

**The Cappadocian Fathers: Episcopal Office and Family Network**

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**NURULLAH HAYDAR YURDUSEVEN**

**SCHOOL OF ARTS, HISTORIES AND CULTURES**

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## **ABSTRACT**

In this thesis, the conflict between a fourth century Cappadocian Father Basil of Caesarea and his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa's and approaches of modern scholars to this conflict have been analysed.

The data to be used in this study consists of Basil of Caesarea's letters to his brother Gregory of Nyssa as well as the Life of Macrina by Gregory of Nyssa.

There is no doubt that there was a conflict between Basil of Caesarea and his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa. The reasons for this conflict are Gregory's infelicity stemming from Basil's secular education at Constantinople, Basil's bossy manners towards Gregory, Basil's distrustfulness about Gregory's administrative skills, and Basil's ascetic rules which advises to break family ties. However, this conflict did not lead these brothers to become zealous enemies, because Basil's ambitions about advancing his relatives and friends in the church provided impetus for him to work in cooperation with his brother, though they had disagreements between each other.

The topic which has been discussed in this thesis illustrates how bishopric institutions have been affected by the family dynamics in the fourth century Cappadocia, in modern day Turkey.

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## INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the probable conflict between Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa will be analysed. Reasons and results of this conflict will also be illustrated.

There are generally accepted assumptions and hypotheses about Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa's life stories. In general, Basil is viewed as the most pre-eminent member of his family and the other siblings including Gregory of Nyssa are thought to have had secondary importance in terms of honour. In this case Basil's reputation and renown cannot be ignored. Even while he was still a young student, he deserved to have appellation of "The Great". However, this presupposition has been criticised and challenged by some recent scholars. Nowadays, in some studies, Gregory, Basil's younger brother, has been regarded as equally important as his elder brother Basil. These opposite views have been defended by some scholars such as Vasiliki M. Limberis<sup>1</sup> and Raymond Van Dam.<sup>2</sup>

Limberis and Van Dam have discussed the Fathers' family ties and have reached different conclusions. Van Dam adopts the generally accepted thought that Basil was the most important member of his family. According to Van Dam, Gregory was no more than an imitator of Basil and he was only Basil's student. However, in Limberis' view, Gregory of Nyssa was a very important member of the family and not less important than Basil. However, according to Gregory himself, the most pre-eminent member of their family was his beloved elder sister St. Macrina the Younger. Therefore, in this study Gregory's perspective on St. Macrina and Basil will be

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<sup>1</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety; The Cappadocian Fathers and the Cult of the Martyrs*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011

<sup>2</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2003

examined first in light of his work the *Life of Macrina*. Then these three different approaches will be compared and analysed in terms of their foundation in primary sources.

These three different approaches lead us to ask if there was a conflict between Basil and Gregory. If we assume that there was, then in this conflict Gregory and Macrina took one side while Basil stayed opposite them. In fact, there was not any conflict between St. Macrina and Basil but it was only because of Gregory's attempts in his writings after Macrina's death that Macrina was pulled onto the battlefield. Therefore, the actual conflict was between Basil and Gregory and Macrina was a powerful soldier for Gregory to employ while seeking to defeat Basil.

The important sources for this study are the writings of the Fathers, as they give direct information about their feelings and emotions towards each other. The most prominent of these writings is the *Life of Macrina*,<sup>3</sup> which was penned as a letter to the monk Olimpious by Gregory of Nyssa after his elder sister Macrina's death about A.D. 380. The *Life of Macrina* gives unique information about their family ties and relationships. Even though it is a short text about of St. Macrina's life, it contains much valuable information about her other siblings. Therefore, Gregory's discussion in the *Life of Macrina* regarding his elder brother Basil<sup>4</sup> will be evaluated in the first chapter as unique information for explaining the relationship between these two brothers.

Following the examination of the *Life of Macrina*, Limberis and Van Dam's approaches regarding these two siblings will be compared. In so doing, their

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<sup>3</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/HALSALL/basis/macrina.html> (30-08-2011)

<sup>4</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 966C-D

standpoints towards the conflict between Basil and Gregory and concerning why Gregory elevated Macrina in the family will become visible.

In the last chapter of this study, the effects of the conflict between Basil and Gregory on their careers will be analysed. When it came to their careers, it seems as though they did not take much account of the conflict between them. It is necessary to point out here that even though they have had problems with each other, their use of their network and families' wealth in episcopal offices is striking. In spite of the fact that they did not get on well and Basil even severed all ties with their families, yet the influence of their on their episcopal careers was more than has been envisaged.

Before starting the examination of their conflict, it is useful to briefly introduce each character, so that the issues can be grasped more easily.

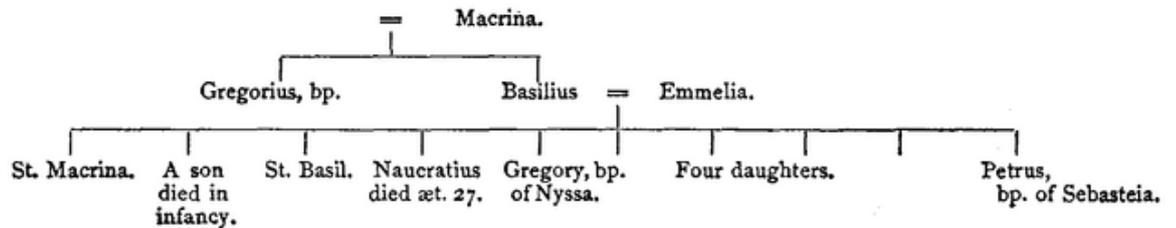
### **Cast of Characters**

There are a lot of historical figures mentioned in this essay and their relationships between each other can be quite confusing. Therefore, it is worth giving a brief cast of characters in order to place each of the family members in their correct position, because even their order in the family is important enough to affect all interpretations. As a result, knowing the exact place of each individual within the family and the main relations between each other will illuminate the issues at stake here more clearly. Before giving this information it is helpful to see their family sketch as table.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church (NPNF), Series II, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, V. VIII, St. Basil; Letters and Select Works, WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan , 1952, p. ix

**Table 1: Basil and Gregory's Family**



Basil the Elder<sup>6</sup> was the biological father of the family examined in this essay. Therefore, even though he is not a central character in the conflict under examination, his background presence deserves to be kept in mind. Basil the Elder was a grammarian in Pontus and an outstanding teacher who attracted many students from different regions such as Armenia and Cappadocia. Even though Gregory mentioned him in only trivial ways in the *Life of Macrina*<sup>7</sup>; and Basil of Caesarea was not happy with his father's career as a grammarian, his importance to his children's education and training cannot be denied. In this study, his name will be particularly remembered and cited on the issue that Gregory placed St. Macrina's authority over her family and her father.

Emmelia (d. c. A.D. 369) was Basil the Elder's wife and mother of nine or ten children.<sup>8</sup> Like her husband Basil, Emmelia is not a central character in this essay. In the course of this study, her name will be mentioned in connection with her relationship with her daughter, St. Macrina the Younger.

<sup>6</sup> His born and death dates are not certain but it is known that he died shortly after his son Peter's birth. Gregory of Nyssa informs in the *Life of Macrina* that "as he (Peter) entered this life his father passed away from it". If it is assumed that his son Peter was born about 340, his death must be about this date.

<sup>7</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, Medieval Sourcebook, 962A-B,

<sup>8</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, Medieval Sourcebook,

St. Macrina the Younger (c. A.D. 330 - A.D. 379 or 380)<sup>9</sup> is the firstborn sibling and the family member most devoted to the ascetic life, as Gregory described her life in the *Life of Macrina* as angelic.<sup>10</sup> She influenced all siblings' life and career by leading them adopting ascetic life. She is one of the central characters for our study in terms of Gregory's comparison of her with Basil.

Basil of Caesarea (A.D. 329 or 330 – A.D. 379) is the firstborn son in the family. He had a secular education at Athens and Constantinople and became a famous bishop when in his late thirties.<sup>11</sup> As a result of his education abroad, he stayed distant from his family both in terms of geographical distance and of emotional connections. He did not have much influence on other siblings. On the contrary, as Gregory asserted and as Limberis has adopted, Basil was affected by other siblings especially St. Macrina and Naucratius.<sup>12</sup> He is a central character of this study. His place in the family will be analysed and the dissent between him and his brother Gregory will be illustrated by examining the letters that they sent each other.<sup>13</sup>

Naucratius was younger than Basil and bigger than Gregory. Therefore, his birth was probably around A.D. 332-333. According to Gregory, he was the favourite brother for St. Macrina. He was the first brother to decide to live in isolation. He was also an outstanding hunter. He died in a hunting accident with his servant when he was his twenties.<sup>14</sup> He will not be mentioned often in this study.

Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 335 or 336 – A.D. 386) is a few years younger than Basil. Unlike Basil, he did not have a secular education. His first teacher was his father, who

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<sup>9</sup> New Catholic Encyclopedia, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1966, p. 45; In general, dates of birth and death all controversial and indicated by estimations.

<sup>10</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 970C

<sup>11</sup> for the whole life of Basil of Caesarea see, Richard Travers Smith, *St. Basil the Great*

<sup>12</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki, *Architects of Piety*, p. 115

<sup>13</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *Letters and Select Works*, in NPNF Series II, V. VIII, pp. 109-337

<sup>14</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 968A-D; Raymond Van Dam, *Families and Friends*, p.59

taught him his primary education. His second teacher, who is most prominent, was his elder sister St. Macrina. His elder brother Basil was also one of his teachers but they in general did not get on well. Gregory was influenced by St. Macrina as a teacher and, as defined by him, as a mother. Gregory is a central character in this study as the writer of the important source of this study, the *Life of Macrina*, which portrays his elder sister Macrina's personality and character.

