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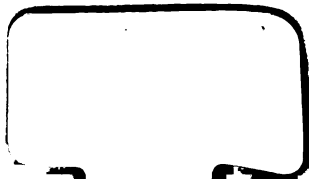
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V. A.

HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ;

OR,

A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;

INCLUDING ALSO AN EXAMINATION OF
THE CHIEF PROPHECIES OF DANIEL

ILLUSTRATED BY AN APOCALYPTIC CHART, AND ENGRAVINGS
FROM MEDALS AND OTHER EXTANT MONUMENTS
OF ANTIQUITY.

BY THE REV. E. B. ELLIOTT, A. M.

LATE VICAR OF TUXFORD, AND FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THIRD EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED;

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING, BESIDES OTHER MATTER,

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION.
AND INDICES.

VOL. III.

SEELEY, BURNSIDE, AND SEELEY;
FLEET STREET, LONDON.
MDCCCXLVII.

"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein: for the time is at hand." Apoc. i. 3.

"The word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn." 2 Peter i. 19.



*Leonard Sealey,
Thames Ditton, Surrey.*

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WITH ITS ADJUNCTS,
AND THE CONTRASTED IMPERSONATION OF THE
CHURCH OF CHRIST.

INTRODUCTION.

RETROGRESSION OF THE VISIONS.

“AND there appeared a great sign in heaven ;—a woman clothed with the sun,” &c.—Apoc. xii. 1.

So we enter on the *Fourth* and *Supplemental* Part of the Revelation to St. John :—a Part, the peculiar characteristic of which was the exhibition of certain *individual figurative impersonations* on the scene, especially of the *Beast from the abyss* : whereby not only was an omission in the former Apocalyptic series of visions supplied ; but a connecting link also established between them and Daniel’s celebrated vision of the fourth Beast, an impersonation similar or identical with the Apocalyptic.

Before proceeding however to consider the vision here beginning, it will be necessary to call the Reader’s atten-

tion to the evidence of a *retrogressive* character in both it, and the two subsequent and intimately connected visions, of the Wild Beast from the Sea, and the Lamb with his 144,000 followers on Mount Zion ;—evidence just hinted at, at the close of my last chapter. Hitherto the series of Apocalyptic visions had been, in respect of their development of things future, uninterruptedly continuous and progressive :—the retrospective history of *Christ's two Witnesses* not forming an exception, because that is given in conversational explanatory narrative by the Angelic interlocutor. But there now appear in the new vision marks, not to be mistaken, of an interruption and breaking off from the subject next preceding. For the temple, with its ark of the Covenant, just said to have been opened in heaven, and the thunderings, lightnings, and voices, that followed thereon, are abruptly left in the sacred description, although evidently indicative of events that were to follow consecutively afterwards ; and a vision begins,—the first of a new and continuous series of visions,—apparently quite unconnected and detached.¹ Further, that this series of visions is *supplemental, and explanatory of what has gone before*, appears from the two following characteristic and decisive marks : *first*, that their grand subject is the development of the rise, establishment, and reign of that *Wild Beast from the abyss, or sea*, which was before spoken of as existing in the time of Christ's two Witnesses, and making war upon, and killing them :—*secondly*, that the same remarkable period of 42 months, or 1260 days, which was noted in the Witnesses' history as that of Paganized Christians treading down the Holy City and of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth, is here spoken of as included in the visions now commencing also ; it being that of the Wild Beast from the abyss, or sea, holding investment of the seven-headed Dragon's delegated authority, and of the sun-clothed Woman's remaining a

¹ Vitringa thinks that there was a pause in the representation, the better to mark this break : "Visum hoc est novum ; ac probable est intercessisse temporis aliquod intervallum inter illud et superius." p. 691.

refugee in the wilderness.¹ It is surely scarce presumable, even à priori, that there should have been intended in the divine prophetic calendar two different successive periods of 42 months ; during the first of which Paganized Christians should lord it, with the Beast from the abyss among them, during the second the Pagan Wild Beast from the sea : two different and successive periods of 1260 days ; during the first of which the witnesses of Christ should prophesy in sackcloth, during the next the Church of Christ disappear and take refuge in the wilderness. Moreover Daniel's mention of but one such period, ere the Saints' assumption of the kingdom,² puts the supposition out of the question.—Hence the periods must be considered coincident : the vision of the Wild Beast from the sea, described in Apoc. xiii, running on in chronological parallel with that of the Witnesses' sackcloth-prophesying, and those of the cotemporary external judgments of the Saracens and the Turks ; that of the Woman and seven-headed Dragon, the subject of the preceding or xiith Apocalyptic Chapter, in parallel with visions yet earlier.

A reason quite sufficient for the retrogression at once suggests itself, in the necessity of further information respecting the persecuting *Wild Beast*, just referred to as the slayer of the witnesses, in order to its clear elucidation. For (as I intimated at the close of the last chapter) must not St. John, on hearing of their being slain by *the Beast from the abyss*, have necessarily felt the questions rising in his mind, Who ? How ? Whence ?—Retrogression for explanations like this is a method practised by the best writers, (I might instance *Gibbon* or *Hallam*,) on modern European history. Having in the first instance described the events of some long period of time with reference chiefly to *secular matters*, or *foreign politics*, they return on their steps, in a new chapter or section of their book, to trace the *ecclesiastical history* through the same interval, and bring it up to the same

¹ Compare Apoc. xi. 2, 3 ; xii. 14 ; xiii. 5.
Vol. iii.

² Dan. vii. 25, 26.

point of time as the *secular*.—And let me add that the *opisthographism*, or *writing without*, as well as *within*,¹ of that seven-sealed scroll in the Lamb's hand, which contained, as we may presume, all the Apocalyptic prophecy, furnished peculiar facility for the exhibition of these retrogressive visions in their chronological parallelism with the visions preceding. On the full, or nearly full unrolling of the scroll, after the seventh trumpet's sounding, the length *without* might be exhibited to the Evangelist's sight similarly divided as the length *within*; and with many marks of parallelism and running correspondence connecting the one and the other. I say *many*, because in effect between the new visions and the old, there are traceable many and striking correspondencies; more, if I mistake not, than have hitherto been thought of: and all in continuous succession; just like the *taches* and *loops*, to borrow an old comparison, of the hangings of the *Jewish Tabernacle*.² Now supposing the one series to have been written *without*, as the other *within*, and the parallelism marked by corresponding lines in the Apocalyptic scroll, an evident fitness will appear in the opisthographic form of the scroll: a fitness worthy, as it seems to me, of its divine authorship, and such as no other explanation of it can suggest.³

¹ I have just glanced at the same view of the *writing without* in the Apocalyptic Book in my General Introduction, Vol. i. p. 105.

² Exod. xxvi. 5, 6.

³ The usual cause of *opisthographism* was, as Vitringa observes, p. 262, the *redundancy* of the matter beyond what the author, in choosing the length of his roll, had calculated on. "More fere receptum erat ut hujusmodi volumina *intus* tantùm sive *adversâ* parte scriberentur. Rarius accidebat ut essent *ωνισθογραφα*; quod tamen factum ubi materiæ major erat copia quàm ut interior membranæ pars eam admitteret totam." Hence the affectation of it by some writers, as if to mark the overflowing fulness of their thoughts, on which Juvenal observes, Sat. i. 5:

aut summi jam margine libri
Scriptus, et in tergo, necdum finitus.

Of course no *such* reason could exist for the opisthographism of an inspired Book. And though in *Ezekiel's prophetic scroll*, which was a collection of unconnected prophecies, it might simply indicate fulness, and in the *Flying Roll* of Zech. v. 1—3 simply a twofold division of subject,* yet something of more exact paral-

* "This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth. For every one that stealeth shall be cut off, as on *this* side, according to it; and every one that sweareth shall be cut off, as on *that* side, according to it." On

To trace these marks of parallelism, as they occur, will be an object with me in what follows: the correspondences, I mean, between the prophecies of chapters vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, on the one hand, and those of chapters xii, xiii, xiv, on the other. So far as they have been fulfilled,—in other words up to the times now present,—to trace them will not be difficult: the subject-matter of the one series being chiefly but not wholly *secular*, of the other chiefly but not wholly *ecclesiastical*; and the intermingling of subject in either case just sufficient to mark the parallelism and correspondency.—But of this enough. A sketch of the Scroll itself, thus divided, given near the beginning of my first Volume, best exhibits the whole to the reader's eye. It is time to proceed onward to the first vision of the new series itself.—Let me only, ere doing so, premise one observation. It is probable that the subject may prove one not admitting of so much dramatic interest in the development, as much of what has gone before: the chronological ground having been already once gone over, and the work now required that chiefly of decyphering the particulars of certain complicated hieroglyphics or enigmas. But, even admitting this, I pray the reader to believe that its importance is second to none, in the whole compass of the Apocalyptic prophecy. Especially at the present time there can be no over-estimating of it. Herein will be found wisdom, to understand the Beast's mystery. Blessed is he that readeth, and he that both with mind and heart comprehendeth, this part of the prophecy.

lelism might, as I conceive, be expected in that which contained, as did the *Apocalypse*, a continuous connected chain of prophecy.

which Dr. A. Clarke thus comments. "It seems that the Roll was written on the *front* and *back*. Stealing and swearing are supposed to be two general heads of crimes; the former being sins against man; the latter against God."

CHAPTER I.

THE SUN-CLOTHED WOMAN TRAVAILING, AND SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON CAST DOWN.

“AND there appeared a great sign¹ in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she, being with child, cried travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.—And there appeared another sign in heaven: and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns; and on his heads seven diadems. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the ground. And the dragon stood before the woman who was about to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.—And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all the nations (*εθνη*, gentiles or pagans,) with a rod of iron. And the child was caught up to God, and to his throne. (And the woman fled towards the wilderness; ² where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.)—And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels; and prevailed not, neither was their place any more found in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out; that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast down upon the ground, and his angels were

¹ *σημειον*. The authorized version *wonder* would rather answer to the Greek *τερας*. The two words are used together in Heb. ii. 4, “*signs, and wonders, and miracles*.” Α *σημειον*, or *sign*, is properly some visible representation, bearing resemblance to what the sign is to predict. So Ezekiel laying siege against a picture of Jerusalem; (Ezek. iv. 1—3;) “This shall be a *sign* to the house of Israel:” Matt. xii. 39, “An evil generation seeketh after a *sign*; and no *sign* shall be given to it but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas,” &c. And again Luke ii. 12, &c.—So Bryce Johnston.

² *εις την ερημον*, observed on afterwards.

cast out with him. And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven ; ‘ Now hath come the salvation, and strength, and kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ : for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony ; and they loved not their lives unto the death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them ! ’ Apoc. xii. 1—12.

Thus, as the best and necessary introduction to the history of the **WILD BEAST FROM THE ABYSS**, the Witnesses’ persecutor and murderer, there was first sketched to St. John in vision something of that of an earlier and cognate enemy of the Church, the **SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON**.

In order to the decyphering of the whole hieroglyphic, we have to consider in the above, 1. the *persons* and *state of things* indicated by the two associated symbols of the *woman travailing*, and *the seven-headed dragon* watching to devour her child at birth ; 2. the *historical solution* both of the crisis itself, and of what is said of the result of the crisis, in *the woman’s parturition and the dragon’s dejection from heaven* ; 3. *the song of triumph* celebrating it.

I. THE PERSONS, AND COTEMPORARY STATE OF THINGS, INDICATED BY THE TWO ASSOCIATED SYMBOLS OF THE WOMAN AND THE DRAGON.

1. The meaning of *the travailing woman*, first exhibited in vision, can scarce be mistaken. She is spoken of in the last verse of this chapter as the mother of “ those that keep the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ.”¹ She was evidently there-

¹ Compare Gal. iv. 26 ; “ The Jerusalem that is above, and is the mother of us all.” On which expression see my Note², Vol. i. p. 101.—The difference between this ideal mother-church of St. Paul, and the woman or church in the text, is I conceive that the *former* includes *all* the Lord’s saints, those departed as well as those alive on earth,—the *latter* those only that are alive on earth, with reference of course to their corporate or church character : also that the

fore *Christ's true Church on earth: the Church of the 144,000, or first born, whose names were written in heaven: one ever faithful in heart and adessential doctrine; though not without the tarnish, more or less, of some earthly admixture. In respect of profest faith and worship, the temple and its inner court had been before used to represent it; in respect of polity, the figure of the Holy City.*¹ But there was yet another character in which the Lord would exhibit its relation to Him; a relation the closest and most endeared, and which was mysteriously shadowed forth in the marriage-union, instituted for the children of men in Paradise;—I mean that of the *Bride, the Lamb's wife.*²—The investiture of the woman with the *sun* as her robe of light, the *moon* (the *crescent-moon*, I conceive) as the sandal to her feet,³ and the *twelve stars* as her coronal or diadem, must needs have appeared on the scene of vision very beautiful: and it might perhaps recal to St. John that description of the Church in the Song of Songs; “Fair as the moon, bright as the sun, and terrible as an host (*the starry host*, surely) with its banners.”⁴—But what

former is pure from all admixture of evil; while the *latter* has that admixture, both from the remaining sin of the regenerate, and from the ‘*apparent*’ adhesion to it of certain of the orthodox unregenerate.

¹ See Vol. i. p. 100, and Apoc. viii. 3, xi. 1, 2, &c.

² In Apoc. xix. 7, the *whole* true Church, perfected, is again brought forward in this character; “The marriage of the Lamb hath come, and *his wife* hath made herself ready:” also Apoc. xxi. 2: “I saw the new Jerusalem prepared as a *bride* for her husband.” The 144,000, its earthly living part, are so hinted at Apoc. xiv. 4.

³ In the Canticles vii. 1, the *bride's shoes* are mentioned as among her ornaments of dress; “How beautiful are thy feet with shoes.” And any one who may have seen the *gold* or *silver-embroidered*, and at one end *crescent-shaped* shoes of the rich Asiatics, will recognize the appropriateness of this representation of the *crescent-moon* in the vision.—This form of it however is not necessary to my explanation.” In Isa. iii. 18, “*round tires like the moon*,” are mentioned among the ornaments of the daughters of Zion: and Diodati says on the verse that “they wore those often on their shoes.”

So somewhat similarly the noble Romans of St. John's time: as Statius expresses it Silv. v. 2. 29;

Sic te clara puer genitum sibi curia sensit;
Primaque *patriciâ* clausit vestigia *lunâ*.

On which Cruseus: “Lunatis calceis, id est habentibus speciem mediæ lunæ, utebantur nobiles.”

⁴ Cant. vi. 10. In the authorized version it is “terrible as an army” (the word *army*, or *host*, is supplied) “with banners:” and it is suggested by learned Commentators that the allusion in the word *banners* is to the *distinctive lights* of

the things prefigured hereby? This is the question. And first there can scarce be meant by the *solar* emblem, I think, what so many commentators have suggested in explanation,¹—the church's investiture with Christ as the sun of righteousness. The sun is no where in the Apocalyptic imagery made the representative of Christ. His countenance with *its own intrinsic light* is described as *like the sun*,² not as borrowing the sun to enlighten it: and, when fully revealed in the heavenly City, as altogether superseding it to the favoured inhabitants.³ Nor, again, by her having the *moon subjacent* can there be meant a trampling on things *sublunary*. Can the *moon* signify *things under the moon*?⁴ Consistency requires that we explain these greater luminaries to signify the chief rulers of the state, according to the general prophetic use of the symbols; ⁵ and in the same way the *stars* noted to signify lesser rulers in it. As to the precisely defined number of *twelve* stars,—considering that the professing Church on the Apocalyptic scene, including the *true*, was in an earlier vision numerically symbolized as the twelve tribes of Israel, we cannot well err, I think, in explaining them to signify the heads, or ecclesiastical rulers, of those twelve tribes. Especially since this interpretation agrees with that which is given by inspiration itself of almost precisely the same symbol, in the earliest of all emblematic visions, the dream of the Pa-

different companies of a caravan travelling by night, high raised on a pole before each company. See Dr. A. Clarke's note ad loc. But why not rather the distinctive lights, or constellations, of the heavenly host;—associated as the figure is with the sun and moon? The word *host* (if that be the one to be supplied) is applied, alike in the Hebrew and English, to the *starry* hosts; as well as to earthly hosts or armies.

¹ For example among *modern* expositors Mede, Bishop Newton, Sir I. Newton, Vitringa, &c.—And so too one of the most *ancient*, Hippolytus; whose explanation of the whole symbol I here add. "*Mulierim amictam sole clarissimè Ecclesiam significavit, paterno indutam Verbo, quod sole micantius splendet. Dicendo Lunam sub pedibus ejus, cœlesti claritate lunæ in morem ornatam ostendit. Quodd autem ait, In capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim, duodecim apostolos designat, per quos fundata est ecclesia.*"

² Compare Apoc. i. 16, x. 1: also Matt. xvii. 2, &c.

³ Apoc. xxi. 23; "The city hath no need of the sun or the moon to shine in it; for the Lamb was the light thereof:" and so again xxii. 5.

⁴ A sandal too is worn not to be trampled, but to protect the foot.

⁵ Compare Apoc. vi. 12; viii. 12, &c. See also Vol. i. p. 221.

triarch Joseph ;¹ and indeed with that explanatory note given at the very commencement of the Apocalyptic visions by the revealing Angel himself ; “The *stars* are the *angels*, (or *chief* and *presiding ministers*,) of the churches.”²

And thus we are led to see that the representation here given of Christ’s Church was not one universally or generally true ; but designative of it at *some* remarkable and *particular time and conjuncture* : viz. when the ruling powers in the Apocalyptic world would be associated with it as its decoration and support ; and its ecclesiastical rulers, or bishops, would be recognized as dignified authorities before the world.—And indeed much the same thing is indicated by the very representation of the woman as *in heaven*. For *the heaven* meant is evidently that of *political elevation* ; just as in the vision, a little while since discussed by us, of the *ascent of the Witnesses* : it being one in which the *dragon* might occupy a place, as well as the *woman* : and one, the position in which is contrasted with dejection to the earth, as of a change from political power to political degradation.³—As to the description of her *travailing*, like a woman at her full time, to bring forth a *male child*, the meaning of this will best appear from the very similar prophetic imagery in a vision descriptive of the yet future restoration of the Jews. For, after the words, “Before she travailed she brought forth, before her pain came she was delivered of a *man-child*,” the explanation is thus given by himself the inspired Prophet : “Shall the land be made to bring forth in one day ? or shall a *nation* be born at once ? For as soon as Zion travailed she brought forth *children*.”⁴—Thus *the male child* of which the *literal Zion* is to be delivered, is declared to mean *her children* united and multiplied into a *nation* or *dominant body politic* ; with triumph, glory, and general blessed-

¹ Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10 : “Behold the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me. And his father said, Shall I, and thy mother, and thy brethren,” (the heads of eleven of the tribes of Israel,) “indeed come to bow ourselves to thee ?”
² Apoc. i. 20. ³ Apoc. xii. 9.

⁴ Isaiah lxvi. 8, 9 ; with the context ; see also Micah v. 3.

ness accompanying. In like manner we may interpret the *man-child* of whom the *spiritual Zion*, or *Church of Christ*, appeared travailing to be delivered,—not as the child Jesus, born at Bethlehem, an explanation on no account admissible,¹—but as *its children* united into a *body politic*, and raised to *dominant power*; with the accompaniments of deliverance, triumph, and glory attending their nationalization and elevation.²—The question remains, however, whether by the woman's bringing forth this man-child, and his being caught up (as afterwards mentioned) to God's throne, there was intended that ultimate, perfect, and most glorious nationalization of the children of God, and assumption to a seat on Christ's throne, which is to take place at the Lord's second coming;—the same that St. Paul writes of in such glowing language, “The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, waiting for the adoption,” or, as in a former verse, “manifestation of the sons of God.”³—whether, I say, this ultimate, perfect, and most glorious nationalization and elevation of her children, was the consummation for which the Church was in the vision before us represented as travailing; or rather one imperfect, and to be fulfilled in a subordinate and earthly triumph; the latter however and lesser typical of the greater. What is said of the man-child after birth being “caught up to God and to his throne,” and again of his lot being “to rule the Gentiles with a rod of iron,”—phrases the same very nearly that are applied by Christ, in the way of promise, to all the perseveringly faithful of

¹ So Woodhouse, &c. But 1. According to Apocalyptic usage an *individual* depicted in symbol means every where, I believe, *many*, either collectively, or as a succession. 2. Christ is no where called the *Son of the Church*, but its *Husband*. Isa. ix. 6, which has been cited, says only, “To us a child is born, to us a son is given;” not, a child is *born of the Church*. 3. If, notwithstanding this, an expositor will have Him to be the *Son of the Church*, it must be of the *Jewish Church*: and so the woman in the vision will personify the *Jewish Church*, not the Christian; a view contrary to the whole tenor of the Apocalyptic prophecy. 4. In which case too the 1260 years of dwelling in the wilderness must be assigned to the *Jewish Church*:—a supposition quite untenable.

² Daubuz (519) compares Cicero's calling the day of Rome's deliverance from Cataline's conspiracy its *birthday*. “*Quem ego diem verè natalem hujus urbis, aut certè salutarem, appellare possum.*” Orat. pro Flacco.

³ Rom. viii. 19, 22, 23.

the servants of God,¹—these coincidences might perhaps at first incline us to attach the more glorious meaning to the symbols of the vision. But the next figuration of the fortunes of the woman, or church, shewing that she was immediately afterwards to be persecuted by the Dragon, and then to spend 1260 days, or years, in the wilderness, decisively negatives the supposition. It seems clear, that whatever the woman's hope in her travail,² the lesser consummation was the one figured in the man-child's birth and assumption; viz. the elevation of the christians first to recognition as a body politic, then very quickly to the supremacy of the throne in the Apocalyptic world, i. e. the Roman Empire:—a throne which, as thenceforth christian, might consequently thenceforth, just like Solomon's,³ be designated as *the throne of God*. Seated on this, it appeared, the christian body would, after a little while, coerce the heathens of the empire; and rule them even as with a rod of iron.

2. The meaning of the *other* sign or symbol in the vision, I mean *the great red dragon*, seems also clear.—In itself, and without the adjunct of some further and distinctive peculiarities, a *dragon* might be considered as the fit representative of *any* heathen persecutor: a persecutor in character resembling Pharaoh and Egypt;⁴ and animated by Him who is here set forth as the actor and

¹ Rev. ii. 26, 27. "To him that overcometh I will give power over the Gentiles (ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν); and he shall rule them with an iron rod: as a potter's vessel they shall be broken." Rev. iii. 21; "To him that overcometh I will grant to sit with me on my throne: even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on his throne."

² Compare Vol. i. p. 230, 231, *suprà*.

³ 1 Chron. xxix. 23; "And Solomon sate on the *throne of the Lord*, as king, instead of David his father." This apposite passage is noted by Daubuz. See too Jer. xlix. 38, and Lowth's comment.—"To God and to his throne," is an *hendyadis* for God's throne: just as in Apoc. xiii. 12, "the earth and them that dwell therein," for them that dwelt on the earth, simply.

⁴ The figure is primarily Egyptian; having reference to the *Nile*, *dragon*, or *crocodile*. So Psalm lxxiv. 13; "Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters:" Isa. li. 9; "Art thou not he that hast cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon?" Ezek. xxix. 3; "I am against thee, Pharaoh, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of its rivers;"—all written of the Egyptian anti-Israelitish power.—The reader will not have forgot that *Egypt* is among the Apocalyptic designations of Rome;—"which is spiritually called Sodom and *Egypt*." Apoc. xi. 8.

ruler in all the great heathen powers of this world,—the malignant Spirit that first tempted Eve in Paradise, the old Serpent, the Devil.¹ But what is added of the dragon now seen by St. John having *seven heads and ten horns*, marked it (though bearing indeed in the *diadem* the strange badge of *Asiatic royalty*) as distinctively the persecuting power of *Pagan Rome*. For these heads could scarce be different from the first seven of the *Beast*, the Dragon's successor. And the latter were elsewhere thus *primarily* explained by an Angel interpreter; "The seven heads are *seven hills* on which the woman (i. e. *Rome*) sitteth:"²—a *secondary* and figurative meaning being also assigned to them; of which (as well as of the *ten horns*, here budding, I conceive, from the root of the dragon's seventh head, and as yet *undiademed*) I shall speak with more advantage in a subsequent chapter; only now observing that it too was characteristic of the Roman empire.—The suitability of this symbol to designate the Roman Emperors and Empire as a *persecuting antichristian power*,³ bent as it was, like Pharaoh, on destroying the Christian Israel just on the eve of its political establishment, is evident.⁴—Besides which its *national* appropriateness has been noted by commentators; inasmuch as *the dragon* was one of the military ensigns of imperial Rome. In fact, in respect of both colour and attitude, the dragon of the Roman ensign did not inaptly resemble that of the vision before us.⁵

But now let us look to the *chronological* indications in the imagery of this part of the vision.—And first there

¹ This is evidently all that is meant by the explanatory observation in verse 9, "the great Dragon, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan." Mr. Maitland indeed observes; "What meaning is there in language, if we can make the Dragon any thing but the great enemy of man?" Second Enquiry, p. 24. But would he argue that in the passages, "Get thee behind me, Satan," and, "One of you is a devil," (Matt. xvi. 23, John vi. 70) the Devil is meant *abstractedly* and *personally*, not as prompting Peter, and animating Judas? Or, again, that the Devil *personally* has seven heads and ten horns?

² Apoc. xvii. 9, 18.—On the identity of the Dragon's and the Beast's seven heads, see the next chapter.

³ As a *military power* the *war-horse* was chosen to symbolize it. See Vol. i. 122.

⁴ Compare the danger of the Israelitish male children, especially Moses, exposed as they were on the Nile to the Nile-dragons or crocodiles.

⁵ See in my Plate at p. 16, the sketch of one from Montfaucon, vii. 405.—Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10) thus describes it: "The dragon was covered with purple cloth, and fastened to the end of a pike gilt and adorned with pre-

seems to me to have been to a certain extent a chronological indication in the very use of the symbol of a *dragon*. For the Apocalypse, I think, makes use of no self-adopted symbols of a country, in reference to times earlier than their actual adoption in that country.¹ And since it was not till near the close of the 2nd century that the *dragon* was first used as a Roman ensign, nor till the 3rd that its use had become common,² we might thence probably infer that the time represented in the vision was scarce earlier, if so early as the third century.—A chronological indication of the same kind, but yet more restrictive, appears in the use of *diadems*, not *crowns*, on the heads of the dragon, in signification of royal or ruling power. For, as observed in an early chapter of this Commentary, it was not till about the time of Diocletian, towards the close of the third century, that the *diadem* was adopted as one of the imperial insignia :³ an innovation accompanied with others so important as to constitute, we shall hereafter see,⁴ an epoch in the Roman imperial history.—Yet again, it is to be observed, as indicative of the precise time referred to, that though the dragon, or Pagan power of Rome, was still in the political heaven, yet it was only as drawing with his tail *one third part* of the stars of heaven. So that the intended period would seem to have been some little before the total dejection of Paganism from its supremacy in the Roman empire, at the commencement of the fourth century.

It opened its wide throat, and the wind blew through it : and it hissed, as if in a rage, with its tail floating in several folds through the air." He elsewhere often gives it the epithet of *purpureus*, purple-red : "purpureum signum draconis," &c.—With which Claudian's description well agrees :

Hi volucres tollunt aquilas ; hi picta draconum
Colla levant : multumque tumet per nubila serpens,
Iratu stimula noto, vivitque receptis
Flatibus, et vario mentitur sibila flatu.

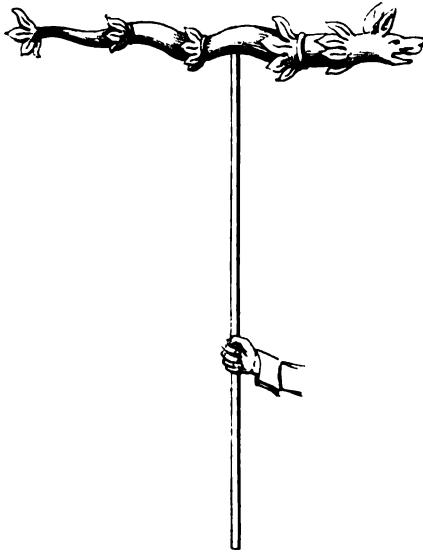
¹ So in regard of the *horse*, the *crown*, the *sword*, and the *balance* in the three first Seals ; also of the *diadem*, as here used, and in ch. xiii. 1.—Compare too Part ii. ch. iv. § 1, in my 1st Volume.

² In Trajan's time it was a Dacian ensign, not a Roman ; as appears from the bas-reliefs on Trajan's arch. *Arrian*, who wrote under the *Antonines*, is, I believe the first Author who assigns it to Roman armies. After which it was a Roman ensign sculptured on Severus' Arch of triumph.—Later in the third century it had become almost as notorious among Roman ensigns as the *eagle* itself : and is in the fourth century noted by Prudentius, Vegetius, Chrysostom, Ammanius, &c ; in the fifth by Claudian and others.

³ See Vol. i. p. 131, and my Article on the subject in the Appendix to the present Volume.

⁴ Viz in Chap. iv. of this Part iv.

THE ROMAN IMPERIAL ENSIGN OF THE DRAGON.



From Montfaucon.

MAXIMIAN.

As the destroyer of the Seven-headed Hydra of Christianity.



From a Medal in the Paris Collection.

ture:—in short that of the same *crisis of transition* from the Pagan supremacy to the Christian that the previous figuration of the *woman* indicated.—To this crisis every indication converges. And it is precisely such an one as prophecy delights in depicting.

For the verification both of what was figured of the crisis itself, and of its result in the woman's parturition of her male child and the dragon's dejection from heaven, we must next look, as proposed, into history. It is easily seen, notwithstanding Mr. Faber's impression of their incompatibility,¹ how at such a crisis the woman's and dragon's elevation might well have existed cotemporarily in the same political heaven. But it is something much more precise and definite respecting their relative positions that we have now to verify in history:—viz. a crisis when not only both the one and the other were elevated in political power, but when the proportion of power was such, that the *Pagan Dragon* held ascendancy in but *one third* of the Roman political heaven, the *Christian Church* in the *other two*. This point is one never yet, I believe, explained by expositors. Yet on a careful investigation of the history of the times referred to, it will soon appear.

II. THE HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS.

It is to be remembered then that in A. D. 303, when Diocletian and Galerius published their terrible edicts of persecution against the Christians, the Roman empire was divided into four Tetrarchies, governed respectively by Diocletian and Maximian in the character of the two *Augusti*, or senior Emperors, and Galerius and Constantius as the two *Cæsars*, or junior Emperors: the empire however being considered as still *politically* united and one. Soon after this, Diocletian and Maximian abdicated. And, a few other changes having occurred in the years next following, the Empire was at the commencement of the year 311 thus partitioned:—Britain, Gaul, and Spain under *Constantine*, the son and successor to Constantius;—Italy, together with the Afri-

¹ "According to *neither* interpretation of *heaven*" (i. e. as denoting either *secular* or *ecclesiastical* supremacy) "can we place the Christian and the Pagans within the limits of the same heaven. Antecedent to the time of Constantine the Pagans were in the secular heaven, the Christians excluded from it:" &c. S. C. iii. 84.

can Province, under *Maxentius*;—Illyricum under *Licinius*;—the East of Europe with Asia under *Galerius*, now the first in dignity of the Augusti;—and Syria and Egypt under *Maximin*: which last of the list had just previously been appointed, with the Syrian and Egyptian Government as his appanage, a fifth Emperor.—During this period what the Church suffered it is needless to recount. The vision of the 5th Seal has depicted it.¹ The sorrows of a woman in travail had indeed come upon her. Her children were to be crushed, as one of the hydra-like enemies of the state, by the heaven-sent champions of Roman Paganism and the Roman Empire.²—In the May following, however, light dawned on the Christians. From his sick and dying bed the conscience-stricken *Galerius* issued an *Edict of Toleration* in their favor:—an Edict which was published in the names of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, as consentient parties, as well as in his own: though not in those of *Maxentius* or *Maximin*. And when, in the course of the two next eventful years, the following further changes had occurred,—viz. the European Provinces of *Galerius* been appropriated, on his death, by *Licinius*, the Asiatic by *Maximin*,³ and those of the Emperor *Maxentius*, on his

¹ See Vol. i. p. 185.

² See the medal appended; where *Maximian* appears in the guise and with the name of *Hercules*, destroying his hydra enemy. Similar in character to which is a medal of *Diocletian* as *Jove* striking down with his thunderbolt a Titan monster ending in serpents, in place of the lower half of the human body. The exact year of their being struck is uncertain. *Eckhel* viii. 9, 19, places them among the *numi vagi* from 284 to 304 A.D.; including therefore 303, the year of the commencement of their persecution of the Christians. The titles *Jovius* and *Herculius* are amply explained from their two Emperors' mad devotion to *Jupiter* and *Hercules*, from whom they effected to be sprung, whom to represent, and as whom to be worshipped.—Under figure of the Titan and the Hydra certain enemies hated and destroyed by them are of course signified. Were these the barbarian invaders of the empire only? *Eckhel* (p. 19) inclines to this notion. On the other hand *Spanheim* (*Dissert* v.) and *Beger* (*Thesaurus Palatinus* p. 361.) in commenting on this medal explain it, as well as other writers, with reference to the Emperors' persecution of the Christians. Nor I think without reason. That they regarded the Christians, and thought to have destroyed them, as enemies of the state, appears in their famous inscription; “*Diocletianus Jovius et Maximian Hercules . . . nomine Christianorum deleti, qui Remp. evertabant.*” And so *Gibbon*, quoted Vol. i. p. 184. Compare too *Lactantius*' boast over the *Jovii* and *Herculei*, quoted by me, Vol. i. p. 219 Note ³, also *Julian*'s designation of *Constantius*' adherents, (*Ep.* xxiii.), on the professedly Christian side, as *πολυκεφαλον ὄφραν*.

³ So *Gibbon*, ii. 214; “The Provinces of Asia fell to the share of *Maximin*, and those of Europe augmented the portion of *Licinius*. The Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus formed their natural boundary.”—*Milner* is incorrect in assigning Asia Minor to *Licinius* in the partition. Cent. iv. c. 1.

defeat and death, by Constantine,—when, in this manner, the Roman empire had for the first time become *tripartited* between three Emperors,¹—the precedency among whom, I may just observe in passing, was adjudged by the Senate to Constantine,²—the Christians emerged from these political revolutions thus variously circumstanced. In *two thirds* of the Empire, embracing its whole European and African territory, they enjoyed toleration; and presently after, by virtue of the celebrated Milan Decree of Constantine and Licinius, issued March 313 in their favor, the imperial kindly recognition and support: in the *other or Asiatic third* they were still, after but a brief and uncertain respite, exposed to persecution, in all its bitterness and cruelty, as before.

And now then was not the state of things in the Roman empire one that precisely answered to the crisis depicted in the vision?—First the christian Church, united as one,³ and morally bright and beautiful,⁴—abundantly the more so from the purifying effect of the late persecution,—appeared before the world ascendant, for the first time, in the political heaven;⁵ with the sunshine embracing it of the highest of the three Imperial dignities, and the light and favor of the second also beaming on it: moreover with the chief bishops resplendent at its head, as a starry coronal;⁶ they being recognized generally as ecclesiastical dignitaries, and soon

¹ See the Tabular View given Vol. i. p. 335.

² "The Roman Senate assigned Constantine the first rank among *the three Augusti* who then governed the Roman world." Gibbon, ii. 234.

³ "When Constantine was admitted into the Church, it was one and undivided as to articles of faith; the Novatians, Meletians, and Donatists being rather schismatics than heretics." Burton, Hist. of the Christian Church, p. 427.

⁴ "We must not expect," says Neander, i. 278, "to find in the visible Church (of early times) any community entirely glorious, and without spot and wrinkle: on the other hand we should not fail to perceive the heavenly beauty, which really did beam through the stains and blemishes of the early Church."—We must remember too that it is Christ's *true Church* which seems to be contemplated all through in the Apocalyptic figuration; though *professedly* all Christians, at the time spoken of, in respect of fundamental doctrines attached themselves to it, as to the *primitive and true mother-Church*. See Milner, Cent. iii. chaps. 21, 22.

⁵ Compare Gibbon's description, iii. 278, to precisely the same effect.

⁶ *Τωσαντον μονος εξ αιωνος εις βασιλευς Κωνσταντινος Χριστω σταφανον δεσημε συναφας ειρηνης*. So Eusebius V. C. iii. 7, of the Bishops assembled by Constantine to the Council of Nice.

twelve of the number distinguished from among the rest, as the heads of the *δωδεκαφυλον* of the Christian Israel.¹—The time at which she thus appeared is observable as the expiration of her 40th week of gestation, calculated on the year-day prophetic chronological scale from the Lord's ascension.² Her travail had begun, above a prophetic week before, in the Diocletian persecution; and long, and painful, and ineffective hitherto, had been her sufferings. She had been with child: she had been in pain: she had brought forth but wind: she had wrought no deliverance on the earth.³ But now the moment for her deliverance had come. The throes immediately preceding childbirth were upon her, and under the best auspices. The imperial edict of favor to the Christians was but the precursor evidently to the *establishment of Christianity*, and by consequence its *supremacy* in the empire; i. e. to the birth of the man-child, and his assumption to God's throne. And what next but the ruling of the Pagans with a rod of iron? For it had long been evident that Christianity and Paganism could not consist together in power; and that on the elevation of the

¹ In Constantine's *ecclesiastical* division of the empire there were *four* grand divisions under *Prætorian Præfects*, and *thirteen Dioceses*:—of the first or *Eastern Præfecture*, the Oriental, Egyptian, Asiatic, Pontic, and Thracian Dioceses; of the second or *Illyrian Præfecture*, the Macedonian and Dacian Dioceses, united under *one* exarch; of the third or *Italian Præfecture*, the Italian, West African, and West Illyrian Dioceses; of the fourth or *Gallic Præfecture*, the Gallic, Spanish, and British Dioceses.—See Bingham, B. ix. C. 1; who gives the list of Præfectures, Dioceses, and Provinces from the *Notitia Imperis*, said to have been written about the time of Arcadius and Honorius, when the *Macedonian* and *Dacian* Dioceses had separate governments. But Bower states that under Constantine these were united under *one* Exarch, the Bishop of Thessalonica; so making the then number of Dioceses in a manner *twelve*. (Hist. of Pope Sylvester.)—It is needless to observe on the large sense of the word *Diocese*, as then used.

² "As the time of gestation from the conception to the birth, in women with child is known to be 40 weeks, or 280 days, so from the first rise of our Saviour's kingdom at his resurrection and ascension, A.D. 33, till the famous Proclamation and Edict for the universal liberty and advancement of Christianity by Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313, which put an end to the pangs of birth in the heaviest persecution that ever was then known, was exactly 280 years." Whiston, quoted by Bishop Newton. The 39th week expired in the Diocletian persecution.

Compare the Jewish Rabbin's explanation of Micah's prophecy, "Until the time that *she that travaileth hath brought forth*," on precisely the same principle, given by me in a Note in my Chapter ix. § 1. on the Year-day principle, *infra*.

³ Isa. xxvi. 17, 18.

former there must needs follow the oppression, and finally destruction of the latter.¹

On the other hand,—to turn to the *second* symbol represented,—the old Roman Pagan power, concentrated for the time in Maximin, the third Ruler of the Roman world, and Emperor from the Nile to the Bosphorus, with a Satanic enmity animating it against the gospel and the Church, appeared like the *great red dragon* in the vision. Infuriate at the now imminent prospect of the Christian body attaining establishment in the Empire, Maximin renewed the persecution against Christians within the limits of his own dominion; prohibiting their assemblies, and degrading, and even killing their bishops. “He drew with his tail the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the ground.”² And as the vital blow against the Christian cause and Church needed to be struck, as he thought, at those Emperors who had adopted and patronized it, he made war against them, and rushed furiously to the conflict. The Dragon that had stood before the woman, when ready to be delivered, hastened to devour her child in the very act of birth.

