

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1865.

No. IV.

ART. I.—*The First Miracle of Christ.*

[Continued from page 434.]

IN our July number we brought to a close the exegesis of the evangelical account of the first miracle. We now fulfil our promise, and propose to glance at the explanations that have been given of this miracle, to notice some of the leading objections, and to state the principle on which this miracle, and all the miracles of the New Testament, should be treated by believers in the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the New Testament.

Lange, in his Commentary on John, p. 72, has a classified account of the explanations given to this miracle, which, for convenience' sake, we may adopt as the frame-work of ours.

I. NATURAL EXPLANATIONS. *Venturini, Paulus, Langsdorf, Gfrörer, Kern.*

Paulus makes the miracle a merry wedding-jest on the part of Jesus, who intended to prepare the company an agreeable surprise by the sudden production of the wine which he had secretly brought along. His solemn words addressed to Mary are to *Paulus* uttered jocosely, and designed to prevent her spoiling his contemplated joke by her over-hastiness. The *δόξα* is "the free humaneness of Jesus," which "inspired con-

ART. III.—*The Hagiology and Hagiolatry of Romanism.*

THE Bible knows but one worship, the worship of the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In the New Testament, the expression *ἅγιοι*, *sancti*, *saints*, is often used by the apostles of all baptized and converted Christians, without distinction, as being chosen of God, separated from the world, consecrated to God's service, and, notwithstanding their remaining imperfections, called to perfect holiness. But the word is never applied, as in the Greek and Roman churches, to a particular class, or a spiritual aristocracy. The apostles address their epistles to the "Saints," *i. e.*, the Christian believers at Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, &c.*

It was only after the whole mass of heathenism flocked into the church under Constantine and his successors in the fourth and fifth centuries, and were baptized by the *water*, though by no means generally by the *spirit* of Christianity, that the title of saints came to be restricted to bishops and councils, and to departed heroes of the Christian faith, especially the martyrs of the first three centuries. When, on the cessation of persecution, the martyr's crown, at least within the limits of the Roman empire, was no longer attainable, extraordinary ascetic piety, great service to the church, and subsequently also the power of miracles, were required as indispensable conditions of reception into the Catholic calendar of saints. The anchorets especially, who, though not persecuted from without, voluntarily crucified their flesh and overcame evil spirits, seemed to stand equal to the martyrs in holiness and in claims to veneration. A tribunal of canonization did not yet exist. The popular voice commonly decided the matter, and passed for the voice of God. Some saints were venerated only in the regions where they lived and died; others enjoyed a national homage; others, a universal.

* Compare Acts ix. 13, 32, 41, xxvi. 10; Rom. i. 7, xii. 13, xv. 25, 26; 1 Cor. i. 2, vi. 1; Eph. i. 1, 15, 18; Phil. i. 1, iv. 21, 22; Rev. xiii. 7, 10, &c.

The veneration of the saints increased with the decrease of martyrdom, and with the remoteness of the objects of reverence. "Distance lends enchantment to the view;" but "familiarity" is apt "to breed contempt." The sins and faults of the heroes of faith were lost in the bright haze of the past, while their virtues shone the more, and furnished a pious and superstitious fancy with the richest material for legendary poesy.

Almost all the Catholic saints belong to the higher degrees of the clergy, or to the monastic life. And the monks were the chief promoters of the worship of saints. At the head of the heavenly chorus stands Mary, crowned as queen by the side of her divine Son; then come the apostles and evangelists who died a violent death, the protomartyr Stephen, and the martyrs of the first three centuries; the patriarchs and prophets also, of the old covenant, down to John the Baptist; and finally, eminent hermits and monks, missionaries, theologians, and bishops, and those, in general, who distinguished themselves above their contemporaries in virtue or in public service. The measure of ascetic self-denial was the measure of Christian virtue. Though many of the greatest saints of the Bible, from the patriarch Abraham to Peter, the prince of the apostles, lived in marriage, the Catholic ethics, from the time of Ambrose and Jerome, can allow no genuine holiness within the bonds of matrimony, and receives only *virgines* and some few *vidui* and *viduæ* into its spiritual nobility.* In this again the close connection of saint-worship with monasticism is apparent.

To the saints, about the same period, were added angels as objects of worship. To angels there was ascribed in the church from the beginning a peculiar concern with the fortunes of the militant church, and a certain oversight of all lands and nations. But Ambrose is the first who expressly exhorts to the invoca-

* To reconcile this perverted view with the Bible, the Roman tradition arbitrarily assumes that Peter separated from his wife after his conversion; whereas Paul, so late as the year 57, expressly pre-supposes the opposite, and claims for himself the right to take with him a sister as a wife on his missionary tours, (*ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν.*) like the other apostles, and the brother of the Lord, and Cephas, 1 Cor. ix. 5.

tion of our patron angels, and represents it as a duty.* In favour of the *guardianship* and interest of angels appeal was rightly made to several passages of the Old and New Testaments: Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1; Matt. xviii. 10; Luke xv. 7; Heb. i. 14; Acts xii. 15. But in Col. ii. 18, and Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9, the *worship* of angels is distinctly rebuked.

