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ARTICLE I.

CHRYSOSTOM, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, VIEWED AS A PREACHER.

A free translation from the German of C. F. W. Paniel, by H. J. Ripley, Professor in Newton Theological Institution.

[The original, of which the following is a free translation, is an Article in Paniel's Geschichte der Christlichen Beredsamkeit. It is a fair and impartial view of Chrysostom. The author is neither his eulogist, nor his apologist; he sees blemishes as well as beauties.

My aim has been in the translation to do justice to the original and yet to make a readable English article. I have also, at certain points, abbreviated the original essay.

The extracts from Chrysostom's discourses are here translated, and in some instances enlarged, from the original Greek, of the Paris edition of 1836. In the references to Chrysostom's Works, the Roman numerals indicate the volume, the Arabic the page. —H. J. R.]

Among the early preachers, no one's life and fortunes were determined so much by his eloquence as were Chrysostom's. It was the cause both of his elevation and of his abasement; of the high respect he acquired while living, and of the still higher and more enduring renown which has been awarded to him since his death. His proper name was John. The surname, Chrysostom

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(golden-mouthed), became appropriated to him in after times; yet certainly before the year 636, since Isidore of Hispala, who died in that year, speaks of him under this name.[1] As, however, it doubtless originated in the East, not in the West, he must have been known by it before the time of Isidore, though neither the early ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and Sozomen, nor Palladius, in his Greek biography of Chrysostom, make mention of it.

Biographical Sketch of Chrysostom.

Chrysostom was born, probably, about the year 347, at Antioch, of a distinguished and wealthy family. Soon after his birth he lost his father, Secundus, who held an important place in the staff of the highest military commander of the Roman Asiatic provinces. But his pious and excellent mother, Anthusa, who from love to her son and her deceased husband was disinclined to enter again the marriage-state, watched over his youthful years with most devoted and judicious solicitude. Though warmly attached to the Christian faith, she yet avoided the fault committed by other mothers of eminent teachers in the church, of devoting her son from his birth to the ministry, or to monastic life, and, in consequence, of giving him a contracted ascetic education; and, contrary to the practice of other women of high rank who obtained for their sons only some slight instruction in Latin literature and in Roman law, she rather provided for him the means of a general and thorough literary training.

His principal instructor was Libanius, the most distinguished heathen rhetorician of his time. Libanius early discovered Chrysostom's promising talents, and lamented, on his death-bed, that this scholar who afterwards became so much his superior in eloquence, could not be procured as his successor in the chair of rhetoric. In philosophy,[2] Chrysostom's instructor was Andragathus. Neither his belief in Christianity, nor his love of religion, suffered injury from his being educated by these heathen teachers; for his mother was in the habit of leading her beloved son, with Christian zeal, to the fountain of truth; and he made himself, by personal study, familiar with the Holy Scriptures.

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[1] The name *Chrysostom* was also given to Antiochus, during his lifetime, a contemporary and opponent of John Chrysostom.

[2] Paniel says, In der *Beredsamkeit*. But I here follow the Latin biography appended to Chrysostom's Works, which follows in this instance the authority of Socrates and with which the statement of Leo agrees, in his edition of Chrysostom's treatise on the Priesthood, p. 1.—Tr.

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He was, however, in his youth, far from being indisposed to participate in the scenes of public life. The dramatic exhibitions, against which at a later period he expressed himself with so much vehemence, and the pleadings of advocates at the forum, were particularly attractive to him. His earliest opportunity for exercising his native oratorical talent was at the forum; and he actually entered on the practice of law, an employment which was then the first step to the higher posts of secular honor. He soon, however, contracted a dislike for the low arts which the advocates allowed themselves; and this dislike gradually increased, till he became disaffected towards secular pursuits in general, and anxious for quiet retirement and exclusive occupation with divine things. Meletius, the venerable bishop of Antioch, encouraged his purpose, and, when he had spent three years in study and had received baptism, appointed him to the office of Anagnost; that is, a public reader of the Scriptures. He was at that time about twenty-three years of age.

Impressed with reverence for the monks and hermits who were living in the vicinity of Antioch, and many of whom were truly estimable men, he had, at an earlier period, been desirous to associate with them in their ascetic mode of life. It was not, however, in all probability, till after the death of his mother, who had in the most touching manner entreated him not to leave her, that he was able to accomplish this long-cherished purpose. In the monastery, two abbots, Carterius and Diodorus, the latter of whom became very distinguished and was appointed bishop of Tarsus, assumed his further education for the sacred office; and to the latter, particularly, he was indebted for his initiation into just grammatical and logical principles of scriptural interpretation.[1] After residing six years in the monastery, employed in extending his literary and religious attainments, besides writing a vindication of the monastic life, his health had become so impaired by his ascetic severities as to make it necessary for him, in the year 380, to return to Antioch.

He had, some years before, in consequence of his mother's entreaty and of his own modesty, declined the office of bishop to which it was in contemplation to elect him.[2] He was now, how-

[1] Neander, in the second edition of his Life of Chrysostom, is rather inclined to the opinion, that Diodorus was not connected with the monastery; but that, while a presbyter at Antioch, he also gathered around him a company of young men for theological instruction and preparation for the sacred office.—Tr.

[2] To this circumstance we are indebted for his treatise on the Priesthood, in

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ever, ordained a deacon by Meletius, and about six years after a presbyter by Flavian, the successor of Meletius. As he was not allowed, while a deacon, to preach in public, his great abilities were not fully displayed till after he became a presbyter. Being now the principal and most intimate assistant of his bishop, and occupying the highest place in his esteem, he soon had most ample opportunity for extensive usefulness, as the distinguished preacher of a large congregation embracing, it was estimated, a hundred thousand souls.[1] In the second year after he became a presbyter, occurred the insurrection at Antioch, in which the statues of the imperial family were destroyed, and the city was in consequence subjected to great suffering. This was the occasion of his preaching the celebrated twenty-one discourses on the Statues. In these discourses, he did not restrict himself to the public calamities, though these were at the time matters of chief interest to the people of Antioch. He rather employed the occasion to expose such delinquencies of the Christians as gave them little solicitude, and to show the necessity of amendment. His activity in the ministry, besides the proof of it thus furnished, was so great that few days passed without his preaching in public.

For twelve years he labored at Antioch; and the fame of his eloquence and of his virtues had spread through the whole East. His promotion to a more distinguished post of influence, which might seem but the just recompense of his great merits, was, nevertheless, consequent on the accidental circumstance that Eutropius, the favorite of the emperor Arcadius, happening to be in Antioch, was filled with admiration at his remarkable eloquence. On the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, in the year 397, Eutropius proposed Chrysostom as the successor to that office. The church of Constantinople, assailed from all quarters by competitors for the vacant bishopric, could not form a decision, and at length solicited the emperor himself to appoint a bishop of approved abilities. With this the influence of the powerful chamberlain, Eutropius, was conjoined, and Chrysostom was selected.[2]

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which he accounts for his declining the election, and unfolds his views of the high dignity of the sacred office.

[1] Antioch had a population of 200,000; one half professing the Christian religion.—Tr.

[2] This transfer to the highest post of the Eastern church was effected by authority and artifice, without seeking Chrysostom's consent. "Every preparation," says Neander, "being made, he was enticed out of the city of Antioch under a false

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This new office, however, far from adding to his welfare, was on the contrary the occasion of his two exiles, and at length of his death; a well nigh violent death.

Animated with the most intense zeal for purity of morals, yet seeking to bring about reforms by applying ascetic principles, and often condemning even allowable gratifications; cherishing the loftiest ideas of the dignity and the duties of his office, at the same time disregarding the claims of the world, and particularly not heeding customs which excessive refinement and court-society had introduced; strict, in all respects, towards himself, making no allowance for human frailties; inclined to asperity in his judgments from his own consciousness of moral purity, and inspired with hatred of the prevalent corruption of the church; maintaining, also, a proud distance from every one whose virtue was stained—it could not but be, that, on taking up his abode at Constantinople with such peculiarities both of nature and education, he would make to himself many friends and admirers and equally many embittered enemies. The former he found in the middle and lower classes; the latter, among the higher and even among the clergy. To the better part of his people he was a model of the noblest virtues, a pattern of sobriety, of clerical dignity and activity. He was a friend of the poor, a protector of the oppressed, an unsparing judge of the wealthy and corrupt dignitaries. These last hated him as an enemy of their covetousness and licentiousness, of the baseness to which the men stooped, and the luxury and sensuality in which the women and widows of rank indulged; as a stern censor of the haughtiness of the great, and of the hypocrisy and corruption of the clergy. In these circumstances, and considering the power of the last-mentioned classes, it could not long remain doubtful what destiny awaited him. The hatred of the men in power and of the clergy, long sought for a pretext against him; but the most of his people were so fond of his preaching, that they clung to him with an affection that made it no easy thing to dispossess him of his office. Besides, in the distress which the seditious Goth, Gainas, had brought on the city and on the whole empire, Chrysostom had rendered services too great to be overlooked by the weak emperor.

As, however, he did not in his preaching spare the superstitious and corrupt empress Eudoxia, his numerous and powerful foes

pretext, in order to forestall his refusal and prevent the disorders which his congregation, who were so attached to him, might raise; and he was sent to Constantinople."—Tr.

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prevailed, at length, in a synod held at *the Oak*,[1] and composed of men unfriendly to him, to displace from office this mortally hated archbishop and his associates. The charges which they brought against him consisted, in part, of matters entirely alien from his character and wholly fictitious, and, in part, of wilful perversions and exaggerations; or were accusations which, in the judgment of every impartial person, could not but redound more to his honor than to his discredit. But however deficient these charges were in truth and force, this was compensated by the influence and malice of his opponents. His life, even, was in danger; for his enemies had laid against him complaints of high treason, accusing him of having in a sermon called the empress Eudoxia a Jezebel; and perhaps he did, on some occasion, thus express himself. Neither the empress, however, nor his other powerful adversaries, among whom several women of blemished reputation, yet considerable for their rank and wealth, played a chief part, could prevail on the weak Arcadius to condemn him. To take a man's life whom so many bishops and the whole Christian community regarded with the highest love and reverence, seemed to the emperor too dangerous a step. He could not get Chrysostom into his power; for the people, three days successively, guarded the bishop's palace, and requested, as did Chrysostom himself, that the matter might be examined before an impartial and a larger synod. But when Chrysostom saw that the people's opposition to the authority of the State was likely to occasion bloodshed, he privately withdrew from the protection of his friends and surrendered himself to his enemies. He was conveyed away to the coast of Bithynia; but after a few days was recalled. This sudden recall resulted from the joint influence of the continued threatening excitement of the people, of a violent earthquake which had filled the superstitious Eudoxia with remorse of conscience, and of the representations of some of Chrysostom's friends in the imperial court. He was received with signal demonstrations of respect and amid the unbounded joy of the people.[2]

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[1] Chrysostom's opponents deemed it unsafe to arraign him in Constantinople itself. The members of the synod repaired, therefore, to Chalcedon in the vicinity, and thence to a suburb of Chalcedon, named *the Oak*, and held their session in a church at that place.—Tr.

[2] "The Bosphorus," says Gibbon, "was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop."—Tr.

