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itated while monkery shall last. If their spirit is the right spirit, if we are to sacrifice our reason on the altar of superstition, if we are virtually to depose Christ from his mediatorial throne and substitute our own righteousness in the place of his, and if we are to count it a sin even to allow ourselves "some poor straw" to die upon—then may we think the present widely extended movement towards Rome, the brightest as well as the most conspicuous characteristic of the church at this period.

But I have preferred and still prefer to leave the reader to his own reflections. My object has been to supply an unpardonable chasm in the materials for *just* reflection on themes so important as those which are continually presented in these memoirs. I will only repeat, what I suggested at the beginning, that the chief light in which the lives of the early monks can now be regarded as important, is that of beacons to warn the whole church, and each individual, so far as his action is concerned, of the fatal rocks on which the early church was dashed. In this respect they are invaluable, especially to those who are to act as her pilots in the present storm.

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

By James Davie Butler.

There is a chapel in St. Peter's at Rome which bears the name of Chrysostom, because his ashes repose beneath its pavement. Whoever enters the Basilica makes haste to this chapel; for it is daily filled with the Sistine choir, it is near the matchless dome of Michael Angelo, and still nearer the mosaic of Raphael's last and greatest work.

As few of the Fathers were more worthy of perpetual anthems than Chrysostom, we are glad that so many adventitious circumstances combine to secure due homage to his remains. But we lament that the papal world is so hostile to the principles of him whose sepulchre it has built, and that the protestant world is at so little pains to commune with one so well fitted to be its ally,

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teacher and friend. His works are encircled with no fewer extrinsic attractions than his tomb, and besides possess such intrinsic merits, as may well induce visiters in the Basilica of the Greek fathers to turn their first steps towards his pulpit.

Patristic Studies.

As even the New Testament is oriental in its spirit and style, all oriental writings are in a degree interesting to the Biblical scholar. They derive an additional charm from the freshness and bloom, which a new medium of vision can give to withered and seedy truths. Yet many Orientals, especially the Hindoos, are surcharged with conceits too monstrous, and we had almost said frantic, to be tolerated by cool-blooded occidentals. The Greek fathers, standing on the confines of the East and West, and attempering oriental gorgeousness with Grecian taste, can more easily win our attention. But the Greek fathers, with their translations, annotations, and works attributed to them, amount to hundreds of ponderous tomes, a library which we may safely say no man ever read through. Sailing on such an ocean, we must fix on one course and deviate from it only by necessary tacks, or we shall never reach our desired haven. Entering this foreign realm, we shall do well to sit down in one place, till we have learned something of its language, customs, prejudices and other peculiarities; or if we may be pardoned a Germanism, till we have *orienteered* ourselves. In plain language, a judicious student of patristics will begin by making himself familiar with one author before he indulges himself in miscellaneous excursions.

Claims of Chrysostom on the Student of Patristics.

Among the reasons which may lead many to begin their study of the Greek fathers with Chrysostom, are the following: First, almost all his works are extant and preserved in their perfection. On the other hand, the works of the Apostolic and many subsequent fathers, as Origen, have been utterly lost, or incurably corrupted, and are sometimes of doubtful genuineness. Secondly, he played a conspicuous part in no less a theatre than the two chief cities of the East, Antioch and Constantinople. Thirdly, his era was marked by banishments, persecutions, revolts, wars and earthquakes. His public life was commensurate with a great ecclesiastical epoch, the sun-set of spiritual Chris-

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tianity; the apparent overthrow and extinction of paganism, the *real* transfusion of its worst elements into the veins of popery. Fourthly, the life of Chrysostom is of itself a picture-gallery, portraying a pious youth, a hermit, commentator, polemic, and preacher, an almoner, a church-ruler, a missionary and an injured exile. Fifthly, his writings betray little of that allegorical vagary, anile superstition, or simpering childishness which, disfiguring many early christian writers, instigated Milton to say so contemptuously, "Whatsoever time or the heedless hand of blind chance hath drawn down from of old unto this present, in her huge dragnet, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen; those are the fathers." Sixthly, his failings leaned towards virtue's side; and his errors are rich in instruction, since, says Dana, "no truth can be fully brought out nor its virtue proved, till it has undergone every experiment to which perverted ingenuity can subject it, and every modification which the mistakes of its friends can give it." A rock on this side and a whirlpool on that, designate the channel in which we may sail safest. Seventhly, his Biblical commentaries have been repeatedly translated into other tongues, and remain in many particulars unsurpassed. Eighthly, though he is not always consistent, yet his views of all essential doctrines often tally surprisingly with the standards of modern orthodoxy. In this regard, he deserves to stand prominent in the cloud of witnesses to the truth, which Merle has written a good book to illustrate, that "the voice of the church is one under all the successive forms of Christianity." Our assurance redoubles, as we study his remains, that his faith and ours are both fundamentally true. Ninthly, his folios are a *thesaurus* of knowledge in relation to ancient Christianity. The remark in the Natural History of Enthusiasm, that "the perusal of the Life of St. Anthony by Athanasius, (which fills only some fifty or sixty pages,) would convey a more exact and vivid idea of the state and style of religion in the fourth century, than is to be obtained by reading volumes of modern church history," is equally just in respect, not only to the life of Chrysostom, but to any equal portion of his works. We often image to ourselves his thirteen folios as a patristic Herculaneum where specimens of all that is rich and rare in Christian antiquity lie garnered up, ready to reward the labor of excavation. Our only regret is that a dead language, ligatures, barbarous contractions, interminable paragraphs, and bulky editions cover this antique city with a lava-crust so hard and thick. Tenthly, Chrysostom is worthy of study

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not only as a commentator, theologian and painter of his age, marked by sound sense and varied experience, but chiefly as a pulpit orator, who was the most eloquent of the saints, and if preaching had been duly prized by papists, would have been canonized the fifth doctor of the militant church. The number of his homilies is a full thousand.

Object of the present Article.

In our times when every day brings forth a new book of which we must all learn something, it is idle for any man to think of studying more than a tithe of Chrysostom's tall and huge folios. The difficulty which meets us at once as we open his volumes is, hesitation what part to select in the infinite museum. We feel the distraction amid exuberance, *l' embarras des richesses*, of the Italian traveller; we long for the red hand-book of guidance which is his Mentor, and for want of which we may weary ourselves again and again, without getting any adequate idea of the master among whose productions we wander.

In the present Article, we neither attempt to furnish such a guide-book for Chrysostom, nor to supply the desideratum which has long existed for want of a systematic exhibition of his tenets in English; our endeavor is simply to sketch the leading incidents of his life, and to intersperse them with some account of his opinions.

Sources of information with regard to Chrysostom.

In preparing the subjoined Article recourse has been had to the following among other authorities; first, the Historical Dialogue in Greek concerning the life of Chrysostom, written by his contemporary and disciple, Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, who flourished about A. D. 401;[1] secondly, the Historia Ecclesiastica, Liber VI, by Socrates, the scholastic, of Constantinople, who flourished near A. D. 440, and Liber VIII, by Sozomen, who died near Gaza about A. D. 450; thirdly, the Bibliotheca Graeca, by Fabricius, Vol. VII. pp. 555 et seq.; fourthly, the Vita Chrysostomi by Bernard de Montfaucon, at the end of the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, (Tom. XIII. pp. 91—177, Paris, 1738); fifthly, Montfaucon's synopsis eorum quæ in operibus Chrysostomi observantur, appended to his biography of Chrys-

[1] This memoir has been justly stigmatized "as a partial and passionate vindication by a blind admirer."

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ostom; sixthly, Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und die Kirche, besonders des Orients, in dessen Zeitalter, by A. Neander, (Berlin 1821—22). An English translation of this learned work by J. C. Stapleton, which appeared several years ago, has not come to our hands. The materials for the following account, however, were collected in great part during a perusal of Chrysostom's commentary upon Matthew, his treatise on the Priesthood, his sermons "concerning the Statues," many occasional discourses, and some other portions of his remains.

Chrysostom's Character; Aim of Life and Influence.

Chrysostom may be characterized as akin in feeling and rhetoric to the beloved disciple, somewhat as his contemporary, Augustine, was thought to reproduce the reasoning logic of Paul. Of the Pagans, he resembled Plato more than Aristotle, yet gave all his speculations a practical turn. Of the moderns he belonged to the class of Luther, rather than to that of Calvin, though he was perhaps inferior in practical wisdom to them both. He lived during the latter half of the fourth century, (A. D. 347—407,) when the alliance between the church and the state was beginning to corrupt Christianity by fostering a neglect of the Scriptures, formalism, hypocrisy, venality and heathenism masked by specious names. He struggled to crush this serpent-brood, by his preaching, writings, authority as a church-ruler, sufferings as a martyr, and by his whole life. He was often rash, or acted from false views of truth, and was at last overwhelmed by the flood of degeneracy; but he gave utterance to many truths, which we are prone to fancy were reserved for a later age to discover.