Peter (A.D. 340 – A.D. 391) is the last born sibling in the family. He was also consecrated as a bishop, to Sebasteia. He was brought up by his elder sister St. Macrina and totally educated by her. Therefore, he did not travel abroad for education.<sup>15</sup> According to Gregory, by Macrina's effort "*he aspired to the high mark of philosophy*", that was also so clever and successful in everything and that he was "*no whit inferior to the great Basil.*"<sup>16</sup> Gregory's this comparison of Peter with Basil will be examined in further sections.

Gregory of Nazianzus (A.D. 330 - A.D. 391) was not a member of the family which this examination focuses. He was from Cappadocia. His relationship with the family was his longstanding friendship with Basil of Caesarea, starting from their primary education in Caesarea and finishing with Basil's death.<sup>17</sup> He was Basil's supporter on all occasions. His name will be mentioned in this study as a safe port for Basil who broke all ties with his family.<sup>18</sup>

There were four more sisters in the family but their names are not known. The existence of these sisters can be seen by Gregory stating that "*when the mother had*

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<sup>15</sup> Theodoret, Book IV, Ch. XXVII, in NPNF Series II, Vol. III, p. 129

<sup>16</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 972D

<sup>17</sup> *Gregory of Nazianzus*, NPNF Series II, Vol. VII; Raymond Van Dam, *Families and Friends*, Ch. 8-10; Rosemary Radford Reuther, *Gregory of Nazianzus*

<sup>18</sup> for the detailed biography of Gregory of Nazianzus see, Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia*.

*arranged excellent marriages for the other sisters.*”<sup>19</sup> Because of lack of information about them, they will not be mentioned in this study in terms of family connection.<sup>20</sup>

To illustrate the family as a whole, it is necessary to show them on a table which shows their orders by birth and death. This is provided below, so that readers may turn the pages back and see who was alive when the mentioned incidents took place.

Table 2: Chronological Table of Basil and Gregory’s Family by Birth and Death Order

<b>Chronological Table by Birth</b>	<b>Chronological Table by Death</b>
Basil the Elder	Basil the Elder (d. c. A.D. 345)
Emmelia	Naucratus (d. A.D. 332-333)
St. Macrina the Younger	Emmelia (d. A.D. 369)
Basil of Caesarea	Basil of Caesarea (d. AD 379)
Naucratus	St. Macrina the Younger (d. A.D. 379 or 380)
Gregory of Nyssa	Gregory of Nyssa (d. A.D. 386)
Peter of Sebasteia	Peter of Sebasteia (d. A.D. 391)

<sup>19</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 966B

<sup>20</sup> for the discussion on sister Theosebia see, Vasiliki Limberis, *Architects of Piety*, p.111-113.

## CHAPTER I

### ANALYSING THE LIFE OF MACRINA IN TERMS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN BASIL AND GREGORY

In this chapter, the *Life of Macrina* will be analysed in terms of Gregory's approaches to his family and especially his perspective of his elder brother Basil of Caesarea in order to see if there is an infelicity against Basil in this work. Their other brothers, Naucratus and Peter, will also be compared with Basil in terms of their pre-eminence for the family in Gregory's eyes. In this way, Gregory's standpoint against Basil will be revealed.

The *Life of Macrina* was written by Gregory of Nyssa about 380, after St. Macrina's death. The purpose of this work, a letter to the monk Olympius, is to keep St. Macrina's memory alive. Gregory expresses his purpose of writing this letter as the monk Olympus' demand:

*"As then you have decided that the story of her (St. Macrina's) noble career is worth telling' to prevent such a life being unknown to our time, and the record of a woman who raised herself by philosophy."*<sup>21</sup>

Gregory seemingly proclaims his purpose plainly in writing this letter, but Gregory's way of handling other family members in the *Life of Macrina* lead reader to seek after different possible intentions. As it has been understood from the context of the *Life of*

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<sup>21</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 960B

*Macrina*, the *Life* was created as much against Basil as for St. Macrina.<sup>22</sup> This issue will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

As a starting point, looking at the structure of the *Life of Macrina* is as important as its context. Therefore, the general appearance of the work will be illustrated first and then the context will be analysed.

### **1.1 Structuring the *Life of Macrina* against Basil**

The structure of the *Life of Macrina* gives some hints for understanding Gregory's thoughts regarding each family member. Even though Gregory explains his feelings about his parents and his siblings clearly, there may still be some unwritten, missing or potential bad feelings or discontentment against his family members, especially Basil of Caesarea, which Gregory did not wish to utter explicitly in the *Life of Macrina*. These emotions can be found hidden in the structure of the work. Therefore before examining the context, it is useful to look at the structure and take a broader picture of the work. Thus it can be seen whether there was a conflict between Gregory and his elder brother Basil.

In his work, Gregory allowed two chapters for Macrina's fiancé and each brother except Peter. In the second section for each brother and for Macrina's fiancé, Gregory narrated the incident of their death. Therefore, Gregory may have allowed one chapter for Peter because he was still alive when Gregory penned the *Life of Macrina*. So, it can be assumed that Gregory gave similar importance to their brothers in terms of his work's structure.

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<sup>22</sup> see, W. M. Ramsay, *Pauline and other Studies in Early Christian History*, p. 377: "Basil who is always more trustworthy than Gregory because he was more honest and more earnest, and stood closer to real life."

However, Gregory gave a larger importance to his mother Emmelia in the *Life of Macrina*, and gave much lesser importance to his father, Basil the Elder. Gregory may have not mentioned his father in his work in order not to overshadow the authority of St. Macrina over her family. Because if he mentioned their father very much, it would damage the pre-eminence of St. Macrina in her family because fathers were dominant figures in family in the conditions of fourth century, as it remains even today in modern Cappadocia.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, Gregory's attempt to background their father in order to put forward St. Macrina seems like a planned action against the pre-eminence of his elder brother Basil of Caesarea in terms of his structure of family. This will be examined in detail with regard to further passages under the heading "Characterisation of Macrina as Authority against Her Father and Basil"<sup>24</sup>.

Additionally, Gregory touched upon the relationships between St. Macrina and her other siblings and with her mother Emmelia in terms of St. Macrina's authority over them and her help with their needs. Therefore, the answer to the question that why Gregory filled the *Life of Macrina* with so many mentions of her mother Emmelia may be that the only person that Macrina successfully dominated was their mother. It is unlikely that Gregory did not have any memories involving his father because he had at least been his father's student during his primary education.<sup>25</sup> He and St. Macrina must have had common memories involving their father Basil the Elder. Therefore being suspicious about Gregory's attempt to downplay his father in the *Life of Macrina* in order to improve St. Macrina's authority is inevitable.

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<sup>23</sup> see, Arjava, Antti, *Paternal Power in Late Antiquity*, in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 88 (1998), pp. 147-165: Arjava discussed the official position of biological fathers in their houses in Roman world.

<sup>24</sup> see, heading 1.3 "Emergence of Macrina as Authority against Her Father and Basil"

<sup>25</sup> NPNF Series II, Vol. V, p. 3

As a result, Gregory seems to have aimed to reach a planned result when he wrote the *Life of Macrina*. In his letter, Gregory placed St. Macrina at the centre of the family and aligned other characters, even her father, around her. By doing so, Gregory aimed to exalt St. Macrina over Basil. Of course, there are reasons for Gregory doing this but before discussing them, how he exalted St. Macrina will be detailed. This will contribute to the examination of what kind of conflict or disagreement Gregory and Basil may have had.

## 1.2 Exaltation of Macrina by Gregory

In the *Life of Macrina*, Gregory illustrates his elder sister St. Macrina as though she is not of this earth.<sup>26</sup> As a saint, nobody suspects from the holiness of St. Macrina but in Gregory's way of handling the issue he seems that he had different purposes. His discourses suggest that Gregory may have wished to exalt his sister rather than giving accurate and objective historical information. For example at the beginning of his work Gregory describes Macrina by stressing her lofty nature as beyond descriptions:

*"In this case it was a woman who provided us with our subject; if indeed she should be styled woman for I do not know whether it is fitting to designate her by her sex, who so surpassed her sex."*<sup>27</sup>

In his writings, Gregory used the word "women" unwillingly because in his eyes St. Macrina could not be contained within the boundary of ordinary words. Gregory defines St. Macrina's ascetic life as "angelic"<sup>28</sup>, so, in Gregory's view, ordinary words from daily life may have been inappropriate for describing St. Macrina. As has seen

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<sup>26</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 960A-C, 966B

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 960B

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 970C

Gregory started with a puff up of his elder sister and he set forth that what kind of standpoints he would adopt.

Having given brief information about St. Macrina's holiness in Gregory's eyes, the evidence concerning Gregory's attempts to place St. Macrina in opposition to Basil as an alternative in the family will now be discussed. These efforts starts with exalting St. Macrina, which was discussed briefly in this section, and continues by portraying her as an authority in the family, and finally ends by characterising Basil as a product of St. Macrina.<sup>29</sup>

Placing St. Macrina as a unique authority was a good strategy to implicitly diminish Basil because if Gregory had made an explicit comparison between Macrina and Basil, his readers would have had the chance to see both siblings and would have had the opportunity to support Basil instead. It would also have allowed the possibility that they would consider that Basil may be more important from St. Macrina. Therefore, Gregory did not mention Basil and made his readers focus only on St. Macrina, thereby closing the doors on Basil. Now, this issue needs to be extended further.