Such seems to have been the exact crisis figured in the vision before us. It was the crisis of the last struggle of ascendant Paganism to retain supremacy, and crush Christianity, in the empire. “Before the decisive battle,” says Milner, “Maximin vowed to Jupiter that, if victorious, he would abolish the christian name. The contest

¹ Even before the Diocletian persecution, on Constantius Chlorus (father to Constantine) showing favour to the Christians of his government, we are told; “This alarmed the Pagan priests, whose interests were so closely connected with the continuance of the ancient superstitions; and who apprehended, and not without reason, that to their great detriment the Christian religion would become daily more universal and triumphant throughout the empire.” Mosheim, iv. 1. 1. 1.—It was the conviction of its incompatibility with the old establishment of Paganism which no doubt originated Diocletian’s persecutions. See observations to this effect in my Vol. i. pp. 191, 196.

² “Moveret caudam, in quâ vis ejus (draconis) sita est; eâque modo explicitâ vibratâque, modo in spiras volutâ, tantos inter cœlestia corpora motus daret, ut multa sidera de cœlo in terram vi dejicerentur.” So Vitringa, p. 702, on the *figure* represented in the vision. On its *signification* compare Dan. viii. 10; “It” (the little horn) “cast down some of the host and stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.” The same figure was used by Pionius. Daubuz, 517. On Maximin’s persecution of the Christians, see Eusebius, H. E. ix. 6.

between Jehovah and Jupiter was now at its height, and drawing to a crisis."¹—And what the result? His fury, as we know, was in vain. On the 30th of April 313 he was defeated by Licinius; and three or four months after died, like Galerius, in agonies, confessing himself vanquished.² "His death," says Gibbon, "delivered the Church from the last and most implacable of her enemies."³—It remained to the Dragon, and whatever of Pagan power survived though broken in the empire, to behold the birth of the man-child completed,⁴ and then the man-child wonderfully caught up to God's throne: in other words to see the Christian body, now headed and represented by Constantine, elevated with marvellous rapidity to a *Christian*, an avowedly Christian throne. So Gibbon; "The gratitude of the Church has exalted the virtues of the generous patron who *seated Christianity on the throne of the Roman world.*"⁵ And Eusebius cotermporarily: "Our emperor, dear to God, sustains an empire which is the image of the heavenly empire; and rules it *in imitation of Him* who is greater than all, the supreme Lord of the world."⁶—The result, not immediately indeed, but after a while, just according to the singularly precise language of the prefigurative prophecy,⁷ proved to be this to the Pagans of the empire,—their being ruled as with a rod of iron. At first indeed an equal toleration was accorded by Constantine to Pagans as to Christians. But "the exact balance of the two religions continued but a moment."⁸ As he grew older

¹ Milner, iv. 1, ad fin.

² See my Vol. i. p. 218.

³ ii. 489.—Vitringa couples him with Galerius in this bad pre-eminence.

⁴ "After the death of the tyrant of the East, (Maximin,) the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world." Gibbon, iii. 244.

⁵ iii. 276; also ii. 363.

⁶ De Laud. Const. c. 1. The passage is cited by Vitringa; and given by me p. 24, Note ⁴ infra. Compare Augustine, Epist. 105. 11; "Hoc jubent Imperatores quod jubet et Christus: quia cum bonum jubent per illos non jubet nisi Christus."

⁷ ὁ μέλλει πορεύσθαι, &c; "the child who is at some future time, not very far distant, to rule the Heathens, or Pagans, with a rod of iron."—Let me add, from Daubuz, that a part of the promise of the saints' ultimate destruction of opposing heathen enemies is here withheld. It is not said, as in Apoc. ii. 27, "They shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Compare Christ's partial quotation of Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, in his Sermon at Nazareth; as related Luke iv. 19.

⁸ I use Gibbon's words; iii. 276.

his discountenance of them became more marked.¹ By his successors disfavour was increased into intolerance. At length under Theodosius, all toleration of Paganism was put an end to ; and its worship and rites interdicted, under pain of the severest penalties.

It was observable, however, that the struggle did not end in the figurative heaven, with the Dragon's failure to prevent the man-child's birth. After a passing notice of the woman, (presently to be resumed,) as fleeing towards,² and destined to a long long sojourn in, the wilderness, (for short-lived indeed is the association of Christ's true church with the splendors and honors of this world,) after this a notice occurs in the prophecy of war in heaven. "And there was war in heaven ;" the same heaven of course as before spoken of. "Michael fought and his angels ; and the dragon fought and his angels." The antagonist principles intended were evidently *Christianity* and *Paganism* : and powers invisible, as well as visible, —the one headed by *Michael*, captain of the Lord's host,³ the other by Satan,—appeared to mingle in the conflict. The fulfilment was seen in the seduction of *Licinius*, through ambitious motives, to head afresh the Dragon's cause against Christianity and Constantine :⁴—and then in his two successive defeats and death, and the consequent and (except for its momentary re-elevation under Julian) final dejection of Paganism, A.D. 324, from its high places in the empire, that of the figuration next following ; "The Dragon was cast out of heaven,⁵ and his angels ; and his place no more found there-

¹ It was after his first victory over Licinius that he prohibited Pagan sacrifices, and distinctively elevated Christians to honours. Eusebius, V. C. ii. 44, 45.

² *et c.* I shall observe on this force of the preposition, and meaning of the clause, on resuming the notice in my next chapter.

³ From comparing Dan. xii. 1, "Michael, the great Prince which standeth for the children of thy people," with Joshua's vision of Jehovah Captain of the Lord's host (Josh. v. 14), we may I think infer that under the name *Michael*, (which means, *Who is like God?*) *Christ* is here signified in that particular character.

⁴ On Licinius' persecution of Christians see Eusebius, E. H. x. 8.

⁵ On the phrase "cast out of heaven," compare Lam. ii. 1 ; "He hath cast down from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel."

in.”—The exactness of the imagery seems indeed very striking: nor was its meaning, even at the time of the fulfilment, unrecognized. Who a better commentator on it than Constantine himself? In a letter to Eusebius he writes of “that *dragon* having been deposed from the governance of affairs, by God’s providence.” And Eusebius further relates, that in a picture elevated by Constantine over his palace-gate, there was represented the cross, the ensign of salvation, placed above his head; and, beneath, his enemy and that of the human race (viz. Licinius, or rather Satan that had animated him) under the semblance of a *dragon* precipitated into the abyss.¹

There follows,

III. THE ENNIKION, OR SONG OF VICTORY.

“And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven; ‘Now there hath come the salvation and power and kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren hath been cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives, even unto death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that tabernacle in them.’”—Such was the song. But from whom, and where? It is said to have been a loud voice *in heaven*. And, adopting the meaning attached to the word *heaven* in the unsymbolic parts of Scripture, it has been explained by *some* interpreters as proceeding from the departed *spirits of the just*,² by *others* as from the *angels of heaven*. It seems however more natural to construe the term of the same *symbolic*

¹ V. C. iii. 3.—He also struck a medal of himself, with the cross, and trampling a dragon. On which says Ranke; “As we see on the coins of Constantine the labarum with the monogram of Christ above the conquered dragon, even so did the worship and name of Christ stand triumphant over prostrate heathenism.” Hist. of the Popes, i. 9.

² So *Vitringa*. This explanation is in him the more surprising, as he often elsewhere explains what passed in the Apocalyptic heaven as having reference to things that passed in the Church militant on earth: and indeed so explains the heavenly song described, Apoc. xiv. 2.

heaven of political authority and power so frequently referred to in the Apocalyptic figurations ; more especially from its having been spoken of just but a little before, as the seat coincidently of the woman and the dragon, and scene of the war that had ended in the dragon's dejection. In which case the song of triumph would represent that of the christian body then living, and elevated by the recent events to supremacy in the Roman empire.—The expression "*our brethren*," used in it, in reference to the saints that had previously suffered martyrdom for Christ, confirms this view of the matter. For had *Angels* been the chanters of it, they would scarcely have called the saints *brethren*,¹ seeing that they are not united with them by the brotherhood of the same flesh and blood;² but rather *fellow-servants of Christ*, as elsewhere in the Apocalypse.³ Again, had it been the song of the departed *Spirits of the Just*, they would rather have spoken in the *first person*, not the *third*: and said, "*our* accuser;" not "the accuser of *our* brethren:" "*we* overcame him," not "*they*;" seeing that the martyr-victors spoken of had already become constituents of their happy number.—Thus, on the whole, we may, I think, unhesitatingly conclude on this song in heaven prefiguring some similar song of the Christians of the Roman world, on occasion of their triumph and exaltation under Constantine over Paganism and the Pagans.⁴ It only remains to show its fulfilment in the records of history.

And this indeed presents itself, almost ready drawn out to our hands, in the graphic descriptions of the cotemporary historian Eusebius:—the same to which I

¹ So, I see, very similarly, Tichonius: "*Si angelorum vox, ut quidam putant, non dicerent accusatorem fratrum nostrorum, sed accusator noster: non accusat, sed accusabat.*"

² In Christ's case this assumption of the same nature is noted in Heb. ii. 14, as constituting the foundation of his relation of brotherhood to man. "Forasmuch as they were partakers of flesh and blood, He also took part of the same:" and (so) verse 11, "was not ashamed to call them *brethren*."

³ Apoc. xxii. 9.

⁴ The analogy is herein followed of the thanksgiving rendered to God by the ascended Witnesses, as described in Apoc. xi. 13; and of that also described in Apoc. iv. 2, 3.

have already had occasion to refer in the synchronical part of the *former series*, or that *within-written*, of the Apocalyptic visions.¹ He tells us how in hymns and choruses the Christians, before cast down, but now with countenances bright and happy, every where congratulated each other ;² and especially in the services of their re-opened churches poured forth their gratitude and joy.³ He relates how by Emperor, as well as by Christian ministers and people, their deliverance and victory over the Heathen potentates was recognized as the result of the divine interposition, and manifestation of the divine power :⁴ how Constantine professed himself to be in his imperial office only the imitator and servant of the King of Kings,⁵ and so the kingdom administered by him, with Christianity dominant in it, seemed to image the very kingdom of God and his Christ foretold in prophecy.⁶ Was not all this the exact echo of the *prefigurative* voice heard in vision, saying, “ Now hath come the *salvation*, and the *power*, and the *kingdom* of our God, and the *authority* of his Christ ? ”—He tells us further, how, in

¹ Vol. i. p. 231, &c.

² E. H. x. 3 : Ψυχη των πατων μια' εις εξ απαντων θεολογιας ἔμνος. . . ὄμα δε των γενος ἡλικιας ὄλη διανοιας ισχυι, δι ευχων και ευχαριστιας γεγηθοτι νη και ψυχη, τον των αγαθων παρατιον Θεον εγεραρον.—So again, V. C. ii. 19 : Μειδωσι τε προσωποις, ὄμμασι τε φαιδροις, δι πριν κατηφεισ αλληλοσ ενεβλεπον χοροι δ' αυτοις και ὄμοι τον παμβασιλευ Θεον πρωτιγα πατων οντα δη τατον εδιδασκον.

³ Of the tone of the pastoral addresses, or sermons, on these occasions, we have an illustrious example in Eusebius' own oration on the dedication of the new Church at Tyre : the same to which I have before referred, Vol. i. p. 231. “ Formerly,” he there observes, “ we used to sing, We have heard what thou didst in our fathers' days : but now we have to sing a second song of victory : (δευτερον ὄμνον επωικιον παρσιν αναμελσων) our own eyes having seen his salvation.” E. H. x. 4, ad. init.

⁴ By Constantine, V. C. ii. 23 : Κἀκεινον (that is, God) των νικητηριων αιτιον, αλλα μη αυτον, νομιζειν διεμαρτυρετο' τατο δ' ανεκρηυτε εις εκασον εθνος εν γραφη. And again V. C. ii. 46 : Νυνι δε της ελευθεριασ αποδοθεισας, και τη δρακοντος εκεινω απο της των κοινων διοικησεωσ του Θεω τα μεγαλα προνοια, ἡμετερω δ' ὄθηρεσι εδωιχθεωτος, ἡγαμαι και πασι φανεραν γεγενησθαι την θειαν δυναμιν. By Christian ministers and people, E. H. x. 1 : Ασατε τη Κυριω ασμα κανον, ὄτι θαυμασα εποιησεν. Εσωσεν αυτον ἡ δεξια αυτω' εγνωρισε Κυριωσ το σωτηριον αυτω' &c. And Lactantius M. P. “ Celebremus igitur triumphum Dei cūm exultatione, victoriam Domini cūm laudibus,” &c.

⁵ E. g. De Laud. Const. i. 1 : Παθ ὄδ της ανωτατω βασιλειασ την εικονα φερων ὄ βασιλευσ, κατα μιμησιν του κρειττατωσ των επι της απαντων, τους οιακασ διακυβερων ιδυει.

⁶ V. C. iii. 15 ; “ It looked like the very image of the kingdom of Christ ; and was altogether more like a dream than a reality.” See Vol. i. p. 231, Note 1.

the retrospect of the past persecution, though conducted by earthly Pagan Princes, and on the accusations of earthly adversaries, they recognized the instigation and secret acting of their invisible enemy, the accuser of the brethren, the old Serpent, the Devil;¹ and again in the casting down of these Pagans the casting down of the Devil:² just according to the next Apocalyptic clause, "The accuser of our brethren hath been cast down, which accused them before our God day and night."—He narrates very fully how, at the same time, there was solemn remembrance of the martyrs and confessors that had illustrated the past persecution, and praise and honour rendered them:³—how of those that had suffered unto death public notice was taken, as of heroes that had conquered, specially by the doctrine of the *cross*, in the most excellent combat of witnessing and of martyrdom;⁴ ("They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their witnessing (*μαρτυρια*); and they

¹ So E. H. x. 4. *Του μισοκαλου Δαιμονος. . . δενα συργαγα και τας οφιαειδαι αυτου φαναι, τότε μιν ασεβων τυραννων απειλαι, τότε δε βλασφημοις δυσσεβων αρχοντων διαταξιν, αφιεντο.*—On the *διαβολαι*, or slanderous accusations, raised by the Devil's earthly agents against the Christian Brethren, see Walsh's Christian Medals, p. 79: also, besides the statements of *Athenagoras* and others referred to Vol. ii. p. 282, Note ² *supra*, *Lactantius'* to the same effect. The latter thus notices the change after Constantine's victories; "Sed omnia jam signa sopita sunt. Jam cultores Dei pro accleratis ac nefariis non habemur." Inst. vii. 26. Compare Lactantius, "Ubi nunc magna illa Joviorum et Hercubiorum cognomina," in the extract given Vol. i. p. 219, Note ².

From comparing Ezra iv. 5—24 with Zech. iii. 1, it seems probable that the vision which represented Satan, the great adversary, accusing the Jewish High Priest in the court of heaven, corresponded with, and had reference to, the accusation of the Jews before the Persian king's court, by their Samaritan adversaries, Satan's earthly agents:—a case very parallel with the present; and which would justify the Constantinian Christians in their judgment.

² So Eusebius, E. H. x. 4: *Ὁ μέγας Αρχιστρατηγος του Θεου, τα μιν εχθρα και πολεμια εις αφανει και το μηδεν κατεστησατο.* (This is just after calling the *διαμων* the *εχθρος*, as in Note ¹.)—And again in his V. C. iii. 3: *Τον εχθρον και πολεμιον θρονα, τον την εκκλησιαν του Θεου δια της των αδων πολιορκησαντα τυραννιδος, κατα βοθου φερομενον ποιησας.* For Constantine's language to the same effect, see the extract from the V. C. ii. 46, in the Note at the head of this page.

Rasche, on the word *Draco*, observes; "Draco jacens ac prostratus *mysticus* representatur in numis Christianorum aliquot Cæsarum. Sic Draco sub pedibus in Theodosii numis sæpius conspicitur; pariter ac Valentiniani Junioris, Libii Severi, Heraclii, aliorumque.

³ See V. C. ii. 24—42, for Constantine's Proclamation and Decrees respecting these Christian martyrs and confessors.

⁴ Ib. c. 35: *Ει τιμες, τον αριθον υποσαντες και θειον αγωνα του μαρτυριου, . . . την αμωνιον ελτιδα παρεσκευασαν ίαντοις &c.* In which mark the correspondence

loved not their lives," i. e. were prodigal of them, "even unto death:") and how, as a further tribute to their innocence and worth, the property confiscated from them was reclaimed and restored to their surviving relatives, or to the Church:¹—how, again, to the confessors still living a similar meed of praise was awarded, the *imperial* voice still precenting in the song; (just, I may observe, as in the fulfilment of another *great voice* from the Apocalyptic heaven, heard earlier by St. John in vision:²) and Imperial orders issued for their liberation from prison, exile, or the mines, for the restoration of their goods, and their re-admission to every civic honor and privilege.³ It was indeed acknowledged in the Decree that, their ambition and pursuit being a heavenly one, and their affections set in heavenly places, they *needed* not the solace of human approbation; but with the added declaration that this was no reason why they should not be elevated to higher honor and dignity in (the heaven of) this world.⁴ And therefore they were bidden to return rejoicingly from their places of suffering, amidst the public congratulations and applause.⁵ It was just

of the *αγων* and the *μαρτυριον*,—the *combat with Satan* in their *witnessing*,—with the phraseology of the Apocalyptic song.—On the doctrine of the *cross*, as that by which they conquered, see on the *σπηριον σημειον*, Vol. i. p. 229 *suprà*.

"Next to the apostles the *martyrs* must occupy the second place among those that were instrumental in bringing about this mighty renovation of society." So Schlegel, *Phil. of Hist.* ii. 31, speaking of the Constantinian revolution.

Theodoret, H. E. i. 7, mentions that at the Nicene Council there appeared many among the fathers who bore marks on their bodies of the Lord Jesus; some deprived of an eye, some of a leg, some cauterized on the hands: in short a crowd of martyrs, *δημον μαρτυρων*. (In which last expression let the reader note, in passing, Theodoret's use of the word *martyr*, as including *living confessors*; and compare my remarks on Mr. Faber's theory of the witnesses' death, Vol. ii. p. 369, Note ³.)

¹ The complete fulfilment, let me observe in passing, of that symbolic figuration of the fifth Seal (see Vol. i. p. 208) wherein the *white robes* of acknowledged innocence were represented as publicly given to the souls of the martyrs under the altar.

² *Viz.* that which said to the two Witnesses, Come up hither. See Vol. ii. pp. 409, 410.

³ V. C. ubi *suprà*.

⁴ V. C. ii. 29. Οἶδα μὲν ἢν ακριβὲς ὡς εἶδε τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων εὐνοίας χρῆσαιεν ἂν δι' τὴν οὐρανοῦ ὀρθῶς μεταδιδωσαντες ἐλπίδα, καὶ ταυτὴν ἐξαιρετοῦν τε καὶ βασιλῆδα, ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τῶν θείων καθιδρυσάμενοι τοσῶν. To which it is added; Γενοίτ' ἂν ἀποστατοῦν ὅπο τῆ θεραποντῆ του Θεου μὴ οὐκ εἰς λαμπροτερον τι καὶ μακαριστοτερον τῆν δοξαν αὐτῶν ἀρθῆναι.

⁵ So V. C. ii. 32, of those that had been ignominiously condemned to the

the fulfilment of the call to joy prefigured in the last clause, "Rejoice, heavens, and ye that dwell in them:" or as the phrase simply means, "Rejoice, ye that dwell in the heavens."¹—In which phrase, as reminded by Mr. Daubuz,² I have not overlooked the use of the uncommon plural form *heavens*, instead of *heaven*. For indicating, as it seems to do, the rare conjunction, for just the then prosperous crisis, of elevation in heart to the spiritual heaven, and elevation in dignity to the heaven of worldly rank, it makes the agreement between the prophecy and the history yet more striking. To the which I may add that the very word *ευφρανεσθε*, used in the Apocalyptic prophecy to bid the Christian confessors joy, was the identical one addressed more than once to them in the Imperial Edict of Constantine.³

On the whole, after thus carefully considering and comparing with history the several clauses of this Apocalyptic prefigurative song of triumph, I may be bold to say that it does indeed most accurately represent the characteristic feeling and spirit of that ever-memorable æra of Christian joy and triumph, which followed on Constantine's establishment of Christianity. And I may, I think, say with equal confidence, that it can be shown to correspond with those of no other æra in the history of the church whatsoever.

mines; Μετ' ευφροσύνης της προσήκουσης, διον αποδημίη τινι χρονίη χωρισθείσαν, την προτεραν αξίαν αναλαβortes, επι τας αυτων επειγεσθασαν πατριδας. And c. 34, of those that had been degraded into slaves; Οδοι τιμων τε έν απηλανον προσθεν, και τοις της ελευθερίας καλοις ενευφραϊνομενοι, ανακαλεσαμενοι τας συνηθεις αξίας, μετα πασης λοιπον ευφροσύνης βιωντων.

¹ So Apoc. xiii. 6, την σκηνην αυτου και τους εν τη ουρανη σκηρουντας' and xiii. 12; ποιει την γην και τους κατοικουντας εν αυτη. This figure of the *Henidyadis* is not infrequent in the prophetic scriptures.

² He observes that out of above fifty passages in which the word *heaven* is quoted in the Apocalypse, this is the only one in which it is used in the plural. Compare Phil. iii. 20; "We have our conversation (*πολιτευμα*) in heaven:" and Eph. ii. 6; "Who hath made us to sit in heavenly places with Christ:" συνεκαθισεν εν τοις επουρανιοις εν Χριστω. And see Vol. i. p. 101, Note ².

³ See the quotations in Note ¹ just above. The word is used elsewhere also by Eusebius, in describing the joy of the Christian body on Maximin's overthrow, and the first peace to the Church, E. H. x. 2: 'Ημιν, τοις επι τον Χριστον του Θεου τας ελπίδας ανηρτημενοις, αλεκτος παρην ευφροσύνη.

This verbal coincidence is the more notable, because the word is not a very common one; being found but twice elsewhere in this prophetic book, viz. xi. 10, and xviii. 20.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE WOMAN (THE CHURCH) AFTER THE
DRAGON'S DEJECTION.

“Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea !
For the Devil is come down to you having great wrath,
because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

“And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman that had brought forth the man-child.—And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place from the face of the serpent ; where she is nourished for a time, times, and half a time.—And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman : and the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.—And the dragon was wroth with the woman : and went to make war with that remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and hold the testimony of Jesus Christ.”
Apoc. xii. 12—17.

“Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea !
For the Devil is come down to you in great wrath,
because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.”—It surprises me that so many Commentators should have regarded this denunciation as the concluding part of the *εὐδοκίαν*, or song of triumph, just preceding.¹ It is not merely that no such ill-omened anticipations were mixed up with those christian rejoicings, to which, on

¹ Ambrosius Ansbertus marks the distinction, by making the denunciation, as I do, the commencement of a new chapter. But I know of no modern Commentator that has done so.

I think abundant evidence, I have referred it, of the time of Constantine. It would surely be a strange appendage to any *επισημιον*. On the other hand its similarity of expression and form to the several denunciations of coming Woes under the Trumpets,¹ suggests the presumption, (a presumption to which no objection seems to offer,) that this, like them, is to be regarded as a detached and solemn notification by *the dictating prophetic Spirit* of some woe on the Roman Empire, soon about to follow. —Is it asked, What woe? The answer is ready. Either the *Arian heresy* raised up *within* the empire to be the disturber and persecutor of the Church: or else the *Gothic scourge*, which first of all *external* judgments, as we know, fell on the christianized Roman world.² In either case the *woe* was denounced distinctively against the *earth* and the *sea*, or those that dwelt in them;³ a phrase specially significant of the *earthly-minded*, as long since observed;⁴ whereas it seemed implied that they who in heart *dwelt in heaven*,⁵—a class marked out as separate from the former, just like the sealed ones of a former vision,—had a charter of exemption from *real* evil.⁶—But how different the character of the coming future here, as in the parallel previous prophecy foreshown, from what was expected by the Christians at this epoch of their triumph! I have made the observation before, and cannot but now repeat it. They spoke as if the times of promised happiness and glory to the church were just commencing.⁷ The prophetic vision, on the other hand, spoke of coming *woe and persecution, of floods of im-*

¹ Apoc. viii. 13; "I heard an angel saying with a loud voice, Woe, Woe, Woe, to them that dwell on the earth, by reason of the remaining trumpet-voices that have yet to sound." ix. 12; "The one woe hath past: behold there come yet two woes after this." xi. 14; "The second woe hath past: behold the third woe cometh quickly."

² If the latter, then the development of this Gothic Woe under *four* successive Trumpets may be compared with that of the last Woe under *seven* successive Vials.

³ Griesbach's and Tregelles' reading in the present passage is simply, *Ουαι τη γη και τη θαλασση*. ⁴ See Vol. i. p. 390, Note ². ⁵ So Apoc. xii. 12.

⁶ So Apoc. vii. 3. See Vol. i. p. 249, &c.

⁷ V. C. ii. 19; *Κακων παλαιων και δυσσεβειας απασης ληθη, παροντων δ' αγαθων απολαυσις, και προστι μελλοντων προσδοκια*. See too what I have stated more fully to the same effect, Vol. i. pp. 230, 231.

pious invading enemies, and *times* impending on Christ's true church of *famine, distress, and desolation*. At the same time it revealed too the original author of all the evil; viz. the *Devil*, the Prince of this world, now for the first time fallen from the mundane heaven, and cast out from his throne of this world, agreeably with the Lord's far-seeing prophecy.¹ Wretched Spirit! incapable of repentance: and only gathering fresh malice against Christ Himself, and Christ's cause and Church, from each partial victory they might have gained over him; and the terrible consciousness of the ceaseless shortening of his respite from the sentence of final judgment!²

But to proceed.—We have here,

I. THE DEJECTED DRAGON'S PERSECUTION OF THE WOMAN. "And when the Dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child."

It is of course implied in what follows that the woman no more appeared in heaven, but on earth. But how such a change? And how might the Dragon find means to persecute her, when himself cast down to the ground: especially after her children had just been made the subject of an *επισημιασμος*, and called on to rejoice and triumph?—The fact however proved as prefigured. The Church soon found herself not only a wanderer again on earth, but persecuted and suffering. The very next point which Eusebius describes,—next, I mean, after the Christians' congratulatory songs and rejoicings, consequent on Lici-nius' overthrow and the establishment of Christianity throughout the Roman empire,—is a tale of her distress and persecution.

¹ John xii. 31; Luke x. 18.

² "Knowing that his time is short." The *knowing* may here mean simply *persuaded*: just as in the case of the unprofitable servant, "Thou *knewest* that I was a hard man;" Matt. xxv. 26. It is reasonable to suppose that the Devil knows not, any more than the angels in heaven, the exact time of the last judgment: and might thus anticipate, as the early Christians did, that it would follow speedily on the breaking up of the Pagan Roman empire. (Compare Matt. viii. 29, and xxiv. 36.)—Or perhaps the expression may refer to the brief remaining time in which *profest* Paganism would be tolerated.

In order however to the right understanding of the gist and point of the prophecy, it is essential to mark how in singularly distinctive phrase it characterises the woman meant as her *which brought forth the man-child*.¹ It was evidently the *true, primitive, orthodox Church*, which was the object of this persecution: the same that had accomplished the victory over Paganism; especially as holding even unto death the testimony, referred to in the Apocalyptic song of victory, of a divine atoning Saviour, the Lamb that took away the sins of the world. Indeed there might almost seem in the words an allusive contrast to some *anti-primitive Church* or Churches then risen or to arise. If so, *they* would not be the subjects of the Dragon's *persecution*; though indeed the very sufferers from his deceit and guile. Rather they might be in it his instruments and co-operators.—I observe this because, though there may be a partial allusion, in what is said of the Dragon's persecuting the woman, to the bitter mockings of Christians by the Pagans remaining in the Roman empire,—mockings like as of Isaac by Ishmael,²—and, where opportunity might offer, their opposition and even violence,³—also to the savage persecutions of Christians by heathen princes without the empire,⁴—yet I conceive, in common with other commentators, that first his *direct* assault on the very vitals of Christianity, and persecution of orthodox and true Christians by *Arianism* and the *Arians*, next and connectedly, his *indirect* but not less hostile attack on them through temptations to *superstition*,⁵ are the things here mainly prefigured.⁶

¹ Vitringa well calls attention to this point. "Non tantùm inuitt inter causas iræ et odii (Draconis) fuisse conuersionem Imperatorum Romanorum ad fidem Christianam: sed precipuè ut nos commonefaceret Sp. S. Ecclesiam illam, cui hæc et sequentium temporum intentata est persecutio, fuisse *Ecclesiam veram*, quæ peristeret in fide Apostolicâ." p. 738.

² In Gal. iv. 29 this is called a *persecution*: "He that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit:" with reference to Gen. xxi. 9.

³ See Mosh. iv. 1. 24. Julian's momentary elevation afforded an excellent opportunity of exhibiting the bitter enmity of fallen Paganism against Christianity.

⁴ As by *Sapor* the cotemporary Persian king, and *Atharic* the Goth.

⁵ So Num. xxv. 18; "They *vex* (or *persecute*) you with their wives;" said of the Midianites tempting Israel to idolatry. Heb. 777.

⁶ So Tichonius on the later verse xii. 17; "Draco, cum vidisset non posse

Of the *latter*, having to speak elsewhere, it needs not that I speak now. On the more passing history of the *Arian* heresy and persecution it may be well to pause a moment. It was in Alexandria that the spark was kindled, which was to spread into so wide a conflagration. The presbyter *Arius* threw out insinuations against the divinity of the Lord Jesus:—a view which, like all that has since been called *Socinianism*, at once impeached his omnipotence to save, and the perfectness of his propitiatory sacrifice as the spotless all-atoning Lamb of God. Was not the prompting Spirit that spirit of philosophy and vain deceit against which St. Paul had lifted his forewarning voice?¹ and that too which yet earlier made the Jews cry “blasphemy” against Jesus, when calling Himself the *Son of God*?—Excommunicated by his bishop, *Arius*’ heresy became one forthwith of discussion and strife in every part of Roman Christendom. Constantine assembled the *Council of Nice* to decide the question;—the first General Council of the christian Church. By it *Arianism* was condemned, the true Deity of Jesus asserted, and orthodoxy and truth retained thus far in the ascendant. But, after a few years, Constantius succeeded to Constantine in the empire;—an avowed, devoted *Arian*. Then was *Athanasius*, the champion of the true faith, chased from his see of Alexandria; and persecutions began against those who, like him, maintained the primitive orthodox faith, almost throughout the empire. For 40 years, or more, the persecution more or less prevailed: through the reign of *Valens*, as well as of *Constantius*.²—And did not the Spirit of *Paganism* manifest his participation in it? “The *Pagans* took courage,” says *Milner*,³ “and assisted the heretics in the persecution;

continuari persecutiones quas per *Paganos* solebat immittere, *hereses* concitavit.”

¹ Col. ii. 8, 9; “Beware lest any one spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, according to the principles of the world, and not according to Christ: for in Him dwelleth *all the fulness of the Godhead* bodily.”

² Constantius reigned from 337 to 360; *Valens* from A.D. 362 to 378. “*Ecclesiam quam Valens hereticus vehementer afflixerat.*” So *Augustin*, C. D. v. 26. 1.

³ Cent. iv. c. 4, p. 226. At p. 222 he notes from *Athanasius* that Jews and *Pagans* were encouraged to murder Christians.

saying, *The Arians have embraced our religion.*"¹ Again he adds, on another occasion; "Zealous heretics were by force of arms intruded into the places of the exiled Trinitarians: and *Arianism* seemed well nigh to have avenged the cause of *fallen idolatry.*"² The real though invisible originator of the heresy and the persecution, noted in this vision, was early recognized by the Christians. "It was *some evil Dæmon,*" says Eusebius,³ "that wrought the mischief; envious of the prosperity and happiness of the Church."

We are next told of

II. THE WOMAN'S PROGRESSING FLIGHT TO THE WILDERNESS, AND THE HELP GIVEN HER TOWARDS IT.—

"And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness into her place, from the face of the Serpent: ⁴—where she is nourished for a time, times, and half a time."

1. *The woman's flight towards the wilderness.*

It has been a question among Commentators whether by the woman's *flight into the wilderness* there be meant a change of *state*, or a change of *place*. Vitringa argues against Mede for the latter signification; as that which is necessarily required by the attribution of movement to the woman, in the very terms of the figure:⁵—but,

¹ They united with Arians in the accusation personally of Athanasius. Ib. c. 10, p. 248. Jovian's answer to the Pagan accuser is reported: 'What business has a Pagan like thee to trouble himself about Christians?'—Vitringa observes, p. 738, that these Arian persecutions were called *διωγμοί*.

² Milner Ib. c. 4, p. 225.

³ V. C. ii. 73. Ταῦτα μὲν ἂν φθονὸς τις (φθονερός;) καὶ πομπῆος δαίμων, τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας βασκαίων ἀγαθοῖς, κατεργαζέτο. Quoted by Vitringa and Newton.

⁴ This seems the proper place of the clause, "from the face of the Serpent;" the clause following being parenthetical. So Vitringa.

⁵ "Prophetia ipsa nos accuratè hic jubet distinguere terminum à quo, quem vocant, et ad quem: locum ex quo mulier fugit, et ad quem fugiendo pervenit. Fuga hæc nos ducit ad cogitandum de mutatione loci, non *status*." p. 741.—He then explains the flight as made from the Eastern empire, where Arianism first prevailed and subsequently other heresies, to the comparatively barbarous nations of the Franks, Angli-Saxons, &c: who in the eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries in multitudes embraced Christianity; and among whom, he says, it was preserved during the *reign of the Beast*, which he makes to begin about the xiith century.—Of course on the *year-day* principle (of the truth of which I feel no doubt) there are decisive chronological objections to this interpretation. And, besides and independent of them, others too occur that are insuperable. 1. At

as it seems to me, quite in vain. There is implied movement from one local point to another, in the representation just previously given of the Dragon's dejection from the heaven to the earth: yet Vitringa, in common with most other Apocalyptic expositors, explains this of a change of *state* in the same Roman empire; viz. from political supremacy and establishment to political degradation. The same, we may presume, is the case here.—And what then is the state indicated by the figure of the woman, or church, i. e. *Christ's true Church* (for we must never lose sight of the distinction) *being in the wilderness?* Both the figure itself, and the type also that is evidently referred to of the sojourn of the ancient Israel in the wilderness, imply *insulation from the rest of the world, invisibility* in respect of its *public worship*,¹ and *destitution of all ordinary means of spiritual sustenance*, (I say *spiritual* because the thing symbolized is the *Church*,)—a destitution such as to need God's special interposition to support life.—Such are the conditions of the *completed wilderness-state*. Of course in proportion as the Church might *approximate* to it, they must be supposed to have had a *partial and approximate fulfilment*. And as, in the Chapter before us, the woman is described as transferred into the wilderness not *suddenly* but *gradu-*

the time of the flight commencing (viz. at the birth of the man-child) and long after, these nations were not Christians. 2. At the time of their adoption of Christianity, they were no longer foreign to, but had become part of, the Roman Western Empire. 3. Their Christian character, then and afterwards, had as little to do, for the most part, with real religion, as that of the Christians of the Eastern empire, from which Vitringa makes it to flee in the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries.—Vitringa had better, as it seems to me, have referred to Constantine's Christian Missions into Armenia, Georgia, and Abyssinia, to make his hypothesis at all tenable.

¹ So the most able of Roman controversialists, and to whom I have particular reasons for referring, *Bossuet*. He says in explanation of the 6th verse; "*L'église cache son service, dans les lieux retirés. C'est une imitation de l'état où se trouva la synagogue dans la persécution d'Antiochus.*"—On verse 14 indeed he observes; "*Nourris;—sous les ordres de Dieu, par les pasteurs ordinaires; comme le peuple dans le désert par Moïse et Aaron, et sous Antiochus par Matthias et ses enfans sacrificateurs. Afin qu'on ne se figure par ici une église invisible, et sans pasteurs.*" But who the pastors that nourished it? Not those of the world from which it had fled, but those that were exiled in the wilderness with it. And how, as in the extract before given, *cachée, hidden*, ("*L'église cache son service dans les lieux retirés,*") and yet not *invisible?*—The subject will be recurred to at the end of this chapter.

ally,—her first movement thitherwards being represented as begun soon after the birth of the man-child, for it is then that the first mention is made of her fleeing a wanderer towards the wilderness,¹—and her settlement therein as not completed until after the dragon's dejection, his subsequent persecution of the woman, the two wings of the great eagle being given her, the dragon's casting water out of his mouth to overwhelm her, and the earth absorbing, or at least beginning to absorb, the flood of waters,—such I say being the representation of her long and as yet not completed flight into the wilderness-state, it is her earlier movement and progress thitherwards that must first and for the present claim our attention.

In proof then that Christ's *spiritual Church*, "the blessed company of all faithful people,"²—once discernible almost as a body corporate before the world in the generally holy evangelical character of the members, doctrine, and worship of the *professing Church*,³—began from soon after the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, and through all the half century following, *to flee towards the wilderness*,—in other words to vanish rapidly in its distinctive features from public view, become more insulated and desolate, and more and more straightened for spiritual sustenance in the then public means of grace,—I have only to make appeal to the testimony of the most respectable ecclesiastical historians. The period in question is the same, it will be observed, that was before depicted in the two parallel visions of the segregation of the sealed from the unsealed, and of those

¹ Ἐφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. This may be rendered *towards*, as well as *into*; so indicating the commencement of the movement. So Luke ix. 56, 57; Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἕτερον κωμὴν: immediately after which we have a relation of sundry things that occurred *in the course of the passage* to the village spoken of; Ἐγενετο δὲ πορευομένων αὐτῶν, &c. The example is precisely parallel to that before us. So again Acts viii. 25, xix. 18, &c. And in the Old Testament, Gen. xxii. 3; "Abraham went unto the place (Greek *εἰς*) of which God had told him: and on the third day he saw the place afar off." &c.

It will be observed that I do not, like many others, regard this first mention of the woman's flight as *proleptical*; though indeed *prolepses* are not infrequent in Scripture; as in Gen. i. 1, Jer. xxxvi. 8—10, Matt. xxvii. 53, Luke iii. 19, John xx. 3, 4, &c.

² English Communion Service.

³ We must indeed look to *primitive Apostolic* times for this. See 2 Cor. iii. 2.

that adhered to Christ as their Mediator and Atoner, from the apostatized multitudes of the *professing* Israel. And the general view given from history, in my illustrative comments on those visions,¹ of the then state of religion in the Roman empire, I mean after Constantine's establishment of Christianity, might almost be referred to as sufficient to prove the question now in hand. It will doubtless, however, better satisfy the reader to see a few further testimonies more direct and explicit to the point. I therefore subjoin them from both *Milner* and *Mosheim*; omitting for the most part such as refer to *Arianism*, both because it has been already considered, and because it is obvious that wherever Arianism was dominant Christ's true church must needs have been hidden from view and desolate; but begging the Reader not to forget the operation of this cause, as well as others; and its aggravation of all the rest, through the bitter and contentious spirit, as well as the direct heresies, thereby engendered.

The *former* then thus describes the state of religion, even where Arianism prevailed not, after Constantine's establishment of Christianity, and for the half century following. "In the *general appearance of the Church*, we cannot see much of the spirit of godliness. External piety flourished. But faith, love, heavenly-mindedness appear *very rare*. The doctrine of real conversion was very much lost, and external baptism placed in its stead: and the true doctrine of justification by faith, and true practical use of a crucified Saviour for troubled consciences *scarce to be seen* at this time. Superstition and self-righteousness were making vigorous shoots; and the real gospel of Christ was *hidden* from the men that professed it."²—He afterwards refers to the Council of Antioch, held about the year 370 in Valens' reign:

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 259—267, and 306—315, *suprà*.

² Cent. iv. c. 2, pp. 211, 212.—He here adds (just according to the chronological position of the predictive statement that the dragon after his dejection persecuted the woman) that Satan saw it his time to make a direct attack on the dignity of the Son of God, and to stir up persecution against Christians by means of those that bore the Christian name.

in the which the 140 or 150 Bishops that attended "pathetically bewailed the times, and observed that the Infidels laughed at the evil; while the Christians, (he means orthodox Christians,) avoiding the churches as now nurseries of impiety, went into the deserts, and lifted up their hands to God with sighs and tears."¹ He elsewhere instances the piety of the monk Antony, to show that "godliness in those times lived *obscure* in hermitages; though abroad in the world the Gospel was *almost buried* in faction and ambition:"² and at the same time, as if in proof that the true church had not yet quite left the world for the wilderness, speaks of "godliness also thriving in some unknown instances in ordinary life;" and refers to Ammianus Marcellinus,—an unbeliever little disposed to speak too favourably of Christians,—as showing that "among the lower orders, and in obscure places, exemplary pastors and real religion were not wanting."³

To the same effect is the report of *Mosheim*. Of the *life* and *morals* of the professing Christians of the fourth century he says: "Good men were, as before, mixed with bad: but the bad were by degrees so multiplied, that men truly holy and devoted to God appeared more rarely; and the pious few were almost oppressed by the vicious multitude."⁴ Of the *doctrine* he says; "Fictions, of early origin, (viz. about saint-veneration and

¹ *Ib.* c. xi. p. 250.