He is included by Ullmann in that triumvirate of ancient saints, who were most decidedly transformed into the image of their Saviour. The affections were so prominent an element of his nature, that his heart ruled his head. The instances were numerous in which his feelings rectified his reasonings, so that the under-current of sanctified emotion counteracted his speculative errors. On the whole, his influence was so powerful and salutary as to convince us, that a very few men like him, and in stations such as his, would have prevented the church from ever sinking into that lethargy in which it slumbered through the dark ages.

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Antioch in the Fourth Century.

The city of Chrysostom's birth, and where he resided till within ten years of his death, was Antioch, the metropolis of Syria. Although it is now known chiefly as the place where the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians, yet during a long course of ages, the felicity of its position, upon the chief river of Syria, in the heart of the East, and almost equi-distant from Constantinople, Alexandria, Babylon and Athens, rendered it a royal capital, and adorned it with the title of the Queen of the East.

In the time of Chrysostom it was the seat of the Roman government over Asia, and was surpassed in population only by Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome itself.[1] Its relative station, then, among Roman cities may have been the same that Naples now fills among European capitals.[2] The mountains which overlooked its walls, one of them, Mount Casius, so high that the sun-rising might be seen from its summit when the bottom of it was yet enveloped in darkness, gave it another feature of resemblance to Naples. Moreover the Neapolitan fields of Elysium might have found a parallel at Antioch, in what Milton describes as "that sweet grove of Daphne by Orontes." As a spot where the rites of Baal and Venus were amicably blended, Antioch was as noted for voluptuousness as Corinth.[3] Being in the neighborhood of Palestine, it became an asylum for crowds of Jewish exiles. Besides, in the last days of classical civilization, it seemed to reproduce the literary life of Athens, by schools of philosophy

[1] Chrysostom makes the three following statements: 1. That the population of Antioch was 200,000. 2. That the Christians were 100,000. 3. That they were a majority of the population. Gibbon (XV. 161), in ignorance, it should seem, of the first statement, endeavors to show that the population of Antioch was 500,000, of which the Christians formed but a fifth part, and that the second and third statements cannot be literally consistent. Here it may be fitting to add, that he describes "the church as always claiming an uninterrupted succession of miraculous powers" (XV. 73), although Chrysostom affirms the long discontinuance of miracles as a notorious fact, and that he mistakes one of Chrysostom's mildest passages on the delay of baptism as his severest. (XX. 68). See Milman's notes on Gibbon, I. p. 507, 510, 524. But the great historian frankly acknowledges himself "*almost* a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom." XXXII. 42, note.

A frontispiece in Milman's Poems, (Vol. III.) is a fine view of Antioch reposing at the foot of a craggy mountain, of the beetling cliffs between which the Orontes flows, of the stations of our Saviour leading up the steep, etc.

[2] See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 440. a. [3] See Opp. Chrys. II. p. 178. c.

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and eloquence, which might be compared to those of Plato and Isocrates.

A war had been waged for three hundred years at Antioch, between Christianity and the various other faiths, when, about the middle of the fourth century, the balance of power inclined decisively in favour of the Christians. At that time the city began to glory in its having given origin to the name of Christian, and to be styled the *city of God*, or Theopolis.[1]

Chrysostom till he became a Monk.

The year of Chrysostom's birth was in all probability A. D. 347, although some writers reckon it as A. D. 351 or 352.[2] Indeed the dates of most events in his life were disputed till the time of Montfaucon, who seems to have fixed them with great pains and precision, and whose authority we shall accordingly follow in this respect, without, however, thinking it necessary to encumber our pages with the lengthened refutation of chronological errors. The name, Chrysostom, or *Mouth of Gold*, was conferred on him of whom we write, only after his death, and by reason of his eloquence. His name during his life was John of Antioch, or John of Constantinople.[3]

The parents of Chrysostom were above the middle class in rank and property, and were both Christians. Secundus, his father, who was a military officer, died while his son was yet in the cradle. Anthusa, his mother, who except one aunt is his only relative respecting whom any record remains, was left a widow at the age of twenty, but resolved instead of marrying again, (as was then the prevalent custom,) to be wedded and consecrated to her only surviving child; for while educating him she seemed still to look upon and commune with her husband. She managed pecuniary affairs so well that her son was never annoyed by embarrassments, or obliged to give his thoughts to secularities. Her

[1] See Opp. Chrys. Il. 150. c. p. 176.

[2] Murdock in his translation of Mosheim, Vol. I. 241, assigns A. D. 354, as the date of Chrysostom's birth. But this date is rejected by Schroeckh, Montfaucon, Gibbon, and we think Neander, (though we quote from memory). As Montfaucon has proved, it is scarcely compatible with the facts of Chrysostom's life.

[3] Soon after his death Chrysostom was honored by several epithets in allusion to his eloquence, e. g. *μελισταγής, ὁ τὴν γλῶτταν χρυσοῦς, χρυσορρήμων*. His present name was conferred in A. D. 680 by the sixth council at Constantinople.

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pains-taking to train him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, was likened by Chrysostom himself to that of Hannah for Samuel; it determined the course of his life, and entitles her to be called the mother of his heart and mind. Neander adds, that at least three others, who shone as the chief ornaments of the church in Chrysostom's time, owed their piety, humanly speaking, to their having sat on the knees of pious mothers, namely, Theodoret, Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine. No man was better aware than Chrysostom in after life, how frequently the impressions stamped on infantile minds in the nursery harden through all subsequent time; and he painted with the darkest shades the curse which heathen nurses, teachers, and cradle-songs sealed upon the children of Christians.[1]

Chrysostom was early a pupil in philosophy, of Andragathias, and in eloquence, of Libanius. Of his progress in philosophy, no record remains, but such was his proficiency in eloquence that, but for his conversion, he would have succeeded his master, who was second to no orator of his age, and is styled by Gibbon "the last glory of expiring Paganism." The same master admired a eulogy, which Chrysostom had written on one of the emperors, so much, that, in the spirit of Alexander's words concerning Achilles, he declared that emperor happy inasmuch as he was vouchsafed such a herald of his fame. It was also related, that although himself a pagan, he was so moved by the self-denial to which the mother of Chrysostom subjected herself for the good of her son, as to exclaim: Ye Gods, what women have the Christians![2]

George of Alexandria states that Chrysostom, while yet a youth, travelled to Athens and studied there, but he also pretends that Chrysostom wrought miracles, and he is branded by all critics as an arrant fabulist. We shall therefore seldom notice his reveries, or the fantasies of the legendaries, who during the middle ages composed and read in the refectories of convents a thousand and one romances respecting him.[3]

After completing his academical studies, Chrysostom entered the forum as an orator, and even frequented the circus and thea-

[1] See Opp. Chrys. VII. p. 29. c. Nean. 1: 74.

[2] See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 340. Socrates L. VI. p. 3.

[3] Specimens of the fictions invented by Leo, Zonaras, Glycas, Nicephorus, Cedrenus and other chroniclers are these: that a white dove alighted on him at his ordination, that an angel with a sword, stood as guardian of his palace, and that a touch of his coffin cured men of the gout.

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tres, notwithstanding that the church forbade resorting to such haunts of dissipation. But he thus penetrated the mysteries of iniquity, so that he could afterwards expose its *tacenda* with unrivalled power;[1] and these sallies of youthful curiosity were soon repressed. Besides, at the age of about eighteen, the young advocate was induced by his companion Basilius, to put off the toga of a public speaker, and become a student of christian theology under Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, by whom, at the end of three years he was baptized. He and Basilius, each loving the other as his own soul, resolved to sequester themselves in the solitudes of the adjacent mountains, that their inter-communion might be uninterrupted, even to the end of their days. The execution of this scheme was deferred, on account of the remonstrances of Anthusa to whom the face of her son was the soul of life, and was at length prevented altogether by other circumstances. Chrysostom, however, immediately began ascetic austerities, would often see no one but Basilius, and condemned himself to long tasks of Pythagorean silence. He mingled, however, with his old associates so far that he persuaded some of them to renounce the forensic career which they had begun, and wrote several epistles to one of them who, having once devoted himself to a monastic life, was about to be married. In this correspondence he maintains that matrimony is incompatible with the highest style of piety, a dogma which as he increased in experience he gradually retracted.

