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ART. I.—*The Early Scottish Church; The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the First to the Twelfth century.* By the Rev. THOMAS McLAUCHLAN, M. A., F. S. A. S. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1865.

Iona. By the Rev. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D. D., F. S. S. A. Edinburgh.

LATE researches throw increased light upon the distinction between Celtic and Latin Christianity. They were separated by a boundary of facts, more enduring than the stone wall completed by Severus between the Solway and the Tyne, and warding off from Scotland both prelacy and papacy for more than a thousand years. There is reason to think that before the close of the second Christian century there were "Scots believing in Christ," and that for the gospel they were not indebted to missionaries from Rome. These Scots dwelt in Ireland as well as in Scotland, and there are historic intimations that they received their first Christian teachers from lands where the Greek language prevailed. It was perhaps three hundred years after Christianity dawned upon Scotland, when Ninian was commissioned by Rome as the *primus Episcopus*, "the first bishop to the Picts," and Palladius as "the first

not put our trust in our good methods, nor in our excellent brethren, nor in the church itself, but only in the presence and grace of Him, who has said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." We think, on the general views here presented, the work of Christian missions would have a steady growth, sending its roots deep into the ground, spreading widely its branches, and yielding fruit unto eternal life.

ART. IV.—*Gregory the Theologian.*

THE province of Cappadocia, which was by no means noted for general intelligence, gave rise, in the fourth century, to three of the most eminent divines of the Greek church, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory the Theologian, or Gregory Nazianzen, who, in connection with Athanasius the Great, decided the victory of the orthodox doctrine of the Divinity of Christ and the Holy Trinity against Arianism and Semi-Arianism. Among these Basil was most distinguished and influential as a bishop and pastor, Gregory of Nyssa as a thinker, and Gregory Nazianzen as an orator. They were united by the tie of sanctified friendship, and coöperated hand and heart for the success of the Nicene faith. Basil died before its final triumph, but the two Gregories attended, and the one for a time presided over, the second œcumenical council, held at Constantinople 381, which reaffirmed, enlarged, and fixed the Nicene Creed, which is traced by some writers, though incorrectly, to the authorship of Gregory of Nyssa.

The life of Gregory Nazianzen, with its alternations of high station, monastic seclusion, love of severe studies, enthusiasm for poetry, nature, and friendship, possesses a romantic charm. He was "by inclination and fortune tossed between the silence of a contemplative life and the tumult of church administration, unsatisfied with either, neither a thinker nor a poet, but, according to his youthful desire, an orator, who, though often bombastic and dry, laboured as powerfully for the victory of orthodoxy as for true practical Christianity." So

Hase admirably characterizes him in his Compend of Church History. Gibbon speaks of him with considerable interest in the twenty-second chapter of his great work, and makes the characteristic remark: "The title of Saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart, and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen." The praise of "the tenderness of his heart" suggests to the sceptical historian another fling at ancient Christianity, by adding the note: "I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper when it was not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople."

Gregory Nazianzen was born about 330, a year before the emperor Julian, either at Nazianzus, a market-town in the southwestern part of Cappadocia, where his father was bishop, or in the neighbouring village of Arianzus. Respecting the time and place of his birth, views are divided. According to Suidas, Gregory was over ninety years old, and therefore, since he died in 389 or 390, must have been born about the year 300. This statement was accepted by Pagi and other Roman divines, to remove the scandal of his canonized father's having begotten children after he became bishop; but it is irreconcilable with the fact that Gregory, according to his own testimony, (*Carmen de vita sua*, v. 112 and 238, and *Orat.* v. c. 23,) studied in Athens at the same time with Julian the Apostate, therefore in 355, and left Athens at the age of thirty years. Comp. Tillemont, tom. ix. p. 693—697; Schröeckh, *Church Hist.* xiii. p. 276, and the admirable monograph of Ullman on Gregory Nazianzen, 548, sqq.