### **1.3 Characterisation of Macrina as Authority against Her Father and Basil**

As it has been mentioned above, Gregory does not mention St. Macrina's father, Basil the Elder, in the *Life of Macrina* very much. Of course the text is St. Macrina's life story and the main character is St. Macrina herself, but in spite of this fact Gregory allowed at least one or two passages for each of their other siblings. Even though Gregory included a chapter relating to Macrina's parents, he generally mentioned their mother and grandmother and ignored their father. He also trivialised his depiction of their father in this chapter, illustrating him as a man who had been selected as a guard

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<sup>29</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 966C

in order to protect St. Macrina's mother Emmelia from people who may attempt to endanger her honour.<sup>30</sup> Gregory's approach is trivialising because a husband deserves more honour than being a guardian of his wife. Gregory mentioned their father again in his story of St. Macrina's betrothal. But even in this story, although Macrina first accepted to marry the candidate that her father selected, after her fiancé's death, Macrina did not allow her father to offer her to a new bridegroom and did not obey her father's demand.<sup>31</sup> By recording this story, Gregory shows that Macrina's authority was discernable over her family, even over her father.

It seems obvious that Gregory disregarded their father in the *Life of Macrina*. As Macrina was already fifteen years old when Basil the Elder passed away, it seems highly unlikely that Gregory could not have found more stories about Macrina and their father if Gregory had wished to include such stories. Thus, even though, in the first chapter of the *Life of Macrina*, Gregory said that the *Life of Macrina* was an unpolished letter,<sup>32</sup> there must be a reason that he eliminated their father from St. Macrina's life. It might have been in order to strengthen, or highlight, St. Macrina's authority over her family. Gregory may have mentioned their mother to such an extent because Macrina had much greater influence over her mother than her father. This may be why Gregory eliminated her father from his narrative and filled the *Life of Macrina* with stories and relationships with their mother Emmelia.

It is also worth considering that Gregory may have tried to represent Macrina's authority as a fact, in order to put forward St. Macrina explicitly, and perhaps, downplay his brother, Basil of Caesarea. As it will be seen in further chapters, Gregory criticised Basil many times and in some paragraphs even insulted him. It may

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<sup>30</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 962A-B

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 964B-D

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 960C

seem strange to suggest that Gregory did not make much mention of his father in order to downplay Basil, but there is a reason to support that thought. For example, in Greek custom a son should surpass his father in order to develop and improve his family. In this way, the family can strengthen and flourish.<sup>33</sup> If this is so, what impression does it give if Gregory did not mention his father as an important character in their family? The answer is not difficult. If the father is not important in the family, Basil's efforts to surpass his father, as Van Dam<sup>34</sup> and many scholars suggested, would be worthless, because the authority was actually in St. Macrina's hands, not in the hands of her father. In so doing, Gregory seems to have pacified the suggestions that Basil of Caesarea succeeded by surpassing his father. If looked at from Gregory's perspective, Basil's succession was not valid because there was still, a more important, member of family waiting to be surpassed, which is St. Macrina. As a result, over the course of the *Life of Macrina* Gregory managed successfully to downplay his brother Basil both by criticising him and by structuring the *Life* perfectly against Basil of Caesarea.

Furthermore, St. Macrina died after Basil of Caesarea, and even though Basil had more renown among their contemporaries than Macrina, Gregory did not attempt to create Basil's life story. Commemorations of Basil<sup>35</sup> can be seen from Gregory of Nazianzus, though he was not a sibling of Basil, just was a friend. All of this evidence strongly suggests that there was something wrong between Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea. This issue will also be examined and exemplified in the further passages.

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<sup>33</sup> see, Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, for the detailed discussion on the family structure in Roman family. He discusses in detail the relationships and interactions between family members.

<sup>34</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 74

<sup>35</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funeral Oration on the Great St. Basil*, in NPNF Series II, Vol. VII, p. 396

#### **1.4 Macrina's Other Brothers: Naucratius and Peter**

Gregory did not content himself with only exalting St. Macrina against Basil. He also many times praised other brothers and sometimes compared them with Basil. To illustrate this, it will be sufficient for this study to give a few examples.

Gregory mentioned his other brothers through positive memories about them and, as it has been mentioned above, he does not criticise them, but only to Basil did he not show the same respect.

For example, Gregory illustrates Naucratius as favourite brother:

*“For it was a brother, and a favourite brother, who had been snatched away by such a manner of death.”<sup>36</sup>*

And he mentions that Peter helped St. Macrina:

*“Macrina was helped most of all in achieving this great aim of her life by her own brother Peter.”<sup>37</sup>*

Gregory showed that there were always connections between the other family members but Gregory does not indicate any emotional connection between with Basil and other siblings. Furthermore, Gregory compares Peter with Basil:

*“Scorning to occupy his time with worldly studies, and having in nature a sufficient instructor in all good knowledge, and always looking to his sister as the model of all*

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<sup>36</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 970 B

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 972 B

*good, he (Peter) advanced to such a height of virtue that in his subsequent life he seemed in no way inferior to the great Basil.*”<sup>38</sup>

From this passage it may also be understood that Gregory had problems with Basil, because Peter was smaller than Basil and because of the education that he had only at home there was no possibility that Peter might have been inferior to Basil. Gregory may have aimed to demonstrate that Basil was not only an important person in their family. By writing the *Life of Macrina* in the way he did, Gregory made the claim that Macrina was the most important member of the family, but throughout the text Gregory took Basil's status down gradually. As seen in the passage above Gregory illustrated Peter in the same scale as Basil of Caesarea by leaving possible the ideas that Peter might be more preeminent than Basil. This suggestion corresponds with the suggestion that has been made above that Gregory did not mention their father in the *Life of Macrina* in order to downplay Basil's status. It seems clear that Gregory penned the *Life of Macrina* against Basil as much as in commemoration of his sister St. Macrina.

After reviewing St. Macrina's authority within her family and her relationships with her other brothers, Gregory's perspective of Basil needs to now be examined. While the previous section has displayed Gregory's implicit attempts to downplay Basil, his direct mentions of his elder brother Basil will be analysed in the next section.

### **1.5 Gregory's Perspective of Basil in the *Life of Macrina***

Basil and Gregory had a fraternal relationship which is not easy to analyse. Gregory betrayed his feelings about his brother Basil in some chapters. For example, he did not like Basil's self-confident behaviours after he finished his education at Constantinople.

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<sup>38</sup>Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 972 D

Even when Gregory called him “the great Basil” it reads like sarcasm, because he does not exalt him in this instance. On the contrary, he criticises Basil’s disdainful behaviours:

*“The great Basil returned after his long period of education, already a practised rhetorician. He was puffed up beyond measure with the pride of oratory and looked down on the local dignitaries, excelling in his own estimation all the men of leading and position.”*<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, it may be asserted that the conflict and disagreement<sup>40</sup> between Basil and Gregory may have started as soon as Basil returned from university because of Gregory’s infelicity from Basil’s swaggering behaviours.

Then the striking point, which is what this chapter focuses upon, comes that when Gregory raises St. Macrina’s status by portraying her as Basil’s teacher. It is already known that St. Macrina taught Basil, but according to Gregory, the only person who repaired and improved Basil was St. Macrina herself:

*“Nevertheless Macrina took him (Basil) in hand, and with such speed did she draw him also toward the mark of philosophy that he forsook the glories of this world and despised fame gained by speaking, and deserted it for this busy life where one toils with one’s hands. His renunciation of property was complete, lest anything should impede the life of virtue.”*<sup>41</sup> Gregory gave no importance to Basil’s personal achievements. He only focuses the improvement of St. Macrina on Basil. In this way he illustrates Basil as a product of his sister. In so doing, he ignores Basil’s personal

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<sup>39</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 966B-C

<sup>40</sup> This conflict will be examined in the second chapter under the heading “Conflict between Basil and Gregory in Their Letter”

<sup>41</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 966C

abilities and qualifications and gives all tributes to St. Macrina. By doing so, he also manages successfully to attract attention to St. Macrina rather than Basil.

Limberis also touches upon this issue when criticising Basil. She stresses Gregory's claim that it was St. Macrina who straighten out the arrogant, young Basil when he returned from Constantinople. Limberis proposes that perhaps Basil's view St. Macrina was the bossy, older sister.<sup>42</sup> Limberis' thoughts that Basil considered St. Macrina as a bossy sister may be criticised. Because, St. Macrina managed to guide Basil to the ascetic life, it is not necessary to think that Basil may have thought that Macrina was a bossy sister. If Basil had thought that Macrina was a bossy elder sister, it seems less likely that he would obey her recommendations and would instead go his own way. Therefore, Limberis' approach seems biased against Basil.

As much as can be understood from Gregory's text, Basil's virtue was definitely a product of Macrina. Gregory gave no importance to Basil's education at Constantinople. He stressed St. Macrina's authority over her other siblings as well but no criticism of them be seen. However, when Gregory starts to narrate about Basil, he uses insulting words and a downplaying manner. This increases the suspicion that while Gregory was writing the *Life of Macrina* he may have planned something besides telling a plain story. He may have planned to reconstruct his family's personal relationships between each siblings in a way which most appropriate according to him. He may have wanted to take revenge on Basil because of all his irritating letters<sup>43</sup> sent to Gregory during his duties in episcopal office.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety*, p. 118

<sup>43</sup> Letter 58, 60, 100, 215, in NPNF, V. 8, *St. Basil: Letters and Select Works*, pp. 109-337

<sup>44</sup> These letters will be examined in the next chapter in order to show the conflict between both two brothers.