In or near A. D. 372, as Chrysostom had become convinced that his friend Basilius was well qualified for the ministry, he prevailed upon him to receive ordination by a promise that he would be ordained himself. But he had no intention of keeping, and did not keep his word.[2] On being reproached by Basilius for this pious fraud, he defended himself at large, alleging among other things, that he was as justifiable as the physician who deceives a man to save his life. This apology for his duplicity, which in the end swelled to a dialogue in six books, (*Περὶ ἱερωσύνης,*) presents the qualifications requisite for a minister, his duties, trials and responsibilities, so truly and vividly, that no minister can read it without trembling. We never open it without more wonder, that its author ever became a preacher at all, than that he postponed his first sermon till his fortieth year. In the judgment of Schroeckh, it is every way superior to a volume

[1] See Opp. Chrys. XI. p. 464. f.

[2] See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 365.

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which was written on the same theme, and about the same time, by Ambrose.

Chrysostom as a Monk.

The twenty-seventh year of Chrysostom's life, A. D. 374, found him still a retired student, in the house of his mother. One day he was walking with a friend towards the shrine of a martyr, without the walls, where they espied a parchment roll floating down the Orontes, and one of them made haste to pull it ashore, while the other cried, *halves*. It proved to be a book of magic, the possession of which was a capital offence, and a soldier coming up that instant, they were in great danger, but escaped unsuspected. This incident, and, according to Neander, still more the death of his mother led Chrysostom to renounce the world, and take up his abode at a mountain monastery in his neighborhood.[1]

It is hard not to be charmed with the monastic life, as painted by so friendly if not flattering a pencil as Chrysostom's. The bright particulars concerning it, which sparkle in so many of his works, make it credible that many, who visited the monasteries only as sight-seers, lingered and lingered, and became monks themselves. In so dissolute a city as Antioch, it was not unnatural for men to imagine that they had no alternative but libertinism or monasticism. In those days of manuscript books, the monks were useful as scribes, and in some degree supplied the place of our Bible Societies. Blind asylums were unknown except among the monks. Idleness had not yet become the opprobrium of monastic recluses. Those of them who were not copyists, often practised some mechanical art. We read of monastic smiths, weavers, builders, etc., who devoted the avails of their labor to relieve the indigent. Many children, whose innocence could not but be tainted in the malaria of Antioch, were stimulated to virtue in the pure air of conventual heights, Opp. I. 109. Such parents, as were forced to send their children to schools taught by pagan teachers, were glad to let them spend their holidays in bearing a present to some hermit on a rocky pinnacle, because they would thus receive his blessing and instruction. Many apothegms are recorded, by which anchorets in a moment stamped on children of gaity solemn impressions which were never forgotten. Moreover, more of the ancient monks became mis-

[1] See Opp. Chrys. IX. p. 293. III. p. 94.

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sionaries than is now generally supposed. In the sequel of this Article we may need to say more of this particular, but cannot now omit a passing notice of one Abraham, who with other monks went on a mission to Mount Lebanon, and christianized a whole village which had been exclusively pagan. The missionaries, unable otherwise to make a lodgment in the place, gave themselves out as merchants, and hired a house as if for purposes of trade. They then held a meeting in their court. The rabble, who were drawn together by the sound of the Christian hymns, tore the doors from their hinges and maltreated the worshippers, but meeting with no resistance, paused to listen to the new doctrine, and came again and again to hear. An exorbitant contribution was just then exacted by the local governor; it was paid by Abraham with money which a friend advanced him; the villagers were lost in admiration of his Christ-like spirit, and all at last renouncing paganism chose him for their pastor.[1]

The daily life of a monastic fraternity, as depicted by Chrysostom, may be seen in outline from the following selected and abridged features of his portraiture.

Monks, says he, rise with the first crowing of the cock, and after a hymn and prayer together, separate at sun-rise, to make baskets and sack-cloth, or to copy the Scriptures. They *nail* themselves to their labors. Their dress is of skins, or woven of goat's and camel's hair. Their food being bread, water and acorns, is plainer than that of the poorest men. Their roof being often the sky, and their lamp the moon, they need no oil or servants. There is but one table for the servants, if they have them, and the served. They know not the words *mine* and *thine*, and whatever may have been their rank, they make their own fires and cleave their own wood. They never speak to each other except at social *reünions* in the evening.[2]

The same year that Chrysostom became a monk, namely, A. D. 374, the Arian emperor Valens persecuted the whole monastic class, because as a body it was orthodox. Some were imprisoned, others impressed into the army. This calamity moved Chrysostom to draw up a systematic defence of the life he loved so well, and also to publish a tract to prove that a monk is superior to a king. (Opp. I. 116.) The effect of his writings is not known. But whatever may have been the fate of others, he

[1] See Neander.

[2] See Opp. Chrys. VII. p. 674 etc., p. 705. b. p. 126. a.

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spent four peaceful years in a sequestered fraternity, and then secluded himself for two years more in a lonely cave, much of the time as a silentiary, till his watchings, fastings, and persisting in a standing posture had ruined his health. Thus, when he had for six years stood aloof from society, his infirmities obliged him to enter Antioch once more.

No diary was kept of Chrysostom's occupations in his years of separatism upon the highlands, but every page of his works testifies, that he never ceased to unroll the volumes of inspiration, to scrutinize every wonder which nature spread out beneath his mount of vision, to commune with his own heart, and to revolve again and again whatever he had learned. We do not discredit the statement that ill-health drove him from his hermitage, yet in our judgment his turn of mind was changed, so that the predilections which had inclined him to secluded contemplation, henceforth stimulated him to active and public exertions.[1]

Chrysostom as a Deacon.

Within a short time after his constrained withdrawal from his highland retreat, Chrysostom was ordained a Deacon at Antioch by his spiritual father Meletius, near the close of A. D. 380.[2] About the same time, and while confined by sickness, he wrote several long epistles to a friend, who was a prey to fits of melancholy, or in the current phrase of those times, to demoniacal possession, and was hence thought to be in danger of committing suicide. The views of the object and tendency of affliction which fill these letters, are not only eloquent and glowing, but singularly sound and enlightened. His cardinal sentiment is, that the heavier our cross, the brighter will be our crown, and that no temptation can necessitate or be a valid excuse for sin.

As in the times of Chrysostom deacons never preached, and as his deaconship continued five or six years, he had leisure for theological study and composition. Among the works of his pen during these years were the following: A Letter of consolation to a newly-bereaved young widow; A plea for Celibacy; A Eulogy on St. Babylas; A synopsis of the Scriptures; The six books on the Priesthood, of which we have already spoken, and which though outlines of them may have been earlier published, could

[1] See Opp. Chrys. VI. p. 145. VII. p. 706. c.

[2] See Montfaucon, p. 97.

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hardly have reached their ultimate perfection till this time.[1] This last work is mentioned by Hagenbach, as containing the germs of an Encyclopedia of certain departments of theology. All these works are replete with acute thought, warm feeling, and startling flashes of eloquence. In one of them we find almost the earliest declarations, that persecution is forbidden by Christianity. Edicts of the Emperor Valentinian, a few years before, had proclaimed unlimited religious freedom. Chrysostom argues that the admitted downfall of paganism proved it false. He says: "Nobody has fought against you, pagans, since it is not allowable for Christians to suppress the teaching of error by external violence; they must strive for the salvation of men only by persuasion and reasoning in the spirit of love."[2] It must be confessed, however, that his sentiments, or at least his language, as well as the imperial laws, afterwards underwent a striking change. Thus in his forty-sixth Homily on Matthew, we read, "The Lord forbids us not to set bounds to heretics, to bring them to silence, to curb their wanton out-breaks, to break up their meetings and societies, but only to put them to death."[3]

The might of christian love, the worthlessness of all forms, the folly of lamenting that miracles had ceased, and what is most surprising, the wickedness of slavery are so graphically delineated in some of the other works which are attributed by Neander to this period, that few who begin to read can lay them down without reluctance. It cannot be pretended that the works we have just noticed, are free from errors and puerilities. One of the secrets of such deformities, may be found in Chrysostom's morbid reverence for a conventional and complicated ceremonial. Had he lived when a few more centuries had attested, that there is no creating a soul under its ribs of death, or had not his piety and imagination been so fervid that he saw nothing in forms but the spirit of which they were symbols, such a reverence could not have existed.

Chrysostom as a Presbyter and Preacher at Antioch.

It is worthy of notice that Chrysostom, like Augustine and some other famous preachers, did not begin his public ministrations till he had reached middle life. It was in A. D. 386, and in

[1] See Montfaucon, p. 94.
[2] See Opp. Chrys. I. p. 374—75. II. p. 540. a. Neander. II. 155.
[3] Opp. Chrys. VII. 482. d.