Out of the old biblical notion of guardian angels arose also the idea of *patron saints* for particular countries, cities, churches, and classes, and against particular evils and dangers. Peter and Paul and Laurentius became the patrons of Rome; James, the patron of Spain; Andrew, of Greece; John, of theologians; Luke, of painters; subsequently, Phocas, of seamen; Ivo, of jurists; Anthony, a protector against pestilence; Apollonia, against tooth-aches; &c.

These different orders of saints and angels form a heavenly hierarchy, reflected in the ecclesiastical hierarchy on earth. Dionysius the Areopagite, a fantastical Christian Platonist of the fifth century, exhibited the whole relation of man to God on the basis of the hierarchy; dividing the hierarchy into two branches, heavenly and earthly, and each of these again into several degrees, of which every higher one was the mediator of salvation to the one below it.

These are the outlines of the saint-worship, which dates from the Nicene and post-Nicene age, and has continued one of the chief elements in the cultus of the Greek and Roman churches; while Protestantism rejects it as a refined form of idolatry, contrary to the word of God. Now to the exposition and estimate of it, and then the proofs.

The worship of saints proceeded originally, without doubt, from a pure and truly Christian source, to wit: a very deep and lively sense of the communion of saints, which extends over death and the grave, and embraces even the blessed in heaven. It was closely connected with love to Christ, and with gratitude for everything great and good which he has done through his instruments for the welfare of posterity. The church fulfilled a simple and natural duty of gratitude, when, in the consciousness of unbroken fellowship with the church

* De viduis, c. 9: "Obsecrandi sunt Angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt." Origen had previously *commended* the invocation of angels.

triumphant, she honoured the memory of the martyrs and confessors, who had offered their life for their faith, and had achieved victory for it over all its enemies. She performed a duty of fidelity to her own children, when she held up for admiration and imitation the noble virtues and services of their fathers. She honoured and glorified Christ himself, when she surrounded him with an innumerable company of followers, contemplated the reflection of his glory in them, and sang to *his* praise in the Ambrosian *Te Deum*:

“The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee;
 The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee;
 The noble army of Martyrs praise thee;
 The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee;
 The Father, of an infinite majesty;
 Thine adorable, true, and only Son;
 Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter,
 Thou art the King of glory, O Christ;
 Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.
 When thou tookest upon thee to deliver many, thou didst not abhor the
 Virgin’s womb;*
 When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the
 kingdom of heaven to all believers.”

In the first three centuries the veneration of the martyrs in general restricted itself to the thankful remembrance of their virtues and the celebration of the day of their death as the day of their heavenly birth.† This celebration usually took place at their graves. So the church of Smyrna annually commemorated its bishop, Polycarp, and valued his bones more than gold and gems, though with the express distinction: “Christ we *worship* as the Son of God; the martyrs we *love* and *honour* as disciples and successors of the Lord, on account of their insurpassable love to their King and Master, as also we wish to be their companions and fellow-disciples.”‡ Here we find this veneration as yet in its innocent simplicity.

* “Non horruisti Virginis uterum.” The translation in the American Episcopal Liturgy has softened this expression thus: “Thou didst humble thyself to be born of a virgin.”

† *Natalitia, γενέθλια.*

‡ In the Epistle of the church of Smyrna De Martyr. S. Polycarpi, cap 17 (Patres-Apost. ed. Dressel, p. 404): Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνούμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, κ. τ. λ.

But in the Nicene age it advanced to a formal invocation of the saints as our patrons (*patroni*) and intercessors (*intercessores, mediatores*) before the throne of grace, and degenerated into a form of refined polytheism and idolatry. The saints came into the place of the demigods, Penates and Lares, the patrons of the domestic hearth and of the country. As once temples and altars to the heroes, so now churches and chapels* came to be built over the graves of the martyrs, and consecrated to their names (or more precisely to God through them). People laid in them, as they used to do in the temple of Æsculapius, the sick that they might be healed; and hung in them, as in the temples of the gods, sacred gifts of silver and gold. The graves were, as Chrysostom says, more splendidly adorned and more frequently visited than the palaces of kings. Banquets were held there in their honour, which recall the heathen sacrificial feasts for the welfare of the Manes. Their relics were preserved with scrupulous care, and believed to possess miraculous virtue. Earlier, it was the custom to pray for the martyrs (as if they were not yet perfect), and to thank God for their fellowship and their pious example. Now such intercessions for them were considered unbecoming, and their intercession was invoked for the living.†

This invocation of the dead was accompanied with the presumption that they take the deepest interest in all the fortunes of the kingdom of God on earth, and express it in prayers and

* *Memoria, μαρτύριον.*

† Augustine: Serm. 159, 1 (al. 17): "Injuria est pro martyre orare, ejus nos debemus orationibus commendari." Serm. 284, 5: "Pro martyribus non orat [celesia], sed eorum potius orationibus se commendat." Serm. 285, 5: "Pro aliis fidelibus defunctis oratur [to wit, for the souls in purgatory still needing purification]; *pro martibus non oratur*; tam enim perfecti exierunt, ut non sint suscepti nostri, sed *advocati*." Yet Augustine adds the qualification: "Neque hoc in se, sed in illo cui capiti perfecta membra co-hæserunt. Ille est enim vere *advocatus unus*, qui interpellat pro nobis, sedens ad dexteram Patris: sed *advocatus unus*, sicut et pastor unus." When the grateful intercessions for the departed saints and martyrs were exchanged for the invocation of their intercession, the old formula: "Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio," was changed into the later: "Annue nobis, quæsumus, Domine, ut intercessione beati Leonis hæc nobis prosit oblatio." But instead of praying for the saints, the Catholic church now prays for the souls in purgatory.