² *Ib.* c. v. p. 229. "We are not," he justly observes, "to form an idea of ancient monks from modern ones. It was a mistaken thing in holy men of old to retire altogether from the world. But there is reason to believe that it originated in piety." p. 228. A sketch of the Monk Antony's character and faith follows, which should be read. Instead of Antony's *heading* (as we might perhaps expect from his being a monk) the gathering superstitions of the times, he is actually associated with *Vigilantius* by Mr. Daubuz, p. 538, as an opponent to them.

³ *Ib.* c. xii. The passage from Ammianus, xxvii. 3, is as follows. "They (the Roman Bishops) might be happy if, contemning the splendour of Rome, they lived like some bishops of the provinces; who, by the plainness of their diet, their mean apparel, and the modesty of their looks, make themselves acceptable to the eternal God and his true worshippers."—It a little savours, the reader may perhaps think, of Pagan irony.

⁴ "Mores et vitam Christianorum si spectes, boni, ut antea, malis commisti fuere: at malorum tamen numerus sensim ita cæpit augere, ut rarius apparent homines verè sancti atque Deo debiti." Again: "Exiguam piorum manum ab illis (agminibus vitiosorum) pænè oppressam fuisse." iv. 2. 3. 17.

relics, a purifying fire, celibacy, &c. &c.) now so prevailed, as in course of time almost to thrust true religion aside, or at least to exceedingly obscure and tarnish it:"¹ adding, with reference to the conduct of *controversies* on doctrinal points, that "the ancient Christian simplicity had almost fled away from them;"² and, as to *Scripture interpretation*, that the mystical and allegorizing method of Origen was followed.³ His account of the *public worship*, as then celebrated, is to the effect that to the hymns, prayers, Scripture-reading, sermons, and ministration of the Lord's Supper, which had been handed down from primitive times, there were now added various rites and ceremonies, more suited to please the eye than to kindle piety:⁴ that, besides this, the *prayers* had greatly fallen away from their ancient simplicity and majesty; that the *sermons* were fashioned rather to excite popular admiration and applause than to edify;⁵ and that a mystery and reserve was maintained towards catechumens and the mixed audience on the subject of the *holy sacrament*;⁶ i. e. on a subject involving the vital doctrine of the atonement.—He elsewhere contrasts the zeal of the emperors to exalt the Christian religion, with that of the priesthood to obscure and smother it by superstitious rites and ceremonies.⁷

Such are the consenting testimonies of these two ecclesiastical historians, to the lamentable state of Christ's *true Church* and *religion* through the middle half of the fourth century; even where not oppressed by the deadly

¹ "..... quæ, procedente tempore, ipsam pæne religionem extruserunt; vehementer saltem obscurarunt et depravarunt." He adds; "Veræ pietatis in locum ingens variarum superstitionum agmen sensim suffectum est." iv. 2. 3. 1, 2.

² "Aufugit prope prisca simplicitas ex disputationibus cum illis qui divine veritatis putabantur hostes esse." iv. 2. 3. 7.

³ iv. 2. 3. 4.

⁴ "..... quibus quidem rebus varii ritus, ad oculorum magis oblectationem quam ad veræ pietatis excitationem, addebantur." iv. 2. 4. 3.

⁵ "Preces à veteri simplicitate ac majestate valdè defecerunt. Sermones publici admirationi potius rudis plebeculæ quam mentium emendationi inserviebant." iv. 2. 4. 4.

⁶ "Nec sacri oratores apertè ac simpliciter pro concione de verâ naturâ eorum (i. e. of the sacred elements) disserere audebant." iv. 2. 4. 8.

⁷ "Dum imperatorum favor religionem Christianam extollere studet, antistitum inconsulta pietas rituum et cæremoniarum multitudine veram ejus indolem et naturam obscurat et opprimit." iv. 2. 4. 1.

Arian heresies. And, I ask, can any descriptions more precisely answer to the significant figuration, now under discussion, of the Apocalyptic prophecy? Its *spirit scarce to be seen*, its *living exemplars* (those that constituted its body) *rare*, the *gospel-faith*, which was a part of its very essence, almost *hidden*,—the real Church of Christ was evidently, according to these accounts, receding into the *invisibility* of the wilderness-state. And as the *doctrine* taught throughout professing Christendom around it was corrupted and vitiated by superstitious fictions, the vital dogmas of conversion and justification misrepresented, the public prayers of the church-assemblies deprived very much of their primitive spirituality, a deep reserve maintained by the preachers on God's great mystery of atonement and redemption, and a false method followed of Scripture interpretation,—forasmuch as the public and visible means of grace were thus vitiated and rendered unnutritious, is it not equally evident that Christ's Church and people were reduced more and more to the wilderness-state of *spiritual want* and *barrenness*?—It has been observed that some Christians, like Antony, under a sense of the wretched and ungenial atmosphere of professing Christendom, fulfilled the Apocalyptic figure to the letter; and sought in the Syrian or Egyptian deserts the spiritual comforts, nourishment, and peace that failed elsewhere. But it was only to find, after brief experience, that removal from the world's contentions and bustle is not necessarily removal from its corruptions. Superstition and error insinuated themselves as effectively, ere the end of the 4th century, into the monasteries, as into the churches of Christendom.¹ Much more was this the case afterwards. So that at length there, as elsewhere, whatever of Christ's true Church was preserved, was preserved by God's special and extraordinary interposition; even as Israel or Elijah in the wilderness.—But in this I am anticipating. The Church, though advancing towards the wilderness-state,

¹ See Milner and Mosheim on this point.

had not yet fully attained it. Its features were still in the fourth century discernible, though faintly. Food was still supplied it, though scantily. And, ere its complete entrance into the wilderness, a partial success was ordained for it. The help of *the great eagle's wings*, as powerful as seasonable, was to be given to the woman, to bear her up triumphant from the first direct attack on her vitality by the fallen Dragon. And, borne up by them, she was yet once again to exhibit herself, in not a little of her primitive distinctness of feature and lustre: before she finally disappeared from public view in Christendom; and was for ages, in respect of those things by which alone a true Church might be *visible*,¹ no more seen.

Thus we come to consider,

2. *The aptation of the two eagle-wings to the woman.*

“And to the woman were given the two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, from the face of the Serpent.”

In explanation of the above a reference has been made by Mede and others² to God's representation, under similarly emblematic language, of the *assistance and protection* that He had afforded Israel,³ when fleeing to the wilderness from the persecutions of the Egyptian dragon, Pharaoh. “Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians; and how I bare you *on eagle's wings*, and brought you to myself.” It has been further suggested that in a *symbolic* prophecy, like this of the Apocalypse, the symbol of an eagle's wings must be regarded as emblematic of some particular *earthly instrumentality*, appropriate to the emblem, and employed to the sus-

¹ See in further explanation the end of this Chapter.

² Daubuz, Bishop Newton, &c.

³ This is evidently the force of the emblem in the passage cited from Exodus xix. 4: as also in that beautiful one of Deut. xxxii. 11; “As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings,—so the Lord alone did lead him.”—Let me here observe that since these passages suggest protection, help, sustentation, as the thing chiefly intended by the figure, a meaning as suitable here as there, they serve satisfactorily to show the futility of Mr. Maitland's objection to Bishop Newton; which is to the effect that, having in one place explained eagles' wings as emblems simply of *swiftness*, he ought so also to have explained them here.

tentation and help of Christ's true Church by divine Providence: that this power is marked out by the eagle standard of Rome as the *Roman*: moreover that the emphatic numeral specification of *the two wings*¹ of the great eagle, given to the woman, is fitly explicable of those two notable divisions of the Roman empire, the Eastern and the Western, which, though once Pagan, did now alike profess and support Christianity.—All this seems plausible, and in the main reasonable. It is true that the figure of the text is somewhat different from that in Exodus. For there the ancient Israel was represented as *borne on eagle's wings*; here the mystic and true Israel as *fitted with the wings* for flight. But the main idea figured out is in either case, as appears from parallel passages, not very different; I mean that of *aid* given to help her escaping alive.² Again, it is true that the *eagle* is not distinctively a Roman symbol: it being one of the more general emblems in Scripture;³ and applied to Babylonians, Egyptians, Persians,⁴ as well as Romans. At the same time our Lord's apparent reference to the Romans under it,⁵ the notoriety of the emblem as significant of the Roman power at the period to which this Apocalyptic vision relates, and the fact of no other empire at that time but the Roman even professing, much less assisting and supporting Christi-

¹ Tregelles inserts the article *â*, which is in both the Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi; and, as Bishop Middleton observes, probably the correct reading.

² Compare Jer. xviii. 9; "Give wings unto Moab, that it may flee and get away; for the cities thereof shall be desolate:" Isaiah xl. 31; "They that wait on the Lord shall mount up with wings as eagles:" &c. Psalm lv. 6; "I said, Oh, that I had wings like a dove; for then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness."

³ See my observations on Scripture symbols, Vol. i. p. 399.

⁴ See Ezek. xvii. 3, 7, referred to in the next paragraph; also Isa. xlvi. 11; where Cyrus seems designated as "*the ravenous bird*," or *eagle*, called from a far country against Babylon. Commentators remark on this last quoted passage, that the standard of Cyrus was according to Xenophon a *golden eagle*.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 28; "Wheresoever the carcase is, there shall the *eagles* be gathered together."—Perhaps too there is an allusion to the Roman, as well as Babylonian power, in Deut. xxviii. 49: "The Lord shall bring on thee a nation from afar, as swift as the *eagle* flieth." On which verse let me observe, in passing, that the similitude, "as the eagle flieth," being at any rate intended of the *Babylonian* destroyers of Judah, well explains the symbol of the *two eagle wings* attached to Daniel's first Wild Beast, the Babylonian Lion.

anity,¹—all these considerations unite to point to the *Roman* power as the one intended. Perhaps too we may add as corroborative proof of this, as well as of the eagle's two *wings* meaning the Eastern and Western divisions of the empire, that the opposite extremities, or geographical divisions of a land, are metaphorically designated as *wings* in Scripture elsewhere.²—There occurs indeed this strong objection to the explanation, *if made unrestrictedly* in respect of *time*, that the Roman emperors succeeding Constantine, down to Valens inclusive, were almost universally *Arian heretics*; and that however they might support and exalt what *they called* Christianity, they did in fact use their imperial power, even as Satan's instruments, to *persecute* the orthodox and true church of Christ. Let the reference however be only restricted in date to times subsequent to the reign of Valens, and then the objection will be removed, and the suggested explanation confirmed. For *after this time* Arianism was altogether renounced; and orthodox christianity, on the vital point so long disputed, alone professed and upheld by the Roman emperors.

And indeed it strikes me that not merely is the chronological restriction that I speak of indicated, by the notice of the wings-giving following that of the fallen Dragon's persecution of the woman the Church, but also an actual *individuality* of application, thereto corresponding, marked out as intended by that remarkable designation of the figured eagle as "*the eagle, the great one.*"³ Prophetic commentators have, I believe, left this expression quite unnoticed: and though attention has been called to it by Bishop Middleton, it is only to suggest that the phrase was probably borrowed from the

¹ *Sapor*, the great cotemporary king of *Persia*, was a savage persecutor for forty years of all that bore the Christian name in his dominions. The *Goths* were all Pagans till after the middle of the fourth century: then part became *Arian* Christians.

² So Job xxxvii. 3; "He directeth his lightning to the ends (Marg. and Heb. *wings*) of the earth:" and again Job xxxviii. 13. Also Isaiah xi. 12; "He shall gather Judah from the four corners (Heb. *wings*) of the earth."

³ του αετου του μεγαλου. The reading is undoubted. There is no other.

similar symbolic imagery in Ezek. xvii. 3 ;¹ and to explain *the great eagle* pictured there and here, *ornithologically*, from Bochart, as the *asterias*, or *largest of the eagle tribe*.²—But let me add, as an Apocalyptic expositor, that there needs also to be a correspondence in the thing symbolized with the symbol. In Ezekiel, as the eagle just mentioned was the greatest of his species, so the power symbolized was that of the greatest of existing empires,—the as yet unbroken Babylonish power ; and as wielded by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the most eminent of living monarchs.³ This intended appropriateness in Ezekiel's figure is the more marked, inasmuch as in the 7th verse of the same chapter “another great eagle”⁴ is mentioned, without the distinctive definite article, in designation of another kingdom and king, *that of Egypt* ; a king great indeed, but not pre-eminently great as the king of Babylon.—Applying the same rule of interpretation in the present case we may infer that as “*the eagle, the great one*,” is the symbol, so there must be meant the Roman empire in its *unbroken greatness*, or at least in undivided action, albeit with the two wings for characteristics, and as under some *Roman Prince preeminently great*, heading and directing it.—And I think we shall find all the figured notifications to meet in the character and acts of the emperor that immediately succeeded *Valens*, I mean *Theodosius*.⁵ First to him,

¹ “A great eagle with great wings (Sept. *ὁ αἰετός ὁ μέγας ὁ μεγαλοπτερός*) long-winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar, and cropped off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffic,” &c ; i. e. to Babylon.

² “Why *τοῦ αἰετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου* ? Michaelis observes ; ‘It must allude to a particular eagle already mentioned in the Apocalypse : yet I do not recollect any other than that which (see Apoc. viii. 13) * flew through the heaven, and proclaimed the threefold woe now past.’—It is not improbable that the *great eagle*, a species so denominated, may be meant. We find in Ezek. xvii. 3, from whom the expression may be borrowed, *ὁ αἰετός ὁ μέγας, ὁ μεγαλοπτερός*. Bochart tells us that the great eagle of Ezekiel was the *asterias*, said by Ælian to be the *μεγίστος αἰετῶν*.” Middleton ad loc.

³ See the testimonies to his greatness in Bishop Newton on Daniel's prophecy of the Image.

⁴ Sept. *αἰετός ἕτερος μέγας μεγαλοπτερός*.

⁵ His reign lasted from A.D. 379 to 395.

* I have given reasons Vol. i. p. 362, Note ¹, for preferring the reading *αγγελου* in this passage.

alone of Roman emperors from Constantine to Charlemagne, the title has attached,—*deservedly* attached, to use Gibbon's expression,¹—of "THEODOSIUS THE GREAT." Next it was his lot, alone of Roman Emperors after its bipartition by Valentinian, to unite the two wings or divisions of the Empire, the Eastern and the Western, under his own sway.²—Further it was pre-eminently his character to use all this his imperial power, success, and greatness, as a protector and nursing father to the orthodox Church of Christ. As Gibbon says; "Every victory of his contributed to the triumph of the orthodox and catholic faith."³ Indeed not the *professing orthodox church* alone (contradistinctively to the *Arian*) might claim Theodosius as a friend and protector, but Christ's *true* church also, included in the former. For none, I think, can read his history without the impression of his real personal piety.⁴—More particularly consider his conduct with regard to the errors and hostility of Paganism and Arianism, wherewith the dejected Dragon had been already long persecuting Christ's faithful Church. Against *Paganism* he was an enemy so determined and influential,⁵ that it thenceforth never again raised its head. The cross was thenceforth supreme over the Roman world.⁶ Again, against *Arianism*, this was his as determined language, addressed to certain Arians in the year 383. "I will not permit throughout my dominions any other religion than that which obliges us to worship the Son of God in the unity of essence with the Father

¹ iv. 429; "The *great* Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion." And again, p. 421; "The *great* Theodosius; a name celebrated in history, and dear to the Catholic Church."

² His actual reign indeed over the *West*, as well as *East*, was very short. But even previously his laws were of force through the whole empire. Thus Gibbon, vi. 7, on stating that in the year 425, "the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved, and by a positive declaration the validity of all future laws limited to the dominions of their peculiar author;" adds in a note, that forty years before, i. e. under Theodosius, unity of legislation may be shown to have existed.

³ v. 103.

⁴ See his character as sketched in Milner.

⁵ So Mosheim, iv. l. 1. 15, and Gibbon, v. 91, &c.

⁶ Walsh, p. 117, observes that the globe, which by the Roman Cæsars had been surmounted by an *eagle*, and by the Constantinian family by a *phœnix*, was by Theodosius first surmounted by a *cross*.—A copy of the Theodosian medal is appended in illustration.

COIN OF THEODOSIUS.



The Globe now surmounted by the Cross.

From Walsh.

and the Holy Ghost, in the adorable Trinity. As I hold my empire of Him, and the power which I have to command you, He likewise will give me strength, as He hath given me the will, to make myself obeyed in a point so absolutely necessary to your salvation, and to the peace of my subjects."¹ This language was followed up by casting Arian heretics out of the churches, and by severe laws against them: so that, as Mosheim tells us, he was the means of making the dogmas of the Nicene faith every where to triumph in the empire; and none could thenceforth publicly profess Arianism, (let the exception be marked by the reader,) but the barbarian Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians.²

Thus did Theodosius apply his imperial power to defeat the Dragon's projects, so far as hitherto developed; and, as Augustine observes in language singularly illustrative of the passage before us, furnish help to the Church, which had been before grievously deprest and afflicted under the persecutions of the Arian Valens.³—And this is to be observed, that it was not by mere individual favor and support,—the which would both during his life have been less influential, and with his life have terminated; but by the solemn act and co-operation of professing Roman Christendom, that is of the Roman world. "The work of Theodosius," says Dean Waddington, "was considerably promoted by the *Council* which he assembled at Constantinople:⁴ the object of which, besides the regulation of several points of ecclesiastical discipline," (and let it be observed that there was no recognition or support given therein to the gathering superstitions of the age) "was to confirm the decision of Nice against the Arians, and to promulgate the doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonian heretics."⁵ So that, under Theodosius' presiding influence, Roman

¹ Waddington, *Hist. of Church*, p. 99. See also Gibbon, v. 15, 31, &c.

² iv. 2. 5. 15.

³ "Ex ipso initio imperii sui non quievit justissimis et misericordissimis legibus adversus impios laboranti *Ecclēsiæ subvenire*, quam Valens hæreticus, favens Arianis, vehementer afflixerat." C. D. v. 26. 1.

⁴ A.D. 381.

⁵ Waddington, p. 99.

Christendom alike of the East and of the West, (for both assisted in the Council,) did solemnly profess, and thereby uphold, the orthodox and true faith:—in fine did what the symbol presignified, viz. united with its head in applying the two wings of the great eagle to the woman, to support and bear her up in her flight from the Dragon's persecutions and projects.—The groundlessness of the objection¹ that this aptation of the two wings of the Roman empire to the Church had nothing to do with the matter of her flight from the Dragon, must be already obvious to the reader. God makes use of means: and the recognition of an essential but previously persecuted truth by a united empire under a great and pious king could not but be influential to its and her support. Thus of *Arian* persecution from native *Romans*, we hear no more. Nor, I doubt not, did the Council's solemn recognition of the truth fail to operate to the preservation of real religion ages afterwards. Many doubtless were the sincere but timid Catholics, that, amidst the superstitions and darkness of the subsequent middle age, rested on the fundamental doctrines of the *divinity of the Son of God and personality of the Holy Ghost*, as dogmas thus early and solemnly professed by the christian church and world: and, resting thereon, looked upward to those divine agents of salvation, in spite of their obscuration by the sevenfold incrustations of the prevailing superstition; and so looking, found life.

Finally, in estimating the importance of the help given to the mystic woman by the support of the two wings of the great eagle, we must not overlook the consideration of the 18 years of respite given to the church, as well as empire, through Theodosius' instrumentality,²

¹ "The facts are that when she did fly into the wilderness, the eagle's wings of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire had nothing to do with the matter." Maitland's Reply to Cuninghame, p. 52; also his Second Enquiry, p. 144.—I must observe that Bishop Newton, against whom Mr. M. objects, makes no specification, in his explanatory comment, of Theodosius and the Council gathered by him, for the support of the orthodox church and doctrine. So that he would perhaps not urge his objection against the explanation as here given.

² See Vol. i. p. 280. "The safety of the empire seemed to depend on the life of one man." Gibb. iv. 443.

from the tremendous and already imminent irruption of the Gothic flood. Had it burst over the empire when first it threatened at the death of Valens, it might probably have overwhelmed the church. But through him a respite was secured :—just such a one as the Psalmist prayed for; “ Spare me a little that I may recover my strength, before I go hence and be no more seen : ”—just such too as was graciously accorded to Judah under the good king Josiah,¹ before its departure into Babylonish captivity. And let me not forget to add that, as the respite to Judah through Josiah's instrumentality was blessed with the teaching of that eminent instructor and prophet *Jeremiah*, as if to prepare the pious remnant with spiritual strength and food against their impending 70 years captivity, such too was the case in the reign of Theodosius. Under the wings of the Great Eagle, the holy *Augustine* entered on his bishoprick : and alike by his ministry, life, and doctrine, (above all his doctrine on that unspeakably important subject of *Christ's true Church*, of which I was led before to speak very fully as itself distinctly prefigured in the Apocalypse,²) revived the fainting church of the Lord Jesus ; and both furnished it with present food, and food too against its long long sojourn, now soon about commencing, in the wilderness. In fact under his holy ministry (a ministry instrumentally due to the respite through Theodosius) it exhibited itself in not a little of its primitive and heavenly lustre :—just like the sun's parting gleams at sunset, through a clouded and tempestuous sky ; ere his sinking beneath the horizon, and the commencement of a long and dark night.

But I must hasten to that other *direct* attempt made by the Dragon to overwhelm Christ's true faith and Church, while fleeing towards the wilderness, which is next prefigured.—We were to consider,

III. THE DRAGON'S CASTING FLOODS OF WATERS

¹ Ambrose *De Obiit. Theodos.* compares the two Princes.

² Part i. ch. vii, § 2.

OUT OF HIS MOUTH TO OVERTAKE AND OVERWHELM HER.—“And the serpent cast water out of his mouth, as a flood, after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood.”

The image is borrowed from the custom of crocodiles, as also whales and other great fish, drawing in water from the river into their mouths, and spouting it out again.¹ And it seems to me, as to other expositors before me, that there is a double idea suggested in the passage. What flows from the *mouth* is *doctrine*, good or bad, according to the man's character. “The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters; and the well-spring of wisdom as a flowing brook:”² on the other hand, “The mouth of the wicked poureth forth evil things.”³ Again, *floods* are a constant Scripture metaphor for the *invasion of hostile nations*.⁴ That this *latter* idea was meant in the prefiguration I infer from what seems intimated presently afterwards, of the sea or inundation thence spreading being that from which the Wild Beast of the next chapter arose; ⁵ and from the subsequent explanation of the flood on which the woman-rider of the Beast was said to rest, as signifying peoples and tongues and nations.⁶ Nor can we well suppose the *former* idea unintended; considering that it is the old Serpent whose mouth is the ejector.—Thus it will be most satisfactory to combine the two ideas, and interpret the prefiguration to signify as follows:—that the Dragon, the old Serpent, failing in the object of the persecution first commenced by him *within the empire* against the woman the Church, would just after the two wings of Roman Christendom had been given her, pour forth upon the empire floods of *foreign* invaders, tainted with the same or other doctrinal heresies and errors; in order, by this mixture of phy-

¹ So Job xl. 23, of behemoth, or the *hippopotamus*; “Behold he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not: he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth.”

² Prov. xviii. 4.

³ Prov. xv. 28.

⁴ So Isa. viii. 7; Jer. xlvi. 7; Ezek. xxvi. 3; Nahum i. 8; &c. So the ancient interpreter Tichonius interprets the passage; “Aqua emissa ex ore Draconis *exercitum persequentium eam* (sc. Ecclesiam) significat.”

⁵ Apoc. xiii. 1.

⁶ Apoc. xvii. 1, 15.

sical force and doctrinal error, to overwhelm the true church and religion with the flood. Perhaps too we might add the supposition that, as the crocodile first imbibes the water, then pours it forth, so the Dragon, acting through the Pagan or Arian instruments that he animated, would first draw in the invaders, as it were, into his mouth, then eject them against devoted Roman Christendom.

Such seems the sense of the emblematic figuration : and how historical events answered to it is well known. The conquests of the Pagan Emperor Trajan having long before appended *Dacia* to the Roman Empire, its population of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Gepidæ, Lombards, Burgundians, Alans, &c.,¹ were prepared by near 200 years of intimacy and union² for the part they were afterwards to enact as its invaders and conquerors. Then, when the time had arrived for action, on occasion of the terror of a Hunnish irruption from the far East into *Dacia*, both the Visigoths, one of the chief of these barbarous nations, were transported through the infatuation of the Arian Emperor Valens, even as of one demented, across the Danube ;³—the same *Arian*⁴ Visigoths that forthwith, after the memorable respite just before noticed of the reign of Theodosius, were the first to precipitate themselves upon the empire in hostile invasion : and further, innumerable hordes of *Pagan* Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians swept into the Italian and Western Provinces ; invited, it was currently reported and believed, by Count Stilicho, with a view to his Pagan son Eucherius' elevation to the imperial throne.⁵ It was

¹ See Sir I. Newton on Daniel, chap. v. from Procopius.

² *Dacia* was not abandoned to the Goths till the reign of Aurelian, A. D. 270.

³ See Vol. I. p. 300.

⁴ On the continued *Arianism* of the Visigoths, &c., even under Theodosius, see Mosheim as referred to p. 44 *suprà*.

⁵ "Stilicho, Prime Minister of the Western Emperor Honorius, invited the invasion of the barbarous heathen nations ; hoping by their means to raise his son *Eucherius* to the throne ; who from a boy was an enemy to the Christians, and threatened to signalize the beginning of his reign with the restoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Christian religion." *Orosius, Jornandes, and Paul Diaconus*, as referred to and abstracted by Daubuz, Sir Isaac, and Bishop Newton. Also *Marcellinus Comes* in his Chronicon, B. P. M. ix. 520.—*Agus*.

like a flood drawn in, and regurgitated over the empire, from the overflowing Danube.

It seems to me not unobservable how naturally this Apocalyptic figure has presented itself to historians, alike ancient and modern, in describing those invasions.¹ We see therein its appropriateness.—As to the fury of the flood, it was such as, throughout the length and breadth of the empire, to sweep away all the political bulwarks of Roman authority before it: and thus might well have been deemed sufficient to sweep away also the christian church, and Christianity itself, the professed religion of the empire. In fact the Pagan remnant at Rome and elsewhere were still not without their hopes of this result. The thought cheered them amidst their own sufferings: and, to accelerate it, they excited the enmity of the invaders against their christian fellow-citizens.² All shewed

sine in his C. D. v. 23 thus describes the loud assertions of the Pagan remnant in Rome as to Rhadagaisus' certain success against Rome, he being a worshipper of the heathen gods: "Propinquate jam illo his locus, cum ejus fama ubique crebresceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur hoc credere spargere jactare Paganos, quod ille, Diis amicis protegentibus et opitulantibus, quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non posset ab eis qui talia Diis Romanis sacra non facerent, nec fieri à quoquam permetterent."

I think too that the manner in which the Vandals were invited into Africa by Count Boniface, through the treacherous plot of *Ætius*, deserves observation. The latter acted in this as a fit organ of the Dragon. See Gib. vi. 11, &c.

¹ So, for example, among the ancients, *Orosius*, Book vii. c. 37; (B. P. M. vi. 445;) "Rhadagaisus, omnium antiquorum presentiumque hostium immanissimus, repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam." So of modern writers *Gibbon*, iv. 414; "The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Adrianople." Also, *Görres*, *Christl. Mystik*, p. 235, in an eloquent passage which begins as follows. "When Providence let loose the flood from the forests of Northern Europe, it would seem as if a second time the windows of heaven had been opened, and the fountains of the great deep broken up. Long had the floods of the Germanic migration, rising ever higher and higher, been arrested by the mounds of the Eastern and Western Empires; and when the Asiatic Huns came to swell the tide of invasion, resistance was rendered impossible. The Western Empire was overflowed. Christianity had to contend, when the inundation came down, with a new species of heathenism." And so elsewhere also: "When the Spirit, breathing from on high, had stirred up a sea of nations that, mounting higher and higher, burst in wild eruption over the continent," &c. So too *Schlegel* in his *Phil. of Hist.* ii. 20; "The migration of northern nations was a new *Ogygean inundation of nations*, in the historical ages. This vast flux and reflux of nations rolling in incessant waves from East to West, and North to South," &c. And again at p. 117, in a passage which will be quoted presently p. 53 *infra*; and which applies to the subject at once the former Apocalyptic figure of a *tempest*, (Apoc. vii. 1, viii. 7,) and this of a *flood*.—So too, *Le Bas*, (who seems to have imitated *Görres*.) *Life of Wicliff*, p. 17; the *Encycl. Metro-pol.* &c.

² Thus Mosheim v 1. 2. 1. "Amidst these calamities the Christians were

that the spirit of the old Dragon, fallen though he was, directed the raging inundation.—But God had his own means of preserving the church visible, and within it his true church. The christian,—the *Trinitarian* faith, had been so inwrought into the national mind and habits, as well as institutions and laws, especially from the effects of the reign of Theodosius, (for the two wings of the great eagle still helped it,) that to sweep Christianity away it needed to sweep away the Roman population itself. And to effect *this*, though not unthought of by some of the Gothic conquerors,¹ seemed to them not only of doubtful policy, but beyond their power. For, as the Apocalyptic figuration proceeded to foreshow, “The earth helped the woman, and swallowed up the flood.” Superstitious and earthly though the Roman population had become,² yet thus far they did service to Christ’s Church in her present exigency. In those continuous and bloody wars of which the Western world had been the theatre, the barbarous invading population was so thinned, so absorbed, as it were, into the land

grievously, we may say, the principal sufferers. Their cruelty, (i. e. of the Goths, Heruli, &c.) and opposition to the Christians did not arise from any religious principle, or enthusiastic desire to ruin the cause of Christianity. It was by the *instigation of the Pagans, who remained yet in the empire*, that they were excited to treat with such severity and violence the followers of Christ. The painful consideration of their abrogated rites, and hopes of recovering their former liberty and privileges by means of their new masters, induced the worshippers of the gods to seize with avidity every opportunity of inspiring them with the most bitter aversion to the Christians.”—*Fleury* thus writes on the same subject: “This inundation of barbarians I count for the first *external* temptation befalling the church, since the persecution of the Pagan Emperors: and then he proceeds to speak of their cruelty to Christians, just as Mosheim.—For examples see in Milner the account of the persecution of orthodox Christians in Portugal and Spain, and yet more those by Genseric and Hunneric in Africa.

¹ There is a remarkable passage illustrative of this in Orosius, Bk. vii. c. 43. He states, on the authority of an informant who had been intimate with *Astulphus*, Alaric’s successor, that Astulphus was in the habit of thus speaking; “Se in primis ardentè inhiasse ut, obliterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum Gothorum imperium et faceret et vocaret; essetque *Gothia* quod *Romania* fuisset, fieretque nunc Ataulphus quod quondam Cæsar Augustus. At ubi multâ experientiâ probavisset neque Gothos ullo modo parere legibus posse propter effrenatam barbariem, neque Reip. interdicti leges oportere, sine quibus Resp. non est Resp., elegisse se ut gloriam sibi de restituendo in integrum augendoque Romano nomine Gothorum viribus quæreret, habereturque apud posteros Romanæ restitutionis auctor, postquam esse non poterat immutator.”—His second scheme however failed, as well as his first; each being contrary to the prophetic word. The revival of the Western Empire was indeed decreed; but under a *Papal*, not a *Gothic* imperial, head.

² See Vol. i. p. 390, Note ².

they had invaded,¹ that it needed their incorporation as one people with the conquered to make up the necessary constituency of kingdoms. And, in this incorporation, not only was much of their original institutions, customs, and languages² absorbed, but their religion altogether. The successive tribes, whether of Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Heruli, Huns, Vandals, Burgundians, abandoned their Paganism for Christianity.—At first indeed it was for the most part *Arian* pseudo-Christianity. Such was their profession in France, Spain, Africa. But, after a century or more of the flux and reflux of the invading flood, this too was abandoned for the more orthodox Trinitarian christian faith. The influence of the Roman See, which was gradually more and more operative with the barbarians, powerfully tended to this result: also, though in a different way, the victories of Clovis and his orthodox Franks at the close of the 5th century in France; and those too of Justinian and the Greeks, ere the middle of the 6th, in Africa and Italy. At length, in the last quarter of that same century, Recared, king of Spain, having convened a synod of the Arian clergy and nobles of his dominion, set before it that “*the Earth* had submitted to the Nicene synod; that the Romans, the barbarians, and (native) inhabitants of Spain unanimously professed the same orthodox creed, and the Visigoths resisted almost alone of the christian world.”³ And the appeal was successful. The Visigoths gave in their adhesion to the Nicene faith: and soon after the Lombards of North Italy, the only other Arians.⁴ So the

¹ So Orosius, *ibid.* of a Letter to the Emperor Honorius from the kings of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi: “Tu cum omnibus pacem habe. Nos nobiscum configimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus: immortalis vero quæstus erit Reip. tuæ si utriusque pereamus.” On which Orosius exclaims; “Quis hæc crederet nisi res doceret? Manifestavimus innumera bella sopita, plurimos extinctos tyrannos, compressas, coangustatas, exinanitasque immanissimas gentes, minimo sanguine, nullo certamine, ac pæne sine cæde.”

² Philologists and grammarians have observed that in all the Western continental languages,—French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian,—the *Latin* is the basis and predominant; in the English alone the Saxon predominates over the Latin.

³ Gib. vi. 299.

⁴ This was not till near A. D. 600. Indeed for some few years after that date Arianism lingered with some of the Lombard people. See Gib. vi. 302.

Arianism of the invading flood, as well as its *Paganism*,—that false doctrine by which, and the secular force accompanying it, the Dragon had schemed to overwhelm the primitive christian creed and church, and therein Christianity itself,—was seen no more. It was absorbed, as it were, into the soil, and had disappeared. “The earth (thus far) helped the woman, and swallowed up the flood.”¹

But it was but to preserve her just *alive*, and *in obscurity*. As a corporate body, and in respect of those acts by which a true church is *manifested* to the world, viz. the faithful preaching of the word, evangelic worship, the sacraments rightly administered,² and I might add too christian Synods and Councils,—in respect of these she became about the time last noted hidden and invisible.—Thus far the Dragon had succeeded; though only according to what was long before foreshown in the Apocalyptic prophecy. And in this wilderness-solitude the same wonderful prophecy declared that she was to be secluded for the long fated period of *a time, times, and half a time*, or 1260 years.—On the dates and details of this period I must not now enter, reserving the subject for a later chapter. Much less may I anticipate by dwelling on the glorious change described as awaiting her at the end of her time of trial: then when she is to come forth out of the wilderness to her bridal, leaning on the Beloved;

¹ So Schlegel ii. 117, 118: “When at last the tempest had disburthened itself of its fury, and the clouds broken, . . . when the wild waters of that mighty inundation had began gradually to flow off, then the Germanic tribes, being incorporated with the Romanic nations, laid the deep firm soil on which modern European society was to spring up and flourish.”

I must add Gibbon vi. 268. “The progress of Christianity was marked by two glorious and decisive victories; viz. over the citizens of the Roman Empire, and over the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the Empire and embraced the religion of the Romans.”

² So the sixth Article of the Church of England: an Article not unaccordant with the Confession of Augsburgh, and other Protestant Confessions; and which describes the church in respect of its *proper organization*, and of that by which it is made *visible*. Its Liturgy elsewhere speaks of the constituency of the *true Church* as “the blessed company of all faithful people, and very members incorporate of Christ.” Thus in them the *true Church lives*, whether *visible* or *invisible*:—in the evangelic worship and doctrine of which the Article speaks, it is, when visible, *manifested*.—Such is the doctrine of the English Church.

and the harlot-usurper of her place before the world, the Church of the apostacy, is to be sentenced in her turn to desolation and the wilderness, even for ever.—But I must not pass on without pressing on the Reader's notice this notable prefiguration of the seclusion of Christ's Church in the wilderness, as the true and fittest answer to the Romish anti-Protestant argument and taunt, "Where was your religion before Luther?" Protestants have not duly, as it seems to me, applied the answer here given. For the wilderness-life necessarily, as I must repeat,—and that on Bossuet's own showing,—implies the *invisibility* of her who lives it. And consequently, instead of the long previous invisibility of a Church like the Lutheran or Anglican Reformed of the 16th Century, in respect of doctrine and worship, being an argument *against*, it is an argument *for* it.¹ The Romish Church,

¹ See Bossuet's *Hist. des Variations*, Lib. xv.—As the subject is one of great importance, and one on which, contrary to the doctrine both of Scripture and of the Anglican Church, misapprehensions have of late days multiplied among us, I may perhaps be permitted to state somewhat more fully Bossuet's argument, in order that the necessity, point, and sufficiency of the Apocalyptic answer may be better manifest.

After saying that it is very much from not knowing what *the Church* is that the variations of the Protestants have arisen, and giving what he calls the *Catholic* doctrine on the point,—viz. 1st. that the Church is *visible* by the profession of the truth, 2. that it *always* is, 3. that the *evangelic* truth is professed by all its society, 4. that it cannot be in error, and (as a corollary) that none may separate from it,—he quotes from sundry *Protestant* confessions their definitions of "*the Church*." For example from that of *Augsburgh* the following; "There is a Holy Church which must ever subsist:" and, "The Church is the assembly of the saints, where the Gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered:"—also from *Melancthon's Apology*; "The Church exists in true believers: its marks are the pure Gospel and the Sacraments: such a Church is properly the pillar of truth." With the which, Bossuet says, agree also the Confessions of Bohemia, Strasburgh, Baale, and the Helvetic of 1566.—And from all these he draws the inference, as one *necessarily* resulting from the Confessions, (though their compilers would doubtless and with reason have denied the necessity) not only that the Church always exists, and is essentially composed of pastors and people, among whom the word is rightly taught and sacraments administered, but that it is also therefore always *visible*.

A little after he adds that, perceiving at length that no such Church was discoverable, great or little, i.e. none which fulfilled in continuity from the first the condition of what Protestants would call right doctrine,—the latter Protestants began to speak differently; and to say that, as Israel had no sacrifice during the Babylonish Captivity, and as in Elias' time no outward worship of God appeared in Israel, so by God's just judgment Gospel truth was sometimes so obscured, as to constitute the Church *invisible*, hidden from men's eyes, known to God.—He exemplifies from the *Anglican* Article XIX, just referred to, which defines, "The *visible* Church as an assembly of believers in which God's pure word is preached

which never knew the predicted wilderness-life, could not *for this very reason* be the Woman of the 12th Apocalyptic Chapter; that is, could not be the true Church of Christ.

and sacraments duly administered," &c. without saying that it is *always* visible:—the *Scotch* which says, "It is *invisible* and known to God only;"—and *Calvin's*, which also distinguishes between the Church *visible* and *invisible*, the latter being the society of all the elect.

It seems however that subsequently many Protestants allowed the *continual* and *necessary visibility* of the Church. Bossuet particularizes the Minister *Jurieu*. And in regard of all such, supposing them to be *really* Protestant, he introduces them as thus out of their own mouths confessing the absurdity of their doctrine. "Nous disons que l'Anglise est perpétuellement visible: mais la plupart du tems, et presque toujours, elle est plus visible par la corruption de ses mœurs, par l'addition de plusieurs faux dogmes, par la lécheance de son ministère, par ses erreurs, et par ses superstitions, que par les vérités qu'elle conserve." And who can gainsay the justice of his satire?—On the other hand, referring to Bossuet's own explication of the symbol of the *Woman fleeing to and being in the wilderness*, given p. 34, the reader will see how unable he was to explain it except as a prediction of *Christ's true Church* becoming *hidden* or *invisible* for the period, whether longer or shorter in duration, of the 1260 days. In which view he only followed the most ancient patristic expositors; * as well as the dictates of common sense. And it truth it seems to me to have been specially with a view to obviate this Romish objection that the symbol before us (conjointly with that of the long usurpation of the mystic temple-courtyard by *Gentiles* noted in Apoc. xi) was intended.