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his fortieth year that he delivered his first sermon. At this time, he had just been ordained a presbyter by Flavian, Bishop of Antioch. It was not without a struggle that he resolved to become a minister, for his ideal of the sacred office was high, as is clear from what we have said of his work on the Priesthood, and ministers had then some burdens to bear from which they are now exempted. They served for instance, *ex officio*, as overseers of institutions for relieving strangers, widows, orphans, the poor and the sick. Among Chrysostom's favorite expressions were these: that he never read Heb. 13: 17 without trembling; that he felt as inadequate to the priest's office as a child would feel to the command of an army on a day of battle; that a pastor's life is much more arduous than a monk's, as piloting out at sea is more arduous than in a harbor; that a preacher is prone like a heathen sophist to seek for the reputation of eloquence, or as a speculator to lose himself in unfathomable mysteries, or to rust in indolence, defending himself by perversions of the language of Paul, with regard to "the foolishness of preaching," and "enticing words of man's wisdom." He had observed that some ministers were found fault with for not visiting their people, or for visiting the rich more than the poor, for addressing one with more smiles, or in a louder tone, than another, and even for partiality in dispensing their looks in the midst of a discourse. He further complains that many a bishop owed his office, to his being rich, noble, intriguing, an object of fear, or a recent proselyte.[1]

The reluctance to being invested with the office of priest, springing from such considerations as we have noticed, was overcome, in our judgment, more by Chrysostom's own reflections on the exigencies of the times, and on the duty of activity in the vineyard of Christ, than by the state of his health or by the entreaties of friends. Yet we regret that it kept him dumb so long, for it was never more true of any man than of him, that he found the pulpit the niche he was ordained to fill.

The fame of Chrysostom is mainly founded on his excellence in preaching. Augustine was a more subtle metaphysician, Jerome was a more skilful interpreter, Athanasius wielded better the iron pen of controversy, but Chrysostom was by way of eminence and without a rival THE PREACHER of the ancient church. His power as a preacher was doubtless in part the result of natural advantages, the voice, figure, countenance, and feelings of an orator. But it was also derived, in a still greater degree, from

[1] Opp. Chrys. I. 400. b.

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recluse study rivaling that of Demosthenes, from striving like Tully after *aliquid immensum infinitumque*, and from daily practice and efforts in speaking on themes which filled his heart.

Moreover, in his opinion the orator is made not born, and few orators have found themselves in circumstances, so adapted as his were, to task, exhibit, and improve their capabilities.

The Christians at Antioch in Chrysostom's days were a hundred thousand, yet they had but one principal church, though doubtless other places of meeting, and but one bishop assisted by several presbyters. Chrysostom's custom was to preach on two days weekly, and at certain festival seasons every day.[1] His discourses may in general be read aloud each within an hour; they are textual, topical and expository, but usually of more than one of these species combined. They can seldom boast of unity; they are luxuriant even to rankness in apostrophe, hyperbole, and other figures of rhetoric, but above all in similes, and those not unfrequently wire-drawn into allegories or marred by something of toy-shop taste.

The standing conclusion of each sermon is the following supplicatory formula, "That we may obtain good things to come, through the grace and love to man of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and Holy Spirit, be glory, power and honor now and forever, even to ages of ages, Amen." A few discourses are closed by a prayer. Examples may be found in Opp. Chrys. II. pp. 132, 180.

The zeal of Chrysostom was inflamed by his persuasion, that the Christianity of his time had degenerated very far from apostolic purity. It appeared to him, (to use his own words,) as a woman who had been rich, and who still retained the caskets in which her treasures had been reposited, but from whom the treasures themselves had been stolen away.[2] His one principle, his cornerstone was this, that the inward feeling of a man is everything, and that all rites, except as flowing from such a feeling, and all circumstances are nothing at all. It is the glory of his eloquence that it was consecrated, sometimes indeed through ill-judged means, to establish and illustrate this principle, as well as to constrain men to show a paramount regard to it in their practice.

On this account we have often thought an ancient picture of him found at Constantinople, an engraving from which forms the frontispiece in the Benedictine edition of his works, singularly characteristic. He is portrayed standing in his Library, and pointing

[1] See Opp. Chrys. II. 445. b. VII. 533. d.

[2] See Neander I. p. 183.

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his finger at a scroll inscribed as if with the last result of his researches, ἴχνη τῶν πνευματικῶν : ὑπερόρα τῶν βιωτικῶν.

On opening a volume of Chrysostom, next to the truly Homeric copiousness of diction, we notice nothing sooner than that the modes of presenting the truth are accommodated to popular assemblies. There are no "distinctions too fine for hearers." The style is so diffuse that every idea is fully unfolded; but as few hearers are cautiously attentive, the sentiment which has been expanded through a whole paragraph is often at its close condensed into a sort of apothegm, which rouses attention by an air of paradox but on a moment's reflection is seen to be true. Men understood the paragraph and remembered the apothegm. Again, the preacher either spoke extemporaneously, or has every appearance of so doing. He passes from theme to theme according to casual associations, seems to correct himself as if he had inadvertently spoken too strongly or too feebly. He is fond of drawing his illustrations from what has just met his view, or from the objects to which the thoughts of his audience may be supposed to have wandered, or on which they could be easily fastened. Among his allusions of this sort we may specify his interweaving in his discourses digressions, to some whom he saw smiting their foreheads, to others who whispered, smiled, or went out during service, applauded him with clapping, or who were diverted from his sermon by the lighting of the lamps. He sometimes adverts to his having passed through a crowd of shivering beggars as he approached the church, or to the inspiriting and almost inspiring aid which the singing sometimes ministered to him. He further adapts his words to his hearers by singling out classes, not merely the men or women, the young or old, but the covetous, the usurious, the keepers of parasites, the dancers at weddings, the theatre-goers, the magistrates, and "ye who are slow to give alms," or "ye who are criminally obsequious to your wives, and stand in awe of them even to fear." But while individualizing almost to personality, and exclaiming "wherever there is a dance there is a devil," or, "there are not a hundred who will be saved in all the city," he so attempered his roughness as seldom to offend. Thus he speaks of his hearers as all in fact preachers, as having come to church to get arguments with which they could silence cavils, so pious as to teach bishops and raise Antioch above Rome, and clinging round him as young birds flock around their mother. He includes himself in his condemnations, saying, "I too, your physician, have need of healing." In general, though an acute reasoner, he chose

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to win by the expanded palm of rhetoric, rather than to smite with the fist of logic. He is so fond of dilating upon the love of God and Christ, and the brotherly kindness of the first Christians, as incentives to piety; he himself glowed with such tender affections to his flock, that the motto inscribed on the title page of his life by Neander is singularly appropriate. It is this: And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is *charity*.[1]

Few have shown better than Chrysostom, how admirably the variety of prose and poetry, narrative and reasoning, the plain and the obscure in the Scriptures recommends them to our desires; and no one has been at more pains, or striven with better success than he, to suit his ministrations by an analogous method to the cravings of his auditors. After a sermon of child-like simplicity, his next discourse would present truths clothed in oracular mystery; stating enigmas without any solution, premises without conclusions, as Bishop Butler advises, or breaking off in treating a topic as abruptly as a tale in the Arabian Nights. In a third sermon, or in private if any puzzled by the difficulties called upon him, he would clear up whatever had appeared obscure. His defence of this proceeding, was a reference to our Saviour's custom of stimulating curiosity by parables and dark sayings, till men were astonished at his doctrine, and said, "How can these things be?" or, "Declare unto us this parable."[2]

Another of the modes, in which Chrysostom added the charm of variety to his exhibitions of truth, was by *expository* preaching. As he is said to have publicly expounded the whole Bible, it is obvious, that a mind so versatile as his would thus bring to view the most dissimilar or even contrasted phases of revelation. Of his works in this department, there are extant seventy-five homilies on Genesis, about the same number on the Psalms, one hundred and seventy-seven on the Gospels, fifty-four on the Acts, and two hundred and forty-four on the Epistles. No scholar can now read a page in these expositions without enthusiasm, and although many of their flowers have been silently transplanted into modern commentaries, many still remain to be culled. Bloomfield places them first in enumerating "the fountain-heads of interpretation." There are shining thoughts, enough *acutè dicta*, among others which have already been appropriated, or which are antiquated,

[1] For illustrations, see Opp. Chrys. VI. 147. b. III. 248. VII. 499. a. VI. 278. b. 121. a. IX. 198. b. V. 131.

[2] For an instance, see Opp. Chrys. II. pp. 92. b. 98. d. VII. p. 45. b.

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or worthless, or of temporary value, to fill more than one volume. The "Concordantia discordantiarum" appears to us singularly ingenious. It were not easy to over-rate the *eclat* with which such expositions would be naturally received by the mercurial and imaginative men of Antioch, who, without a figure, leaped for joy and denied no feeling its full expression.