The suggestion that Gregory gave no little importance to Basil's personal achievements and his education at Constantinople may be supported by this interesting sentence about Basil from the *Life of Macrina*:

*"Now all the distractions of the material life had been removed."*<sup>45</sup>

Gregory used this sentence after Basil adopted ascetic life. Gregory seems as though he thought that Basil was the last family member who needed to be fixed and that, therefore after this the family as a whole were rid of all the *distractions* of the material life. Namely, that until Basil had been overhauled by Macrina, he was a distraction (be clear) and only Macrina was the engineer who ameliorated him and helped to be perfect. Even if Gregory had not criticised Basil's behaviours, only these discourses regarding Basil's correction by Macrina would be enough to show that Basil was not the unique person as he has been known by their contemporaries. This sentence also strongly suggests that Gregory was not happy with Basil's secular education at Constantinople and Athens, because he considered this education as a part of *material life*.<sup>46</sup>

Negative discourses regarding Basil is not limited with passed examples. Gregory narrates that he spoke with his sister when she was on her death bed. Everything seems normal in the story but when Gregory mentions Basil again the tone of the story comes to a state of sadness. He says that:

*"When in the course of conversation mention was made of the great Basil, my soul was saddened and my face fell dejectedly. But so far was she from sharing in my affliction that, treating the mention of the saint as an occasion for yet loftier*

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<sup>45</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 966D

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

*philosophy, she discussed various subjects, inquiring into human affairs and revealing in her conversation the divine purpose concealed in disasters.*<sup>47</sup>

In this passage, both Gregory and St. Macrina are described as having the same feelings about Basil. Making estimations about the reason for their sadness about Basil is easy, but to know whether one has struck upon the right guess is nearly impossible. There should be some reasons that made them sad about their brother Basil. The first of them might have been that Basil left ascetic life and had become an ambitious bishop of Caesarea. A second reason might be that Basil did not give enough importance to family ties. He had suggested breaking all relations with family members in his *Asceticon*.<sup>48</sup> These negative memories may have made them sad. This issue will be discussed below in more depth under the heading “Reasons that Keep Basil away of His Family”.<sup>49</sup>

As a result, the *Life of Macrina* is a mirror shows the conflict and disagreements between Basil and Gregory. There is no doubt that Gregory created the *Life of Macrina* not only telling St. Macrina’s life but showing what kind of a person is or is not Basil of Caesarea, because Gregory does not hide his discontentment with Basil in his discourses.

Now it is necessary to see what modern scholars have said regarding these two brothers and which brother is right in his behaviour toward other. In coming chapters, modern scholars’ approaches to these two brothers will be illustrated and the most reasonable conclusion regarding the conflict between Basil and Gregory will be tried to be reached. It is important to remember that, as it has been mentioned, modern

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<sup>47</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, 978 A-B

<sup>48</sup> Asceticon is the book where Basil set rules for his followers in monastic life.

<sup>49</sup> See, Chapter II, section 2.2.3. “Reasons That Keep Basil away of His Family”

scholars have sometimes unintentionally supported one brother without making comparison with the other. In next chapter, the examination will focus on the basis of the assumptions about Basil and Gregory made by modern scholars. From this point the real situation between these two brothers will be explained.

## CHAPTER II

### REASONS OF BASIL AND GREGORY'S CONFLICT

Vasiliki M. Limberis and Raymond Van Dam are two important scholars who have examined life and family connections of the Cappadocian Fathers. They have examined same historical figures from different approaches and have evaluated the same sources from different standpoints. In this chapter, their different thoughts on Fathers will be compared. Firstly, how Limberis exalted Gregory while diminishing Basil will be illustrated. Secondly Gregory and Basil's position in regards to their family will be evaluated according to the perspectives of Limberis and Van Dam. Thirdly, their fraternal relationship will be compared in terms of Limberis and Van Dam's different approaches. Then, as it has been mentioned above, the reasons that keep Basil away of his family will be examined by taking relevant examples from his work *Asceticon*. Finally, the source of their conflict will be illustrated on the basis of the letters which were sent between Basil and Gregory.

#### 2.1 Exaltation of Gregory by Limberis

In *Architects of Piety*, Limberis in general takes Gregory's side and she seems to support Gregory rather than Basil. It can be seen between lines that in every opportunity Limberis exalts Gregory. It is interesting that Limberis and Van Dam sometimes present very opposite thoughts on same characters. For example, whereas Van Dam claimed that Gregory "*tried to present himself as a rhetorician*";<sup>50</sup> Limberis claimed that Gregory "*...was such a master of the rhetorical genre*".<sup>51</sup> Additionally, when Limberis relates the difficulties (what kind of) that Gregory suffered in temples and shrines, she was surprised because of the coolness and noise of audience because

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<sup>50</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 69

<sup>51</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety*, p. 6

the person who was delivering the oration was “*an exceptional Rhetor like Gregory of Nyssa*”<sup>52</sup> In fact, it is known that Basil was famous due to his education on rhetoric and he was a distinguished rhetorician.<sup>53</sup> However, in her study, Limberis stressed Gregory’s speciality in rhetorical genre and developed a new scholarly standpoint about Gregory.

There are a lot of examples from *Architects of Piety* illustrating Gregory as a distinguished person. It is enough to show a few of them in order to picture Limberis’ view regarding him. When Limberis narrates Gregory’s dream with Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, she claims that “*not everyone might be fortunate enough to experience a visit from a martyr.*”<sup>54</sup> Namely, for Limberis, Gregory was lucky and deserved to see martyrs in his dream. In the course of passages, it may be claimed that Limberis gives a special importance to Gregory. She considers him a holy man and deserves to have a visit from martyrs. While exalting Gregory, Limberis also accuses Basil of abusing the martyr festivals by arranging meetings with other bishops from the region. By contrast, she pictures Gregory of Nyssa as more sincere.<sup>55</sup>

These exaltations of Gregory in Limberis’ work seem like a preparation for readers about the pre-eminence of Gregory within his family. In Limberis’ view, Basil was not more than an ordinary person. In fact, it is not exaggeration to suggest that on the ground of Limberis’ thoughts; that Basil was not important for his family,<sup>56</sup> because, according to Limberis, Basil was like a foreigner to his family. In the upcoming section, this issue will be discussed and how Basil remained out of the family will be displayed.

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<sup>52</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety*, p. 23

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27

<sup>56</sup> I would like to stress the word *family* because even Limberis does not downplay Basil in his Episcopal career. She only illustrates Basil as difficult bigger brother, not as a useless person.

## 2.2. Basil's Estrangement from His Family

Basil's estrangement from his family is a point in common between Limberis and Van Dam in that they undoubtedly believe that Basil was a foreign character for his family. Limberis characterises Basil as a man who did not have any positive effect on his family. According to her, Basil only watched what was going on in his family from the outside and had contact with some of them but stayed distant in general. Limberis points out that when Basil returned to his hometown in 356-357, he found his mother and sister performing housework like maids. He also found that everyone now worked, prayed and ate together.<sup>57</sup> She stresses that in the absence of Basil, the family developed dramatically in terms of ascetic life and that the most important aspect of this change is that Basil did not have any share in this development.

Limberis occasionally shows Basil as subject rather than object. Even though it is assumed in general that Basil is the most prominent member of his family, Limberis gives a different portrait. According to Limberis, Basil shaped his life according to his family and siblings' influence on him rather than his family shaping their lives based on Basil's effect on them. She asserts that *Basil honoured Naucratius' memory by pursuing his way of life and setting up an ascetic residence. And she doubtlessly believes that Naucratius' life and death had influenced Basil's decision.*<sup>58</sup> It is known from the *Life of Macrina* that St. Macrina had influence on Basil but to put Naucratius in the same scale with St. Macrina seems like injustice for Basil. If Limberis' way of approaching Basil is espoused, Basil's whole education before he returned to his family becomes worthless, because Limberis regards Macrina as sole teacher of Basil.

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<sup>57</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki, *Architects of piety*, p. 114

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114-115

On the whole, Basil has been reflected by Limberis, in an unjust manner, as a person degenerate through his secular education and that, on the contrary, his family, especially St. Macrina, are pictured as the redeemers of him.

Van Dam also points out that Basil was removed from his family by distance and by emotion. He points out that Basil was not even present when his mother died, though Gregory of Nyssa may have visited or attended the funeral.<sup>59</sup> This absence may have been because of his rules regarding family ties, which will be discussed further in the last section of this chapter. To explain briefly here, Basil prohibited his ascetic brothers to visit their families, even in sickness. As a result, in order to encourage the candidates in his monastery, Basil may have decided not to visit his mother when she was dying and to not attend at her funeral, though he did not wish to do so voluntarily. He may have regretted setting a rule like that but after preaching these rules to his followers, he would not break them. Consequently, he did not take part in important occasions related to his *biological* family for the sake of his *monastic* family.