In the formation of his religious character his mother Nonna, one of the noblest Christian women of antiquity, worthy to be placed at the side of Monica, the mother of Augustine, exerted a deep and wholesome influence. By her prayers and her holy life she brought about the conversion of her husband from the sect of the Hypsistarians, who, without positive faith, worshipped simply a supreme being; and she consecrated her son, as Hannah consecrated Samuel, even before his birth, to the service of God. "She was," as Gregory describes her, "a

wife according to the mind of Solomon ; in all things subject to her husband according to the laws of marriage, not ashamed to be his teacher and his leader in true religion. She solved the difficult problem of uniting a higher culture, especially in knowledge of divine things and strict exercise of devotion, with the practical care of her household. If she was active in her house, she seemed to know nothing of the exercises of religion ; if she occupied herself with God and his worship, she seemed to be a stranger to every earthly occupation ; she was whole in everything. Experiences had instilled into her unbounded confidence in the effects of believing prayer ; therefore she was most diligent in supplications, and by prayer overcame even the deepest feelings of grief over her own and others' sufferings. She had by this means attained such control over her spirit, that in every sorrow she encountered, she never uttered a plaintive tone, before she had thanked God." He especially celebrates also her extraordinary liberality and self-denying love for the poor and the sick. But it seems to be not in perfect harmony with this, that he relates of her: "Towards heathen women she was so intolerant, that she never offered her mouth or hand to them in salutation.* She ate no salt with those who came from the unhallowed altars of idols. Pagan temples she did not look at, much less would she have stepped upon their ground ; and she was as far from visiting the theatre." Of course her piety moved entirely in the spirit of that time, bore the stamp of ascetic legalism rather than of evangelical freedom, and adhered rigidly to certain outward forms. Significant also is her great reverence for sacred things. "She did not venture to turn her back upon the holy table, or to spit upon the floor of the church." Her death was worthy of a holy life. At a great age, in the church which her husband had built almost entirely with his own means, she died, holding fast with one hand to the altar, and raising the other imploringly to heaven, with the words: "Be gracious to me, O Christ, my King!" Amidst universal sorrow, especially among the widows and orphans whose comfort and help she had been,

* Against the express injunction of love for enemies, Matt. v. 44, sqq. The command of John in his second Epistle, v. 10, 11, which might be quoted in justification of Nonna, refers not to pagans, but to antichristian heretics.

she was laid to rest by the side of her husband near the graves of the martyrs. Her affectionate son says in one of the poems in which he extols her piety and her blessed end: "Bewail, O mortals, the mortal race; but when one dies, like Nonna, *praying*, then weep I not."*

Gregory was early instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the rudiments of science. He soon conceived a special predilection for the study of oratory, and through the influence of his mother, strengthened by a dream,† he determined on the celibate life, that he might devote himself without distraction to the kingdom of God. Like the other church fathers of this period, he also gave this condition the preference, and extolled it in orations and poems, though without denying the usefulness and Divine appointment of marriage. His father, and his friend Gregory of Nyssa, were among the few bishops of the Nicene age who lived in wedlock. Soon afterwards marriage was prohibited to bishops altogether, while the lower clergy in the Greek church were allowed and are expected to marry to this day.

From his native town he went for his further education to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he probably already made a preliminary acquaintance with Basil; then to Cæsarea in Palestine, where there were at that time celebrated schools of eloquence; thence to Alexandria, where his revered Athanasius wore the supreme dignity of the church; and finally to Athens, which still maintained its ancient renown as the seat of Grecian science and art. Upon the voyage thither he survived a fearful storm, which threw him into the greatest mental anguish, especially because, though educated a Christian, he, according to a not unusual custom of that time, had not yet received holy baptism, which was to him the condition of salvation. His deliverance he ascribed partly to the intercession of his parents,

* Carm. 116, p. 107.

† There appeared to him two veiled virgins, of unearthly beauty, who called themselves *Purity* and *Chastity*, companions of Jesus Christ, and friends of those who renounced all earthly connections for the sake of leading a perfectly divine life. After exhorting the youth to join himself to them in spirit, they rose again to heaven.—Carmen iv. ver. 205—285.

who had intimation of his peril by presentiments and dreams, and he took it as a second consecration to the spiritual office.