Many testimonials, evincing Chrysostom's distinguished merit as an interpreter, might be easily collected from Montfaucon's "Testimonia Veterum." We will content ourselves with quoting a *dictum* of Thomas Aquinas. He was wont to say of the mutilated comment upon Matthew, that he would rather have it restored to "its original" perfection, than to be made owner of the city of Paris. For the opinion of a distinguished modern, the Opuscula of Reinhard (II. pp. 134, 298) may be consulted. In the dark ages, it was a popular tradition that the notes on Paul's epistles were dictated by Paul himself appearing in a vision.

Another way in which Chrysostom sought to vary the charms of truth, was by tact in bringing it to bear upon contemporary vices, and in taking advantage of particular occasions. His skill was manifest on every anniversary of a martyr's death, or other festival solemnized by the church; but it became much more conspicuous when a criminal took sanctuary in his church, or in times of drought and inundation, barbarian inroads and domestic insurrections, earthquake and conflagration. Moreover the easily besetting sins of all men, pride, revengefulness, and avarice are treated of, not in the abstract, but with such discriminating particulars as show the form, complexion, and dress which they assumed in his own time and beneath his own eyes. The peculiar faults also of the men around him, are sketched to the life. Among them were theatre-going, profaneness, the use of Bibles as amulets, usury, divorces, maintaining parasites, luxury in dress, particularly in shoes, complaints because miracles had ceased, faith in heathen talismans, allowing children to be contaminated by heathen nurses and teachers, heretical and Judaizing tendencies.[1] Among the heretics whom he condemns, besides the Manicheans and Anthropomorphists, it is remarkable, that we not only find Perfectionists[2] and Universalists,[3] but find their tenets upheld

[1] For some of Chrysostom's favorite common places, see Opp. Chrys. VII. 510. c. 573, 605. a. V. 145. VI. 127. c.

[2] Under the *alias* of Cathari and Marcionites, see Opp. Chrys. XI. 105. e. XII. 355.

[3] See Opp. Chrys. V. 120. c. IX. 44. b. For a sketch of the heresies which

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by some of the same sophisms as in the present day. So true is it that error walks in a circle, and more artifices of evil than we often imagine can boast a pre-existent state.

While thus opposed by men of corrupt minds, he continually struck out sparks of new truth to such an extent that, as Isaac Taylor has said, a complete system of orthodox doctrines might be collected from his remains. In general, however, the character of his works is not so much doctrinal as practical. It could hardly have been otherwise, six centuries before the first body of systematic theology was formed. He lacked then the various *nuclei*, around each of which a modern preacher is led to draw a separate circle of truths. A slight attention to his works will teach us, that his favorite topics, or fixed ideas, are fewer than those in many theological catechisms. It were no easy task, to count the times that he treats of the peacefulness Christianity had wrought in the world, of its thriving under persecution, crushing paganism by its moral power, and simplifying truth so surprisingly as to make doctrines clear to a child, which had been obscure or unknown to Plato. He repeats again and again that life is a warfare, but that no man can be wounded except by himself, that a man's own character, not his ancestors, his intercessors, his ritual observances, determines his future condition. Yet, though the inward is everything and the outward comparatively nothing, he unceasingly stimulates his auditors not to delay baptism, to make the sign of the cross, give alms, study the Bible, train up their children well, sustain and extend missions at home and abroad. These themes with others related to them, a few doctrinal topics, and the vices of his age to which we have referred, are almost the whole range of subjects upon which Chrysostom expatiates.[1]

Notwithstanding Chrysostom was confined to a narrow round of themes, yet few readers of his works, and none doubtless of his auditors, could accuse him of any fault akin to monotony. He avoided such an imputation, not only in the various modes we have already indicated, but by means of the multitudinous forms into which his imagination, circumstances, and youthful studies enabled and urged him to mould every truth. Very many times, in perusing his sermons, have we declared him a believer in a

were most rife in Chrysostom's era, consult Montfaucon's "Synopsis," Opp. Chrys. XIII. 186 et seq.

[1] For illustrations see Opp. Chrys. V. 186. b. VIII. 379. b. VI. 20. d. VII. 79. b. 72. a. 528. a. 136. c. etc.

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pre-established harmony between the visible and the spiritual worlds, and a demonstrator of it. According to this theory, one thing is so set over against another, that every feature of moral truth is shadowed forth in some object which every man sees every day. His endeavor was to associate every such object with its respective truth, so that it should be viewed as that truth incarnate. So numerous are his illustrations of this sort, not only from nature but from the arts, customs, and other peculiarities of his time, that a considerable volume has been filled with curious particulars of antiquarian interest, gleaned from his remains.[1] Again, he had studied the Scriptures so much in the ideal presence of scriptural personages, he had so worked his way into their manner of thought and feeling and speech, that he plausibly represents them in imaginary circumstances, and puts imaginary speeches in their mouths. Any subject, then, which he may have in hand, he can enliven not only by every analogous narrative in the Scriptures, but by the supposable actions or words of scriptural personages in fictitious scenes. By carrying on a dialogue with the men whom he thus, as it were, raises from the dead, he often vivifies and impersonates abstractions.[2]

The circumstances in which Chrysostom preached, enabled him in many ways to prevent familiar truths from becoming common place. From the mountain beneath which his hearers dwelt, he could almost see the Holy Land. He was not only nearer to the apostles in time than we are to the reformers, and a preacher in the city where the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians, but preached in a church founded by an apostle. The language of the New Testament was his. Its spirit was oriental like his. He addressed men of such tastes, that he did not need to deny himself any energetic figure or phrase, because it was coarse or vulgar, or to forego any illustration, because it might be gaudy or ceremonially unclean. He had no dread of offending "ears polite." There was no fear before his eyes, of being thought rather a singular man for a preacher.[3] He spoke where a gaudy style was vindicated by a gaudy nature, amid the costumes, architecture and national festivals, which we most appropriately call gorgeous, not far from those who originated such names and things as arabesques. He addressed a people easily

[1] See Opp. Chrys. XIII. Synopsis and Index Rerum.

[2] Examples may be found in Opp. Chrys. VII. 531. II. p. 165.

[3] See for illustrations, Opp. Chrys. VII. 101. 713. d. II. 717. b.

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blown about by passions; now festooning e
peting the streets; anon, after an earthquake,
ing one another, to hear his words, stamping
their foreheads, giving him sympathetic smiles
fore such auditors, his soul expanded with fuh
could not only venture on as abrupt exordiums, as th
first oration against Catiline, with magical success, bu
impelled to such extravagant expressions, as he afterwards found too fervid for the more occidental meridian of Constantinople.[2] The fancy of Chrysostom did not realize what has been fabled of Richter, that in sixty volumes he repeats but two or three figures, hanging a jewel upon every grass-blade and sowing the earth with orient pearl; nor does it like Jeremy Taylor, possess him and lead him astray; but it adorns the plainest and even deformed subjects with unexpected attractions. It often reminds us of the vigor with which Italian verdure leaps over every wall, shoots out at the loop-holes of terraces, entrenches itself on domes, and seems to gush out from the smooth rock. Or we may compare it to the decorations of the chapel in which he lies entombed. Armorial bearings are artfully inlaid in its marble floor, its ceiling is of gilded stucco, moulded in artistic forms, mosaics glowing upon its walls, and not a seat or panel is without elaborate carvings, at once pictures to the eye and emblems to the fancy.[3] We can fortify our view of the aid which fancy lent to Chrysostom's exhibitions of truth, by a remark of Coleridge, who, whatever may be thought of him as a philosopher, had no superior in criticism. Looking over an extract from this ancient preacher in Jeremy Taylor, he cried out, "What a vivid figure! It is enough to make any man set to work to read Chrysostom." (Lit. Remains, III. p. 317).

The month of February, of the next year after Chrysostom began to preach, A. D. 387, was signalized by a crisis worthy of his genius. A tax which was at this time imposed upon the Antiochians, appeared so exorbitant that they rose in rebellion. The police and municipal troops were overpowered. Statues of the emperor and empress, which had adorned the market-place, were mutilated and hurled from their pedestals by the wanton rabble.

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[1] See Opp. Chrys. I. 587. e. II. 213. e. Montf. 116.

[2] For instances see Opp. Chrys. VII. p. 634. c. VI. p. 255. a. III., and the charges against him before the Synod of Chalcedon, in Palladius.

[3] Bunsen, Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, I. 2.

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But a Roman legion soon entered the gates and the revolt was at an end. Then began a reign of terror; for the Roman prefects were accustomed to be so systematically cruel, that no people but the men of Antioch, who were as volatile and reckless as the modern Parisians, would have had the imprudence to kindle their wrath. Those clearly guilty of insubordination died at once by the lictor's axe. The suspected were dragged before a military tribunal, many were tortured, the noble degraded, the rich beggared. The friends of the victims were speechless and dared only raise their eyes and hands towards heaven. The Forum, where crowds had lounged away the day and lingered far into the night, became like that in a city of the dead. Yet present ills were less than horrible imaginings. It was a general foreboding, that the city was to be razed to the ground, the men crucified, the women enslaved.

