek to the Christian Paideia.

So is it a transition rather than a death.? R.W. Livingstone, after listing the subjects in which the Schools excelled, makes the assertion that '...when Christianity comes, she finds the world in a sense prepared for her.' He calls the 'new theology' a 'new wine' in an 'old bottle' that will 'not break' - the Classical 'paideia' had the capability of providing Christianity with an internal structure of learning on which it could build. There was, all waiting for the Fathers, a system of metaphysics, a moral philosophy and a theological vocabulary: St Paul uses the opposition of 'flesh and spirit', St John can discuss the significance of the 'Logos' and thanks to Philo, the Apologists have the use of the tool of Allegory. (40) It is revealing to read

the account of the spiritual journey of Justin Martyr in his 'Dialogue with Trypho [28]' in which he mentions all the schools of philosophy, inferring the absence of that focal point found only in Christ.

The discussion could continue, but I will draw this introduction to a close with some thoughts put forward by Werner Jaeger, drawing on Clement of Alexandria's 'Paedagogus' in which he sees the 'educational mission' as the 'overarching idea of a unified, cohesive Greek intellectual world, which in the attempt to come to terms with it, gives birth to the concept of the Christian 'Paideia', and sees it gathering its power. (41)

We are left with the final question of whether Basil, Gregory and John, address themselves, as bishops of the Church, specifically to education as a subject in its own right, a subject presented for the attention of the whole Orthodox Christian world, and whether they seek at the same time to establish a Christian 'Paideia'?

1.7. The Significance of Rhetoric in the Christian Paideia.

It would be relevant at this point to pause briefly to examine what was involved in the study of Rhetoric. The word occurs repeatedly throughout any biography of the three Fathers under discussion in this essay.

Gregory talks of the time when having left Athens he arrived back in his home town, and was asked to give an exhibition of his oratorical skill. He obliged because, 'It was, so to speak, a debt I owed' (42) Again, in another Oration he says that 'the one treasure he keeps is eloquence' (43)

Rhetoric has been called the 'Queen of Subjects', because it was 'the specific object of Greek education and the highest Greek culture'. (44) At least from the time of Isocrates it had been the conscious vehicle of the thrust of the paideia.

It had permeated all the other areas of education because in the ancient world there was a dichotomy between spoken and written language as there is today, although that is beginning to change. Every facet of public life was conducted by the rules of the formal lecture, which, depending upon its situation had to be consolatory or declamatory, persuasive or restraining, arousing or diplomatic. There was a very rigid syllabus which revolved around the three headings of theory, study of models and the application of these in exercises. (45) The art of rhetoric is indeed a never ending study because there is never any stage at which it is possible to say that all has been learnt, Basil and Gregory, spent at least five years, under the best teachers in

Athens, and for Basil this was a continuation of the experience gained from his father, whose profession he too was once going to follow.

R.C. Gregg rightly points out that the Cappadocian Fathers used their rhetorical training to the full, showing their ability to use the main stream of the paideia to their own ends, i.e. the teaching of Christianity. He says: 'Because Basil and his colleagues were exact and self-conscious practitioners of the New-Sophistic, students of their thought can scarcely afford to assess their ideas without taking into full account the shape and requisites of the genre which became for them the vehicle of the Christian paideia'. (46)

Most of the homilies, sermons, orations and panegyrics which we have at our disposal are direct copies and transcripts of the spoken article. In many cases we know where they were delivered and on what occasion and for what reason. It is safe to say that each one is a perfect example of the art, following the time honoured pattern but each one fresh and powerful. Rhetoric in the mouths of Basil, Gregory and John reshaped the world by giving Christianity the necessary language structure to fulfil its role as the teacher of salvation and to withstand the winds of heresy and political change. John Romanides says that it is just this point which the Orthodox patristic tradition exemplifies because it is exactly this 'experience of glorification of the prophets, apostles and saints [which is] expressed in linguistic forms, whose purpose is to act as a guide to the same experience of glorification by their successors.' (47)

2. SAINT BASIL THE GREAT (AD 330 - 379)

2.1 Basil's Education.

It was into this intellectual environment that the second child of the teacher of law and rhetoric, Basil the Elder and his wife Emmelia, was born.(48) Both sides of the family were actively Christian, and had suffered considerable hardship on that account, Basil's maternal grandfather was martyred and his father's parents had had to live in hiding in the 'wilderness of Pontus'(49) for seven years, during the persecution of Galerius which took place in 303.

The family owned estates in Annesi in Pontus, Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia (50) and were able, therefore, to provide an education for their children based on the socially accepted norms of a family in their position in local society.(51) The area was itself poor and Basil himself describes the people as being 'timid and sluggish'.(52) It is remarkable to witness this family, producing its religious leaders, in a constant succession. Their credentials in the annals of the history of the Christian Church are truly staggering: Basil the Elder was a student of St Gregory the Wonderworker;(53) his mother became St Macrina. Among the ten children, Basil became the archetypal bishop, liturgist extraordinary, founder of cenobitic (communal) monasticism and champion of education; Naucratus, at the age of 22, with his companion/servant, Crysaphius, set out to devote their lives to the succour of sick hermits in the wilds of Pontus. Tragically, (and thereby affecting Basil's priorities),

they were found drowned after labouring thus for five years. The next brother became St Gregory of Nyssa, perhaps the most philosophical of all the Fathers of the Church, he shared Basil's monastic retreat at the outset of the exploration of the monastic ideal. The fourth brother became St Peter of Sebaste and one of the four sisters became the Abbess Macrina. (54) This phenomenon can be shown to be the effect of an education within a family that lives totally in love with and by, the principles of Christ. The point is that besides this abundance of spiritual strength and depth of faith, there was also the ability to administer, teach and write both on the secular level as well as the religious. (55)

Basil was born about AD 330, most probably in Cappadocia, and first educated by his grandmother Macrina, who proved an excellent teacher for the infant Basil, and no doubt also for his brothers and sisters. As we have said, St Gregory the Wonderworker, had been a teacher of the family and was therefore a direct link with Origen. (56) This fact is most important for the teaching of Christianity in Cappadocia. To put Basil even more into his historic and Orthodox perspective, he was born four years after the Council of Nicaea, and during all his time as priest and bishop, the Arian emperor Valens, (364-378), was on the throne of the Eastern province.

The education, Macrina would have instilled into her grandson, would have consisted of the laborious process of learning the letters and sounds of the alphabet which lead onto the formation of the syllables. From here he would practice combining

monosyllabic and polysyllabic words. All the reading done would be out loud and would eventually include extracts from quite difficult passages from the Scriptures and suitable traditional stories. Writing would be learnt in a similar way, usually with little thought for the age of the child, but one gets the impression that under Macrina's watchful eye all would be well for the young Basil. Number would also have its place, i.e. simple numeracy with the Greek letter given a value plus the mathematical sign. (57)

Macrina's objective would be not only to teach Basil to read and write, but to ensure he was well trained in the discipline of a Christian family. If we can surmise his first attempts at learning in the light of his later progress, it could be assumed that he was soon ready for the next stage.

Traditionally, Basil would now have had a tutor assigned to him, but his father, being himself a most respected teacher in the country, decided to continue his education himself. He taught rhetoric and law and he gave him, 'a liberal training in grammar, that is, especially in the language and literature of Greece'. (58) 'The Greek training was...excellent and the young Christian was not debarred from the enjoyment of all that was great in conduct or pure in thought in Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians, or in Herodotus and Thucydides, or in Demosthenes.' (59)

Basil the Elder would also have followed the 'higher Hellenistic culture remain[ing] faithful to the archaic tradition based on poetry, not science. It rested essentially upon the

peaceful possession of an already acquired capital.' (60). This, of course, was developed to such a degree, that together with that of Gregory Nazianzen, Basil's scholarship was renowned in Caesarea, Constantinople and Athens. 'It was the education of a rounded humanist in Greek literature, philosophy and oratory.' (61)

It is known that the famous rhetor, Libanius, was teaching in Constantinople during 347, and that Basil left there in 351. It is thought possible that they could have met, indeed, if the letters between them are genuine, it is more than likely. (62)

But it would be Athens that would be the goal of such a student as Basil, his reputation had gone before him, according to Gregory, and he would have come into contact with Himerius, Proharesius, Terentius and be a fellow student of Julian the 'Apostate'. (63)

R.J. Defarrari describes vividly the draw of Athens at this time, for the wealthy, academic young, who had 'the opportunity of actually living in this dream city of fourth century enthusiasm while the landmarks of her literary glories were still intact and the paganism that had produced these glories was still flourishing.' (64) Basil, however, tired of the surface glitter and 'towards the end of 355, ... left Athens to prepare ... for the holy career which he had [long] cherished...' (65), leaving behind the city, but taking with him a treasure of learning and experience that was going to fit him well for his role of teacher and leader which lay ahead. He was baptized and ordained reader in Caesarea, probably in 356, by Bishop Dianius. (66)

Much of his own literary effort was to provide the foundation for a life which was based on ascetic ideals, which nevertheless, did not ignore the welfare of the whole person. He strove to provide 'works of social utility in order to make its practitioners what he termed 'complete Christians'. He devoted a great deal of energy in erecting a hospice which would put into effect his own teaching, calling it 'The Brand New City' or 'Basiliada'. P.J.Fedwick goes on to describe him thus: 'His forceful defense of the faith, his immense learning, and his effective charity combined to make him an exemplary aristocrat, statesman, pastor, theologian, in short, a saint and an authentic father and doctor of the Christian church.' (67)

It is in the discussion that follows that I hope I will be able to present Basil, the first mentioned of the Three Hierarchs, as a person who, in fighting heresy, and seeking to heal the Church, provided a blue-print for Christian religious education.

2.2. Basil's texts relating to education.

All the writings of Basil concerning education are aimed at furthering his ideal of Christian brotherhood, the building of the discerning community and promoting an awareness of the need for Orthodox thinking in the face of the heresies sweeping the Christian world in the reign of the Emperor Valens. As with Gregory and John, he reveals his own personal wealth of learning.

The most important text that Basil wrote which is concerned specifically with education is his treatise 'On How the Young Might Derive Profit from the Study of Pagan Literature.' or as it will be subsequently referred to - 'Ad Adolescentes'. It is the only work which deals exclusively with the problems of a Christian education in the overpowering milieu of Greek Classical learning. It is also called 'De legendis libris gentilium'. I have used the translation of R.J. Deferrari in the Loeb edition of Basil's Letters, volume 4, London, 1950. There is some discussion as to when it was presented to his 'audience', and on what occasion.

A very rich source of Basil's thoughts on many aspects of education both secular and religious, can be found in 'The Letters'. Two editions have been used : The Loeb Edition, mentioned above and that of H. Wace and P. Schaff: 'The Nicene and Post - Nicene Fathers, volume 8, New York, 1895. The letters used include some whose authenticity is of some doubt, especially

those concerning Libanius, but show the person of Basil under the rhetoric of his public teaching to a remarkable degree.

The homily which contains most pertinent material is 'On the Spirit', written between 359 and 364. and which is also contained in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.

All the rest of the relevant writings are found in an English translation in W.K.L. Clarke, The Ascetic Works of St Basil, London, 1925.:

The doubtful 'De Renuntiatione Saeculi'

Homily 15 in 'De Fide', written in 372.

'The Morals', the first draft of which was written with Gregory Nazianzen over a period of several years, but is dated about 368/9.

'Another Ascetic Discourse'

'The Shorter Rules' - The Small Asceticon.

'The Longer Rules' - The Great Asceticon.

These latter writings contain instructions for those in charge of monastics both male and female, and form the foundation of all subsequent rules for the governing and educating of people in community.

R.J. Deferrari and W.K.L. Clarke have already been mentioned as particularly helpful in a study of Basil. P.J. Fedwick and M.L.W. Laistner have also been invaluable. (see Bibliography)

2.3 Basil's treatise 'Ad Adolescentes'.

St Basil's 'Address to Young Men on How They May Profit from the Study of Pagan Literature' is a treatise in ten parts, probably written towards the end of his life, hence the reference to 'my advanced age', although he was only 49 when he died. (68) His accomplishments make this fact easy to forget. The circumstances of its composition are not known, but it has been suggested that it was a talk, or reading, given to a group of 'seminarians' about to commence their studies. It would seem that Basil knew the group to which he spoke. (69) If these suppositions were indeed the case, then the treatise has particular relevance to the subject of education, because here was a teacher instructing future teachers on one of the burning issues of the day. There is, of course the question of what prompted Basil, so carefully, to write down his thoughts on the matter. It has been suggested that it was not improbable that besides Gregory Nazianzen's 'Contra Julianum' (70) being a response to his edict on Christian teachers in Pagan schools, so too could Basil's 'Address to Young Men' [Ad Adolescentes] 'It took the extreme measures of Julian the Apostate to make [the] bishops and intellectual leaders understand the importance of the question [of education].' (71)

A teacher today, especially a Christian teacher, is confronted with a situation similar in some ways, or, it could be said, even more dangerous to the salvation and virtue of the young. It is still the responsibility of the teacher and parent to try and limit the harm, mental and spiritual, to which the adolescent, in

particular, is prone. After considerable experience in the care of his flock, Basil would be in a unique position to offer his advice, especially as, as we have seen, he received a very full Classical education in his own youth, as alluded to in Gregory's panegyric in his honour. (72) Basil saw a need to draw together a series of pointers which would help an educated Christian to differentiate between that part of pagan learning which could be of great value in the process of education and that which, to the unsuspecting, would be spiritually damaging. In section one, he remarks, 'I can indicate the safest road, as it were, to those who are just entering upon life.' Enabling them to obtain a proper perspective of all learning, his purpose being to rein it in and bridle it so the effects of his model of education always remains in the soul of the pupil. (73)

Although 'Ad Adolescentes' can perhaps be regarded as the most important statement on the subject of Christian and pagan learning, it is not without its critics. And further, the impression that Basil was the first to suggest a compromise with the Greek paideia, needs to be qualified. In his book, 'Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire', M.L.W. Laistner makes the point that there was no other model of education available to Christians, and that despite the views of Basil et al, pagan education did have the capacity to inculcate the powers of discernment, depth of perception and logical thought. He expresses the view that the pupils would gain more from Basil himself than from this treatise. He calls it, 'really a very slight performance', especially when it is known that

Justin Martyr, in his "Apology", 'allowed some merit to the noblest of pagan thinkers - Heraclitus, Musonius Rufus and the Platonic Socrates.' two centuries before. (74)

In his defence, I think recognition ought to be given to the aim of 'Ad Adolescentes' i.e. to instruct a group of young students, -consider the reference Basil makes to his role 'in loco parentis'. Obviously, like Gregory Nazianzen, he was a sufficiently skilled teacher to be able to direct his words at the academic level of his listeners. They were not intended as a learned treatise given in the abstract but as sound practical advice in a very topical field.

On a personal level as well, there are the attacks by Eunomius of which he was most probably aware. On this issue, Gregory of Nyssa takes up the fight on Basil's behalf. He reports Eunomius as charging Basil with 'fighting in the ranks of the atheists', because 'his language follows the philosophy of the pagan outsiders,' (75) Basil needed to be constantly alert to the dangers of being misrepresented but still to be able to follow his course of pragmatic and discerning use of the treasures of the Paideia for the greater good of his Christian students

[ONE] Basil takes his students (76) through ten stages in his attempt to show the value of the source of his own wisdom, namely pagan literature. He says, 'I myself have discovered something of especial advantage to you.' (77) From personal experience he knows that pagan literature has the power to seduce and draws on Hesiod to emphasise that there are two different sorts of educated people, the first sort know 'what must be

done', and the second, 'know how to, 'follow what is well indicated by others,...'If you do not fall into either of these categories, you are 'useless in all respects.' (78) The point he is making is that the student may well be swayed into accepting everything taught by the 'ancients' and be like a ship without a rudder through the lack of awareness of the wisdom, he, Basil, is about to impart.

He hopes that he as teacher will exhibit the qualities of a good leader and that his pupils will be as the second category, quick to follow so that they may possess the education of true judgement. The thought occurs here of judgement of what? Not just the Scriptures, nor any one particular area. Basil draws on the whole Paideia, it is his aim to encompass all learning of value to the whole person in order that no one feels the impoverishment of ignorance.

[TWO] Where then does Basil lead? He introduces the direction of his thought by contrasting the traditional and commonly received values of the Greek cultural world, (and little different from those of our own) - of status of family, physical fitness, beauty and positions of authority in the community, with the values of the educated Christian who has the Scriptures as his guide. Here Sherman Garnett sees the influence of Aristotle's 'Nicomachean Ethics', and again when Basil speaks of the impossibility of the young 'to understand the depth of the meaning of these.' (79) The student must learn to progress through analogies, making do with just 'the reflection of the sun on the water'. When the time is ripe, then he maybe exposed to the full

force of the significance of that 'core of a Christian teacher's teaching'- the life eternal.

But having rejected Greek secular values he then draws upon analogies familiar to his young listeners: that gymnastics lead to excellence in the skills of a soldier, or that the dyer of cloth prepares his material before adding the colour. So there is a parallel between allowing the student to become well read in the Classics and so assume the broadest and deepest traditional education before allowing him to use his talents on the Holy Scriptures. In fact the word he uses is 'must', not 'allows'- 'and must associate with poets and writers of prose and orators...from whom there can be any prospect of benefit...to the care of our souls' (80)

[THREE & FOUR] Basil uses his third and fourth sections to conclude his argument for the positive use of Pagan literature, before developing his methodology. He seeks an analogy to illustrate the relationship between 'the two bodies of teaching,' i.e. that of the best of Classical Greek learning and that contained in the Holy Scriptures, and decides on that of the tree in which the fruit is Christian knowledge and the foliage, which provides shade for the fruit and is itself beautiful, is 'wisdom drawn from the outside'.i.e. of the Classical paideia.(81) He introduces his theme of the careful use of Classical literature by reference to the poets and their role in dealing with every subject, from the virtuous to the evil. As regards the former he urges his students to 'cherish and emulate these and try to be ... like them'; that is, to model their lives on the heroes like

Odysseus, in his avoidance of the temptations of the Sirens. He, himself, glides over the activities of Odysseus (82) which are more difficult to fit into a strict moral code. His point, however, is still true, that we must be ever vigilant, lest we also accept the evil contained in poetic accounts of debauchery and murder, we must not 'take poisons along with honey.' (83)

To emphasise Basil's consistency over the years, on this contentious subject, in his letter to Martinianus, he praises him for his erudition in terms of a shared heritage of education: 'I should say that there is an immense superiority in that which gives us knowledge of good and beautiful things without trouble, and puts within our reach instruction in virtue, pure from all admixture of evil. Is there question of noble deed; of words worth handing down...?' Such was the task of the poets, the arbiters of culture, the recorders of the human response to historic events. A little further on, in the letter, Basil calls for the genius of a Simonides or even an Aeschylus to ~~express~~ ^{adequately} the evil that has fallen on a divided Cappadocia. (84) So Basil, even as he writes, calls upon the poet to wield his craft, but still, being the assiduous teacher, keeps his students conscious of the inherent danger of the lack of moral good.