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But the quiet between him and the empress continued only two months. He had again censured her in his usual harsh manner, and found fault with the extravagant veneration which the people paid to her statue; and he is said to have commenced the sermon on the festival of the martyrdom of John the Baptist with an allusion to the empress and to his own proper name John, in these words: "Herodias rages anew; anew she is excited; anew she dances; anew she seeks to receive in a platter the head of John."[1] From that time, the empress swore an unappeasable hostility to this unsparing orator. In connection with other enemies of Chrysostom, she succeeded, at a synod, in having him deposed a second time, and in procuring a decree for his banishment. But neither on this occasion could his enemies effect his removal from the city, till he delivered himself up in order to terminate the shocking and bloody acts of violence to which his adherents were exposed.

It was only for a few years, however, that he thus escaped the hands of hired assassins, from whom even in his own palace he had been in danger of his life. For his enemies, indignant at his finding friends even in his banishment at Cucusus, at his still exerting his influence in many parts of the East and even of the West,[2] and at his adherents' continued attachment to him, procured an additional decree from Arcadius, by virtue of which he was to be removed to Pityus, a town on the eastern desert coast of the Euxine and near the extreme limits of the empire. The

[1] Paniel here refers to the authority of Socrates. The sentence which he quotes from Socrates (Hist. Eccl. VI. 16.) contains the historical error respecting Herodias' dancing.

[2] "The three years," says Gibbon, "which he spent at Cucusus and the neighboring town of Arabissus, were the last and most glorious of his life. His character was consecrated by absence and persecution; the faults of his administration were no longer remembered, but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue; and the respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot amid the mountains of Taurus. From that solitude the archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregation of his faithful adherents to persevere in their allegiance; urged the destruction of the temples of Phoenicia, and the extirpation of heresy in the isle of Cyprus; extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent; but his captive body was exposed to the revenge of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Arcadius."—Tr.

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inhuman treatment he suffered during this journey, was too much for a constitution already enfeebled by the abuses he had so long endured. The noble sufferer did not reach the place of his banishment. Death overtook him on the way, in Comana, a city of Pontus. He expired, September 14th, in the year 407, with his favorite expression on his lips, "God be praised for everything."

His sixth successor in the bishopric of Constantinople had his remains removed to that city in the year 438, where they were received with marked reverence and with great pomp.

Such is a slight outline of the life and death of a preacher, of whom it may be justly said that all his prosperity and adversity, the honor to which he attained and the indignities which he suffered, his premature, and, in part, violent end, as well as his imperishable fame, sprung almost exclusively from his great eloquence and from the most praise-worthy, though not wholly unexceptionable, manner in which he employed it. Other celebrated preachers of antiquity, as Origen, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, also experienced the diversified lot of persecution and of respect, and have established the credit of their names even to our day. But in no one of them was it pulpit oratory that caused both the pleasing and the painful events of life, so entirely as in Chrysostom. Their distinction resulted, in a great measure, from causes other than oratorical merit. But whatever distinction Chrysostom obtained by other services, his pulpit eloquence was the central point around which everything gathered that affected him for good or for evil, during his life and after his death.[1]

Chrysostom's Training for the Pulpit.

We pass now to the inquiry, How did Chrysostom become so distinguished an orator? In reply, it must first be said, that he was naturally endowed with most eminent oratorical talents. A strong, penetrating and comprehensive mind, a brilliant invention, an inexhaustible imagination, an abundant vein of wit, presence

[1] It has always been the case that men of inferior abilities have, through want of extensive views, passed an unfavorable judgment on the spirit and sentiments of men of distinguished endowments, and have traced the calamities which have fallen to their lot, not to the envy and treachery of those with whom they had to act, but to their own failings. So it has been in respect to Chrysostom. The historian, Socrates, who is generally a discriminating man, accuses him, in quite an extravagant manner, of indiscretion in his judgment and conduct, of anger, of weakness towards his favorites, and of haughtiness. The most of these objections have always been made against eminent men.

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of mind, fervor and depth of feeling, readiness and exactness of observation, a decidedly practical bent of disposition—in one word, all the highest and most essential requisites of a good orator, were by nature united in him. His character, also, though represented by his opponents as proud, repulsive, austere and cold, was nevertheless a noble one throughout; he was animated with zeal for the welfare of mankind, and was undaunted where the vindication of truth and right was concerned. Even the pride with which he kept aloof from every thing low, and avoided contact with the great mass of unworthy ecclesiastics and with a court passionately fond of flattery, was, notwithstanding the severe persecution which he thereby incurred, more becoming and dignified in him, as a clergyman and an orator, than the contrary would have been.

Besides his excellent natural talents, he enjoyed a most favorable education. From his childhood, his tender and pious mother, Anthusa, instilled into him the purest principles of piety and virtue, and inspired him with a most glowing zeal for the holy cause of the gospel. With the Scriptures he early became extremely familiar, and was led into a thorough understanding of them by his own inward experience and the invaluable instruction of the great Diodorus. To this man, who became noted for introducing and freely following grammatical and historical principles in the interpretation of the Bible, he owed that aversion to trivial allegorizing, as well as to other abuses of the simple meaning of the Bible, and that profound, impressive and practical use of the Scriptures, which so greatly distinguished him above all the other preachers of the ancient Gréek church. His mind, naturally inclined to free and unconstrained action, was still more preserved from narrow and partial views, and was enriched with copious stores of knowledge, by his study of the ancients. Not less happy was he in being educated by Libanius, the most celebrated sophist of his time. His taste, and his principles of eloquence were formed according to the rhetorical views of this master, while the mental abilities of the scholar enabled him easily to detect and to avoid his teacher's sophistries.[1]

He also possessed that most necessary quality of an orator,

[1] "From an intimate acquaintance," says Neander, "with the philosophy of ancient Greece, and from his remarkable powers of rhetoric, Libanius was easily enabled to excite the warm imagination of his youthful followers by a display of heathen mythology, and to prejudice them against Christianity by specious and impious sophisms."—Tr.

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knowledge of men. During his six years' residence with the monks, he acquired, by prayer and by the study of the Holy Scriptures and of himself, a deep insight into human nature, and thus laid the foundation of all true knowledge of men individually. When he afterwards took part in the care of one of the largest churches in the East, and became an actual observer of human conduct among the high and the low, he found it easy, as his sermons on the Statues show, to detect and bring to light the radical principles of moral evils. And though, after his removal to Constantinople, he gave so great offence in his preaching by a disregard of consequences, this did not arise from defective knowledge of the world and of men, but rather resulted from his ascetic strictness, from his burning zeal for the holy cause of religion, and, what can by no means be denied, a certain proud consciousness of his intellectual superiority and an elevated opinion of his official dignity. These two last qualities sometimes carried him beyond the limits of moderation and of allowable regard for others. And yet very many passages in his sermons show how well he understood the art of prudently regaining a favorable position, when the views he had presented were in danger of alienating the hearts of his hearers.

Distinguishing Qualities of Chrysostom's Discourses.

In order to show his distinguishing qualities, we shall consider, first, the excellences, and then the faults, of his discourses. It will be requisite, also, to discriminate between the substance of his discourses and their composition.

In regard to their substance, their excellence appears in their mode of interpreting the Scriptures, in their manner of treating doctrinal and polemical subjects, and in the prominence they give to Christian morals.

The earlier pulpit-orators were deeply infected with the passion of interpreting the Bible allegorically. Even Chrysostom, who was familiar with Origen's writings, could not entirely avoid this prevailing tendency of the times, but indulged occasionally in allegorical and mystical explanations. He was, however, the first preacher, after Origen's time, who interpreted the Scripture in a natural manner, keeping true to its sense, and applying it carefully to practical purposes. Though his mode of explanation is, in many respects, defective, he yet holds fast the main design; namely, to interpret the Bible in an instructive manner, and to set

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in a clear light its inexhaustibly rich applications to men's hearts and lives. Before his time, abstruse metaphysical speculations, and the perpetual and exceedingly violent controversies with the so-called heretics, furnished the favorite themes for preachers. He is not himself wholly free from this fault. He falls, also, sometimes, like the preachers who preceded him, into speculative inquiries more suitable to scholars engaged in learned investigations, than to a promiscuous assembly seeking for spiritual improvement. He often violently combats the Jews and the heathen, particularly; and the positions he maintains are often built on the system which then prevailed in the church, rather than on a wide and liberal acquaintance with subjects themselves, and are, therefore, not free from confusion of ideas. Still, he ranked the subtilties of the then prevailing scheme of doctrine far below the practical interests of true piety and morality; and in this, he differed from almost all who had preceded him. The supposed orthodoxy of the church at that time evidently lay less near his heart, than its advancement in inward holiness. He speaks, consequently, in his sermons against the Anomoians with a moderation unusual for his time,[1] while he contends against the existing corruption of morals, often with a too unsparing zeal, and always with great earnestness. Hence, too, he took great pains to treat the speculative subjects which he was compelled to bring into the pulpit, not only with clearness and earnestness, but also with so copious an interweaving of practical observations, as would prevent hazard to his hearers' improvement in virtue and piety.

It was from this tendency of his mind that his preaching was so much occupied with practical religion. This department was greatly indebted to Chrysostom. It had not, indeed, been wholly neglected by the most celebrated preachers; and individuals among them had devoted special attention to it, even while engaged in their very diversified and violent doctrinal controversies. He is, consequently, by no means the earliest preacher whose extant discourses unfold ethical principles. Nor must we forget,

[1] And yet he put a high estimate on correctness in doctrinal views; for he says in one of his homilies on Genesis, that "a correct life is of no worth, unless accompanied with a correct faith." [Besides the reason presented in the text for the character of Chrysostom's discourses against the Anomoians, he was influenced also by the fact that many of this sect attended on his preaching, and he was desirous to win them over rather than to alienate them, while yet he wished to vindicate the truth. He was disposed even to discontinue preaching on the subjects in controversy, when he saw that many of them were present as attentive listeners. But by their own persuasions he was induced to resume the subject.—Tr.]

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that morality, in his view of it, was as far from being the unadulterated ethics of Christianity as was that of the earlier preachers. Indeed, how could the man who had spent six years, as a recluse, on the mountains of Antioch, forget the feelings and customs of ascetic life? How was it possible that a man, who even while sustaining public offices persisted in monastic abstinence from all worldly gratifications, should often express other than partial and contracted opinions respecting earthly enjoyments and a life conformed to the dictates of nature?[1] Accordingly, he not only wrote whole treatises in commendation of monasticism, virginity and widowhood, but there frequently occur, also, in his sermons, remarks which elevate to the very highest point that superhuman perfection, those incessant mortifications, that religious hatred of intercourse with the world, which were considered the appropriate duties of monks, but which all are the sad fruits of a heated imagination. He goes so far as to call the monastic life the highest philosophy, and pronounces "the philosophy of the monks to be more radiant than the sun." And yet his better judgment, his knowledge of the proper sources of human virtue, and his sound interpretation of the Scripture, preserved him from an excessive valuation of even that class of monastic virtues to which his personal tendencies of thought and feeling so much inclined him. Thus, for example, he ascribes a very subordinate value, in itself considered, to the observance of fasting. And while he often used the term, philosophy, for monastic virtue particularly, he also extended it, on the other hand, to Christian virtue in general, and indeed so widely as to make philosophy consist in knowledge, conviction and action. He says: "Jesus calls virtue the entire philosophy of the soul;" and in this respect he sets the Christian philosophy in opposition to the heathen.