After a silence of seven days, Chrysostom harangued a crowd who had flocked into his church, many of them for the first time. His pulpit, as there is some reason to think, was a mere platform like the stage of a theatre. He had seen the wealthiest families wandering homeless, and exclaimed, "How truly is all vanity!" He had seen men put to death for not putting down or resisting the rioters, and asked, "What will become of us if the blood of souls be found in our skirts?" He had marked the impotence of the noblest mother to stay the punishment of her son a moment, and bade his hearers infer what the last judgment must be. Pagan sophists had fled and hid themselves in caves. "Where," he asked, "are the reasoners of this world, who were wont to be so proud of their canes, cloaks and beards?" Monks had come down from the neighboring mountains, had saved the lives of some by their intercessions, and spoken comfortably to more. "After such deeds," he cried, "of those who have appeared like angels from heaven to strengthen you, need we books, sermons and words to prove our faith true?" The aged bishop, in the beginning of the troubles, had hurried to Constantinople to beg mercy for his flock. "Why," asked the preacher, "does he risk his life in this perilous journey? Is it not because his master laid down his life for the sheep?" Theatricals and the sports of the hippodrome had been suppressed. "Shall this," he exclaimed, "be for a lamentation? What are they but fountains of evil and roots of vice?"

But we refrain from multiplying these hints at the topics on which the eloquent preacher insisted. Their spirit evaporates

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while we labor to pour them from one language into another. We are well aware that such *disjecta membra* are as useless and as tantalizing, as the bits of foreign wonders which some travellers are at such pains to bring home.

For many days, the fate of Antioch hung in even scale. For well-nigh as many days Chrysostom preached as a dying man to dying men. No occurrence was too trivial for his magic to transfigure into a gem sparkling instruction. The rumors, the panics, the closed shops, the fear of demons, the broken statues which had led to the existing calamities, became each as a thing of life and endowed with the gift of tongues. The stone cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answered it.

Chrysostom, though uttering golden words from his lips of gold, was content to remain a plain presbyter of Antioch. He once said, that if he had leisure he would fain go on a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to stand by the ashes of Peter and Paul; yet his heart's choice was to dwell among his own people. When ill health forced him to spend a few days in the country, he came back to his flock nightly in dreams. (Opp. II. 279. c.) Meantime, the arch-bishopric of Constantinople as among the highest offices in the world, whenever it fell vacant, was fought for by a host of candidates with a rage which would have disgraced a political canvass. But the emperor's prime minister, Eutropius, while on a visit at Antioch, had been much captivated with the eloquence of Chrysostom. On this account, upon the decease of the Constantinopolitan prelate in A. D. 398, he secretly persuaded the emperor to appoint the eloquent preacher to fill the vacant diocese. Chrysostom, whom twelve years of labor had so endeared to the Antiochians, that a tumult was feared from any attempt to remove him publicly, was summoned to meet an imperial officer in the suburbs, informed of his promotion, put on the spot into the carriage of a courier, and by a literal abduction hurried away to Constantinople.[1]

Chrysostom as Archbishop of Constantinople.

Chrysostom in A. D. 398, on becoming the court-preacher and archbishop of New Rome, as Constantinople was then often styled, became one of the highest dignitaries of Christendom. He was equal in power and authority with the pontiff of Rome,

[1] Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. VIII. 2. Montfaucon, 130.

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and perhaps bore the Jewish title of Patriarch.[1] At court, in company, and on all great occasions, he took rank before the four great officers of the state. His eloquence was as much admired in the metropolis as it had been in Antioch, and drew throngs to the churches. Shocks of an earthquake, a flood, the anniversary of Theodosius, and a disinterment of Martin's relics, so called forth and displayed his genius that it was speedily appreciated. He was idolized by the empress Eudoxia who ruled the emperor, and by the imperial minion Eutropius. In such a posture of affairs, he thought he could venture to smite with a high hand the fashionable immoralities, and to commence in earnest an ecclesiastical reform.

He repressed the libertinism to which the prevalence of celibacy had given rise. He forced the lazy clergy to hold meetings on week days, and to keep nocturnal vigils. That he might give more to the poor he retrenched his household expenses, turned off supernumeraries, abolished sinecures, and exhorted the rich and noble of the city to a similar procedure. He attacked heretics of all names, not only in the pulpit, but by bands of street-singers, like the *Chorknaben* in German cities at the present day. He induced many who had long been immured in monasteries to go forth on missions, especially among the Goths. He denounced with all the point and fearlessness of Bridaine at Paris, the prevalent sins of the time, such as greediness of gain, and luxurious expenditures, particularly in dress and equipage.[2]

All these measures on the part of Chrysostom were doubtless prompted by good motives; yet many steps were rashly taken, if in the absence of other criteria we may judge of them by the events or issues to which they led. His first essays, however, were successful. The so-called consul, Eutropius, who had persuaded the emperor to nominate Chrysostom archbishop, finding him a stern and plain-dealing rebuker of his self-conceit and vices, instead of the serviceable tool he had expected, was alienated from him. He could wound Chrysostom by aiming a blow at ecclesiastical immunities, he therefore procured an imperial edict to abolish the custom which allowed churches to be places of sanctuary for criminals. But, just at that crisis, the garrison of the metropolis mutinying and demanding his death, as the janizaries in the same city have since often demanded the head

[1] See Murdock's Mosheim, I. pp. 232, 323.

[2] See Hist. Eccles. by Socrates, L. VI. and Sozomen, L. VIII.

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of a Turkish vizier, he was fain himself to make the church his asylum, and was there generously welcomed. The speech with which Chrysostom at the risk of his life pacified the mob, who had burst into the church and were ready to tear the obnoxious refugee from the altar, is eloquence itself. The privilege of the sanctuary was maintained inviolate, although Eutropius soon after, stealing away from the altar, was seized and put to death.[1] Chrysostom next measured his strength with Gainas the Goth. This man who was a commander in the army, being an Arian had left no means untried for inducing the emperor to annul the law, which prohibited the Arians from having a place of worship in the metropolis. He was on the eve of success when in a conference with Chrysostom he was prevailed upon, according to Montfaucon, to desist from his endeavors.[2] When he afterwards raised a revolt in Thrace, and persecuted the orthodox in the cities he passed through, Theodoret states, (L. V. 32.) that Chrysostom undertook a long and perilous journey and successfully interceded for his suffering friends.

It was soon, however, his ill-fortune to incur the enmity of the empress, who, as she felt that his denunciations of extravagance in dress applied to herself, concluded them to be aimed at her. In that despotic government, to fall under the displeasure of the higher powers was to be hated by a myriad of vassals. He was also assailed by heretics of every name, by the rich whose unscrupulous means of getting gain he had stigmatized, by all on whom his reforms had passed heavily, by the court, ladies whose tricks to conceal their age or ugliness he had exposed, and by all to whom his eloquence was as the piercings of a sword. For a time, however, he stood unshaken. He made a long journey to Ephesus, and called a synod there, at which six or, according to Sozomen, thirteen bishops, being convicted of simony, were deposed. He exercised a similar severity in Nicomedia. On his return to Constantinople, finding that numbers of the country clergy were living luxuriously in that metropolis, he ordered them to leave it, and make their abode each on his own benefice. Among these absentees was Severin, Bishop of Gabala in Syria, who during Chrysostom's absence had supplied his pulpit. This bishop, having abused the confidence reposed in him, and being detected, was silenced by Chrysostom; that is, forbidden to preach in Con-

[1] See Opp. Chrys. III. p. 382. Socr. L. VI. 5. Sozo. L. VIII. 7. Gibbon XXXII. note 30.

[2] See Socr. 6: 6. Sozo. 8: 4. Montf.

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stantinople. Having insinuated himself into court-favor, he retired to Chalcedon only to be recalled by an imperial order, with the forced consent of Chrysostom. A public reconciliation of these antagonists followed. It was sincere to all appearance on the part of Chrysostom, but false and hollow on the side of Severin.

About this time the empress Eudoxia, who had long been stung by Chrysostom's invectives against wasteful pomp, was exasperated even to fury by a letter which he addressed her, to remonstrate against her holding a vineyard which, after letting its owner perish unjustly, she had torn from his widow. From the date of this remonstrance she sought opportunity to ruin her reprover, if it were possible with a show of justice. She did not seek long in vain. Eighty Egyptian monks presented themselves at the palace of Chrysostom, representing that they had been driven from the Egyptian deserts to which they had repaired as hermits, and further, had been forced to flee from Palestine where they had taken refuge, by Theophilus, the archbishop of Alexandria. The real cause of this banishment was, that the monks would not take part in the covetous schemes of Theophilus; the ostensible cause of it was, that they refused to give up reading the works of Origen. It being soon apparent that Theophilus would seek to expel the Egyptian refugees from Constantinople, Chrysostom interposed in their behalf, and wrote more than one conciliatory letter to Theophilus. Origen as an interpreter had been condemned for allegorizing; and his principles of interpretation differed from those of Chrysostom. Yet Chrysostom not only admired his genius, but believed that his error was less pernicious than the dull literalism, which had supplanted it. Accordingly, he favored the study of his works as an antidote against sensualizing tendencies.