The fourth section contains two analogies for the better emphasis of his point. The first being that of the bee being able to disregard the attractiveness of the flower and obtain the hidden goodness, and secondly, that of picking a rose despite its thorns. Having made his case for a very sympathetic view of the value to Christian education of the best work of the pagan poets,

he now has to show that it has substance. He summons the six writers of Classical times that he considers display the theme that the path to virtue is steep and hard to climb.

[FIVE] His first example is Hesiod, who in his 'Works and Days' says that 'rough at first and hard to travel, and full of abundant sweat and toil, is the road which leads to virtue, and steep withal.' Basil says, '...to me it seems that he has narrated these things ...to keep us from becoming weak and cowardly in the face of toils.' (85) He intimates that we need more poets like Hesiod because their aim is as ours.

In his '43rd Oration', Dion Chrysostom allowed that all Homer's poetry was an 'encomium of virtue', (86) and with this concurrence of view with his own, Basil includes Homer second in his list.

Rather surprisingly he uses the example of Odysseus, naked and shipwrecked, confronted with the possibility of distressing the white - armed Nausicaa by throwing himself on her mercy at the same time as hugging her knees. (87) Is it Dion who underlines that in this incident the Phaeacians see in Odysseus the personification of virtue? - 'You must give heed unto virtue, O men, which swims forth even with a man who has suffered shipwreck ...' (88)

Basil's third example is Solon, because he points to the transience of material possessions, 'But we will not exchange with them (the rich) our virtue for their wealth, since one abides always, while riches change their owners everyday.' (89)

Again, he takes Theognis warning us that 'God ...inclines the scale for men at one time this way, at another that way...' regarding their wealth. (90)

His most extensive example is that provided by Prodicus who recounts the story of Heracles' dilemma in choosing between the female impersonations of virtue and vice, the first ugly and the second, beautiful. They arrived silently but it was through speech the wizened one promised deification in return for 'countless sweating toils and dangers..' (91) It is not hard to understand why Basil uses this story in its entirety as it deals with the three most important areas of his thesis, i.e. personal salvation through the constant denial of the body motivated through the use of skilled language gained by a true education.

Sherman Garnett comments, 'The entire section ascends toward a rejection of antiquity's highest notion of virtue, magnanimity, in favour of a passion for heavenly glory.' (92) The message for the teacher, is that he must put aside the temptation to show off his textual interpretations and concentrate on the task of improving the quality of his class. I wonder if this is the point M.L.W. Laistner did not take into account regarding his low opinion of 'Ad Adolescentes'?

[SIX] Section six is in some ways a drawing together of the digression which has dealt with some examples of the effort poets have made to emphasise the importance of virtue as the prime aim of mankind. He raises them to the status of our mentors, men of wisdom, who achieve the goal as far as they are able, being pagan, in harmonising what they say and write with how they live.

Furthermore, that they are both the creators and the product of the true paideia, i.e. to educate. Basil follows their example and presents himself as a worthy successor, because he cites several instances where this is the case, and by implication does and is the same:- 'He alone has understanding, but the others flit about like shadows.' (93) Or the painter whose portrait of a man is exactly as he really is.

On the negative side, he mentions the public figure whose public and private life does not match, or the actors who play royalty and are quite likely to be not 'free men at all'. He calls on Euripides who has written, 'the tongue has sworn but the mind is unsworn', and Plato, '...to appear to be just without being so.' All these being examples of people who have not achieved that harmony so evident in the best of the poets, those which it is to the advantage of his pupils to study. (94)

[SEVEN] Basil now needs to extend his range of advice to include other areas of literature. The poets, and by implication the oral tradition, have been used and he wants to show that the narrative prose-writer also contributes to the heritage of a pre-Christian literature which pre-echoes and therefore prepares the young Christian for the reading and acting in harmony with the Scriptures. With regard to 'the writers of prose, let us not fail to derive advantage from this source also.' (95)

He takes here, in his seventh section, as his main source, the writings of Plutarch, drawing out examples of eminent figures in the main stream of the Greek paideia, such as Pericles of Athens, Euclidean of Megara, Socrates and Alexander.

His aim in this lesson to his students, is to show that the Christian precept of passivity in the face of violence was also recognised by men whose position in society gave them the power of redress against their assailants, but that they deemed it ignoble to lower themselves to their level. Pericles, the author and orator of 'The Funeral Oration to the People of Athens,' showed himself to be supremely aware of the effects of conflict, (96) and Basil says of his reason for escorting a man who had attacked him home through the dark, was 'lest his own schooling in philosophy be utterly brought to naught.' Once again, an illustration of a man who lives as he teaches, to the highest of moral standards. Basil cites Plutarch's example of self-control: Eucleides, who having been threatened by a man who swore on oath to kill him, rather than swear a counter oath to a duel, undertook to 'appease the man and make him put aside his wrath against him.' (97)

His third example is that of Socrates, who characteristically, accepted all the blows on the face a drunkard inflicted and used a remedy that would possibly reform the sobered man and punish him the more for it being entirely passive, i.e. inscribed his name on his bruised face for all to see. (98)

Basil concludes his examples of the famous with Alexander, remaining aloof from the temptations of female beauty and therefore showing himself to be aware of the virtue of self-control in these circumstances - although the reason Basil gives for his action seem more to do with the pride of a soldier and his attitude towards women, than a particular moral stand. Also

Cleinius' refusal to avoid a fine of three talents by swearing a legitimate oath, is used by Basil to underline the strict way many of these people many generations previous to that of his listeners his young Christian pupils, could fearlessly apply the most stringent rules to themselves, risk public ridicule and loss of prestige, and they were without the Scriptures. 'It is difficult', says Basil, 'to believe that it is by mere chance that it [all] coincides with our own principles.'

[EIGHT] It would seem that in Basil's eighth section, he feels he has digressed from the original purpose of his treatise, and calls his pupil's minds back to the task of growing sufficiently in maturity to be able to choose only the pagan material best suited to 'the matter that is useful'. By 'useful', he means that which will 'nourish our souls'. We are reminded of our weakness in paying obsessive attention to those matters which concern our daily welfare but neglecting to ensure that we are prepared for eternity.

Basil draws on several analogies to make his point, citing the pilot's responsibility towards his ship; the effort of the marksman to hit the target and the end result of the crafts of the bronzesmith and the carp-enter to produce worthy goods. We says, Basil, have the ultimate eternal goal and need to be educated so we are not in the same unenviable position as a sailor, 'sitting at the steering oar of the soul, being tossed up and down aimlessly through life.' (99)

Basil accepts and uses quite readily, examples of the familiar daily events and common literary heritage of his listeners,

i.e. the wrestling bout, athletics and music, but emphasises that just as the giant Polydamus did not perfect catching and halting chariots in full gallop, by practising the flute; nor Timotheus, who composed chorals of sufficient merit to be able to move Alexander through the whole range of human emotions, did not wrestle to improve his musical skills, so the point is made that they received the education that best suited their particular needs. They, therefore, succeeded in the harmonization of education and aim. To achieve this they would have had to 'undergo all hardships and run all risks, so as to receive the crown'. (100)

The analogy being, of course, that the effort has to be made, the will-power to proceed day by day must exist, and that we must be diligent in our work. Here, Basil's words, from the foundation of the paideia, are those of Homer that argue that if effort was not necessary and slothfulness was of some value, then we, as did Margites, whom 'the gods had taught neither to dig nor to plough, nor any other skill', would fail, 'in every craft.' (101) We would never be able to make the sacrifices necessary to succeed. Our price for the failure in learning the true skills of life is too great to contemplate. Basil supposes that a certain lack of ability might be taken into account, by God, in the final instance. But for the educated person who can make the choice, he will not be saved from suffering the punishment many times over. 'Indeed with Pittacus we might say, 'It is hard to be good.' (102)

[NINE] Having dealt with the need for a careful selection of the works of the poets; the need to be properly prepared, with

the possibility of back-breaking struggle, Basil approaches the difficulty of having examined the theory, having now to put them to the test. He has, with his group of students, built the boat, trained the crew and now is the time for launching. At the beginning of section nine, he, himself, asks the question, 'What then shall we do? What else indeed, than ...the care of our souls.' He tackles the problem with reference to the way we should control our bodies in order that the soul be not impeded, '...but our souls, we should supply with all the things that are best.' As the compiler of the 'Shorter and the Longer Rules.' (103) Basil should be very well placed to be able to draw a reasonable balance between asceticism and good sense. One recalls the heady days of Athens and the retreat at Pontus.

Keeping quite strictly to his pagan analogical theme, Basil uses examples from Greek mythology to make the parallel between those who allow themselves to be governed by their bodily passions, and those in Hades, suffering punishments which have a sadistic monotony, such as fetching water in a sieve and the suchlike. As S.Garnett remarks regarding Basil's main thesis here, 'Our task is to know ourselves, but until we are purified, self-knowledge will be hidden from us as the sun is hidden from a bleary-eyed man', now, 'the young must stand and face the sun itself.' (104) How does education help in this case? Basil tells us that the moment of choice arrives when one is at last aware that one is 'a man of sense', and has acquired knowledge of himself, or who, 'understands that wise precept: 'That which is seen is not the man, but there is need of a certain higher wisdom

which will enable each of us, whoever he is, to recognise himself.' Basil is here recalling the general line of thought put forward by Plato in his 'Phaedo, (75-115). This leads him on naturally to the next subject namely, 'the purification of the soul'- the proposition being that the body is the gateway to Hades, and it is only by the subjection of the body that the soul is able to be tended. As before, we are reminded that Basil is here the teacher in actuality, and he is speaking to his students, 'in a manner sufficient for [their] understanding.' (105) He uses every opportunity to remind his 'class' how difficult it would be to bring home his teaching points in so relevant a way without having recourse to the lynchpin of the 'old paideia', and in so doing, he forms, by implication, a continuous momentum towards the 'paideia' for Christ.

Using Plato as the foundation, he examines the function of music, as an example of its use both to enhance the good and to increase the bad. He differentiates between the licentious which 'drenches your soul', and which accompanies drunks home from their debaucheries, and the sacred songs of David, or the Doric mode mentioned by Pythagoras, (106) Thus the soul may benefit or suffer, it is the education of the ear that helps make the decision.

Basil uses Plato's passage in the 'Republic' (107) concerning the role of teacher, parent and philosopher, in educating the impressionable young in the control of the body. Plato says, 'In childhood and youth, their study, and what philosophy they

learn, should be suited to their tender years; during this period...the chief and special care should be given to their bodies, that they may have them to use in the service of philosophy. Basil compares this advice with that of St Paul's(108) 'But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences.' Basil, then calls upon Pythagoras, to show that he too was aware of the grossness of a body pandered to. To a follower he says, 'Pray cease making your prison-house (even) more wretched for you to live in.' Basil's whole point here, is to underline that if the body and its senses are properly disciplined, (educated), its needs will be defined 'in terms of the requirements of nature and not in terms of pleasure.' (109)

He mentions a host of examples, Solon, Theognis and especially Diogenes the Cynic who 'needed less for living than the king', and of course, Socrates. All these despised, publicly, the acquisition of wealth and recognised its dangers. Also mentioned are those artists in gold, Pheidias and Polycleitus, who used the precious metal as their medium, quite apart from their lives. The moral being that we should be equally contemptuous of wealth and be chastized if virtue itself be not sufficient jewelry for us.

Basil finishes this part by bringing in some advice on 'flattery and adulation', presumably because he has been referring to the senses, self-satisfaction can also be destructive. The point is important, because in dealings with others, the wise man will never take popularity as a mark of

esteem and respect. Basil likens the man who does to a polyp changing colour with its background.

[TEN] In ^{the} final section, Basil draws his 'lesson' to a close by suggesting that although there are many examples he could give of the education of character from specifically Christian literature, he will continue to use pagan sources because just as a 'mighty river' receives its waters from many tributaries, so knowledge does likewise. He underlines his point by using and disagreeing with Hesiod, the co-founder of the Classical 'paideia' with Homer, who thought that much might be gained by 'adding little by little'. Rather the argument of Bias is favoured (from Diogenes Laertius), (110) one of the seven wise men of Greece, who is supposed to have said, 'Make wisdom your provision for the journey from youth to age.' It is wisdom and its acquisition that 'Ad Adolescentes' is all about. Basil's impassioned pleading on its behalf is because time is of the essence, life may be too short for an 'instalment plan'. If this sounds colloquial in tone and we turn to Basil, he points out that there are many who have lived many times longer than the normal span, Tithonius, Arganthonius, mentioned by Homer and Hesiod respectively; and from the Old Testament, Mathusala. When these are viewed from the beginning of creation are of no consequence when compared with the 'long and ageless eternity whose limit the mind can in no wise grasp...' It is in this context the role of education has to be seen; it is part of Basil's idea of 'travel goods', because it is no use at some time

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in the future to regret that the advice was ignored. One thinks of the rich man and Lazarus.

Basil concludes with his own parable, that of the three categories of the sick, rightly construing that we can identify with one of them. The minor ailments we decide we can treat ourselves; if these become more serious we call a doctor, i.e. the teacher, and we listen to a course of action, because at this stage there is an element of hope; but finally there is the person, sunk in despair, wallowing in self-pity who remains in isolation.

In the first two examples there is still a sense of community and the idea that we are still part of it. In the third, all education, and therefore help, has been rejected and abandoned.

It only becomes obvious from perusing other areas of Basil's writings what an effort was made by him in this treatise, to remain strictly within the brief he set himself regarding pagan literature and learning. His constant reference to the idea of virtue as contained in the main body of the paideia, could have left his group of students, whom he hoped to teach for the rest of his life, with no doubts as to its merits and weaknesses. In the other writings examined, only his letters contain any frequent allusions to the cultural world he was using as a foundation for the building of the Christian 'paideia'.

Conclusion

Basil's careful judgement regarding Classical Greek learning contained in the ten sections of 'Ad Adolescentes', highlights the measure of the man. As R. Deferrari says in the preface to his translation, 'St Basil stands out alone among the Fathers in the quiet restraint ... of his [Attic] style.' (111)

Nothing he says can be misinterpreted : there is no heated discussion as to whether he was genuinely for or against 'pagan literature', as there is perhaps with Gregory Nazianzen or John Chrysostom. Again R. Deferrari sums it up so succinctly I venture to quote his remarks in full: 'Basil's acquaintance with pagan literature is that of an understanding friend, not blind to the worst qualities, but by no means condemning the whole on that account.' (112)

On reading through the ten sections from the point of view of education, it becomes obvious that a different criteria has to be employed. That although he refers frequently to the needs and techniques of education, he does not give priority to the idea of education that we consider to be of its essence today. We are, after all, conditioned by the philosophy of education in our time and are well aware that it is an education for material wellbeing which dominates, and it is the analysis of criteria and usage which occupies the philosophers of modern education. Basil, however, was well aware that these criteria were very much of secondary importance, (complimenting the teaching of Socrates and

many other philosophers of his era), that although necessary they had an inferior place to the true aim of education and again, in accord with the greatest of the thinkers of the 'Classical Paideia', this was the education of the soul through right judgement of our way towards salvation. Hence R. Defarrari says, 'The chief value of this study ['Ad Adolescentes'] in his mind, is to stimulate the practice of virtue and to prepare the reader to understand Holy Scripture.' (113)

Henri Marrou also draws attention to the facts of the case, that among many Christian leaders the continuing association of Christian children with the '"poison" [of] Homer, the poets, the long insidious line of mythological figures and the dark passions they symbolized...' were a great source of anxiety and there is the danger, therefore, that any defence of Classical learning could be misconstrued as a betrayal of the Christian stand. H. Marrou makes the valid point that where Basil was concerned 'Ad Adolescentes' is not a treatise 'on the value of studying the pagan classics' but with 'simply trying to develop their Christian insight and enable them to get the best out of all they had learned.' It is about how to avoid the pitfalls and at the same time learn discrimination and an educated judgement.' (114)

Basil considers that as the Scriptures are the tools of salvation and contain concepts so revolutionary and alien to the education in which his young students were schooled, he decides to show that there are crucial lessons in virtue and discernment to be gathered from just that traditional learning and which point inexorably to the message of Christianity.

It is in the final section that Basil calls at last upon the true platform of philosophy and consigns poetry to the role of the steps leading up to it, the worthy teacher having shown that this true philosophy is nothing less than the harmonization of body and soul seeking the eternal life.

2.4 St. Basil and his use of the 'Paideia' as shown in the Letters. (115)

Werner Jaeger in his 'Early Christianity and the Greek Paideia', makes three points relevant to this section, firstly that 'Greek education in the schools was at all times based on the exhaustive study of Homer and the rest of Greek poetry'. (116) Secondly, that 'Plato's inquiries about the nature of the human mind and the best method of learning had led him to proclaim philosophy the only true paideia.' (117) Lastly, that 'The new Christian literature shows all kinds of literary genres and styles, following the rules of 'imitatio' that dominated ...the rhetorical schools of the day.' (118) We have seen that Basil's first appearance in the public world was as a rhetor, that he had been a pupil of Libanius, so the question is how does he use this living heritage of education?

It is notable that it is in 'Ad Adolescentes' and the 'Letters', that we find the most open and consistent use of the Classical heritage, and that elsewhere it requires a careful comparison of sources. An examination of the writings contained in W.K.L. Clarke's, 'The Ascetic Works of St Basil', show that all references are to Scriptural sources. (119)

In the 'Letters' themselves, there are many references to the paideia, as Robert Gregg remarks in his 'Consolation Philosophy', Basil espouses the principle of the value of 'pagan literature', not believing 'that a fundamental opposition exists between that 'paideia' which is the fruit of the Hellenic intellectual journey

and the revelation which has been made accessible in the 'paideia tou Christou'. (120)

It must be said that there is some doubt as to the authenticity of some of the letters, and here is not the place to enter into what could be an extended discussion which would resolve none of the current problems in this field. I could do no better than refer to the book written for the sixteen hundredth anniversary of the death of Basil, by P.J.Fedwick, 'The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea' (121)

An overall comment could be that almost without exception Basil shows a marked respect for much of the excellence contained in the works of great poets and philosophers. He seems to look back on the 'Classics' as part of a golden age that produced the panoply of paideia. Attention can be drawn to the well known passage in his letter 'To Martinianus', where, he says, before the division of Cappadocia, learned and eloquent men would debate in the forum, the gymnasia doors would be open and the place lit and bustling. (122) This was the natural milieu of learning for Basil, and within it lay the lives of the philosophers, rhetors and politicians, the people of his civilization, one whose weaknesses he deplored but knew to be worthy of reform. He, like Thomas More, knew that change can only take place within the law and without 'magistrates...everything (will) crash down together with fallen props'. (123)

It is in this letter that Basil gives us his main justification for pursuing education to its limit. He says that a person who is educated has an immeasurable advantage over the person who is

not, because education especially that within the traditions of the paideia, provides the recipient with the tools for life. 'I should say,' writes Basil, 'that there is an immense superiority in that which gives us the knowledge of good and beautiful things...and puts within our reach instruction in virtue.' Within this long tradition of law and literature, the examples multiply of great people, places and events within the pages of Homer, Hesiod, Plutarch and Plato, which have awaited a St Basil to give them a truly theological significance. (124) In the first extant letter, which was probably written in 357, in Alexandria to Eustachius (of Sebaste), known as the Philosopher, (125) we learn that Basil considers that he has outgrown the current 'paideia', and progress can only be made in the company of the Eustachius whom he follows, managing to ignore the temptation of 'the city on the Hellespont', as Odysseus ignored the Sirens. At the age of twenty seven, he is quite unabashed at comparing himself with such a hero, (renowned for his cunning); forcing an analogy, having failed to mention whether he needed tying to the mast and lastly showing himself in awe of his would be mentor and teacher. Letter 3. is a reply to Candidianus, a governor of Cappadocia, (126) to whom he admits that receiving his letter put him in mind of how a Spartan would have felt on receiving the 'scytale'. (127) The use of such accurate detail, so spontaneously, strengthens the idea that Basil saw himself as a participator in a reformed paideia. (128) in which he was one of the founder members.