The chief leading principle of ethics is, in his view, the freedom of man's will, whereby man can, without compulsion and easily, attain to virtue. While maintaining this principle, however, he does not deny man's need of the grace of God; but as a necessary condition to the acquiring of this grace, he maintains, also, man's free agency. He thus destroys both the grounds for excuses on the part of the vicious, and the proud self-satisfaction of the merely virtuous. "If we are but rightly disposed"—such was his favorite maxim—"not only death, but even the devil,

[1] A medium course between that which Chrysostom followed and that which seems hinted at by Paniel would, doubtless, be a correct one for the clergyman.—Tr.

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cannot harm us;" inasmuch as God has given conscience to man, so that the moral laws of our being are impressed on us by nature. Virtue is nothing else than obedience to the moral law which is natural to us. The manner in which Chrysostom applied this principle to specific cases shows, also, that he had adopted many Stoic doctrines and maxims, and that he used them, as well as the doctrines of Christianity, for practical purposes.

If we lay out of view these excrescences of Chrysostom's ethical system, his commendation of asceticism, his strong inclination to the Stoical philosophy, his unsparing strictness in passing judgment on the conduct of other men, and his occasional mistaking of specific directions, mentioned in the Scriptures as given to certain individuals and their consequent actions, for general principles of conduct, he must be acknowledged to have treated the subject of morals the most purely and fully, the most impressively and attractively of all the preachers of the fourth century. The sermons of no other father of the church are so eminently devoted to this department of instruction. Not merely that he preached special sermons on individual virtues; but that all his discourses are throughout interwoven with lessons of practical religion. These lessons are also—except when he assumes an air of severity—presented in a winning and encouraging manner. Never was there an orator more accurately acquainted with the human heart, and with men of all stations and classes. Never was there one who could repress all ebullitions of the passions so effectually, or so inexorably destroy all the illusions of self-complacency, or so graphically and vividly portray vices as well as virtues; nor could any one, with a more heartfelt interest, energy and impressiveness, inspire for virtue the weak, the wavering, and the erring. The marked efficiency of his discourses arose, above all, from his rare faculty of seizing the most favorable points for touching and moving the human heart.

Besides the substantial qualities, just mentioned, of Chrysostom's productions, his eminence is equally, perhaps even more, due to his manner of treating subjects. This is not, indeed, free from faults; but, it has so many excellences, as to entitle him to the first place among the preachers of the ancient church.

His great *adaptation to the popular mind* holds the chief place among these excellences. He knew how to let himself down to the comprehension of the mass of his hearers without becoming undignified, and expressed himself so intelligibly and with such

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simplicity and naturalness, as fully accounts for the delight and admiration with which not merely the higher classes, but particularly also the middle and lower, attended on his preaching.

Intimately allied to this quality, is his perfect *clearness*. He is extremely careful to avoid all obscurity of speech. He always selects the most usual words, and does not avoid even a term of common life, if he judges it necessary to the greater perspicuity of his language. This regard to clearness governs not merely his choice and arrangement of words, but likewise, and in a particular manner, the gradual unfolding of his thoughts. His interpretations of Scripture, as also his doctrinal discussions, universally, show with what art and aptitude, when not hindered by attachment to a system, he was able to clear up all obscurity.

In his efforts to adapt himself to the popular mind, to be perspicuous and easy of comprehension, he was aided by his *ready command of words*, one of his most prominent peculiarities. A genuine orator, evidently, can no more be deficient in copiousness of words than can a genuine poet. Chrysostom, however, possessed this indispensable quality in a remarkably high degree. His copiousness in words and forms of expression was inexhaustible, and speech poured from his lips like a full overflowing stream.

With this rich and luxuriant copiousness of language were combined *force*, *ardor* and *impetuous vivacity*. While explaining a passage of Scripture, he carefully expresses himself in a moderately flowing style; but when he is exposing sins and vices, or arguing against the heathen, the Jews, and heretics, his discourse takes a lofty flight and glows with animation; it strikes with force on his hearers' hearts, seizes and captivates their minds, and overcomes all the obstacles which error, delusion and sin may seek to throw in his way. No man knew better than he how to speak in a touching manner, with earnestness and energy. He detains himself, therefore, in the simple explanations and illustrations which the case seems to demand, no longer than is indispensable to making his hearers, in general, understand the point, or the passage, under consideration. This object gained, he gives himself up at once to the effort of making a deep impression on their minds and hearts. To this one chief aim he bends the whole strength of his mind, the full power of his inexhaustible imagination, and the whole compass of his extensive knowledge. Who can wonder, then, at the uncommon plaudits which he received

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from his hearers?[1] They sometimes shouted for joy during his discourses, clapped their hands, waved their handkerchiefs in sign of applause, and even uttered aloud their assent.[2] He was always sure, while preaching, to have his hearers' hearts at his command.

With equal skill he could enchain his hearers by the *sublimity* of his thoughts and diction, and by the elevation and splendor

[1] In the beginning of his third Homily on the Gospel of John, he says that his hearers pressed into the innermost part of the church, towards the *Bema*, so as not to lose a word of the discourse.

[2] Chrysostom confesses that these expressions of approval were somewhat gratifying to his feelings. Yet he acknowledges his grief, that the very persons who seemed the most to honor the truth were, after all, the least improved by it. He, therefore, often requested his hearers to withhold their tokens of approval, or at least to express it, not by words and gesticulations, but by their good works. Thus, he says at the close of the 30th Homily on Acts: "When in preaching I am applauded, at the moment I have human feelings and am greatly pleased; but when, on returning home, I consider that those who gave applause have received no profit, but that by their very applause and praises they have lost all the good influence they needed, I am overcome with sorrow and feel that I have preached in vain. I say to myself, what good comes from my labors, since my hearers are unwilling to derive from my discourses any solid fruit? And I often think of proposing a law that shall prohibit applauses and enjoin on you to hear with silence and becoming good order. Bear with me, I beseech you, and yield to my wishes; and, if you please, let us now establish a rule that it shall be unlawful for any hearer to express applause in the time of preaching; but if any one feel admiration, let him admire in silence. Let all voluntarily join in the purpose and the effort to receive the instructions given."

At this point, his hearers under the impulse of feeling and through the force of habit clapped their hands. "Why," he at once asked, "do you thus applaud? I propose a law; and you cannot bear to hear it." [After mentioning the heathen philosophers who were not liable to be thus interrupted in their lectures, and referring to our Lord's sermon on the mount, during which no one expressed admiration, and reminding his hearers how much better it would be to treasure up the instructions of the pulpit and thus be able in conversation to express approval of the sentiments they had heard, he proceeds.] "Nothing is so becoming at church, as silence and good order. Noise is rather befitting theatres, and baths, and processions and markets; but here, where *such* instructions are imparted, peace and quiet should prevail."

[As he proceeded, shouts of applause were again uttered. "What does this mean?" he asked; "are you again applauding? It is not an easy thing; you have not yet had time to correct your practice."] . . . "Tell me, do you while celebrating the sacred mysteries indulge in noise? When we are baptized, when we are performing all those other things, is there not a universal silence and stillness? . . . On this account we are reproached by the heathen, as doing everything for parade and love of praise."

In similar terms he expresses himself in the 15th Homily on Romans, in the 7th on Lazarus, and the 17th on Matthew.

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with which he arose on the wings of eloquence to the survey of divine subjects. Yet he is very far from permitting—as does Ephrem Syrus—this loftiness of speech to prevail throughout a discourse. It is rather one of his chief excellences and one of the clearest proofs of his thorough acquaintance with the oratorical art, that his discourses present great alternation of manner; the gentle and the forcible, the grave and the sprightly, the towering and the lowly, entreaty and rebuke, warning and consolation, so intermingled and so skilfully expressed, that the hearers' hearts were seized at every point, and all the powers of their souls most vividly challenged. This effect was the greater in consequence of his adroitness in turning to account passing events, whether in church or State, in the city or the congregation, in families or among individuals, and even occurrences which took place in the house of God during the discourse. His discourses were peculiarly the growth of occasions. The greater part, and the most distinguished of them, arose from circumstances existing at the time in the community. Even when no such special occasion suggested a subject, he yet endeavored to direct his hearers to the consideration of individual virtues or vices, instead of dissipating their attention by wide and general themes; for he well knew, that very general themes can neither be fully treated, nor make an enduring impression.[1]

Finally, we must not forget his astonishing *richness in imagery, examples and comparisons*, as imparting to his discourses so much lucidness, power of impression, and variety.

With all his great excellences, Chrysostom was not free from very important *faults*. These must be ascribed, mainly, to the too unrestrained vividness of his imagination, to his having studied under a heathen sophist, to his long residence with the monks who maintained opinions more or less perverted, to the spirit which marked the preaching of his age, and, lastly, to his preaching with too much frequency.[2] Still, they are faults; and ought carefully to be exhibited for caution's sake, since he has been so extensively admired as the most complete model of sacred eloquence.

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[1] He himself expresses the idea, that the art of limiting himself to a small compass in his sermons, and of exhausting a subject, was one of his principal endowments.

[2] He preached very often. Thus he says himself in his 5th Homily to the people of Antioch: "Though I preached on this subject [the using of oaths] yesterday and the day before, I shall yet continue on the same subject to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following."

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Though he distinguished himself in the *interpretation of the Scriptures* above the most of his contemporaries, yet he is here occasionally in fault. Sometimes, through ignorance of the Hebrew language, he adopts the errors of the Septuagint; then again, he does violence to the language of Scripture from compliance with the current doctrinal opinions of his age.

The *definitions* which he proposes are often very vague, and include matter irrelevant and erroneous. He not only takes partial views of subjects, but also deduces from such views consequences quite unjustifiable. Related ideas he confounds with one another, and does not, with sufficient accuracy, separate the true from the false.

Many of his *doctrinal and practical principles* are open to a similar remark. With all his strength and liberality of mind, he was still a child of the age in which he lived and partook, in many respects, of its errors. Were not the external form of his panegyrics and treatises on the martyrs and their relics, on virginity and monasticism, quite as good as that of his other productions, one could hardly believe that a man who wrote so much that is truly valuable could have framed such distorted views of religion.

In the *style* the *materials* and the *structure* of his discourses, there are also important faults. Of these, deserves first to be mentioned the extreme to which he often carries the effort to be perspicuous. His natural copiousness in words and forms of speech, and his desire to be universally understood, mislead him frequently to explanations of things which are already sufficiently intelligible, to an accumulation of objections, in order to refute them, which no hearer would be disposed to make, and to repetitions, which are indeed mostly concealed under new forms of speech, but which are nevertheless repetitions of thoughts that he has already employed with sufficient clearness and energy. His discourses often become, consequently, prolix and lack variety.

To the same category belongs a too careful elaborating of *scenes and descriptions* in which he knew not where to stop; also, an excessive amassing of *examples and comparisons*, which at length become tedious, as only presenting one and the same thing under too many forms of speech. No orator is, generally, more happy in comparisons. Still, he often employs such as are wholly incorrect, and even such as from their very nature, do not admit of the supposed resemblances.[1]

[1] We should consider, however, that Chrysostom's discourses were designed for

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Further, in order to present a subject in the most favorable light possible, he does not hesitate to *magnify it excessively*, and in contrast with it to lessen below any just estimate other subjects, whether virtues, men, or external conditions, while at another time he estimates these latter not less highly.[1] Akin to this is his propensity to magnify beyond propriety what is really admirable and sublime, and thus necessarily to weaken its force.