On the whole, after considering the controversies ancient and modern on the subject, I cannot but be struck with three things; 1. the admirable all-sufficiency of Scripture, especially of this wonderful Apocalyptic Book, in furnishing solutions to each apparent mystery of God's dealing with his Church, and answers to each objection of enemies.† 2. The wisdom of our Anglican Church on this

* E. g. *Victorinus* and *Hippolytus*. The former says of the 1260 days of Antichrist's reign; "Antichristus magnam faciet vastationem: et ideo tunc nemo Christianorum poterit Deo sacrificium offerre." The latter; "Hi sunt 1260 dies quibus tyrannus rerum potietur, persequens ecclesiam, fugientem de civitate in civitatem, et in solitudine in montibus latitantem."

† A notable exemplification of this occurred in the late Hereford discussion. In answer to the Romish priest Waterworth's application of Christ's promise, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' to a *visible* and *infallible church*, Mr. Venn having urged (besides St. Paul's prediction of the *apostacy*), this Apocalyptic prophecy also of the *Woman* hiding in the wilderness, and Bossuet's own admission of its meaning, as given above, Mr. Waterworth's reply was twofold. 1. That the woman meant not the *Church*, but the *Virgin Mary*; the child born of her being one that it was said would rule the *earth*, or *Gentiles*, with a rod of iron; a thing also predicated of Christ.—But was it in *heaven* that the *Virgin Mary* travailed? Was her child caught up to heaven *while yet a babe* just after birth? Was the *Virgin Mary* three and a half years afterwards in the wilderness, after first escaping floods out of the dragon's mouth? And had the *Virgin Mary* *other children*, (an idea blasphemous surely in Mr. W's view!) so as the Apocalyptic *Woman*, Apoc. xii. 17†—2. That as to Bossuet's explanation, he said not that the *Church* was *hidden*, but that she hid "*son service* dans les lieux retirés." But Mr. W. did not consider what I have noted at p. 34, that this is precisely concealing from view those acts by which alone a church is made visible to public view. Hereford Discussion, pp. 172, 183.

For 1260 prophetic days then, or years, she was to disappear from men's view in the Roman world. Is it asked how her vitality was preserved? Doubtless in her children, known to God, though for the most part unknown to men; just like the 7000 that Elijah knew not of, who had yet not bowed the knee to Baal; some it might be in monasteries,¹ some in the secular walks of life; but all alike insulated in spirit from those around

as on other points, as expressed in its Articles and Liturgy. 3. The want of wisdom in those who, though professedly Protestants of the Church of England, do yet depart on this most important point from its doctrine.*—I would beg to refer further on it to Hooker's *Eccl. Polity*, B. iii. § 1, 2, and Mede's *Works*, B. iii. ch. 10; also Mr. McNeile's *Lectures on the Church of England*, p. 10, &c.

¹ I fully agree with the sentiment so eloquently expressed by Mr. Maitland, in his *Book on the Waldenses*, p. 45, as to the piety of many a tonsured monk, &c. Indeed on revision it seems to me so well and beautifully to illustrate the subject before us, that I cannot resist the pleasure of quoting the passage in part. "I will not shrink from avowing my belief that many a tonsured head now rests in Abraham's bosom, and that many a frail body bowed down with voluntary humility, and wasted with unprofitable will-worship, clothed in rags and girt with a bell-rope, was a temple of the Holy Ghost:—and that one day these her unknown children will be revealed, to the astonishment of a Church accustomed to look back with a mixture of pride and shame to the days of her barrenness. She may ask, 'Who hath brought up these? Behold I was left alone: these, where had they been?' But she will have learned to know the seal of the living God, and will embrace them as her sons."—Compare however the illustration in the Note following as to the real spirit of *vital faith* in the persons spoken of.

* In our own days there are many such. The visibility of the Church to which Christ's promises attach, has been especially advocated by the *Oxford Tractarians*, and *semi-Tractarians*. So Tract xi. "Why should not the *visible* Church continue? The *onus probandi* lies with those who deny this position." And Mr. Dodsworth; "There is no such thing as an *invisible* Church. I protest against the invisible number of persons, whom God shall finally bless and save, being called the Church. The Church is a body of persons called out and set apart by a *visible* order from the rest of the world." Again, Mr. Gresley says; "The evangelicals are unsound in the doctrine of the *one Catholic and Apostolic Church*; confounding it with that of the *communion of saints*, or *invisible* Church: holding it in a manner different from that in which it has been held by the Church Universal from the beginning." (Bernard Leslie, p. 339.)—As to this alleged confusion of ideas on the part of others, and Mr. G.'s own distinction of them, what will Mr. Gresley say to *Archdeacon Manning*? "The substance of the Apostles' Creed, as it now stands, except only the Articles of the 'Descent into Hell,' and the '*Communion of Saints*,' was contained in the baptismal profession of the apostolic age. The two excepted Articles are in fact only *explanations* of the articles '*Buried*,' and the '*Church*.'" (Rule of Faith, p. 64.) So that by the rule of antiquity, as Archd. Manning expounds it, "the Evangelicals" would seem to be completely right in identifying the *one Holy Catholic Church* of the Apostles' Creed with the *Communion of Saints*; Mr. Gresley completely wrong in distinguishing them.

It may be useful to compare my observations in Vol. i. p. 242.

them, and as regards the *usual* means of grace, spiritually destitute and desolate ; even as in a barren and dry land, where no water is."¹—Besides whom some few there were of her children,—some *very few*,—prepared like Elijah of old to act a bolder part, and stand forth, under special commission from God, as Christ's *Witnesses* before Christendom. Was not *Vigilantius*, at the very time when the flood from the Dragon's mouth was beginning to be poured forth upon the Roman world, a specimen and prototype of them in one point of view ; and *Augustine* in another ? These were they of whom the sacred prophecy speaks in the *last* verse of the chapter before us, as "keeping the commandments of God, and the *testimony* or *witness* of Jesus : " these they whose faithfulness and courage in after times was depicted in that striking narrative and vision of the *two Witnesses*, given in the Part *within-written* of the Apocalyptic scroll, that has been already under our consideration. And the Devil, the animating Spirit of the old Paganism,—seeing that such there were, and that such there would be, in the new state of things just about to be introduced,—is represented as proceeding, with wrath

¹ I may refer to Merle D'Aubigne, Bk. 1, p. 79, (Engl. Transl.) for a touching exemplification of this, which only came to light on the pulling down, in the year 1776, of an old building that had formed part of the Carthusian convent at Basle. It seems that a poor Carthusian brother, *Martin*, had written the following affecting confession : "O most merciful God, I know that I can only be saved, and satisfy thy righteousness, by the merit, the innocent suffering, and death of thy well-beloved Son. Holy Jesus ! my salvation is in thy hands. Thou canst not withdraw the hands of thy love from me ; for they have created, and redeemed me. Thou hast inscribed my name with a pen of iron in rich mercy, and so as nothing can efface it, on thy side, thy hands, and thy feet, &c."—This confession he placed in a wooden box, and enclosed the box in a hole he had made in the wall of his cell ; where it was found on the occasion before mentioned. And the following remarkable words were found also written in his box ; " *Et si hæc prædicta confiteri non possim lingua, confiteor tamen corde et scripto.*"

Who does not see the solitariness, the *wilderness-state* of this poor monk in that which was his world, the *monastery* ;—it might be a numerous one !

None there with kindred consciousness endued !—

This was to be alone ; this, this was solitude.

May I not suggest *Fenelon* in his latter days, notwithstanding his high rank in the Romish Church, as another example in point ? "Alive," says Sir R. Inglis, "Fenelon was condemned and persecuted ; and to this day one of his devotional works ('Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie Interieure') is placed in the Papal Index of *Abominations*." Speeches on the Roman Catholic Question, p. 28.

against Christ's cause and Church still undiminished, to plot for their destruction. His *direct* attack against one most essential doctrine of Christianity had failed. His *indirect*, by temptations to superstition, had succeeded so far as to have mainly operated to drive the true and primitive Christian Church almost into banishment. This then he saw to be the fittest principle of the new plan of attack. All seemed prepared in the mind of professing Christendom for it. Out of Christendom ecclesiastical itself to perfect an Anti-christendom, this was the grand problem set before him. And wonderful to say, the very adhesion of the Roman empire and Church established in it to Trinitarian orthodoxy, *its very confession of the divinity of the Son of God*, was one element, and an essential one, to its success. The scheme was developed by the prescient and eternal Spirit to St. John in the vision of the next chapter. And it was one indeed, (what was just noticed making it so perhaps more than any other characteristic,) which well deserved the appellation given it by the late Mr. Cecil; I mean that of "*the master-piece of Satan.*"

CHAPTER III.

IDENTITY OF THE APOCALYPTIC WILD BEASTS FROM THE ABYSS AND SEA WITH EACH OTHER;—AND OF THE RULING HEAD IN EITHER WITH THE LITTLE HORN OF DANIEL'S TEN-HORNED BEAST,—ST. PAUL'S MAN OF SIN,—AND ST. JOHN'S ANTICHRIST.

“AND he stood¹ on the sand of the flood.—And I saw a Wild Beast rising up out of the flood, having seven

¹ εραβη; i. e. *the Dragon stood*. I adopt this reading in preference to εραβην *I stood*; because, besides being a reading of excellent manuscript authority, (au-

heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten diadems, and upon his heads names of blasphemy." &c. Apoc. xiii. 1.

We are now come to one of the most important of the Apocalyptic predictions. As if with a regard to its great importance, not only is a very full description given of the Wild Beast, its subject, in the chapter now before us; but, in a manner unparalleled in the Apocalypse, this Beast is made the subject of a second figuration in the xviiith chapter: the latter figuration being given at the *termination* of its predicted history, as the present is at its *commencement*.—In so speaking, however, I am assuming the *identity of the Wild Beasts* in the one and the other vision depicted to the evangelist. To prove this will be my *first* object in the present Chapter: my *second* to prove their common identity, or rather that of the *ruling Head* in either case, (a point almost as interesting and important as the former to the Apocalyptic investigator,) with Daniel's *fourth* or *ten-horned Wild Beast's Little Horn*, and with the *Man of Sin* and the *Antichrist* of St. Paul and St. John.

§ 1.—IDENTITY OF THE APOCALYPTIC WILD BEASTS FROM THE SEA AND FROM THE ABYSS, OF APOC. XIII AND XVII.

In order the better to exhibit the evidence of this identity, and also to set before the Reader's eye, preparatory to our investigation of the subject, every recorded particular of them prefigured to St. John, I subjoin the

thority according to Griesbach not indeed equal to *εραθω*, but according to Tregelles superior *) it seems to me to have also much superior *internal* evidence to support it:—inasmuch as it perfectly accords with the appropriateness of the figure that the *Dragon* should stand on the flood-brink to make over his empire and throne to the Wild Beast thence evoked by him; while, on the other hand, there could be no reason why St. John, having witnessed from his usual position the flood itself, should need personal transference to its brink to see the Wild Beast rising therefrom.

* It is both in the Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi: also in ninety-two Codices of inferior authority, and in the Vulgate, Æthiopic, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic versions.

descriptions of the one Beast and the other in parallel columns.

Apoc. xiii.

1. And I saw a Wild Beast rising¹ out of the flood,² having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten diadema, and upon his heads names³ of blasphemy.

2. And the Beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the Dragon gave him his power, and his throne,⁴ and great authority.

3. And (I saw)⁵ one of his heads that had been wounded, as it were, to death:⁶ and his deadly wound was healed.—And all the earth⁷ wondered after the Beast.

4. And they worshipped the Dragon, because he⁸ gave power unto the Beast; and they worshipped the Beast, saying, Who is like unto the Beast? Who is able to make war with him?

5. And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies; and authority⁹ was given unto him to act forty and¹⁰ two months.

Apoc. xvii.

1. And one of the seven Angels which had the seven Vials came, and talked with me, saying, Come hither; I will show thee the judgment of the great harlot that sitteth upon the many waters:¹¹

2. With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication; and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness; and I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured Wild Beast, full of names of blasphemy,¹² having seven heads and ten horns.

4. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls: having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication:

5. And upon her forehead a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.

¹ αναβαινον.

² Greek θαλασσης. This, like the Hebrew ׀, is used perpetually of any flood of waters, especially of one formed by the overflowing of a river. So of the overflowing of the Jordan that formed the Sea of Galilee, or Tiberias, Joh. vi. 1, xxi. 1; of the overflowing Euphrates, Jer. li. 42: of the overflowing Nile, Ezek. xxxii. 2: and of the overflowing Tigris, Nahum iii. 8, &c. Whence, a river cast out of the mouth of the Dragon, in order to overwhelm the woman, having been just immediately before spoken of, this seems the natural meaning to give the word θαλασση here.

³ ονοματα. So Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles.

⁴ θρονον.

⁵ ειδον is rejected by Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles: an omission which makes the accusative next following referable for its government to the verb gave just preceding; "the dragon gave him one of his heads that had been wounded to death;" as if to be healed.

⁶ ως εσφαγημενην, in the perf. part. passive.

⁷ γη.

⁸ οτι.

⁹ ποιησαι, i. e. to act prosperously.

¹⁰ Εξοσια: which is the word also in verses 7, 12.

¹¹ επι των υδατων των πολλων.

¹² γεμον ονοματων βλασφημιας. So the received Text and Griesbach. Tregelles reads τα ονοματα.

Apoc. xiii.

6. And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God ; to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them : and authority was given unto him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8. And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names have not been written from the foundation of the world in the Book of life of the Lamb that was slain.¹

9. If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10. He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity : he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword.—Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

11. And I beheld another Wild Beast coming up out of the earth ; and he had two horns like a lamb ; and he spake as a Dragon.

12. And he exerciseth all the authority of the first Beast before him ; and causeth the earth, and them which dwell therein, to worship the first Beast, whose deadly wound was healed.

13. And he doeth great signs : ²

Apoc. xvii.

6. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus. And when I saw her, I wondered with great wonder.

7. And the Angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel ? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the Wild Beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8. The Beast that thou sawest was, and is not, and is to ascend out of the abyss, and to go into perdition : and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, whose names were not written in the Book of life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the Beast that was, and is not, and yet is.³

9. And here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.

10. And they are seven kings. Five have fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come : and when he cometh he must continue a short space.

11. And the Wild Beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth ; and is of the seven ; and goeth into perdition.

12. And the ten horns that thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings at one and the same time ⁴ with the Beast.

13. These have one mind, and

¹ ἢν οὐ γράσσεται τὸ ὄνομα ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Ἀρνίου τοῦ εσφαγμένου, ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. Compare xvii. 8, where the same phrase occurs, only without the words τοῦ Ἀρνίου τοῦ εσφαγμένου : it being hence evident that the words from the foundation of the world, in Apoc. xiii, apply to the time of the writing in the Book of Life, not to that of the Lamb's being slain.

² σημεῖα : perhaps rather signs. See my Note, p. 6 *supra*.

³ Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles read, ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ καὶ παρῆται, instead of the received καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ. If so, we might place a full stop after *Beast* ; and then render the concluding clause of the verse, "For he (the Beast) was, and is not, and yet shall come." But I rather prefer the reading of the Textus receptus.

⁴ μὲν ὅταν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. The propriety and necessity of my version of this will presently be shown.

Apoc. xiii.

and causeth that fire shall come down from heaven upon earth in the sight of men.

14. And he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by means of those wonders which he had power to do in the sight of the Beast :—saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an Image to the Beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live. &c. &c.

Apoc. xvii.

shall give their power and their authority² unto the Beast.

14. These shall make war with the Lamb. And the Lamb shall overcome them, (for He is Lord of lords and King of kings) and they that are with him,³ the called and chosen and faithful.

15. And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are people and multitudes and nations and tongues.

16. And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the Beast,⁴ this shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

17. For God hath put it in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their kingdom unto the Beast ;—until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

18. And the woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

Such were the two figurations and descriptions. And alike in the one case and the other the Wild Beast exhibited had *seven heads* and *ten horns* :—a mark this, let it be well observed, if not necessarily of absolute and complete identity, yet of resemblance so peculiar, as to

¹ ποιοι σημαια μεγαλα, και πυρ ινα εκ του ουρανου καταβη εις την γην. So Griesbach. Tregelles' reading is, ινα και πυρ ποη εκ του ουρανου καταβαινειν.

² εξουσιαν.

³ I omit the *are*, which is inserted in *Italics* in our version, as not being in the original : and construe the κλητοι και εκλεκτοι και υιοι in apposition with the *Lamb*, and as partakers in his victory. This seems the plain meaning.

⁴ εκ το θηριον. So I read with the Textus Receptus, and various ancient codices, versions, and expositors ; e. g. among the last Andreas and Berengaud, "Cornua quæ vidisti in *Bestia*." The Alexandrine and Vatican Codices, which Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles prefer to follow, have the very different reading και το θηριον. The internal evidence seems to me against this : as will be stated again, when I come to discuss Apoc. xvii in my vith or last Part. For it is to be understood that I *here* adduce the xviiith Chapter only with reference to the particulars noted of the *Beast from the abyss*.

render it the only other debateable hypothesis whether they might possibly have been, though the same Wild Beast, yet the same *under different heads*. Now, no doubt, as the Angel-interpreter in the xviith Chapter explained the seven Heads to signify seven, or in a certain sense eight, *successive* rulers,¹—that is, successions or classes of rulers,—under which the Wild Beast was to exist, and stated that but *six* of these eight had arisen at the time of the revelation in Patmos,² it was *per se* and *à priori* quite supposable that the Wild Beast *first* exhibited after the Dragon in vision, or that of chapter xiii, might be the thing intended under its *seventh* head ; that exhibited *afterwards*, or the one of chapter xvii, the same under its *eighth* and *last*. And thus we need the less to be surprized that the hypothesis should have suggested itself to more than one commentator of respectable name and standing.³ In order however to decide whether such was really the case, or whether in the *first* symbolization, as well as the *second*, the Beast exhibited was not rather the seven-headed Wild Beast under his *last* Head,—a point of very considerable moment to the Apocalyptic investigator, considering the important conclusions built on their theory by the expositors alluded to,—it will be necessary first, carefully to note the many marked *similarities* between the two, over and above the fundamental one of their

¹ "The seven heads are seven kings: five have fallen; one is; another hath not yet come: and the Beast which thou sawest (*that from the abyss*) is the *eighth*, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition," &c. Apoc. xviii: 10, 11.

² That this is the *standard time* to which to refer the statement, "Five have fallen and *one is*, and the other *is yet to come*," will appear in my Note on the *μῦθος ἀπαρ*, p. 69 *infra*.

³ I allude more particularly to the Rev. J. W. Brooks' late valuable work on the *Elements of Prophetic Investigation*, ch. xi. p. 402, &c. He builds upon this basis the hypothesis, that under, and in connexion with, the *Beast from the abyss*, the ten horns,—previously *royalties* under the *Beast from the sea*, or *Papacy*,—become *kingless democracies* that tear and desolate the great *Papal* whore; and that the *Beast from the abyss* himself is (to use his language) the *infidel* Antichrist.—In this *Bengel* and *Irving* have preceded him. *Mr. Irving*, as *Mr. Brooks* observes, p. 399, "considers the French Revolution to have been the death-throe, the last gasp and termination of life, to the *Papal Beast from the sea*; and the first breath and act of life to another Beast, the *Beast from the bottomless pit*."—*Bengel* says, that the time of the *Beast from the sea* is short; and that then the *Beast from the abyss* supervening, will survive the desolation of the great city. *Walker's Life of Bengel*. p. 299.

having alike *seven heads and ten horns* ; next the apparent or real *discrepancies*. And I have little doubt that the result will be a most clear conviction of the entire identity of the two Beasts ; and consequently that all notion of a difference of Heads distinguishing them is a fond and groundless conceit.

The following then are the further *resemblances* notable.

1. They had each a constituency of ten kings or kingdoms :—these being *symbolized* as attaching to the *Beast from the sea* by the *ten diadems*, then first seen upon the ten horns, the which indeed constituted one of its chief distinctives from the seven-headed Dragon its predecessor ;¹ and expressly *declared* by the interpreting Angel to attach to the *Beast from the Abyss* ; it being said that its ten horns were ten *kings*, and that they would give their power and authority to the Beast.²—2. They alike bore upon them names of blasphemy.³—3. They were alike on their manifestation declared to be the objects of wonder, deference, and submission to all the dwellers on the earth ; those only excepted that had their names written in the Lamb's Book of life.⁴—4. They are alike described as making war upon the saints, and overcoming them.⁵—5. They are each alike associated with some

¹ Compare xii. 3, where the Dragon's ten horns are spoken of as if without diadems, and xiii. 1, where those of the *Beast from the sea* appeared with diadems.

² xvii. 13. Indeed that they would receive their authority at one and the same time with the Beast : *ἐξουσιαν ὡς βασιλεῖς μίαν ὥραν λαμβανουσι μετὰ τῆς θηρίας*. For though Bengel and Mr. Brooks would render this, "Receive power as kings only for one hour with the beast," I shall presently show the impossibility of any such meaning to the phrase.

³ So xiii. 1, and xvii. 3.

⁴ xiii. 3, 4, 8 ; xvii. 8. The word *θανυαζέτω* will be observed on afterwards.

⁵ The *Beast from the sea* in xiii. 7 ; in which passage this Beast is described as fulfilling the Dragon's purpose previously announced in xii. 17, "The Dragon went to make war with them that *keep up the witness* for Jesus :"—the *Beast from the abyss* in xi. 7 ; "When they (*the witnesses*) shall have completed their testimony, the Wild Beast from the abyss shall make war upon them, and shall overcome them, and kill them."

Mr. Brooks seems strangely to have overlooked this latter passage ; when stating, as a discrepancy between the two Beasts, "Whereas the *Beast from the sea* makes war with the saints, and overcomes them, the *Beast from the abyss* makes war with the Lamb, and is overcome."

It was only by rising again, after being overcome and killed by the *Beast from the abyss*, that Christ's witnesses assumed the ascendant.—And let it be further observed that the 144,000, who are Christ's called and chosen and faithful, (the same that get the victory over the *Beast from the abyss*), are expressly noted in Apoc. xiv. 1, as with the Lamb on Mount Zion, in opposition to the *Beast from the sea* in his Great City.

professedly christian, but really apostate ecclesiastical or priestly power, which acted to it as its chief help and minister: viz. the *Beast from the sea* with the *two-horned lamb-like Beast*; ¹ the *Beast from the abyss* with what is called “*the false Prophet* :” ² symbols alike the one and the other of a false though professedly Christian priesthood. ³—Nay, I may add respecting *this* last-noted *false Prophet*, that both by the attachment to it of the definite article, as by way of reference, ⁴ and by its being specified also as the same that did signs before the *Beast*, and deceived them that *received the mark of the Beast*, and that *worshipped his image*,—it is positively and directly identified with the *two-horned lamb-like associate* of the *Beast from the sea*: and, by consequence, the *Beast* it practised before, or *Beast from the abyss*, (being the *Beast* in that *last* form, in which he receives judgment,) just as positively and expressly with the *Beast from the sea* itself of chapter xiii. For it is said, “The *Beast* was taken, and the *False Prophet* that did signs before *him* :” and also that it was the same *Beast* whose *image* was worshipped, and whose *mark* received. ⁵

¹ xiii. 11, 12.

² xix. 20. Besides that, it supported a *harlot-rider*, (xvii. 3;) i. e. a corrupt apostate church, including of course an apostate priesthood.

³ I infer this from Matt. vii. 15; “Beware of *false prophets* which come to you in *sheeps’ clothing*, but inwardly are *ravensing wolves*.”

⁴ Griesbach’s reading of xix. 20 is, Καὶ ἐκίασθη το θηριον, καὶ ὁ μετ’ αὐτου ψευδο-προφητης ὁ ποιησας τα σημεια ἐναντιον αὐτου Tregelles’, Καὶ μετ’ αὐτου ὁ ψευδο-προφητης. Mills’ καὶ μετὰ τούτου ὁ ψευδοπροφητης. Whichever of these be taken, the article before *ψευδοπροφητης*, and that too before *σημεια*, are necessarily, if I mistake not, *marks of reference*; and the *only possible* reference is to the *lamb-like two-horned Beast*, and the *signs* previously said to be wrought by *him* before the *Beast from the sea*, in chapter xiii.

⁵ It may be well to place before the reader the two passages from which I argue, in juxtaposition.

Apoc. xiii. 14, &c.

Apoc. xix. 20.

“And he (the two-horned lamb-like beast) “*deceiveth* them that dwell on the earth by the *signs* which it was given him to do *before the beast* (from the sea;) saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an *image to the beast*. And he causeth all both small and great to receive a mark, . . . the mark of the beast.”

“And the *beast* was taken,” (i. e. the *beast in his last form*, or *beast from the abyss*.) “and with him the *false prophet* that wrought signs before him, with which *he* deceived those that *received the mark of the beast*, and that *worshipped his image*.”

And what then the *discrepancies* which are to negative this view of the identity of the two Wild Beasts? There are *five* alleged: and, somewhat singularly, the *two first* refer to points noted by me as the *two first* of *resemblance*.

1. It is said, the diadems, which were stated to be on the ten horns of the *Beast from the sea*, are not noticed as on the ten horns of the *Beast from the abyss*; ¹ and that therefore the inference is warranted that these horns were now *kingless democracies*, the same that were to hate and tear the Harlot.—But can we be sure, in the silence of Scripture, that in the vision of Ch. xvii the diadems were *not* exhibited? ² or, even supposing they were not, that their absence indicated *kingless democracies*; seeing that *Daniel's* undiademmed horns meant no such thing? ³ Assuredly, whether *diademmed* or *undiademmed*, the Angel's express declaration, before referred to, decides beyond appeal that the horns *were kings*, (not *kingless* powers, ⁴) associated with, and subordinate to, the *Beast from the abyss*; i. e. “until the words of God were fulfilled,” ⁵ or till the seventh Trumpet: ⁶ and again the *picture of this Beast from the abyss supporting the Harlot*, (a picture which seems most strangely to have been either overlooked or perverted ⁷ by the theorists we speak

¹ xiii. 1, xvii. 3. . . . ² Certainly I conceive that they were exhibited.

³ See the next Section of this Chapter, p. 75, on the identity of Daniel's ten horns with those of the Apocalyptic symbol.

⁴ I mean, not without *ruling chief magistrates*. For it is of course allowed that the word βασιλευς, or *kings*, has the same latitude of meaning as in Apoc. xvii. 10.

⁵ This *until* evidently marks the term of their chief period of existence;—the period marked by their subordination to the *Beast from the abyss*, and support of the *Harlot* that *he* supported. After this, the subordination to the *Beast* would be apparently broken off, and so the hating and the desolating of the Harlot by them begin.

⁶ Compare Apoc. x. 7.

⁷ Mr. Brooks really seems to me, however unintentionally, among the latter. At p. 408 he writes thus:—“I consider the woman to be represented at the opening of the vision as seated on the *Beast* (the *Beast from the abyss*), only to show the position in which she is left at the termination of the reign of the first *Beast*, (i. e. *from the sea*;) not as showing that she continues to exercise the same influence during the career of the second *Beast*.” That is, she is figured (and this not merely at the *opening* of the vision, but evidently *through* it, compare verse 7) in a particular association with *one* *Beast*, in order to designate that association with *another* previous *Beast*, of relations towards her supposed to be the most different and opposite: a figuration in such case assuredly, the most fitted, not to *instruct*, but to *deceive*.—As to the *supposed* fact of the *Beast* from

of) shows as incontrovertibly that *in* and *through* this period of *their connection with the Beast from the abyss*, these ten kings would also *support*, not *tear and desolate* her. So that our previous conclusion on this point remains unimpeached; as one of marked *agreement*, not *discrepancy*, between the *Beast from the abyss* and *Beast from the sea*.—2. It is said, with regard to their inscription with *names of blasphemy*, “that whereas the *Beast from the sea* had names of blasphemy only on his heads, the *Beast from the abyss* had his *whole body* full of them.”—But how does this appear? The Apocalyptic record says nothing about the latter Beast’s *body*. It only speaks of the Beast as *full* of names of blasphemy: which it might rightly do, supposing that many such names appeared, so as with the *Beast from the sea*, simply on its *heads*. And indeed, even supposing more of these represented on the heads of the Beast of Apoc. xvii, this might be accounted for on the principle of their having accumulated during his long 1260 years’ course; without at all impeaching the identity of the *heads*, under which the one Beast and the other existed.—3. The *Beast from the sea*, it is said, is described, when seen rising from the flood, as like a leopard, bear, and lion in its several parts; the *Beast from the abyss* simply as in color red or scarlet.¹—But surely this constitutes no discrepancy: for where is it said that in the *Beast from the sea* these were not predominating colours? Besides, the latter Beast is depicted as in the act of being ridden; and when ridden, an animal has on its housings: the which, if ample, would hide the Beast’s body;² and then *their* color might

the abyss all through only hating and tearing the Harlot, (i. e. the Great City,) its total incorrectness is evident from the declared fact of the court of this self-same Beast being, on occasion of the death of the Witnesses, held in this selfsame great city. See Apoc. xi. 8.

¹ xiii. 2, xvii. 3.—The colour *κόκκινος* is the same as that of the royal robe put in mockery on Christ, according to St. Matthew; *Περιεθηκων αυτω χλαμιδα κοκκινην* Matt. xxvii. 28. By St. Mark xv. 17, and St. John xix. 2, it is called *πορφυρεην*, a purple robe. In the same manner *πορφυρα*, and *κόκκινος* are united together, as characteristics of the woman’s dress that rode the Beast from the abyss, in Apoc. xvii. 4.

² So the white trappings of the cavalcade of ecclesiastical dignitaries, attendant on the ceremonial of the Pope’s assumption described, Vol. ii. p. 50.

be predicated of the Beast itself, by a license not infrequent in poetical or figurative writings.¹ And indeed, as the color here ascribed to the Beast from the abyss is *purple-red*, or *scarlet*, the usual color of the trappings of horses or mules ridden by the Popes and Cardinals,²—the ecclesiastical rulers of that Papal Church and Empire which the objector himself, not without good reason as we shall soon see, admits the *Beast from the sea* to have prefigured,—the alleged discrepancy should be allowed by him to be rather a point of agreement than disagreement.—4. The *duration* in the two cases is said to be quite different: that of the *Beast from the sea* being *forty-two months*; that of the *Beast from the abyss* but *one hour*. But this depends on Mr. B.'s construction of the phrase, *ἐξουσιαν λαμβανουσι μίαν ὥραν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου* as meaning, “Receive power with the Beast *for one hour* :”—a meaning impossible, as this *cannot* be the duration of the Beast in question. For if taken to signify *duration*, the phrase must be construed either *literally* to signify that of *one hour*; or, on the prophetic *year-day* scale, of one twenty-fourth of a year, in other words *one fortnight*, only.³ Whereas this same Beast from the abyss is said in Apoc. xi. to have existed both all the time of the war against the Witnesses *before* their death, then the three and a half days or years *of* their death, and *after* it all the time that remained subsequently until the Beast's destruction, just immediately before the Millennium. Thus the supposed *horal brevity* of the Beast from the abyss has its direct contradiction in the sacred prophecy: and it seems evident that the rendering of the clause in question which I have given, “The ten horns are ten kings which receive power *at one and the same time with the Beast*,” as it is the most natural and grammatical,⁴ so is also the true one. And so, I be-

¹ So Horace, “Purpurei metuunt tyranni :” so also the *χαλχοει ἀσῆρες* and *χαλχοει Ἀρης* of Herodotus and Homer, referred to in the Notes to pp. 404, 405, of my Vol. i.

² See my Note Vol. ii. p. 50.

³ Bengel, in conformity with his singular system of symbolic chronology in the Apocalypse, would indeed have it to signify only eight days. But I conceive he stands alone in this notion; and it of course in no wise helps the case.

⁴ There is no doubt that accusatives of time *may* signify duration: but seldom,

lieve, nearly all the patristic expositors explained it.¹—5. The *origin* of the one Beast and the other, it is said, are different; the one being a Beast originating from the *sea*; the other from the *abyss of hell*.—But is this a *real* discrepancy, any more than the former; even allowing, as I am quite ready to do, that the word *abyss* signifies the *abyss of hell*?² Is it not most supposable that the same Wild Beast, or persecuting Power, might in what was visible to the eyes of *men*, have originated out of a flood of waters, i. e. of invading peoples and nations, in the flux and reflux of their agitation; yet, in what was visible to *God's* eyes, out of a deeper depth, the depths of *hell*:³—somewhat like those Jews of whom Christ speaks in the same verse, as being both *of this world*, and also *from beneath*?⁴ In fact it is directly

I believe, except after verbs signifying action such as may imply time: e. g. Matt. xx. 12; *Μίαν ὥραν ἐποίησαν* They worked one hour: Matt. xxvi. 40; *Μίαν ὥραν γρηγορήτε* Watch one hour: not often after verbs, like *λαμβάνω*, of action instantly completed. In most cases of the latter character the accusative of time marks the time *at* which, not the time *for* which. So John iv. 52; *Χθες ὥραν ἐβόησεν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός* Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left her. Acta x. 3; *Εἶδον ἐν δράματι ὅσας ὥρας ἐναντήν τῆς ἡμέρας* I saw at the ninth hour of the day. Apoc. iii. 3; *Ποίαν ὥραν ἔξω* At what time I shall come:—not, *for* what time.

It is to be observed that in the present instance the association of the *μῦα* with the *μετα τοῦ θηρίου* makes the phrase as clearly indicative of a specific point of time, as the numeral *seventh* in the former of the two examples just cited, or other distinctive adjectives. For *μετα* with the genitive following is, as Mattheus says, equivalent to *συν* with the ablative. And *ἐκ*, *μῦα*, *ἐν* before an ablative, with *συν* exprest or understood, is used in the sense of *δ* *αυτοῦ*. So Phœnias. 157; *Ὅς ἐμοὶ μῦα ἐγενετ' ἐκ μητρός* Who was born of the same mother as myself:—the *ἐκ* and *δ* *αυτοῦ* being sometimes both used together; as in 1 Cor. xi. 5, *ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆ ἐξουσίας*.—Which being so, the clause under consideration becomes significant of a *point* of time: and the whole passage in sense as translated above; “Receive their kingdom *at one and the same time with the Beast.*”

¹ So for example Cyril of Jerusalem; who says of the ten kings, *Ἐν διαφόροις μὲν ἰσῶς τοποῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλευσσι καιρὸν*. So too Irenæus, Primasius, the *Vulgate* of Jerome, &c.* So, of more modern expositors, the Romanist Bossuet; as well as the Protestants *Made*, *Daubuz*, *Vitringa*, &c.

² See on the word *abyss*, Vol. i. p. 414.

³ Thus a marine volcanic island rises both out of the sea, and out of a deeper depth beneath it: such, for example, as that which suddenly rose in the Mediterranean in 1831.

⁴ John viii. 23, “Ye are from beneath, (*ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐστε*), I am from above: ye are of (or from) this world, (*ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*), I am not of this world.” Compare too James iii. 15, “This wisdom cometh not *from above*; but is *earthly*, *sensual*, *devilish*.”

* Andreas and Ambros. Ansbertus construe the clause, “*after the Beast*;” as if following the reading *μετα τοῦ θηρίου*, with the accusative.

inferable from the sacred record that the same *double* origin characterized alike the Beast of chap. xiii and of ch. xvii. The *former*, though first seen rising from the *sea*, is yet expressly declared to have had an earlier and *devilish* origin: it being represented as the device and creature of the old serpent the Devil, and that to which he delegated the supremacy, long previously exercised by him through the medium of Imperial Pagan Rome.¹ Again the *latter*, though called the *Beast from the abyss*, is yet so essentially connected with the *woman seated on it*, that as the Woman is declared to have had her seat on *the many waters*, the Beast itself may naturally be supposed to have arisen out of these waters, and formed its constituent population from them.—And then observe what waters. The very language of the designative phrase, “The waters *which thou sawest*,”—called also, as they are elsewhere, “*the many waters*,”—has an apparent reference to some sea, or wide-spread flood of waters, *before seen* by the Evangelist: and might not this be those described in chapters xii and xiii, as the origin of the *Beast from the sea*?²—So that, as in the investigation of the *resemblances* we found ourselves lodged at last in not merely an *inferential*, but a *direct* proof of the perfect identity of the two Beasts, the same is almost the result of our investigation of the alleged *discrepancies*.³

¹ Apoc. xii. 17. xiii. 2.

² For the *only* waters mentioned as seen by the Evangelist, intermediately between the vision of the *Beast from the sea* in Apoc. xiii, and that of the vision of the Harlot-rider and *Beast from the abyss* in Apoc. xvii,—the Chapter in which the Angel interpreter used the phrase referred to,—are the *springs of waters* (not *floods of waters*) on which the Angel of the third Vial poured out his Vial of wrath.

³ Mr. Brooks has noticed one other point in corroboration of his view; which, however, really seems to me scarcely to require refutation.

He says; “The description of the *Beast from the abyss* as the *Beast which was and is not*, plainly shows that the *Beast which was*, is the *Beast from the sea* of Apoc. xiii, who has now passed away, but is to ascend again into life and power.” And how does this appear? Why may not the *Beast which was*, be the *Roman Pagan Dragon*, slain under his seventh head, and the *Beast from the sea* (or *abyss*) that new form under which he *revives*? The word *θησιον*, *wild beast*, is applicable to a *dragon*, as well as to other wild beasts; and is in fact so applied by Eusebius. See my Notes ¹, ², p. 25 *suprà*. Such, I have no doubt, is the true explication, as will be shown hereafter. Mr. Brooks' supposition seems to me altogether gratuitous and unfounded.

After what has been stated it may seem probably superfluous to add anything further to our argument : yet, on reflection, I think it will not be altogether useless to suggest the following considerations, all leading to the same conclusion.

First, that of the *position* of the Apocalyptic narrative of the *Beast from the sea* in Apoc. xii, xiii : following as it does almost immediately on the notice of the *Beast from the abyss*, as the *Witnesses' slayer*, in Apoc. xi ; and as if in answer to the natural questions thereupon arising, respecting its rise and history, in the minds both of the seer and readers of this prophecy. Certainly were it the history of some persecuting power that had nothing to do with the slaying of the Witnesses, and the real author of the iniquity was only described long after in chapter xvii, the tendency of the vision and narrative of chap. xiii would be to mislead, not to instruct.—*Secondly*, there is the consideration that if the *Beast from the sea* be not identical with the *Beast from the abyss*, we have no account whatever given us of the *end* of the *former* :—an omission scarcely credible, considering the prominence of this Beast in the Apocalyptic revelation ; and that both of the *seven-headed Dragon*, his immediate *predecessor*, and of the *Beast from the abyss*, which the objector would suppose his immediate *successor*, the ends are related so circumstantially.¹—*Further*, the circumstance of the *Beast from the abyss* being necessarily the immediate successor of the *Beast from the sea*, according to Mr. Brooks' theory,² suggests a third consideration

¹ Viz. of the one in Apoc. xiii. 1, xx. 10, of the other in Apoc. xix. 20.

² I say *necessary* on his theory, because the sixth head of the Beast is declared by the Angel to be that which was *then* in existence ; viz. at the time of the visions in Patmos.* Consequently if the *Beast from the sea* (which was evidently in origin subsequent to St. John's time) *preceded* the *Beast from the abyss*, forasmuch as the latter existed under the eighth head, the Beast from the sea must have existed under the seventh.

* For the *standard time* to which the Angel's chronological intimations are to be referred of what *had been*, what *then was*, and what was still *future*, must necessarily be either the epoch of St. John's holding colloquy with the revealing Angel in Patmos, or that to which the figuration itself belonged : which latter it could not be ; as the Beast was then under his last head, immediately prior to destruction. I shall have to refer to this point again, at the commencement of § 1. of my next Chapter iv. on the Beast's Heads.

alike fatal to his theory, and corroborative of the complete identity of the two Beasts in question. For the head next preceding that of the *Beast from the abyss*, was the original *seventh* head.¹ And this seventh head was to last but a *little space* ;² whereas the *Beast from the sea* was to continue and prosper for 1260 years.³—And indeed, *once more*, it appears from Daniel that it was the selfsame Beast which lasted the 42 months, or 1260 years, under the Little Horn, that had its body given to the burning flame ; without any other form of the Beast, or any other chronological period intervening.