The letter refers to the analogy between Candidianus and Demosthenes, both of whom had responsibility for people in their charge. The latter demanded the title of 'choragus', for his burden, Candidianus, with hundreds more, made no claims for any privilege - 'you do not stand on your dignity'. Basil uses the opportunity to praise the balanced personality and the source of this equanimity, it being Candidianus' learning and his ability to use, deliberately, his education to provide a refuge from the cares of the world : 'You do not give up the study of literature', but use it, as Plato suggests, (129) as a 'strong wall', which will 'keep your mind clear of disturbance.'

Here Basil is holding up Candidianus as an example of a man whose education has given him great responsibilities, an evenhanded demeanor and a capacity for the real appreciation of the Muses, all very important aspects in Basil's concept of the education of the whole man.

The next year saw Basil in Pontus, near Annesi, together with Gregory, attempting the ascetic life, and providing himself with the invaluable experience he would use in compiling his 'Shorter and Longer Rules'. (130) Letter 4, is in an ironic vein, thanking his dear friend Olympius, for a gift which because it was intended to ease their 'suffering' in the wild, was actually counter-productive for their pursuit of the simple life. He is at pains to explain to Olympius where he stands, and why, in the philosophic espousal of the tenets of the Lady Poverty. In the course of this letter he commits himself firmly within all that

is commendable to an intelligent Christian in the Greek paideia. (131)

As a great admirer of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, and Cleathes and Diogenes, Basil can draw upon the great philosophers of the past who had a particularly important role in his theory of moral education, in that how they lived was in complete accord with what they taught. Hence his humorous reception of the gift which would make it more difficult to live as he, himself was teaching. As far as can be ascertained, he did not return the gift to Olympius, perhaps it was perishable...

He proceeds, now, to delineate the main areas of teaching method which he considers most effective. Being a rhetorician, he was well aware of the power of the spoken word, which when well used was excellent for the limited few in the congregation. Gregory Nazianzen says that Basil, 'over-threw at close range by word of mouth'...'Those who engaged in hand -to -hand conflicts.' But , 'Those who engaged at a distance he struck with arrows of ink.' (132) And on a more peaceful note, Basil himself says, 'Bodily separation is no hindrance to instruction...Instruction is bounded neither by sea nor land...' He also has in mind the fact that one's writings 'teach posterity by instruction preserved...' (133)

However, Basil does not envisage lengthy, rambling correspondences. In Letter 135, to 'Diodorus, presbyter of Antioch, dated about 373, (134) he makes his views on succinctness with some strength. Having been sent two books, he praises the second because it was brief but 'full of thought', and had a

'simple and natural style'. He does not approve of 'dialectic', which, though it might add to the 'charm' does little for the 'argument.' He, once again, draws support for his contentions from the famous writers of the past. 'I know that your intelligence is perfectly well aware that the heathen philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight to the point,' knowing that they were not Plato, who 'with his great power of writing,' could afford to 'make fun of his characters'.

The other main area of the intersection of education and the paideia, in Basil's letters, is in the correspondence with Libanius. (135) P.J. Fodwick includes these in his list of Basil's works that are thought to be of doubtful authenticity. They certainly have a familiar and bantering style. It is also fortuitous that both sides of the correspondence exists. (136) On reading the mutual adulation and the common language of a shared past, it must be said that they could well provide an insight into a warmth in Basil he could not afford to show to his contemporary Christians, but to his former and much loved teacher, from a brilliant pupil, he could. It is also the case that throughout his writings, Basil never engages in religious argument with pagan scholars. (137)

However, as far as Basil's attitude towards education is concerned, these letters talk of recommendations of students, their progress in learning and virtue. Of 'yet another Cappadocian', Basil says, 'I trust you may send him back to me

worthy of my prayers and of your great reputation in learning and eloquence.' (Letter 338). (138)

There are many allusions to the art of speaking and teaching. In Letter 352, Libanius praises Basil for 'his skill in oratory', that, 'is able to show that the wisdom of Plato and the ability of Demosthenes were belauded in vain...' The reply sends us back in time. A nostalgic Basil reminisces on the joy of scholarship, '...O muses, O learning, O Athens, what do you not give to those who love you...?'

Whatever the reality concerning these last letters, the 'author' does nothing but reinforce Basil's love of his heritage allied to a deep understanding of all the processes of education.

2.5 The matter of education:

1. The religious education of the child.

In his effort to educate the individual and give him the ability to make the right choice and accept the responsibility for it, Basil uses the image of the innocent child to show the gap between this desired state and that of the adult influenced by the world.

Several quotations are taken from the Gospels which underline the child-like state: '...unless you be converted, and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven'. 'Whosoever, therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven,' and a warning for the teacher who destroys the child's faith : 'and he that shall scandalize one of these little ones that believe in me...' (Matt. xviii.3-6)

Thus Christ speaks of the humility needed to reach Heaven. Basil enlarges on this point in his 'Shorter Rules', (139) that during the time in which we learn we should be as receptive and obedient as the child should be. He has posed the question, 'How shall we receive the kingdom of God as a little child?' The answer is, 'If we become...as the child is when he learns, not contending with his teachers, but receiving their teaching faithfully and with docility.'

He asks the question of the Superior (teacher) as to what commitment is necessary to instruct those eager to learn, and he replies that he should be 'as a nurse (who) cherisheth her

children,' (1Thess. ii. 7), 'desiring to impart to each what pleases God and benefits all in common, not only the Gospel of God but also his own soul.' (140)

It must not be thought Basil eulogizes the child to the point of unreality. In speaking of the concept of tolerance and the fact that we are all equal in the sight of God and should love 'to be honoured equally with those who seem to fall short of us in some things.' He remarks that 'such are children'...those at least who have not grown accustomed to the baseness of those with whom they live.' (141) And again, Basil reminds us that for those of us who are in authority over others, it is important not to be seen as having slipped in our own behaviour because just as children do when we seek to educate them as regards their daily behaviour, feel that 'elation which often rises imperceptibly, when they see their seniors stumbling in matters where their own conduct is correct. For he that is childish in mind is no better than a child in years...' One wonders if Basil had learned the point from personal experience?

In the 'Longer Rules' (142), Basil discusses in some detail how children should be educated and cared for within the monastic environment. Their accommodation, sleeping and eating, should be kept separate from that of the other members of the community. As also should be their lessons, the constant repetition of which might well be disturbing to the adults. These lessons should consist of 'literary studies, 'deemed,' appropriate to their ideal.' Interestingly, when compared with the advice in 'Ad Adolescentes', that the scriptures should only be tackled when

the young mind was capable of understanding them, Basil here, recommends that the 'teachers will use the language of the Scriptures, and in the place of Myths will tell them stories of wonderful deeds and educate them by maxims drawn from the Proverbs...'

Basil seems also to envisage the education of a state of mind which finds such study enjoyable and will induce a sense of well-being and relaxation. The educational purpose of which is to ensure that as more difficult tasks are encountered they will be tackled with a well trained acceptance and there will be no sliding into slothfulness and indecision.

He takes some pains to include also the education into manual skills, saying that this was an area of the community life which might be shared with the brethren, especially if the craft is a lifelong skill and the boy shows promise under the expert eye of his teacher. The fact that the other shared activity is that of prayer, it nicely conjoins the two.

The point should be made that it was not any boy who could be thus trained in a 'monastery school', W.K.L. Clarke draws attention to the differing view expressed in Homily 22, (143) but only he whose serious intention was to join the religious life. (144)

Basil does not let us forget the overall aim of his ideas on education, namely, that this may be achieved by adding the power of reason to the process of mature discrimination, habitual practise of which will make for ease of performance. (145)

2.5,11. The theory of education.

St. Paul delineates the following as a model for education, 'When you come together, each of you hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation, but let all things be done unto edifying.' (146)

Having looked at Basil's references to the specific teaching of children, we must now examine on a wider base, what Basil means when he speaks of 'instruction', edifying or teaching.

It is Basil's self-given role to put the above exhortation into effect, but with the proviso that where 'an interpretation' towards edification is concerned, it is not wise to let the student decide for himself what area of learning he should follow. It is part of the educational process itself to allow the authority of the teacher to take precedence over the area of study. (147) The rule, therefore, is laid down, that for an achievable result it is necessary for there to be a consistency of purpose in that, each subject must be pursued until a specific stage has been reached, because 'it is impossible to gain an accurate knowledge of any art or science, if one is always starting on fresh subjects'. (148)

Basil also takes into account the social aspect of education, this being particularly relevant to his aim of laying down the foundations of a religious community, but which, nevertheless has significant implications for secular education as well. Basil quotes St Paul, in drawing attention to the fact that the final aim of all education is the same for all: 'The citizenship of

heaven' (149) This citizenship is not for the scholar only but for the whole man.

It is in 'The Longer Rules' that we read that if a man lives in community he is able to exercise and use his special strength: 'Multiplying it by imparting it to others, and reaps the fruit of other men's gifts as if they were his own.' (150) These gifts are, in this context, the gifts of education, as effecting the refining of the soul of man.

Basil gives the example of a solitary man who convinces himself that his learning need progress no further than the comprehension of the Divine Scriptures, unaware that without others he cannot put their teaching into operation.' (151) Basil quotes St Paul: 'Not the hearers of the law are just with God, but the doers of the law shall be justified'. (152)

Basil emphasises the point by referring to those who have been trained in the manual skills of building and metalwork who never use their talents and therefore waste them. (153) He makes the rule, which operates particularly in the field of education that it can best be conducted only within the framework of a truly social environment in which the normal social checks and balances operate. W.K.L. Clarke remarks that for Basil 'the community as a whole could alone fulfil the Christian ideal'. (154)

The student has now to be aware that childhood and adolescence have been left behind, he will 'no longer need milk but [is] able to be perfected in the inner man by the solid food of teachings'. (155) This will entail assimilating the fact that 'the beginning of wisdom', is 'the fear of the Lord. 'Education,

scholarly, social and manual, all contribute to the foundation of this wisdom, but the danger is that it could come to be viewed as an abstract entity, and acquired over a finite period with the student seen as a member of a group and totally merged within it.

In both homilies, 'On the Spirit', and 'Another Ascetic Discourse', Basil shows himself to be aware of the gradual and continuous progress necessary for a lasting education, and that a good teacher will so organise the content of his lessons that they will take into account the fact that some need 'a gentle treatment, fitted for [their] needs'. (156) That to present the ultimate goal of our education before we were ready would be to fail the profession of teacher.

Basil outlines his whole position on the gradual assimilation of education in his letter 'Against Eunomius the Heretic.' and I quote: He who maintains that it is possible to arrive at the discovery of things actually existing, has no doubt, by some orderly method, advanced his intelligence by means of the knowledge of actually existing things. It is after first training himself by the apprehension of small and easily comprehensible objects, that he brings his apprehensive faculty to bear on what is beyond all intelligence.' (157) The point he is making here is that it is not possible to educate oneself into discovering the very nature of life itself, but in so doing he produces a definition of the process of learning which is necessarily limited to the boundaries of human knowledge.

There are then two areas of knowledge, the first, that which is childlike, and Basil uses St Paul's words, 'When I was a child,

just learning the rudiments of the beginning of God's oracles, I felt as a child, I thought as a child'. Basil develops Paul's words, using Jewish worship as an example of the sort of event which would need only a childlike understanding, and is like 'seeing through a glass darkly'. The second area of knowledge, 'which comes through the Gospel is fitting for a man in every respect grown up.' (158)

Basil explores this issue of categories of knowledge further in his very important letter to a group of semi-Arians, apologising for a surprise retreat away from tumult, he writes from Caprales, praising his friend Gregory Nazianzen, with whom he is staying, as 'a deep well-spring', feeling able to address himself to the issues at hand. (159)

He talks of two types of knowledge, that able to be apprehended by the senses, which rely on actual tangible objects, and do not need to be taught how to acquire their data; and secondly, that of the mind, which similarly, does not have to be taught how to perceive but 'requires faith and right conversation which make 'its feet like hinds' feet, and set it on high places". (160)

As was briefly mentioned above, Basil considers the acquisition of those daily skills necessary for the proper functioning of society. It is important, in order to present a balanced account of Basil's theories of education, to outline this part of the learning process.

He was well aware that to ^{successfully,} run a monastery, or indeed any community, the basic skills are neglected at some

cost, witness Gregory's and his own struggles to make a success of their retreat at Pontus.

In section eight of 'Ad Adolescentes', he cites as an example of a goal in life, the handcraftsman as having 'some end in view in their work.' The pilot has learnt the skills of navigation, the sailor and shipwright the art of ships and sailing, the worker in bronze or wood, strives for the end proper to his craft.' That Basil makes some differentiation of status between the scholar and artisan, is not to be denied, 'but that we should fall behind even such as artisans...'. But from his point of view, he, the teacher, was striving for souls, not to produce a gilt statue.

In the 'Longer Rules', (161) Basil asks the question, '...what arts [should we be taught which] befit our profession?' In a note to this section, W.K.L. Clarke, says, 'The caenobium was a hive of zealous manual workers'. So the question was particularly relevant to the practical business of religion.

The answer given is that any skill not at variance with the Scriptures and which will not necessitate long journeys, but 'generally speaking one may recommend the choice of such arts as preserve the peaceable and untroubled nature of our life' (162) It is also important that nothing produced by the community should endanger the recipients moral welfare. (163) The essential skills, according to Basil, are building, carpentry, metal-work and agriculture. (164)

As part of the education of character, Basil advises that not only should a person be assigned a trade, but he should not be

allowed easily to abandon it. 'If a man has an art...he ought not to desert it, for it is the mark of an inconstant mind and unstable judgement to despise what one is engaged on.' (165)

It is just this point, of constancy of purpose, and the ability through education to be able to make and accept the right choices that will gain for us our ultimate goal, which is Basil's sole aim.

2.5,iii. The person of the teacher

No discussion on education would be complete without an examination of the sort of person Basil had in mind as the teacher, the instigator of the whole process, the vital key.

As with all arbitrary categorising, Basil's ideas on any particular area of education can be found in many of his treatises and letters, and some over-lap is inevitable. However it has been possible to find four main sources where he speaks of the role of the teacher: his letter to 'Festus and Magnus', (166) probably written towards the end of Basil's life, P.J.Fedwick puts it tentatively in 378; 'De Renuntiatione Saeculi', (167) 'The Morals' (168) and the 'Shorter Rules.' (169)

Basil is most concerned with the actual character and erudition of the teacher himself. He describes himself in section two of 'Ad Adolescentes' as 'the father of his pupils,' (170) and the ideal father is all things to his children: authority, mentor and provider, and so should the teacher be.

In the letter to 'Festus and Magnus', he likens the teacher to a father whose duty it is to make 'provision for his children; a husbandman's to tend his plants and crops; a teacher's to bestow care upon his pupils.' He extends the metaphor to point out that it is a two way process, because the pupils must, 'show signs of promise', and be like, 'ears [that] ripen, 'and 'plants [that] increase.'

The soteriological element, the spring of all Basil's educational philosophy, is implied in his praise of his two

correspondents, that having been able to plant the seeds of piety in their souls, his ambition was fulfilled as he says, his 'prayers, were furthered by your love of learning.'

He concludes by referring to the letter form itself, as being an evocative and effective means of teaching, 'Instruction is bounded neither by sea nor land, if only we have a care for our souls profit.'

The role of the teacher is seen as a development from that of the teacher of the liberal arts, to being the person who now uses the skills of teaching and learning gained in the world, to inculcate the values of living in a community and the discipline this naturally involves.

In 'De Renuntiatione Saeculi', (171) the writer, most likely Basil, goes into considerable detail to define what is involved in the art of teaching, that it was intended for a religious community makes no difference to its relevance to any teacher in any age, regardless of status or subject. Its implications for the understanding of the role of the teacher make it necessary to follow it closely :

- 1.The teacher must be able to guide his student, knowing the route which must be travelled.
- 2.His character must have on it no blemish, as this would be a cause of losing the respect of the student.
- 3.It follows that the daily life of the teacher must be exemplary, that it may be an example to the student.
- 4.The teacher must be knowledgeable, - a lack of knowledge in his speciality would lessen his credibility.

5. He must not be easily distracted, but keep strictly to the subject.

6. A part of his character must be warm, showing generosity and enthusiasm.

7. As a father and therefore a confidant of the student, being so much in each other's company, it is essential that he is known to keep his own counsel. (A point made by Basil in 'Ad Adolescentes'.)

8. With the above point is linked the idea of quietness. A pupil who knows that his teacher has peace of mind, will also learn equanimity.

9&10. The teacher should love God and have regard for the poor, especially in his situation in a religious community.

11. The teacher should be 'not easily provoked', showing the right balance of patience and discipline.

Finally he says 'And if thou shouldst find such a man, give thyself to him, rejecting and throwing away thy own will, that thou mayest be found to resemble a pure vessel'. But there is a warning that without the will to succeed and, if the student does not follow the rules, then all 'the good things put into thee sour, and thou shalt be thrown away like a useless vessel'. There is also a description of the power to evil of a bad teacher who will be 'ready to connive at thy passions,' so 'both shall fall into the pit'. (172)

In the 'Shorter Rules', after repeating some of the above criteria Basil asks, 'Who is wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove?' The answer is the teacher who knows the very important

principle of economy in education. The good teacher is one who knows 'what is possible and readily attainable, and teaches in a way that not only will his students want to hear what he has to say, but will also accept the content of the lesson. (173)

As if not enough models of the perfect teacher have been given, Basil reminds us that that teacher must look the part being correctly dressed, to speak persuasively and use those successful methods of teaching learnt through experience. The good teacher will know instinctively the right moment to press home his point, and at the correct level for his students. Basil, with his years of experience in teaching, rhetoric and attending the classes of the best teachers in the world, was well informed as to the qualities necessary to carry the message of the new Christian Paideia into the world.

2.5,iv. The art of speech.