Unworthy also of an orator so rich in thought is the *playing on words* to which he sometimes descends. He occasionally employs a word in a double sense, in senses really diverse, and even directly opposite; then again, he does violence to the various significations of a word so long as to make them seem to fit one and the same thing.

It was a favorite practice among the preachers of Chrysostom's time, to embellish their discourses with quite too many allegories; and they regarded these as the most beautiful and best parts of their productions. He is free from this fault. His allegories are not too frequent, nor are they forced. He does, however, often extend them much too far, and mingles one with another; so that this part of a discourse becomes constrained, unnatural and difficult of apprehension. In embellishments generally, he does not sufficiently restrict himself. Impelled by the prevailing taste of his hearers and by his own exuberant fancy, he is often lavish of tropes, images, and other means which, when discreetly employed, impart beauty and agreeableness to a discourse. And yet, through the perpetual recurrence of many favorite figures, his treatment of a subject, usually so diversified, lacks comprehension and fulness.

Such are the chief faults in Chrysostom's discourses. While they are sufficiently important to require notice, the shade which they cast is far from being deep enough to obscure the brilliancy of his productions.

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hearers, not for readers. Consequently, though some of his comparisons will not bear close inspection, yet as presented to an audience whose minds were engrossed with the subject and the occasion, they doubtless led the hearers to the single point of resemblance aimed at by the preacher, while the incongruities would not arrest their attention.—Tr.

[1] In Reinhard, likewise, this fault is of frequent occurrence. As with Chrysostom, so with him, the virtue of which he is at any time treating is the source, the root, the mother of all good; while the vice against which he may be warning is, beyond comparison, the most detestable and abominable.

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List of Chrysostom's principal productions.—Comparative Estimate of them.—Their general Characteristics.

The extant Homilies and other discourses of Chrysostom are so many, that only the titles of the principal ones can be here mentioned. They were in part prepared for the public by himself; in part, copied by clerical scribes. In early times, a number of homilies and discourses bore his name, which were not his. Many of such works were wholly unworthy of him, and were ascribed to him through a complete ignorance of the style of preaching which prevailed in the fourth century; of others, on the contrary, as being productions of distinguished men of his time, he would have had no reason to be ashamed. The best editors of his collected works, however, Morell, Saville and Montfaucon have separated the genuine works from the spurious, and have assigned the latter, in part, to their proper authors. This task has been continued in later years by other learned men, and is not yet completed.

To the indisputably genuine works belong the following, arranged according to their probable order of time: Twelve discourses against the Anomoians on the Incomprehensibility of God; eight against the Jews and the heathen, maintaining the Divinity of Christ; seven homilies on Lazarus; twenty-one on the Statues to the people of Antioch; nine on Repentance; seven panegyrics on the apostle Paul, and twenty-five on the Saints and Martyrs; thirty-four homilies principally on individual passages of the New Testament; sixty-seven on Genesis; nine discourses on Genesis; sixty homilies on the Psalms; six on Isaiah; ninety are on Matthew; eighty-seven on John; twenty-five on the Acts; thirty-two on Romans; forty-four on 1 Corinthians and thirty on 2 Corinthians; twenty-four on Ephesians; fifteen on Philippians; twelve on Colossians; eleven on 1 Thessalonians and five on 2 Thessalonians; eighteen on 1 Timothy and ten on 2 Timothy; six on Titus; three on Philemon; thirteen on Hebrews. Besides these are many festival and occasional discourses. The occasional discourses which are most important in a historic view are those which relate to his two exiles.

Of these works, the following are particularly distinguished and may be remarked as peculiarly good: The seven homilies on Lazarus, the twenty-one on the Statues, the fifth on Repentance, the nine on Genesis (not to be confounded with the sixty-seven

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on Genesis), the three on David and Saul, those on the Psalms and those on Matthew.

Of single productions, the following deserve special mention: The Homily on New Year's Day; on the parable of the Debtors; on the words: If thine enemy hunger, etc.; on Alms; on Future Happiness; the first on Eutropius; on Forsaking the Church to attend the Theatre; besides separate panegyrics on Saints and Martyrs. In general, the discourses preached at Antioch are better than the later ones, as their author had there more time for pulpit preparation. The extemporaneous also, taken collectively, stand last in value.

From the preceding enumeration it appears, that Chrysostom's works consist, mostly, of homilies; and these, on entire books of Scripture. This class of homilies belongs to the most diffuse and inartificial sort of addresses for the pulpit. In these he follows the order of the text, step by step, and connects with the separate verses and clauses instructive observations, which taken as disconnected passages, are as eloquent as any in his larger works. Whenever he was desirous to impress a particular subject on his hearers, suggested by the time or circumstances of the address, he introduced it at the beginning, the middle, or the close of the exposition, just as suited his feelings, without regard to the inquiry, whether it was appropriate to the passage under consideration. These homilies have, therefore, not much value, as specimens of art, in a collective view, but only in the individual parts.

In another class of his homilies is an approach to an arrangement according to art; those for instance, which, like the seven on Lazarus, have reference, as a series, to one and the same passage of Scripture. Those, however, in which he employs a passage as the ground-work for one sole occasion, present the most orderly structure. Each of such discourses opens with an introduction almost always too long, though commonly displaying with brilliancy much oratorical skill and power. Then follows the treatment of the subject, which, however, has very seldom a logical distribution, but presents such a series of thoughts as spontaneously arose in the author's mind while reflecting on the subject. Hence, we seek in vain for that accurate and skilfully adjusted arrangement, that similarity of structure in the separate parts of the discourse, which is required by the moderns, and which, indeed, has its foundation in the very nature of oratorical compositions.

Chrysostom does not hesitate to make very long digressions to topics entirely foreign as well from his text, as from his particular

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theme. Indeed, passages of this nature are often so extended that the original subject is thrust quite into the back-ground.

On the other hand, he frequently keeps to a subject with a tenacity which is far from pleasing.[1] Thus he has seven homilies on Lazarus, seven on the apostle Paul, and nine on repentance. So he has three on the history of David and Saul, five on the history of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, and sixteen against profane swearing.

We observe in passing, that he often preached extemporaneously, and interwove into his discourses thoughts suggested by events occurring at the time of preaching. Thus, whole series of homilies, as the sixty-seven on Genesis, were extemporaneous, and in many discourses are passages which were doubtless introduced into his course of thought at the moment of delivery. Every true orator, clearly, possesses this faculty.

Specimens, illustrating the qualities of Chrysostom's Discourses.

It is now time to exhibit specimens of the qualities, both commendable and censurable, which have here been ascribed to Chrysostom.

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[1] Chrysostom expresses himself copiously on this point in the introduction to his first Homily on David and Saul. "A human body," he says, "that has been long disordered with a hard tumor, requires much time, and care, and skill in medicine, that the tumor may be reduced with perfect safety. So it is in respect to the soul. When we wish to eradicate from a person's soul a deeply seated disease, one day's or two day's admonition is not enough; it is necessary to admonish him repeatedly and for many days, if we wish to secure his benefit rather than our own fame and gratification. Hence, as on the subject of oaths we discussed to you many days in succession, we propose now to take the same course on the subject of anger. For this seems to me the best mode of instruction, to insist on a particular subject till we see our counsel taking effect. For he who discourses to-day on alms-giving, to-morrow on prayer, the next day on kindness, and the following day on humility, will really be able to set his hearers right in no one of these things, passing so rapidly from this subject to that, and from that to another; but he who would really reform his hearers in any particular, should not cease his admonitions and exhortations respecting it, nor pass to another subject, till he discovers his former admonitions well rooted in them."

It can hardly be necessary to notice particularly here, that this maxim of Chrysostom's can be adopted by a preacher only to a very limited extent. A preacher has to occupy the high ground of broad Christian principles, which embrace all the particular virtues and which must not be neglected for the sake of minutely considering all the details of the Christian life. So far as actual practice is concerned, Chrysostom did not adhere to his maxim, since he introduced into individual discourses matter very diversified in its character.

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The commencement of the extemporaneous discourse on Almsgiving (III. 297.) happily illustrates both his facility in extemporaneous preaching, and his skill in devising attractive introductions. He was going to church on a winter's day, and saw beggars lying helpless in the streets and at the markets. This induced him to deliver a discourse on alms-giving, and to open it in the following manner:

"I have risen to discharge before you a commission just and useful, and one becoming to yourselves; a commission, to which I have been appointed by no other than the poor who live in our city. Not, however, in consequence of their request, or their votes, or the decision of a common council, but in consequence of the most sad and affecting spectacles which met my eyes. For while passing through the market and the lanes on my way to your assembly, I saw many lying on the ground, some having lost their hands and others their eyes, and others covered with incurable ulcers and wounds, and exposing limbs which ought to be concealed on account of the putrid matter that was lying on them. And I felt that it would be extreme inhumanity in me not to appeal to your compassion in their behalf; the more particularly as, besides what I have already said, the very season of the year urges us to notice their case. It is, indeed, always necessary to enforce the duty of charity, since we ourselves so greatly need pity from the Lord our Maker; but it is especially necessary at the present season when the weather is cold. For in summer, the poor receive much alleviation from the season; because they can then without hazard go without clothing, the sun's rays warming them instead, and they can with safety sleep on the bare ground and spend the night in the open air. Nor is there then so much need of shoes, nor of wine, nor of costly food; but they are satisfied with water from the fountains, and some of them with the poorer kinds of vegetables, and others with a little dry pulse, the very season of the year furnishing them an easily prepared table.

"They have, also, another alleviation not less than this, in the opportunity of finding employment; for men who are occupied in building, or in cultivating the earth, or in navigation, then require their services. And what fields and houses and other sources of income are to the wealthy, the bodies of the poor are to them, and all their income is from their own hands; they have no other resource. In summer, therefore, they enjoy some comfort; but in winter, war assails from every quarter. They are subjected to a

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twofold siege; hunger within gnaws their bowels, cold without stiffens their flesh and makes it almost dead. They have, therefore, more need of food, and of thicker clothing, of houses and beds, of shoes and many other things. And what is worse than all, they have no opportunity for finding employment, the season of the year not permitting it.

"Since, then, there is a greater demand for the necessaries of life, and besides this they are deprived of opportunities for laboring, no one having work for these unhappy men, come, let us, instead of employers, stretch forth the hands of merciful men, taking Paul, that real patron and benefactor of the poor, as our fellow laborer in this commission."

The preacher now passes to his text: "For Paul, when making a division of the disciples between himself and Peter, still would not resign the care of the poor; but, having said, 'They gave the right hands of fellowship to me and Barnabas, that we should go to the heathen, and they to the circumcision,' he added: 'Only they would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do.'"

He by no means confines himself to this text, but quotes in the course of his sermon several other expressions of Paul, and most adroitly interweaves them, with explanations, into his discourse; or, to speak more exactly, these passages, taken together, form the thread on which he strings his discourse.