intercessions.* This was supposed to be warranted by some passages of Scripture, like Luke xv. 10, which speaks of the *angels* (not the saints) rejoicing over the conversion of a sinner, and Rev. viii. 4, which represents an *angel* as laying the prayers of all the saints on the golden altar before the throne of God. But the New Testament expressly rebukes the *worship* of the angels (Col. ii. 18; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9), and furnishes not a single example of an actual *invocation* of dead men; and it nowhere directs us to address our prayers to any creature. Mere inferences from certain premises, however plausible, are, in such weighty matters, not enough. The intercession of the saints for us was drawn as a probable inference from the duty of all Christians to pray for others, and the invocation of the saints for their intercession was supported by the unquestioned right to apply to *living* saints for their prayers, of which even the apostles availed themselves in their epistles.

But here rises the insolvable question: How can *departed* saints hear at once the prayers of so many Christians on earth, unless they either partake of divine omnipresence or divine omniscience? And is it not idolatrous to clothe creatures with attributes which belong exclusively to Godhead? Or, if the departed saints first learn from the omniscient God our prayers, and then bring them again before God with their powerful intercessions, to what purpose this circuitous way? Why not at once address God immediately, who alone is able, and who is always ready to hear his children for the sake of Christ?

Augustine felt this difficulty, and concedes his inability to solve it. He leaves it undecided, whether the saints (as Jerome and others actually supposed) are present in so many places at once, or their knowledge comes through the omniscience of God, or finally it comes through the ministry of angels.† He already makes the distinction between *λατρεία*, or adoration due to God alone, and the *invocatio* (*δουλεία*) of the saints, and

* Ambrose: De viduis, c. 9, calls the martyrs “nostri præules et speculatores (spectatores) vitæ actuumque nostrorum.”

† De cura pro mortuis (A. D. 421), c. 16. In another place he decidedly rejects the first hypothesis, because otherwise he himself would be always surrounded by his pious mother, and because in Isa. lxiii. 16, it is said: “Abraham is ignorant of us.”

firmly repels the charge of idolatry, which the Manichæan Faustus brought against the Catholic Christians when he said: "Ye have changed the idols into martyrs, whom ye worship with the like prayers, and ye appease the shades of the dead with wine and flesh." Augustine asserts that the church indeed celebrates the memory of the martyrs with religious solemnity, to be stirred up to imitate them, united with their merits and supported by their prayers,* but it offers sacrifice and dedicates altars to God alone. Our martyrs, says he, are not gods; we build no temples to our martyrs, as to gods, but we consecrate to them only memorial places, as to departed men whose spirits live with God; we build altars not to sacrifice to the martyrs, but to sacrifice with them to the one God, who is both ours and theirs.†

But in spite of all these distinctions and cautions, which must be expected from a man like Augustine, and acknowledged to be a wholesome restraint against excesses, we cannot but see in the martyr-worship, as it was actually practised, a new form of the hero-worship of the pagans. Nor can we wonder in the least, for the great mass of the Christian people came, in fact, fresh from polytheism, without thorough conversion, and could not divest themselves of their old notions and customs at a stroke. The despotic form of government, the servile subjection of the people, the idolatrous homage which was paid to the Byzantine emperors and their statues, the predicates *divina, sacra, cœlestia*, which were applied to the utterances of their will, favoured the worship of saints. The heathen emperor Julian sarcastically reproached the Christians with re-introducing polytheism into monotheism, but, on account of the difference of the objects,

* Et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur." Contra Faustum, l. 20, n. 21.

† De Civit. Dei, xxii. 10: "Nobis Martyres non sunt dii: quia unum eundemque Deum et nostrum scimus et Martyrum. Nec tamen miraculis, quæ per Memorias nostrorum Martyrum fiunt, ullo modo comparanda sunt miracula, quæ facta per templa perhibentur illorum. Verum si qua similia videntur, sicut a Moyse magi Pharaonis, sic eorum dii victi sunt a Martyribus nostris. . . Martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed Memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus; nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus Martyribus, sed uni Deo et Martyrum et nostro sacrificium [corpus Christi] immolamus."

revolted from the Christian worship of martyrs and relics, as from the "stench of graves and dead men's bones." The Manichæan taunt we have already mentioned. The Spanish presbyter Vigilantius, in the fifth century, called the worshippers of martyrs and relics, ashes-worshippers and idolaters,* and taught that according to the Scriptures the living only should pray with and for each other. Even some orthodox church teachers admitted the affinity of the saint-worship with heathenism, though with the view of showing that all that is good in the heathen worship re-appears far better in the Christian. Eusebius† cites a passage from Plato on the worship of heroes, demi-gods, and their graves, and then applies it to the veneration of friends of God and champions of true religion; so that the Christians did well to visit their graves, to honour their memory there, and to offer their prayers. The Greeks, Theodoret thinks, have the least reason to be offended at what takes place at the graves of the martyrs; for the libations and expiations, the demi-gods and deified men, originated with themselves. Hercules, Æsculapius, Bacchus, the Dioscuri, and the like, are deified men; consequently it cannot be a reproach to the Christians that they—not deify—but honour their martyrs as witnesses and servants of God.