According to Van Dam, Basil's distance from his family lessened his emotional connection with his family, his father, and even with his ancestors. Van Dam illustrates this issue with Basil's hospice's name.<sup>60</sup> He claims that "*after adopting a career that combined estrangement from his own family with service to an ecclesiastical community, it is not surprising that Basil gave his name, Basileias, to a poorhouse that looked after the destitute and the ill, strangers and travellers, homeless refugees like himself who were separated from their families.*"<sup>61</sup> Van Dam is right in his

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<sup>59</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 68

<sup>60</sup> Sozomen informs us that Basil established a church named Basileias. He mentions that it was most celebrated hospice for the poor. (NPNF, Book VI, Sozomen, Ch. XXXIV, p. 371)

<sup>61</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 80

claim that Basil had his new family in the form of his hospice, because he did not even attempt to use his father's or his family name.

It is clear that Basil was estranged from his family and did not participate in important occasions that occurred in the family during his career. As a result, Gregory used this estrangement to his own purpose in his writings and successfully put forward St. Macrina in terms of familial development. Now, it is necessary to examine further the reasons that kept Basil away from his family.

### ***2.2.1. Reasons that Keep Basil Away from His Family***

Gregory and Macrina's sadness when they are talking about Basil has been mentioned in the first chapter.<sup>62</sup> They may have felt sad because of Basil's distance from the family. In this section, this issue may be extended further by examining the reasons for this distance. There are a few probable reasons that drove Basil to keep away from his family. All of these reasons may be found in the *Asceticon* Basil's rules on the monastic life which encourage his followers in the monastery to break off all ties of kinship.

The first of these rules was for his students to abandon all relationships with families once they are in the monastery. In the *Asceticon*, Basil explained how the coenobitic life sets spiritual kinship among the brothers, in place of natal kinship. According to Limberis, "*Basil consciously assumed the language of familial kinship, supplanting both the need and importance of the traditional family, and applies it to the daily communal life of the monastery*". Because Basil insisted that "*The monastery was not a supplement to the traditional bonds of society but a wholesale replacement of*

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<sup>62</sup> see, Chapter I, section 1.5, "Gregory's Perspective of Basil in the Life of Macrina"

them.”<sup>63</sup> According to Basil, the coenobitic life required that each candidate abandon all original bond of kinship. Basil grounds his ideas on the Luke 14:26: “*if any man comes to me let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.*”<sup>64</sup>

The second problematic rule was about visiting family members. According to Basil, “*they must not leave the brethren lead a life free from observation, under pretext of visiting relations.*”<sup>65</sup> Basil may have not gone to see his mother when she was on her sick bed because of this rule.

In this respect, Van Dam and Limberis may be compared again. While Van Dam always creates and finds substitute fathers for Basil, such as Eustathius and Gregory the Elder, Limberis points out that Basil found his new family in his monastery. Limberis supports her suggestion by noting Basil’s comment that “*true parents are those who brought him to the spiritual life of the gospel.*”<sup>66</sup>

All of these rules are evidence supporting the idea that Basil created a new family for himself. And this situation may have caused St. Macrina regret as Basil’s monastic leader because this lead to her brother breaking away from their family. As a result, both Limberis and Van Dam accept that Basil was a sibling who created a new family for himself away from his own biological family.

After examining the reasons that kept Basil out of his family, it is important to become aware of the real causes of disagreement between the two brothers, Basil and Gregory.

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<sup>63</sup> Crislip, Andrew T., *From Monastery to Hospital, Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2005, p. 56, cited by Limberis in *Architects of Piety*, p. 101

<sup>64</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *Shorter Rules*, 187, in *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil*, tr. W. K. L. Clarke, London, SPCK, 1925, p. 166

<sup>65</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *Shorter Rules*, 187, in *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil*, tr. W. K. L. Clarke, London, SPCK, 1925, p. 197

<sup>66</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *The Long Rules*, 8, in *St Basil, Ascetical Works*, Father of the Church (FOTC), Vol. 9, trans. Sister M. Monica Wagner, Catholic University Press, Washington, DC, 1962, p. 253, cited by Limberis, *Architects of Piety*, p. 101-102

The reason of their conflict may have been because of Basil's bossiness towards Gregory in every opportunity, or Gregory's behaviour towards Basil which Basil may have considered as setting war against him.<sup>67</sup> In fact, the reasons for their conflict depend on scholars' interpretations. If Basil is characterised as a bossy elder brother, it means that Basil is to be considered the cause of conflict. However, if it is assumed that Basil was a favourable teacher but Gregory was a disobedient younger brother or student, then guilty becomes Gregory. As it has been seen, standpoints and assumptions about each brother change our thoughts about them. Now, it is helpful to see these different standpoints illustrated by examples examples.

### **2.3. Basil's Bossiness on Gregory**

On Basil's and Gregory's relationship as brothers, there is again a difference between interpretations of Limberis and Van Dam. Whereas Limberis has pictured Basil as an obstacle on Gregory's way to success, and a person who got Gregory in trouble every time, Van Dam seems pretty sure that Basil was an example and teacher to Gregory. Indeed, for Van Dam, Gregory was an imitator of Basil. In what degree Limberis exalted Gregory, Van Dam downplayed him at the same scale.

Limberis stresses that Basil was so bossy and also abused Gregory's obedience towards him. She claims that Gregory "*became a pawn in Basil's strategies against the Arians and the imperial court when Basil compelled his younger brother to become bishop of Nyssa in 372*".<sup>68</sup> According to Limberis, Basil had his brother do whatever he wished though Gregory was not happy with Basil's demands. It is quite interesting that she characterised Gregory as a pawn in the hand of a chess player. In her passages, it is clearly understood that there was more harm than benefit from Basil

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<sup>67</sup> Basil of Caesarea, Letter 58, in NPNF Series II, p. 159

<sup>68</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architect of Piety*, p. 115

to Gregory. She blames Basil for Gregory's exile because Basil was the person who appointed Gregory to Nyssa. This interpretation seems like a little cruel. Basil might not have estimated that this exile would occur. He may have only wished for his brother's favour and assigned him as a bishop. This behaviour deserves to be interpreted more positively.

According to Limberis, even though Basil made Gregory bishop of Nyssa in 371, Basil did not have enough confidence in Gregory's administrative insight. Basil was also heavy-handed in his orders to Gregory and in his discipline of the way Gregory conducted business. For Limberis, Gregory was constantly overwhelmed by Basil. He altered between awe and resentment of Basil, brisling under his authoritarianism, having no rescue.<sup>69</sup>

However Van Dam has a different explanation regarding the relationship between Basil and Gregory. According to him, in terms of his intellectual development, Gregory considered Basil as the guardian of his oratory. As his teachers, Basil and St. Macrina had become Gregory's father and mother.<sup>70</sup> However, in Limberis' view, St. Macrina was Gregory's prominent teacher and she gives very little importance to Basil.

According to Van Dam, Gregory was not adequate as a bishop and always needed his brother's help. He illustrates this by an example from Macrina, while Limberis illustrate the relationship between her and Gregory as unique and smooth. Van Dam claims that Macrina had the same thought with Basil on Gregory's abilities, because *Macrina reminded her brother that he owed his achievement almost entirely through his parents*. Macrina says that: *"The prayers of your parents are raising you to such*

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<sup>69</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety*, p. 119

<sup>70</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 69

*heights, because you yourself have little or no aptitude for such success.*”<sup>71</sup> For Gregory, hearing such a sentence from his sister must have been the most devastating incident that he experienced throughout his life.

Van Dam is also cruel about Gregory as much as Limberis was about Basil. He claims that after Basil’s death, Gregory inherited, “*or appropriated*”, some of his brother’s projects and some of *his influence and reputation*. According to Van Dam, Gregory was very successful at “*mimicking*” his brother. Van Dam supports this suggestion by giving example from Basil’s friend Gregory of Nazianzus who says that: “*I see his concerns in you, as if in a mirror.*”<sup>72</sup> Van Dam also claims that Basil had surpassed his father. But according to Van Dam, there was not any possibility that Gregory could surpass Basil. Van Dam takes his suggestion forward and claims that “*Gregory could never be more than his brother’s understudy.*”<sup>73</sup>

As it has been seen, Limberis and Van Dam offer different portraits about the same characters. This may be because of their reading primary sources from different perspectives. In fact, Fathers’ writings are full of much information supporting both scholars. Therefore the main problem is to look at these evidences objectively.

As a consequence, Basil’s bossiness and intolerance against Gregory is clear and may have a real cause of disagreement between two brothers. But it would also be helpful to look at some letters sent between these two brothers in order to see their relationship and behaviours towards each other.

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<sup>71</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 70

<sup>72</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 72

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74

## 2.4 The Conflict between Basil and Gregory in Their Letters

The real conflict between Basil and Gregory needs to be clearer. Therefore, in this section some examples from their correspondence will be displayed and analysed in terms of their fraternal relationship. In fact, letters between these two brothers include examples for good and bad memories. However, for the purpose of seeking the source of conflict between Basil and Gregory, which it has been revealed repeatedly in the *Life of Macrina*, only disagreements between these two brothers will be focused upon.

The most striking example of disagreement between them is seen in the Basil's Letter 58, which Basil sent in reply to Gregory after Gregory had sent fraudulent letters to Basil on behalf of his uncle. In this example, Gregory is like an unmanageable younger brother and Basil is like an educating older brother.