One would suppose, that no subject would allow of fewer irrelevant digressions than the theme of Almsgiving, and would justly expect that the whole soul of the orator would be absorbed with a topic so rich and touching. But even here, Chrysostom cannot abstain from his hurtful practice of pursuing excessively long incidental discussions. Having cited the words: Now concerning the collection for the saints, etc., he goes into a long and dry examination of the question: Whether these persons were really saints.

We return to his introductions. Truly plaintive is the commencement of the fourth discourse on the Change of Names[1] (III. 155); at the same time, it is one of the passages which show, that even a Chrysostom could not always command an audience.

"When I look over your thin assembly and observe the flock

[1] In the sermons thus entitled, Chrysostom inquires, for instance, why Saul assumed the name Paul; why the name Abram was changed into Abraham, etc. There are four sermons which bear this title.

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becoming smaller at each meeting, I am both grieved and rejoiced; rejoiced, for your sake who are present; grieved, on their account who are absent. For you are indeed worthy of praise, in not yielding to negligence by reason of the smallness of your number; and they are open to censure, as not being excited to a cheerful attendance by your zeal. I therefore congratulate you and commend your zeal, because their backwardness does you no injury; them I pity and weep over, because your promptness does them no good. Nor have they listened to the prophet, who has said: I would rather have the lowest place in the house of God, than to dwell in the tents of sinners. He did not say: I would rather *dwell* in the house of my God—nor, abide—nor, enter; but, I would rather have the lowest place. It is a privilege to me to be put even among the last: I am satisfied with this, he says, if I may be thought worthy even to stand on the threshold; I esteem it a signal favor, if I may be numbered even among the last in the house of my God. Affection makes the common Lord to be *his* Lord peculiarly; such is the power of love. *In the house of my God.*

"One that loves another wishes not merely to see him that is beloved, not merely to see his house, but even his gate; not merely his gate, but even the path to his house, and the street on which it stands. And if he may see his friend's cloak, or even his sandal, he regards the friend himself as present. Of such a spirit were the prophets. As they did not see God, who is incorporeal, they saw the house, and by means of the house they made him present to their minds."

As another specimen, we insert here the touching introduction with which he opens his homily on the Baptism of Christ (II. 433).

"You are all to-day cheerful, and I alone am dejected. For when I look over this spiritual sea and behold this boundless wealth of the church, and then consider that, as soon as the festival is over, this multitude will spring away from us, I am pierced with grief that the church, having brought forth so many children, cannot enjoy them at each assembling, but only at a festival. How great would be the spiritual exultation, how great the joy, how great the glory of God, how great the spiritual profit, if on each occasion of assembling we could see the enclosures of the church thus filled! Sailors and pilots direct all their energies to the prosecution of their voyage, that they may reach the port; but we, through the whole sea, are tossing about, frequent-

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ly engulfed in the overpowering business of life, occupied at the market, and in the halls of justice, and meeting each other here only once, or scarcely twice, in the whole year.

"Do you not know that God has erected churches in the cities, as havens along the sea, that we may flee hither from the commotion of worldly tumults and enjoy a steady calm? For here, there is no occasion to fear the severity of waves, nor the assaults of robbers, nor attacks from men in ambush, nor the violence of winds, nor the surprises of wild beasts. It is a haven free from all these things, the spiritual haven of souls. Of this you are witnesses; for should any one of you now disclose his inmost mind, he would find there great quietness; anger does not disturb, inordinate desire does not inflame, nor envy corrode, nor folly inflate, nor the love of vain glory corrupt; but all these beasts are placed under restraint, the reading of the Holy Scriptures, like some divine song, entering through each one's ears into his soul and putting to slumber all these irrational passions. What a misfortune it would be for persons who might attain to so great wisdom, not to repair with all diligence to the common mother of all, I mean the church!

"For, what employment can you mention more needful than this? and what assembling more useful? And what hindrance is there to your resorting hither? You will, doubtless, plead poverty as a hindrance to your frequenting this worthy assembly. But the plea has no force. The week has seven days: these seven days God divides between us and himself; and to himself he has not given the greater part and to us the smaller, nor indeed has he divided them by halves, taking three and giving three; but to you he has apportioned six, and left but one for himself. And not even during the whole of this day can you bear to withdraw yourself from the affairs of this life; but like those who plunder sacred property, you dare also to plunder and abuse to worldly cares the day which has been made sacred and set apart for the hearing of the sacred oracles. Why do I speak of the whole day? What the widow did as to alms, that do thou as to the time of this day; as she threw in two mites and obtained singular favor from God, so do thou spend two hours for God and thou shalt bring into thine house the gain of a thousand days. But if thou canst not bear to do this, beware lest, through unwillingness to abstain from earthly gains a small part of a day, thou lose the labors of entire years. For God, when he is treated with contempt, knows how to dissipate your accumulating gains; as once in threatening he said to the Jews, for their carelessly

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failing to pay a just regard to the temple: Ye brought it into your houses, and I have blown it away, saith the Lord. (Hag. 1: 9).

"How, I pray you, if you come to us only once or twice in the year, can we teach you what is necessary to be known concerning the soul and the body, immortality, the kingdom of heaven, the condescension of God, repentance, baptism, forgiveness of sins, the creation both superior and inferior, the nature of men, angels, the crafts of demons, the wiles of the devil, good morals, doctrines, the true faith, corrupting heresies? For a Christian ought to know these things and many more than these, and to be able to give an account of them to any who may inquire. But you cannot know the most trifling part of these things, if you meet here but once, and that carelessly, out of regard to the festival, and not through piety of heart. Indeed, if one should diligently attend each meeting, he would scarcely be able to become acquainted with all these things. Many of you now present have servants and sons; and when you are about to place them with men who are to teach them some art, you at once dismiss them from your own house; and providing them with bedding, food and whatever else is needed, you make them live with this person, forbidding them to come to your house, in order that constant residence with the other person may secure to them a more exact training, and that no other cares may be allowed to interrupt them. But now, when you are purposing to learn, not a common art, but that which is greater than all, namely, how to please God and attain heaven, do you think it possible to acquire this in a negligent manner?"

Chrysostom's introductions, however skilful, polished and striking they confessedly are, for the most part, yet almost always exceed a just length, and hold no proportion to the other parts of a discourse.[1]

The specimens already presented abundantly show his perspicuity and ability to adapt himself to the popular mind. Since, however, his chief excellence consists in his perfect clearness, in his ability to present the most thorough and convincing views

[1] Complaints were sometimes made by his hearers respecting the length of his sermons, as a whole. He notices this in the second discourse on the Change of Names. Somewhat quaint is his allusion there to the young children, "who sat quiet in school till dinner time with hungry stomachs, enduring heat and thirst. Let us," he exclaims, "who are men, if we are unwilling to imitate others, at least not consent to be outdone by these children."

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with entire transparency, and since this was the principal cause of his great celebrity, it seems desirable to give additional examples of these qualities. In the thirty-seventh Homily on Matthew (VII. 474.), after a copious explanation of the text (Matt. 8: 7—9), he seizes the opportunity to declaim, with vehemence, against the passion of his hearers for dramatic representations, in the following manner: [He is speaking of the guilty inhabitants of Sodom, who neglected the duty of hospitality.] "They, though they committed great sins, yet lived before the law and the proclamation of grace; but we, sinning after so much care has been manifested towards us, how can we expect to be forgiven, if we show so much inhospitality, closing our doors against the needy, and even at our doors stopping our ears? still more, inattentive not only to the poor, but even to the very apostles. It is because we neglect the apostles, that we neglect the poor. For when Paul is read, and thou dost not take heed, when John preaches and thou dost not hear, wilt thou receive a beggar while thou dost not receive an apostle?

"In order, now, that our houses may be always open to the poor, and our ears to the apostles, let us cleanse away the defilement from the ears of our souls. For as dirt and dust obstruct the ears of the flesh, so meretricious songs and worldly conversations, debts, interest-money and loans, impede the mental hearing worse than any dust; they not only close up the ear, they also pollute it. For those who talk on such matters, put even dung into your ears. And what the barbarian threatened, when he said (Is. 36: 22), Eat your own dung, etc., this likewise they make you suffer, not in language, but in fact. Yes, and much worse. For those songs are more loathsome than that language; and, what is worse, while hearing them you seem not only not to be disgusted, but you even laugh when you ought to feel abhorrence and to flee such sounds.

"If, however, these things are not worthy of abhorrence, descend into the orchestra, imitate what you applaud; rather, go walk with him who provokes that laughter. But you cannot bear to do that. Why then do you give him such honor? The very laws of the heathen pronounce such men dishonorable. But you welcome them, with the whole city, as ambassadors and military commanders are received, and invite together all the citizens that they may receive dung into their ears. Should your servant utter any vile expression in your hearing, he would receive a thousand stripes; should a son, a wife, or any person do this, you

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would brand the act as a reproach; but when miscreant and worthless men call you to hear shameful speeches, you are not only not indignant, but you rejoice, and applaud them. And what parallel can there be to this irrational conduct?

"But you do not yourselves speak these shameful words! And of what advantage is that to you? Rather, how can you make it appear that you do not use such language? If you did not, you would not laugh while hearing it; nor would you run with such eagerness to a voice which could only make you blush. Tell me; do you rejoice when you hear people blaspheming? Do you not rather shudder and stop your ears? I verily believe so. But why? Because you do not yourself blaspheme. Do the same in regard to vile language. If you wish to show clearly that you are unwilling to utter vile language, do not submit to hear it. For when will you be able to be an upright man, if you live upon such language? When will you be able to endure the toils of a pure life, if you allow yourself by little and little to become dissipated by such laughter, by these songs and foul expressions? It is barely possible, that the soul should be chaste and uncorrupt even when kept from all these defilements; much less, when it is fed upon these evil communications. Do you not know, that we are extremely prone to evil? When, then, we make this our trade and business, how shall we escape the furnace? Hast thou not heard what Paul says? Rejoice in the Lord; not, in the devil.

"When shalt thou be able to hear Paul? When to have a sense of your sins, if perpetually intoxicated by this exhibition? . . . What is that tumult? what that commotion, and those Satanic shouts, and those diabolic forms? There is one, a young man, with his hair dressed behind, effeminating his nature, and endeavoring in his appearance, his figure, his dress and all things in short, to pass into the image of a delicate girl. There stands another, an aged man, on the contrary, cutting off his hair, putting on a girdle, laying aside all self-respect before laying aside his hair, ready to engage in a boxing-match, prepared to say and to do anything. Women, too, stand there addressing the people, with bare heads, forgetting the modesty of their sex and shamelessly pouring impudence and wantonness of all kinds into the minds of the hearers. The one aim is, to pluck up chastity as by the roots, to put nature to shame, to gratify the lust of the evil demon. The indecent language, and the ridiculous parade, the dressing of the head, the gait, the attire and voice, the effeminate

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postures and ogling of the eyes, the flutes and pipes, and the whole dramatic apparatus, all things there, in short, are full of extreme lasciviousness. When wilt thou recover thyself, tell me, if the devil is allowed to pour out for thee so much wine of fornication and to mingle so many cups of uncleanness? There, too, are adulteries; there are prostitutes, and men indulging unnatural lusts, and youths submitting to vile abuse; all things there are full of transgression, of abomination, and shame."[1]

The ardor and force of his eloquence are finely illustrated in the discourse which he delivered to his adherents, when he had been deposed from his office by the unrighteous judgment of the synod, and yielded himself to the hatred of his enemies (III. 494).