The ancients saw nothing censurable in such worship of the dead. The saints, our helpers and patrons, are far more worthy of such honour. The temples of the gods are destroyed, the philosophers, orators, and emperors are forgotten, but the martyrs are universally known. The feasts of the gods are now replaced by the festivals of Peter, Paul, Marcellus, Leontius, Antonius, Mauricius, and other martyrs, not with pagan pomp and sensual pleasures, but with Christian soberness and decency."‡

Yet even this last distinction which Theodoret asserts, sometimes disappeared. Augustine laments that in the African church banqueting and revelling were daily practised in honour

* *Cinerarios et idololatras.*

† In his *Præparat. Evængelica*, xiii, cap. 11. p. 663. *Comp. Demonstr. Evang.* iii. § 3, p. 107.

‡ Theodoret, *Græc. affect. curatio. Disp.* viii. (Ed. Schulz. iv, p. 302 sq.)

of the martyrs,* but thinks that this weakness must be for the time indulged from regard to the ancient customs of the Pagans.

In connection with the new hero-worship a new mythology also arose, which filled up the gaps of the history of the saints, and sometimes even transformed the pagan myths of gods and heroes into Christian legends.† The superstitious imagination, visions, and dreams, and pious fraud, furnished abundant contributions to the Christian legendary poesy.

The worship of the saints found eloquent vindication and encouragement not only in poets like Prudentius (about 405) and Paulinus of Nola, (died 431,) to whom greater freedom is allowed, but even in all the prominent theologians and preachers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age. It was as popular as monkery, and was as enthusiastically commended by the leaders of the church in East and West.

The two institutions, moreover, are closely connected and favour each other. The monks were most zealous friends of saint-worship in their own cause. The church of the fifth century already went almost as far in it as the middle ages, at all events quite as far as the Council of Trent; for this council does not prescribe the invocation of the saints, but confines itself to approving it as "good and useful" (not as *necessary*), on the ground of their reigning with Christ in heaven and there interceding for us, and expressly remarks that Christ is our only Redeemer and Saviour.‡ This moderate and prudent

* "Comessationes et ebrietates in honorem etiam beatissimorum Martyrum." Ep. 22 and 29.

† Thus, *e. g.*, the fate of the Attic king's son, Hippolytus, who was dragged to death by horses on the sea shore, was transferred to the Christian martyr, Hippolytus, of the beginning of the third century. The martyr Phocas, a gardener at Sinope in Pontus, became the patron of all mariners, and took the place of Castor and Pollux. At the daily meals on shipboard, Phocas had his portion set out among the rest, as an invisible guest, and the proceeds of the sale of these portions was finally distributed among the poor as a thank-offering for the prosperous voyage.

‡ Conc. Trid. Sess. xxv: "Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre; *bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium ejus Jesum Christum, qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugare."*

statement of the doctrine, however, has not yet removed the excesses which the Roman Catholic people still practise in the worship of the saints, their images, and their relics. The Greek church goes even further in theory than the Roman; for the confession of Peter Mogilas (which was subscribed by the four Greek patriarchs in 1643, and again sanctioned by the Council of Jerusalem in 1672) declares it duty and propriety (*χρέος*) to implore the intercession (*μεσιτεία*) of Mary and the saints with God for us.

We now cite, for proof and further illustration, the most important passages from the church fathers on this point. In the numerous memorial discourses of the fathers, the martyrs are loaded with eulogies, addressed as present, and besought for their protection. The universal tone of these productions is offensive to the Protestant taste, and can hardly be reconciled with evangelical ideas of the exclusive and all-sufficient mediation of Christ and of justification by pure grace without the merit of works. But it must not be forgotten that in these discourses very much is to be put to the account of the degenerate, extravagant, and fulsome rhetoric of that time. The best church fathers, too, never separated the merits of the saints from the merits of Christ, but considered the former as flowing out of the latter.

We begin with the Greek fathers. Basil the Great calls the forty soldiers, who are said to have suffered martyrdom under Licinius, in Sebaste, about 320, not only a "holy choir," an "invincible phalanx," but also "common patrons of the human family, helpers of our prayers, and most mighty intercessors with God."*

Ephraim Syrus addresses the departed saints, in general, in such words as these: "Remember me, ye heirs of God, ye brethren of Christ, pray to the Saviour for me, that I through Christ may be delivered from him who assaults me from day to day;" and the mother of a martyr: "O holy, true, and blessed

* Basil. M. Hom. 19. in XL. Martyres, § 8: "Ὁ χωρίς ἅγιος! ὡ σύνταγμα ἱερὸν! ὡ συναπίσμος ἀρρήσῃς! ὡ κοινὸν φύλακες τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων (ο communes generis humani custodes)! ἀγαθοὶ κινῶνὸν φροντίδων, δέσποτες συνεργοί, πρεσβυταὶ δυνατώτατοι (legati apud Deum potentissimi), ἀστέρες τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀνθρα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν! ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἢ γῆ κατέκρυψεν, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ὑπεδέξατο.

mother, plead for me with the saints, and pray: 'Ye triumphant martyrs of Christ, pray for Ephraim, the least, the miserable,' that I may find grace, and through the grace of Christ may be saved."