*“How am I to dispute with you in writing? How can I lay hold of you satisfactorily, with all your simplicity? You forged one letter, and brought it me as though it came from our right reverend uncle the bishop, trying to deceive me, I have no idea why.”*<sup>74</sup>

Basil found himself in trouble because of the letters which Gregory sent on behalf of his uncle. Here Limberis' suggestion that Basil in general got Gregory in trouble needs to be remembered.<sup>75</sup> As it will be seen, brothers mutually endangered their careers and put themselves in difficult positions. While Basil was accused from Gregory's exile from his church by Limberis, now Gregory got Basil into trouble before other bishops. Basil explained this occasion by these sentences:

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<sup>74</sup> Basil of Caesarea, Letter 58, in NPNF series II, Vol. VIII, p. 159

<sup>75</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki, Architects of Piety, p. 115

*“The forgery was found out, on the bishop’s repudiating it in person. I was thoroughly ashamed; covered as I was with the disgrace of cunning trickery and lies, I prayed that the earth might open for me.”*<sup>76</sup>

And Basil criticises Gregory’s personality repeatedly. Basil’s discourses may have offended Gregory and may have caused him to bear infelicity against his brother. But it needs to be considered that Basil did not write these lines by his own decision. Gregory forced him to write such sentences by sending annoying letter:

*“I write attacking your simplicity, which I see plainly to be neither what generally becomes a Christian man, nor is appropriate to the present emergency.”*<sup>77</sup>

*“I must speak to you with all freedom, and I tell you that you are an unworthy minister of things so great.”*<sup>78</sup>

In a different letter, Basil mentioned a war between him and Gregory. *“God forbid that I should ever so feel as to forget the ties of nature and be at war with those who are near and dear to me.”* Basil gives the impression that he had reasons to be an enemy of his brother Gregory, but he does not explain them in the letter explicitly. There is an interesting issue that he does not bear because Gregory was his brother. In this letter, Basil gives no importance to Gregory’s personality but Basil only stresses his brotherhood. As it has been understood, Basil does not want to be enemies with his brother because of his personal character and his own choice, not because of Gregory’s sake but the sake of their brotherhood.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Basil of Caesarea, Letter 58, in NPNF, p. 159

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 159

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 159

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 161

In the same letter, Basil shows his distrustfulness of Gregory. Basil's doubt about his brother probably was grounded in Gregory's fraud about writing letters on behalf of their uncle. *"I have not laid my reverend brother under the necessity of reporting anything to you by word of mouth, because on the former occasion what he said was not borne out by facts."*<sup>80</sup>

There is a very important example in which these two brothers face off against each other. This letter is dated one year later (A.D. 372) after Gregory's fraud on behalf of their uncle (A.D. 371). Therefore, as it has been mentioned above, Gregory may have been offended because of Basil's response and start to act against him. In this letter, Basil accuses Gregory counteracting him and he asks Bishop Eusebius of Samosata to help him. Basil mentions this incident by saying that:

*"I am compassed with anxieties which demand your help and sympathy, both in the matter of the appointment of bishops and in the consideration of the trouble caused me by the simplicity of Gregory of Nyssa, who is summoning a Synod at Ancyra and leaving nothing undone to counteract me."*<sup>81</sup> As it is clear, Gregory not only felt negative about for his brother, he also acted against Basil in some occasions like that. It proves that the conflict between Basil and Gregory shows itself in their life time and reaches its climax in the *Life of Macrina*.

The last example that will be discussed is when Basil complained about Gregory, to the Presbyter Dorotheus, by stressing Gregory's lack of experience. This is letter 215. This letter is dated to 375, a few years before Basil's death. Basil is not sure and still suspicious about his brother's skills, and traces of disagreements may be seen:

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<sup>80</sup> Basil of Caesarea, Letter 60, in NPNF, p. 161

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 184

*“Indeed my God-beloved brother Gregory of Nyssa, an unsuitable envoy to Damascus.” “I am aware that he is quite inexperienced in ecclesiastical affairs.”*<sup>82</sup>

All of these examples show that Basil and Gregory were not getting on well. Furthermore, they sometimes blamed and showed distrust towards each other. However, in general, Basil was overwhelming his brother. As a result, Gregory was full of these bitter memories and there is no doubt that he was affected by them. Therefore, he shaped the *Life of Macrina* against Basil and he took the revenge against him. Because Gregory was not defiant as much as Basil, when Basil in life. Thus, Gregory showed his feelings implicitly and explicitly in the *Life of Macrina*.

## **2.5. Which Brother is More Important?**

Van Dam mentions Naucratus, Peter, and even Gregory as *forgotten brothers*. However, Limberis gives Gregory much importance, and she even mentions the other brothers as just as important as Basil and Gregory also insists that Peter was not inferior to Basil.

These other brothers have not been studied much because they have not been as influential as Basil and Gregory. In terms of family connections, Basil may be the least important of all siblings, but in an episcopal perspective he was the most prominent. From this arises some suggestions regarding Basil’s family relationships. Basil lost his family ties but he made his family more famous than before. It seems like Basil lost his family ties because of his works and success. And the other siblings may have chosen not to gain more success and fame for the sake of their family relationships. In this respect, it would be fairer to claim that they strived, whatever they did, for good of the family. If there was not Basil the Great, the life story of other siblings would not

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<sup>82</sup> Basil of Caesarea, Letter 215, in NPNF, p. 254

be important as it is today. Therefore, Basil must not be blamed for through cutting family ties. Furthermore, the other siblings may be owed greetings to Basil because of his success that he made all of their ascetic lives well known. Meantime, the other brothers must be remembered as prominent members of the family because through their ascetic lifestyle, they inspired Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea to develop new ideas and develop Christian thoughts. For example Gregory's work "*Virginity*"<sup>83</sup> is a product of his family influence due to his sister St. Macrina.

In consequence, all members of the family had their shares in the development of the family. Therefore, they need to be regarded as prominent members of the family.

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<sup>83</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *On Virginity*, in NPNF Series II, V. 5, p. 343

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS AND REFLECTIONS OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN BASIL AND GREGORY ON THEIR LIVES AND CAREERS

Even though Basil had problems with his brother Gregory, he did not refrain from cooperating with him in the occasions that Basil's friend Gregory of Nazianzus also involved. Basil was not happy with his brother's administration skills but he cooperated with Gregory because as it has been mentioned in the previous chapter he was his *brother* and as John Davis claimed "*they were expected to give moral support in conflict in which their kinsman are involved*"<sup>84</sup> in the fourth century Cappadocia.

Despite the conflict between them, they showed compatible actions when their episcopal duties were the subject. Basil assigned his brother Gregory to the bishopric of Nyssa and Peter to Sebasteia as a presbyter. This proves that the Cappadocian Fathers showed significant respect to their relatives even if they did not trust them. Reasons of their cooperation cannot be explained by solely with their kinship. Their investment that they did in their episcopal see may have provided them to act in cooperation in order to save their labour. In this section, this issue will be explored through examples and what ways they used in their connection will be detailed. However, before starting to discuss their cooperation, it is necessary to see their family history in terms of social class. So that, despite their conflict, the reason of their cooperation in keeping high positions in the churches may be understood clearly.

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<sup>84</sup> John Davis, *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology*, Routledge, Kegan Paul, London, 1977, p. 219: In his book, he discusses variety of family issues from division of household to patterns of marriage.

### 3.1. The Social Status of the Fathers' Families

Before starting to examine the Fathers' familial cooperation in order to have high positions in church, it is necessary to place the families in a correct status in the condition of their era, because doing so gives a quite clear standpoint regarding families. Even though it does not seem very possible to define the Fathers' families' correct situation with a hundred percent accuracy, the suggestions about their status illuminate our understanding of the Fathers' prominence and effectiveness in the region they settled and on the community they interacted with.

There have been three main suggestions regarding the family class of the Fathers which have been asserted by scholars in the last century. There were three prominent theories: the first was that the Fathers were the direct descendants of an Iranian-Persian "country aristocracy". Even though this suggestion has been argued and supported by W. M. Ramsay,<sup>85</sup> and Ernst Kirsten,<sup>86</sup> this theory did not survive unchallenged long. The second theory is that the Fathers belonged to the Roman senatorial class; this was asserted by Barnim Treucker.<sup>87</sup> The last theory is that the Fathers were members of the Cappadocian curial class which is supported by Thomas Kopecek.<sup>88</sup> According to Kopecek, the families of the Cappadocian Fathers all belonged to the Cappadocian curial class.<sup>89</sup> He does not accept "country aristocracy" theory. According to him, Cappadocian Fathers' families were eager to learn Greek

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<sup>85</sup> W. M. Ramsay, "Life in the Days of St. Basil the Great", *Pauline and other Studies*, London, 1906, pp. 376-377

<sup>86</sup> Kirsten, Ernst, "Cappadocia" in Theodor Klauser, ed. *Reallexicon für antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart, 1954, 2:861-891

<sup>87</sup> Treucker, Barnim, *Politische und Sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen*, Bonn, 1961, in Kopecek, *The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers*

<sup>88</sup> Kopecek, A. Thomas, *The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers*, in *Church History*, Dec. 1973, Vol. 42(4), pp. 453-466, p. 453

<sup>89</sup> Kopecek, Thomas, *The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers*, p. 456

and Greek / Christian tradition. This situation shows that they cannot belong to Iranian-Persian culture. So, they may have belonged the Greco-Roman curial class.<sup>90</sup>

According to Kopecek, they also cannot belong to senatorial class. He claims that the vast amount of the land that they owned is not sufficient proof for claiming that they were from senatorial class. Even if they had relatives and friends from the aristocracy this is not a direct proof regarding their immediate family members. Even though Gregory of Nazianzus' brother Caesarius had a position in the senatorial court; for Kopecek, this does not indicate that their family roots are in aristocracy.<sup>91</sup>

For the purpose of this study, the important issue is to show the wealthy families of the Cappadocian Fathers. It is quite clear that according to all three theories, the Iranian-Persian country aristocracy, the senatorial class, and the curial class, they are still rich and powerful, or influential, in their community. All these theories appear to be based on the very well-known fact that the families of the Cappadocian Fathers were well-to-do. Scholars have built up their argument on this fact and sought the source of this prosperity. Kopecek's argument is quite strong, but even though there is not certain accuracy, by a hundred percent, all these theories prove the strong position of the Fathers' families and deep rooted tradition as prominent members of community.