In Athens he formed or strengthened the bond of that beautiful Christian friendship with Basil, which, with a brief interruption, lasted till death. They were, as Gregory says, only one soul animating two bodies. He became acquainted also with the prince Julian, who was at that time studying there, but felt wholly repelled by him, and said of him, with prophetic foresight, "What evil is the Roman empire here educating for itself!" He was afterwards a bitter antagonist of Julian, and wrote two invective discourses against him after his death, which are inspired, however, more by the fire of passion, than by pure enthusiasm for Christianity, and which were intended to expose him to universal ignominy as a horrible monument of enmity to Christianity, and of the retributive judgment of God.*

Friends wished Gregory to settle in Athens as a teacher of eloquence, but he left there in his thirtieth year, and returned through Constantinople, where he took with him his brother Cæsarius,† a distinguished physician, to his native city and his parents' house. At this time his baptism took place. With his whole soul he now threw himself into a strict ascetic life. He renounced innocent enjoyments, even to music, because they flatter the senses. "His food was bread and salt, his drink water, his bed the bare ground, his garment of coarse rough cloth. Labour filled the day; praying, singing, and holy contemplation, a great part of the night. His earlier life, which was anything but loose, only not so very strict, seemed to him reprehensible; his former laughing now cost him many tears.

* These Invectivæ, or λόγοι σπηλιευτικοί, are, according to the old order, the 3d and 4th, according to the new, the 4th and 5th, of Gregory's Orations, tom. i. p. 78—176 of the Benedictine edition.

† To this Cæsarius, who was afterwards physician in ordinary to the Emperor in Constantinople, many, following Photius, ascribe the still extant collection of theological and philosophical questions, *Dialogi iv., sive Quæstiones theol. et philos.* 145; but without sufficient ground. Comp. Fabricii *Bibl. Gr.* viii., p. 435. He was a true Christian, but was not baptized till shortly before his death in 368. His mother Nonna followed the funeral procession in the white raiment of festive joy. He was afterwards, like his brother Gregory, his sister Gorgonia, and his mother, received into the number of the saints of the Catholic church.

Silence and quiet meditation were law and pleasure to him.”* Nothing but love to his parents restrained him from entire seclusion, and induced him, contrary to talent and inclination, to assist his father in the management of his household and his property.

But he soon followed his powerful bent toward the contemplative life of solitude, and spent a short time with Basil in a quiet district of Pontus, in prayer, spiritual contemplations, and manual labours. “Who will transport me,” he afterwards wrote to his friend concerning this visit,† “back to those former days, in which I revelled with thee in privations? For voluntary poverty is after all far more honourable than enforced enjoyment. Who will give me back those songs and vigils? who, those risings to God in prayer, that unearthly, incorporeal life, that fellowship and that spiritual harmony of brothers raised by thee to a God-like life? who, the ardent searching of the Holy Scriptures, and the light which, under the guidance of the Spirit, we found therein?” Then he mentions the lesser enjoyments of the beauties of surrounding nature.

The intimate friendship of Basil and Gregory, lasting from fresh, enthusiastic youth till death, resting on an identity of spiritual and moral aims, and sanctified by Christian piety, is a lovely and engaging chapter in the history of the fathers, and justifies a brief episode in a field not yet entered by any church historian.

With all the ascetic narrowness of the time, which fettered even these enlightened fathers, they still had minds susceptible to science and art and the beauties of nature. In the works of Basil and of the two Gregories occur pictures of nature such as we seek in vain in the heathen classics. The descriptions of natural scenery among the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome can be easily compressed within a few pages. Socrates, as we learn from Plato, was of the opinion that we can learn nothing from trees and fields, and hence he never took a walk; he was so bent upon self-knowledge as the true aim of all learning, that he regarded the whole study of nature as

* Ullmann's Monograph on Gregory Naz. p. 50. Comp. Gregory's Carm. v. 70, 75; Carm. liv., v. 153-175.