"Many are the billows, and severe the storm; but we are not afraid that we shall be overwhelmed; for we stand on a rock. Let the sea rage; it cannot loosen the rock. Let the waves lift up themselves; they cannot sink the ship of Jesus. What, I pray you, should we fear? Death? To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. Exile? The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof. Confiscation of goods? We brought nothing into the world; and it is certain we can carry nothing out. The frightful things of this world I can easily contemn, and laugh at its good things. I dread not poverty; I desire not wealth. I dread not death; nor do I pray for life, except for your profit. And therefore I remind you of what is passing and would encourage you in your love to me. For no one shall be able to separate us; for what God hath joined together, man cannot sunder. If concerning the wife and husband he says: Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh, so that what God hath joined man may not put asunder—if thou canst not destroy a marriage, how much more art thou unable to destroy the church!

"But thou wagest war against her, though unable to injure him whom thou assailest. Thou makest me more illustrious; and destroyest thy own strength by fighting against me. It is hard for thee to kick against the sharp goads. Thou dost not blunt the goads, but woundest thy own feet. The waves do not dash in pieces the rock; but they themselves dissolve into foam. O man, there is nothing mightier than the church. Cease the

[1] Chrysostom's intimate acquaintance with the theatre dates back to his youth, when he was very fond of public exhibitions, and frequented them as much as the courts of justice.

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strife, lest it make thine own strength to cease. Wage not war against heaven. If you war against a man, you may either conquer or be yourself conquered; but if you war against the church, it is impossible that you should conquer; for God is powerful above all. Do we vie with the Lord? Are we stronger than he? God has established; who will undertake to demolish? Thou art not aware of his power. He looks on the earth, and makes it tremble; he commands, and things that were shaken are again made firm. If he makes firm a city that has been shaken, much more can he make the church firm. The church is stronger than the heaven. Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away. What words? Thou art Peter; and upon this rock of mine I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.

"If thou believe not his word, believe his deeds. How many tyrants have aimed to crush the church! how many have been the instruments for torturing Christians to death! how many furnaces! teeth of wild beasts! sharpened swords! But they prevailed not against her. Where are those who fought against her? Reduced to silence, and consigned to oblivion. But where is the church? She shines brighter than the sun. Their power is extinguished; hers is immortal. If when Christians were but few, they were not overcome, now that the world is filled with piety, how canst thou conquer? Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away. Well indeed it may be so; for the church is dearer to God, than heaven itself. He did not assume the nature of heaven, but he assumed the flesh of the church. Heaven exists for the sake of the church, not the church for the sake of heaven.

"Let nothing which has taken place disquiet you. Accede to my request, that you cherish an unshaken faith. Have you not seen Peter walking on the waters and, yielding a little to doubt, about to sink, not on account of the commotion of the waters, but on account of the weakness of his faith? Did we come hither by human votes? Did man bring us hither, that man may depose us? I say these things, not as one that is frantic; far from it; nor in vain boasting; but from a wish to confirm your wavering faith. Since the city has stood firm [after the recent earthquake], the devil now wishes to shake the church. O vile, most vile devil! thou didst not prevail against the walls, and dost thou expect to shake the church? Is the church composed of walls?

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The church consists in the multitude of believers. Behold, how many firm pillars, bound not with iron, but made compact with faith. I do not say that such a multitude is mightier than fire; but thou wouldst not prevail, if there were only one Christian. Thou knowest what wounds the martyrs have given thee. Often there has come forward the tender maiden, more delicate than wax; and yet she has proved more firm than rock. Thou hast lacerated her body; but thou didst not take away her faith. The nature of the flesh gave way; but the power of faith did not yield. The body was exhausted; but the mind retained a manly vigor. Her life was consumed; but her piety endured. Thou didst not prevail over one woman; and dost thou expect to prevail over so numerous a people? Dost thou not hear the Lord saying: Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them? Where there is so numerous a people united in love, is he not present? I have his pledge. Do I encourage myself in my own strength? I have his written bond. That is my staff; that is my security; that is my tranquil haven. Should the world be in commotion, I possess his written bond. To him I read it. Those words are a wall to me and a security. What are those words? I am with you always even to the end of the world. Christ is with me. Whom shall I fear? Should billows rise against me, and seas, and the wrath of rulers, all these things are lighter to me than a spider's web. And were it not on account of your affection for me, I would not refuse to go forth today. For I always say, Thy will, O Lord, be done; not what this one, or that, desires, but what thou wilt. This is my tower, this my immovable rock; this is my unbending staff. If God will that this thing be done, be it done. If he will that I remain here, I give him thanks. Wherever he wills, I render thanks."

With such ardor and force of language, as well as strength of faith, Chrysostom spoke in reference to his personal calamity. A short time previously he was not a victim of persecution, but the generous protector of a persecuted man, Eutropius, the emperor's eunuch and powerful favorite, who had fled into the church to save his life. Though it was this very man, who had taken from churches the right of protecting persons who sought refuge in them, and had besides in various ways opposed Chrysostom, whom at an earlier date he had particularly befriended, yet Chrysostom received him and protected him as long as it was in his power. But he also employed the opportunity to exhibit Eutro-

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pius and his reverses, as a monitory example.[1] He commences in the following earnest manner (III. 464.):

"Always indeed, but particularly now is it seasonable to say: Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. Where now is the splendid decoration of the consulship? Where the brilliant lamps? Where the applauses and the dances, the banquets and the assemblies? Where are the crowns and the canopies? Where the shouts of the city, the acclamations of the circus, and the flatteries of spectators? They are all passed away. A vehement wind has torn off the leaves, and shown us the tree bare, and shaken too from its roots. Such has been the assault of the blast as to threaten its entire overthrow and the destruction of every fibre.

"Where now are the pretended friends? the drinking parties and the suppers? Where the swarm of parasites, and the wine poured forth all day, the various arts of cooks, the minions of power, whose deeds and words were all for the sake of procuring favor? All those things were a dream of the night. When day came, they disappeared. They were spring-flowers; the spring has passed away, they are all withered. They were a shadow, and are gone; smoke, and are dissipated. They were bubbles; they are burst; they were a spider's web; they are torn asunder. Therefore we sing this spiritual maxim, saying repeatedly: Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. On the walls and on garments,[2] on the forum and on the dwelling house, on the streets and on the doors, on the halls and, above all, on each one's inmost mind, ought this maxim to be ever inscribed, and we ought to be always meditating on it. While the frauds of business, the masks and theatrical plays, are by many regarded as truth and reality, this maxim

[1] Eutropius had been a slave, and passed many years in a most abject state of servitude. After he received his freedom, he succeeded in procuring a place in the emperor's employ, and in compassing the downfall of Rufinus, the emperor's principal minister, into whose station he was himself then introduced. He acquired immense power in the government, and made no secret of the influence which he wielded. He was promoted to the rank of patrician, and to the consulship. But his great abuse of power and his inordinate avarice, during the four years of his elevation, excited against him universal ill-will. The emperor was persuaded to sign his condemnation; and while the soldiers and people clamored for his execution, he took refuge in the church and found a temporary protection. Leaving this asylum through confidence in the assurance that his life should be spared, his honors were all publicly torn from him, his wealth was confiscated, and he was doomed to perpetual exile. But so deep was the spirit of revenge against him, that an order for his recall was obtained and he was executed.—Tr.

[2] We learn from the discourses of Asterius, that it was customary to have Scripture-pictures on garments, and words of Scripture wrought into articles of dress.

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ought each one every day, at supper and at dinner, and in all companies, to repeat to his neighbor and to hear from his neighbor, Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.

"Have I not often told thee [Eutropius],[1] that wealth is a runaway? But thou wouldst not hear me. Have I not said, that it is an ungrateful servant? But thou wouldest not believe. Behold now, experience has shown thee that it is not only a runaway, not only ungrateful, but it is a murderer; for it has reduced thee to fear and trembling. Did I not say to thee, when thou didst often rebuke me for telling the truth, that I loved thee more than did thy flatterers? that I, who reproved thee, was more solicitous for thy welfare, than those who sought thy favor? Did I not add to those declarations, that 'faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful?' If thou hadst borne the wounds I inflicted, the kisses of these men would not have brought thee death; for the wounds I occasioned tend to health, but their kisses produce incurable disease."

The following passage in which Chrysostom compares worldly things to a theatrical exhibition, is elevated in thought and for the most part also in language (I. 955.).

"The rich man died and was buried; Lazarus also departed; for I would not say, died. The rich man's death was indeed a death and burial; but the poor man's death was a departure, a removal to a better world, a passing from the arena to the prize, from the sea to the haven, from the line of battle to the trophy, from toils to the crown. They both departed to the scenes of truth and reality. The theatre was closed and the masks were laid aside. For as in a theatre disguises are used at mid-day, and many appear on the stage acting a borrowed part, with masks on their faces, reciting a story of ancient times and representing deeds of other days; and one comes forward as a philosopher not a philosopher in reality, another a king though not a king, but only assuming the appearance of a king, on account of the part he is to perform, another is a physician, but has only a physician's dress, another is a slave who is really a free man, another a teacher while yet he knows not his letters—none of them are such as they appear to be, but are what they appear not. For one appears a physician, who is not a physician, or a philosopher having his hair under his mask,[2] or a soldier having only a soldier's dress. The aspect of the mask deceives; nature, however, the reality of

[1] Eutropius was present in the church, enjoying its protection.

[2] The philosophers were in the habit of having their hair cut close.

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which seems to be transferred, is not belied. So long as the delighted spectators keep their seats, the masks remain; but when evening comes on and the performance is ended, and all leave the place, the masks are taken off, and he who on the stage was a king, is, out of the theatre, nothing but a brazier. The masks are laid aside, the deception vanishes, the reality appears. He who within was a free man is found, without, to be a slave; for, as I said, within is deception, without is the reality. The evening overtook them, the play was ended, the truth made its appearance.

"So it is in life and at its close. The present state of things is a theatrical show; the business of men, a play; wealth and poverty, the ruler and the subject, and such like things are representations. But when the day shall have passed, then that fearful night will have come—rather, I should say, the day will have come; for night it indeed will be to the wicked, but day to the righteous—when the theatre will be closed, the masks thrown off, when each one shall be tried and his works; not each one and his wealth, not each one and his office, not each one and his dignity, not each one and his power, but each one and his works—both noble and king, wife and husband, when the judge will demand of us our life and good deeds, not the load of dignities we bore, not the disesteem of poverty, not the tyranny of contempt. Give me deeds, even if thou wert a slave, better than those of the freeman; more manly, even if thou wert a woman, than those of a man. When the masks are thrown off, then will appear both the rich man and the poor man. And as here, when the play is ended and each of us sees him who within was a philosopher become, without, a brazier, and says, Aha! was not this man within a philosopher? without, I see he is a brazier; was not this man, within, a king? without, I see him to be some inconsiderable person; was not this man, within, a rich man? without, I see him poor; so it will be there."

The foregoing specimens amply show with what diversity, and felicity Chrysostom interweaves examples and comparisons in his discourses; indeed, how seldom he can state an abstract position, without at once elucidating it by a comparison which makes it perfectly clear to the popular mind. It may be well, notwithstanding, to present here, particularly, some of his comparisons.