The teacher is a weak instrument without a good command of his language. He could have all the qualities enumerated at length in the previous section and fail owing to the lack of a strong speaking technique. We know that Basil was trained and had some ambition as a rhetor, (174) He had been asked to be teacher of rhetoric at Caesarea, and it was only the advice of his sister, Macrina, that decided him in following the religious life. (175)

There is no need, then, to doubt Basil's credentials as a teacher and rhetorician, which harnessed to the power of the Gospels and the example of St Paul, were an irresistible combination. Libanius was lavish in his praise of his former pupil, 'But I am unwilling to say anything clever. When I have seen your speech it will teach me the art of expressing myself.' (176)

The examples chosen to explore Basil's thoughts in this area are concerned with the problems of teaching within the situation of a religious community, but are equally relevant to the teacher in general.

It is in his letter to Gregory, (177) that we get a rare glimpse of Basil, the professional rhetor, giving advice, hard won by experience. The speaker must be sure to prepare for the eventuality of argument and adversity, 'One should reflect first what one is going to say...'. Having taken the floor, he must be able to deal with questions 'without desire for display'. He spends some time stressing the need for the correct modulation of

the voice, which is connected with the psychological point that it is not just the content of what is said which has power, but the whole manner of the speaker. 'The more you show modesty and humility yourself, the more likely you are to be acceptable [to your audience]'. The problem, here, is how does the speaker achieve the end of good acceptable teaching, but at the same time administer rebukes, while being encouraging - an apparent contradiction? (178) Basil answers the difficulty, and at the same time shows the gulf between pagan rhetoric and Christian teaching, by drawing questioners' attention to the fact that the things of which he speaks are not of him, 'Exercis[ing] his knowledge as his private possession in a spirit of authority, ...' but as, '...an act of service to God and of care for souls...'

In 'De Fide', (179) he tackles the same problem, but here links it with a specific reason for the need for two different styles of oration, i.e. heresy, which needs the language of refutation, but in the hope that it has been abandoned. The second style of language is that of exhortation, convincing his listeners of the need to practise and learn about a sound faith. He says that in this case, the language must be simple and homely. 'The same method of speaking is not fitting for us on this occasion.' He quotes St Paul as saying how important it was 'to know how ye ought to answer each one'. (180)

For a teacher concerned with the educating of young souls and minds, it would be easy to fall, himself, into the state of mind which was self-congratulatory. For instance in the 'Longer

Rules', (181) he discusses the need for someone who has the necessary skills, 'knowledge and experience', to settle disputes and teach in the community, that person having the charisma of being entrusted with all the responsibilities of speaking 'without ostentation, wisely and listening prudently...' If he does all these things well and can see that 'the hearers are moved by what he says', How does this teacher know that 'he rejoices with a good motive, or a selfish one'? It is not a trivial question, because it is essential that the teacher lives according to his principles, and he could be putting his own soul at risk in educating others when he realises that it his words that are being eagerly accepted.

The acid test, says Basil, is in the final result. If it is the adulation the teacher enjoys and he pays little attention to the practical daily effect of his words, then he is indeed speaking for its own sake. If on the other hand, his teaching is obviously changing his students for the better, then 'he was not seeking his own glory, but the glory of God and the education of the brethren'. (182)

His other great regard concerning the power of the spoken word, is the need for self-discipline. This affects both the teacher and the pupil, and is the negative aspect of the gift of speech. In Letter Nine 'To Maximus the Philosopher', (183) he comments that 'in truth words are really an image of the mind. 'How important then, in the area of education that words are always given their true value. Unfortunately, as in the instance of visitors to the community, the slightest error invokes the

greatest harm, in speaking to them, as they come for edification. Only the designated spokesman may therefore address them. (134)

Another example is given in 'De Renuntiatione', (135) that a teacher must not speak carelessly to an inferior, 'Be idle as regards idle talk, prudent and intelligent as regards...the divine Scriptures.' And again (136) rather than 'put thy head into their conversations...and be ridiculed', let 'words of consolation take precedence of all others,' 'that thou mayest give joy to him who talks with thee.' A fitting conclusion to an aspect of education which covers all intellectual human activity and which Basil discusses here in relation to the personal encounter between pupil and teacher.

That Basil has not forgotten, nor is divorced from his own education, is shown in his light-hearted letter to Leontis the Sophist, (137) complaining that he never writes to him, and anyway his former, much revered rhetorical style has been corrupted by familiarity with the 'common speech'. He nostalgically notes that for a Sophist or an Athenian, the tongue...is as little likely to be quiet as the nightingales when spring stirs them to song.

2.6 Conclusion - The Gaining of Wisdom.

In a conclusion, concerning St Basil and education, I have tried to compile a section which expounds the purpose of education as Basil saw it. In the 'Shorter Rules' (188) he poses the question, 'What is the good treasure and what the evil?' His answer is very pertinent to our study. He calls the 'good treasure', wisdom, which is 'every virtue in Christ'.

The purpose of our gaining wisdom, is that our understanding and knowledge should apprehend all that is available to us in order to achieve our salvation. That it is very difficult is attested to by Basil, who asks why, if God gives us the awesome gifts of knowledge and wisdom, do we still not understand? (189) Even St Paul says, 'And they liked not to have God in knowledge' (190)

Basil answers the question by the analogy of the sun. 'And he who is devoid of understanding is rightly accused as one who, when the sun rises, shuts his eyes that he may live in darkness and not look up and be illuminated.' (191) - 'illumination' is education.

The use of education is further defined in the homily 'On the Spirit', (192) quoting St Paul, that we must 'put on the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him which created him'. (193) It is the role, therefore, of the educator to provide the impetus for this to occur within the heart of men, and for every facility to be explored in all fields of learning, in the Scriptures, in the Paideia and in the manual skills.

In Letter Two, 'To Gregory Nazianzen', previously mentioned, Basil enumerates four points which will enable education to take place:

- 1. To achieve quietness of mind.
- 2. To achieve an independence of the heart in order to 'receive every impress of the Divine Wisdom'.
- 3. To achieve a mind open to the influences of true education, but closed to prejudice.
- 4. 'Preparation of heart is the unlearning the prejudices of evil converse. It is the smoothing of the waxen tablet before attempting to write on it'.

As it will be remembered from 'Ad Adolescentes', education for Basil was a dual responsibility. The teacher had to be a model of perfection, actually living by the precepts he taught. The pupil had to be aware of all the dangers inherent in the gaining of knowledge and assiduously^{ly} develop the faculty of judgement.

Basil makes out a very powerful case for a 'total' education. There is no area which is left unexplored : the basic tools, the matching of subject to the ability of the pupil, the value of the traditional education and its dangers and eventually the ability to see the good life, in community, as an education for salvation.

3. SAINT GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN. (A.D.329 - 390)

3.1 Gregory's education.

In commencing a study of St Gregory's contribution to Christian education and collecting together the relevant material, it soon becomes apparent that we are in the presence of, not a forthright bishop, anxious to attack, head on, the evils of the world; but rather a more gentle character who is very aware of his failures and possesses the humility to acknowledge them. Fr George Dragas says of him, 'St Gregory is the visionary of the Church, who, becoming captive to the uncreated light of the divine glory, makes the vision of God the first aim and supreme value of his life.'(194)

This is not to say that his thoughts on education were any less stringent than those of his two fellow hierarchs, St Basil and St John, but that he had a further dimension of himself that allowed him the extra perspective of the artist, or poet. He could stand that further pace back and question not only the world but himself as well.(195) He presents to the world those characteristics often possessed by the artist: an affectionate nature needful of companionship, tender-hearted and quick of feeling, never able to be the city prelate but as Newman says of him, just 'poor, dear good

Gregory, a monk of Nazianzus, who in spite of all his learning and eloquence, was but a child...' (196)

In his poem 'Hymn to God', (197) he asks in what way is it possible to bridge the gap between the limitations of language and the unknowable 'One and All' -

"You are above all things
And what other way can we
rightly sing of you?"

Gregory was born to Nonna and Gregory in the year 329, in Nazianzus, a small town in the south - west of Cappadocia. He was one of three children, there being Caesarius and Gorgonia, on whose deaths he composed funeral orations, which underline the love he enjoyed within this family. (198)

The religious antecedents of the family are quite remarkable and give some indication as to the atmosphere of the children's upbringing. Like the families of Basil and John, it was very wealthy, owning substantial property in the area of Arianus, where Gregory the elder was born. That they were no strangers to religious controversy is substantiated by the fact that he belonged to an obscure sect called the Hypsistarians or 'illuminated theists', which combined some of the ideas of Judaism, Persian religious practice and Christianity. (199) In 325, Gregory, having seen the error of his ways, was baptized by Leontius of Caesarea. He was soon ordained and shortly afterwards became Bishop of Nazianzus. F.Farrar reports that he was 'an earnest opponent of Arianism', and his church became 'like the ark in the deluge.' His son describes it as 'a woodland and rural church...which (had grown) wild for lack of a leader' (200) He restored

it at his own expense, ably supported by the person who had brought him out of error, Nonna, his wife. Thus our Gregory, grew up in a family which was at the centre of constant activity for the Church.

In the wider context, the religious climate of Cappadocia at this time, was much influenced by the teaching and attitude to Scripture and the Greek *paideia* of Origen. The route this took to this place was through St Gregory Thaumaturgus, called the apostle of Cappadocia. He had been a pupil of Origen for the five years of his exile in Palestine. (201) W. Jaeger remarks that he was 'the link between Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, all of whom were great readers and admirers of Origen'. (202) Indeed, Basil and Gregory worked together to produce the 'Philocalia', an anthology of scriptural commentaries taken from the writings of Origen. (203)

Gregory's own education can be said to have begun when his mother Nonna, overjoyed at having the boy she had so desired and dreamed about, (204) took him to the church (his father's) and put his hands on the book of the Gospels and dedicated his life to the Church. (205)

After the lessons learnt at his mother's knee, in which the basic skills would have been achieved, W. Jaeger records that Gregory, as a young boy, attended the municipal school [grammaticus] in Nazianzus, (206) and developed a love for the study of eloquence, 'which he regarded as the most powerful means of defending the truth.' As he soon required a wider syllabus, his father sent him to Caesarea in Cappadocia to study under Carterius, (who might also have taught John Chrysostom). It is also likely that it was here that he met Basil. (207)

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Following Origen's advice on learning, in order to be on equal terms with pagan and Jewish disputants, (208) it would probably be here that they would commence their studies to 'acquaint themselves with every Greek philosophy,' and start the 'long intellectual journey', in which they must, 'always eliminate that which seemed sophistic and weak and laying before them what in his opinion was good and sound.' (209) Basil then travelled to Constantinople, while Gregory went to the School of Rhetoric in Palestinian Caesarea, studying under Thespesius (210) and having as his companion, Euzoius, (who would become a semi-Arian bishop.) It is also here that he had the opportunity to study from the books of the martyr, Pamphilus, also a pupil of Origen.

In about the year 350 Athanasius had returned to his beloved Alexandria, and Gregory, whose reputation was growing, could well have met him there. He was to write an oration in his honour. (211) Paul Gallay stresses the cultural influences that abounded in this great Egyptian city, the protector, par excellence, of the Greek paideia in the fourth century. 'Alexandrie etait, de tradition, le carrefour ou se recontraient les idees et les croyances les plus diverses.' (212) We have only to recall the Museum with its 400,000 volumes and the Serapeion with its 42,800; and the legacy of Philo; neo-Platonism and the Christian School of Clement, Origen and Didymus to understand the milieu into which Gregory, after his acquaintance with Egyptian monasticism, would find himself. (213)

Gregory's 'grande tour' was yet to be completed. For all students at this time, on their 'intellectual pilgrimage', the final goal had to be Athens, the home of all that was revered in the annals of Greek

culture. She was in fact no longer the capital city of the province, that honour now lay with Corinth. Her art treasures had been used to embellish the 'New Rome'- Constantinople, but still her reputation as the centre of learning out-lived the reality. 'Pour appartenir a l'elite des gens cultives, il fallait presque necessairement avoir passe Athenes.' (214) Or as F. Farrar puts it, 'There was at that epoch a sort of sophisto - mania, on the part of the young.' (215)

For a student of rhetoric, with as serious a purpose as had Gregory, the time spent, reunited with Basil, in this city was to prove the most rewarding.

His studies in Athens would have consisted of the traditional rhetoric and philosophy, although the latter would not have received the same degree of attention. Rosemary Ruether makes the point that the liberal arts would have been taught but not to any great depth. 'The mathematical branches of the seven liberal arts continued to hold their place in educational theory, but in practice were taught in a very rudimentary way, and grammar or literary studies usurped most of the curriculum. (216) 'Practical professional training was sparse except perhaps for medicine. Caesarius, Gregory's brother, studied medicine at Alexandria and became chief physician at the court of both Emperor Constantius and Julian

In the ancient world, Athens in particular, rhetoric and philosophy competed for the lead in culture and education. The state of philosophy was not good. R. Ruether suggests that although Marcus Aurelius established two chairs of philosophy for each school by the end of the third century these were vacant. (217) Pride of place was obtained by the sophist because he could command fees for the service

he provided, the philosopher, because he was supposed to have no need for materialistic values, could not survive. 'By the mid fourth century, the Stoic and Epicurean schools most probably had ceased to exist at Athens, and Peripatetic studies were generally taken over by academics. Thus of the four schools, the only one which certainly survived as an independent institution in Gregory's time was the Academy. Whether he studied there is another question. (218) 'It is relevant to note that at this time the Academy was staffed mainly by teachers of the Neo-platonist persuasion, and it was these who, with their enthusiasm to revive the Classic pagan rites, had such an influence on the nominally Christian and impressionable Julian. Much criticism can be levelled at the teachers of rhetoric as well. F. Farrar says, 'The picture drawn of them is not flattering...they cultivated an Asiatic and euphuistic style ...so intolerable that the writings of the majority of them have perished. Their conceit and avarice made them the laughing stock of practical men.' (219) In his Oration 43, Gregory remarks that 'we, our minds being closed up, and fortified against this, suffered no injury.' (220)

It is not certain how far Gregory took his philosophic studies, and whether he ever belonged to a 'school'. References to the classical authors in his writings include brief mentions of such teachers as: Epictetus, Pythagoras, Diogenes the Cynic, Epicurus, Socrates and Zeno, to name but a few. 'Only in the case of Plato and Aristotle, does Gregory make the kind of references that imply closer study'. He needed to be aware of these two philosophers because they also formed a part of his rhetorical studies. R. Ruether thinks that he had little contact with Neo-platonism because he seems to have 'inherited (this)

from Origen', and therefore would assume 'these ideas to be Christian.' (221)

What then is the relevance of this survey of the contemporary intellectual life for our study of Gregory? Werner Jaeger expresses it succinctly: 'All this knowledge was of importance later when they (Basil and Gregory) were the spiritual leaders of their age. They never taught these subjects but they enlarged their intellectual horizon and raised the level of their minds.' 'The Cappadocians communicated (their knowledge) to the whole of the Christian world, especially through the rhetorical art of their homilies!' (222)

3.2 Gregory's texts relating to education.

In examining Gregory's written works with regard to his thoughts on the importance of education, it is necessary to be aware that unlike Basil and John Chrysostom, he did not make an especial case for the role of education as a separate part of his teaching, rather it was implicit that it was the given factor that enabled progress to be made towards individual salvation.

He produced no treatise that dealt with a particular aspect of education. Indeed in his 'Panegyric on Basil' (Or.43.) he says, 'I take it as admitted by men of sense, that the first of our advantages is education;' that is education as a whole and continues by making out the case for the study of pagan learning.

In common with Basil and John, Gregory advocates an open mind concerning knowledge, in his 'Panegyric on Caesarius', (Or.7) he praises his brother's wide education. Concerning the interdependence of wisdom and salvation Gregory discusses this in several places notably in the 'Second Theological Oration', (Or.28), where he speaks of the knowledge of creation as a pointer to the knowledge of God which is impossible to express in language, and in the 'Panegyric on Basil'; here he also outlines the necessity of making a judicial choice in the use of learning, a point which he repeats in the poem, 'De Vita Sua', that learning is only of value to the Christian when properly directed.

Gregory's appeal as a teacher stems to some degree from his own problems of coming to terms with his own role as a teacher within Christianity. In his 'Defence of His Flight to Pontus' (Or. 2) he reveals his awareness of the responsibilities of priest and teacher and the value of education in the process of the making of decisions. One thinks of his feelings for the situation of his father coping in old age with the weight of his diocese in Arianus.

Rosemary Ruether very usefully quotes from several of Gregory's letters which show his rather awkward attitude to the traditional educational tools of rhetoric and sophistry. In Letter 233. 'To Ablabius', he criticises him for his flights of fancy into the Classical world which could work against his Christian faith, and yet in Letters 10. 'To Candidianus', and 32. 'To Philagrius' he seems to regret the loss of the opportunity to practise as a rhetor and to praise many of the good qualities of the ancient philosophers. And yet in Letter 11. 'To Gregory of Nyssa', he calls him 'ridiculous' at returning to the teaching of rhetoric. Perhaps the answer lies in the thin line between that education which can be termed 'ours' of whatever source, and 'theirs', which is acceptable in some contexts.

Commentators on Gregory such as Rosemary Ruether, Paul Gallay, Frederic Farrar, D.F. Winslow and D. Tsamis, have not only helped to present Gregory's educational philosophy to the twentieth century mind but have shown him to be an integral part of the development of Christian education. In the final analysis, although we do not have any equivalent to Basil's 'Address to

Young Men Concerning Pagan Literature', or John's 'Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children', we see Gregory as being one of the foremost educators of the Christian world in the totality of his writings.

The texts concerning the orations, including the panegyrics, can be found in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, volume vii, translated by C.G. Browne and J.E. Swallow, Oxford, 1894. Gregory's writings are presented in dignified language and it reads well. It is useful to have a great deal of text on one page. The poems 'De Vita Sua' and 'De Rebus Suis', are to be found in The Fathers of the Church, Volume 75, translated by D.M. Meehan, Washington, 1967. In the same series the panegyrics, translated by L.P. McCauley. There is also a small collection of poems translated by John McGuckin, Oxford, 1986.