To all which indications,—indications marked in the very text and structure of the Apocalyptic record, and independent of any particular historical explanation of it,—there might be added yet one other drawn from the historical solution of an earlier part of the Apocalypse already explained ; I mean of that which prefigured the slaughter of the two Witnesses. For the *Beast from the abyss*, there spoken of as their antagonist and their murderer, was demonstrated, on I think irresistible evidence, to be the *Papal* power ;⁴—that power which is allowed, as I before observed, by the objector to be prefigured in the *Beast from the sea*.

Such is the conclusion I arrive at :—a conclusion, let me observe, agreeable with that of all the patristic expositors : for such a notion as that of a discrepancy between these two Beasts seems never to have entered their minds.⁵ The reader, if acquainted with the present state of prophetic investigation, will be aware of the importance of the point that we have been sifting, and consequently be ready to excuse the fulness of my enquiry on it. Indeed I cannot but feel thankful that a doubt should have been so strongly raised, and by writers so respectable, on the identity of the two Wild Beasts : since we should scarcely otherwise have instituted so full

¹ xvii. 11.—The reader will see hereafter why I use the phrase *original seventh* head ; viz. from regarding the *eighth* head as the *new* or *second seventh*, after the amputation by a sword of the *former seventh*, and in its place.

² xvii. 10.

³ xiii. 5. Mr. B. allows the truth of the *year-day* theory.

⁴ See Vol. ii. p. 366, &c.

⁵ E. g. Hippolytus, Primasius, Andreas, &c.

a comparison between them ; and therefore not have arrived at so clear, full, and deliberate a conviction of their being indubitably one and the same.

§ 2.—IDENTITY OF THE LAST RULING HEAD OF THE APOCALYPTIC WILD BEAST FROM THE ABYSS AND SEA WITH THE LITTLE HORN OF DANIEL'S FOURTH WILD BEAST, ST. PAUL'S MAN OF SIN, AND ST. JOHN'S ANTICHRIST.

It remains to add a word on the identity of this *Wild Beast from the abyss and sea* with *Daniel's fourth Wild Beast* in its last or ten-horned state ; and of its *ruling Head* also with St. Paul's and St. John's *Antichrist*. I do this because it will be quite necessary to refer at times to these visions and predictions in our subsequent exposition.

I. *Its identity with Daniel's fourth Beast.*—The description of this is subjoined below, in order to facilitate the comparison.¹

¹ I give the vision and explanation from Dan. vii. in parallel columns.

VISION.

7. AFTER this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceeding, and it had great iron teeth : it devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it : and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it ; and it had ten horns.

8. I considered the horns ; and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots : and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

9. I beheld till the thrones were placed,* and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure

EXPLANATION.

17. These great beasts, which are four, are four kings which shall arise out of the earth.

18. But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even forever and ever.

19. Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful : whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass ; which devoured, broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet :

20. And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell ; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows.

* So various ancient Versions, Mede, &c. Compare Matt. xix. 28, Apoc. xx. 4 ; &c.

Now of the exact appearance of the Beast with the Little Horn, we have no particular description; only that it was very terrible, and diverse from the three Wild Beasts before it. So that the Apocalyptic combination of the *Leopard, Lion, and Bear* may very possibly have existed in this *Terrible Wild Beast, or Deinotherium*, of Daniel likewise. However this may have been (and I think the fact of the Apocalyptic combination being that of the characteristics of Daniel's three first Wild Beasts almost indicates as much,) the following particulars that *are* noted of it, or of its Little Horn, sufficiently identify it with the Apocalyptic Wild Beast. 1. It was stated to be the fourth great mundane empire, i. e. the Roman,¹ in

VISION.

wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

10. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

11. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake;—I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame.

12. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

13. I saw in the night visions; and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

14. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away: and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

EXPLANATION.

21. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;

22. Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

23. Then he said; The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

24. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise. And another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings.

25. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

26. But the judgment shall sit; and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.

27. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High: whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

¹ See for the opinions of the Fathers on this explanation of Rome as the *fourth* of Daniel's four empires, Vol. i. pp. 203, 204, 365, 366; and for those of some of the heathen writers, ib. p. 403. To the latter list I may add *Plutarch*: who

its *last* form, under a *decem-regal* government ; and on its destruction to be succeeded, like the Apocalyptic, by the saints taking the kingdom. 2. Its decemregal confederation was described as overawed and domineered over by the *Little Horn* : just as the Apocalyptic *eighth Head* had the power and authority of the ten cotemporary kings delivered up to it. 3. This Little Horn having *eyes like a man*, and said at the same time to be *diverse* from the other horns, figured apparently some *ecclesiastical episcopal* power : ¹ just as the ruling Head of the Apocalyptic Beast has been stated, and will soon beshewn more fully, to have been an *ecclesiastical* power. 4. It was declared of the Little Horn, that it would use its power to make war with the saints and prevail,—that it would with its mouth speak very great things,² even blasphemous words against the Most High,—and that it would,—conjointly as would seem with the ten kings subordinate;—last or prosper *a time, times, and*

observes that “ Fortune, having past in succession from the *Assyrians*, the *Medes and Persians*, and the *Macedonians*, after tarrying with each for a little while, at length alighted on the banks of the Tiber, and entered *Rome* ; as if resolved to make it her abode for ever.”

¹ “ It had eyes like the eyes of a man.” The figure is one applicable in the first instance to governors generally, as overlookers of the charge entrusted to them. So Numb. xxxi. 14, of certain presiding rulers of the host of Israel ; Sept. *επισκοποι της δυναμεις*. Compare 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12, 17, and Nehem. xi. 9, 14. Similarly Demosthenes uses the word of the Athenian *provident* patron-goddess Minerva ;* and Cicero ad Att. vii. 2, of magistrates and provincial commissioners.—But the horn in Daniel being diverse from the others, it needed to be a seer or overseer in a different sense ; e. g. such as applied to the *prophets* † and *ecclesiastical rulers* of the Jewish people : so as, for example Ezekiel ; “ Son of man, I have set thee to be a *watchman* to the children of Israel.” How peculiarly the term was appropriated to ministers and bishops under the gospel-dispensation is well known. How it was afterwards applied by Papal writers and Papal Councils to the ecclesiastical rulers, or bishops, will be illustrated in a later chapter. Says Sir I. Newton on this emblem in Daniel ; It was a *seer*, to use the expression of the Old Testament ; or, to use that of the New Testament, an *επισκοπος*, i. e. an *overseer*, or bishop.—It was certainly a very remarkable and significant characteristic.

² Probably a *great mouth*, like the lion's mouth of the Apocalyptic Beast, indicating this. Compare Sophocl. Antig. 127 ; *Zeus γαρ μεγαλης γλωσσης κομπους* “ Γυρερχθαιρει.

* Viz. in his *Παραπρεσβειας*, quoting Solon's verses :
Τοιη γαρ μεγαδυμος επισκοπος οβριμωτατη,
Παλλας Αθηναη χειρας υπερθεν εχει.

A passage ridiculed by Aristophanes in his *Equit.* 1171 ; *Ω θυμ' εναργως ή θεος σ' επισκοπει.*

† *Οι προφηται οφθαλμοι ήμων γεγονωσι*, says Hippolytus De Antichr, ad init.

half a time, or 1260 years : all which three characteristics are characteristics also of the *eighth* or *ruling Head* of the Apocalyptic Wild Beast from the abyss and sea. 5. To the which I must add also their similar final destiny ; viz. to be *destroyed by fire from God*.¹

Thus there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of this decem-regal Wild Beast of Daniel with the decem-regal Apocalyptic Wild Beast from the abyss and sea ; and of the Little Horn of the one with the eighth and last Head of the other.²—The difference between the two figurations seems to have arisen hence ; viz., that as the revelation made to Daniel respecting this last form of the fourth or Roman empire, then all future, was to be less full and circumstantial, it allowed of the revelation being depicted to him under the symbol of the one Head of one symbolic Beast : whereas the revelation to be made to St. John being more full and circumstantial, as of that of which the history was then already far advanced, and the plot that involved it thickening, needed, in order to this full development, the exhibition of the seven heads in the ten-horned Wild Beast from the sea ; and besides this, of the further symbols of the attendant two-horned lamb-like Wild Beast, and the Image of the Beast.³—It is remarkable however that there is one important characteristic noticed in Daniel's description beyond what is found in the Apocalyptic ; namely that of three of the original ten horns of the Wild Beast being subdued and plucked up before the Little Horn. And there is also this additional explanatory intimation given in Daniel, of which use may perhaps be made to the illustration of the Apocalyptic vision ;—viz. that whereas the fourth or Roman Wild Beast, on final deprivation of power, was to be burned with fire and utterly destroyed, such would not be the case with those three other Wild Beasts that prefigured the three previous great empires of the world :—that, on the contrary, though the supremacy

¹ Dan. vii. 11, Apoc. xix. 20.

² So the four *heads* of Dan. vii. 6 seem equivalent to the four *horns* of Dan. viii. 8.

³ So the symbolic Image of Daniel's first vision is expanded into the quadruple exhibition of the four Wild Beasts in a vision subsequent.

was taken from them, their lives would be prolonged for a season and a time.—On each of these points I shall have to remark afterwards.

II. I am to shew the identity of these Wild Beasts of Daniel and the Apocalypse, or rather of the last *ruling Head* or *Horn* of one and the other, with the *Anti-christian Power* described in *St. Paul's famous prophecy in the Epistle to the Thessalonians*.—The prophecy is one to which I have already more than once made reference :¹ but a fuller sketch of it on the present occasion, though somewhat recapitulative, will be both interesting and necessary.²

It appears then that partly in consequence of the unauthorized assertions of other members of the Thessalonian Church, partly of what the Apostle himself had said in his first Epistle to it,³ respecting Christ's coming

¹ Vol. i. pp. 203—208, 363—368.

² The following is the prophecy.

"Now we beseech you, brethren, with regard to * the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto Him, 2. That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. 3. Let no man deceive you by any means : for that day shall not come except there come the apostacy† first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition : † 4. Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called god, or that is worshipped ; § so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. 5. Remember ye not that when I was yet with you I told you these things ? 6. And now ye know what withholdeth || that he might be revealed in his time. 7. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work ; only he who now letteth ¶ will let until he be taken out of the way. 8. And then shall that lawless one** be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. 9. Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all powers, and signs, and lying wonders : 10. And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish ; because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved. 11. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie : 12. That they all may be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." 2 Thess. ii. 1—12.

³ *Tertullian* paraphrases the passage ; " Ne turbemini neque per spiritum, neque per sermonem, scil. pseudoprophetarum, neque per epistolam, scil. pseud-apostolorum, ac si per nostram : " And *Jerom*, *Epist. ad Algas*. *Quæst. xi. thus*

* *ὄψεσθαι* ; in the sense of *περι, quod attinet ad*. So *Rosenmuller*, *Schleusner*, *Macknight*, *Whitby*, &c. For examples I may mention *Rom. ix. 27* ; *Ἡσυχίας πρὸς τοὺς ἑσπερίους ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερουσαλῆμ* where our authorized version is *concerning* ; and also *2 Cor. v. 12, vii. 4, viii. 23, ix. 3, Phil. i. 7, 2 Thess. i. 4, &c.* *Whitby* quotes the ancient *Phavorinus*, saying that the word is used *ὁμοίως τῷ περι*. And I observe the old expositor *Berengaud* so construing it here, "*de adventu*."

I doubt indeed whether *ὄψεσθαι* ever bears the *adjurative* sense here given it. *Schleusner* gives none such to the word.

† ἡ ἀποστασία.

‡ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, — ὁ ὄσιος τῆς ἀπειθείας.

§ σεβασμια.

|| το κατεχον.

¶ δ κατεχον.

** ὁ ἀνομος.

again to gather to Himself his saints both quick and dead, and more especially of his use of the first person in speaking of the former,¹—I mean of those that would be *alive* at the coming of the Lord,—the impression had arisen, and with no little excitement of feeling attending it, that Christ's second advent was imminent; insomuch that some of the then existing generation would live to see it. In answer to this he here tells the Thessalonian Christians that it was not so immediately at hand as they supposed: and, while not attempting to unveil to them the times and the seasons, which he himself indeed knew not, and which the Father kept in his own power,² he yet, under dictation of the Spirit, declared to them that before that great and blessed consummation, there was to be developed in the Church one particular and most extraordinary phenomenon of apostacy; in effect *the*³ apostacy from the true faith⁴ specially predicted by the

observes on it: "Thessalonicensium animos vel occasio non intellectæ epistolæ, vel facta revelatio, quæ per somnium deceperat dormientes, vel aliquorum conjectura, Isaie Danielis Evangeliorumque verba de Antichristo prænunciantia in illud tempus interpretantium, moverat atque turbaverat."

See 1 Thess. iv. 15, &c.

² Acts i. 7.

¹ On this force of the definite article *ἡ*, prefixed to *αἰσῶσις*, see Macknight and Bishop Middleton, ad loc. Our authorized translation unhappily quite overlooks it in its rendering, "*a falling away.*"

⁴ The word *αἰσῶσις*, with its cognate nouns and verbs, as used in the Septuagint and Greek Testament, signifies (besides its primitive meaning of a *local departure* or *secession*) either a *political* secession and *revolt*, or a *religious* one, as from God and the true faith. The following examples will illustrate the two senses.

1. *Political defection.* So *αἰσῶσιναι* Gen. xiv. 4, 2 Chron. xiii. 6, Ezek. xvii. 15, of the revolts of the king of Sodom from Chedorlaomer, of Jeroboam from Rehoboam, and of Zedekiah from the king of Babylon; also Acts v. 37 of that of Judas the Galilean in the time of the taxing. So again *αἰσῶσατο*, Neh. ii. 19, vi. 6; and *αἰσῶσας*, Ezra iv. 12, 15.

2. *Religious apostacy.* So *αἰσῶσις*, 2 Chron. xxix. 19 of Ahas' apostacy, 1 Macc. ii. 15, of the Jews' seduced by Antiochus: *αἰσῶσας*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19, of Manasses' apostacy: *αἰσῶσας*, Numb. xiv. 9, Josh. xxii. 19, Isa. xxx. 1, 2 Macc. v. 8.—And in the New Testament *αἰσῶσις*, as in Acts xxi. 21, *Αἰσῶσιναι διδασκεις ἀπο Μουσαῶς* and *ἀπιστημι*, as in 1 Tim. iv. 1, *Αἰσῶσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως*, and Heb. iii. 12, *Ἐν τῇ ἀπιστηνῇ ἀπο Θεοῦ ζῶντος*.

Thus *political revolt* and *religious apostacy* are alike admissible *per se* by the phrase in the text. But stated as it is without specification to a *Christian Church*, we may surely most naturally construe it of a defection *from Christ's Church and faith*. Moreover the mention of the *mystery of iniquity* in the context, as associated with the apostacy spoken of, and also of the *man of sin* as its head, seems to fix the latter sense as the one intended.—Among the Fathers some construed the word one way, some the other: *Tertullian* and *Jerom* of a supposed secession of the Roman Empire itself into a new form of ten kingdoms; or of a defection of ten kings or nations from the Roman Empire: (a view very forced evidently;

Spirit :—an apostacy which, traced from its earliest infant origin, would in fact span the interval from the time then present to the Lord's second coming ;¹ and which would

as the thing predicted was no *defection* of the Roman Empire, but a *change* of it into a new form with ten kings or kingdoms :) Cyril, Ambrose, Augustine, &c., of a *religious* apostacy from the Christian faith and good works. See my Vol. i. pp. 204—208, 364—366.*

It is important to observe that in the example from Acts xxi. 21 the phrase is applied by the Jews to designate St. Paul's christian doctrine as a *defection* or *apostacy from Moses* ; though the apostle asserted that it was no *defection* from him. (Acts xxvi. 22, &c.) So that the *open avowal* and *profession of apostacy from the Christian faith* is not necessary to satisfy the conditions of the text.—A point this well applicable to the objection against all *Papal* application of the prophecy made in his Rule of Faith, p. 11, by *Archdeacon Manning*. "The *mystery of iniquity*," he says, after a reference to Chrysostom, Cyril, and Theodoret, as authorities for its probably meaning either the Nero-like spirit of heathen persecution, or else religious heresies, "was working *without* and *around* the Church, and *within* it only as *undiscovered*." And he quotes in support of his view St. John, "They went out from us ; for, if they had been of us, they would have continued with us ;" adding, that if they did not spontaneously go out, they were thrust out as heretics.—If however the Archdeacon had further stated as to *St. John*, that by the word *us* he did not mean the *corporate body of a professing church*, but Christ's *true spiritual disciples* distinctively, even such as "had an unction from the Holy One," (who during the apostle's life and superintendence constituted no doubt the chief body, and exercised a paramount influence in the Ephesian Church,)—and, as to *the Fathers*, that it was the declared opinion of one of those referred to, I mean *Cyril*, that heresies, and a spirit of hatred, emulation, and disregard to the truth were then working *in the Church* so as to be preparing for the Antichrist, and of the two others, viz. *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret*, that *the temple* in which the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, would sit, was the *Christian Church* or *Churches*,—it would, I think, not have failed to strike him how little either the Evangelist or the Fathers helped his argument.†

It seems to me much to be lamented that with so weak a case such a man as Archdeacon Manning should have built so much on it : and yet more that he should at the same time have almost vilified those that hold to our own great Anglican Reformers' view of the prophecy ; as if little better than friends to the Socinian and the Deist.

¹ So Justin Martyr spoke of *Christ's coming in glory* as only deferred till after the manifestation and reign of the man of the apostacy : (see Vol. i. p. 204 :) and Augustine C. D. xx. 19 ; "To no one is it doubtful that the apostle speaks of the *day of judgment* (for so he means *by the day of the Lord*) as not to come, unless he come first whom he calls an *apostate*, viz. from the Lord God." "Nulli dubium

* It is observable that Irenæus uses the word of *man's apostacy from God at the full*, Lib. iii. "Qui redemit nos *de apostasiâ* sanguine suo." For there can be no doubt that the original Greek was *αποστασία*.

† Mr. Govett, who is one of the same *prophetic* school of the futurists as Archdeacon Manning, has a sentence in the Introduction to his Commentary on the Apocalypse, (p. iv) which seems to me quite illustrative of the subject. "My attachment to the principles of Protestantism is not lessened by the *recession* both from the principles and the name, which is taking place amongst a large body in our (Protestant) Church." He is alluding evidently to the Oxford Tractarians *within* the Church of England.—Just so within the *professedly Christian Church* a *recession* or *apostacy* from the principles of Christ and his Gospel began early to work : an apostacy which soon included a large body ; and at length had attached to it the great majority of profest Christians, though still called the *Christian Church*.

in due course issue in, and develope as its head,¹ a certain *antichristian person, succession, or power*, whom he designates as *the man of sin, the lawless one, and son of perdition*;²—the *man of sin* as pre-eminently sin's off-

est eum de Antichristo ista dixisse, *diemque judicii* (hunc enim appellat *diem Domini*) non esse venturum, nisi," &c. And so too the other Fathers. For the idea of any other *day or coming of Christ*, such as has been broached by certain anti-premillennarians in support of their theory, never I believe entered the minds of the early Christians.

And as the Fathers so most of the more eminent moderns. E. g. Rosenmuller, simply on critical grounds, says of the *appearing* meant; " *Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ* adventus Christi ad iudicium extremum;" though he adds that St. Paul might perhaps, from ignorance on the subject, have been thinking of the destruction of Jerusalem: and of the *gathering*; " *Ἡ ἐπισυναγωγή πρὸς αὐτὸν* conjuncta erit isti adventui; nec est diversa ab ἐὰν quæ est Matt. xxv. 32."—Indeed this notice of the *gathering of the saints* to Christ fixes the reference to 1 Thess. iv. 14: on which point compare further John xi. 52, xvii. 23, Psalm 1. 2.

¹ That the Wicked One or Antichrist, spoken of, was to be the *head*, as well as *offspring* of the apostacy, appears clearly from what follows; it being said that his development would result in that of the whole deceivableness of unrighteousness; in other words, of the apostatic system in its completeness. Justin Martyr well expresses this his double relation to the apostacy by calling the Antichrist *the man of the apostacy ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀποστασίας*. See my Vol. i. p. 204. And so too Cyril speaks of the ἀποστασία as the προδρομος of Antichrist. Ib. 365.

² ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας. The emphasis of the article and singular number is here again to be noted; as also in the δ ἀνομος of verse 8.

I must observe that Bellarmine and other Romanists, followed in these latter days by certain Protestants, contend that this use of the singular masculine precludes the latitude of interpretation I have given to the words, as signifying either a *person, succession, or power*, and necessarily restricts the meaning to *one individual person*. But, as Bishop Newton, Macknight, Bishop Middleton, and others have observed, it is the frequent Scripture custom to designate a *class or succession* by an individual. In *symbolic* prophecies this is notorious. In the Apocalypse we have already met abundance of examples, as also in Daniel. And even in *unsymbolic* passages the same occurs. So of the *class or succession of Jewish priests* in Lev. xxi. 10—15 and Numb. xxxv. 25, 28; of *that of Jewish kings*, Deut. xvii. 14, 1 Sam. viii. 11, &c: and again of the *succession of Christian ministers* 2 Tim. iii. 17, under the designation of *the man of God*. Let me add, as another and different example, Psalm lxxxix. 22, " *The son of wickedness shall not afflict him*:" Sept. υἱὸς ἀνομίας' the *individual for the class*. Above all, and not further to multiply examples, there is the notable one in *this very* prophecy of ὁ κερύχων, " *he that letteth*," in the masculine singular, used synonymously with το κερύχων in the *neuter*, as of a *power*; and generally understood by the Fathers, as will be soon observed, of the then existing *line, succession, or government* of the Roman Emperors. I pray the reader's particular attention to this. It annihilates the arguments of those who would contend on the ground of this phraseology for a *personal individual* Antichrist.

Mr. Govett adds, in his argument against any *Papal* application of this prophecy, that if the phrase *man of sin* indicate a *class connected together by official succession*, so as those other phrases that I have compared it with, *the man of God, the high-priest, &c.*, and the Popes of Rome were the line intended, then the phrase ought to include the whole *Papal succession*, even from its commencement in Linus and Anacletus. But I am surprised at so intelligent a writer thus arguing. The *Papal succession* in their *official* character and pretensions, (if that be the thing meant, a question which is the subject of our coming inquiry,) would be only included *from and after the time of the Popes' development as the man of sin*; obviously not before.

spring and patron ; the *lawless one* as above all laws ; the *son of perdition*, both as the antitype, it might seem, of Judas, (whose distinctive title alone it was previously,) in his character of a traitor apostle or bishop ;¹ and as also, like him, in some pre-eminent manner doomed to destruction.

Respecting this mysterious person or power the following further particulars were also stated. That the mystery of iniquity was even then working which was ultimately to issue in his development :² but that a certain particular hindrance then existed, in some *person, or power* ; (I use the double designation because it is spoken of alike in the masculine and the neuter gender ;³) and that what that hindrance was they knew :—that on its removal, but not before, this Man of Sin, the lawless one and Head of the Apostacy, would be developed :—that these three things would be the sign and accompaniment of his revelation, viz. *lying wonders and miracles*,⁴ a complete

¹ John xvii. 12 : "None is lost but the *son of perdition*." In regard of the *episcopate* of Judas, see Acts i. 20.—The allusion to *Judas* in this very remarkable appellation is suggested by Bishop Newton and Macknight. Nor, I think, without reason ; these being the only two passages in which it occurs, and *Judas* and St. Paul's *Man of Sin* the only two characters to whom it is applied.

There is somewhat of doubt on the precise sense to be attached to the appellation, which is a Hebraism. The *genitive* following *son or sons* in Hebrew,—when not that either of the *originating parent*, or the *family belonging to*, but of some *characteristic or quality*,—means *actively*, for the most part, that which proceeds from him that is the subject of the sentence. So *υιοι βροντης*, *υιοι ερηνης*, *υιοι παρακλησεως*, (Mark iii. 17, Luke x. 6, Acts iv. 36,) *thunderers, imparters of peace, consolers*. So too *sons of oil*, said of the two olive-trees that fed the lamp in Zechariah's prophecy. See Vol. ii. Note ¹, p. 201. On the other hand *υιοι απειθειας*, said by St. Paul of the wicked, (Eph. ii. 2, v. 6,) indicates *passively* that they were the *subjects of unbelief and disobedience*.—Macknight, in his explanation of the phrase in the passage under consideration, unites the active and the passive meanings : and probably it is so intended, both in respect of *Judas*, and of the *Antichrist* that he prefigured. Destroyers of Christ personally, or of Christ in his members, they were themselves doomed also to a peculiar destruction.—Compare Apoc. xi. 18 ; "to destroy them that destroy the earth."

² What the *mystery of iniquity* precisely was, we may suppose untold. And hence in the earliest patristic commentators there is nothing of the same decided and definite explanation of it, as of the *hindering let* which we read was revealed : and some, as Chrysostom, thought it might mean the *persecuting heathen spirit* that animated Nero ; some, as Cyril, the *Arian* and other *heresies* then rife. But, whatever the obscurity, thus much was clear, that it was some principle of iniquity, then secretly working, and which would expand into the system of the *man of sin*.

³ *ὁ κερχευον, το κερχεον*, remarked on in the Note preceding.

⁴ It was an early question with the Fathers whether these miracles would be true, or only apparent. Feuardentius, on Irenæus, v. 28, thus comprehensively argues out how they would be *lying miracles*. "1. Ratione *finit* : quoniam

deceivableness of unrighteousness,¹ (or exhibition of sin speciously and deceitfully as if religion,) and an *energy of power and success*, such as the working of Satan might alone account for, and which would draw in all to believe in it, except those that took pleasure in the truth, and would be saved.—The impiety and pride of this Man of Sin were thus predicted;—that he would be pre-eminently an opposer to Christ and his Church;—that he would exalt himself above all that was called god, or an object of worship,² i. e. above the gods many and lords many in the gentile earth and heaven,³ including the potentates and kings of this world;⁴—that he would sit as God in God's temple, (a phrase meaning the Church⁵

juxta Ambrosium et Chrysostomum in 2 Thess. ii, ad mendacium inducent, nimirum ut impostor ille probet se Deum et Christum esse, sicut Christus noster veris miraculis divinitatem suam patefecit. 2. Ratione *efficientis*, nempe Satanæ patris mendacii; qui in eo, per eum, perque ministros ejus, sic operabitur. 3. Ratione *subjecti*, seu *materialis*; quandoquidem duntaxat illusiones ac præstigiæ sensus perstringentes, non reipsâ erunt miracula. Magnificè quidem videbitur mortuos suscitare, ait Cyrillus Hieros. (Cat. xv) cæcos illuminare, claudos sanare, cùm tamen rævera non fiat sanatio. 4. Ratione *formæ*: quoniam non in nomine Patris, Filii, aut Spiritûs Sancti edent illa, sed in nomine impostoris illius."

In his last remark the learned Commentator requires thus far to be corrected. If the *Man of Sin* were (as all allowed and allow) *the Antichrist*, then the *form* and *manner* of his performing his lying miracles, would be *professedly* in the name and character of Christ.

¹ Παση ἀκατη ἀδικίας. Compare the *deceivableness of riches*, spoken of Matt. xiii. 22; and the *deceitfulness of sin*, Heb. iii. 13.

² So σεβασματα was used by St. Paul of the Athenian objects of worship generally, Acts xvii. 23; θεωρον τα σεβασματα ημων.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 5; Επερ εισι λεγομενοι θεοι, ειτε εν βραυειτε επι γης; ὅσπερ εισι θεοι πολλοι και κυριοι πολλοι. The passage is one very illustrative of that before us. We find the λεγομενοι θεοι, "those that are called gods," spoken of not as including, but contrasted with, *the true God*; (see the verse following:) and mention expressly made of *earthly* objects of worship, as well as *heavenly*; that is, of the *kings of the earth*, mentioned in the next Note.—The distinction is noted by Irenæus and others of the fathers. I may instance *Jerom*, who comments thus; "Suprà omne quod dicitur Deus; ut cunctarum gentium deos, sive probatam omnem et veram religionem, suo calcet pede." Ad *Algas*.

⁴ Σεβασμα, or its cognates, specially suggests to us that chiefest almost of Roman objects of worship, in the Apostle's days and afterwards, *the emperors*. Of the emperor the Greek title was Σεβασος, for Augustus; and not seldom, in speaking of him, the θεος was united with the σεβασος. So Lucian, iii. 320, Θεο Κυραπος Σεβασο. See Spanheim, *De Usu Num.* p. 677: who speaks of the word as one of consecration to religious worship; referring to Dio and Appian.

⁵ That the *Temple of God* intended might be the *Christian professing Church*, as well as the *Jewish Temple*, seems evident from the fact of the apostles often so applying this phrase, or others tantamount, in their Epistles; and its similar application also in the Apocalypse (if my exposition be correct) continually. Let me, though I have already cited most of them early in my first Volume, set the following chief passages from the Epistles before the reader's eye.

1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God? If any man

apparently here, as often elsewhere,) and actually there ex-

defile the temple of God, him will God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.* 2 Cor. vi. 16; "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God." 1 Tim. iii. 15; "That thou mightest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God; † which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." Heb. x. 21; And having an High Priest over the house of God." Heb. iii. 6; "Whose house are we, if we hold fast our confidence firm to the end." 1 Peter iv. 17; "The time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at us," &c. Eph. ii. 19, 20; "Ye are of the household of God, and are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."

And thus the early patristic expositors, who fully recognized the applicability of the figure to the Christian body, † more generally inclined to this latter view of St. Paul's meaning in the phrase under consideration, than to that which would explain it of the Jewish temple. For while Irenæus and Cyril § thought that the Jewish temple restored would be the one the Man of Sin would sit in, both Hilary and Jerom, || Chrysostom and Theodoret, ¶ explained it of the Christian professing Church; and Ambrose and Augustine ** of both, or either.

But to the idea of the Jewish temple being meant, there occur the following

* δ γαρ ναὸς τὸ θεὸς ἅγιος ἐστίν, οἵτινες ἐσε θεαί where mark the definite article. It has been objected by a writer in the *Christian Examiner*, that the *δ*atives here ought to be rendered, "of which kind are ye." But this is not its necessary meaning. It sometimes is used simply for *δ*s; e. g. 1 Cor. vi. 20; "Glorify God ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν, ἅτινα ἐστε τὰ θεοῦ and Apoc. xvii. 12, τὰ δεκά κεράτα δεκά βασιλεῖς αἰῶν οἵτινες βασιλεύουσιν ἐνω ἑλαβον" &c. So again Matt. xvi. 18. And in other passages, cited above, the statement of Christ being God's temple is unequivocal.

† ἐν οὐκ τὸ θεὸς. Compare Luke xi. 51, in proof of οἶκος having here the same sense as ναὸς: "who perished," says St. Luke, "between the altar and the house," μεταξὺ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου. St. Matt. xxiii. 35, has it ναὸς.

‡ So Tertullian De Cor. Mil. c. 9; "Nos enim et templa dei sumus:" and Augustine, C. D. x. 3. 21; "Hujus enim templum simul omnes, et singuli templa sumus."

§ See generally my Vol. i. pp. 204, 365, &c.
|| Hilary says; "Because of that Antichrist you do wrong to attach importance to the walls of temples, or to regard a building as the Church of God. Is it then doubtful that Antichrist may not establish his throne there? The mountain, the forest, the cave, are to me safer places."—For Jerom see my Vol. i. p. 366.

¶ The views of Chrysostom and Theodoret, as well as of the other Fathers, have been abstracted in my 1st Vol. ubi suprâ. But as being the most learned of the Greeks, and certainly most competent critics on their own language, I think it well to give here the original. Chrysostom, Homil. iii. on 2 Thess. ii: Καθεσθῆσονται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλῆμοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς πᾶντα τοὺς ἐκκλησίας. And Theodoret, also on 2 Thess. ii: Ναὸν δὲ θεοῦ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐκάλουν ἐν ἀσπερτασεὶ τὴν προεδρείαν. Θεοῦ δ' αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύουσι περιμῶνος. So too afterwards Theophylact.—As regards Cyril, it is to be observed that though adopting the more literal explanation of the phrase, yet he does not say a word on the article prefixed, as in its favour; or against the church-explanation as phraseologically inadmissible; but only because, "God forbid that it should be the Church!"

** Ambrose on Luke xxi. 20, referring to this prophecy, says; "Sedebit homo peccati in templo interiore Judæorum qui Christum negabant:" and; "Est alius Antichristus, Diabolus scilicet, qui meam Hierusalem, meam animam, certè animam Dei, obsidere nitatur, et in medio templo sit," &c.—Augustine in his C. D. xx. 19, says that it is doubtful what temple was meant, whether the ruin of the temple built by Solomon, or the Church.

hibit himself as God.¹—Finally the apostle described the end of this Man of Sin ; how that he would be consumed² by the breath of Christ's mouth, and destroyed even to annihilation³ by the brightness of his coming :—evi-

objections. 1. After Christ's rejection by the Jews, and his rejection of them, the Jewish temple was, I believe, never called the *temple of God*, or term equivalent ; though often called so in the Old Testament. 2. As the prophecy pointed to a thing and a time subsequent to the subversion of Jerusalem by the Romans, were the Jewish temple meant, it would need to be the temple rebuilt. And so indeed the Fathers who took that view explained it. It was to be the temple *rebuilt by Antichrist*.⁴ But, so rebuilt, how could it be the *temple of God* ? Irenæus' argument, v. 25, that as being called God's temple, it must be one built "*per dispositionem veri Dei*," so as the *temple of Solomon* was, (an argument repeated by Augustine, C. D. xx. 19) is decisive against his own explanation. For rebuilt by *Antichrist* it would no more be God's temple, in consequence of identity of site with that of Solomon, than the *Mosque of Omar* there standing now : nor indeed if built by the Jews, the *unconverted Jews*, themselves.

Thus the objection made by Todd, Govett, and others, to the construing the phrase of an *apostate Christian Church*, ("If an apostate Church were meant it could not be called the *temple of God*,") is valid against their own substituted explanation of its being the *rebuilt Jewish temple*, with Antichrist sitting and ruling in it. On the other hand, the objection does not properly apply to a church, which *once true*, has gradually become apostate ; yet not been formally cast out by God. Till Christ's rejection of the Jews the Jewish temple, though grievously polluted, was still, we know, called *God's temple* : as Christ said, "*My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves*." And so too the temple of the *professing Church*, until formally rejected by God : even though grievously corrupt and defiled : a supposition expressly made by St. Paul. For when he wrote, "*If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy, which temple are ye*," transferring what is said in Numb. xix. 20, about any one that defiled the *Jewish sanctuary of the Lord*, to the *Christian body and Church*, he implied that it too was susceptible of defilement ; even to a point that should cause its total rejection at last, just as of the Jewish Church previously, as hopelessly apostate. And so too in the passage 2 Cor. vi. 16.

Let me observe that the term *temple of God*, applied to *Christians*, is not confined to the elect alone, so as Mr. Govett would have it (p. 496). There is a latitude of meaning to the figure ; just as to the cognate terms *Kingdom of God, Church, &c.* There is Christ's kingdom *special*, consisting only of Christ's true servants ; his kingdom *general*, consisting of tares and wheat, good fish and bad, not to be separated till the harvest : Christ's Church *special*, consisting of the spiritually regenerate and elect alone ; and his Church *visible and professing*, of false and true both :—Christ's temple *general*, inclusive of its outward and Gentile court ; and his temple *proper*, from which the outward court is excluded.—I here use the Apocalyptic simile, which is admirably illustrative of this important point. Indeed the Apocalypse in its figurative imagery furnishes the best possible comment on the various intent of the phrase, as applied to the Christian Church.

It is to be observed further that supposing there were to arise one Church in its pretensions *universal*, and in point of fact including the mass of Christendom,—that might *pro tanto* be presumed to be the one intended.

¹ ὡς Θεός, without the article.

² ἀλωσει, a word used both of more slow and of quicker destruction.

³ καταργησει.

* So e. g. Hippolytus : "Iste (Antichristus) Hierosolymis suscitabit templum lapideum : . . . templum construet Hierosolymis, quod confestim excitatum tradet Judeis."

dently meaning that second coming of which he had twice before spoken ;¹ the same of which the resurrection of the dead saints, and the gathering round Christ alike of these and of such as might be living at the time, were to be the blessed accompaniments.

I have observed on the Apostle's statement, that the Thessalonian Christians knew what *the hindrance* was that prevented this Man of Sin's development : and we have the consenting testimony of the early Fathers, from Irenæus, the disciple of the disciple of St. John, down to Chrysostom and Jerome, to the effect that it was the *Imperial power ruling and residing at Rome.*² And assuming this to be correct, which we have indeed good reason to do, (for how could so extraordinary a point of knowledge, once received from the apostle, have become lost in the age immediately succeeding ?) the following striking similarities between this Antichristian power and the Little Horn of Daniel, or its equivalent the Apocalyptic Wild Beast from the abyss and sea, will at once present themselves.

1. The former, like the latter, was a power to arise at *Rome* ; else what the need of the Imperial government, seated when St. Paul wrote at Rome, being removed out of the way in order to its development ? 2. It was to succeed to power soon after the removal of the Roman imperial Pagan dynasty :—just as the Apocalyptic Beast was to succeed after the Roman Pagan Dragon. 3. It was to emanate from Satan, as a power of his devising, and with the energy of Satanic influence attending its establishment :—just as the Apocalyptic Beast was a device and creation of the Dragon, or Devil, that had before ruled in Roman Paganism, and received from him

¹ Compare 2 Thess. ii. 1 and 1 Thess. iv. 14, 15 ; as observed before in the Note¹ to p. 79.

² See the references to *Tertullian, Lactantius, Chrysostom, Jerom*, Vol. i. pp. 204, 365. *Augustine* is the first, I believe, that expresses himself doubtfully on the subject. He too, however, while professing his own ignorance, mentions the explanation above-given as prevailing ; and only adds, as another solution that he had also heard of the *hindrance*, (*το κωλυον*), that it might mean the want, so far, of a sufficient multitude of apostates to make up for him the necessary constituency of a kingdom, and without which his development could not take place. De Civ. D. Bk. xx. Ch. 19.

its throne, and power, and great authority. 4. Its manifestation was to be with signs and lying wonders :— just like those with which the two-horned lamb-like Wild Beast, or False Prophet, was to support the authority of the Apocalyptic Beast. 5. It was to arise out of, and then to head, the great apostacy : enforcing a system of spiritual falsehood called “the deceiveableness of unrighteousness,” and “mystery of iniquity ;” and with such success that all would believe it but they who had the love of the truth, and were heirs of salvation :¹— just as the Apocalyptic Beast was to be the supporter of the apostate harlot-church that had *mystery* written in her forehead,² to head the pseudo-christians of the outer temple-court,³ and by his ministers to deceive them that dwelt on the earth ; and this with success such that all living there would worship him, whose names were not written in the Lamb’s Book of Life. 6. It was to be an *ecclesiastical* power ; the *Temple of God*, or *Christian Church*, being the grand scene of his ostentation and pride :—just as the Apocalyptic Beast was to have a *false lamb-like Prophet* for his chief minister ; and Daniel’s Little Horn to be probably an *ecclesiastical overseer*, or *Bishop of the Church*, having eyes like the eyes of a man. 7. Its *character* was to be emphatically that of the opposer of Christ’s cause and people ;⁴ also of the lawless one,⁵ or one above laws ; also of the affecter of super-human self-exaltation above all the authorities and dignities of the world, and this on the blasphemous assumption of being himself “as God :” — just as the Beast of Daniel and the Apocalypse was to war against the saints and overcome them, to think to

¹ This is implied in the expression, “With all deceiveableness of unrighteousness among them that perish,” εν τοις απωλλυμενοις and the words, “God shall send them strong delusion, (εφεργιαν πλανης) that they should believe a lie. . . . which believe not the truth,” &c.

² Apoc. xvii. 5, 7.

³ Inferred from Apoc. xi. 2, 7.

⁴ δ αντικειμενος, a phrase used Phil. i. 28 of the adversaries of the Church.