No sooner was the mediation of Chrysostom spurned by Theophilus, than he would fain have avoided any interference in a controversy, which he had lost all hope of bringing to an end. But when the monks threw themselves at the feet of the empress, and implored her protection, she gave orders that a synod to examine their complaints should meet at Constantinople under the superintendence of Chrysostom. Her secret purpose was to entangle him in difficulties, and it was not frustrated. There were many classes of men who viewed him with an evil eye, or could be easily prejudiced against him; and all such were rallied and organized by Theophilus who was a master of intrigue. Many

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were cut to the heart by his individualizing rebukes of popular vices; others who like him originated in Syria, envied his elevation above themselves; some of the inferior clergy thought he had not shown them sufficient courtesy or hospitality; others charged him with austerely exacting too great zeal in their functions; others, tainted with anthropomorphism, branded all his departures from the dead letter of the Scriptures as heresy.

As soon as the plot was ripe for execution, Theophilus appeared at Constantinople with bribes in both hands. Through his intrigues the synod was convened at the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon instead of at Constantinople, and its first proceedings were the examination of certain charges which he preferred against Chrysostom. Most of these charges are so frivolous as to show, that little ground of complaint against him really existed; some of them prove him to have been superior to the formalism and superstition of his time. One charge was, that he used too gorgeous and poetical language; another that he ate alone; another that he used the warm bath after others, that he did not pray as he entered church, that he administered the sacrament to men who had eaten dinner, that he represented it as never too late to repent, and that he let pagans take sanctuary in the church. Four other charges, which at first sight have a more formidable front, were either calumnious, ill-grounded or exaggerated, namely; that he had spoken evil of the clergy, exercised authority out of his diocese, excited the people to rebellion, and called the empress Jezabel. The synod at Chalcedon, consisting according to Palladius, Tillemont, etc. of thirty-six bishops, summoned Chrysostom to appear before them and answer to these charges.[1] Although a counter-synod of forty bishops had collected around him, he answered the synod, that he would obey their summons, provided only that three or four of his enemies were excluded from the numbers of his judges. His overture was rejected; and the synod before which he refused to appear, at the end of fourteen days deposed him from his arch-bishopric and delivered him over to the civil power.

Viewing these proceedings as illegal, not to say unjust, Chrysostom resolved to abide with his people till forced away. He

[1] Photius as quoted by Gibbon (XXXII. note 49.) states the number of bishops in this council to have been *forty-five*. "Tillemont," says Milman, "argues strongly for the number of thirty-six." We may add that Gibbon with characteristic subtlety leaves the impression, *though he does not assert*, that Tillemont advocates what he in fact opposes, the number of forty-five.

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first cheered up his brother bishops, who were sinking in despondency, and next addressed the people, who at short intervals for three days crowded his church. He praised their fearless coming together to hear his last words. He bade them be tranquil and cheerful, since nothing could harm him while he was stayed on God, nothing could put him asunder from those with whom God had joined him together; for if disunited in place they were united in love, and even though he were parted from them by death, his soul would not cease to care for them. At length, learning that a band of soldiers had been dispatched to arrest him, he yielded himself into their hands, and was immediately ferried over to the Asiatic shore. But an earthquake, which the same night shook the city, being interpreted by general consent, as the frown of Heaven upon the deposition of Chrysostom, and combining with his popularity to threaten a worse earthquake of popular sedition, constrained the emperor to sign an order for his immediate recall. As he returned to the city, the Bosphorus was almost bridged with boats which were filled with gaily dressed thousands, waving banners, and escorting him back with songs and shouts. Torch-trains awaited and welcomed him at his landing on the European shore. His first intention, which was for good reasons to retire to a country-seat, till a new synod had been convened to annul the decree against him, was overcome by the entreaties or rather by the demands of the populace. Overjoyed at receiving him back, they would not disperse till they had brought him in triumph to his episcopal throne, received his blessing, and listened to an extemporaneous harangue from his lips.[1]

The importunities of Chrysostom were unceasing, that the emperor would convoke another synod in order to rescind the decree, in pursuance of which he had been torn from his people; and at length a proclamation for such a synod was issued. But in the mean time he had again fallen out of favor at court. Having inveighed against certain pagan rites, at the erection and dedication of a statue of the empress Eudoxia near his church, which had disturbed his services, he was in consequence reported to have spoken treasonable words. Besides, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, he is said though probably falsely by Sozomen, L. VIII: 20, and Gibbon, xxxii. note 41, to have begun a sermon thus: "Again Herodias' daughter dances,

[1] See Hist. Eccles. Soc. VI: 7—10, 15—16. Soz. VIII: 9. Palladius, Montfaucon.

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rages; demands the head of John." The name of Chrysostom in his life-time being John, and Eudoxia resembling in more than one point the daughter of Herodias, an exordium like this would have been fatal to any man. Whether such a sermon was preached or not, the synod which soon assembled, being creatures of the court, compliant to its bidding, decreed the deposition of Chrysostom. The pretext for the deposition was simply this: he had returned at the emperor's order to the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions. But he thus transgressed a church-law, that no deposed arch-bishop could be reinstated except by a vote of a new and larger synod than that by which he had been deposed, and that whoever acted as arch-bishop before being so reinstated, was *ipso facto* deposed forever. Chrysostom refused to submit voluntarily to this sentence, since the law by which he was judged had been enacted only by an Arian synod. Declaring as before, that he would yield only to force, he continued to hold meetings. On one occasion three thousand persons presented themselves for baptism, but in the midst of the rites the assembly was assailed and dispersed with violence and bloodshed, by a military detachment. A man of doubtful sanity, who about this time attempted Chrysostom's life, was saved from torture only by the arch-bishop's intercession. When a few days afterwards he received an express order from the emperor to leave the archiepiscopal palace, he made a parting speech to the deaconesses in his baptistery and to his ecclesiastics in his vestry, bidding them all be subject to his successor, and thanking them for their having seconded all his plans. The mule on which he used to ride had been previously prepared for him at the door of the church, but seeing a multitude assembled there, and fearing a tumult, he passed out by a private passage, and delivered himself to a police officer. He was immediately put on board a caique, and transported across the Hellespont. The time was the twentieth of June, A. D. 404, when this candlestick of a burning and shining light was removed out of its place in the midst of a people, who declared his ceasing to preach, a worse calamity than if the sun were cast down from heaven.

Chrysostom in Exile.

Ill health detained Chrysostom several weeks in Bithynia; but he was conveyed into the heart of Asia Minor as soon as possible, while the place to which he should be banished was not yet de-

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termined. He made efforts to get an agreeable place of residence vouchsafed him, but after long suspense was ordered to live in Cucusus. This city was seventy day's journey distant, perched on a bleak ridge of mount Taurus, and infested by barbarian inroads. His journey thither was in the heat of summer and full of danger from predatory Isaurians; he was deprived of the comforts which habit and his infirmities had made necessaries; he was several times detained by sickness, and as often mal-treated by Christians who had learned from his maligners to think him worse than an infidel. Upon arriving at Cucusus he was harrassed by an illness resulting from the fatigues and privations of his journey; he had no good physician or medicine; his house was incurably smoky or cold; he could not bathe or get exercise; and as if that no variety of affliction might be wanting, a contagious disease broke out in the city. When his health became better, he found himself cut off from the world, since the couriers were killed by the barbarians or perished in the snow. Cucusus was always exposed to the incursions of nomadic tribes, and in consequence he lived in perpetual alarm, and was often obliged to seek safety in flight.