Gregory of Nyssa asks of St. Theodore, whom he thinks invisibly present at his memorial feast, intercessions for his country, for peace, for the preservation of orthodoxy, and begs him to arouse the apostles Peter and Paul and John to prayer for the church planted by them (as if they needed such an admonition). He relates with satisfaction that the people streamed to the burial-place of this saint in such multitudes that the place looked like an ant-hill. In his life of St. Ephraim, he tells of a pilgrim who lost himself among the barbarian posterity of Ishmael, but by the prayer, "St. Ephraim, help me!"* and the protection of the saint, happily found his way home. He himself thus addresses him at the close: "Thou who standest at the holy altar and with angels servest the life-giving and most holy Trinity, remember us all, and implore for us the forgiveness of sins and the enjoyment of the eternal kingdom."†

Gregory Nazianzen is convinced that the departed Cyprian guides and protects his church in Carthage more powerfully by his intercessions than he formerly did by his teachings, because he now stands so much nearer the Deity; he addresses him as present, and implores his favour and protection.‡ In his eulogy on Athanasius, who was but a little while dead, he prays: "Look graciously down upon us, and dispose this people to be perfect worshippers of the perfect Trinity; and when the times are quiet, preserve us; when they are troubled, remove us, and take us to thee in thy fellowship."

Even Chrysostom did not rise above the spirit of the time. He too is an eloquent and enthusiastic advocate of the worship of the saints and their relics. At the close of his memorial discourse on Saints Bernice and Prosdoce—two saints who have not even a place in the Roman calendar—he exhorts his hearers

* Ἅγιε Εφραίμ βοήθει μοί.

† Ἀιτούμενος ἡμῖν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν, αἰανίς τε βεσιλείας ἀπόλαυσιν. *De vita Ephraem.* p. 616 (tom. iii.).

‡ Σὺ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύεις ἄναθεν ἵλεως, καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον διεξάγεις λόγον καὶ βίον, κ. τ. λ. *Orat.* 18, in laud. *Cypr.* p. 285.

not only on their memorial days but also on other days to implore these saints to be our protectors: "For they have great boldness, not merely during their life, but also after death, yea, much greater after death.* For they now bear the stigmata of Christ [the marks of martyrdom], and when they show these, they can persuade the King to anything." He relates that once, when the harvest was endangered by excessive rain, the whole population of Constantinople flocked to the church of the apostles, and there elected the apostles Peter and Andrew, Paul and Timothy, patrons and intercessors before the throne of grace.† Christ, says he in Heb. i. 14, redeems us as Lord and Master, the angels redeem us as ministers.

Asterius of Amasia calls the martyr Phocas the patron of mariners, "a pillar and foundation of the churches of God in the world, the most renowned of the martyrs," who draws men of all countries in hosts to his church in Sinope, and who now, since his death, distributes more abundant nourishment than Joseph in Egypt.

Among the Latin fathers, Ambrose of Milan is one of the first and most decided promoters of the worship of saints. We cite a passage or two. "May Peter, who so successfully weeps for himself, weep also for us, and turn upon us the friendly look of Christ."‡ "The angels, who are appointed to guard us, must be invoked for us; the martyrs, to whose intercession we have claim by the pledge of their bodies, must be invoked. They who have washed away their sins by their own blood, may pray for our sins. For they are martyrs of God, our high priests, spectators of our life and our acts. We need not blush to use them as intercessors for our weakness; for they also knew the infirmity of the body when they gained the victory over it."||

* Παρακαλῶμεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιῶμεν γενέσθαι προστάτιδας ἡμῶν· πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχουσιν ταρῆσιν οὐχὶ ζῶσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαι· καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τελευτήσασαι. Opp. tom. ii. 770.

† Contra ludos et theatra, n. 1. tom. vi. 318.

‡ Hexæm. l. v. cap. 25, § 90: "Fleat pro nobis Petrus, qui pro se bene flevit, et in nos pia Christi ora convertat. Appropereit Jesu Domini passio, quæ quotidie delicta nostra condonat et munus remissionis operatur."

|| De viduis, c. 9. "Obsecrandi sunt Angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt; martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quodam corporis

Jerome disputes the opinion of Vigilantius, that we should pray for one another in this life only, and that the dead do not hear our prayers, and ascribes to departed saints a sort of omnipresence, because, according to Rev. xiv. 4, they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.* He thinks that their prayers are much more effectual in heaven than they were upon earth. If Moses implored the forgiveness of God for six hundred thousand men, and Stephen, the first martyr, prayed for his murderers after the example of Christ, should they cease to pray, and to be heard, when they are with Christ?