⁵ δ ανωμος. The classical reader will perhaps be reminded by the expression of the similar phrase *legibus solutus*, applied to the Roman emperors : on which says Gibbon, viii. 17 ; “The expression was supposed to exalt the Emperor above all human restraints ; and to leave his conscience and reason as the sacred measure of his conduct.”

change times and laws,¹ to domineer over the ten kings as subjects, and to have a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;—blasphemies against God, his name, his tabernacle, and them also that dwelt in heaven. 8. It was to last till Christ's second coming; and then by the brightness of that coming to be destroyed and annihilated:—just as Daniel's Little Horn was to last until the coming of the Ancient of days, and then to be destroyed and given to the burning flame: just again as the Apocalyptic Beast, with his False Prophet, was to be cast alive into the lake of fire, on the manifestation of Him that is King of Kings and Lord of Lords:² and thereupon, as Daniel relates, the Son of Man to take the kingdom; or, as the Apocalypse, the millenary to begin of the reign of Christ with his saints.³

Such are the resemblances. And well do they justify the early Fathers in unanimously interpreting the person, or power, meant by St. Paul under the title of the *Man of Sin* in this prophecy, as the very same with Daniel's Little Horn, and the Apocalyptic Wild Beast, or rather its ruling Head, from the abyss and sea.⁴

¹ Dan. vii. 25.

² Dan. vii. 11; Apoc. xix. 11, 20.

³ Dan. vii. 14, 27; Apoc. xx. 4.

⁴ Let me here add that the *apostacy* prophesied of in 1 Tim. iv. 1, "The Spirit speaketh expressly (*ῥηναι*) that in the latter times some shall *apostatize* from the faith," seems from the apostle's notice of it as the apostacy specially revealed by God's Spirit, to be probably the same as that predicted here. Perhaps there may even be a connecting tie between the two prophecies by the word *ῥηναι*. Mede supposes an allusion in it to Dan. xi. 36—39. But if it indicate allusion to former Scripture,—and not simply to the *then* expressed voice of the dictating Spirit,—we may as probably suppose a reference to *this* prophecy about the apostacy and Man of sin, dictated by it some years before to St. Paul.—What is said to *Timothy* of the apostacy being the result of the *teaching by demons* (if we so understand the *διδασκαλια δαιμονιον*, as in Col. ii. 22, and not with Mede, agreeably with the parallel phrase *διδαχα βαπτισμων* in Heb. vi. 2, as doctrines concerning demons) well answers to what was said to the *Thessalonians* of the *working of Satan* in the deceit there predicted. And as to the enforced abstinence from meats and marriage noticed to Timothy, it might be only one particular item in the system of deceit and unrighteousness prophesied of in more general terms to the Thessalonians. As these were points of self-mortification specially enforced on the apostate *clergy* and *monks* of after ages, some particular reference might be made most appropriately to them, in an Epistle chiefly intended for direction of the clergy.*

* Mr. Govett in his Appendix has an elaborate article chiefly directed against the *Papal* application of this prophecy. There are three main points of objection urged, omitting those which concern the peculiarities of Dr. O' Sullivan's

It only remains to shew,
 IIIrdly, *The identity* (agreeably with the unanimous judgment of the same ancient Fathers ¹) of *this so often predicted enemy to Christ himself, and to his Church, with the Apostle St. John's ANTICHRIST.*

The four passages in which the word occurs I append as before, below.² And the following observations, some of which have been already anticipated at the very beginning of this work,³ are all that will be needed on them. 1. The hostile person or power intended by St. John is spoken of as one that had been previously made known to, and celebrated among the Christians,⁴ as *the one* (not one of *two*) that was to come: a characteristic that suffices of itself almost to identify it with

¹ See my references Vol. i. pp. 204, 365, &c., to Tertullian, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerom, &c.

² 1 John ii. 18; "Children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that the Antichrist ((ὁ Ἀντιχριστος) cometh, even now there are many Antichrists: whence we know that it is the last time." 1b. 22; "Who is the liar (ὁ ψευστης), but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? This is the Antichrist, which denieth the Father and the Son. Every one that denieth the Son hath not the Father." iv. 3; "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα) is not of God. And this is the spirit of the Antichrist, (τὸ τῶν Ἀντιχριστῶν,) respecting which ye have heard that it cometh; and it is even now in the world." 2 John 7; "Many deceivers have gone forth into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh: (ἐρχομένον ἐν σαρκί.) This is the deceiver and the Antichrist." ³ Vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

⁴ "Ye have heard that the Antichrist cometh." 1 John ii. 18, iv. 3.

explanation. 1. The prohibition about marriage and meats, he says, is in the prophecy *universal*, in the Papal Church *special*. But Mr. G. has answered his own objection by the adduction of the apostolic precept 1 Tim. v. 14, "*I will that the younger women marry.*" For the *command* is as general in terms as the *prohibition*, yet not meant universally. And why Mr. G. should apply his rule to a *prohibition* and not to a *command*, he has not shown, nor I believe can show. Let it be observed that as it is the *clergy* to whom the Epistle chiefly relates in the general, so it was of the *marriage* of the clergy specifically that the Apostle was speaking in the context preceding, 1 Tim. iii. 2—12. 2. He says such a prohibition cannot be characteristic of an *apostacy from the faith*. But why not, if the apostacy was to have in it much of the nature of that which St. Paul warned the Colossians against, Col. ii. 20—23; a character of mingled Judaism and Pythagoreism; of will-worship and ascetic mortifying of the flesh? 3. That the word *times*, "*Some shall depart from the faith,*" implied that it would be an apostacy, not of a mass, but of individuals only. But if Mr. G. will compare Rom. iii. 3, xi. 17, he will find that the word is there used of the *mass* of the Jewish nation; of all in fact but the few that believed the Gospel. So Schleusner: "*Interdum times non quosdam, sed multos, plures significat.*"

In any case I conceive the *κεκαυτηριασμένον τῶν ἰδίων συνείδησιν* must be taken as a *genitive*, applying to the *human* teachers of the apostacy; for I do not think it possible that any thing about *conscience* can be predicated of *devils*.

Daniel's Little Horn, and St. Paul's Man of Sin.—2. The name,—the then new and very singular name that he gave it, under divine inspiration, of ANTICHRIST, while admitting the secondary sense of an *adversary of Christ*, did yet primarily, indeed necessarily indicate, according to the etymological formation of the word, (we shall soon see the exceeding importance of the remark,) that he would be so through his being in some manner a *Vice-Christ*, or one professedly *assuming the character, occupying the place, and fulfilling the functions of Christ*:¹ a representation which well consisted with St. Paul's statement that the enemy *he* prophesied of would in the christian Church show himself *as God*; that is, supposing that the Church, though apostatized, might have retained the dogma of Christ's divinity.—3. His statement that the spirit of Antichrist, and many Antichrists, were even then in the world,—the which had reference to teachers like Simon Magus and other Gnostics, who propounding that Jesus Christ had not come in the flesh, but only as a phantasm,² and thus doing away alike with his propitiatory atonement by death, and with his fitness and sufficiency as *God-man* to sympathize with, and supply the wants of, his disciples, out of the inexhaustible treasure-house of wisdom and salvation within Him, arrogated to themselves the fulfilment of one grand function of Christ, viz. as the divinely-appointed imparters of wisdom unto salvation,³—I say St. John's statement of this early and partial development in them

¹ Schleusner says on the word *Ἀντιχριστός*: "Vi compositionis eum notare potest qui se gerit *ἀντι Χριστοῦ*, pro Christo, qui se Christum jactat: quemadmodum *ἁντιθεός* (II. φ 594) est *ισοθεός*, interprete Hesychio; et *ἀντιλέων* (Aristophan. Equitt. 1041) est *quasi leo*."—But Schleusner has not done justice to the word. I must beg to refer the reader to my tabular view of similar compounds, Vol. i. p. 67: whence he will see that the word cannot mean *simply*, as some would explain it, *an enemy to Christ*. It either means a *Vice-Christ*, or a *false antagonist Christ*, (somewhat as the Syriac Version, *false Christs*), or *both*.—An excellent comment on its force and significancy in the *second* (I might rather say in the *double* sense of the compound) is furnished by the Romanists' appellation, so famous in the middle ages, of *antipope* (Greek, *ἀντιπάπας*): an appellation given in the sense not simply of an *enemy to the Pope*, but of a *hostile self-substituted usurping Pope*; one occupying the proper Pope's place, receiving his honours, and exercising his functions.

² See my Vol. i. p. 67.

³ Compare the Apostle's declaration, "Christ is made unto us wisdom," as well as righteousness, &c. 1 Cor. i. 30; and again, verse 24, "Christ the power

of the spirit and acts of Antichrist, was certainly not meant by him to represent it as a *plenary* fulfilment of the well-known prophecy. If the language he here uses be dubious,¹ the undoubted future bearing of the other earlier and parallel prophecies just alluded to, and also of the subsequent and similarly parallel Apocalyptic prophecy of the anti-christian Beast,² decisively negatives such a supposition. What he states as then passing in the world of the spirit and acts of Antichrist, was but to the same effect as St. Paul's declaration, that the mystery of iniquity did then already work. The earlier prophecy was left intact and still in force, and a person, or power, pre-eminently and above all others opposed to Christ, and this chiefly as *the usurper of his name, place, and prerogatives*, was yet to come. 4. The declaration that he would deny the Father and the Son,³ is explained by St. John himself, and by other Scriptures,⁴ in such a sense as not to interfere with this view of the force of the prophetic appellation *Antichrist*:—it being not the *atheistic* denial of a God that was meant, (which could indeed in no ways be charged on the cotemporary *Gnostics* of whom St. John yet speaks as Antichrists,) but a denial as to *practical effect* total, and as *the very essence of the system*.

of God and the *wisdom* of God," and Col. ii. 3, "In him are hid all the treasures of *wisdom* and knowledge," with the Gnostic pretensions. It is only, I think, when considering Christ in this character, that we can at all see the propriety of St. John's calling the *Gnostic* teachers *Antichrists*.

¹ I have given the *natural* meaning of the words themselves, "Ye have heard that *the Antichrist cometh*." It is only from the context that they can seem dubious.

² I call it *antichristian* from its having, as its Prime Minister, a power typified by the *two-horned lamb-like* Beast, or apostate *pseudo-christian* priesthood.

³ 1 John ii. 22.

⁴ The following is St. John's own comment on it; "Every one that denieth the Son hath not the Father." So that a professedly *atheist* power is not recognized, as many would represent it, by the terms of the prophecy; but one denying the *Father* by denying *Christ*.—Then, as to the intended manner of denying *Christ*, we may gather information from 2 Peter ii. 1. "As there were false prophets among the people, so there shall be false teachers also *among you*; who shall bring in destructive heresies (*αἰρεσις ἀσθελείας*); even *denying the Lord* that bought them, and bringing on themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their destructive ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." Whence it appears that the deniers of the Lord that bought them would yet be false teachers in the *christian professing church*.—Compare Titus i. 16; "They profess to know Christ, but in works deny him."

Such was the view generally adopted by the Fathers. Whether in reference to the prophecies of Daniel, St. Paul, or St. John, they speak of the grand enemy, therein alike prefigured, not as an *atheist* so much, but rather as a *usurper of Christ's place* before the world.¹ And soon the name became of all others the most famous : so that from age to age the expectation was revived and expressed of some awful *usurper of Christ's place* appearing ; some FALSE CHRIST, PSEUDO-VICAR OF CHRIST, ANTI-CHRIST.

So we close our analysis and parallelism of this memorable tetrad of prophecies on the great Antichrist. Nor let the reader pass on without running briefly over them retrospectively, and considering what a mass of circumstantials they present touching this intended Antichristian power : circumstantials the most singular and definite as to *time, place, office, character, rule, duration, &c.* All these I shall hope to show fulfilled in that *Papal Power* which I have already in the course of our history been induced, on no slender though less specific evidence, presumptively to suspect and hold up as the Antichrist. And certainly if its history and character be found to answer to all the particulars and circumstan-

¹ So the *Greek Fathers* generally. e. g. *Irenæus* v, 25 ; "Tentans semet ipsum Christum ostendere ;" and again ; "In templo Dei sedebit, seducens eos qui adorem eum, quasi ipse sit Christus ;" *Hippolytus* ; *Εἰς πάντα ἐξισοῦσθαι μελλεῖ τῷ Σωτῆρι* &c. ("He will in every thing resemble himself to the Saviour, &c.") See my Vol. ii. p. 85. *Cyril*, *Catech.* xv ; *ψευδὸς Χριστὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλῶν* and again ; *ὡς Χριστὸς ἐρχεται*. *Chrysostom* on 2 *Thess.* ii ; *Ἀντίθεος τις ἔσται, καὶ κηλεύσει προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ** And so again *Theodoret*, &c.—The *Latin Fathers* did not enter into the proper force of the *Greek* compound ; and thus expounded it as "*adversarius Domini* ;" so *Cyprian* : or "*contrarius Christo* ;" so *Augustine*.

I add the later testimony of *John Damascenus*, a learned monk of the eighth century. "Antichristus, *generaliter* qui ea quæ Christi sunt non sentit : *specialiter* qui Christo regiam sedem eripere conatur ; sese, non illum, Christum et Deum esse mentiens."

* In the *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox.* appended to the *Cologne Edition* of *Justin Martyr*, No. 108, p. 463, the following illustration of *Chrysostom's* meaning in the *ἀντίθεος* occurs. *Οὕτως ἐσταυρώσαν οἱ Ἰσραῖοι τὸν Χριστὸν, ὡς γινώσκοντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ* i. e. not as a profest rebel against God, but a usurper of his place, by blasphemously proclaiming himself equal to God.

tialities here set forth, the conclusion must be most sure that our solution is indeed the true one.

Having already in earlier parts of my Work traced step by step the gradual expansion of corruption within the professing Church, during the first four or five centuries, into what might be regarded as an *apostacy from the faith*, answering to the predicted *religious preparation* for Antichrist, and also the removal of that old Roman Pagan Government, which was supposed by the early Christians to be the *political hindrance* meant by St. Paul, as that which stood in the way of his manifestation,—it is at this chronological point that I shall proceed with my comparison of historic fact and prophecy.¹

CHAPTER IV.

THE SEVEN-HEADED TEN-HORNED WILD BEAST FROM THE ABYSS AND SEA.

I NOW proceed to the exposition of the two Apocalyptic visions of the *Wild Beast from the abyss and sea* : taking that of the 13th chapter as my basis, but interweaving the important intimations that occur in the vision of the 17th : and also here and there, as occasion may require, making a reference to the other prophecies on the same subject : of Daniel, St. Paul, or St. John.—The reader will have observed that in the 13th Apocalyptic chapter this anti-christian power and his actings were exhibited under a *tri-form* configuration : symbols being exhibited not only of the *ten-horned Wild Beast*, but also of a *lamb-like two-horned Wild Beast*, his cotemporary, and of what is called the *Image of the Beast*. Now it seems to me indubitable that of these it is the *Beast first mentioned*, or rather its *ruling Head*, that is the *Principal* ;

¹ See p. 58 *suprà*.

(I pray the reader to satisfy himself on this point, ere he pass on :) the *second Beast* acting but as his chief minister or agent, and directing his efforts to make the world worship the *first Beast*.¹ And it seems equally indubitable, as I have indeed already shown, that it is this first, which, however certain expositors may have otherwise represented it, answers to Daniel's *Little Horn*:—the one, as the other, being said to have the great mouth that spoke blasphemies against God; the one, as the other, to have had the saints given into his hand; the one, as the other, to lord it over the ten cotemporary kingdoms, as its inferiors or subjects; the one, as the other, to have had the period assigned to it for prospering² of forty-two months, or a time, times and half a time. The fulfilment of all this it is now my business to trace in the character and history of the ROMAN POPES AND PAPAL CHRISTENDOM:—the *Popes* themselves answering, as I conceive, to the *Beast's Head* with the *great mouth*, and the *decem-regal empire and power*, subordinate to and inspired by him in Western Europe, to the *Beast's body*:³—just according to the explanation that I gave of the same Wild Beast, in the vision of the *Two Witnesses*; it being then and there mentioned anticipatively in the Apocalyptic record, as their persecutor and murderer.⁴

To this the *primary Beast* in the vision I shall con-

¹ xiii. 12; "He causes the earth to worship the *first Beast*, whose deadly wound was healed." To this decisive intimation on the point referred to I shall revert when treating of the *second Beast*.

The explanation of this first *Beast* as the *secular Emperor* and *Empire* of Western Christendom, and the *second Beast* as the *Pope* and *Pontifical Empire*, so as almost all the more modern expositors (e. g. Faber, Cuninghame, Bickersteth, &c.) have taken it, I conceive to have been one of the most plain, as well as most fatal, of Protestant expository errors. But occasion will occur again for noting this.

² Apoc. xiii. 5: εδοθη αυτη εξουσια ποιησαι μηρας τεσσαρακοντα δυο. On which word, ποιησαι, Vitringa observes that it is taken from the Hebrew פִּיִּץ of Dan. viii. 12, 24, and xi. 7, 28; signifying, *rem pro voto et placito feliciter perficere*.

³ The *Head* is spoken of as including the *body* in Apoc. xvii. 11; "The *Beast* that was and is not, even he is the eighth (i. e. king, or head.)"—So in the Prophet's explanation of the vision of the *Great Image* it is said, "Thou (Nebuchadnezzar) art the head of gold:" although it was also stated by him that the head of gold was one of four great *empires* that were successively to arise. Dan. ii. 38, 39. So again Dan. viii. 21, 22.—The distinction, as well as the union, is noted in Dan. vii. 11; "I beheld, because of the great words which the *Little Horn* spake, till the *Beast* was slain, and his *body* given to the burning flame."

⁴ Apoc. xi. 7.—See my Vol. ii. p. 379, &c.

fine myself in the present and the next chapter : reserving to a third my explanation of its subsidiary the *two-horned Beast*, as the PAPAL CLERGY ; and to yet another my explanation of the *Image of the Beast*, as the PAPAL COUNCILS.

Now in entering on the consideration of that which, as I have said, is to be alone our present subject, the WILD BEAST FROM THE ABYSS AND SEA, (a *sea*, I may here observe, that seems from the context to mean the *flood* just before mentioned of *invading Goths*,¹) we are met at the very outset by the emblems of the *seven heads* and *the ten horns*. Nor can we advance satisfactorily a step further, until we have discussed and solved those striking symbols, and shewn their applicability and appropriateness to the *Roman Papacy*, or *Papal Empire*. They will each furnish matter for a separate Section : and having discussed them, we shall find our way well prepared for comparing the *character and the doings* of the *Apocalyptic Beast* with those of the *Popedom*.

§ 1. THE HEADS OF THE WILD BEAST.

Now the Heads of the symbolic Beast were, it seems, *seven*, as represented to the Evangelist's eye in the Apocalyptic symbol ; though the last of the seven was declared to be in effect in a certain sense the *eighth*, so as will be explained afterwards.

And to these *seven heads* the interpreting Angel assigned a double mystic signification.

1. They signified, he said, *seven hills* on which the woman carried by the Beast was seated.²—Of this the application and the point are very obvious. For the woman being designated as “the city which” *then* (in St. John's time evidently)³ “ruled over the kings of the

¹ Greek *θαλασσης*. See Note ² p. 60 *suprà*.

² Apoc. xvii. 9.

³ The *time present* meant by the Angel, and to which, as a standard, the past and future tenses here used must be referred, can only be either the time of St.

earth," these hills could only mean the far-famed *seven hills of Rome*.¹—And it is a characteristic as important as it is obvious : for it necessarily and absolutely associates the Wild Beast of the vision, (inasmuch as it bore those seven heads, thus significant,) with the seven hills of Rome for its capital :—I repeat the remark, it binds the power symbolized, through all its various mutations, from its earliest beginning to its end, to that same seven-hilled locality ; even like one *adscriptum glebæ*, and as a thing essential to his very constitution and life.²

How precisely this characteristic answers to the *Papacy*,

John's seeing the vision, which is the most simple supposition, or the time of the realization in the world's history of the state of things marked out in the figuration before them ; i. e. of the Beast supporting the harlot-Church of Rome. Now the latter, as I have already shown, p. 71, though not unused elsewhere in the Angel's discourse,* cannot be the *time present* here intended.—Which being so, *Constantinople*, the only other city besides Rome famed as built on seven hills, is excluded from the interpretation : it having not then acquired rule, or indeed been built.

¹ I subjoin, after other interpreters, a few of the many notices of this characteristic of the locality of Rome.

Sed quæ de <i>septem</i> totum circumspicit orbem	
<i>Montibus</i> , imperii Roma Deûmque locus.	OVID.
Dumque suis victrix <i>septem</i> de <i>montibus</i> orbem	
Prospiciet domitum, Martia Roma leger.	Ib.
Dis quibus <i>septem</i> placuere <i>colles</i>	HOR.
<i>Septem</i> urbs alta <i>Jugis</i> , toti quæ præsidet orbi.	PROPERT.

So again, to give a Christian example, *Tertullian* : " I appeal to the citizens of Rome, the populace that dwell on the *seven hills*." Apol. 35. And again *Jerom* to *Marcella*, when urging her to quit *Rome* for *Bethlehem* : " Read what is said in the *Apocalypse* of the *seven hills* &c."

Mr. E. Clarke objects against the Papal application, that *Papal Rome* does not actually occupy all the old seven hills. Probably few will think much of this objection. The Romish writers certainly do not. They speak of the characteristic as still attaching to Papal Rome. I will exemplify from a Romish *Saint*. " In the last persecution," says *St. Malachi*, " Peter of Rome shall be on the throne, who shall feed his flock in many tribulations. When these are past, the *City upon seven hills* shall be destroyed, and the awful Judge shall judge his people." *Burton's Antiq. of Rome*, p. 475. On a point so notorious it is needless to multiply examples.

² In this reference to *Rome* as the *local seat* of the Apocalyptic Beast, *Little Horn*, or *Antichrist*, all the early Fathers concurred.

* So in verse 8, if the usually received reading be retained, *θηριον οτι ην και ουκ εστι, και ην εστιν*. But for the *και ην εστιν*, *Griesbach* and *Tregelles* read *και παρσται*. Also in verse 11 : *το θηριον ο ην και ουκ εστι*. In each of these cases however it is very much as a *title* of the Beast that the three verbs of existence seem strung together respecting it.—A similar intermixture of the *two present times* will be found in Apoc. xiii. where the *προσκυνησαν* of the 4th verse answers to the *προσκυνησουσιν* of the 8th ; and again in the Angel's narrative of the Witnesses, Apoc. xi. (See my Vol. ii. p. 194, Note ².) Also in other prophecies frequently :—e. g. in *Isa. liii* ; " Who *hath* believed our report ?"—" He *shall* grow up as a tender plant ;"—" He *is* despised and rejected ;"—" We esteemed him not."

I need not say.¹ It was the episcopal see of *Rome* that constituted its Bishop *Pope*, and gave him the *throne* of the world.² It was from the locality of *Rome*, as the reputed burial-place of the Apostles Peter and Paul, that he gathered round himself, its guardian, those superstitious terrors which constituted the first principle of his power over Western Europe.³ And the temporary transference of the Papal residence from *Rome* to *Avignon* taught the Popes by painful experience the essentiality of that local seat to their power: their thunders being proved comparatively impotent unless they were the *seven thunders*; i. e. as has been stated in an earlier chapter of this work, unless they issued from the *seven hills*.⁴—On the other hand this single requirement of the symbol is of itself a sufficient refutation,—even did no other objections equally insuperable exist against them,⁵—of all the numerous speculations, which, sometimes not a little elaborate, have in *Greek Emperors*, and *German Emperors*, and *French Emperors*, of quite other *Capitals*, sought to trace the Apocalyptic Beast in its last or two last phases: ⁶ and another speculation also, perhaps the most elaborate of all, which has referred its earliest origin and form to the *Latin* kingdom of *Alba Longa*.⁷

¹ I see Mede has made a very similar remark; only combining the *second* signification with the *first* of this symbol of the seven heads: "This is a pair of fetters, to tie both Beast and Whore to *Western Rome*." Bk. v. C. 12.

² So Gibb. xii. 258: "In the beginning of the 12th century Rome was revered by the Latins as the metropolis of the world, and the throne of the Pope and Emperor; who, from the *Eternal City* derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion."

³ See Gibbon on the revival of Rome under Gregory the First and the Pope-dominion; in a passage to which I shall presently have to refer again.

⁴ See Vol. ii. p. 111. ⁵ Of some of these, more at the end of this Chapter.

⁶ E. g. *Cuninghame*, (p. 149) after *Dr. More*, explains the seventh head of Constantine and other Christian emperors before the Gothic invasion, whose residence and capital was in the East *Constantinople*, and in the West *Milan* and *Ravenna*. Again *Faber* and *Gauntlett* would make the seventh head to be the empire of the *Napoleonic* dynasty, of which empire the capital was *Paris*:—and others again the empire of *Charlemagne*, and then of *Otho* and his successors in the Germanic throne,^{*} the capital of which was for centuries *Vienna*.

⁷ I refer to Mr. E. Clark's elaborate Treatise on the Dragon and the Beast.

^{*} I do not, of course, forget that for a considerable portion of the middle age Rome was considered in a certain sense, viz. *titularly*, the throne of *Emperor*, as well as *Pope*. (See my Note ² of this page.)

2. A *second* as important, though less obvious mystery, was declared by the Angel to be symbolized by the Beast's seven heads; viz. the number of *different successive governing Heads* of *bestial* character,¹—that is, of *lines* or *classes* of *heathenlike Governors*,² or as we might say, *forms of Government*,—that Rome and the Empire thereto appertaining, which it symbolized, would be under, from first to last, from its early origin to its final destruction:—there being here premised however by the Angel one additional and very important notification, as necessary to be taken into the account in the solution of this part of the enigma; viz. that the *seventh* head visible on the Apocalyptic Beast was, in fact, in *order of existence* its *eighth*.³ What his meaning in this, will be easily and at once discovered, in so far as the symbol itself is concerned, by reference to the statement so emphatically made and repeated respecting the Beast, when seen in the vision of Chapter xiii, that one of his heads “appeared to have been wounded to death by a sword, but that his deadly wound was healed.”⁴ For a fresh head had evidently sprouted up in place of the preceding one cut down,—a new seventh in place of the old seventh: so that the last head visible on the Beast, though *one of the seven*, was in point of chronological succession the *eighth*.—It was thus indeed that

Finding himself unable to explain the seven heads of the *Dragon* on the principle of their being the seven first Heads of the Beast, he was led to interpret the *Dragon's* Heads of the seven successive governing Heads of *Rome*, the *Beast's* of the seven or eight governing Heads of the *Latin* kingdom;—that which originating in *Alba Longa*, then conquered and incorporated into the Roman commonwealth, and partaking of its fortunes and changes, was at length revived as a Latin kingdom, he says, under the German Emperors. This premised, he sets forth the *seven German Electorates*, which for a few centuries elected the Emperors, as the antitype to those Apocalyptic “seven Heads, that were seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.”

¹ The very symbol of a *Dragon*, or Wild Beast, necessarily excludes the supposition of its ever representing a *Christian* power; besides which, and as if to force attention the more to the characteristic, it would seem that *all* the Heads had on them names of blasphemy.—This has of course been quite overlooked by those who would make the Roman Christian Emperors, inclusive of Constantine and Theodosius, the *Beast's* seventh Head.

² *Lines* or *classes*, just on the principle of the symbols of the *Riders* in the three first Seals, &c.

³ Verse 11; “The Beast that was and is not, even he is the *eighth*, and is of the *seven*, and goeth into destruction.”

⁴ xiii: 3.

the Beast under its new and last Head became what the Angel called it, "The Beast that was, and is not, and yet is:" it having by that deadly wound been annihilated in its immediately preceding *draconic* form, and, through the fresh-sprouting head, revived in its *new* or *ten-horned bestial* form.—I said the *next preceding draconic* form, because it is stated that *the Dragon yielded to it (the Beast,)* on its emergence from the sea, "his power and his throne and great authority."¹ So that the transition from the *draconic* state of Rome and its Empire to the *ten-horned bestial* was *direct*, and without any other form or head intervening, according to the Apocalyptic representation; though not without the intervention of the Dragon's fall, and doings thereon, according to the circumstantial narrative already considered of Apoc. xii.—And indeed the same is implied in the *Dragon's* own investment with *seven heads*. For no legitimate exposition can fail to attach the same two-fold symbolic meaning to the *Dragon's* seven heads, as to those of the *Beast from the abyss*, his successor. And as these were *seven* in number, (not *eight*, in *any* sense, like the *Beast's*,) it follows that the *seven earliest* of the governing heads, or forms of government, of that empire or power that was symbolized in its totality of existence by the two conjoint emblems,—I say that the *seven earliest* of these heads must be considered to have been attached to it in its *draconic* form; the *eighth* alone, or *new seventh*, in the *ten-horned bestial*. All which precisely corresponds also with the Angel's observation; "The Beast which thou sawest is the *eighth*;" i. e. that the eighth head and phase of the Roman Empire was that of the Beast exhibited in vision.

There is yet one further and most important notification made by the Angel, on this subject of the successive governing heads of the Roman Beast; viz. that five had fallen before the time then present, (evidently, as before said,² that of St. John's seeing the vision in Patmos;)

¹ *Ib.* 2.

² See my Notes pp. 70 and 93 *suprà*.

— that the sixth was then in power ;—that the next, or remaining one of the original septenary, was at that time still future, and after coming into existence would continue but a short space ;—and that *then* at length there was to come the *Beast from the abyss*: this being the Roman Power under its eighth and last head ; and under which, as before observed, it was to go into perdition.

We now turn to history for the interpretation.

In explanation then of the *first six* Heads I adopt, with the most entire satisfaction, that generally-received Protestant interpretation,¹ which, following the authoritative statements of Livy and Tacitus, (the latter great historian St. John's own cotemporary,)² enumerates *Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs* and *Military Tribunes*, as the *five first* constitutional Heads of the Roman City and Commonwealth ; then, as the *sixth*, the *Imperial Head*, commencing with Octavius, better known as Augustus Cæsar.—It has been objected by Mr. Maitland to

¹ Daubuz attributes its discovery to King James. But I find it noticed in the early Protestant Commentator *Pareus*, p. 422, as the solution of *Arelius, Napier, and Brightman* ; each of whom probably, some certainly, preceded King James. Indeed I find almost the same in the yet earlier commentator *Oriander* ; the same of whom I have spoken, Vol. ii. p. 139, and who published A.D. 1544. He gives as the seven heads ;—1, Kings ; 2, Consuls ; 3, Decemvirs ; 4, Dictators ; 5, Triumvirs ; 6, Cæsars ; 7, External Cæsars, i. e. of foreign extraction ; 8, the Popes.

The same nearly is given by *Fulco* in *Apoc.* (London, 1573 :) “ Dum omnia expendo, nihil mihi probabilius videtur quàm ut capita septem totidem Romanæ monarchiæ ordines designent, invicem sibi succedentes. Tot enim ejus capita fuerunt ; *Reges, Consules, Decemviri, Triumviri, Dictatores, Cæsares*, (qui jam rerum potuntur ;) *septimus, hoc est Pontifex, nondum invasit.*”—Foxe in his *Eicasm* in *Apoc.* published 1587, notes this solution, with the addition of the original seventh being *imperatores externi*, as that of *Petr. Artopæus* and *D. Fulco*.

² The following are the passages referred to.

1. “ Quæ ab conditâ urbe Româ ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub *regibus* primum, *consulibus* deinde, ac *dictatoribus, decemvirisque*, ac *tribunis consularibus* gesserunt.” Livii, Lib. 6, Cap. 1.—2. “ Urbem Romam à principio *Reges* habuere. Libertatem et *Consulatum* L. Brutus instituit. *Dictaturæ* ad tempus sumebantur. Neque *Decemviralis potestas* ultra biennium, neque *Tribunorum militum consularis jus* diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Syllæ longa dominatio : et Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cæsere : qui cuncta, discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine *Principis* sub *imperium* accepit.”—Tacit. *Annal.* Lib. i. cap. 1.

So too Eutropius heads his primary chapters thus :—Rome ruled by seven *Kings, Consuls* created, *Dictators* created, *Tribunes of people* created, *Decemvirs* created, *Military Tribunes* created. Of whom the Popular Tribunes were of course not ruling heads.

Vitringa, p. 792, shows that the Roman *consuls* were regarded and spoken of as *kings* ; a phraseology equally applicable of course to the ruling *dictators*, &c.

the first quintuple, that two other officials are recorded as governing heads of the early commonwealth, viz. *Interreges* and *Pro-dictators*.¹ But the objection seems quite groundless. For, as their very names indicated,—and indeed Mr. M's own authority so states it,²—they were but provisional temporary substitutes for the then established constitutional Head, during a vacancy of the high office, or absence of him that held it from the Roman City,³ And we might as well speak of a *Regency* as an interruption to the established Kingly Headship of a country; the *reigning Cardinals'* government, after a Pope's death,⁴ as an interruption to the Papal Headship of the Romish Church; or that of the *Vice-chancellor* in the Chancellor's absence, to the Cancellarian Headship of a University,—as of that of the *Interrex* or *Pro-dictator* being so to the established Headship of King, Consul, or Dictator for the time being at Rome. It is evidently not without good reason that both Livy and Tacitus have altogether omitted mention of them.—Again it has been objected,—and *prima facie*, with more speciousness of argument,—that the *Triumvirate* ought to be regarded as the *sixth* Head, the *Imperial* as only the *seventh*. But here too the answer seems to me supplied in the very terms of the reference of Tacitus to it. For, as the learned Dr. More justly remarks,⁵ his reference is not made to the Trium-

¹ Second Enquiry, pp. 155, 161.

² "Quos quidem interreges, dum honori præerant, *consulum vicem gerere*, idemque juris et potestatis habere, haud dubium est." Alexander ab Alex. Gen. Di.

³ So for example the *Interrex* in the interregnum after Romulus' death, under the Kings. Under the Republic they were only created to hold the elections, on occasion of the illness or sudden death of Consuls or Dictator, or when these latter were prevented by the intercession of the Tribunes. So Livy, v. 31; "*Consulibus morbo implicitis placuit per interregnum renovari auspicia*." See also Livy, ii. 17, iii. 55, vi. 35.

⁴ Before the institution of the *conclave* by Gregory X, A.D. 1274, there were often long interregnums;—once of three years. Gibb. xii. 301.

⁵ I borrow the quotation from Mr. Cuninghame, p. 147, (4th Edition.) Dr. More observes that Tacitus, "when he reckons up the forms of supreme power in the Roman State, declines the mentioning of any such Triumvirate: *Urbem Romanam à principio Reges habuere: Libertatem et Consulatum L. Brutus instituit: Dictaturas autem tempus sumebantur: neque Decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque Tribunorum Militum consulare jus diu valuit* :—which manner of speech implies that he would not leave out any of the forms of supreme government, though of never so short continuance, if sufficiently distinct from others. But now when he

virates, or Triumvirs, as a new constitutional headship to the Roman Commonwealth. But, after a notice of Sylla's and Cinna's *domination*, or unconstitutional exercise of power, albeit under constitutional forms, he simply speaks of the *power* or *political influence* of Pompey and Crassus as soon passing to Cæsar,—the third of the so-called first Triumvirate ; and then of the *civil wars* following, during which Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius (or Augustus) Cæsar governed by force of arms, as a transition to the Imperial Headship of Augustus.—All which is just according to the truth of the case. The combination of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, was the private act of three private individuals of great political influence, and one indeed of most important bearing on the subsequent fortunes of the republic : but which can no more be considered as having constituted a new Headship to the Roman State,¹ than the “compact alliance” so celebrated in modern times, between certain eminent English politicians and the great democratical leader in the sister island, to our own. That of Antony Lepidus and Octavius was indeed a *Triumvirate*, or *Government of Three* ;—the name adopted by themselves, the government sanctioned by a *Plebi-scitum*.² But the Plebi-scitum was extorted from the Roman people most unconstitutionally ; under the terror of the Triumvirs' present armies, and of a proscription then in force and execution :³ so that Tacitus might well, in his philosophic view

falls on those times wherein this *Triumviratus Reip, constituendæ* was to be noted, he runs over it, so as not to be taken notice of, going on in this manner. *Non Cinnae, non Syllæ, longa dominatio ; et Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Cæsarem* :—which Cinna was only Consul, Sylla first Consul and then Dictator, and Pompey and Crassus Consuls or Proconsuls, and no more. But now, where there is the very nick of naming this *Triumviratus Reip, constituendæ*, he only adds, *et Lepidi et Antonii arma in Augustum cessere ; qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine Principis sub imperium cepit.*"

¹ So Ernesti on Tacitus Ann. i. 2 ; “ Cæteri triumviratus, (i. e. others besides that of Antony Lepidus and Octavius) qui in vulgaribus libellis historicis traduntur, commentitii sunt. Cæsar, Pompeius, et Crassus tantùm privatim potentiæ societatem inter se inierant ; neque aut publico aliquo scito acceperere, aut nomine Triumvirorum usi sunt.”

² “ Fuit magistratus cùm summo imperio, quem in quinquennium acceperere, ejusque nomine usi sunt ; ut patet ex nummis et inscriptionibus.” Ib.

³ See *Ferguson's Roman History*, pp. 345, 369, 372. (Ed. in one Volume.)

of the matter, designate their rule as the *arms* or *armed domination* of the three ; and later writers on the Roman Constitution reject it from lists of the supreme magistracies of Rome.¹ Moreover with the chief of the three, *Octavius Cæsar*, this Triumvirate was but the introduction, after twelve years of civil discord and wars, to sole supremacy ; insomuch that both ancient and modern historians of authority have dated from it the commencement of Augustus' reign :²—that reign which under the continued title of *Imperator*, though with a further addition of titles and offices of the old republic to make it up,³ constituted him the originator of a new, that is the *sixth* or *Imperial Headship* of Rome.

But, all this being granted, we are but brought by it to that which involves the grand difficulty of the subject ; viz. the explanation of the *seventh*, and connectedly with it of the *eighth* head also. At least the difficulty is one as yet altogether unsolved.—To convince the reader of this, it will suffice to mention those three that are, I believe, the most approved solutions given by commentators who explain the *first six heads* as I have. The first is that of *Mede*. He makes the *seventh* Head what he calls the *Demi-Cæsar*, or “ *Western emperor* which reigned after the division of the empire into East and West : and which continued, after the last division under Honorius and Arcadius, about sixty-years ;—a short space.”⁴ The second is that of *Bishop Newton* ; which regards the *sixth*, or *Imperial* head, as continuing uninterruptedly, and through the line of Christian as well as Pagan Em-

¹ E. g. Dr. More quotes *Penestella*, De Magist. Rom. stating that he would rather call these triumvirates *tyrannides* than *potestates* or *magistratus*. So too Vitringa in his Note, p. 793.

² Of the ancients, *Suetonius*. “ Ab eo tempore, exercitibus comparatis, primam cum Marco Antonio Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio, per duodecim ferme annos, novissimè per quatuor et quadringinta solus Remp. tenuit.” On which, says Dr. More from whom I quote, *Nauclerus* thus comments ; “ Regnavit annis quinquaginta sex ; duodecim cum Antonio et Lepido, solus vero quadraginta quatuor.” And he adds ; Chronologers, as well of the Pontifical as of the Protestant party, fix the beginning of the reign ab U. C. Anno 710.”

³ Viz. *Consul, Proconsul, Censor, Tribunus* ; that also of *Princeps Senatûs* being superadded. See Gibbon, ch. i.