In delineating the powerful operation of the gospel, he says, beautifully and aptly (II. 595.)—"As when a fire is set, the thornbushes gradually yield to the flame, and the fields thus become

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clear, so when the tongue of Paul proclaimed the gospel and assailed the world more vehemently than fire, all things gave way, both the worship of demons and feasts, and festive assemblies, paternal customs, legalized corruptions, the wrath of the people and the threats of kings, the plots of his relatives and the machinations of false apostles. Rather indeed, as when the sun arises, the darkness is dispelled, and the wild beasts repair to their dens, robbers betake themselves to flight, murderers flee to their holds, and pirates retire from sight, invaders of tombs secrete themselves, adulterers and thieves and housebreakers, in danger of being discovered by the light of day, depart sufficiently far to elude observation, and all things are openly visible, both land and sea, the sun's rays shining on all, on streams and mountains, the country and the city; so, the gospel having made its appearance, and Paul disseminating it everywhere, error was put to flight, truth was advanced, sacrificial vapors and smoke, cymbals and timbrels, drunkenness and revelling, fornications and adulteries, and those other practices, too indecent to be mentioned, which were committed in the idols' temples, ceased and faded away, like wax melted by the fire, like chaff consumed by the flame. But the resplendent flame of truth arose clear and lofty to the very heaven, elevated even by those who sought to impede it, and augmented by those who sought to quench it. And neither did peril restrain its march and its irrepressible impulse, nor the tyranny of long established customs, nor the strength of paternal usages and laws, nor the difficulty of submitting to its discipline, nor any of the hindrances which have been mentioned."

Both the comparisons here employed are good, approaching even to sublimity, and each of them striking. Yet they are not kept entirely distinct from each other; but are so mingled in the orator's mind that he brings up anew the first, after having disposed of the second.

Our change at death he compares in the following manner (I. 936.): "When a man is about to rebuild an old and tottering house, he first sends out its occupants, then tears it down, and builds anew a more splendid one. This occasions no grief to the occupants, but rather joy. For they do not think of the demolition which they see, but of the house which is to come, though not yet seen. When God is about to do a similar work, he destroys our body and removes the soul which was dwelling in it, as from some house that he may build it anew and more splendidly and again bring the soul with greater glory into it. Let us not, there-

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fore, regard the tearing down, but the splendor which is to succeed."

Immediately upon this, he compares the change of the human body at death to the melting down of a statue which had been broken in pieces for this purpose, and which comes forth again from the furnace new and splendid. The comparison is a lame one, as is frequently the case with him.

He scruples not to use in his discourses events of his own life as examples. Thus, in the thirty-eighth Homily on the Acts he makes mention of the danger to which he was exposed at Antioch, on occasion of his finding a roll inscribed with magic letters.[1] So uncommonly rich is he in this species of oratorical embellishment and illustration, that any specimen of his composition would fully prove it.

A single example (IX. 664.) must suffice to show the touching, heart-affecting character of his eloquence; since it is manifest on all his pages that he sought to speak not merely to the understanding, but also, and much more, to the heart.

"Let us, therefore, be filled with dread, as many as have not contemned riches for the sake of God; rather, as many as have not contemned riches for our own sake. For it is Paul only who generously suffered all things for Christ's sake, not for obtaining a kingdom or honors of his own, but for the affection he bore to Christ. But as to us, neither Christ, nor the cause of Christ, withdraws us from earthly things; but like serpents, or vipers, or swine, we cleave to the dust. For wherein are we better than those animals, since, though we have so many excellent examples, we are yet looking downwards, and cannot bear even for a little while to look up to heaven?

[1] The incident occurred in his youth. The emperor Valens, noted for his suspicious and cruel disposition, was particularly severe against the practice, or the study of magic, as an art extremely favorable to conspiracies against his government or life. The slightest grounds of suspicion were sufficient cause for subjecting a person to the torture and to death. The emperor's mind had become filled with suspicions against several persons at Antioch; and he had, consequently, caused the city to be surrounded with soldiers, and strict search to be made for books of divination and magic. During that time, Chrysostom was passing, with a friend, along the Orontes, when they observed something floating on the water which they supposed to be a piece of linen. Taking it up, they discovered that it was a roll of paper; and on opening it, they found it inscribed with magic characters. At that very moment, a soldier passed by. Chrysostom's companion, at once, through fear of the soldier, concealed the roll; and they proceeded on their way, till at a favorable opportunity they threw it away. Had it been found in their possession, nothing could have saved them from the rack.—Tr.

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"But God has even given to us his Son; and yet thou dost not share even bread with him who was given up for thee, who was put to death on thy account. The Father on thy account did not spare him, though he was his own Son; but thou neglectest him when pining with hunger, and that while thou art consuming his gifts, and consuming them for thyself. What can be greater wickedness than this? He was delivered upon thy account; on thy account he was slain; on thy account he goes about hungering. He gives thee of his own, that thou mightest be profited; and yet thou givest him nothing. How more unfeeling than stones, are we, who, though induced by so many motives, yet persist in this diabolic inhumanity! He did not think it enough to suffer death and the cross; but was willing to become a poor man and a stranger, a wanderer and naked, to be cast into prison and suffer sickness, that even thus he might excite thy pity. If, he says, thou dost not requite me as having suffered for thee, yet show pity to me as a poor man. If thou wilt not pity me on account of poverty, yet be persuaded for sickness' sake; suffer thyself to be influenced by a regard to me as imprisoned. But if these thoughts do not excite thy compassion, yield on account of the smallness of the request. For I do not ask anything costly, only bread, a shelter and words of consolation. But if thou still remain inflexible, yet be moved for the sake of the kingdom and of the rewards which I have promised. Do you make no account of these? Yield to the impulse of thy very nature, at beholding me naked; remember that nakedness which I endured on the cross for thee. If thou wilt not be prevailed on by this, yield to that which I suffer in the persons of the poor. I was bound on thy account; and on thy account I am now bound, that induced by my own sufferings, or by my sufferings in the persons of the poor, thou mightest be willing to show some mercy. I fasted on thy account, and again am suffering hunger for thee; I was athirst while hanging on the cross, I thirst in the persons of the poor, that I might incline thee to myself and make thee merciful, so that thou mightest secure thy salvation. On this account, though thou art indebted to me for a thousand benefits, I do not demand anything of thee as a debtor, but I would crown thee as one who has bestowed favors on me, and give thee a kingdom in recompense for these inconsiderable acts. I do not even say, Deliver me from poverty; nor, Give me of thy wealth; although I became poor for thy sake; I ask only bread, and a garment, and a slight alleviation of my famishing state. And should

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I be cast into prison, I do not compel thee to strike off my chains and bring me out; but I ask one thing only, that thou wouldst look on me while bound for thy sake, and I would take it a sufficient favor and for this alone would bestow heaven on thee. Though I have loosed thee from the heaviest chains, yet it will satisfy me, if thou wilt look on me in my chains. I can indeed raise thee to a crown without these things; but I wish to be a debtor to thee, that thy crown may bring thee a feeling of confidence that thou hast labored for it. And on this account it is, that though I am able to sustain myself, I go around begging bread, and standing at thy door, stretch forth my hand to thee. For I desire to be fed by thee; since I greatly love thee. And therefore I am fond of thy table, as is usual with those who cherish love for another; and I make my boast of this and in presence of the whole world I proclaim thee, and in the audience of the universe I announce thee, as the one who has ministered to my wants.

"Though we, when poverty has made us dependent on any person, feel ashamed and conceal it, yet he, since he ardently loves us, even should we be silent, proclaims the deed with many encomiums, and is not ashamed to say that we clothed him when naked and fed him when hungry."

This address made a deep impression on the hearers, and called forth shouts of applause. Chrysostom brought his discourse to a close by reproving them for their tumultuous approbation. "Considering all these things," he proceeded, "let us not stop at merely uttering praises, but actually set forth to do what has been said. For of what profit are these applauses and shouts? One thing only I ask of you, the manifestation of your approval by deeds, the obedience by acts. This is my praise; this your gain. This would be more splendid in my view than a diadem."

It has already been remarked that Chrysostom was peculiarly happy in availing himself of occasions and occurrences as grounds of instruction from the pulpit, and extremely skilful in suggesting elevated and striking thoughts from matters which would easily escape a less gifted preacher. The introductions already presented testify to this. The following (IV. 767) is a beautiful instance of his skill in this respect. During a sermon, night came on, and it was necessary to light the lamps. Many of the hearers directed their eyes to those who were performing this work, when he instantly interrupted his course of remark, and said: "Arouse yourselves; lay aside your negligence. Why do I say

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this? We are discoursing on the Scriptures, and you turn away your eyes from us, directing them to the lamps and to the man who is lighting them. What slothfulness of spirit this is, to disregard us, and give your attention to him! I too am furnishing a light, that of the Scriptures; and upon our tongue there burns the lamp of instruction. This light is greater and better than that; for we do not kindle a wick filled with oil, but by exciting the desire for hearing we kindle up souls filled with piety."

He hereupon reminded his hearers of Eutychus, the young man who fell down from a window, asleep, during divine service; and then proceeded in his discourse.

An occasional address of a higher kind is the short speech, which he delivered extemporaneously on his return from exile (III. 506.). "What shall I say?" said he, when the people with affectionate urgency had compelled him to speak, "What shall I say, or how shall I address you? Blessed be God. This I said, when I departed; these words I again take up. Rather, while there [in my exile], I did not cease to use them. You remember, I set Job before you and said, The name of the Lord be blessed forever. These words I left with you as my farewell words; these I take as my words of thanksgiving: Blessed be the name of the Lord forever. The occasions are diverse, but the praise the same. Driven away, I blessed him; returning, I bless him. The occasions are opposite, but the end is one, both of winter and of summer, namely, the fertility of the field. Blessed be God, who permitted us to depart; blessed again be God, who has called us back. Blessed be God, who permits the storm; blessed be God, who dissipates the storm and makes the calm.

"These things I say, teaching you to bless God. Are you in prosperity? Bless God, and prosperity continues. Are you in adversity? Bless God, and adversity ends. Job, while rich, gave thanks; and when reduced to poverty, he glorified God. He did not then commit theft, nor allow himself to blaspheme. Times vary; but the mind should be the same. Neither should the calm unnerve the generous purpose of the pilot, nor the storm overpower him. Blessed be God, both when I was torn asunder from you, and now that I receive you again. Both come from the same Providence."