Augustine infers from the interest which the rich man in hell still had in the fate of his five surviving brethren (Luke xv.) that the pious dead in heaven must have even far more interest in the kindred and friends whom they have left behind.† He also calls the saints our intercessors, yet under Christ, the proper and highest Intercessor, as Peter and the other apostles are shepherds under the great chief Shepherd.‡ In a memorial discourse on Stephen, he imagines that martyr, and Saul who stoned him, to be present, and begs them for their intercessions with the Lord with whom they reign.¶ He attributes miraculous effects, even the raising of the dead, to the intercessions of Stephen.¶ But on the other hand he declares, as we have already observed, his inability to solve the difficult question of the way in which the dead can be made acquainted with our wishes and prayers. At all events, in Augustine's practical religion the worship of the saints occupies a subordinate place. In his "Confessions" and "Soliloquies" he always addresses himself directly to God, not to Mary nor to martyrs.

pignore patrociniū vindicare. Possunt pro peccatis rogare nostris, qui proprio sanguine etiam si qua habuerunt peccata laverunt. Isti enim sunt Dei martyres, nostri præsules, speculatores vitæ actuumque nostrorum," &c. Ambrose goes further than the Council of Trent, which does not command the invocation of the saints, but only commends it, and represents it not as duty, but only as privilege. See the passage already cited.

* Adv. Vigilant. n. 6: "Si agnus ubique, ergo et hi, qui cum agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt." So the heathen also attributed ubiquity to their demons. Hesiodus, *Opera et dies*, v. 121 sqq.

† Epist. 259, n. 5.

‡ Sermo 285, n. 5.

¶ Sermo 317, n. 5: "Ambo modo sermonem nostrum auditis; ambo pro nobis orate. . . orationibus suis commendent nos."

¶ Serm. 324.

The Spanish poet Prudentius flees with prayers and confessions of sin to St. Laurentius, and considers himself unworthy to be heard by Christ himself.*

The poems of Paulinus of Nola are full of direct prayers for the intercessions of the saints, especially of St. Felix, in whose honour he erected a basilica, and annually composed an ode, and whom he calls his patron, his father, his lord. He relates that the people came in great crowds around the wonder-working relics of this saint on his memorial day, and could not look on them enough.

Leo the Great in his sermons lays great stress on the powerful intercession of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Roman martyr Laurentius.†

According to this we cannot wonder that the Virgin Mary and the saints are interwoven also in the prayers of the ancient liturgies,‡ and that their merits and intercession stand by the side of the merits of Christ as a ground of the acceptance of our prayers.

The system of saint-worship, like that of the worship of Mary, became embodied in a series of religious festivals, of which many had only a local character, some a provincial, some a universal. To each saint a day of the year, the day of his death, or his heavenly birth-day, was dedicated, and it was celebrated with a memorial oration and exercises of divine worship, but in many cases desecrated by unrestrained amusements of the people, like the feasts of the heathen gods and heroes.

The most important saints' days which come down from the early church, and bear a universal character, are the following:

1. The feast of the two chief apostles, PETER and PAUL,§ on the twenty-ninth of June, the day of their martyrdom. It is

* Hymn. II. in hon. S. Laurent. vs. 570-84:

“Indignus agnosco et scio,
Quem Christus ipse exaudiat;
Sed per patronos martyres
Potest medelam consequi.”

† “Cujus oratione,” says he of the latter, “et patrocínio adjuvari nos sine cessatione confidimus.” Sermon. 85. in Natal. S. Laurent. c. 4.

‡ E. g. the Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, the Coptic Liturgy of St. Cyrill, and the Roman Liturgy.

§ *Natalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli.*

with the Latins and the Greeks the most important of the feasts of the apostles, and, as the homilies for the day by Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great show, was generally introduced as early as the fourth century.

2. Besides this, the Roman church has observed since the fifth century, a special feast in honour of the prince of the apostles, and for the glorification of the papal office; the feast of THE SEE OF PETER,* on the twenty-second of February, the day on which, according to tradition, he took possession of the Roman bishopric. With this there was also an Antiochian St. Peter's day on the eighteenth of January, in memory of the supposed episcopal reign of this apostle in Antioch. The Catholic liturgists dispute which of the two feasts is the older. After Leo the Great, the bishops used to keep their *Natales*. Subsequently the feast of the CHAINS OF PETER† was introduced, in memory of the chains which Peter wore, according to Acts xii. 6, under Herod at Jerusalem, and, according to the Roman legend, in the prison at Rome under Nero.

3. The feast of JOHN the apostle and evangelist, on the twenty-seventh of December.

4. The feast of the protomartyr STEPHEN, on the twenty-sixth of December, after the fourth century.

5. The feast of JOHN THE BAPTIST, the last representative of the saints before Christ. This was, contrary to the general rule, a feast of his birth, not his martyrdom, and, with reference to the birth festival of the Lord on the twenty-fifth of December, was celebrated six months earlier on the twenty-fourth of June, the summer solstice. This was intended to signify at once his relation to Christ and his well-known word: "He must increase, but I must decrease." He represented the decreasing sun of the

* *Festum cathedræ Petri.*

† *Festum catenarum Petri*, commonly *Petri ad vincula*, on the first of August. According to the legend, the Herodian Peter's chain, which the empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius II., discovered on a pilgrimage in Jerusalem, and sent as a precious relic to Rome, miraculously united with the Neronian Peter's chain at Rome on the first contact, so that the two have since formed only one holy and inseparable chain!

ancient covenant; Christ, the rising sun of the new.* In order to celebrate more especially the martyrdom of the Baptist, a feast of the BEHEADING OF JOHN, † on the twenty-ninth of August, was afterwards introduced; but this never became so important and popular as the feast of his birth.