Yet he was not long in devising, or supine in executing schemes of usefulness. He wrote and despatched several hundred letters, of which two hundred and forty-two are still extant, to all parts of the world. Some were to his brother bishops, especially those of Italy, requesting their intercession for the termination of his banishment, or the re-judging of his case. Some were to the missionaries, whom even in exile he joined with his enemies in sending among the Goths and Persians. Some were to his partisans at Constantinople, styled Johannists, who, as his church had been burned on the day of his banishment, were falsely accused of having set it on fire. Others were to early friends, to those who ministered to him of their substance in his bonds, to his flock at Antioch which was in his vicinity, and to his followers who were persecuted for their adherence to him. In many of them the value and the frequent needfulness of suffering, as a discipline of virtue, are portrayed with surprising power and liveliness. How undaunted his own spirit remained will appear, from the following passage in his correspondence, which is a specimen of a hundred others:—"When driven from the city, I cared nothing for it. But I said to myself, if the empress wishes to banish me let her banish me; the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. If she would saw me in sunder, let her saw me in sunder;—I have

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Isaiah for a pattern. If she would plunge me in the sea; I remember Jonah. If she would thrust me into the fiery furnace; I see the three children enduring that. If she would cast me to wild beasts; I call to mind Daniel in the den of lions. If she would stone me, let her stone me; I have before me Stephen the proto-martyr. If she would take my head from me, let her take it;—I have John the Baptist. If she would deprive me of my worldly goods, let her do it; naked came I from my mother's womb and naked shall I return. An apostle has told me, "God respecteth not man's person," and "if I yet pleased men I should not be the servant of Christ."[1] Even Gibbon cannot refrain from remarking that these epistles "show a firmness of mind much superior to that of Cicero in his exile," xxxii. note 54.

The influence of Chrysostom by means of his letters, of the numbers who made pilgrimages to visit him, and of the sympathy which his sufferings everywhere excited, was not only as powerful as salutary, but roused again the wrath of his implacable foes. The Roman patriarch, Innocent I., indeed, renounced communion with the Eastern churches, and the emperor of the West, Honorius, wrote more than once, interceding and demanding an oecumenical council on his behalf; but their distant and procrastinated interposition came too late. Early in the summer of the year A. D. 407, in the sixtieth year of his age, he was forced to set out on foot for a new place of exile, called Pytius, upon the Euxine Sea, "the last frontier of the Roman world." His journey was intended to be as long as the whole breadth of Asia Minor. He had to cross alternately snowy heights and parched plains, and to traverse regions where the comforts of civilization were unknown even by name. The soldiers who had him in charge, had been promised promotion if he died on the road. One of his conductors secretly showed him not a little kindness, but they all agreed that their orders obliged them to make all possible haste. Their leader hurried away from every place where Chrysostom would fain refresh himself by a bath, paid no attention to the entreaties of those he met, that he would deal gently with his captive, and took a fiendish delight when he saw the bald head of his victim exposed to rain and mid-day suns. This pilgrimage had already, according to Palladius, lasted three months, when the soldiers finding their prisoner unable to proceed, were one day obliged to return to a hamlet at the tomb of a martyr where they had lodged the night before. The spot was

[1] See a similar sentiment, Opp. Chrys. IV. p. 422.

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near the city of Comana, in Pontus, and well-nigh the same place where, fourteen hundred years afterwards, Henry Martyn was to welcome death in circumstances not altogether dissimilar. The time was the fourteenth of September, A. D. 407. Then and there this much enduring servant of Christ, having been, in conformity to the customs of the time, dressed in white robes, and uttering for the last time his favorite motto, *δόξα τῷ θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν*, closed his eyes in the sleep of death. Thus vanished from the firmament the evening star of spiritual Christianity, while so dark a night ensued that popery was hailed at its first appearance as an auroral radiance.[1]

His remains were at first interred near the place of his death. Thirty-one years afterwards, they were transferred to Constantinople, with almost as much *eclat* as marked the recent removal of Napoleon's ashes from St. Helena to Paris. The young emperor Theodosius kissed the coffin, and prayed for his parents that the manes of the saint would forgive them, and accept these late honors as the only possible atonement for his sufferings at their hands. At a later period, the bones of Chrysostom were carried as relics to Rome, and about two centuries ago, were deposited by Pope Urban VIII. in their present resting-place, within the walls of St. Peter's.[2]

The *denouement* of no tragedy is more moving than the corruptions of Christianity, which, reared from seeds sown long before, were ripening during the era of Chrysostom. In tracing the progress of such corruptions, it is natural for us to be most affected by the lives of individuals; even as our feelings are most enlisted in the prowess and fate, not of masses, but of single heroes in the battles of the Iliad. The life we have now sketched, showing certain truths not in the abstract but incarnated and in action, is adapted to give them such a lodgment in our memories and hearts, that they shall affect not only our principles but our conversation and conduct. One of the lessons which may thus entrench themselves, seems to be, that prelacy, Erastianism, and cumbrous ceremonies, even in the first century of their prevalence, showed themselves to be parent-principles of evil. Besides contributing to a neglect of the Scriptures, formalism, hypocrisy, venality, and heathenism masked by specious names, they entangled Christianity with political strife, drove Chrysostom from his sphere of usefulness, and compassed his death. If such was

[1] See Pallad. Socra. 6: 21. Sozo. 8: 28.

[2] See Bunsen, Besch. der Stadt. Rom, I. 2. S. 190. Montfaucon, p. 177.

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their influence, in their first days of comparative innocence, while Chrysostom and others of like character, by preaching, writing, authority as church rulers, example and martyrdom, labored to keep them from perversion; what things deserve to be denounced as of more dangerous tendency?

If we have a spark of piety, the life we have passed in review may fan it to a flame. If Chrysostom, clogged by the impediments we have just noticed, sent forth missionaries even from his place of banishment, and what is more from hermitages, what is our duty? If, when cast down from the second station in the civilized world lower than any slave, he still cried, "Glory to God for all," how shall we bear our light afflictions? He rejoiced in full assurance, that no labors for the gospel will prove in vain, although as he lay down to die the aim of his life seemed frustrated, and if his eye had been prophetic he might have seen his church turned into the mosque of St. Sophia. Our assurance should be doubly sure, since we have not only seen the reäction in his favor which soon followed his death, but may survey his posthumous power, preaching during fourteen centuries, and still unexhausted.

His letters were early collected; his harangues which he never thought of committing to writing were penned down by admiring disciples; his tragical end gave immortality to many of his works, which might otherwise have been ephemeral. In the ninth century, the only book in the famous monastery of Iona was one by Chrysostom. Portions of his sermons, according to Cave, were translated into Arabic. In A. D. 1470, very soon after the invention of printing, his collected writings appeared in a Latin translation at Rome. Several other editions of his complete works have since appeared, as that of Saville,[1] (Etonae 1610—12), and the editio optima by Montfaucon, (Paris 1718—38). Each of these editions was enriched by not a few discourses, which had not been known to be extant by previous editors. The editions and translations of portions from his tomes, comprised in volumes to be held in the hand and read by the fire, which after all, as Johnson remarks, are those that change the face of the world, have been almost without number. The exposition of Galatians was interpreted into Latin by Erasmus. One of his treatises was publish-

[1] The expense of this edition, which was equivalent to $130,000 at the present day, was defrayed by Saville alone. "This, says Hallam, "was the first work of learning on a great scale, published in England." Introd. to Lit. of Eng. III. p. 11.

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ed at London in 1542, with the title, "*That no man is hurted but of hymselfe;*" which, no doubt nerved the heart of many a martyr under the bloody Mary. Another appeared at the same place in A. D. 1553, entitled, *The restitution of a Sinner chiefly made against Desperacyon.* Another treatise, that addressed to Theodore, published in A. D. 1654, was translated by Lord Viscount Grandison, prisoner in the Tower. Another, called "*The golden book*" from the hand of Evylin, appeared in 1659. The first English version of the books *On the Priesthood*, was printed in A. D. 1728. But these are mere specimens of what was published from his works in those times. His influence is most conspicuous in the last prayer of the Litany endearing him to every churchman, in his interpretations studding here and there a hundred commentaries, and in his select sentences transplanted not only into Barrow and Jeremy Taylor, but into Baxter and Flavel. Pope assigns to even the *petit-maitre* clergyman of his day, "A Chrysostom to smooth his band in."

On the continent his posthumous influence is still more clearly attested. Some evidences of it are these: the lives of him by Erasmus, Tillemont, M. Hermant, Montfaucon, Neander, and Schroeckh; the essay on his eloquence by Rosenmüller; the antagonist polemics, *Chrysostomus Catholicus*, and *Chrysostomus Lutheranus*;[1] "the Russian clergy" says Pinkerton "are proud of having learned eloquence in the school of Chrysostom;"[2] and the plan of publishing an Italian edition of his writings, including several newly discovered works, under the supervision of the best patristic scholars, though now interrupted, is by no means abandoned.[3]

A favorite project of the late President Porter, was to publish a volume of selections translated from Chrysostom. He had organized a club of students for this purpose, and not a few sermons had been translated, before the failure of his health with other untoward events frustrated his design. Yet our hopes are sanguine, not only that a similar scheme will be executed, but that among other causes the pretensions of prelacy and Puseyism will more and more lead our scholars to study, and in due time to publish the works of that "old man eloquent," whose life we have now endeavored to sketch.

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[1] Fabricius VII. 560.

[2] Pinkerton's Russia, 1833.

[3] Foreign Quarterly Review Oct. 1842.

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