⁴ Works, Bk. iii. Ch. 8 ; also Bk. v. Ch. 12.

perors, until Augustulus and the Heruli; then the *seventh* to be the *Dukedom of Rome*, established soon after under the Exarchate of Ravenna. The third is that of *Dr. More* and *Mr. Cuninghame*; who suppose the *Christian Emperors*, from Constantine to Augustulus, to have constituted the *seventh* head, and that this had its excision by the sword of the Heruli.—But against all these alike there stands the objection that they make a *Christian* headship a head of the *Dragon* and of the *Wild Beast*:—that which is a violation of the propriety of things, and of all Scriptural rule and analogy, such as nothing can render credible. Moreover there exists an additional and almost equally insuperable difficulty, applicable to each and all of the solutions, in respect of the *eighth* head and its enigmatic designation as yet *one of the seven*; the which, as illustrating the point I speak of, it may be well here to specify. The following is *Mr. Mede's* explanation. “The *Cæsars* (the *sixth Head*) though indeed but *one*, yet for some accidental respect may be accounted *two*, *Cæsars and Demi-Cæsars*: for essence the same, but for extent and some manner of government differing. Now if the *sixth Head* be reckoned for *two*, the *seventh* will be an *eighth*, and yet but one of the *seven*:”—i. e. that the *eighth* would be *seventh*, from the *seventh* being in a certain sense but part of the *sixth*. Of which double view however of the *last head but one*, or *last head but two*, the Angel says not a word. Nor indeed does the enigma turn upon the possible differences of man's opinion as to the numerical position of the Heads. The statements are absolute. The last Head was the *eighth*. The same last Head was *one of the Beast's seven*.—In similarly objectionable manner *Bishop Newton*, who makes the *Popedom* the *eighth* head, suggests, in explanation of its being *one of the seven*, the reasonable doubt which might be entertained on the question whether the *seventh* was a new government or not; being as it was, according to him, a *Dukedom* subject through the Exarchate to the Imperial Government at Constantinople. If you say it was *not* a new one,

argues the Bishop, then its successor, the Beast from the abyss, will be the *seventh*: if you say it *was*, then this Beast will be the *eighth*.—On the other hand Mr. *Cuninghame*, regarding the *Gothic decem-regal confederacy* of Western Europe under the Papacy as the *eighth* head, explains it as *one of the seven*, by making the ten horns branch off from, and grow on the *seventh*, or christian imperial head:—i. e. makes *the ten horns*, growing on the *seventh* head, to be equivalent in a certain sense to an *eighth* head!¹

Is then the difficulty insuperable? And, having advanced thus far on such clear and consistent evidence, must we here stop and confess that the path is hedged up before us? Certainly not. It must already have been observed by the considerate reader, that could some change of government be shewn to have arisen in the Roman empire between the time of St. John's imprisonment, when the imperial or sixth head was in power, and that of the establishment of Christianity by Constantine, there would then open before us a simple solution of all the grand difficulties of the question. For we should then in the first place have *seven Pagan governing heads*, or forms of government, agreeable with that prominent symbol of the *seven heads* seen upon the *Dragon*: we should next have an obvious interpretation of the *wounding of that seventh head*, as effected by the sword of Constantine and the Christian Emperors his successors: and, further, of the manner in which the *seventh* head, *seen upon the Beast* on its emergence, would yet by necessity be chronologically the *eighth*:² being the substitute for, and in the place of, *the former*

¹ p. 150. "This *eighth* form is said to be of the *seven*. It is the Christian Imperial power branching off into ten sovereignties. The horns therefore all grew on the seventh head." In a case like this it is necessary to give the very words of the interpreter; as it might otherwise seem misrepresentation. Has a stag *two heads* because it has both a *head* and *horns*?

² Strange as it may appear, I do not remember to have seen this simple explanation of the enigma of the last Head being one of the *seven* though the *eighth*, clearly put forth by any commentator. Vitringa's alternative, p. 1037, comes the nearest.

seventh so wounded to death.—Now it has been uniformly taken for granted by expositors, that the sixth Imperial head continued unchanged in *Pagan* form till Constantine; and in *Christian* until overthrown by the Goths and Heruli. And so indeed it did, in a certain sense;—I mean as regards the *name* of the thing, the *Imperial title*. But as regards the *reality* of things, the case was very different. And it needs but for the Interpreter to set aside the vagaries of his own imagination, and to follow fully and undeviatingly the guidance, the *wonderful* guidance, of the Apocalyptic emblems, in order to see this reality; and therein, as I hesitate not to say, the unriddling of the enigma.

For what, let me ask, meant those *diadems* on the Dragon's heads, as the badge of the Church-opposed power bearing rule in the Empire of the City on the seven hills, (though indeed over but a third part of it, as seemed indicated) at the epoch figured in the vision; i. e. at the epoch just preceding the establishment of Christianity? Was there nothing strange in them to the eyes of one familiar, like St. John, with the Roman symbols of office, and the Roman sentiments too, of the day? Not so. We have already seen the direct contrary.¹ Again, though so strange and new a badge to a Roman's eye,—being the badge in fact of *absolute Asiatic sovereignty*,—was it in the present case to be deemed insignificant, and indicative of no change in the ruling power, or form of government? Surely not for a moment could the supposition have been entertained by St. John, considering the precision and significancy of every other symbol thus far depicted in vision: and especially how the *crown* (not *diadem*) was at the commencement of the Apocalyptic visions pictured before him, to signify the *then ruling imperial power*, just agreeably with the received symbolization of the times. The diadem must necessarily, I conceive, have been understood by him to mark the existence of a change in the sovereign power, from the *original imperitorial character* to that of an *absolute Asiatic-*

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 130, 131.

like sovereign. And we who at this time are enabled to compare the prophecy with history, need only to consult historic records, in order to find *the exact fulfilment of the symbol* : and this too at the very time that we might from the Apocalyptic figuration have anticipated.

For on turning to Gibbon,—him whom we have so often found the best assistant to Apocalyptic exposition,—and glancing at that part of his historical Index of Contents which has reference to the æra immediately preceding that of the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire,¹—an æra corresponding in history, as we have seen, with the vision of the seven-headed *diademed* Dragon watching to devour the woman's child at birth,²—both the *fact* and the *symbol* that we seek arrest the eye connectedly, even as if placed there for the very purpose of illustrating the Apocalyptic enigma : “ Diocletian *assumes the diadem*, and introduces the *Persian ceremonial. New form of Administration.*”—The notice thus summarily given is explained and enlarged on in the history.³ The transition of the Roman empire from its *imperial* or *sixth* head, introduced by *Augustus*, to a new and *seventh* introduced by *Diocletian*, is thus distinctly declared ; “ Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as *the founder of a new empire* : ”—and the change is then illustrated somewhat fully, as affecting alike the *official dignity of the Prince governing*, and the *constitution and administration of the empire governed.*—Let us pause a moment ; and consider his representation of the change in either point of view.

With regard then to the *former*, the historian intimates how the office of *Emperor* was originally and properly that of General of the Roman armies ; only, under and

¹ Vol. ii. ad. Ann. A.D. 303.

² See my p. 14. *suprà* ; and also the illustrative medal given at p. 15. of the Emperor Maximian, who was Diocletian's colleague alike in the Empire and the persecution of the Christian Church :—a medal in which he exhibits himself under the emblem of the Pagan god Hercules, (whence his own cognomen *Herculius*,) beating to death a seven-headed hydra ; the intended symbol, we saw reason to believe, not only of the barbarian foreign enemies of the state, but of the Christians also, as if its equally hateful and dangerous internal enemies.

³ Gib. ii. p. 165.

after Augustus, with the civil offices of Consul, Proconsul, Censor, and Tribune uniformly and formally¹ attached to the imperial person :—how in the gradual relinquishment of these last-mentioned official titles, and at length the public adoption of the appellative *Dominus*, or *Lord*,²—a title expressive of a master's authority over his household slaves, rather than that of a commander over his soldiers, or Prince over his subjects,—advance was made in the course of the third century to the titles and character of an *absolute monarch* :—how by Diocletian, on his restoration of the empire, this change was consummated ; the appellation of *Dominus*, or Δεσποτης, fully adopted ; in the *Greek* provinces the title of βασιλευς, *King*, recognized as the most proper one, and that of *Imperator*, though still retained in the *Latin* provinces, yet used with a new sense attached to it, viz. that not of “the *general* of the Roman armies, but the *sovereign of the Roman world* :”—further how, according to the long-established custom of expressing official rank and power by signs,³ a new and appropriate *badge* was chosen : how the *diadem*, that ensign of oriental despotism, and which, as such, had been by the republican Romans so abominated, and shunned even by the earlier emperors,

¹ I say *formally*, because there was the formal presentation of the proper *badge* of office in each case by the Senate. So Lampridius, speaking of Alexander Severus :—“Certatim omnia decreta sunt et nominum genera, et potestatum. Primus denique omnium cuncta insignis et honorificentis genera simul recepit.”—See Spanheim, p. 675.

² Says Tertullian, Apolog. 34, “Augustus, Imperii formator, ne Dominum quidem dici se volebat.” Previous to Trajan's time, Spanheim says that Caius had *affected* the appellation, “qui se Dominum dici tentaverat ;” and also Domitian : though Papinian says of the latter ;

Et dulci Dominum favore clamant ;
Hoc solum vetuit licere Cæsar.

Gibbon (ib. 164) remarks on Pliny's strange inconsistency in expressing abhorrence of the title, and yet giving it to Trajan in one of his letters. Alexander Severus determinately opposed its application to himself : and it was never stamped on the public money till the reign of *Aurelian* ; and then but seldom. On *Diocletian's* coins the letters D N occur frequently for *Dominus Noster*. See Spanheim De Usu Num. p. 729, &c.

³ Thus the badge of *kings* in Rome was the *trabea*, i. e. a white robe with stripes of purple, or the *toga prætexta*, white and fringed with purple, a *golden crown*, an *ivory sceptre*, the *sella curulis*, and 12 *Lictors with fasces* :—that of *Consuls*, the *toga prætexta*, *sceptre*, and 12 *Lictors* ;—of *Dictators*, 24 *Lictors* ;—of *Decemvirs*, 12 *fasces* ;—of *Military Tribunes* nearly the same as *Consuls*. So as to the *superior magistracies*. Examples occur under the second and third *Apocalyptic Seals* of the *badges of inferior magistracies*. See my Vol. i. pp. 147, 168.

—how, I say, in place of, or rather besides, the old imperial badge of the *laurel crown* and the *robe of purple*,¹ there was now assumed by Diocletian and his associated colleague *the oriental diadem*,² and robe of silk and gold : and at the same time, instead of the former familiar mixing with fellow-citizens ; the seclusion, mystery, prostration, and adoration, which formed part of the distinctive ceremonial of the Persian court, was introduced into the Roman.

As to the *empire governed*, the new principle introduced into the administration, Gibbon continues, was that of *division*. The abilities of one man being deemed inadequate to the public defence, Diocletian associated three colleagues with himself ; and laid down the *joint administration of four Princes*, not as a temporary expedient, but as a fundamental law of the constitution. This division was in a certain sense a *twofold* one :—there being but two *chief emperors* or *Augusti*, distinguished by the use of the *diadem*, one for the East, the other for the West of the Roman world, their boundary line bisecting Illyricum ; and the two other Princes, called *Cæsars*, though independent in their respective governments, being yet considered in the light of juniors, and subordinates to their respective seniors, or Heads.—It was understood all the while that the empire was still one, though divided :³ Rome still its grand capital :⁴ and the civil edicts of the four Emperors, inscribed with their joint names, being received in all the provinces, as promulgated by their mutual councils and authority.⁵ Notwithstanding which precautions, however, the result was that the political union of the Roman world was gradually dissolved ; and as Gibbon expresses it, “ a principle of division introduced, which, in the course of a few years, occasioned the perpetual separation of the

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 131, 132.

² On this point see my paper in the Appendix to the Present Volume.

³ So Montesquieu, *Grand. et Decad.* ch. xvii. “ Avec plusieurs empereurs il n’y avoit qu’un empire.”

⁴ “ Soon after this” (viz. Diocletian’s triumph, A.D. 303) “ the Emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire.” Gib. ii. 157.

⁵ See my Note ², p. 42 *suprà*.

Eastern and Western Empires." In effect,—and almost as if in preparation for its eighth or last headship,—that which was Rome's empire proper now began to separate from those Greek Provinces east-ward, which it had *temporarily* annexed to itself:¹—just like the fourth Wild Beast of Daniel, its representative; of which, though it was said to have subdued the third Wild Beast its predecessor, yet a view was presented to the Prophet, with especial reference to its last or ten-horned state, pointedly separate from that third Beast and distinct.²

It is this *quadriparite* or *bipartite* diademed headship then, that, on Gibbon's high authority, I regard as the Dragon's *seventh* Head.³ Nor can I help observing, ere I pass from the subject, on the admirable, though only indeed habitual, precision of the Apocalyptic prophecy: which in a point that *Commentators*,—many of much learning,—have overlooked, deceived by the continuance of the old imperial *name* to the new Headship or government, did yet not overlook the change: and showed that it did not, by affixing to the Dragon's seven Heads, signifying Rome's seven hills, precisely that one distinctive badge which best, if not alone, might have marked it,—the badge, not of the *crown* but the *diadem*.

Having satisfied ourselves on this *seventh* governing head of Pagan Rome, all will be found easy of solution, and indeed, as before said, almost explained to us by the Apocalypse itself, in respect of the *wounding to death* of this *seventh* Head, and subsequent rise of an *eighth*. For what were we led to trace as fulfilled in history by the symbolic vision of the xiith chapter? It opened with the closing paroxysm of the Roman Dragon's persecution of the Church, under direction of his *seventh* and *diademed* headship: a crisis in which he was figured as already expelled, even as if by force of some secular

¹ See on this subject Gibbon v. 138, 161, 372, &c.

² Dan. vii. 12.

³ The singularity of the *succession* may be noted as among the peculiar features of this *seventh* Headship: the *Cæsars*,—themselves chosen by the *Augusti*,—succeeding on the demise of the latter.

power friendly to the woman, from the government of two-thirds of the empire ; then presently as cast down from the elevation of governing power in it altogether.¹—It was not without the violence of “*war in heaven*” that the prophecy represented this as to be accomplished. Just in accordance with which we found from history, that it was by the *sword* of the christian conqueror, felt in four great battles,² that the last Pagan head of the Roman Empire was wounded and struck down. But *life* yet awhile lingered in it, though cast down ; and hope, that prompted strenuous efforts, as we have seen, again to regain ascendancy.³ Specially its spirit lingered round *the seven hills of Rome*, the locality so long consecrated to it ; and which, in a manner very remarkable, the Christian government had instantly on its formation forsaken, as if one that it could not associate with, for another seat and throne.⁴ There, I say, it still lingered even to the time of Theodosius ; though weaker and fainter continually from the *repeated strokes* given it (to use Gibbon’s most illustrative language⁵) by the Christian Emperors. And in spite of a petition addressed to Theodosius in the name of *ROME personified*, pleading its long glory, grandeur, and victories, as connected with the ancient *Pagan* worship, and praying for at least toleration to it in Rome,⁶—the pious Emperor rejected the suit :

¹ See pp. 19—22 *suprà*.

² That of the Milvian Bridge in the suburbs of Rome, in which Constantine vanquished Maxentius ; that which ended in Licinius’ victory over Maximin ; and Constantine’s two victories over Licinius.

³ So Gibbon, v. 105. As long as their sacrifices continued, he says, “ the Pagans fondly cherished the secret hope that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods.”

⁴ First for *Constantinople*, the seat of Constantine and his successors in the East. After the division of the empire, the Western Emperors made their capital first at *Milan*, then under Honorius at *Ravenna*. The fact well deserves observation.—On Diocletian’s triumph, A.D. 303, ten years only before the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, Gibbon observes in a passage quoted partially by me at p. 108, just a little before ; “ It was the last triumph Rome ever beheld. Soon after this the emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire.” Gib. ii. 157.

⁵ *Ib.* v. 119 : “ The *violent and repeated strokes* of the orthodox princes were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed : and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian Code.”—These were strokes by the *sword of civil justice*. See my Vol. i. p. 147.—Compare Apoc. xiii. 14.

⁶ “ *ROME* herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the

and by a decisive edict, suppressive of its *sacrifices* as well as *temples*, inflicted "a deadly wound" on surviving Paganism in the empire generally, and above all in the capital. As if the better to mark the formal *constitutional deposition* of the animating spirit of the old *seventh draconic Head* from all authority in Rome, we read that "in a full meeting of the senate the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, whether the worship of *Jupiter*, or that of *Christ*, should be the religion of the Romans; and that on a regular division Jupiter was *condemned* and *degraded* by a large majority."—As to "the deadly wound" that I spoke of as inflicted by Theodosius, the reader will have marked the inverted commas that inclose the phrase; and thought probably that it was not without reason that I applied the *Apocalyptic* language of metaphor. But in fact the quotation, though Apocalyptic, was not made by me *primarily* from the *Apocalypse*; but from him whose unconscious destiny it has been to furnish, times almost without number, its best illustrations,—the infidel *Gibbon*.¹

Thus did Paganism, the animating spirit of the seven heads of old Rome and its Empire, wounded unto death, expire.—Nor must I omit to add that, as if yet more fully to mark the excision of Rome in its character of the old Imperial capital, it was itself struck by the sword of the Gothic and Herulian conquerors; so as not merely to have its Pagano-religious, but even its political and

city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the Emperors." . . . "Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. This religion has reduced the world under my laws." Gib. v. 98.

Perhaps in this Gibbon followed Baronius, iv. 742; "Quo religionis affectu idololatriam sæpius, ut percussum multis ictibus anguem, caput rursus extollentem, penitus extinguendam curavit Theodosius." Compare Julius Maternus, a Christian writer about the middle of the fourth century; "*Amputanda sunt hæc sacratissimi Imperatores penitus, atque delenda, severissimis edictorum vestrorum legibus.*" And again; "*Licet in quibusdam regionibus idolatria morientia palpitent membra, tamen in eo res est ut è Christianis omnibus terris peatiferum hoc malum funditus amputetur.*" ap. Lardner, iv. 170.

¹ Ib. p. 116; "This last Edict of Theodosius inflicted a *deadly wound* on the superstition of the Pagans."—It was on this occasion that Theodosius first surmounted the globe on the Roman coins with a cross. Walsh. 117. See the engraving of the medal at p. 44 *suprà*.

civic life annihilated, its head as it were decollated, and wounded to death.¹—And was there then that in the old seven-hilled locality, so fondly and so long cherished by the Dragon,² whereby, as a new principle of life and power, he might yet again, though still *all subserviently to himself*, attach supremacy to it over the now newly rising Romano-Gothic kingdoms round it? that where-with, to use the Apocalyptic metaphor, he might heal the deadly wound given by the christian sword, and make the Roman Beast live again? Even so. It is to the Historian of the Decline and Fall that I again look for an answer. “Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage,” he says,³ “the name of Rome must have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a *vital principle*, which again restored her to *honor and dominion*.” And then he mentions, as this *vital principle*, the tradition that two Jewish teachers, a tentmaker and a fisherman, had formerly been executed at Rome in the circus of Nero; that after 500 years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the palladium of *Christian Rome*; and their holy shrines, guarded by miracles and invisible terrors, resorted to by pilgrims from the East and West:—that about this time the *Bishoprick of Rome* was filled by one of living energy, the first and greatest of the Gregorys, well fitted to make use of the miraculous sanctity and superstition of the spot: that his temporary exercise of the local sovereignty of Rome, and extension of his episcopal influence and authority into Greece, Gaul, and Spain, as well as Italy, might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding Popes:—in short that thus the *Bishops of Rome* began to be a new *Head of Empire* to it; and in the rise of *Papal* superstition to supremacy, that the deadly wound of its last *Pagan Head* was healed.

¹ So Jerom, on Alaric's first threatening Rome, “*Roma vitam auro redimit;*” and again, on Rome's capture, spoke of the “*Romani Imperii caput as truncatum;*” (see my Note ¹ p. 369, Vol. i;) i. e. the empire left a headless trunk.

² Tertullian De Spectac. 7, speaks of “*Roma quæ dæmoniorum conventus consedit.*”

The *civic* extinction, however, of the old capital was only completed by Totilas. See my Note ², p. 113 *infra*.

³ Gibbon, Vol. viii. p. 161.

Such is Gibbon's account of the revival of the Imperial City of the seven hills; and of the new principle of life, and empire, and new Head, under which this revival was accomplished.¹ Corroborating testimonies to the same fact will occur in what remains of this Chapter, and in the next:—from which also it will appear that the Papal Headship began *earlier* than Gregory, in fact rose cotemporarily with the rise of the Gothic kingdoms: that it *continued* thenceforth their *only* Head; and that it was their Head in the distinct character of *Antichrist*. For the present I shall content myself with citing the agreeing testimony of two learned Pontifical writers of the middle age, *Augustin Steuchus* and *Flavio Blondus*. *Augustin Steuchus* thus writes; “The empire having been overthrown, unless God had raised up the *Pontificate*, Rome, resuscitated and restored by none, would have become uninhabitable, and been a most foul habitation thenceforward of cattle.² But in the *Pontificate* it revived as with a *second birth*: its empire in magnitude not indeed equal to the old empire, but its form not very dissimilar: because all nations, from East and from West, venerate the Pope not otherwise than they before obeyed the Emperors.”³ The other, *Blondus*: “The Princes of the world now adore and worship as *Perpetual Dictator*, the successor not of Cæsar but of the Fisherman Peter: that is the *Supreme Pontiff*, the *substitute* of the aforementioned *Emperor*.”⁴

¹ So Niebuhr in his History, Vol. i. p. 222: who, after noticing Rome's desolation by Totilas, speaks of its then “becoming the capital of a *spiritual* empire; which, after the lapse of twelve centuries, we have seen interrupted in our days.”

² Procopius says that Totilas the Goth had determined to make Rome a place for flocks and herds. In illustration I cannot but refer the reader to a most graphic description of Rome as left in ruins by the Goth Totilas, and supposed to have been visited by Belisarius, given in Dr. Miley's Rome Pagan and Papal, ii. 196.

³ “*Everso Imperio, nisi Deus Pontificatum restituisset, futurum erat ut Roma, à nullo excitata et restituta, inhabitabilis post hæc, fœdissima bouum at pecorum futura esset habitatio. At in Pontificatu, etsi non illa veteris Imperii magnitudo, specie certè non longè dissimilis renata est; quia gentes omnes, ab ortu et occasu, haud secus Pontificem Romanum venerantur quàm olim Imperatoribus parebant.*”

⁴ “*Dictatorem perpetuum, non Cæsaris sed piscatoris Petri successorem, et Imperatoris prædicti vicarium, Pontificem summum Princes orbis adorant et colunt.*” *Roma Instaurata*, Lib. iii. Both this and the former extract are quoted by *Vitringa*. p. 785: also by *Pareus* p. 433 before him, as well as *Daubus* p. 568,

I next proceed to explain the *ten Horns*, conformably with the above-noted explanation of the Beast's last Head.

§ 2.—THE TEN HORNS OF THE BEAST.

It is of course a necessary preliminary to our enumeration of *ten kingdoms*, answering to the *ten horns of the Beast*, that we satisfy ourselves *geographically* as to the *extent of Roman territory* on which,—and *chronologically* as to the *time* at which,—such kingdoms ought to be sought. It is chiefly from their adapting their several lists to more or less of the territorial extent of the old Roman world,¹ and to epochs earlier or later in the prolonged period of the flux and reflux of the Gothic waters over it,² that interpreters, agreed on the main principles of their exposition, have yet in their lists more or less differed from each other. That there should have been the large measure of agreement that there has been between them, can scarce have arisen from any thing else but the notoriety and prolonged fixedness of most of the kingdoms.

With regard then to the *first* point it seems reasonable to me that we should seek the ten kingdoms on the *ter-*

after him.—*Stauchus* was Librarian to the Pope : *Flavio Blondus*, a celebrated Antiquary of the xvth century ; from whose *Roma Instaurata* Bellarmin, says Vitringa, has often quoted.

It may be interesting to the Reader to compare what *Blondus* and *Stauchus* say, not merely with the prophecy itself, but also with what the ancient Father *Hippolytus* gathered from the sacred Prophecy, respecting the expected Antichrist as restorer of Rome :

Το σφραϊζει δι: κατα τον Αυγουστου νομον, αφ' ου και η βασιλεια 'Ρωμαϊων συνεση, ουτω και αυτος κελουσι και διαταζει απαρτα επικυρων, δια τουτου δεξαν εαυτου κλειουα περιποιουμενος. Τουτο γαρ εστι το θηριον το τεταρτον ου εκληγη η κεφαλη και εθρακευθη, δια το καταλυθηναι αυτην, και επιμασθηναι, και εις δεκα διαδηματα αναλυθηναι. 'Ος τοτε παρουργος αν ωσπερ θεραπευσει αυτην, και ανανευσει. . . . Εναργησει γαρ, και ισχυσει, δαι τον υπ' αυτου δριζομενον νομον. De Antichristo, § 49. Thus it was the expectation of Hippolytus that *Antichrist* would revive Rome and its Empire in some new form, even as *Augustus* remodelled and fresh founded it ; and this by means of some new law or constitution, which, while revivifying Rome, was to bring glory to himself.

¹ E. g. *Eberhard*, Bishop of Saltzburg, at the Diet of Ratisbon enumerates the Barbarian invaders of the Eastern as well as Western Empire.

² Thus *Sir I. Newton's* is made with reference to the year 416, *Mede's* to 456, that of *Dr. Allix* to 486, *Bishop Newton's* to the 6th century, &c.

ritory not of the whole Roman empire, but of the *Western only*. For the separation of the Roman world into Eastern and Western,—a separation first sketched out and prepared in Diocletian's formation of the seventh Head, and one by which the latter division only was attached to the *City of the seven hills* as its actual capital,¹—I say this separation and division was effectually carried out in the interval between the first wounding of the seventh head and the rise of the eighth or Papal. Further, it was over this part only of the Roman world, that the Gothic flood swept away the old Imperial Government, and made room for new kingdoms to arise : and, yet again, over this part only that the authority of the eighth or Papal Head was properly or permanently established.—I would therefore beg the Reader to trace on the Map the frontier line of the Western empire as drawn by Gibbon :² beginning north from the wall of Antoninus that separated England from Scotland, then following the Rhine up to its point of nearest proximity to the Danube-source, i. e. half way between Strasburg and Basle ; thence down the Danube to Belgrade ;³ and thence in a Southern course to Dyrrachium, and across the Adriatic and Mediterranean to the Syrtis Major and the great Desert of Africa :—it is to be understood that all to the *Eastward* of this line belonged to the *Constantinopolitan* or *Greek* division of the Empire ; all *Westward*,—including England, France, Spain, the African Province, Italy, and the countries between the Alps and the Rhine, Danube, and Save, anciently known under the names of Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia, in modern times as Switzerland, half Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, and the Western part of Hungary,—to the *Western* or *Roman* division.—This it is with which alone we have to do at present.

¹ See Note ⁴, p. 110 *suprà*.—I say *actual* capital : because Rome was still considered *theoretically* and *constitutionally* the capital of the whole empire. See p. 108, Note ².

² See my Map Vol. i. p. 342, or that prefixed to Gibbon's second volume.

³ Respecting these two rivers Ambrose thus observes in his Hexameron, ii. 12 ; "*Danubius* barbarorum atque Romanorum intersecans populos, donec ponto ipse condatur ; *Rhenus* memorandus adversus feras gentes murus Imperii."

As to *time*, it seems to me that the list of kingdoms should be made with reference to some period subsequent (only not long subsequent) to the completion of the number *ten* on the platform of the Western Empire; and prior of course to the eradication of three of them predicted by Daniel. Such seems marked as the intended period by the circumstance of the prefigurative vision *at its commencing point* exhibiting the Beast emerging from the flood,—not with three or four horns only at the first, and then with the rest rising on it afterwards,—but already with the ten. It may be well to observe further, that the conditions of the vision appear to require that the constituency or character of each of the ten kingdoms should be *Gothic*:—I use the term *generically*, and as inclusive of all the kindred barbarian invaders. For the ten horns all rose with the Beast *from out of the inundating flood*, and as its product.

If these points be granted me,—and I think they will at once commend themselves to the reader as clearly reasonable and proper,—the period within which to seek the kingdoms, and form the enumeration in question, will be reduced within narrow limits. Even prior to any minute investigation it will be obviously inconsistent with the requirements of the vision to antedate the list before the extinction of the Western empire, A.D. 476, by Odoacer; for it was then first that a Barbaric Horn established its rule in the central Province of Italy. Again it seems equally inconsistent to post-date the list near a century after Odoacer, and include the *Greek Exarchate of Ravenna*, then at length established,¹ as one of the ten horns of the *Romano-Gothic* Beast. In fact the irruption of the Greek imperial army among the Gothic horns, A. D. 533, whence the Exarchate arose, and striking down two of them, the Vandal and the Ostrogothic, in Africa and Italy, appears to me to form almost as marked a chronological limit on the one

¹ Sir I. Newton indeed dates the establishment of his Ravennese Greek horn or kingdom from the time of the Emperor Honorius first making it his capital. But his usual sagacity here, I think, forsook him. Could the Roman kingdom of Honorius be considered one arising from the Gothic flood?

side, as the establishment of Odoacer's Italic kingdom on the other. Between the two there lies but the interval of 57 years. And I think there presents itself in the history of the *Franks* that which yet further narrows the interval for investigation. For they,—the most noted afterwards, and perhaps most important of all the nations of the Beast,—could scarce be said to have formed a horn on the territory of the Western empire, until, emerging from their Batavian island,¹ they had under Clovis conquered in 486 Syagrius, “the (so-called king of the Romans,”² but in fact the then ruler of the natives and barbarians of Soissons and its neighbourhood.—On the whole, after consideration of all the circumstances of the case, I conclude to prefer the terminating point of this 47 years' interval, i. e. A. D. 532 or 533, as the chronological epoch at which to make my enumeration: my preference having regard to certain notable characteristics of that epoch that will be mentioned afterwards. At the same time a list of ten kingdoms may be made with reference to the commencing point of the interval, i. e. A. D. 486—490. And, as being that which may best prepare the Reader for understanding the state of things to which what I conceive to be the true list refers, I shall present this first; and with a brief explanatory comment.

From about the year 486 then to 490, the following were the existing Barbaric kingdoms, formed by the invaders within the limits of the Western empire: *Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Allemans, Burgundians, Visigoths, Suevi, Vandals, Heruli, Bavarians, Ostrogoths*; ten in all.—First the *Anglo-Saxons*, having in 446 invaded Britain, were at the time spoken of “fiercely struggling,” to use Gibbon's language, “with the natives for its possession.”³ The various Principalities formed by them, as their conquests proceeded, were at length completed in the year 582 into the Saxon Heptarchy; Principalities

¹ “The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the island of Batavia, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras.” Gibbon, vi. 310.

² Gib. vi. 313.

³ vi. 403.

so connected with, and subordinated to, the strongest for the time being, that they might be considered, as Camden says,¹ and often in fact have been so,² in the light in which I doubt not the Apocalyptic prophecy views them, of a *monarchy*;—the germ of what, with reference to its later history, the same prophecy afterwards calls *the tenth of the great Papal city*,³—Secondly the *Franks* had, as just a little while since observed, established their kingdom under Clovis in the country between Soissons and Paris, the germ of the future kingdom of *France*.⁴—Thirdly the *Allemanni*, with Metz as their capital, occupied both sides the Rhine, from German Switzerland in the South to the confines of the French Netherlands,⁵—Fourth, and to the South of the Allemanni, came the *Burgundians*; holding the Duchy of Burgundy, French Switzerland, Savoy, and Southern France within the Rhone.⁶—Fifthly, the *Visigoths* had at this time an empire that included the South-Western half of France, between the Loire, Rhone, and Pyrenees,⁷ (thus touching the Franks of Clovis on the one side, the Burgundians on the other,) and also all Spain except Galicia:—which latter province, sixthly, was held, together with most of that which is now Portugal, by the *Sucvi*.⁸—Seventh

¹ "After they had fixed in Britain they divided it into seven kingdoms, and made it a *Heptarchy*. But even in that, he who was most powerful was (as Bede has observed) styled, *King of the English nation*; so that in the very *Heptarchy* there seems always to have been a sort of *monarchy*." Camden's Brit. i. 88 (Lond. 1772).—The reference is to Bede, Eccl. Hist. ii. C. 5; who specifies seven kings thus predominant: the first *Ella* of Sussex, a cotemporary of Odoacer; the third *Edelbert*, King of Kent at the time of Augustine's mission from Pope Gregory I, and the conversion of Saxon Britain.—The Principality of *Wessex*, however, under which in King Egbert's reign all the seven kingdoms at length coalesced, had not yet been founded.

² So Sismondi, Hist. of the Fall of the Roman Empire, ii. 181; "The seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy formed to some intents but one single political body." And again Hallam, Mid. Ages, ii. 376.—Gibbon, vi. 385, observes that "the reign of those seven kings whom Bede has enumerated as having successively acquired in the Heptarchy an indefinite supremacy of power and renown, was the effect not of law but of conquest." But this does not affect the fact of that supremacy, and consequent oneness for the time of the seven kingdoms under it.

³ See Vol. ii. p. 416.—I have noted the *Saxons* first of the ten kingdoms as being most northerly; but their Heptarchy was in fact completed latest of all, and so formed the *tenth* kingdom in order of *time*.

⁴ Gib. vi. 311.

⁵ Ib. 315.

⁶ Ib. v. 359, vi. 324: or Müller, ii. 17.

⁷ Ib. vi. 205—208.

⁸ Gib. vi. 206.

came the *Vandals*, that held the African Province, from the Gibraltar Straits to the Syrtes, together with the Italian islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica.¹—Eighth, the kingdom of *Odoacer* and the *Heruli* embraced Italy, and extended Northward beyond the Alps into Rhætia and the Tyrol.²—Ninth, the kingdom of *Bavaria* was formed just about this time:—a kingdom unnoticed by former Commentators; but of which continuous notices occur subsequently in European history, from Theodoric to Charlemagne and the middle ages.³—And tenth and last came the *Ostrogoths* of Pannonia;⁴—the same that immediately afterwards were destined to migrate into, and to conquer, the fairer kingdom of the Heruli and Italy.—Thus was the vast circle of the Western empire then occupied and filled.⁵

¹ Ib. 205.—With reference to the islands let me add the cotemporary testimony of *Victor Vitensis*, in the B. P. M. viii. 676; stating that *Geneseric* had the islands Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, and Minorca under his rule; but that he allowed *Odoacer* to occupy the first (Sicily) *tributario jure*, as a tributary.

² Gib. vi. 234.

³ The learned Jesuit *Gordon* in his *Opus Chronologicum* has the following notice on the year 511; “*Moritur Theodon primus Bavarie rex. I have not the opportunity of consulting Aventin, to whose Annals of Bavaria (Lib. 3.) he refers for authority. But, allowing a mean length of duration to his reign, we may date it before 493, the epoch of Odoacer's overthrow by Theodoric.—The kingdom is thus noticed by Gibbon under Theodoric's reign, as forming one of the boundaries of the Ostrogothic kingdom; “He reduced the unprofitable countries of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians:” and he refers as authority to the Count de Buat's Hist. des Peuples Anciens.—Subsequent notices of it need hardly be quoted, its existence being afterwards a matter of historical notoriety. I will only therefore adduce two from Gibbon and from Müller, referring to the end of the 6th century: viz. Gib. viii. 147; “The Lombard kingdom extended East, North, and West, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy;” and Müller ii; “The Bavarians had now” (i. e. about the end of the 6th century) “given name to Noricum.”*”

⁴ Gib. vii. 2.

⁵ The ten that I have enumerated are all at different times noticed by Gibbon; and in the following passage they are nearly all united (vi. 272): “During the same period” (i. e. before the end of the 5th century) “Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians that established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western Empire; the *Burgundians* in Gaul, the *Suevi* in Spain, the *Vandals* in Africa, the *Ostrogoths* in Pannonia, and the (*Herulian*) *Mercenaries* that raised *Odoacer* to the throne of Italy:” besides the *Visigoths* of Gaul and Spain, mentioned just previously. He excepts the *Franks* and *Saxons*, as having up to the time of his enumeration, about A.D. 490, still persevered in Paganism. So that eight of our ten are embraced by him in this enumeration; that is all except the *Allemanni* and *Bavarians*: who moreover are noticed by him, cotemporarily, as we have seen, elsewhere.—I beg further to refer the reader to Sir I. Newton's *Treatise on Daniel*, for a careful digest of historical information respecting these kingdoms, or at least most of them.

I next take the æra that immediately preceded Belisarius' invasion of Africa and Italy : that of A.D. 532, or the beginning of 533. Now in the half century elapsed from the date to which my former list referred, the following changes had occurred.¹—1. In *Britain*, the Anglo-Saxons had advanced their conquests, and multiplied their Principalities : among them having now founded that of *Wessex*, under which all afterwards united.² 2. In *Gaul*, Clovis and his Franks (the *eldest son of the Church*³) had first conquered and incorporated with his kingdom the Allemanni, then defeated and made partially dependent on him the Burgundians, then reduced the Visigothic kingdom in France to the narrow strip of Septimania : thus extending his territory to limits not very unlike those of modern France. After which he dying, and at his death, A. D. 514,⁴ his kingdom thus enlarged having been divided into four, with the respective capitals Metz, Orleans, Paris, Soissons, and, on occasion of a joint conquest of Burgundy, one of their four Princes fallen,⁵ and *his* territories been divided among the three survivors,—the number of Gaulik kingdoms became the same as at the epoch of our former examination ; and there were now again *three* kingdoms, only of Frank domination, occupying much the same territory respectively as the *Burgundian*,⁶ *Allemanic*, and earlier *Frank* Principalities of A. D. 490.—3. In *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Africa*, no change had occurred. The former two were still ruled by the Visigoths and Suevi, the latter by the Vandals.⁷—4. But in *Italy* there had

¹ See generally for authority Gibbon and Sir I. Newton ubi supra ; also Keightley's convenient Outlines of History in Lardner's Cabinet Encyclopædia.

² Founded A.D. 495. Egbert A.D. 800 was King of Wessex.

³ Mosheim v. 1. 1. 5.—Clovis too fixed the royal seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since.

⁴ So Gordon from Baronius : others date it 511.

⁵ *Clodomir* was killed A.D. 528 ; his kingdom divided A.D. 533, or probably before. Gordon.

⁶ "Its own laws and usages however remained to it (Burgundy;) and the separate existence of the state in peace and war." Müller ii.—About 560 it revolted from the Franks : and after a temporary reunion under Clothaire, and afterwards under Charlemagne, again became independent 879 A.D. Ib. 113.

⁷ The Vandals still also held *Sardinia* and *Corsica*. Gib. vii. 28. *Sicily* they had given up in 495 to Theodoric (Gordon :) and as an independency ; not, as

been a revolution. The Ostrogoths from Pannonia under Theodoric had in 490 invaded Italy; and after three years of war conquered Odoacer, and established over it an Ostrogothic, in place of the Herulian kingdom: an empire extending from Sicily to Pannonia inclusive; and which lasted above 30 years till Theodoric's death in 526.¹—5. *Bavaria* was still an adjoining independent kingdom.²—6. On occasion of Theodoric's death the Ostrogothic kingdom (though still continued in Italy) having receded from its former extension into the Province of Pannonia, and thus made way for its formal cession that same year 526 by the Greek emperor to the *Lombards*, these latter had begun a bloody and long-protracted war to reduce the Gepidæ that contested the province with them; ³—therein preparing themselves (as it may be well to observe in passing) for the yet more distinguished part that they were to act, ere the close of the 6th century, in the conquest of the greater part of Italy.—Thus, in fine, there existed at the epoch of A. D. 532 the fol-

to Odoacer, *tributario jure*. See Ennodius' Letter to Theodoric, B. P. M. ix. 374: "Quibus (*Vandalis*) pro annua pensione satis est amicitia tua."

Huneric, the successor to Genseric in the Vandal African kingdom, banished the faithful Trinitarian Bishops of that country to *Sardinia*, as a province of his kingdom, early in the sixth century. See my Vol. ii. pp. 213, 214.

¹ "His domestic alliances united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians; and contributed to maintain the balance of the great Republic of the West." So Gibbon, vii. 21. Again: "He reduced under a strong and regular government the unprofitable countries of Rætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia; from the source of the Danube and territory of the Bavarians, to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidæ on the ruins of Sirmium." vii. 23.

² See Note ³ to p. 119.—A very few years after the epoch I am describing, the *Bavarians*, as well as *Burgundians* and *Allemani*, were temporarily subjected to the Franks. Gib. vi. 341.—"In A.D. 788," says Müller ii. 77, "Duke Thassilo of *Bavaria*, not without impatience, acknowledged Charlemagne superior." On Charlemagne's death, Italy, *Bararia*, and Pannonia unitedly constituted the third of his empire bequeathed to Pepin.