3.3 Gregory's relationship with pagan learning.

Although Gregory's attitude to pagan learning can be seen to be, at times contradictory and difficult to ascertain, he uses, in his role of rhetorician and teacher, all the traditional skills and knowledge inherent in being part of the Greek paideia. In his 'Panegyric on His Brother, Caesarius,' he makes one of his strongest points the breadth of his brother's education. 'What branch of learning did he not master?...From geometry and astronomy, that science so dangerous to anyone else ...not attributing...all things to the influence of the stars'.(223) The phrase 'anyone else', is interesting here, because it gives some corroboration to Rosemary Ruether's suggestion that the Fathers have a 'double standard' which they employ, depending on their audience - 'In their orations, the Fathers often took a more polemical line towards things pagan than in their letters. The orations, after all, were delivered in church, and thus represented more of the 'official' attitude on these subjects.' (224)

In Letter 32, Gregory says, 'On the other hand, I admire the manliness and magnanimity of the Stoics...that a good man is happy even when burning in the bull of Phalaris...I am, of course, an admirer of our own Christian heroes...But I am also an admirer of those pagans who resemble them, like that famous Anaxarchus, Epictetus or Socrates ...' But in his Oration 27, he

harangues the congregation (Eunomians) '...Attack the Ideas of Plato and the transmigrations and courses of our souls...Attack the atheism of Epicurus and his atoms...or Aristotle's petty providence...the superciliousness of the Stoa...the greed and vulgarity of the Cynic.' (225)

On reflection, Gregory is consistent in his view, especially when considered from the vantage point of his world. Surely, as a teacher he should be aware of the dangers of speaking above the heads of his congregation. In front of him are the people who are not intellectuals, have not benefitted from study in Athens, Alexandria and Caesarea and are daily beset by the superstitions accumulated over the pagan centuries. That he is aware is perhaps illustrated in the 'Second Theological Oration' in which he outlines the difficulties of apprehending the true basis of a wisdom available to educated and uneducated alike. 'The truth then, and the whole Word is full of difficulty and obscurity; and as it were with a small instrument we are undertaking a great work, when with merely human wisdom we pursue the knowledge of the Self-Existent...We are unable by meeting bare realities with bare intellect to approximate somewhat more closely to the truth, and to mould the mind by its concepts.' (226)

The next section [22], is concerned with all the physical causes and effects of natural phenomena. He asks 'What is the drawing of nature, and the mutual relation between parents and children, that it should be held together by a spell of love?'... 'And you might discuss many more points concerning man's

members and parts, and their mutual adaptation both for use and beauty, and how some are connected and others disjoined... 'If Gregory is this aware of physical, spiritual and intellectual differences then to say that he is blind to the Greek paideia and thinks that a totally new system is possible without any recourse to the past (and his present) is obviously wrong. Proof of the evenhandedness of his position is seen in his 'Panegyric on Basil',: 'I take it as admitted by men of sense, that the first of our advantages is education; and not only this our more noble form of it, (i.e. Christian), which disregards rhetorical ornaments and glory, and holds to salvation, and beauty in the objects of our contemplation: but even that external culture which many Christians ill-judgingly abhor, as treacherous and dangerous, and keeping us afar from God...but to reap what advantages we can from them for our life and enjoyment, while we avoid their dangers.' (227) In so doing he brings all creation into the realm of education, because if differentiated intelligently, there is no need to deny God the credit of creating all knowledge and all things. To deny a whole area of knowledge because man has misinterpreted it is saying God has erred in this matter.

Gregory states the case even more directly in 'In Defence of His Flight to Pontus'. In which he speaks of the skill necessary to train animals. So that the master must 'show himself manifold and various in his knowledge, and apply to each a treatment suitable for it...' 'And since the common body of the Church is composed of many different characters and minds, like a single

animal compounded of discordant parts...[he must be varied in his treatment of individuals, and dealing with all in an appropriate and suitable manner.' (228) In case there is any doubt as to his meaning he provides a further metaphor: 'For some need to be fed with milk of the most simple ... doctrines, ... nay, if it were presented to them beyond their strength, they would probably be overwhelmed ... owing to the inability of their mind, ... to digest and appropriate what is offered to it.' (229)

He sees then that to these people in his care as teacher and educator, his responsibility is to present to them the very best case for Christianity and he cannot afford to trifle with the all pervading strength of the paideia. It was not even the true unadulterated paideia, as it was tainted with many disreputable practices, and was seen to be decadent even by such 'romantics' as Julian and Libanius. Julian was well aware of the latent strength of Christianity, and sought to reform and purify the 'received' pagan tradition especially in its social message and issued edicts to remodel the pagan priesthood on Christian lines. (230)

I think it relevant at this juncture to look at Gregory in the role of teacher so that this area of his use of the Greek paideia may be placed alongside his careful separation of his acceptance of the truths contained in pagan learning and the dangers of the religious element it contained, because it was a first premise 'That the Greek language and its literature and culture [the paideia] belong to the Hellene, the worshipper of the old gods.' (231) As we have seen, for Julian, in his efforts

to perpetuate the Neo-Classicism of fourth century Athens, they were inseparable.

In his letter to Seleucus, Gregory says, 'Perfect yourself in studies, in the works of the historians, in the books of the poets, in the smooth-flowing eloquence of the orators. Be versed too in the subtle disquisitions of the philosophers. Have a prudent familiarity with all these, wisely culling from them all that is useful, carefully avoiding what is injurious in each ... Whatever they have to say in praise of virtue, or again in censure of vice, do you earnestly study it, assimilate the thought and the charm of style. But their nonsensical writings about the gods...myths [and] demons, avoid these as you would a ... snare.' He ends his comments with the familiar metaphor of the beautiful rose: 'Pluck the rose but shun the thorns, the same tree bears both.'... (232)

A study of 'Gregory as a teacher' is the same as saying 'Gregory as Rhetor', this he never ceased to be. In 'The Flight to Pontus', he outlines succinctly the methods he must use to obtain the maximum effect, methods which in the hands of the inexperienced or the unscrupulous teacher are so fraught with danger for those who 'need to be fed with milk.' These have the power to mix true teaching with that which is 'common and cheap', 'to curry favour with everyone, becoming ventriloquists and chatterers ...shedding the innocent blood of simple souls.' Rather the wise teacher will defer to the more experienced, will listen rather than speak foolishly, discuss teaching method with 'Advisors of no mean worth and who wish us well.' To be well

trained oneself, as a teacher, before attempting the responsibility of teaching others is a bounden duty, for 'to learn the potter's art on a wine jar [is] excessive rashness - folly, if we are not aware of our own ignorance; rashness, if in spite of this knowledge we venture on the task' (233)

He must have had in mind a familiar sight of teachers in the great centres who collected together a few choice phrases, dressed up 'properly in a cloaklet, or are wearing at least a philosopher's girdle...some appearance of piety - phew! How we take the chair and show our spirit...we are at once high teachers ...the letter is nowhere...and our dreams are utter drivel.' (234)

Here Gregory is not just our teacher and guide but the commentator of contemporary affairs. Not here the sensitive artist in words hiding from the bustle of the world but the astringent critic of the false values and charlatans of his time and ours. A teacher who is thus aware of the dangers and imperfections surrounding the unwary is only substantiating his reputation as an educator of the whole person and the world.

Perhaps it would be useful, at this stage, to remind ourselves of the role rhetoric played in the scheme of education followed by Gregory. (and the other Cappadocian Fathers (235)) Rosemary Ruether says, 'Rhetoric in the ancient world, was simultaneously a science, an art, an ideal of life and the pillar of classical education and culture.' For Gregory, 'Rhetoric formed his education, moulded his literary style, and gave him the ...tools', with which he would address the world. (236)

The issue is whether, Gregory deliberately rejects the significance of the Greek paideia, in which rhetoric plays such an integral part, and succeeds in divorcing it from Christian pedagogy? R. Ruether seems to agree that he is inconsistent, saying that Gregory's conscious attitude towards sophistic and classical culture ...can only be described as equivocal at best.' Continuing, that according to Gregory, Christians should have nothing to do with 'pagan culture, or with the niceties of sophistic eloquence.' (237)

To suggest an answer to this negative view, which apparently fails to distinguish between the 'paideia' of the development of the idea and the 'paideia' which could be termed, 'decadent' or again perhaps, 'the greater and the lesser', we must turn, yet again to the scholarship of W.W.Jaeger. He seeks to place Gregory into his proper context. As a general comment he makes the point that Greek literature and art forms were being increasingly accepted as part of the concept of a Christian paideia by Christian teachers. Furthermore it has to be remembered that this movement towards a Christian philosophy and scholarship was part of the hard won inheritance gained within the Alexandrian tradition pioneered through the study of Philo through to its development by Clement and Origen. (238)

Gregory's contribution is now made clear, as W.Jaeger states, 'In Gregory Nazianzen the revival of the old Greek literary forms through the infusion of the Christian spirit results in the creation of a Christian literature. 'Thus through a process of 'natural selection' the genius of the paideia has been

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retained and refined, using the process of judicious and divine syncretism. Not all parts had equal validity, and could be seen to lack the essential point of focus. Gregory provided this through his emphasis on soteriological education. It was the gift of the Cappadocian Fathers to be able to extract, at this crucial and troubled time in the history of the Church, the vital essence of the true paideia. (239)

The importance of the role of rhetoric should now be evident. This being nothing less than the vehicle of education. For Gregory, [and Basil and John] there was no other medium of public teaching available. As H. Marrou says, 'The spoken word reigned supreme.' (240) But it must not be thought that in the term 'rhetoric', we are referring to mere ornamental eloquence, nor that the written word could not also be included.

In the rhetoric of Gregory was included 'an amazing breadth of interests', says Jaeger, and these were used in an educational way for the primary good of the Church. (241) He could be termed the 'Perfect sophist', who had a universal competence. Marrou, also emphasizes that the narrow sense of the word 'rhetoric' must be avoided, and that from being the form of persuasive language used for the recovery of goods in a court of law, a whole educational syllabus developed with such illustrious practitioners and teachers as Corax, Tisias, Gorgias and of course, the founder of 'education', Isocrates. (242)

The Cappadocians mostly used that form of rhetoric called 'epideit^c_{ic}', i.e. the eloquence of the set speech. This was, at this time, 'in thriving condition, seeping into all the

neighbouring subjects and invading everything.' With Gregory it was obvious that his use of rhetorical form reflected the mutual dependence Christianity and the paideia enjoyed. It proved to be the crown of liberal education, as 'learning to speak properly meant learning to think properly, and even to live properly'. (243)

Gregory the teacher and Christian educationist made full use of his talents and of his heritage of the paideia with intelligent discrimination. Thereby fulfilling his own criteria as to the balancing of the old wisdom with the structuring of the new.

In an article entitled, 'Of Thorns and Roses'. -The Logic of Belief in Gregory Nazianzen. (244) F.W. Norris shows that far from any idea of any rejection of the ancient classical and philosophical traditions, Gregory used them extensively. He draws on a study made by J. Focken, (Berlin, 1912), which looks at the use of argument in Gregory's writings. He shows, writes Norris, how 'Gregory stood in the stream of philosophical rhetoric - faithful to the type of education he had received.' The proof he asserts is that of Gregory's use of the 'Aristotleian enthymeme', which is a loosely stated syllogism together with an unexpressed premise, in the Third Theological Oration. Here Gregory showed that the Eunomians did not have a mastery of the paideia and revealed their misuse of the logic involved. It follows that in order to be aware of the linguistic weakness in an opponent, Gregory must have studied logic deeply enough to have used the ploy and by implication be totally

steeped in the most positive aspects of the language of the paideia. The fact that this was possible for him underlines the point previously made that he could be the most objective of teacher-scholars.

As a final accolade to Gregory's scholarship, G. Kennedy remarks that Gregory was the most important figure in the synthesis of classical rhetoric and Christianity, and that his 'Panegyric on Basil' was 'probably the greatest piece of Greek rhetoric since the death of Demosthenes.' (245)

3.4 Education as a means to knowledge and salvation.

Of the Three Hierarchs it is only Gregory, who wrote no specific treatise on 'education'. It is only he who sets no limit on a knowledge that will ensure the salvation of the whole person. In the Second Theological Oration [section 22], he says ' ... the scope of our art is to provide the soul with wings ...give it to God ... in short, to deify and bestow heavenly bliss upon, one who belongs to the heavenly host'. There is no limit to this education and no heights to which the teacher may not aspire.

But lest we be carried away by Gregory's total affirmation of the power of the bringer of light, he solemnly warns us this light could be as the sun at midday and still be the light of darkness (Or.40. 37). He is nevertheless aware of the habitual imperfection in himself and others and can therefore speak from the position of one experienced in the humiliation of failure.

For Gregory however, the person, who attempts and succeeds in gaining a position of respect as a teacher should in no way pride himself on his achievement, because if there are no limits as to his excellence then anyone who chooses so to do should be ashamed at not being of good quality and by falling short brings disgrace on his calling. (Or.2. 14)

Gregory shows his credentials as teacher by bringing to our attention the need to be able to distinguish the knowledge that will always be to our benefit which will be that gained from Christian teaching and that which will need great care if used as

a tool namely that which is gleaned from the best of the Greek paideia, or secular knowledge.

We have discussed Gregory's attitude to the best of pagan learning and know that he was aware of the power of its tradition and seductive beauty, indeed perhaps this was the reason he opted to remain in Athens after the departure of Basil. It should also be remembered he rather self-consciously agreed to give an example of his rhetorical skills when he eventually arrived back in Nazianzen. May we then take it as understood that within the limits suggested by his predecessors in the formation of a Christian paideia - Justin, Origen and Clement, (246) and his contemporary, Basil, he took Classical learning as a measure of the Christian intellectual's success or failure to use the tools of antiquity to forge the thought-language of an education for Christian virtue and salvation.?

But it must be borne in mind that it is this Gregory who of all the Fathers of the Church is the poet, whose gift of language can lift the mind and heart and who can cite the very essence of Classical beauty as we too would recognise it when he refers for instance to the excellence and power of movement denoted in the relief of the 'Gnossian chorus of Daedalus wrought for a girl...' (247)

Being so steeped in this atmosphere posed a problem for Gregory and his two fellow Hierarchs, Basil and John. This was resolved in the main by the process of careful selection only possible by reason of the outstanding level of education achieved by them personally. Their reputation equalled that of the best

scholarship of the Greek paideia and it was this fact that gave their position a permanent credibility.

It was, then, through his own depth of learning and awareness of the world of the intellect that Gregory knew unerringly that there was no area of human learning which, where the guiding of mankind towards his salvation was concerned, could be dismissed as worthless without proper examination.

He saw that it was the task of the teacher to select from the Scriptures, from the paideia and from the Christian writers all that could be of assistance in the task of the gaining of wisdom. In talking of his brother Caesarius, he remarks, '... he had gathered all virtue and knowledge into his single soul, as a great merchant ship gathers all kinds of [cargol],' (248) and this in his praise, he does not castigate him for learning and practising medicine, and for making his way in Byzantium. He praises his scholarship and dedication. All learning is of value if correctly apportioned.

This eclecticism of Gregory's needs perhaps to be more clearly stated. What were the strands of knowledge that he thought so important?

A little further on in his panegyric on Caesarius he records that his brother left Athens to pursue what would be a very prestigious career while Gregory says of himself, 'I determined to devote myself to philosophy and to adapt myself to a higher life ...' (249) He wished to extend his knowledge but this did not mean he felt that his brother's area of learning was of less value. Indeed Caesarius shows he was in no way lacking when it

came to arguing on the very ground that Julian took for his crusade. Gregory says of this early example of 'brinkmanship', that he 'was an athlete ready to contend in word and deed against a contestant who was capable of both ...on one side Christ, arming his athlete with His own suffering; on the other the dread tyrant, fawning upon him by the familiarity of his words...' (250) Victory was with Caesarius - his education had won him the day.

The philosophy, the depth and breadth of knowledge, to which Gregory aspired cannot be categorized as a 'school' or an academic movement, or that of a sophist eager for disputation for its own sake, rather it is the philosophy of the journey up through the terraces, not for himself but for the enlightenment of his fellow travellers. D. Tsamis quoting from Oration 25, says, '...we observe in Gregory a variety of expressions whenever he speaks about knowledge or in his terminology about 'philosophy'. The word 'philosophy' in Gregory does not always denote the same thing and does not have an exclusively epistemological meaning but can also have an empirical one that refers to the vision of life.' (251)

A further example which extends our understanding of Gregory's elusive delineation of areas of knowledge is given in his panegyric on Basil, ^{where} having praised Basil for his mastery of rhetoric and grammar, ^{he} says of his accomplishments regarding philosophy - and thereby making a distinction within it - 'Who was like him in philosophy, that truly sublime science which soars aloft, whether one considers the practical and speculative side, or that which deals with logical demonstrations and

oppositions and with controversies, namely dialectic?' (252) He hastens to reduce the value of other areas of learning as far as Basil was concerned, limiting them to a 'useful acquaintance' only.

Gregory however, does not see this philosophical knowledge as contrary or in opposition to the Christian reality of his time. It is an area of human thought which has developed over the centuries and needed Christian revelation and interpretation of the Fathers to bring it to its fruition. If he refers to Christian philosophy as 'our philosophy', and the philosophy of the paideia as the 'outer', he does so in order to harmonize them and bring mankind into a synthesis of salvation: 'Education is presented as the common possession of all rational beings'. It is the modifier of all human values. (253)

In his effort to emphasize that mankind should accept the gift of knowledge he does not forget that some knowledge is negative and potentially destructive. For example, he knew, from personal experience, that his contemporary student Julian, eagerly absorbed all the teachings of the pagan deities and the exciting mysteries of their cults and rituals, supported ^{as well} by poetry and hymn. There was also mistaken knowledge, that knowledge which through imperfection fails to comprehend its own ignorance which is exploited by the enemies of truth. 'But', says Gregory, 'let us at least be no longer ignorant in ourselves.'

Lack of proper care and skill in the knowledge required to fulfil the awesome responsibility of teaching is castigated by Gregory, especially those who misuse the gift of language in the

pursuit of status and popularity. Not only do we have to take care to choose our listeners lest the wisdom we have to impart is wasted and they cannot appreciate the gravity and beauty of the Christian paideia, but also we have to ask ourselves why we pursue useless knowledge, that which is the cause of 'great rivalry of speech and endless talking? Why have we tied our hands and armed our tongues?' He continues in the Socratic vein to bring out the point that there are many areas of knowledge worthy of pursuit without wasting time on the useless. 'Is it not that there are various modes of conduct and various purposes?' (Or. 27.7) ways in which one can travel with benefit without resorting to 'counterfeit wisdom' and the 'boosting of man's ego.' (254)

There is a further warning regarding the knowledge which belongs to the teacher in which failure could prove disastrous, namely that any teacher who fails to take into account that his hearers are each different in their ability to understand and act upon the teaching presented to them is failing in his given task of providing the tools of salvation. In his 'Defence For the Flight to Pontus', he shows his own wisdom and spends some time in listing all the possible pairs of opposites likely to be met with by the priest in dealing with his flock. There is even the fact that some may not be motivated towards any sort of learning at all. 'Some', he says, 'are led by doctrine, others trained by example, some need the spur, others the curb, some are sluggish...' (255) He likens this responsibility of the teacher to a tightrope walker : 'that just as it is not safe for those who walk on a high tight-rope to lean to either side, for even though

the inclination seem slight , it has no slight consequences, but their safety depends upon their perfect balance...' The analogy is obvious.

There is a note of sadness with regard to the plight of those who have been led into error through no fault of their own, whose education was lacking, but Gregory has hope that at the critical moment true knowledge will like a spark 'quickly kindle the torch of truth.' But he has no sympathy for those in error through arrogance and insolence. Who 'listen to all kinds of doctrines and teachers', and eventually 'after being deluged and trodden down by all kinds of doctrine, and having rung the changes on a long succession of teachers and formulae ... their minds are all wearied out ... and they become ...disgusted'. (256) He is particularly concerned here because these people cannot distinguish between their own ignorance and that of their poor teachers and true wisdom. Worse they have raised a wall around themselves totally missing the whole purpose of education.