6. To be just to all the heroes of the faith, the Greek church, after the fourth century, celebrated a feast of ALL SAINTS on the Sunday after Pentecost (the Latin festival of the Trinity). ‡ The Latin church, after 610, kept a similar feast, the FESTUM OMNIUM SANCTORUM, on the first of November; but this did not come into general use till after the ninth century.

7. The feast of the ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, || the leader of the hosts of angels, and the representative of the church triumphant, § on the twenty-ninth of September. This owes its origin to some miraculous appearances of Michael in the Catholic legends. ¶ The worship of the angels developed itself simultaneously with the worship of Mary and the saints, and churches also were dedicated to angels and called after their names. Thus Constantine the Great built a church to the archangel Michael on the right bank of the Black Sea, where the angel, according to the legend, appeared to some shipwrecked persons and rescued them from death. Justinian I. built as many as six churches to him. Yet the feast of Michael, which some trace back to Pope Gelasius I., A. D. 493, seems not to have become general till after the ninth century.

* Comp. Jno. iii. 30. This interpretation is given even by Augustine, Serm. 12, in Nat. Dom.: "In nativitate Christi *dies crescit*; in Johannis nativitate *de-crescit*. Profectum plane facit dies, quum mundi Salvator oritur; defectum patitur, quum ultimus prophetarum generatur."

† *Festum decollationis S. Johannis B.*

‡ This Sunday is therefore called by the Greeks the *Martyrs' and Saints' Sunday*, ἡ κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων or τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μαρτύρων. We have a homily of Chrysostom on it: Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ μαρτυρήσαντες, or *De martyribus totius orbis*. Hom. lxxiv. Opera tom. ii. 711 sqq.

|| *Festum S. Michaelis archangeli.*

§ Rev. xii. 7—9; comp. Jude 9.

¶ Comp. Augusti Archæologie I. p. 585, Michael, e. g. in a pestilence in Rome in the seventh century, is said to have appeared as a deliverer on the tomb of Hadrian (Moles Hadriani, or Mausoleo di Adriano), so that the place received the name of Angel's Castle (Castello di St. Angelo). It is situate, as is well known, at the great bridge of the Tiber, and is used as a fortress.

We add some concluding observations on the origin and character of the CHRISTIAN CALENDAR with reference to its ecclesiastical elements, the catalogue of saints and their festivals.

The Christian calendar, as to its contents, dates from the fourth and later centuries; as to its form, it comes down from classical antiquity, chiefly from the Romans, whose numerous calendars contained, together with astronomical and astrological notes, tables also of civic and religious festivals and public sports. Two calendars of Christian Rome still extant, one of the year 354, the other of the year 448,* show the transition. The former contains for the first time the Christian week beginning with Sunday, together with the week of heathen Rome; the other contains Christian feast days and holidays, though as yet very few, viz., four festivals of Christ and six martyr days. The oldest purely Christian calendar is a Gothic one, which originated probably in Thrace in the fourth century. The fragment still extant† contains thirty-eight days for November and the close of October, among which seven days are called by the names of saints (two from the Bible, three from the church universal, and two from the Gothic church). There are, however, still earlier lists of saints' days, according to the date of the holiday; the oldest is a Roman one of the middle of the fourth century, which contains the memorial days of twelve bishops of Rome and twenty-four martyrs, together with the festival of the birth of Christ and the festival of Peter, on the twenty-second of February.

Such tables are the groundwork of the calendar and the martyrologies. At first each community or province had its own catalogue of feasts, hence also its own calendar. Such local registers were sometimes called *Diptycha*‡ (*δίπτυχα*), because they were recorded on tables with two leaves; yet they commonly contained, besides the names of the martyrs, the names also of the earlier bishops and still living benefactors, or persons of whom the priests were to make mention by name in

* The latter is found in the *Acta Sanct. Jun.* tom. vii. p. 176 sqq.

† Printed in Angelo Mai: *Script. vet. nova collect.* tom. v. P. 1, p. 66--68. Comp. Krafft: *Kirchengeschichte der germanischen Völker.* vol. i. div. 1, p. 385--387,

‡ From *δίπτυχος*, folded double.

the prayer before the consecration of the elements in the eucharist. The spread of the worship of a martyr, which usually started from the place of his martyrdom, promoted the interchange of names. The great influence of Rome gave to the Roman festival-list and calendar the chief currency in the west.