† Epist. ix. p. 774 of the old order, or Ep. vi. of the new (ed. Bened. ii. p. 6.)

useless, because it did not tend to make man either more intelligent or more virtuous. The deeper sense of the beauty of nature is awakened by the religion of revelation alone, which teaches us to see everywhere in creation the traces of the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God.

The book of Ruth, the book of Job, many Psalms, particularly the 104th, are without parallel in Grecian or Roman literature. The renowned naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt, collected some of the most beautiful descriptions of nature from the fathers for his purposes.* They are an interesting proof of the transfiguring power of the spirit of Christianity even upon our views of nature.

A breath of sweet sadness runs through them, which is entirely foreign to classical antiquity. This is especially manifest in Gregory of Nyssa, the brother of Basil. "When I see," says he, for example, "every rocky ridge, every valley, every plain, covered with new-grown grass; and then the variegated beauty of the trees, and at my feet the lilies doubly enriched by nature with sweet odours and gorgeous colours; when I view in the distance the sea, to which the changing cloud leads out,—my soul is seized with sadness which is not without delight. And when in autumn fruits disappear, leaves fall, boughs stiffen, stripped of their beauteous dress,—we sink with the perpetual and regular vicissitude into the harmony of wonder-working nature. He who looks through this with the thoughtful eye of the soul, feels the littleness of man in the greatness of the universe."† Yet we find sunny pictures also, like the beautiful description of spring in an oration of Gregory Nazianzen on the martyr Mamas.‡

* In the second volume of his *Cosmos*, Stuttg. and Tübingen, 1847, p. 27, sqq., Humboldt justly observes, p. 26; "The tendency of Christian sentiment was, to prove from universal order and from the beauty of nature the greatness and goodness of the Creator. Such a tendency, to glorify the Deity from his works, occasioned a prepension to descriptions of nature." The earliest and largest picture of this kind he finds in the apologetic writer, Minucius Felix. Then he draws several examples from Basil, (for whom he confesses he had "long entertained a special predilection"), Epist. xiv. and Ep. cexxiii. (tom. iii., ed. Garnier), from Gregory of Nyssa, and from Chrysostom.

† From several fragments of Gregory of Nyssa, combined and translated (into German) by Humboldt, l. c. p. 29, sqq.

‡ See Ullmann's *Gregor von Nazianz*, p. 210, sqq.

A second characteristic of these representations of nature, and for the church historian the most important, is the reference of earthly beauty to an eternal and heavenly principle, and that glorification of God in the works of creation, which transplanted itself from the Psalms and the book of Job into the Christian church. In his Homilies on the history of the creation Basil describes the mildness of the serene nights in Asia Minor, where the stars, "the eternal flowers of heaven, raised the spirit of man from the visible to the invisible." In the oration just mentioned, after describing the spring in the most lovely and life-like colours, Gregory Nazianzen proceeds: "Everything praises God and glorifies him with unutterable tones; for everything shall thanks be offered also to God by me, and thus shall the song of those creatures, whose song of praise I here utter, be also ours. . . . Indeed it is now [alluding to the Easter festival] the springtime of the world, the springtime of the spirit, springtime for souls, springtime for bodies, a visible spring, an invisible spring, in which we also shall then have part, if we here be rightly transformed, and enter as new men upon a new life." Thus the earth becomes a vestibule of heaven, the beauty of the body is consecrated an image of the beauty of the spirit.

The Greek fathers placed the beauty of nature above the works of art, having a certain prejudice against art on account of the heathen abuses of it. "If thou seest a splendid building, and the view of its colonnades would transport thee, look quickly at the vault of the heavens and the open fields, on which the flocks are feeding on the shore of the sea. Who does not despise every creation of art, when in the silence of the heart he early wonders at the rising sun, as it pours its golden (crocus-yellow) light over the horizon; when, resting at a spring in the deep grass or under the dark shade of thick trees, he feeds his eye upon the dim vanishing distance." So Chrysostom exclaims from his monastic solitude near Antioch, and Humboldt* adds the ingenious remark: "It was as if eloquence had found its element, its freedom, again at the fountain of nature in the then wooded mountain regions of Syria and Asia Minor."