Having pointed the way to a greater understanding of the theory of knowledge by looking at some of the negative issues we must return to and remind ourselves that we have established that for Gregory the study of philosophy in the hands of those able to cope with its discipline - and we have seen what happens to those who cannot - is the highest form of knowledge and this fact has not changed from Classical to Christian philosophy. The study of that 'outside philosophy' could be praised by Gregory in the hands of 'one of the Greek teachers of Divinity [who] taught, not unskilfully, as it appears to me...', of the difficulty of

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apprehending the Godhead. (257) Thus far can rational [and inspired?] man travel unaided. Even with our philosophy we cannot just through knowledge know Him, though we can know of Him truly. Gregory wonders whether looking outside human wisdom, the 'higher intelligences' can see God - he implies that here we are beyond knowledge and understanding and we enter into realm, of the world 'illumined with all His light'. (Or. 28. 4)

St Isaac the Syrian in his 'Ascetical Homilies', provides a timely suggestion for a standpoint similar to Gregory's and shows the way forward. He deals with three degrees of the study of knowledge. Firstly, that of rational wisdom, which gathers up the following : wealth, honour... the arts, sciences and all things 'dominated by the body'. The second operates when the first is seen to be deficient but which with a cooperation with the senses sets the soul on its path of virtue. The Third degree is that of Perfection and rises above the earthly. (258)

These criteria serve to put Gregory's position in its context. Immediately they seem more accessible and less abstract. In the Second Theological Oration, he is able to speak directly while at the same time not losing sight of the real purpose of his teaching. [On considering how this is, I wonder if it has to do with a very subtle use of concealed metaphor buried within the style?] 'The truth then, and the whole Word is full of difficulty and obscurity; and as it were with a small instrument we are undertaking a great work, when with merely human wisdom we pursue the knowledge of the Self-existent.' How then do we proceed? Even Solomon he says grew 'the more dizzy' the more he 'entered into

the depth'. He 'declared the furthest point of wisdom to be the discovery of how very far off she was from him.' (Or 28.21)

Having posed the question, Gregory then points the way. He starts by asking us to accept that our knowledge will only ever be able to comprehend a small proportion of even the wisdom available to us, and that is our place in God's creation. He asks how we as human beings are an integral part of this creation in which we move. He asks of himself, on our behalf, 'how [is it] that I flow downwards and yet am borne upwards, and how the soul is circumscribed ... and how the mind is at once circumscribed and unlimited, abiding in us and yet travelling over the universe in swift motion and flow?' (Or. 28.22)

He proceeds to question in close and amazing scientific detail all areas of creation from the fact that some animals have 'what we might call ...reason and power of learning', to the sounds of the grasshopper with a 'lute in his breast', and the swan who, 'when he spreads his wings to the breeze, makes melody of their rustling'.

It is this knowledge - the love and awareness of the beauty and order of creation which is the true test of wisdom. Are we able to rise to his challenge - 'if this knowledge has come within your reach...' ? Mankind does not even know 'what lies at [his] feet', and yet must 'gaze at the illimitable' [the stars] With some sarcasm Gregory says, 'You are so proud of your wonderful knowledge'. (Or 28.29)

Realising he has propelled us at the speed of light, from Caesarius arguing with the Emperor of Rome to the contemplation of the universe, he draws breath and asks, 'Shall we pause here?'

His whole drift is to try and point out to us, so certain of our own little store of wisdom, that we are powerless to progress in our own volition. It is this which is the reality of wisdom - the knowledge that we are so ignorant when compared with those who sing praises round the throne of the 'First Cause'. It is also that our intellect alone is powerless without the strength in faith and the unswerving belief in the Trinity - the one Godhead in Three Persons.

For the person with the responsibility of teaching and awakening this awareness of God and His Creation he will be raised up by Gregory's judgement of this task : It is 'the art of arts and the science of sciences, [this] skill of the guiding of man.' (259)

This man will be guided between the extremes, he will learn through faith and knowledge that he is confined yet able to see some way ahead, that wisdom is in the act of being drawn on. In his 'Defence of His Flight to Pontus', Gregory says, 'He is the purest light... Who enlightens the mind, and escapes the quickness and height of the mind, ever retiring as much as He is apprehended, and by His flight and stealing away when grasped, withdrawing to the things above one who is enamoured of Him.' (Or. 2. 76)

3.5 Conclusion - Theosis.

As Gregory did not leave us a specific educational treatise, we have consequently had to draw together his thoughts on educational matters, from many areas. We have explored his own studies and their relation to the Greek paideia and discussed his comments in the Orations. However it might be relevant to mention the ultimate purpose of Gregory's teaching, and one which Basil and John did not give so much prominence, i.e. the concept of 'Theosis'. (260)

Gregory was the theologian who emphasised that the essence of God is unknowable, and common logic is insufficient to encompass the mystery. Our minds are forced to depend on figurative and anthropomorphic language to bring the idea of God into our reach. This realization of the linguistic difficulties of belief and the connection between God and ourselves as expressible in thought and speech, is at the basis of Gregory's use of pagan philosophy and learning, because the language necessary to allow logical thought to approach the problem of speaking about God, only existed in the Greek paideia. 'His reputation (as a teacher), was based no less on the extent to which he used rhetoric as an instrument of communicating divine wisdom.' (261)

To Gregory, education did not appear as a 'subject'. Rather, it was a continuous and never ending effort to assimilate the divine and the human. It was a lifelong education to become worthy of being beacons of the faith. 'Let us become lights in the world,

holding forth to others the word of life...let us journey towards his light.' (262)

His role as teacher is made quite plain in his Oration 'On Holy Baptism,' 'If thy heart is written upon in some other way than as my teaching demands come and have the writing changed; I am no skilled calligrapher of these truths. I write that which is written upon my own heart; and teach that which I have been taught, and have kept from the beginning up to these grey hairs,' There was here, no separation between education and daily life. (263)

For Gregory, his constant seeking for a place of tranquility, in which to prepare himself for the heavenly state, was indicative of his view of the ultimate sanctuary, the goal to which all education led:

'No longer from afar will I behold the truth,
As if in a mirror reflected on the water's surface.
Rather, the truth itself will I see with eyes
unveiled...' (264)

This point is arrived at through the operation of the principal of 'Theosis,' a term used by Clement of Alexandria to denote the 'deifying action,' of the Incarnation and 'relating it to the contemporary Hellenic concept of 'assimilation to God'. Both Origen and Athanasius develop it, but according ^{to} D.F. Winslow, it was Gregory who first used the term, and made of it the major strand of his theological teaching. (265) It is here once again that we see Gregory draw upon the paideia. In a search for the origin of the idea of 'Theosis', it has been suggested that he

was well aware of its antecedents and sought to discount any dependence on any pre-Christian concept of 'deification'. It was a term used in many different ways, but Gregory uses it to show a 'dynamic relation between God and mankind, a relationship which is dependent upon God's creative and sustaining initiative, resulting in our progressive growth towards 'our ultimate fulfillment.' (266)

It is this process which permeates all Gregory's philosophy of education.

SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (A.D. 354 - 407)

4.1 Introduction

In considering the writings of St John Chrysostom concerning education it is necessary to define certain areas to which he addressed himself namely, the relationship between Christian and pagan learning; the qualities which the teacher must possess; teaching methods; the content of the teaching programme and the role of women, particularly the mother, in the education of the young. However much one might categorise the various aspects of St John's concern with education, it can all be reduced to his one main aim, and that is 'the cultivation of man', (267) and to that end it is essential to give the child the opportunity to grow in the Christian paideia. It was the duty of all educators to prepare the child for all the vicissitudes of life, and John did not spare his congregation from complicity in inhibiting the progress of this, the true aim of education. (268)

To present day readers his attitude may seem to be somewhat extreme and uncompromising, but two things have to be remembered, firstly, that in his youth he had been much attracted to the theatre in Antioch, the city, which more than any other in the Empire, had the reputation for easy living. (269) He had, therefore, first hand experience of the pitfalls awaiting the unguided young. Secondly, that there seemed no one but himself, able to see and express the dangers to such a wide following. Indeed in one of the homilies, he puts into a pagan Greek's mouth, the rhetorical question, 'How shall I believe it? For I do

not see anything like it in your conduct...show me another Paul, or a John: you cannot'! (270)

John saw, as the aims of his teaching ministry, the weaning of souls from a dependence on material values implicit in pagan culture, and the strengthening of the ordinary citizen in virtue so that he would be better able to distinguish the life which would obtain salvation from that which would gain him nothing. (271)

It is well to remember, in our efforts to envisage the scale of this man, Chrysostom, that besides sharing the icon dedicated to the 'Three Hierarchs', with St Basil and St Gregory, he has an icon on the iconostasis to himself, for the work he did on the Divine Liturgy of St Basil, making it more accessible, in the knowledge that of all instruments of teaching the Liturgy is the most effective and powerful. John seems to be the only teacher of his time that saw that scholarship was not enough, and remember he is reputed to have used 18,000 biblical quotations in his writings, (272) and that it was necessary to ally teaching and liturgy and practical work; to him it formed part of the same whole.

4.2 John's education.

Antioch, the city in which John was born in about 354, had many claims to posterity. It is the city from which it is reputed St Luke came. It was, in the fourth century, the third city in importance in the Empire after Athens and Alexandria and was the place where the name 'Christian' was first used. (273) It was one of the chief centres of Greek culture for over a thousand years, right up to the Arab invasion of the seventh century. Situated on the south bank of the River Orontes, it was a magnificent city - the main street alone was over five miles long and flanked with fine buildings. The reputation of its school was known all over the Roman world and many first rate scholars taught there. (274)

The position of the Christians in this bastion of classical paganism can be judged by the fact that, as in many other cities, pagan rites were still a part of daily life. In Rome, for instance, there was still a praetorian prefect, Flavian Nichomachus, who with much support restored the Altar of Victory to the Forum and ten years after this, when John was exiled, Optatus moved in on the Christians. There was by no means security of tenure. (275)

As we hear in many of John's homilies, his flock was by no means innured against the temptations of the life of this city. They have been described as an unstable population, excitable and much given to vice and superstition. The incident of the demolition of the statues bearing this point out. (276)

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As we have said John was born it is thought, about the year 354, to Secundus and Anthusa, who already had a daughter, but who had died in her teens. Secundus was a 'magister militum' and an 'illustris' of the Imperial Army of Syria. He died when Anthusa was only twenty, leaving her the task of bringing up the children and controlling the considerable finances of the family together with house and servants. (277) There was much social pressure on her to marry again but she resolutely devoted all her time to her family's welfare and drew sustenance from the love she had had for Secundus and for her Christianity.

Already we see a difference in the family life of John's childhood from that of Basil and Gregory but there is also the remarkable similarity, that all three owe their excellence in spirituality to the teaching of their mothers. It is reported that one of John's pagan teachers, Libanius, remarked, 'Heavens! what women these Christians have.' (278) John, himself, in his book 'On the Priesthood' acknowledges his debt to his mother.

There is no detailed account of John's early education, but it is safe to assume that he would follow the same pattern of primary instruction as Basil and Gregory, i.e. writing, reading and number, and also be instructed in the scriptures. Being a wealthy family, it is likely that the best teachers available would be hired. (279)

It was expected that John would become a public advocate for which profession the science of rhetoric would be the chief requisite and provides another mark of similarity with his fellow

educationists, Basil and Gregory. To this end he would pursue the full course of classical studies. As the name 'Chrysostom' denotes he was superb in his awareness of language and its use. That it was such an emotive tool for him, is born out by his love of the theatre, of which he was a frequent visitor in his youth. (280)

His two most renowned teachers were Libanius, who taught classical literature, and was 'the first Pagan orator and sophist of his day', and Andragathias, who taught philosophy. (281) Under Libanius he wrote his 'Panegyric on the Emperors' which attracted great acclaim. Libanius seems to have been much taken by John, because not only does he heap praise on him, but would, in different circumstances, have liked John to have continued as the senior rhetorician of Antioch on his death. On being asked who he thought would be worthy as his successor he said, 'John, if the Christians had not stolen him from us.' (282)

John's spiritual education was reinforced and sustained by the contact with his close friend Basilus, whose following of the 'true philosophy' prepared him for his meeting with the holy Meletius, on his return from his second spell in exile. He was able to 'water his soul from the fountain of the scriptures' and was baptized in 367. From this point his whole view on the secular life altered radically and rather as Basil and Gregory had done, John. Basilus, Maximus and Theodore, organised themselves into a religious school, leading a semi-monastic life, much to the consternation of Anthusa. They placed themselves

under the tutelage of Diodore, who as a friend of Meletius, was the abbot of the local monastery. (283)

It was in this way yet another Christian 'cell' was formed. Diodore was to become Bishop of Tarsus, John, Archbishop of Constantinople, Maximus, Bishop of Seleucia, Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuesta and Basilius, it is thought, Bishop of a city near Antioch.

So it was in 385, that John became a priest and his journey began towards Constantinople and his eventual martyrdom in 407. But this was not before he had delivered his treasurehouse of wisdom, contained in his vast scholarship. We are, of course, concerned with a study of his views on education, both Christian and Pagan, a daunting task because as has been stated, 'as a writer in pedagogical matters, Chrysostom surpasses all other ecclesiastical authors of the Patristic period.' (284)

4.3 John's texts relating to education.

For our purpose, the main text to be discussed is 'The Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children'. This treatise was thought by some scholars not to be authentic, and was not included in the canon of St John's writings until 1914 when Franz Schulte published a new edition of all the works in Greek.

The earliest known copies of the 'Address', as it will be referred to, are to be found in the 'Parisinus Graecus' and the 'Lesbos 42 Codex' having been copied out early in the eleventh century.

It was S. Haidacher in 1907 who first pronounced the treatise genuine and published a German translation. There had been an English translation by the eminent diarist, John Evelyn in 1659, but this was not very close to the text and had some omitted.

There has been considerable discussion as to the likely date of the 'Address', some saying that it was written while John was in Antioch and others when he was in Constantinople, each quoting textual evidence to support their view. However M.L.W. Laistner says, in the introduction to his translation in 'Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire.' Cornell, 1967. 'The truth is that there is no satisfactory criterion for dating the "Address". John uses metaphors and analogies which reoccur throughout his works. For instance he uses the biblical story of Hannah and Samuel no less than five

times. The point being that linguistic analysis is no help in the dating problem.

The second major source of educational material in John's writings is to be found in his Homilies. These are concerned mainly with the letters of St. Paul to the new churches, and which fill 16 volumes in 'The Library of the Fathers.' B.W. Hare makes the comment that, 'In many of these homilies John Chrysostom introduces educational topics... In his homilies... he gives a very full picture of what he considers to be a new Christian paideia ...and stresses the necessity of teaching children to be lovers of true wisdom, not to be orators but philosophers.'

The homilies found to be most relevant to the theme of education are 'On Colossians'; 'On Ephesians'; 'On Hebrews'; 'On Timothy'; 'On Thessalonians' and 'On John'. One homily which did not follow this pattern was 'On the Statues', which will be referred to at a later point, showing how John seized a unique opportunity to capitalize on the rash behaviour of the 'hot-heads' of Antioch, and preach a series of sermons very much to the point. All these were found in the translation by P.Schaff, the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Volume 9, New York, 1889.

The final text referred to is 'Six Books on the Priesthood', translated by G.Neville, London, 1964. which provided much additional biographical material.

It is not proposed to deal with 'The Address' and each homily in turn, as each one deals with many points of

Christian education but to range over all the above mentioned, drawing out those areas which deal specifically with the topic under discussion.

Other sources which have been very informative are C. Baur, 'John Chrysostom and His Time - Antioch', London, 1959, and F.W. Farrar, 'Lives of the Fathers', London, 1907. The latter which although perhaps rather general and a little dated is useful in presenting very readably the broad view of the events and people of the time.

4.4 John's relationship with pagan learning.

There has been much argument concerning John's position on pagan learning and as we see he rarely misses an opportunity to reveal its impoverished view of the world as seen from the vantage point of Christian revelation, but as C.Baur remarks, his writings show a command of Greek language and literary knowledge that puts any other Father of the Church to shame : ' ...he wrote the purest and best Greek of all ecclesiastical authors.' and, '...modern philologists...claim him as a pure Atticist.' Various commentators agree that John's degree of excellence could only have been achieved after 'assiduous study' of the Greek classics. C.Baur cites a list of classical authors quoted by John, from Homer to Socrates and of course, Plato : 'The Apology', 'Crito', 'Timaeus' and 'Theaetetus'. A.Nagele says of him, 'Whoever has worked through the writings of the greatest of preachers of antiquity...is astonished at the comprehensive Greek culture which John Chrysostom unites with a thorough and long-proved mastery of ecclesiastical knowledge.' (285)

The point not made in this discussion so far is that all this study of the ancient Greek paideia by John surely goes to show that above all he knew its shortcomings more than anyone else. Study increases knowledge but not necessarily sympathy with the subject.

There is also the factor of John's relationship with Libanius. There is certainly none of the rapport shown by St Basil in his letters to Libanius (if genuine). (286) As far as John was

concerned Libanius was a party to paganism with a capital 'P'. One must admit for an old man, who was not at all convinced by the claims of Christianity, one can understand the elation he felt on the accession of the Emperor Julian, a skilful leader, a very competent general, even if he did pose in the role of a 'latter day' Alexander. With Libanius there is almost a sentimental glow of the sun on the glorious temples; 'Then did I laugh and leap and make and deliver speeches in my joy.' At the news of Julian's early death, there is the feeling that romantic paganism has finally died : "Tell ye the king...hushed is the voiceful spring, and quenched the oracular fountain.' (287)

One could imagine John's response to these sentiments when he saw the effects of 'romantic paganism,' with his 'flock', who were often 'Christian ...in name only,... celebrating the Kalends of January with the pagans.' (288) and sought to achieve a level of materialism and sophistication which prevented the growth of Christian awareness of the true values.