As a result, Basil may have thought that there was no point in losing their priority in the community because of a nonsensical conflict. Even though his ancestors from Persian or pagan tradition, it is obvious that they were leading positions in their region. After their conversion to Christianity, losing their position of community leadership was not necessary. Therefore, Basil did not give attention to their conflict with his

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<sup>90</sup> Kopecek, *The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers*, p. 459

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

brother Gregory when the Church is the issue. In the next section, how Basil and Gregory keep their connection will be outlined.<sup>92</sup>

### **3.2. Using the Family Wealth for the Church<sup>93</sup>**

Family wealth was a very important factor in the Church because in the fourth century wealthy people had power in the religious institutions. To illustrate, giving an example from Sozomen about a story between Eusebius and Basil of Caesarea would be sufficient. According to Sozomen, Basil had a dispute with Eusebius who was his predecessor in Caesarea. The most powerful people and the wisest men in the city began to regard Eusebius with suspicion and they accordingly began to plan a secession and the holding of a separate church. At the same time, Basil, fearing to be a source of further trouble to the Church, remained in retirement in the monasteries of Pontus.<sup>94</sup> This example proves that influential people had the power of setting up a new church when they did not like the one already in place. As a result, therefore power could be used in order to divide churches or to unify them. In this respect, the Fathers' usage of their families' opportunities for their success is important.

The Cappadocian Fathers had a big influence on their cities during their duty in Church as bishops or presbyters. For example, in the year 369, there was a big famine in Cappadocia, which affected people because of poor harvest. In this circumstance, Basil of Caesarea played a significant role by saving many lives of his people. The phrase "his people" is not a good usage in terms of methodology, because Basil was not a governor or significant landowner, if his families possessions in Pontus are not

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<sup>92</sup> see, Rousseau, Philip, *Basil of Caesarea: Choosing a Past*. He discusses the three different phrase of Basil's life. These are secular, ascetic, and his yeras as a bishop.

<sup>93</sup> see, Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire; A.D. 284 – 641*. He indicates that "Basil's influence in Cappadocia was not only due to his position in the church, but also the fact that he was from one of the wealthiest landed families of eastern Asia Minor."

<sup>94</sup> Sozomen, Book VI, Ch. XV, in NPNF, Vol. II, p. 355

taken into account. He was only a presbyter in the Church. As a result, saving people's lives was not a duty of presbyters or bishops. They have been regarded as religious leaders. Therefore, if Basil prayed to God for asking for rain or blessings that was undoubtedly enough for people to come to his Church, but Basil was not content by prayer solely. Gregory of Nazianzus narrates that Basil of Caesarea gathered around him all those who were struck by the famine and by collecting all kinds of food, Basil fed them and tried to keep them alive.<sup>95</sup> This activity supports the idea that Basil was not only a presbyter in the Church; he was also a leader and a protector of his community. As a leader, when his people had a trouble due to something he did not think that he was a presbyter and his work was only preaching Christ. On the contrary, he spent his all strength to help his people. This behaviour may come from his noble character rooted in his family who had a leadership history in their community.

Besides Fathers' families' influence on their community, they came forward by spending their money on building shrines for the martyrs. This financial investment in every area in the community may have caused Basil to be more ambitious about keeping within his family these places which had been created by his own family. For example, Basil's mother Emmelia built a shrine for Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia at Ibora.<sup>96</sup> This shrine was very close to her family's crypt. According to Limberis, proximity of shrine to their crypt shows the social and economic prestige of family.<sup>97</sup> As a result Basil and his brother Gregory's cooperation, despite their conflict, may have relied on the financial investment they did. Therefore, their conflict between each other does not affect their cooperation.

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<sup>95</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. 43.36, in NPNF, Vol. VII, p. 407

<sup>96</sup> see, Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*. He says :“The creation of shrines in the countryside is a notable feature of the fourth century evidence as a whole.”

<sup>97</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety*, p. 137

### 3.3. Using the Friend Network as a Result of the Conflict

There is a good result of the conflict between Basil and his brother Gregory, because Basil increased his connection with Gregory of Nazianzus in order to provide the support that he did not have from his brother. Therefore, it may be suggested that Basil was not affected from the conflict with his brother, or he may have affected positively because of friendship he found with Gregory of Nazianzus.

As it has been discussed in the past two chapters, Basil and his brother Gregory did not get on well and even behaved towards each other in a hostile manner. This enmity may have caused Basil to break ties with his family and to maintain a strong relationship with Gregory of Nazianzus, his lifelong friend from his education at Caesarea and Constantinople. It is inevitable for someone like Basil, who was not happy with his family, to create a new relationship with other people. It may also be suggested that after Basil found his best friend during the early stages of his education, he may have not needed his family. Whatever the reality was, Basil was helped by his friend Gregory rather than his brother Gregory throughout his life. After starting to study at abroad, Basil enjoyed the support of his friend Gregory of Nazianzus during his education and throughout his work in the Church. For example, when Basil went to Athens, some Armenian students were envious of his reputation and tried to put him in an uncomfortable position in public debates by asking difficult questions. At this stage, Gregory of Nazianzus, helped him and do not let him lose these debates.<sup>98</sup> This

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<sup>98</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. 73. 17, in Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher*, p. 24

incident was in early stages of Basil's career but it is a good example as a starting point of assistance from Gregory of Nazianzus he enjoyed throughout his life.<sup>99</sup>

Basil and Gregory's conflict perhaps came from Basil's early education because while Basil's brother Gregory was not happy with Basil's secular education at Constantinople, his friend Gregory of Nazianzus was a matchless supporter of him. As a result, even though Basil adopted an ascetic lifestyle after he came back to Pontus, his brother Gregory's infliction on his secular education may have already damaged their relationship.

After their friendship had started, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil helped each other during their education. Gregory of Nazianzus tells about this situation in his oration:

*"We were impelled by equal hopes, in a pursuit especially obnoxious to envy, that of letters. Yet envy we knew not, and emulation was of service to us. We struggled, not each to gain the first place for himself, but to yield it to the other; for we made each other's reputation to be our own. We seemed to have one soul, inhabiting two bodies."*<sup>100</sup>

The positive influence of this cooperation became efficient throughout their education. They did not waste their education life by unnecessary pastime. They spent their time in church and in the classroom.

Actually, this passage from Gregory of Nazianzus may be used a response to Ioannes Karayannopoulos who asserts that Basil's success comes from his devoted character.<sup>101</sup> Karayannopoulos points out Basil's personal skills and connects all of Basil's success with his abilities. But this passage proves that Basil was not alone even

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<sup>99</sup> see, Raymond Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia*, for the further approaches Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus.

<sup>100</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. 43. 20., in NPNF, V. 7, p. 402

<sup>101</sup> Karayannopoulos, Ioannes, *St. Basil's Social Activity: Principles and Praxis*, in Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium, Part One, ed. Paul Jonathan Fedwick, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1981, pp. 375-391

during his education time at Constantinople and Athens, so, it cannot be asserted that he was alone in Cappadocia. It proves that being supported is necessary as much as being devoted.

Basil and Gregory's cooperation continued throughout their life, increasing its effectiveness. For example, Gregory the Elder, father of Gregory of Nazianzus, was in his sick-bed at the time but did not hesitate to go to Caesarea in order to vote for Basil in order to help Basil's selection as bishop. Gregory of Nazianzus also sent letters to Caesarea in order to urge people to vote for Basil.<sup>102</sup> Basil seems to have found the support that he was not able to find in his brother Gregory. These incidents illustrate that connections between friends could be used effectively when it was needed. Needing the help of friends or families is inevitable if success is aimed for. These incidents are very good examples regarding the effects of networking on the episcopal office. The strength of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus's friendship may be supported by an example from Sozomen. Sozomen informs us that "*Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus divided the perils of their undertaking, either by mutual agreement, or, by lot.*"<sup>103</sup> This information proves their coherence in every occasion on ecclesiastical matters.

Even though Basil and his brother Gregory did not get on well, when their career was at stake, they worked in cooperation well. For example, Basil planned to institute new bishoprics and place his own relatives in these positions.<sup>104</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus was assigned to the bishopric of Sasima and his brother Gregory was assigned to the bishopric of Nyssa. Even only one example is enough to show the power of networking on the episcopal matters. Even though Basil was not sure his brother's

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<sup>102</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. 18. 36, in NPNF, V. 7, p. 266-267

<sup>103</sup> Sozomen, Book VI, Ch. XVI, in NPNF, p. 356

<sup>104</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher*, p. 35

administrative skills, he did not refrain from assigning him as a bishop. This incident shows that, for Basil, their conflict was not important when the ecclesiastical matters were the issue.