Gradually the whole calendar was filled up with the names of saints. As the number of the martyrs exceeded the number of days in the year, the commemoration of several must fall upon the same day, or the canonical hours of cloister devotion must be given up. The Oriental calendar is richer in saints from the Old Testament than the Occidental.*

With the calendars are connected the *Martyrologia*, or *Acta Martyrum*, *Acta Sanctorum*, called by the Greeks *Menologia* and *Menæa*.† These were at first only "Diptycha" and "Calendaria martyrum;" *i. e.*, lists of the names of the martyrs commemorated by the particular church in the order of the days of their death on the successive days of the year, with or without statements of the place and manner of their passion. This simple skeleton became gradually animated with biographical sketches, coming down from different times and various authors, containing a confused mixture of history and fable, truth and fiction, piety and superstition, and needing to be used with great critical caution. As these biographies of the saints were read on their annual days in the church and in the cloisters for the edification of the people, they were called *Legenda*.

The first Acts of the Martyrs came down from the second

* The Roman Catholic Saint-Calendars have passed, without material change, to the Protestant church in Germany and other countries. Recently Professor Piper in Berlin has attempted a thorough Evangelical reform of the calendar, by rejecting the doubtful or specifically Roman saints, and adding the names of the fore-runners of the Reformation and the reformers and distinguished men of the Protestant churches to the list under their birth-days. To this reform also his *Evangelischer Kalender* is devoted, which has appeared annually since 1850, and contains brief, popular sketches of the Catholic and Protestant saints received into the improved calendar. Most English and American calendars entirely omit this list of saints.

† From *μήν*, month; hence month-register. The Greek *Menologies*, *μηνολόγια*, are simply the lists of the martyrs in monthly order, with short biographical notices. The *Menæa*, *μηναια*, are intended for the public worship, and comprise twelve folio volumes, corresponding to the twelve months, with the *officia* of the saints for every day, and the proper legends and hymns.

and third centuries, in part from eye-witnesses, as, for example, the martyrdom of Polycarp (A. D. 167), and of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne in South Gaul; but most of them originated, at least in their present form, in the post-Constantinian age. Eusebius wrote a general martyrology, which is lost. The earliest Latin martyrology is ascribed to Jerome, but at all events contains many later additions; this father, however, furnished valuable contributions to such works in his "Lives of Eminent Monks," and his "Catalogue of Celebrated Church Teachers." Pope Gelasius thought good to prohibit or to restrict the church reading of the Acts of the Saints, because the names of the authors were unknown, and superfluous and incongruous additions by heretics or uneducated persons (*idiotis*) might be introduced. Gregory the Great speaks of a martyrology in use in Rome and elsewhere, which is perhaps the same afterwards ascribed to Jerome, and widely spread. The present *Martyrologium Romanum*, which embraces the saints of all countries, is an expansion of this, and was edited by Baronius, with a learned commentary, at the command of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. in 1586, and afterwards enlarged by the Jesuit Heribert Rosweyd.

Rosweyd (died 1629) also sketched, towards the close of the sixteenth century, the plan for the celebrated "*Acta Sanctorum*," quotquot toto orbe coluntur," which Dr. John Van Bolland (died 1665) and his companions and continuators, called Bollandists, (Henschen, died 1681, Papenbroch, died 1714, Sollier, died 1740, Stiltinck, died 1762, and others of inferior merit) published at Antwerp, in fifty-three folio volumes, between the years 1643 and 1794, (including the two volumes of the second series,) under the direction of the Jesuits, and with the richest and rarest literary aids.* This work contains, in the order of

* When Rosweyd's prospectus, which contemplated only 16 volumes, was shown to Cardinal Bellarmine, he asked: "What is the man's age?" "Perhaps forty." "Does he expect to live two hundred years?" More than two hundred and fifty years have passed since, and still the work is unfinished. The relation of the principal authors is indicated in the following verse:

"Quod Rosweydus preparat,
Quod Bollandus inchoarat,
Quod Henschenius formarat,
Perfecit (?) Papenbrochius."

the days of the year, the biography of every saint in the Catholic calendar, as composed by the Bollandists, down to the 15th of October, together with all the acts of canonization, papal bulls, and other ancient documents belonging thereto, with learned treatises and notes, and that not in the style of popular legends, but in the tone of thorough historical investigation and free criticism, so far as a general accordance with the Roman Catholic system of faith would allow. It was interrupted in 1773 by the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, then again in 1794, after a brief re-assumption of labour, and the publication of two more volumes (the 52d and 53d), by the French revolution and invasion of the Netherlands, and the partial destruction of the literary material; but since 1847 (or properly since 1837) it has been resumed at Brussels under the auspices of the same order, though not with the same historical learning and critical acumen, and proceeds tediously towards completion. It will always remain a rich mine for the history of Christian life in all its forms of health and disease, but especially also in its ascetic excesses and monkish distortions.

ART. IV.—*Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of the various denominations, &c.* By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Vol. VIII. Unitarian Congregational. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 530 Broadway, New York.

WHEN it was first announced that these Annals would include an account of the most eminent Unitarian preachers, some excellent friends of ours were somewhat stumbled by this proposed feature of the work. Though they afterwards saw reason for changing their minds, we were not surprised that they for a time felt as they did, when we considered that the doctrines rejected by Unitarians have ever been regarded by the mass of Christians as of fundamental importance, and more especially that so many of their prominent preachers have openly avowed a thinly disguised infidelity. For ourselves we may say that we had never a doubt as to the propriety of bringing the Uni-