There is also the view that John had little sympathy with classical philosophy for the reason that '...he possessed no special gift for real philosophy, and also, that he seems to have prematurely given up his education with the sophists.' The point is also made that by this time there were no practitioners of any worth, developing new avenues of thought but those who wore the cloak ' brought [philosophy] into discredit, by their vulgar envy, jealousy, petty professorial wrangling vanity and mutual intrigues...'. (289)

One has to remember that John was first and foremost a teacher. He taught through the best means he had and that was his Christian oratory but this, nevertheless followed the rules, so when he says that the more the teaching of a John or a Paul shines out in the murk of pagan demonology and superstition, the further into obscurity sink the Platos and the Pythagoras's, he is not sweeping their true scholarship away he was showing the strength and salvation inherent in the new philosophy as a direct comparison - overstating the one to the advantage of the other in the environment of the priest in the pulpit changing attitudes. (290)

On examining the texts to test the above statements it is necessary to try and put them in to some sort of context. Also to try and understand the difficulties John was labouring under. C.Baur takes Bezdeki to task for failing to realise that John, in seemingly not appreciating the genius of Plato, '...overlooks entirely the fact that Chrysostom opposed paganism, not so much as a philosophy, but as a religion.' (291) To that point is addressed B.W.Hares' remark that '...he knew which side he was on in the battle in the fourth century between Paganism and Christianity.' (292)

In the 'Address', John gives a glimpse of life in the third great city of the Empire. The relevance of this to education is that the Christians seem to play a fully participant role in the life of the city - as it were, getting the best of both worlds, unlike the Jewish community, who seemed to have developed an introverted culture in the seventh generation of

their diaspora, and were organizing their own schools. (293) In section four of the 'Address', John gives a superb impression of a theatre, viewed as it were from the stage, tier upon tier of faces, a sight easily recognized by his Christian congregation. The organizer confronts them, and the audience gives a mighty roar, 'as from a single mouth'. The 'liturgist' - the provider of the public benefit, receives his brief moment of acclaim for which he has probably bankrupt his family and put himself into the hands of the money lenders, and why? To uphold his status in the city. (294) Not only is the Theatre a very dangerous place for the morals of the young, (as Julian concurs in his 'Epistulae et Leges', and Aristides in his 29th Oration) (295) but for parents to be seen endorsing the false values of status seeking, profligate spending on fine clothes and silver plate and slaves, (see Galen's same point in his 'Protrepticus six'), (296) is the very opposite to the true values parents should be trying to inculcate.

A further area of criticism of pagan moral values lies in the type of literature presented to children during the educative process. In section 38 of the 'Address', John, draws upon the example of the type of story typically used : Prince meets princess, they kiss each other, in another example, the girl, unrequited commits suicide. One can think of further examples, Longus' 'Daphnis and Chloe', with its awakening of sexual desire. (297) He sees this use of literature as totally negative, and typically pagan, and points to the moral and virtuous stories contained in the scriptures. He makes reference

to the concept of 'athlete' and 'philosopher' using the idea of the 'arete', but here as citizens of heaven.

To show John's even handed approach to paganism, in section 79 of the 'Address' he admits that some benefit may be gained in guiding conversation heavenwards, and 'to those men of old, pagan or Christian, who were illustrious for their self-restraint.' He also showed himself to be in touch with everyday life in his view that a boy could engage beneficially in a career in the army or in civil life, with more chance of virtue if he got married first. A little further on (sec 81) he says, 'First train his soul, and then take thought for his reputation in the world. (And in so doing his value as a husband would increase) In order to express his message, John will use any analogy, pagan or Christian, the main purpose being an unambiguous message. For instance, in section 22, a reference to the makers of statues, and the painters of pictures, would have given him an excellent excuse to have criticised the cults for which these skills were used, but no, instead, John draws an analogy of the "artist" working with a block of marble or an empty space, to produce something of beauty, so should the parent be at pains to produce of their children, 'wondrous statues for God!' (298)

On examining the Homilies, the one which deals most closely with the effects on daily lives of the citizens, of the arbitrary rule of the Roman state, is that 'Concerning the Statues'. The background to this, briefly, is that the Emperor Theodosius, in 387, made a demand for further taxation, in order

to pay the army its 'donatives', as the exchequer was empty. The burden fell mainly on Antioch and Alexandria. Trouble was expected in both cities as the measure was extremely unpopular. The prefect of Alexandria, Cynegius, nipped trouble there in the bud, but in Antioch, as Bishop Flavian was abroad, the mob went on the rampage and smashed up the public baths and then demolished the imperial statues in the judgement hall of the praetorium. Almost immediately the consequences of their folly came home to them. It was John who rose to the occasion and preached a series of sermons based on these events. The only advocate who would stay behind and plead for the city was Libanius. (299) The rest of the 'philosophers' had fled to escape the expected retribution hence earning themselves John's contempt because when called to account concerning their eclectic pot - pourri of beliefs, '...you could not find one!' (300)

However we are concerned here, not with history, but with the use that John made of this opportunity to drive his points home, as only a pupil of Libanius could.

John discusses the difference between the Christian and the pagan philosopher at some length. It is the nature of the harvest they reap which is the crux of the matter. He draws on the case of the teacher who is, by trade, a farmer. He prepares his fields and grows his crops. At the appointed time he dons his vestments to 'farm' the souls of the faithful. If one was to ask a question of a pagan philosopher, many words would be spoken but no answer given. Ask the same of a Christian farmer,

and he 'would give you an accurate reply from his store of wisdom'. (301)

He makes a more direct comparison in the fourth section, after calling attention to the flight of the 'philosophers' from the city at the approach of the imperial commissioners, he challenges anybody to compare the wisdom of the Christian teacher and priest with that of '...the others, in their day philosophically advanced. 'He says it is the former who would prove the more wise, even though, 'they were entirely destitute of worldly schooling. 'He asks what advantage have the old philosophers, with all their knowledge, got 'if they are devoid of right thoughts'. (302) But the proof is in the final effectiveness of the teaching: from the one you gain nothing, from the other salvation. In the Homily 'On John', he continues the theme of the virtuous rustic who with God's grace is wiser than all. Of St John he says, '...ignorant, and to the last degree of ignorance too, who never learned letters either before or after he accompanied Christ' but he brings 'the very treasures of the Spirit'. (303).

In comparing St John, in his magnificence to the benighted Pythagoras, he turns his attention to the role of language in the teaching situation, criticizing the ordinary sophists, (the teachers for commercial gain) for being over-zealous concerning 'magnificent diction' and 'sounding sentences' and the excessive use of words. He quotes Socrates criticizing 'sophistry' in his defence before the judges of Athens. Words used thus, says John,

are like handsome white sepulchres on the outside, but within they are 'full of corruption, stench and rotten bones!'. (304)

John summarises his position concerning pagan learning where it enters the realm of the ultimate aim of education - man and his salvation. He asks whether there is any point in discussing pagan philosophy any further and concludes that it is best to 'leave their fables', but surprisingly he then makes a strange claim. Here are the Jews, they have had Moses and the prophets, even Christ was in their midst performing miracles- 'He came unto His own and His own received Him not.' (John 1:2) Here we have the Gentiles with all their mad fables and 'the silliness of their poets' but it was they who accepted Christ. (305)

He concludes the Homily 'On John', by paradoxically deriding the 'Greeks' on the fact that they 'knew all the wisdom of the heathen' but did not realise the truth concerning the soul, but only that it was 'immortal'; that concerning heaven it was living and eternal; and that all this was gained and 'found out' through the use of reason. How culpable then is the Christian who is educated in the teachings of Christ and still gives a bad example to all. (306)

4.5 Educational Method.

1. The Basics.

Although John spoke bitterly of the paganism so beloved by Libanius, he had no quarrel with the methods of teaching and the basic syllabus of his era. Boys and girls alike received a basic grounding in writing, reading and number. In several places in his works, he refers to the acquisition of the tools of learning. (307)

In 'The Address,' he refers to the moral lessons to be learnt from a boy losing pens and pencils and writing tablets. There would appear to have been some care in the manufacture of these, - the pencils are of silver, the wax tablets are held in a frame of 'fine wood, clean and without stain.' All is held together by a fine bronze chain. (308)

He talks of the difficulties of the grammar master with a boy who needs to be told repeatedly the very first lesson, which is only 'the first elements'. Later in the same homily 'On Hebrews', he says, 'For as it is necessary to instruct one who is entering on the study of grammar, in the Elements first.' So, again there is 'no skill in literature without letters'. (309)

Rather, John is concerned to what use education is put after the basics have been accomplished, - he accepts that the boy would serve his city, in either a civilian or military career, but that does not reduce in any way the duty of those concerned with his education to ensure that he develops towards spiritual perfection. (310)

John has thought through the means by which a young person can be thoroughly prepared in an education which will be of value to him throughout his life.

How then, can a child be taught these fundamentals? Firstly, he says, 'When children are just brought to their learning, their teachers do not give them many tasks to do in succession, nor do they set them once and for all, but they often repeat to them, the same short ones, so that what is said may easily be implanted in their minds.'

Secondly, he also knows the effect of the failure to abide by the above method, that 'a kind of sluggishness arises from (too much) difficulty.' (311) He does not want all the energy expended to result in the construction of a 'rotten wall ... easily thrown down.' He makes the point that although parents take infinite pains to educate their children in the 'arts and literature', very little energy goes towards the training for a virtuous Christian life. How then are the children going to perceive 'That [which] was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world?' (312)

He likens the young mind to a wax tablet, before it is written on, or a pearl being rolled and formed in the palm of the hand, because the method used in the process of education is of prime importance in both childhood and adolescence. (313)

With this in mind he devotes some time to the subject of discipline, and the contribution, both positive or negative, it makes to the learning process. It should be remembered that at this time, educational traditions had not substantially changed

for several hundred years, and punishment was often callous and excessive. The result was misery and poor results. (314)

John, on the other hand, taught that only the lightest touch was needed as long as a true discipline was instilled. 'A boy is very easily guided. so what reason for insolence or evil speaking should he have?' He goes on to say that laws and rules have to be made for both learning and behaviour, and if a child transgresses, it is not sufficient to be violent and use the stick immediately, but there should be a gradation of punishments; the first being that the teacher should show his displeasure. He will do this with a stern look and then follow it up with a sharp word. At another time a reward or promise may have a powerful and desired effect. There is strength in gentleness. If a child is always being struck, he will become immune to what should be the ultimate threat and the whole system will be 'reduced' to 'nought.' (315)

John makes a great effort to instil in his parents the importance of worthwhile stories. He has worked out in detail the sequence of the learning process using the stories from the scriptures, rather than the pagan tales of doubtful morality.

Firstly, the father or teacher, tells the story, and it is important that the mother be present to hear it as well, because it is her task to draw out of the child every thing he has heard. He suggests that supper time is a good opportunity, and the impression is gained that the child is in bed for the repeat and the conversation concerning it. (316)

In the homily 'On John', he says 'As the mother birds do not teach their young to fly all at once, nor finish their teaching in a single day, but first lead them forth so as to be just outside the nest...' (317) So the teaching of the lessons to be drawn out of the stories must proceed slowly until they are firmly planted in the mind of the child. John is also aware that to identify with the story a child must not be given material too far in advance, but must be geared to both age and ability. 'Next, when he has grown older, tell him also, more fearful tales, for thou shouldst not impose so great a burden on his understanding, while he is still tender, lest thou dismay him.' (318)

He is always conscious that his advice will often be ignored, and even laughed at, as being of 'trifles', but he says, 'our concern is with the origin and rhythmical education of the world,' (319) and again, 'I am not speaking of trifles, we are discussing the governance of the world!' (320)

Is John talking here of a harmony which relates the Creation to the history of salvation through a Christian education ?

To this end, in the Homily 'On the Statues', he makes the point that one of the best ways of learning is to teach one another, - 'Ye also are able to edify one another.' (321) He also has some practical advice on how to teach, 'Again, if thou art instructing anyone, speak on the subject at present before thee, otherwise be silent.' but when one teaches, 'let it be gracious...let it have both sternness and pleasantness therewith.' (322)

Here then we have the man and the teacher, both stern and pleasant. This teacher shows himself as our teacher, putting into effect all his own lessons to his people. His method is one of positive example, and not as some, teaching one course of action and following another. B.W.Hare remarks, 'He does not write long, discursive and frustratingly learned expositions on education: rather there is a homeliness and practicality about his writings.' (323) In his advice on how to teach, he shows himself governed by his own criteria.

4.5, ii. The qualities of the teacher.

John Chrysostom is always most concerned about the quality of the teaching afforded to his people, besieged on all sides by the pervasive but dying paganism and materialism, which are so at odds with the spiritual life. (324)

He considers that the most important teachers of children are their parents and consequently devotes the whole of his main treatise to an exploration of their role in the training of their children along the path of virtue. B.W.Hare points to two statements that John uses to illustrate the role of the teacher, and therefore the parent, that they be 'shining as lights on the world', and that they should be as 'leaven' that they (the children), may be as seed and may bear much fruit'. (325)

In section 16 of the 'Address', John declares that rather than lavish wealth on the child, so the social status of the father may be enhanced, it should be spent on ' a strict tutor to direct the boy.'

But the point is also made that the teacher who employs too strict a regime is in danger of 'reducing thy system to nought', and would achieve more if considered himself as a wise king, 'ruling over a city, which is the soul of thy son.' So much beating is counterproductive, and the better way is by showing the child a good example. (326)

It is not just the father who needs to take care as to his suitability as a teacher, but the whole household, 'Let the children then, hear nothing harmful from the servants, tutors or

nurses', (327) - especially the latter, who have such close contact in the formative years of the child. 'So let us take thought for good nurses that a fair foundation from the ground up may be laid for the young...' Also the mother, who will reinforce the good work done by the father, 'she will sit by while his soul is being formed ...so that she too may take part.' (328)

The title, teacher, is mentioned many times in the Homilies, but here in the 'Address', the emphasis is a little different, inasmuch as the instruction and education is of a more adult and theological nature and often concerns the well-being of the Church, rather than just the child.

In 'On Timothy', the teacher must learn to obey the call to arms, and to fight always from the strongest foundation. John says that this can be assured by following the main precepts of the good teacher, namely, 'strength, sobriety, awakedness and continual vigilance.' (329) He singles out the teacher as having a special vocation, - each to his own - and having once accepted the challenge, his main priority, which parallel to his instruction to the father, to discipline himself before he disciplines his son, is to 'first teach himself' and later he says, 'But how can he instruct others, who has not yet taught himself?' (330)

If it appears to strain the thesis to talk of teachers in the Church as one would the teacher in the family, John himself draws the parallel. 'For the Church is, as it were a small household, and as in the house, there are children, and a wife

and domestics, and the man has rule over them all, just so in the Church, there are women, children and domestics.' (331)

So in the larger context, the teacher has to possess the qualities of perfection, nothing less will do, because if the teacher is so proclaimed, before he has proved himself a competent disciple, he is likely to be pompous and 'puffed up', and thereby negating his role as one who is qualified to instruct. Or, secondly, if the teacher is not firmly founded in virtue himself, his enemies will ruthlessly pull him down for being no better than they. It follows that if we are not 'luminaries' as 'angels among men' then in no way will they profit from us. In 'On Thessalonians' John talks of the teacher, '...as a lamp, when it is shining, is able to light ten thousand others, but being extinguished, will not give light even to itself, ... [be] set before them as a pattern to copy.' (332)

In his relationship with his pupils, John emphasises, that a teacher must be 'meek' and not overbearing, and must have a rapport with his pupils, in order to achieve an ideal climate for learning. In 'On Timothy' he suggests four marks of a good teacher: to be able gently ^{to} administer a strong rebuke, to be patient, to be consistent and to be humble. The teacher, above all, must have two main qualities, 'to be both faithful, and apt to teach.' - without the first, you have nothing to teach, and without the second, your pupils gain nothing. (333)

If he is successful in all these areas, the teacher will be like a husbandman, who receives his reward from his crops. He

quotes St Paul, that the teacher, 'does not labour without profit'... (334)

The above qualities of the teacher are practical enough, but in 'On Colossians', John's own experience as a teacher becomes apparent, because he talks of the actual art of teaching, the fact that a good teacher is able to use his speech to the best effect. That he needs to be able to 'season' his speech 'with salt'. It must be gracious, not hard or weak. He must not be 'sour visaged', nor again. 'wholly relaxed', 'but like a bee, culling the virtue of each'. It is also very important to treat all pupils similarly, like a doctor with his patients. (335)

In this way he will 'lead on the scholar'. (336) It is the teacher 'who is entrusted with the five talents and the learner who has the one.' (337)

As in many other areas John Chrysostom amazes the reader, [especially the teacher] in the closing decades of the twentieth century by his ability to approach the philosophical root of his chosen topic and present the whole in terms of contemporary everyday practicalities. In the above discussion the power of his thought enmeshes the art of teaching with the science of Christian morality.

4.5, iii. Women in education - the mother as teacher.

John has a very clear view as to the way that women may and may not contribute to the process of education. When he does, he differentiates between the world outside the home and with the importance of their role within the family. Nothing is said of women playing any teaching role outside the home, indeed he is not complimentary to those women who seek to influence the business of the parish, doing 'everything by proxy'. And these women who wield such power are 'the very ones who are not even allowed to teach. Do I say "teach"? St Paul did not allow them even to speak in church.' (338) But nevertheless, at this time those who had the financial means provided facilities for the education of boys and girls up to the age of seven by a 'nanny', a practice which would have been inherited from pagan practice and continued within the Christian community. (339)

His personal experience of being brought up by his mother, a fact he acknowledges in 'Six Books on the Priesthood', and the way she, a widow, organized the running of the house and his own education, gave him an excellent model of the educational potential of an intelligent woman in the home. (340) As B.W.Hare states, 'He sees the mothers's role as important in the early education of children of both sexes as she is more often at home than the father.' (341)

He seems very conscious of the fact that it was through a woman that mankind fell through the disobedience of Eve. By

properly seeing to the education of the children, she may be expiated and gain her salvation. (342)

The woman is grouped with, but above the servants, which agrees with the hierarchical concept of the father as the head of the household.

For him the young woman is, on the one hand an object to be avoided as the cause of corruption for the young man, (343) and on the other, a fitting person for the man to try and win through virtue and who will be responsible for bringing up the children. (344)

In the 'Address' he shows he is aware that his hearers might well think he is overstating his case, and counters their expected laughter. He reminds them that a badly brought up girl, who has a strong inclination to vanity, is 'a sore vexation to her bridegroom'. He goes on to lay the blame for this state of affairs on the mother for being a bad example. (345)

In section 22 of the 'Address', John speaks to both father and mother, thereby giving them joint responsibility for fashioning the souls of their children, 'to be wondrous statues for God', and as a part of this process, it is the mother who must talk with the child about the story that has been told him, drawing out all the significances. He requires that the story be reinforced and told again by the mother, the whole learning process through literature being thus carefully orchestrated for maximum effect. Implicit is the fact that the education of the mother must be equal to the task. It could be noted that the title of the 'Address' uses the phrase '... bring up their

children ...' and the education of the girl would seem to require a level of teaching ability above that of the father if she is fully^{ly} reinforce the moral lessons to be learnt ...

It must have been a familiar occurrence to John, the priest, carefully matching a young couple, and emphasizing the need, therefore, that it is not just the education of the boy which is important,^{but} the girl, if well brought up, lays the foundation of a 'family chain' of virtue. In 'On Timothy' he adds, 'for they ought to go ...furnished with all necessary knowledge.' (346)

The very last paragraph in the 'Address', is concerned specifically with the role of the mother in preparing her daughter to value the true priorities and to reject the usual vanities of girlhood, - 'the love of finery and excitement'. (347)

In 'On Thessalonians', John devotes some considerable time on the governing of the home. He does this by lecturing the father on the proper care of his wife. How she should be treated in order that everyone will benefit. (348) Also in 'On Ephesians', he spells out with great eloquence the immeasurable advantages to a family if the wife can play her part to the full, if she is properly respected and appreciated.