* L. c. p. 30.

In the rough times of the first introduction of Christianity among the Celtic and Germanic tribes who had worshipped the dismal powers of nature in rude symbols, an opposition to intercourse with nature appeared, like that which we find in Tertullian to pagan art; and church assemblies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at Tours (1163) and at Paris (1209), forbade the monks the sinful reading of books on nature, till the renowned scholastic, Albert the Great, (1280), and the gifted Roger Bacon (1294) penetrated the mysteries of nature, and raised the study of it again to consideration and honour.

We now return to the life of Gregory.

On a visit to his parents' house, Gregory, against his will and even without his previous knowledge, was ordained presbyter by his father before the assembled congregation on a feast-day of the year 361. Such forced elections and ordinations, though very offensive to our taste, were at that time frequent, especially upon the urgent wish of the people, whose voice in many instances proved to be indeed the voice of God. Basil also, and Augustine, were ordained presbyters, Athanasius and Ambrose bishops, against their will. Gregory fled soon after, it is true, to his friend in Pontus, but out of regard to his aged parents and the pressing call of the church, he returned to Nazianzus towards Easter in 362, and delivered his first pulpit discourse, in which he justified himself in his conduct, and said: "It has its advantage to hold back a little from the call of God, as Moses, and after him Jeremiah, did on account of their age; but it has also its advantage to come forward readily, when God calls, like Aaron and Isaiah; provided both be done with a devout spirit, the one on account of inherent weakness, the other in reliance upon the strength of him who calls." His enemies accused him of haughty contempt of the priestly office; but he gave as the most important reason of his flight, that he did not consider himself worthy to preside over a flock, and to undertake the care of immortal souls, especially in such stormy times.

Basil, who, as metropolitan, to strengthen the Catholic interest against Arianism, set about the establishment of new bishoprics in the small towns of Cappadocia, intrusted to his young friend one such charge in Sasima, a poor market-town

at the junction of three highways, destitute of water, verdure, and society, frequented only by rude wagoners, and at the time an apple of discord between him and his opponent, the bishop Anthimus of Tyana. This was a very strange proof of friendship, indeed, which cannot be justified by the probable desire of exercising the humility and self-denial of Gregory.* No wonder that his ambition was deeply wounded; although to him a bishopric in itself was of no account; and that it produced a temporary alienation between him and Basil.† At the combined request of his friend and his aged father, he suffered himself indeed to be consecrated to the new office; but it is very doubtful whether he ever went to Sasima.‡ At all events we soon afterwards find him in his solitude, and then again, in 372, assistant of his father in Nazianzus. In a remarkable discourse, delivered in the presence of his father in 372, he represented to the congregation his peculiar fluctuation between an innate love of the contemplative life of seclusion and the call of the Spirit to public labour.

* Gibbon (ch. xxvii.) very unjustly attributes this action of Basil to hierarchical pride, and to an intention to insult Gregory. Basil treated his own brother not much better, for Nyssa was likewise an insignificant place.

† He gave to the pangs of injured friendship a most touching expression in the following lines from the poem on his own Life, (*De vita sua*, vs. 476 sqq., tom. ii. p. 699 of the Bened. ed., or tom. iii. 1062 in Migne's ed.):

Τοιαῦτ' Ἀθήναι, καὶ πονοὶ κοινὸὶ λόγων,
 Ὁμόσπεγός τε καὶ οὐνόστιος βίος,
 Νοῦς εἰς ἐν ἄμφοῖν, οὐ δύω, θαῦν' Ἑλλάδος,
 Καὶ δεξιαί, κίσμον μὲν ὡς πύρρ'ω βαλεῖν,
 Αὐτοὺς δὲ κοινὸν τῷ Θεῷ ζῆσαι βίον,
 Λόγους τε δοῦναι τῷ μόνῳ σοφῷ Λόγῳ.
 Δυσκέδαστοι πάντα, ἔρριπται χαμαὶ,
 Αὔραι φέρουσι τὰς παλαιὰς ἐλπίδας.