But his skill is most conspicuous in the use which, in his panegyrics, he makes of circumstances. Occurrences in the life of the man eulogized, he would arrange into one whole with so much aptness, and set forth in so edifying a light, that these discourses

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of his deserved to be ranked among his best productions and were most adapted to his mental peculiarities. Want of room forbids us to give an extended view of any one of them. Reference may, however, be made to the panegyrics, on the apostle Paul and on the martyrs and saints. A short specimen is here presented from the discourse on the martyr Ignatius (II. 713.), who was an early bishop of Antioch, and whose relics were there held in special honor. Chrysostom proposes to weave for him five garlands, to which Ignatius had become entitled from the importance of his station, the elevation of those who elected him [viz. the apostles], the difficulties to which his times subjected him, the greatness of the city, and the ability of his predecessor. These are, in reality, the subdivisions of the first part of the discourse. In the second part, Chrysostom describes the martyr's death. Here, among other things, he says:

"A cruel war was waged against the churches, and, as when a country is devastated by unrelenting tyranny, men were torn away from the very bustle of business, accused of no crime, but because forsaking error they had entered on a course of piety, had abandoned the worship of demons, had acknowledged the true God and paid adoration to his only begotten Son. Thus in consequence of the very things for which they deserved to be crowned and admired and honored, they were subjected to punishment and incurred a thousand calamities. This was the case with all who received the faith, but much more with those who were rulers in the churches. For the devil, crafty and cunning in laying plots, expected that, if he could remove the shepherds, he should be able easily to scatter the flocks. But He who taketh the wise in their craftiness, wishing to show him that it is not men who govern the churches, but that he himself everywhere protects those who believe in him, permitted this to take place, so that, when they were put out of the way, Satan might see the interests of piety not diminished, nor the doctrine of the gospel quenched, but rather augmented, and that he himself and all who wrought for him in these matters might learn from the very events, that our cause is not a human cause, but that the system of the gospel is of heavenly origin, that it is God who everywhere guides the churches, and that it is impossible to succeed in a contest against God.

"The devil acted not only in this crafty manner, but also in another not inferior to it. For he did not permit the bishops to

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be put to death in the cities in which they had exercised their office, but conveyed them to another city, and there took away their life. His desire, in this, was to deprive them of needful comfort; and his hope, to exhaust their strength by the fatigue of the journey. This he did to the blessed Ignatius. He called him from this city [Antioch] to Rome, making the course as tedious as possible, and aiming to depress his spirit both by the length of the journey and the time it should consume. Satan was not aware, that, as Jesus accompanied him, he could overcome the difficulties of the way and give a more striking proof of the power which was with him, and thus the more confirm the churches. For the cities on the way everywhere came in crowds to meet him, and encouraged the champion, and cheered him on his journey by supplying his wants and through their prayers and supplications strengthening him in his conflicts. And they, in return, received no little consolation while they saw the martyr hastening to death with so much cheerfulness; with as much, indeed, as if he were called to regal glory in heaven. Indeed, by the readiness and joy of the generous martyr, they saw that it was not death to which he was hastening, but a dismission and a removal, an ascent to heaven.

"Thus he passed from city to city, teaching these things both by words and by conduct. And as it happened in the case of the Jews, when, having secured Paul and sent him to Rome, they thought they had sent him to death, but had really sent him as a teacher to the Jews there, so it was in the case of Ignatius, only to a far greater extent. For not only to the inhabitants of Rome, but also to all the intermediate cities, he went forth an admired teacher, persuading them to disregard the present life, to make no account of things seen, to place their affection on the future, and not to be swayed by any of the troubles of the present life. Impressing these things and more than these by his conduct, he went on his course, like a sun rising in the east and moving onward to the west. More resplendent, indeed, he was than the sun; for the sun, pursuing its course above, sheds earthly light, but Ignatius shone forth from beneath, imparting the spiritual light of instruction to souls. The sun departing to the west conceals himself and brings in night; but he, departing to the west, there shone forth more splendidly, bestowing on all among whom he passed the greatest benefits; and when he had reached the city, he taught it the true philosophy.

"God permitted him there to end his life, in order that his de-

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cease might be a lesson of piety to all the inhabitants of Rome. For you [of Antioch] by the grace of God did not need any further evidence, being rooted in the faith; but the people of Rome, through the prevalence there of impiety, needed greater help. And therefore Peter, and Paul, and after them this man, all suffered martyrdom there; both that by their blood they might cleanse the city which was polluted by blood offered to idols, and that by their conduct they might give proof of the resurrection of Christ who had been crucified, and convince the inhabitants of Rome that they could, with so much readiness, disregard the present life only by fully believing that they should ascend to Jesus who had been crucified and should see him in the heavens. For the strongest proof of Christ's resurrection is, that he, having been put to death, should after death manifest so much power as to persuade living men to overlook country and family, friends and relatives, and even life itself, for the sake of professing him, and to choose stripes, and dangers, and death instead of present delights. These things were the mighty works, not of a dead person, not of one remaining in a sepulchre, but of one risen and living. For how can it be explained, that while he was alive all the apostles who were with him should, through terror and failure of courage, betray their Master and flee away, but that after he was dead, not only Peter and Paul, but also Ignatius who had never seen him nor enjoyed his society, should show such zeal in his cause, as even to give up life on his account?"

Chrysostom's faults have already been mentioned, incidentally, in connection with the specimens which have been presented. We restrict ourselves, therefore, to a few notices under this head.

He has been accused of often selecting unsuitable texts. We need only allege in confirmation of this charge, that he has three entire sermons on the words, Salute Prisca and Aquila; and that on another occasion he employs simply the words, Drink a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities. The choice of such texts he would justify by saying, that every word of the Holy Scriptures was divinely inspired. He had sufficient skill and ingenuity, however, to connect an instructive discourse with words so unfruitful, apparently, as those above quoted.

His ready invention of images and use of comparisons, lead him very often into the mistake of accumulating them inordinately. Who does not feel this, when, for instance, in the second discourse on the Statues (II. 24.) one and the same thing is represented under different images in very close proximity? "Once

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there was nothing more worthy of respect than our city; there is now nothing more deplorable. The people so orderly and tractable, and like a well broken and manageable steed always yielding to authority, has on a sudden so far defied restraint, as to perpetrate mischiefs which it is painful to mention. . . . Formerly, no city was happier than ours; now, none more unpleasant. As bees buzzing about a hive, so every day the inhabitants gathered at the resorts of business, and all men congratulated us on our multitude of citizens; but lo! this hive is now deserted. For as smoke drives away those bees, so fear has driven away these; and what the prophet said in bewailing the calamities of Jerusalem, we also have to say at present, The city is become as an oak stripped of its leaves, and as a garden that hath no water (Is. 1: 30.). For as a garden without irrigation exhibits trees bare of leaves and destitute of fruit, so is it now with our city. . . . All avoid the city as they would a trap; they turn from it as from an abyss; they hasten from it as from a fire; and as when a house is on fire, not only those who dwell in it, but also all in the vicinity, escape with all speed, endeavoring to save themselves from the flames, so now, in expectation of the imperial anger, like a fire from above, every one hastens his escape before the fire shall overtake him, and seeks to save at least his naked body. . . . And as in the case of a besieged city, it is unsafe to pass beyond the walls, while the enemy are encamped without; so neither to many of those who live in this city is it safe to venture abroad, or to appear in public. . . . And as, when in a wood many trees in all directions have been cut down, the sight is unpleasant, like that of a head having many bald spots, so this city, through the great diminution of its inhabitants, a few only appearing here and there, has now become an undesirable place and fills spectators with gloom."

Each of these examples and comparisons is, taken singly, beautiful and striking; but being all clustered together in the space of a few pages, they are burdensome and fatiguing.

Chrysostom is, for the most part, happy in his selection of comparisons. Here and there, however, undignified comparisons occur. Thus he says respecting Timothy, He bore the yoke with Paul, as a steer with an ox. In another sermon, he compares an empty church to a woman not dressed, and extends the comparison even to indecency. In a similarly unbecoming manner he compares the church in his second discourse on Eutropius (III. 467.) to a virgin: "The church is called a virgin, and yet she was

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formerly a harlot. Such is the wonderful power of the bridegroom, that he received her a harlot and made her a virgin. Unheard of and wonderful thing! With us, marriage puts an end to virginity; but with God, marriage restores virginity. With us, she who was a virgin is no longer so when married; with Christ, she who was a harlot becomes, when married, a virgin." Again he says: "God loves an unchaste female, that is to say, our nature; God chooses her for his bride." These comparisons occur frequently in the same sermon. Respecting the mother of the seven Maccabees he says (II. 748.), with infelicitous acuteness: "The sons were only seven martyrs. But the body of their mother being added was indeed but one body, yet she filled the space of twice seven martyrs, because she suffered martyrdom with each of them." The following most trifling witticism we also find: "Of these Maccabees, no one was the last; for the seven constituted a chorus [a circle of dancers] and in a chorus there is neither beginning nor end."

A specimen of allegory quite unduly extended occurs in the beginning of his second discourse on the fall of Eutropius (III. 461.). "Sweet is a meadow, or a garden; but much sweeter the reading of the divine Scriptures. For the flowers there fade, but here are sentiments ever blooming. There the zephyr gently blows, but here the breath of the Spirit. There a thorn-hedge is the wall, here the care of God gives protection. There the birds warble, but here the prophets utter their strains. There is delight from vision, here is profit from hearing. A garden is limited to one spot; the Scriptures are everywhere. A garden is subject to the control of seasons; but the Scriptures are filled with leaves and loaded with fruits both in winter and in summer." At this point he passes on to other comparisons. "The reading of the Scriptures is to thee as a pilot; this cordage the trials of earthly affairs do not snap asunder. . . . A few days ago, the church was besieged; an armed force came, and sent forth fire from their eyes; but the olive tree was not withered." Thus he recurs to the allegorical comparison, which he had dropped, besides having pursued it entirely too far, of the Holy Scriptures with a garden.

In fine, Chrysostom's greatest fault is a want of well adapted arrangement in his mode of presenting subjects. The custom which prevailed in his time of not regarding exact divisions even in his sermons, as distinguished from more familiar addresses, the desire, as he himself professed, "to heal many and diverse wounds" in the shortest possible time, his natural vivacity of char-

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acter, and the ardor of his fancy, all, combined, led him to make those long digressions[1] and to indulge in that great prolixity, which must be acknowledged as capital faults, and which render so many of his discourses, while excellent in individual passages, yet tedious and burdensome as a whole. Still the credit accorded to him, centuries ago, of having been the greatest orator of the ancient church, deserves to remain unimpaired. Not, that the other preachers of his time, were of small account, as compared with him. On the contrary, some among them, in a general view of their excellences, stand very near him; and several of them, so far as particular good qualities are concerned, even surpass this admired master. Macarius the Great excelled him in deep religious fervor; Ephrem's fancy was more ardent and splendid; Basil the Great could boast of a purer, easier, and more polished style, and of greater order in his sermons; Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory Nyssen were his superiors in dialectics. Yet, Chrysostom towers above all these, and above all his successors in the ancient church, since the particular excellences which they possessed belonged also to him, in a less degree, it is true, but in happier combination and in proper symmetry; while at the same time he possessed many other eminent oratorical qualities, in which those contemporary preachers were, more or less, deficient. Chrysostom became the greatest orator of his time, both by the harmony which naturally existed in his fine powers of mind, and by the well proportioned and unwearied cultivation which he bestowed on them all.

[1] On this point his theory was unexceptionable, but in practice he exceeded all just limits. In his first Homily on the Obscurity of Prophecy (VI. 194.), he says very properly: "As in the case of persons not in good health, it is not proper to set a scanty and hastily prepared table, but a variety in the kinds of food is found necessary, that if one article is not taken another may be, . . . so it is often necessary to do in respect to spiritual food. Since we are weak, it is necessary to have in readiness a discourse of ample and various materials, containing comparisons, examples, arguments, well-wrought digressions, and many other such things, so that from among them a selection may be made of matter that will be profitable."

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