'Prefer her before all, on every account, both for her beauty and her discernment and praise her.' That she has the quality of 'discernment' is due, of course, to her proper education, (349) and we remember again Anthusa.

It is in his homily 'On Timothy' that we sense John's concern that the family guided by the mother and wife should achieve its

role as the true and crucial role as the educator of the young, bearing in mind the society of the time and not reading into John's strictures on womankind a repressed misogyny. In the 'Address' we read of the need for the young man to be educated sufficiently in virtue that he be deemed worthy of the girl who will have to accomplish all these aw^esome responsibilities. (350)

4.5, iv. The content of a moral education.

We have discussed those qualities that John considers essential to anyone calling *his disciple* a teacher, their faith and their aptitude, their own virtue and patience. We have shown the methods by which John would have his pupils taught, careful repetition and good example. Now we must look at the content of this 'higher education', which needs the combined effort of bishop, father, mother and servants, effectively ^{to} form the soul of this child.

The most specific and complete expression of this subject is contained in the 'Address', which after dealing with the negative aspect of valueless ambition and vanity, takes up the challenge of spelling out what it is we should be actually teaching children, so that the main aim of Christian education can be achieved. This is to seek to produce 'an athlete for Christ, and teach him, though he is living in the world, to be reverent from his earliest youth.' (351)

It would appear from this that the kernel of John's educational philosophy is summed up in this one word 'reverence'. This word is very much indicative of positive action in its relation with both the spiritual and secular world. It holds within itself the meanings of humility, sobriety, love, respect, prayer and meditation, the awareness of others, consideration, charity ... John quotes St Paul to reinforce his position that progress will be made: '...if they continue in faith and charity, and holiness with sobriety.' (352)

His treatise continues to expound the criteria necessary to educate the young person in all aspects of virtue and as has been said, John, besides likening the child to a wax tablet, a block of marble, a pearl and a pot of wet clay, also uses the metaphor of the city, with the senses being the gates of communication with the outside world. (353)

He deals first with the most important means of access to knowledge, the tongue, and after warning us of the misuse of the power of speech, he suggests that we guard this gate with 'doors and bolts ...of gold.' (354) [so says the Chrysostom]

John emphasises the tongue and speech as the ultimate power in these terms: 'This is the gate of the Lord into which the righteous shall enter'. (Ps. 117). Also the child must have on his lips, from the same psalm, 'The words of God are sweeter than honey and honeycomb to my mouth, more precious than gold and a stone of great price.' (the pearl?) Besides what should be said, John uses several paragraphs delineating what should not, i.e. 'ill-timed tales and shameful songs;' (355) 'swearing at, and ill-treatment of servants and slandering his family. (356)

John's thoughts on this subject, would be written and spoken with much experience, his whole life being bound up with the effective use and power of the spoken word. As a lawyer, a priest and a bishop, the ability to move the audience in the exposition of the truth was paramount. It was a tribute to his success in striking home his message that he was exiled and reviled by rival clergy and royal court alike. It would not be

an exaggeration to suggest that he was a martyr for the essence of the spoken, unpalatable truth. (357)

The gate of 'Hearing' follows, and John asks that everyone surrounding the boy should be conscious of 'the tender shoots' in their charge. It is in this 'gate' that John develops his ideas of what constitutes the contents of a true literature, for instance, not 'old wives tales' but stories from scripture, from which many morals can be drawn. He makes a point, valid in any age, that it is very important that the material used is commensurate with the age and ability of the child. (358)

The lessons that can be learnt from the bible are those which can be of the type that indicate a specific code of behaviour, especially within the family, for instance, the loyalty and respect due to all the members of the family, irrespective of status. The story of 'Cain and Abel,' can be used to point out the need for the awareness of the status of the father and the children and the destructive force of envy and insult. A further example of this type of lesson can be found in the story of 'Esau', learning to 'reverence and honour their fathers,' the control of the belly and the dangers inherent in jealousy. From the story of the 'Ladder', 'consider how many things he will learn: he will be trained to trust in God; to despise no one, notwithstanding his social class; 'to feel no shame' at a frugal existence and to learn 'to bear misfortune nobly'. (359)

The lesson to^{be} learnt from the gate of the smell is in John's terms somewhat negative and is rather brief. He warns that the sense of smell may relax the guard against corruption. A

positive view might be that which shows the need to train the boy to be constantly vigilant so that he may recognise this point of fatal relaxation. Ground gained with difficulty can be lost when 'pleasures are fanned into flame, and great schemes for their attainment' [are put in hand]. One has the impression that John has the gentle perfumes of ladies in mind and not the lilies of the valley ... He makes it plain that he is still aware of the practical use of a pleasant smell to hide the foul. (360)

Concerning the eyes, John admits that there are problems and he can only suggest that care be taken and the boy be shown only the beauty of the natural world, admitting that it is the girl which constitutes the greatest danger. He speaks of the fire that burns within, lit by the sight of a beautiful girl. In the first part of the 'Address', he shows himself to be well aware of her power. She has 'the bloom of youth about her, encircled by a golden girdle and with curls on her head tastefully plaited in the Persian fashion; [and perhaps] a circlet about her head, enhancing the beauty of her uncovered tresses...and with precious gems about her throat...' (361) He suggests that a combination of warnings and promises can perhaps teach the young man that the control of the passions could well begin with the proper control of the eyes.

John is even briefer concerning the 'gate' of the touch. The lesson here is that of the ascetic, in that softness leads to a lowering of standards, so the student, the 'athlete for Christ',

must lead a life of austerity from which the practice of virtue will lead more naturally.

At this point, John reminds us that we are pursuing the analogy of the city, representing the soul of the child. He now sets out to elaborate the laws, by which the city will be ruled, (362) i.e. the general education. The familiar analogy of using parts of the body to represent the concept of the soul is now employed - the heart being the seat of the spirit; the liver, the appetites (i.e. the passions); the brain, the centre of the faculty of reasoning. Each of these having within itself a positive and negative aspect. The relevance of this to the progress of education, is that if they are controlled early enough in the life of the child, they will be of value as important tools for the education of virtue.

The programme then is for the boy to learn how to adjust to the irrational unfairness of life and yet to exhibit both patience and bravery in his dealings with others who may themselves be suffering hardship, a task sometimes fraught with difficulty and misunderstanding.

He must also learn to control his temper and reduce any tendency to arrogance which might lead him to make unreasonable demands on his servants. John seem always to take the opportunity to emphasise his princip/es of social education so they become integrated with the moral. Part of the boy's strength in these issues is the inculcation of a self-dependency in the daily flow of life, so he may be 'strong and simple (rather than over- sophisticated), and

courteous.' (363) He repeats the phrase 'we are discussing [nothing less than] the governance of the world', because unless the young man can behave correctly towards his servants and those near to him, he will never be able to acquire those political and social skills necessary to act with wisdom when engaged with 'natural society', for instance, the issues concerning the position of the slave in relation to the freedman.

Towards the end of the treatise, John talks more specifically about the care needed in the teaching of prayer and fasting - showing the boy the example of such biblical figures as Daniel, Jeremiah and Solomon. As with all these lessons, the main purpose of them is to underline that all this educational effort is designed to produce a true maturity - 'There is something more, let us go to the master-principal which keeps everything under control. To what do I allude? I mean Wisdom.' (364)

This section started with an attempt to show John's insistence on the importance of the concept of reverence and we have seen how this becomes at one with that of wisdom. In Proverbs. 1.7, we read, 'Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom'. The summit of wisdom is the ability to accomplish independence from childish folly - so he will be led into the bridal chamber a wise man.

On examining the homilies on this aspect of John's concern for education, namely the content of a 'syllabus' for wisdom, he reiterates, often quite closely, the metaphors he uses in his 'Address'.

So close is John to the daily life of his flock, shown by his use of immediate and familiar images, but elevated and universalized by the style and elegance of his language, that he has succeeded in delivering his message to us across the centuries with an amazing freshness and relevance. Who, with young children in a Christian family would not benefit from reading and learning from the 'Address'. It is even more appealing in its directness and lack of theological jargon.

It should also be admitted that not all the writings conform with the view that everything is of equal value. Some of the analogies regarding the 'gates' of the city, for instance, will not open on to ever increasing significance, but show a pressure of work and the familiar trap of rounding off the analogical model to the bitter end. It is thought that most of John's material was preached and then copied up at a later date. (365) It must be said that his purpose was to teach, and in such a way that his people would learn and really act upon his words. There was no thought of proving himself a great scholar for posterity. Indeed his constant effort is towards the inculcation of the very spirit of education into every parent for the welfare of the child. In so doing he is educating the very Church itself, using the principle of the 'chain of virtue'. (366)

It would seem that he was not always appreciated as a teacher by the parents or as a bishop by his fellow clergy, and certainly not as an Archbishop by the Court, but that a man of his strength of love and awareness for his people should have

been made to suffer as he did in the cause of education is inconceivable.

In his introduction to the 'Address', M.L.W. Laistner says of John Chrysostom's philosophy of education that it seeks '... to stress the right training of character as the principal aim of Christian education.' (367) It is apparent that in examining John's writings on the various aspects of education he demands nothing less than perfection in the lives of all those who are in any way connected with the young, a positive and thinking perfection which is also aware of the results of failure.

4.6 Conclusion

There is an apparent dichotomy in John Chrysostom's attitude towards several of the areas of moral education which we have been discussing. Examination of the case concerning pagan learning - the environment of the *paideia* into which John was born, showed that he had no obvious contempt of it, such that he was not prepared to forgo training as a rhetor, not scandalized by the theatre and at a later time saw no harm in the boy of the family taking up a career in the imperial army. At some time however, he developed what appears to be a great and deep felt anger aimed at all those who allowed themselves to be in any way connected with the sophistication of the city in which education played its part in the forming of moral attitudes.

It is true that as a bishop he had ultimate responsibility for the spiritual welfare of his people and that he saw himself as the bastion between all those corrupting influences which could take away for ever the souls of the young. No doubt the intransigence he showed was sown originally by his mother Anthusa, perhaps not so much by her specific teaching, remember she was distraught at the idea of John taking up the religious life and giving up, as she thought, a brilliant career, but by John's observation of her influence as the driving force in the fatherless home and her steadfast practice of her Christian faith. He was also estranged for a time from his close friend Basilus, who pursued his spiritual life ahead of John, to such a

degree that the friendship cooled as John was reluctant to put aside his love of language as experienced in court and theatre. As we know, the decision was made, not without pain and John began his arduous journey.

Is it the sum of these influences which also succeeded in producing in John a certain intolerance ? His pronouncements concerning the female sex seem over- zealous and extreme and put in mind the drinker reformed, or at least one who is very well aware of the power of beauty and its effects. So what could sound a sour criticism of John coping within his milieu becomes an appreciation of the warmth of his humanity and dedication.

What then does John achieve in his teaching on education? In dealing with the heritage of the Classical paideia, he shows himself to be objective towards its strengths and weaknesses. It is easy to criticise him in his denigration of those philosophers so revered in the modern western world: Pythagoras, Plato and Sophocles, while knowing that he was extremely well read in all aspects of Classical learning. Why is there then an apparent contradiction? I think he provides the answer himself when he says : 'I do not ... oppose Classical education, but only [wish] to prevent people from taking thought for these things alone' (Hom. 21, 2 in Eph.)

He was happy to let the normal day to day educational organization proceed as long as it was done in a humane and intelligent way by people who knew what they were doing but no area of culture was sacrosanct to John if he saw in it a danger to the salvation of the young.

5.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

Concluding this survey of the role of the three Hierarchs on the subject of education in some of its manifestations it would not be an exaggeration to state that they were unique in the history of the development of the educational fabric of the Church. Their contribution is on such a scale it is not easy to encompass it in any specific category. One can look at social education and both Basil and John show themselves far sighted and eminently practical. But perhaps neither feeds the philosophic and meditative mind as does Gregory.

It is perhaps oversimplifying the issues involved but from the scholarship at the time of Gilbert Murray say, it has been possible to say that the Greek paideia as 'collected' in the great libraries of Alexandria had become sterile and was indeed waiting for 'our' new philosophy to breath into it its true life, the explosion of knowledge which through Origen [latterly] and Clement [see Newman] was ready to be exhibited to the world, from fisherman to the philosophers. I have not examined the point, but is it not true that after this Cappadocian era there was never again the same energy of exegesis, of definition, of the excitement of founding the Christian paideia{?}

P.G.Fouyas says 'They became the initiators of the Christian mysteries and the vessels of true wisdom...They presented the Christian faith not as an abstract system of ideas...but as a social system in which virtue receives the prize and truth is identified with its subject.' (368)

Some time has been spent in discussing the context in which Basil, Gregory and John was educated and in which ~~were~~ developed the skills of the 'previous age' to provide the 'goods' of the new, especially that relevant to the second half of the fourth century. Each in ~~his~~ own way was beset by three main areas of contention : firstly, that of the tradition of the Classical era of culture and learning - that accretion of myth and dangerous superstition, servility and economic insecurity and social secular pressure, and also the realization that the old answers to the perennial questions of man and his purpose were morally and spiritually bankrupt. Secondly, there was a need to draw together the teaching of the Scriptures by the great Fathers and the deliberations of the Councils to combat heresy and unorthodox teaching and present it afresh so that it may benefit mankind and result in his salvation. Thirdly, to move the dead weight of an education which had changed little over seven hundred years. There was no overt call to change education as such, but no system could remain as it was if the philosophy of education towards a life of virtue and Christian morality taught by these three innovators was accepted and put into practice.

St Basil incorporated into his view of education not only his experiences in Athens and Byzantium but also those of his stay in Alexandria which taught him a great deal about the necessity of moderation in monasticism which he later put into practice with Gregory in Annesi. His social teaching was such that he built a settlement especially for the sick and needy. His treatise on the education of the young shows him to be well aware of the pressure

on parent and child alike to conform to a secular standard and to lack the will to make a proper distinction between worthwhile literature or risk the corruption of the impressionable mind.

He sought to defeat the 'tyrannical encroachments of the Arian emperor Valens' (369) although elsewhere he is described as 'timid and conscientious' (370) In his need for communication he wrote over four hundred letters, Each full of the widest interpretation as epistles of every shade of education and care.

The summit of all education, the distillation of all teaching about God and His creation, must be the Divine Liturgy. St Basil appends his name to this Christian pilgrimage having organized it into a manageable form able to be enacted with precision and reverence anywhere in his realm of influence.

St Gregory on the other hand was the creator of a system of language with which it became possible to lift the earthbound soul towards the source of its Illuminator. Gregory in his writings shows a transparency and lack of guile which constantly refreshes and provokes an inward and knowing smile of recognition. Here is gentle sarcasm, frustration and irascibility as well as the soreness of betrayal, loss and isolation. His love of his family and his awareness of the great pangp/ly of natural phenomena all brought together to be a hymn of praise, makes him the most compulsive of studies.

It is not possible to separate out all his ideas on the role of education except perhaps in his joint effort with Basil on the Philocalia and the Shorter and Longer Rules. He too, was a disciple of the middle way, and was much attracted to a way of

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life in which the mind was less circumscribed and could traverse the universe. John McGuckin states that he wrote thirty-eight dogmatic poems, forty moral poems and his 'De Vita Sua' totals 1949 trimeters and there are many others. (371)

His love for his father's church is so enthusiastically expressed that it gives us the hint of his love also for the Liturgy which was enacted there. A fact which is emphasized by the account of his father's last painful days when he found so much solace in his attendance at the Liturgy. (372) He says 'its vault flashes down upon us from above and it dazzles our eyes with abundant sources of light on every side.' 'Indeed', he says, [it is 'the dwelling place of light'. (373)

His view of education is one which seeks as its peak the continuing deification of each individual through the acceptance of his own inability to comprehend the nature of the Light. D.F. Winslow says, regarding this, '...this relation[ship] can in no way be described as "static". We were created to grow into an increasingly intimate relation with God.' This is the dynamic of Gregory's purpose for true education and wisdom. (374)

St. John Chrysostom however, is far more concerned with the practicalities of life. He considered his role as educator to be so crucial that he became the teacher par excellence among the three. F.W. Farrar says of him, that he was 'one of the most splendid and interesting figures in the early history of the Church. Less profound a theologian than ... Gregory Nazianzen; less practically successful than Ambrose [and Basil?], he yet combines so many brilliant gifts that he stands almost supreme

among the 'Doctores Ecclesiae' as an orator, as an exegete, as a great moral reformer, as a saint and confessor.' He continues, 'The general purity and practical wholesomeness of his doctrines, the loftiness of his moral standard...the glory of his oratory ...' made him 'the ideal preacher to the great capital of the world.' (375) Although a lengthy quotation from a biographer of the beginning of this century I think it sums up succinctly the difficulty in categorizing John without a whole list of attributes more akin to the panegyric.

We have a picture of a man unable to relax or compromise his stand even when diplomacy could well have borne lasting benefits to the Church in Constantinople. Again his efforts on behalf of his flock on the occasion of their hooliganism in Antioch show the nature of the man. I wonder whether he appreciated the support he received from Libanius on that occasion? His view of the education of the young in his treatise, is that of one who knows that no section of the community is exempt from the responsibilities of teaching the child of its own contribution to society.

His own personal life, often the object of derision in a prosperous city, was one of asceticism and serious example. Not only was he a martyr for his beliefs but also in his sense of isolation and being misunderstood.

All three saints look upon their role of teacher as being of awesome responsibility. The teacher must be better educated, possess a greater sagacity, be more evenhanded and compassionate than any one in his care. He has no excuse for being less than

the model of perfection. Each saw in education the foundation of what Augustine would call the City of God - they had nothing less than the total revolution of the fabric of spiritual life as their goal.

The virtuous life - and they were all aware of every stratagem of their congregations - was one which had to be pursued. Education had to start in the practical sphere and be achieved with excellence, so the next stage, that of right judgement could be developed. Those that were able must then seek to free their minds and contemplate man's ultimate goal - theosis.

6.

FOOTNOTES.

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33. Marrou. p.322.
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53. St Gregory the Wonderworker (Thaumaturgus), A.D.213 - 230, a pupil of Origen when the latter had to leave Alexandria. It was through St Gregory that the 'apostolic principal' was transmitted and the Church of Neo-Caesarea remained capable, through the Cappadocian Fathers of being Orthodox. (see Fedwick, p.52.)
54. Basil's elder sister always kept a wary eye on her brother, warning him of the dangers of public acclaim. (Farrar, p.9.)
55. Deferrari, p.xvi.
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57. Marrou, p150.
58. Nazianzen, Or. 43.
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60. Marrou, p.161.
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62. Deferrari, p.xviii. (Also that Gregory Nazianzen compiled a traditional 'letter book' on the instigation of Nicobulos. (cf. Letter liii. of Basil's correspondence). (p. xxxviii)

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64. ----"---- ----"----

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 88. Deferrari, p. 397.
 89. ----- " ----- (cf. Plutarch, Solon, 3.)
 90. Deferrari, p. 397, n. 2. (Theognis, 'Elegies', 157 - 158).
 91. --- " --- p. 399, n. 1. (Cf. Xenophon, 'Memorabilia', 2.1.21.)
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