Even Gibbon quotes this passage with admiration, though with characteristic omission of vs. 479—481, which refer to their harmony in religion, and he alludes to a parallel from Shakspeare, who had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, but who gave to similar feelings a similar expression, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where Helena expresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:—

Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
 The sister's vows, etc.

‡ Gibbon says: "He solemnly protests, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride."

“Come to my help,” said he to his hearers,* “for I am almost torn asunder by my inward longing and by the Spirit. The longing urges me to flight, to solitude in the mountains, to quietude of soul and body, to withdrawal of the spirit from all sensuous things, and to retirement into myself, that I may commune undisturbed with God, and be wholly penetrated by the rays of his Spirit. . . . But the other, the Spirit, would lead me into the midst of life, to serve the common weal, and by furthering others to further myself, to spread light, and to present to God a people for his possession, a holy people, a royal priesthood (Titus ii. 14; 1 Peter ii. 9), and his image again purified in many. For as a whole garden is more than a plant, and the whole heaven with all its beauties is more glorious than a star, and the whole body more excellent than one member, so also before God the whole well-instructed church is better than one well-ordered person, and a man must in general look not only on his own things, but also on the things of others. So Christ did, who, though he might have remained in his own dignity and divine glory, not only humbled himself to the form of a servant, but also, despising all shame, endured the death of the cross, that by his suffering he might blot out sin, and by his death destroy death.”

Thus he stood a faithful helper by the side of his venerable and universally beloved father, who reached the age of almost an hundred years, and had exercised the priestly office for forty-five; and on the death of his father, in 374, he delivered a masterly funeral oration,† which Basil attended. “There is,” said he in this discourse, turning to his still living mother, “only one life, to behold the (divine) life; there is only one death, sin; for this is the corruption of the soul. But all else, for the sake of which many exert themselves, is a dream which decoys us from the true; it is a treacherous phantom of the soul. When we think so, O my mother, then we shall not boast of life, nor dread death. For whatsoever evil we yet endure, if we press out of it to true life, if we, delivered from every change, from every vortex, from all satiety, from all

* Orat. xii. 4, tom. i. 249 sq. (in Migne’s ed. tom. i. p. 847.)

† Orat. xviii. Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν πατέρα, παρόντος Βασιλείου, (ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 330, 362, in Migne’s ed. i. 981, sqq.)

vassalage to evil, shall be with eternal, no longer changeable things, as small lights circling around the great."

A short time after he had been invested with the vacant bishopric, he retired again, in 375, to his beloved solitude, and this time he went to Seleucia in Isauria, to the vicinity of a church dedicated to St. Thecla.

There the painful intelligence reached him of the death of his beloved Basil, A. D. 379. On this occasion he wrote to Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa: "Thus also was it reserved for me still in this unhappy life to hear of the death of Basil and the departure of this holy soul, which is gone *out* from us, only to go *in* to the Lord, after having already prepared itself for this through its whole life." He was at that time bodily and mentally very much depressed. In a letter to the rhetorician Eudoxius he wrote: "You ask, how it fares with me. Very badly. I no longer have Basil, I no longer have Cæsarius, my spiritual brother, and my bodily brother. I can say with David, my father and my mother have forsaken me. My body is sickly, age is coming over my head, cares become more and more complicated, duties overwhelm me, friends are unfaithful, the church is without capable pastors, good declines, evil stalks naked. The ship is going in the night, a light nowhere, Christ asleep. What is to be done? Oh, there is to me but one escape from this evil case: death. But the hereafter would be terrible to me, if I had to judge of it by the present state."

But Providence had appointed him yet a great work and an exalted position in the capital of the Roman empire. In the year 379 he was called to the pastoral charge by the orthodox church in Constantinople, which, under the oppressive reign of Arianism was reduced to a feeble handful; and he was exhorted by several worthy bishops to accept the call. He made his appearance unexpectedly. With his insignificant form bowed by disease, his miserable dress, and his simple, secluded mode of life, he at first entirely disappointed the splendour-loving people of the capital, and was much mocked and persecuted.* But in spite of all he succeeded, by his

* Once the Arian populace even stormed his church by night, desecrated the altar, mixed the holy wine with blood, and Gregory but barely escaped the

powerful eloquence and faithful labour in building up the little church in faith and in Christian life, and helped the Nicene doctrine again to victory. In memory of this success his little domestic chapel was afterwards changed into a magnificent church, and named *Anastasia*, the Church of the Resurrection.