As it has been mentioned, Basil did not take into account their conflict when the Church was the issue. Basil tried to assign his family members and friends to the highest positions in the Church. Basil's uncle also was assigned by Basil's assistant bishop.<sup>105</sup> There is one more example related to the assignment of family members, that Peter was ordained a priest by Basil in 370 in Annesi. Then, with Gregory of Nyssa's help, Peter was elected bishop of Sebasteia.<sup>106</sup> In this respect it, is necessary to mention one more scholar who points out a different disagreement, that which was between Basil of Caesarea and Eustathios of Sebasteia.<sup>107</sup> The origin of the conflict is not important for this essay's purpose but the important thing to note is Frazee's approach to this conflict. It is quite interesting that Frazee has illustrated as a victory the appointment of Peter, Basil's brother, as the bishop of Sebastea in 380 as the successor of Eustathios.<sup>108</sup> This example shows that even modern scholars have seen the episcopal offices as a place which may be conquered.

Cappadocian Fathers assigned their relatives to the important positions in the Church. It must be questioned that what the Fathers' first condition in determining who their assistants would be. Was it to deserve the work or was it to be a relative of Fathers? Examples have been given that Fathers designated their close relatives or friends to important positions in the Church. There may be one more possibility that they aimed

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<sup>105</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 17

<sup>106</sup> Limberis, Vasiliki M., *Architects of Piety*, p. 118

<sup>107</sup> Frazee, Charles A., *Anatolian Asceticism in the Fourth Century: Eustathios of Sebastea and Basil of Caesarea*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, The Catholic University of America Press, V. 66, No. 1, Jan 1980, pp. 16-33, p. 30

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32

to spread these positions between the persons who would obey the Fathers easily, or who they trusted. Or they may have thought that their families deserved to be represented more than other people due to family tradition, ancestors who had been persecuted in the sake of Christ and gained power in episcopal offices.

These types of examples may be seen in the lives of Gregory of Nazianzus and his father Gregory the Elder. The assignment of Gregory the Elder as bishop was a matter of wealth rather than qualification. Therefore, gaining a position in a church may have had different dynamics such as being well-to-do. For example, Gregory the Elder, Gregory of Nazianzus' father, was not a Christian during the persecution. After he watched Constantine's favourable reaction towards bishops he decided to be student of Christ. This was about 325. Hither to everything was normal but the strange thing is that after four years his conversion, he became bishop of Nazianzus through the appointment of previous bishop.<sup>109</sup> This is a good example to show that being a bishop sometimes was not through qualification. This may have been because of Gregory the Elder's influence on the Nazianzen community as he was already in a leading position in the community before he converted. In the circumstances of the fourth century, it cannot be proposed that in only four years Gregory the Elder studied and learned about Christianity and its processes, enough to lead a church even in a small community. Gregory's predecessor must have thought that Gregory could be an effective bishop because of the influence he already had. Being wealthy may have also been an important factor because a rich bishop could develop the church more than a poor one. Let us imagine that Gregory's sincerity became enough for his predecessor, because even Basil of Caesarea did not become a bishop such easily. After Gregory the Elder,

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<sup>109</sup> Van Dam, Raymond, *Families and Friends*, p. 42

his son Gregory of Nazianzus took over the church of Nazianzen.<sup>110</sup> This transition from father to son shows that being a bishop, especially in small cities, needed different qualifications, such as being wealthy, more than being literate or devoted. Gregory the Elder's newly built church also proves the suggestion that his predecessor did a well work by appointing him.

As a consequence, Basil and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus' family strived to gain valuable positions in the church and worked in cooperation, and Basil provided his brother Gregory with his share through this cooperation, though they had disagreements.

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<sup>110</sup> Socrates, Book IV, Ch. XXVII, in NPNF series II, Vol. II, p. 111

## CONCLUSION

As a consequence, it is clear that the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, had a deep conflict between themselves but this conflict did not affect their cooperation in episcopal office.

This conflict between Basil and his brother Gregory is mostly undiscussed by scholars. In general, scholars who have handled the Cappadocian Fathers, unintentionally take one of the brothers' sides and built their argument on this, because, Basil and his brother Gregory worked in cooperation well when their career was the subject. Therefore, the conflict may sometimes be invisible because of this cooperation.

The traces of this conflict seem to be visible clearly in the *Life of Macrina*, which was penned by Gregory of Nyssa in commemoration of his sister St. Macrina, and would lead his readers to search after the actual relationship between Basil and Gregory. In this respect, some disagreements in their letters have been examined but Gregory's insulting manners towards Basil increases our suspicions about the extent of this conflict. As Gregory downplayed Basil in the *Life of Macrina*, their disagreement must have been deeper when they were in contact.

The results and reflections of the conflict between Basil and Gregory on their lives are quite inextricable because the conflict itself had a good result. Because Basil kept away from his family, he had instead a friend in Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil enjoyed his support. This conflict also did not affect Basil assigning his brother Gregory to the bishopric of Nyssa. The reason for Basil's help to his brother Gregory is that, even though Basil preached the breaking of ties with familial relatives to his ascetic brothers in his monastery, his emotional relation with his brother Gregory

provided for Basil to not bear a grudge against Gregory. Basil's ambition to have high positions in the church filled by family members also leads him to assign his brothers to these positions.

As Basil was not trustful of his brother Gregory's administrative skills; and Gregory was not happy with his brother Basil's secular education and reputation, the conflict between these brothers may have been deeper if Basil and Gregory had not been brothers, and Basil had not been ambitious about episcopal matters.

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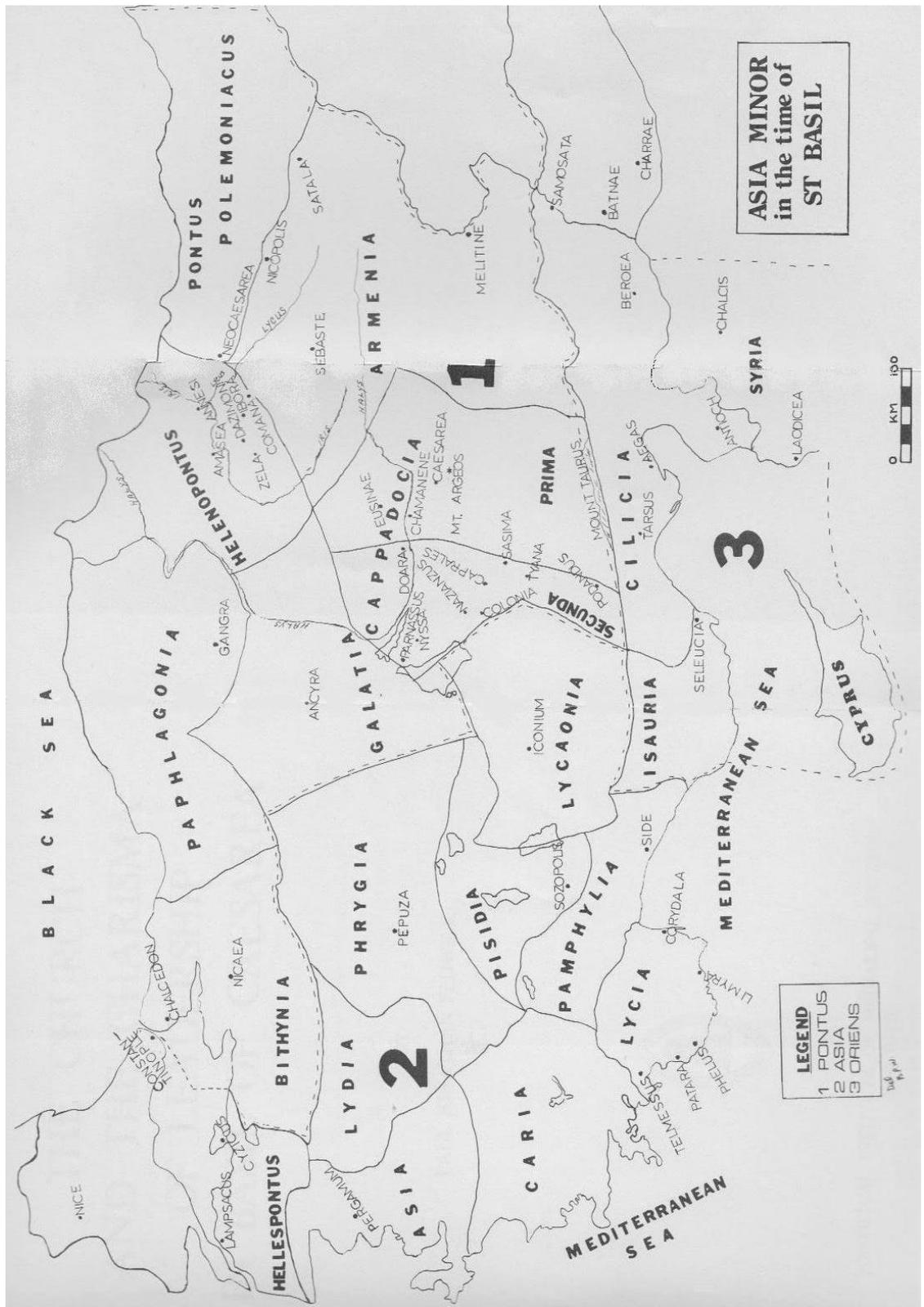


Figure 3: Asia Minor in the Time of Basil of Caesarea<sup>111</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Copied from; Fedwick, Jonathan Paul, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 1979