People of all classes crowded to his discourses, which were mainly devoted to the vindication of the Godhead of Christ and of the Trinity, and at the same time earnestly inculcated a holy walk befitting the true faith. Even the famous Jerome, at that time fifty years old, came from Syria to Constantinople to hear these discourses, and took private instruction of Gregory in the interpretation of Scripture. He gratefully calls him his preceptor and catechist.

The victory of the Nicene faith, which Gregory had thus inwardly promoted in the imperial city, was outwardly completed by the celebrated edict of the new emperor, Theodosius, in February, 380. When the emperor, on the 24th of December, of that year, entered Constantinople, he deposed the Arian bishop, Demophilus, with all his clergy, and transferred the cathedral church* to Gregory with the words, "This temple God, by our hand, intrusts to thee as a reward for thy pains." The people tumultuously demanded him for bishop, but he decidedly refused. And, in fact, he was not yet released from his bishopric of Nazianzum or Sasima (though upon the latter he had never formally entered); he could be released only by a Synod.

When Theodosius, for the formal settlement of the theological controversies, called the renowned œcumenical council in May, 381, Gregory was elected by this council itself bishop of Con-

common women and monks, who were armed with clubs and stones. The next day he was summoned before the court for the tumult, but so happily defended himself, that the occurrence heightened the triumph of his just cause. Probably from this circumstance he afterwards received the honorary title of *confessor*. See Ullmann, p. 176.

* Not the Church of St. Sophia, as Tillemont assumes, but the Church of the Apostles, as Ullmann, p. 223, supposes; for Gregory never names the former, but mentions the latter repeatedly, and that as the church in which he himself preached. Constantine built both, but made the Church of the Apostles the more magnificent, and chose it for his own burial place (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv., 58-60). St. Sophia afterwards became, under Justinian, the most glorious monument of the later Greek architecture, and the cathedral of Constantinople.

stantinople, and, amidst great festivities, was inducted into the office. In virtue of this dignity he held, for a time, the presidency of the council.

When the Egyptian and Macedonian bishops arrived, they disputed the validity of his election, because, according to the fifteenth canon of the council of Nice, he could not be transferred from his bishopric of Sasima to another; though their real reason was, that the election had been made without them, and that Gregory would probably be distasteful to them, as a bold preacher of righteousness. This deeply wounded him. He was soon disgusted, too, with the operations of party passions in the council, and resigned with the following remarkable declaration:

“Whatever this assembly may hereafter determine concerning me, I would fain raise your mind beforehand to something far higher: I pray you now, be one, and join yourselves in love! Must we always be only derided as infallible, and be animated only by one thing, the spirit of strife? Give each other the hand fraternally. But I will be a second Jonah. I will give myself for the salvation of our ship (the church), though I am innocent of the storm. Let the lot fall upon me, and cast me into the sea. A hospitable fish of the deep will receive me. This shall be the beginning of your harmony. I reluctantly ascended the episcopal chair, and gladly I now come down. Even my weak body advises me this. One debt only have I to pay—death; this I owe to God. But oh! my Trinity, for thy sake only am I sad. Shalt thou have an able man, bold and zealous to vindicate thee? Farewell, and remember my labours and my pains.”

In the celebrated valedictory which he delivered before the assembled bishops, he gives account of his administration; depicts the former humiliation and the present triumph of the Nicene faith in Constantinople, and his own part in this great change, for which he begs repose as his only reward; exhorts his hearers to harmony and love; and then takes leave of Constantinople and in particular of his beloved church, with this address:

“And now, farewell, my Anastasia, who bearest a so holy name; thou has exalted again our faith, which once was des-

pised; thou, our common field of victory, thou new Shiloh, where we first established again the ark of the covenant, after it had been carried about for forty years on our wandering in the wilderness.”

Though this voluntary resignation of so high a post proceeded in part from sensitiveness and irritation, it is still an honorable testimony to the character of Gregory, in contrast with the many clergy of his time, who shrank from no intrigues and by-ways to get possession of such dignities. He left Constantinople in June, 381, and spent the remaining years of his life mostly in solitude on his paternal estate of Arianzus in the vicinity of Nazianzum, in religious exercises and literary pursuits. Yet he continued to operate through numerous epistles upon the affairs of the church, and took active interest in the welfare and sufferings of the men around him. The nearer death approached, the more he endeavoured to prepare himself for it by contemplation and rigid ascetic practice, that he “might be, and might more and more become, in truth, a pure mirror of God and of divine things; might already in hope enjoy the treasures of the future world; might walk with the angels; might already forsake the earth, while yet walking upon it; and might be transported into higher regions by the Spirit.” In his poems he describes himself, living solitary in the clefts of the rocks among the beasts, going about without shoes, content with one rough garment, and sleeping upon the ground, covered with a sack. He died in 390 or, 391; the particular circumstances of his death being now unknown. His bones were afterwards brought to Constantinople; and they are now shown at Rome and Venice.

Among the works of Gregory stand preëminent his *five Theological Orations* in defence of the Nicene doctrine against the Eunomians and Macedonians, which he delivered in Constantinople, and which won for him the honorary title of the *Theologian*, (in the narrower sense, *i. e.*, vindicator of the deity of the Logos.)* His other orations (forty-five in all) are devoted to the memory of distinguished martyrs, friends, and

* Hence called also *λόγοι θεολογικοί*, *Orationes Theologicæ*. They are *Orat. xxvii—xxxi.* in the Bened. ed., tom. i. p. 487—577, (in Migne, tom. ii. 9, sqq.), and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Graec. dogmatica* of Thilo, vol. ii. pp. 366—537.

kindred, to the ecclesiastical festivals, and to public events or his own fortunes. Two of them are bitter attacks on Julian after his death.* They are not founded on a particular text, and have no strictly logical order and connection.

He is the greatest orator of the Greek church, with the exception perhaps of Chrysostom; but his oratory often degenerates into arts of persuasion, and is full of laboured ornamentation and rhetorical extravagances, which are in the spirit of his age, but in violation of healthful, natural taste.

As a poet he holds a subordinate place. He wrote poetry only in his later life, and wrote it not from native impulse, as the bird sings among the branches, but in the strain of moral reflection, upon his own life, or upon doctrinal and moral themes.

Many of his orations are poetical, many of his poems are prosaic. Not one of his odes or hymns passed into use in the church. Yet some of his smaller pieces, apothegms, epigrams, and epitaphs, are very beautiful, and betray noble affections, deep feeling, and a high order of talent and cultivation. His poems fill, together with the epistles, the whole second tome of the magnificent Benedictine edition, so delightful to handle, which was published at Paris, 1842, (edente et curante D. A. B. Caillou,) and vols. iii. and iv. of Migne's reprint. They are divided by the Benedictine edition into I. *Poemata theologica*, (dogmatica, moralia); II. *Historica*, (autobiographical, *quæ operant ipsum Gregorum*, *περὶ ἑαυτοῦ*, De seipso; and *περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων*, *quæ spectant alios*); III. *Epitaphia*; IV. *Epigrammata*; and V. *Christus patiens*, a long tragedy, with Christ, the Holy Virgin, Joseph Theologus, Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, Nuntius, and Pilate, as actors. This is the first attempt at a Christian drama.

We have, finally, two hundred and forty (or 244) Epistles from Gregory which are important to the history of the time, and in some cases very graceful and interesting.

* *Invectivæ*, Orat. iv. and v. in the Bened. ed. tom. i. 73—176, (in Migne's ed., tom. i. p. 531—722.) His horror of Julian misled him even to eulogize the Arian emperor Constantius, to whom his brother was physician.