³ For a brief sketch of the Lombards' establishment on Roman territory, their previous history, and first exploits there, see Gibbon vii. 274.—Sir I. Newton (on Daniel) makes the Lombards to have been in *Pannonia*, as early as the reign of Odoacer; for he speaks of their migrating under their king Gudehoc (a cotemporary of Odoacer) from *Pannonia* into Rugiland on the North of the Danube; and then returning into *Pannonia*, A.D. 526, under king Audoin. Dr. Allix too, in his list of Gothic kingdoms corresponding with the year 486, inserts the *Lombards*. But I know not on what authority. *Paul Warnesfrid* is evidently the ancient authority from whom Sir I. Newton chiefly draws his facts; and he says nothing to warrant the representation. See his Hist. Longobard. B. P. M. xiii. 164.

lowing ten kingdoms on the platform of the Western Roman empire; viz. the *Anglo-Saxons*, the *Franks of central, Alleman-Franks of Eastern*, and *Burgundic-Franks of South-Eastern France*, the *Visigoths*, the *Suevi*, the *Vandals*, the *Ostrogoths in Italy*, the *Bavarians*, and the *Lombards*:—still *ten* in all. The most important difference between this and the former list is that there the *Heruli* had place among the ten, here the *Lombards*: the latter being numerically, though not as yet geographically, in the stead of the former.

Such then is my second list, and that to which I conceive the sacred prophecy to have had respect, from the circumstance of the epoch being otherwise, as I shall soon have to show, very notable. I may observe that I have drawn up both the one list and the other entirely for myself from historic records, not consulting prophetic Commentators on the subject. And the great coincidence that they exhibit with such of the lists of others as have reference to the same period,¹ or nearly

¹ That of Dr. Allix, drawn up to suit the same year 486 as my first list, precisely agrees with mine, with but one exception; viz. that he, instead of the *Bavarians*, specifies the *Lombards*; for whose existence however as a nation at that early date, within the limits of the ancient empire, I can find, as observed in the preceding Note, no authority.

With regard to other authors of eminent name, *Machiavel* enumerates the *Ostrogoths*, *Visigoths*, *Sueves*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Heruli*, *Saxons*, *Huns*, *Lombards*;—*Bosnuet*, the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Sueves*, *Alans*, *Heruli*, *Lombards*, *Allemans*, *Saxons*;—*Mede*, the *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Visigoths*, *Sueves*, *Vandals*, *Allemans*, *Ostrogoths*, and *Greeks*;—*Sir I. Newton*, the *Vandals*, *Suevi*, *Visigoths*, *Alans* in *Gaul*, *Burgundians*, *Franks*, *Britons*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, *Greeks* of *Ravenna*;—*Bishop Newton*, the *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Allemans*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, *Greeks* of *Ravenna*, and *Dukes* of *Rome*.—*Machiavel* dates the *Lombards*, as I do, A.D. 526.

The reader will find it interesting to compare *Jerom's* list, given at the time of the first irruption of the *Goths* into *Italy*, A.D. 409: "*Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmates, Halani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni, et hostes Pannonii.*" (See my Vol. i. p. 369, Note¹.)—Also that of *Berengaud*, the Apocalyptic commentator of the 9th century. "*Quarta Bestia,*" (i. e. of *Daniel*), "*per quam Romani designati sunt, decem cornua habuisse describitur; per quæ ea regna quæ Romanum imperium destruxerunt designata sunt, sicut S. Hieronymus quorundam assertionem sequens exponit. Eandem itaque significationem habent decem cornua in Apocalypsi hoc loco: significant quippe ea regna per quæ Romanum imperium destructum est. Partem namque Asiæ per se primitus abstulerunt,* postea vero Saraceni totam subegerunt: Vandali Africam sibi vindicaverunt, Gothi Hispaniam, Lombardi Italianam, Burgundiones Galliam, Franci*

* Some word seems wanting here, designative of one of the Barbarian invaders.

the same, may add to the Reader's confidence that they are fairly taken.—Let me not forget to add that, as the horns appeared in the Apocalyptic vision *diademed*, so it was the *diadem* that the Gothic kings, *after and excepting Odoacer*, usually wore in badge of sovereignty : (of this examples are given below :¹) also that at certain long subsequent epochs of note, notwithstanding many intervening revolutions and changes in Western Europe, the number *ten* has been noted as the number of the Western Roman or Papal kingdoms. So Gibbon of the 12th century ;² Daubuz of the time of the Reformation,³ Whiston of the commencement of the 18th century ;⁴ Cuninghame of that of the last great political settlement of Europe A.D. 1815.⁵—No doubt at intermediate times between 486 and 533, (as well as afterwards,) lists might be made of existing cotemporary kingdoms on the territory of the Western empire, exhibiting one or two more than the number ten, or one or two short. But I think it may be said that *ten*, rather than any other, was about that time the characteristic number.⁶ And Romish

Germaniam, Hunni Pannoniam, Alani autem et Suevi multa loca depopulati sunt, quæ eorum subjacebant ditioni." Ad Apoc. xvii. 12.

¹ Of *Odoacer* Gibbon writes, vi. 226 : "Odoacer abstained, during his whole reign, from the use of the purple and *diadem* :"—of *Clovis*, vi. 338 ; "On that solemn day" (the day of his inauguration into the Roman consulship) "placing a *diadem* on his head, Clovis was invested with the purple tunic and mantle : " and so again ix. 152 of *Pepin's* coronation by Boniface. Again of the son of *Leomgild*, Visi-Gothic king of Spain, A.D. 577, he says, vi. 296 ; "His eldest son *Hermenegild* was invested by his father with the royal *diadem* ; " and ix. 473 of *Roderic*, the last of the Visigothic line, A.D. 711, before the battle of Xeres ; "Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a *diadem of pearls*."—Once more in a Papal grant to the Emperor it was said in the middle age, (Hallam, ii. 364 ;)

"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus *diadema* Rodulpho."

² Speaking of Roger, first king of Sicily, A.D. 1130, Gibbon, x. 310, thus writes : "The *nine kings* of the Latin world might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff :"—the nine kings being enumerated by him in a Note as those of France, England, Scotland, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary.—See too Vitringa, p. 788. ³ p. 557. ⁴ Referred to by Bishopp Newton on Dan. vii.

⁵ p. 144.

⁶ The futurist school calls attention to the partial difference of the lists ; a difference arising in part from the greater or less geographical extent assigned to the Empire, (for some add in an invader or two of the *Eastern Empire* ;) in part from the difference of æra to which the lists refer. Might they not as well deny that the great horn of the he-goat of Daniel viii meant Alexander the Great, (though the Angel asserts as much,) because this horn was broken into four, and

writers of eminence, as well as Protestant, have so represented it.¹

As to the connexion of those ten early barbaric kingdoms with the *Bishops of Rome* as their *spiritual Head*, agreeably with the Apocalyptic symbol of the ten horn's sprouting from the Beast's eighth Head, we shall have ample evidence in the next Chapter. For the present I shall only cite Müller's testimony:² who, when speaking of their early rise and mutations, observes, "With the exception of the *Papacy*, they had *no point of union*."³

CHAPTER V.

THE BEAST'S DEVELOPMENT, EARLY GROWTH, PRETENSIONS, AND ACTINGS, IN THE CHARACTER OF ANTICHRIST.

Superhuman pride and self-exaltation, super-regal power, blasphemy as regards God, and oppression of the saints,—such are the chief general characteristics assigned to the *ten-horned Apocalyptic Beast*, or rather to its *eighth Head*, in the prophecy.) I say to its *eighth Head*: for we must never forget the Angel's comment,⁴ showing that it is *this* that is the grand subject of the description;⁵ the *body* in all being influenced by, and obeying, and supporting its Head. And such characteristics I shall, I expect, in the present Chapter be enabled to show to have attached, one and all, most strikingly to the

that expositors might enumerate more or fewer kingdoms than four, as those into which Alexander's kingdom broke up, by referring to different eras?

¹ E. g. Machiavelli, Bossuet, Dupin, Calmet, Bishop Walmealey. Brooks, 431.

² Universal History, i. 412. (English Transl.)

³ Daubuz, p. 557, compares these ten kings to the *ten Canaanitish kings*, that occupied the land till dispossessed by the arrival of the Lord's people Israel.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 11; "The *beast* that was and is not, is the *eighth head*:" also verse 13; "The ten horns are ten kings that shall give their authority to the *beast*:" i. e. evidently to its ruling head.

⁵ We may contrast the second Beast; of which, though of course it had a *head*, yet the *two lamb-like horns* only are distinctively noted.

new *sacerdotal Head* of the decem-regal revived Roman Empire ; i. e. to the POPES or BISHOPS OF ROME.

I am led alike by the Apocalyptic description, and that given in those other prophecies which we saw to have reference to the same power, to exhibit this in a *twofold* chronological point of view, each of which will furnish matter for a separate Section : viz. *first* in its *incipient* development, cotermporarily with the rise of the ten kingdoms ; *secondly* as *more fully unfolded* afterwards, throughout the remainder of the 1260 years, its destined period of prospering. And this will I think appear, that it was all, from first throughout, in the predicted and very peculiar character of ANTICHRIST. "Thou art in character and in name as a rock," said our Lord to Peter, with reference to his noble and true confession, just before made, of *Jesus* as the CHRIST. "Thou art as a rock ; and on this rock¹ will I build my Church." But what, were this to be expounded of *Peter* not *personally* alone,² nor as bound up indissolubly with his *true confession of Jesus Christ*,³ but of Peter simply as the *official representative and head of a derived line of episcopal succession* ? Such on his other schemes against Christ's Church failing, (as we may infer from a comparison of prophecy and history,) was Satan's reserved plan of proceeding. 'and upon that rock,' it was his thought, 'I will build me a kingdom and Church of ANTICHRIST.'

¹ *Ὁ ἰσὶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ οικοδομήσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς* Matt. xvi. 18. My translation, though not exactly accurate, may yet serve to suggest the difference between the *petros* and *petra*.

² So *Whitby* explains the passage, with reference to Peter's being the apostle whose sermon instrumentally laid the foundation of the Church in the 3000 first converted at *Jerusalem* ; and his afterwards opening it to the *Gentiles*, in the reception and baptism of *Cornelius*.

³ So *Augustine* explains the passage. "Hoc ei nomen *Petrus* à Domino impositum est ; et hoc in eâ figurâ, ut significaret *Ecclesiam*. Quia enim *Christus* *petra*, *Petrus* populus *Christianus*. *Petra* enim principale nomen est. Ideo *Petrus* à *petrâ*, non *petra* à *Petro*. 'Tu es,' inquit, '*Petrus* ; et super hanc *petram* quam confessus es, super hanc *petram* quam cognovisti, dicens, Tu es *Christus*, *Filius Dei vivi*, ædificabo *ecclesiam* meam ; id est, super me ipsum, *Filius Dei vivi*. Super me ædificabo te ; non me super te.'" *Serm. lxxvi. 1* ; and so again *Serm. cclxx. 2*.

It seems to me very remarkable that immediately after this eulogy of St. Peter as a rock on which the Church would be built, (a eulogy following on his true

§ 1.—INCIPIENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE BEAST'S EIGHTH HEAD, OR THE PAPAL ANTICHRIST, SYNCHRONICALLY WITH THE RISE OF THE TEN KINGDOMS.

The synchronism that I speak of in the heading of this Section was implied in the pictured symbol itself: for it represented the ten horns as attached to the eighth head of the Beast on its very emergence from the flood. Moreover it was directly asserted by the Angel in the 12th verse of the xviiith chapter. For the most obvious, proper, and I believe only allowable translation of the verse is this,—“The ten horns are ten kings that receive their power or authority as kings *at one and the same time with the Beast*:”¹ and, if so, the converse follows that the Beast itself, or that which the Angel identifies with it, its *eighth or Papal Head*, would receive its characteristic authority and power synchronically with the ten kings.—Now the Gothic kingdoms began to emerge ere the middle of the fifth century; and were completed to the number of ten about the end of that century, or opening of the sixth: the Lombard kingdom not having appeared on the platform of the Western empire till the year 526. So that it is *within this century, from about 430 A. D. to 530*, that I am to show the Roman Papacy to have *incipiently assumed that principle of domination over the ten kingdoms of Western Christendom*, as well as of *blasphemy against God and hostility to God's saints*, by the which it was afterwards more fully characterized.

confession of Jesus as divine, and the Christ,) Jesus addressed him as *Satan*, on his deviating from that true confession into a deprecation of his being (what was also essential to his office) a *suffering Christ* (Matt. xvi. 23, Mark viii. 33.) Was not this like a warning voice to those who, as inheritors of Peter's Episcopacy and of the promise made to him, wished to attach to themselves all the Messiah's predicted worldly dominion and glory, but to shun following him in his self-renunciation, humility, and suffering?

¹ Εξουσιαν ὡς βασιλεῖς μίαν ἕραν λαμβανουσι μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. Allusion has elsewhere been made to the different sense attached to this phrase by Bengel, Irving, Brooks, &c.: as if the *duration of time* for which the ten kings received their power was the thing intended by the *μίαν ἕραν*: Bengel calculating the time at eight days, in conformity with his singular system of symbolic chronology; the others, I presume, on the year-day system at fifteen days.—And I have shown its manifest untenableness. See my Notes ² and ⁴ p. 68, *suprà*.

And to show this it will not, I conceive, suffice to point out how it became in the course of that period an *ecclesiastical Metropolitan power*, supreme in rank and authority (beyond all lawful measure) over the *clergy* of the West. This might have been,—just as with the Constantinopolitan Patriarch in reference to the Eastern clergy;¹ and yet no domination have resulted to it therefrom over the *kings* and *kingdoms*.² It was the *spiritual* authority officially attached to him, which constituted the principle of the Romish Bishop's headship over the Kings, as also of blasphemy against the Most High, in after ages :—an authority distinct from, though very mainly upheld by, his *ecclesiastical* power over the *clergy*, as will appear in the next Chapter. And what and whence this *spiritual power*, but from his being supposed to be officially the *representative of the apostle Peter*, with the *power of the keys* centered by Christ in him : and so, by speedy consequence CHRIST'S VICAR on earth ; or, to use St. John's most singularly characteristic appellation, the ANTICHRIST ?³

I purpose therefore shewing this precise authority to have been even thus early, and within the century named, *claimed by the Roman Bishops,—legitimized by the Roman Emperors,—and, shortly after, recognized and submitted to by the barbarian Western Kings* :—entering thus fully into the subject of its first and early development, both because I deem it very curious and important ; and also because Apocalyptic commentators have rather,

¹ In the second General Council (that of *Constantinople*) the Constantinopolitan Patriarch had the *πρωθιερα τιμης*, or honorary precedence, over all the oriental clergy given to him ; in the Council of *Chalcedon* the *πρωθιερα*, or rank with ecclesiastical rights attaching, over the eastern churches.

² " In ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction," says Gibbon, with reference to the times of Gregory II, or opening of the 8th century, " the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Pope of Rome were nearly equal. But the Greek Prelate was a domestic slave under the eye of his master, &c., while a distant and dangerous station, amidst the Barbarians of the West, excited the spirit and freedom of the Latin (i. e. Roman) bishops." ix. 131. Again, with reference to a much later period we read, that on occasion of the projected union of the Greek and Latin churches, A.D. 1438, at the Council of Ferrara, the Greek Patriarch's scruples about attending, *are said to have yielded*, in part, to his hope of learning the secret from the Pope how to deliver himself from his *slavery* (*δουλειας*) to the Greek king. See Gib. xii. 98.

³ See my Note Vol. i. pp. 67, 68 on the word *Antichrist*.

as it seems to me, neglected this *main* point of inquiry, in their search after points of much lesser moment.¹

1st, then, the *antichristian vicarial authority* spoken of was the subject *even thus early of Papal claims and Papal assumption.*²

It is to be understood that the high, supereminently high, ecclesiastical rank that attached to the Bishops of the Roman See in the second, third, and fourth centuries, was attached to them chiefly in consequence of Rome being the *imperial city and capital of the empire.* So a Canon of the Council of Chalcedon expressly declares.³ But what when that ground-work of their supremacy in rank was destroyed, first by the removal of the Western capital to *Ravenna*, under the emperor Honorius; and yet more by the Barbarian kings' conquests of Rome and its empire, and establishment of their several capitals elsewhere? On the old principle the ecclesiastical precedence might rather thenceforth attach to the Bishops of those new capitals.⁴ It was then that the deep craft of Rome's invisible patron and inspirer appeared; and that its claim to supremacy was fully and boldly put forth by the Popes on the purely *spiritual* grounds to which I have alluded, (grounds doubtless bruited before, but then only fitfully, partially, and unsuccessfully,)⁵ of its

¹ I mean as confining their researches to some particular *Imperial Decree* in the Papal favour, so as Faber and Cuninghame; or, as Bishop Newton, to the circumstance of the Pope's becoming a *temporal power.*

² For general corroboration see Waddington's Church History, p. 155, &c.

³ Canon 28 (Hard. ii. 613): *Και γαρ τη θρονυ της πρεσβυτερας Ῥωμης, δια το βασιλευειν την πολιν εκεινην, δι πατερες εικοτως αποδοθεκασι τα πρεσβεια.*—Hence, I conceive, *Irenæus'* statement, iii. 3, that it needed for every church "concurrere ad Romanam ecclesiam, propter *potentiorum* (or *potiorem*) *principalitatem.*" And evidently it was on this account that the heathen emperor Aurelian referred the dispute about Paul of Samosata to the Roman and Italian bishops. Euseb. vii. 30.

⁴ In the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, just quoted from, this principle was in fact applied; and equal privileges voted to the Bishop of *Constantinople* with those of the Bishop of *Rome*, because of Constantinople (or *New Rome*, as it was called) being also *the royal City.* The sentence above quoted is followed by this: *Και τη αυτη σκopy κινουμενοι δι ρ' θεοφιλεσται εκεικοσι τα ισα πρεσβεια απενειμαν τη της νεας Ῥωμης αγιωτατη θρονυ' &c.*

⁵ *Tertullian*, in one of his Treatises, written after he had become a Montanist, speaks of the Roman bishop having styled himself, even thus early, *Pontifex Maximus* and *Episcopus Episcoporum.* For, as Gibbon observes, (Miscel. Works

being *the see of the Prince of the Apostles*, on whom the whole Church was built, *Peter*: not to add, the scene too of his martyrdom, and his burial-place.¹ I subjoin a few documentary extracts in evidence.

First in the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, the Legate of Pope *Celestine* is reported to have said; "It is a thing undoubted that the apostle *PETER* received the keys and power of binding and loosing: *which Peter still lives and exercises judgment in his successors*, even to this day and always."²—The same was the style of Pope *Leo's* Legate in the Council of Chalcedon, some twenty years later. "It is *Peter*," he said, "that speaks in *Leo*:" at the same time proclaiming "Rome the Head of all churches."³ On similar grounds this headship of Christendom and the world was claimed by *Leo* himself in his letters and his orations. In a sermon on St. Peter and St. Paul's day he thus express himself before his Roman congregation: "As being *the see of the blessed Peter*, thou, Rome, art made *the head of the world*; so as to have even wider rule through religion than by the power of earthly domination."⁴ And, in exercise of

ii. 586.) "The same ambition animated the spirit of Victor I, (A.D. 200) and Paul V. (A.D. 1605;) the system of ecclesiastical dominion being pursued in every age by the aspiring Bishops of the imperial city."—But so far very much in vain. Tertullian only notices Pope Victor's pride to reprobate it. And *Cyprian*, interpreting Christ's famous declaration, "Thou art Peter, and on thee I will build my Church," like *Augustine* afterwards, of Peter's confession of Christ, (see his Ep. 59,) did in practice strongly resist Pope Stephen's pretensions to universal authority, and marked his sense of the general independence of other churches, as well as of his own.—A century later there was more of inconsistency observable in *Jerom*. In an Epistle to Pope Damasus, A.D. 375, he states his conviction, that as Christ's Church was founded on the rock of Peter, he who was not in communion with *the Roman See*, which was Peter's, would fail of salvation. But later in life, in his Epistles from Bethlehem, he urges *Marcella* to flee from *Rome*, as the city that was doomed to destruction, the *great harlot of the Apocalypse*.

¹ This latter point had become too prominent by the end of the 4th century in Rome's pretensions to sanctity and authority, to be left out by me. So *Chrysostom* contra Judæos, 9; *Εν τη βασιλικωτατη πολει Ῥωμη, παντα αφιεντες, ἐπι τῆς ταφῆς τῆ ἀλιεως και τῆ σκηνοποιε τρεχουσι, και βασιλεις, και ὄντατοι, και στρατηγοι.*

² Ουδεν ἀμφιβολου εἶστι ὅτι ὁ ἅγιος Πητρος, ὁ ἐξάρχος και κεφαλη των ἀποστολων, ὁ κίων τῆς πιστῆως, ὁ θεμελιος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησιας, ἀπο του Κυριου ἡμων Ἰησου Χριστου τας κλεις τῆς βασιλειας ἐδέξατο· και αὐτῶ δεδοτα ἐξουσια του δεσμευει και λυειν ἁμαρτιας ὅστις, ἕως του νυν και αει, ἐν τοις αὐτου διαδοχοις και ζῆ και δικαζει. Hard. i. 1477.

³ Hard. ii. 306, 67. "Petrus per Leonem locutus est:—" "Beatissimus Papa urbis Romæ, qui est caput omnium ecclesiarum."

⁴ "Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus elec-

this his supremacy as Peter's representative, when the Council of Chalcedon in its 28th Canon had made assertion of the equal dignity and privilege of the Constantinopolitan with the Roman Patriarch,¹ Leo indignantly rejected the Canon; declaring (though falsely) that it was a deviation from the earlier Canons of the Nicene Council.² He added, moreover, that he, the Bishop of Rome, was officially "*guardian of the Catholic faith, and of the traditions of the fathers*;"³ so asserting another principle essential to the development of the Pope as Antichrist;

tus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione divinâ quàm dominatione terrenâ:" (Serm. i.)—a passage quoted by Daubuz, 567: and in which, mark what is said of the *holy nation*, the *elect people*, and the *city of kings and priests*; as if the Roman See, and people in communion with it, were the fulfilment of what is spoken of in 1 Peter ii. 5, and Apoc. xx. 5. And contrast with it what the Apocalypse intimates of *God's elect people*, &c.; in the Sealing Vision of Apoc. vii, (see my Vol. i. pp. 239, 240, &c.) and also in Apoc. xiv. 1, xvii. 14, &c.

It deserves observation how at the very time of the substitution of a new *Papal Head* for the old *Imperial*, the fact of the substitution was thus publicly announced by the Pope himself. Compare the statements of the two Romish writers quoted p. 113 *suprà*.—In much the same manner *Prosper*, a cotemporary of Leo, thus wrote:

Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundi, quidquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet.

¹ See Note ⁴ p. 126, and Note ¹ p. 127, *suprà*.—This Canon, says Harduin, i. 322, does not appear in the *Vatican* copies. A specimen of Vatican suppositions!

² *Consensiones vero Episcoporum, sanctorum canonum apud Nicenam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unitâ nobis vestræ fidei pietate, in irritum mittimus, et per auctoritatem Beati Petri Apostoli, generali prorsus definitione cassamus.*" Leonis Epis. i. 55; quoted by Daubuz.

There is much of uncertainty and contradiction on the subject of the Acts of the Nicene Council. See Mosheim, iv. 2. 5. 12. Dean Waddington says, p. 93; "The three written monuments of it were the *Rule of Faith*, a number of *Canons*, and the *Synodal Epistle* addressed to the Churches on its dissolution." Of the Canons (probably twenty in number) the only one bearing on the primacy of Rome, was one in which that of the *Alexandrian Bishop* was paralleled with it. I mean Canon 6. See Hard. i. 325.

A specimen of the forgeries palmed on the world under the title of *Acts of the Nicene Council*, may be seen in the Arabic Report of them given in Harduin i. 469—495. In which, for example, there occurs the following: "Romæ qui sedem tenet caput est et princeps omnium Patriarcharum: quandoquidem ipse est primus et Petrus, cui data est potestas in omnes Principes Christianos, et omnes populos eorum; ut qui sit Vicarius Christi Domini Nostri, super cunctos populos et universam ecclesiam Christianam."

The *Papal forgeries*, in the Reports of ancient Councils, are treated of by Comber. They add much to the difficulties of an investigator of truth on subjects like the present.

³ Harduin ii. 687. Leo's Letter to the Council closes with the words; "Et me, auxiliante Domino nostro, et catholicæ fidei et paternarum traditionum esse custodem."

—namely that of having in their guardianship certain *unwritten* rules of faith and action, independent of and differing from that *written* rule, of which it had been said that it might neither be added to nor detracted from:¹ and, in fine, that whoever disputed the primacy and authority of the Roman See, as being that rock on which by Christ's own ordinance Christ's universal Church was built, was none other than the Devil or Antichrist.²—I pass to Leo's immediate successor *Hilary*; and find him accepting, as no more than his rightful prerogative, the Tarragonese Bishop's reference to him as officially "*Vicar of Peter*; unto whom, forthwith from after the resurrection of Jesus Christ, *the keys of the kingdom* belonged, *for the illumination of all.*"³—Still with similar assumption Pope *Gelasius*, Bishop of Rome from 492 to 496, asserted strenuously this Papal prerogative. In a letter to Faustus he wrote; "Things divine are to be learned by the secular Potentates from Bishops, above all from the *Vicar of the blessed Peter*:"⁴ in a letter to the Emperor; "There are two authorities by which the world is governed, the *Pontifical and the Royal*; the first being the greater, as having charge of the sacraments of life: and in divine things it becomes Kings to bow the neck to Priests, specially to the Head of Priests, whom *Christ's own voice has set over the universal Church.*"⁵ And yet again, in a Council which recognised and accepted the words (let the reader well mark this) as the voice of CHRIST'S VICAR: "According to the concurring testimony of tradition and of the Canons

¹ Deut. iv. 2, Apoc. xxii. 18, 19.

² "Cum ergo universalis ecclesia per illius principalis petreæ ædificationem facta sit petra, et primus apostolorum beatissimus Petrus voce Domini audierit, Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, quis est nisi Antichristus, aut Diabolus, qui pulsare audeat inexpugnabilem veritatem?" Ap. Baronium, vi. 235.

³ Hard. ii. 787; "Susceptis regni clavibus post resurrectionem Salvatoris, per totum orbem beatissimi Petri singularis prædicatio universorum illuminationi prospexit: cujus Vicarii principatus, sicut enitet, ita metuendus est ab omnibus et amandus."

⁴ "Seculi Potestas à Pontificibus, et præcipuè à beati Petri Vicario, debet cognoscere quæ divina sunt, non ipsa eadem judicare." Ib. 886.

⁵ Ib. 893. In the above I have a little condensed. One might deem Innocent III the speaker. Gelasius excommunicated the Greek Emperor A.D. 494.

of the Fathers, yet not by virtue of them, but *through Christ's own delegation*, the Roman See holds the primacy; ¹ and, itself without spot or wrinkle, has authority over the whole Church, for its general superintendance and government: ² there being excepted from its authority of the keys none living, but only" (in this point almost alone Gelasius fell short of the Papal pretensions of after times) "only the dead."³ At a previous Council he authoritatively drew up a list of Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be received as Canonical and Divine (including most of the Apocrypha in the list,) as also of Scriptures and writings not to be received;—the last with damnation pronounced against their authors: ⁴ all, like Leo, as the supreme arbiter and judge in matters of Christian faith.—Let me only add, with reference to Pope *Symmachus*, who held the Pontificate at the opening of the 6th Century, that a Council having been convened at Rome, A.D. 501,

¹ Ib. 938. " Sancta Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis Constitutis cæteris ecclesiis prælata est, sed evangelicâ voce Domini nostri primatum obtinuit, Tu es Petrus &c. . . . Est ergo prima Petri Apostoli sedes Romana ecclesia, non habens maculam, neque rugam, nec aliquid hujusmodi."

² " Christo Deo delegante sedes Apostolica totius ecclesiæ retinet principatum, pro dispensatione curæque generali." Ib. 944.

³ " Nostro Salvatore B. Petro delegante, Quæcumque ligaveris, &c.—sicut his verbis nihil constat exceptum, sic per Apostolicæ dispensationis officium et totum possit generaliter alligari, et totum consequenter absolvi.—Non nobis poterunt imputare cur prævaricationis offensam viventibus remittamus, quod ecclesiæ Deo largiente possibile est; qui nos etiam mortuis veniam præstare deprecant, quod nobis possibile non esse manifestum est." Ib. 946, 947. This was in a Roman Council; at the close of which the Bishops assembled shouted, " Vicarium Christi te videmus."

⁴ Ib. 937. The *first* list is headed, " Ordo librorum Veteris Testamenti, quem sancta et Catholica Romana suscipit et veneratur ecclesia; digestus à beato Papâ Gelasio, cum septuaginta Episcopis." This includes the *Apocryphal Books* of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Esdras, Judith, and the 1st Book of Maccabees. The *second* list gives the Books of the New Testament as still received. The *third* list the four first Councils. The *fourth*, the writings of the Fathers; as Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, &c. &c. It ends; " Cætera, quæ ab hæreticis seu schismaticis conscripta sunt, nullatenus recipit Catholica et Romana ecclesia." A list of about 100 of these *Apocryphal* writings, not to be received, is then subjoined; among which I observe the *Opuscula* of *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, and of the Apocalyptic commentators *Victorinus* and *Tychonius*. All these, with their authors, the concluding clause consigns to eternal damnation: " Cum suis auctoribus, auctorumque sequacibus, indissolubili vinculo in æternum confitemur esse damnata." So early began the Pontifical *Liber expurgatorius*.—Hence Bishop Atto's recognition, some centuries afterwards, of Tychonius and Victorinus as Apocryphal. Dacher. Spicil. i. 414.

by king Theodoric's command, to judge of certain charges against him, the Council demurred to entering on the matter, on the ground of incompetency; considering that the person accused was supreme above all ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹ And, a little after (to crown all) another Roman Synod, with Symmachus himself presiding and consenting, in the most solemn manner adopted a Book written by Ennodius, in defence of the resolutions of the former Synod: in which Book it was asserted, "that the Pope was JUDGE AS GOD'S VICAR, and could himself be judged by no one."² It was just in accordance with the previous Roman Council, that had shouted in acclamation to Gelasius, "We behold in thee CHRIST'S VICAR:"³—a term this sometimes incautiously applied before to Bishops generally, in their own particular restricted spheres of action, and in the character of Christ's *ambassadors*;⁴ but now attached to, and assumed by, this one Bishop *distinctively and alone*, with the world itself as his sphere, and in the character of God's own appointed and supreme *Administrator and Judge*. It was a step *per saltum*, mightier than imagination can well follow, by which he vaulted at once from the mere ecclesiastical rank of Patriarch, to that of supremacy over all the kings of the earth. The haughty assumption was repeated by Pope Boniface.⁵ So evi-

¹ "Scientes" (i. e. the assembled Bishops) "quia ejus sedi primùm Petri apostoli meritum vel principatus. . . . singularem ei in ecclesiis tradidit potestatem, nec antedictæ sedis antistitem minorum subjacuisse judicio, &c." The two first subscriptions to the report of the Synod are thus worded; "Laurentius episcopus Mediolanensis huic statuto subscripsi, in quo totam causam Dei judicio commisimus." Hard. ii. 967, 970. In a 2nd Synod the same year, the Prelates wrote back to Theodoric; "Ipsi per canones appellationes omnium episcoporum commissæ sunt: et cùm ipse appellat ecquid faciendum?" Ib. 974.

² "Vice Dei judicare Pontificem,"—"à nullo mortalium in jus vocari posse docuit." (scil. *Ennodius*.) Moah. vi. 2. 2. 2. 4. On its adoption by the Roman Synod under Symmachus, assembled A.D. 503, see Hard. ii. 983. "Libellus qui synodali auctoritate ab Ennodio conscriptus est in præsentia omnium legatur. Quo recitato, et ab omnibus consonâ voce comprobato, sancta Synodus dixit, Hæc ab omnibus teneantur, &c." ³ See end of Note ³ p. 132.

⁴ So *Ignatius*, for example, spoke of Bishops as *eis τῶν Θεῶν*. And *Cyprian*, that every Bishop is *within his own diocese* a priest of God, and a judge appointed in the place of Christ.

⁵ "Aliorum forte hominum causas Deus voluerit per homines terminare; sedis istius præseulem suo sine quæstione reservavit arbitrio. Voluit Beati Petri successores cælo tantùm debere innocentiam. *Tu es Petrus*, &c. Illi sedi quidquid

dently, says Mosheim, was the foundation laid even thus early of the subsequent Papal supremacy: so evidently, I must add, was it laid, both before kings¹ and people, in Papal pretensions that realized the precise predicted character and even appellation of ANTICHRIST.²

2. Nor, in the *next* place, was there wanting even thus early a measure of *legal sanction* to these Papal claims: I say *legal*, because the *Imperial* edicts were then the law of the Roman Empire.—It has been suggested by Ranke (i. 12) that an incautious expression of the truly Christian Emperor Theodosius *may have been construed* to constitute a primary imperial recognition of the Roman Bishop's claims, as the judge and standard of Christian faith. "It is our pleasure," he wrote in the year 380, "that all the nations governed by us should stedfastly adhere to the religion taught by *St. Peter to the Romans*: which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus," and, as the Emperor added, "by Peter Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness."³ Now in this reference to the Roman Pontiff it was evidently the simple intention of Theodosius to make use of the authority of the Roman See, then very great with the people, as an auxiliary to his grand object of extirpating Arianism, and establishing the Trinitarian faith; seeing that the Roman Church had never swerved on *this* point from the orthodox doctrine. And that he did not recognize the Roman Bishop as supreme or sole judge of the faith, appears even in the edict itself, from his association of the Alexandrian

fideliū est ubique submittitur, dūm totius corporis caput esse designatur." So in A.D. 531. And he adds on the Romish Church;—"Hanc ecclesiam Romanam ecclesiis toto orbe diffusis velut caput suorum certum esse membrorum; à quā se quisquis abscidit fit Christianæ religionis extorris."

¹ "Theodoric was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman Pontiff:—a Bishop who claimed such ample dominion in heaven and earth; who had been declared in a numerous Synod to be pure from all sin, and exempt from all judgment." Gibb. vii. 37.

² Ennodius elsewhere calls the Pope *our Christ*: "Sufferre non possumus vana in CHRISTUM nostrum et blasphema ructantes." And writing to Symmachus he says: "*Cælestis imperii apicem regitis.*" B. P. M. ix. 404, 343.

³ Gibbon, v. 14, cites the Edict.

Bishop with the Roman. Still the effect may have been, as Ranke states, to support the Roman See in anti-christian pretensions, such as it might even then have been inclined to put forth, as the impeccable standard and maintainer of Christian truth.—Next in the year A.D. 445, induced, it is thought by Pope Leo,¹ the Emperors Valentinian III and Theodosius II issued a memorable Decree, which, as chiefly *ecclesiastical*, and bearing on the subordination of the Western *clergy* to Rome, will be more fully referred to in my next Chapter: but in which, at the same time, by its designation of the Pope as *director of universal Christendom*,² and by its recognition of his right and primacy as grounded primarily on *Peter's merit*,³ not on the mere circumstance of Rome being originally the Imperial City, —I say in these two different points Valentinian's Decree strongly supported the high and antichristian claims of the Popedom. "From this time," says Ranke, after reference to Valentinian's Decree, "the power of the Roman Bishops grew up under protection of the Roman Emperor himself."⁴—Finally, there was the celebrated letter of Justinian to the Pope, dated March 533, and which became thenceforth part and parcel of the *Civil Law*,—a Decretal Letter to which (among other reasons) I have had reference, in fixing on the epoch of 533 as at least the *primary* epoch of the commencement of the 1260 predicted years of Papal supremacy,—I say there was then promulged this Imperial decretal letter; in part of which, supposing the received text correct, there was both a solemn recognition of the Pope as *Head of all the Churches*, and a formal subjugation even of the *Eastern Churches* to his rule.⁵ On the genuineness, however, of this part there exists doubt among the

¹ Daubuz, p. 579.

² "Si rectorem suum agnoscat universitas." Sir I. Newton gives the Decree in his Work on the *Prophecies of Daniel*, p. 120.—*Universitas* is here used indefinitely. Elsewhere it is used restrictedly of any particular *body in its entirety*.

³ "Cum sedis Apostolicæ primatum sancti Petri meritum, qui princeps est episcopalis coronæ, et Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam Synodi firmavit auctoritas."⁴ i. 12.

⁵ See below in p. 136 Note ² the part in Italics within the brackets.

learned.¹ And therefore it must not, too implicitly be insisted on. Still in what remains, and on which no reasonable doubt, I believe, exists, there is, both impliedly and expressly, a recognition of the Pope in the antichristian character before spoken of, as *Head and Judge of the faith*: viz. by the Emperor's himself appealing to him for his approbation, ere he published to the Roman world a formal statement of Christian faith; by his declaring that even the Patriarch of Constantinople (he who alone among ecclesiastics had professed rivalry with the Roman Bishop) wished in all things to follow Rome; and by his representing the unity of all churches as converging to Rome as its centre².—I must not omit to add that, some

¹ See Comber on the *Forgeries of Councils*. According to him the part enclosed in brackets in the extract following was forged; from *Ideoque* to *Unde*.

² See the *italics* of the part *unbracketed* of the Decree now subjoined.

"Victor Justinianus, pius, &c, semper Augustus, Joanni sanctissimo Archiepiscopo almæ urbis Romæ, et Patriarchæ.

Reddentes honorem apostolicæ sedi et vestræ sanctitati, . . . omnia quæ ad ecclesiarum statum pertinent festinavimus ad notitiam deferre vestræ sanctitatis: quoniam semper nobis fuit magnum studium unitatem vestræ Apostolicæ sedis, et statum sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum custodire, qui hactenus et incommotè permanet, nullâ intercedente contrarietate. [*Ideoque omnes sacerdotes universi orientalis tractûs et subjicere et unire sedi vestræ sanctitatis properavimus. . . .* Nec enim patimur quidquam quod ad ecclesiarum statum pertinet ut non etiam vestræ innotescat sanctitati, *quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum.*"]—On this follows a statement of existing heresies on the subject of Christ's person; also of the Emperor's own orthodox faith, and its agreement with the doctrines of the four preceding General Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, *conformably with the creed of the Roman See*. Then the letter proceeds: "Unde properavimus hoc ad notitiam deferre vestræ sanctitatis per Hypatium et Demetrium, beatissimos episcopos, ut nec vestram sanctitatem lateant quæ à quibusdam paucis monachis malè et Judaicè secundùm Nestorii perfidiam denegata sunt.] Petimus ergo vestrum paternum affectum,—ut vestris ad nos destinatis literis, et ad sanctissimum Episcopum hujus almæ urbis et Patriarcham, fratrem vestrum, (quoniam et ipse per eodem scripsit ad vestram Sanctitatem, festinans in omnibus sedem sequi apostolicam Beatitudinis vestræ,) manifestum nobis faciatis quodd omnes qui prædicta rectè confitentur suscipiat vestra sanctitas, et eorum qui Judaicè ausi sint rectam denegare fidem condemnat perfidiam. Plus enim ita circa vos omnium amor et vestræ sedis crescet auctoritas; et *quæ ad vos est unitas sanctarum ecclesiarum* inturbata servabitur; quando per vos didicerint omnes beatissimi Episcopi eorum quæ ad vos relata sunt sinceram vestræ sanctitatis doctrinam."—Hard. ii. 1146.

On Comber see Investigator, Vol. iv. p. 346. Mr. Cuninghame defends the genuineness of the whole Letter: Bickersteth (on Prophecy, p. 206) thinks successfully. Mr. Cuninghame (p. 191) adds from the 131st of the Novellæ Constitutiones of Justinian, entitled "De Ecclesiasticis Titulis et Privilegiis," the following extract. "Ideoque sancimus sanctissimum senioris Romæ Papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum." It was Justinian's policy, we must remember, just then to propitiate the Pope.—Gibbon notes the manner in which the Justinian Code was infused into the Corpus Juris of the Western States of Christendom, so as to have effect for centuries afterwards.

70 years or more after Justinian's edict, there was issued another notable one by the Emperor *Phocas*, which confirmed the right of the Roman See and Bishop to the *Headship of all churches*; expressly in contradistinction to their then only rival in Christendom, the See and Bishop of Constantinople.¹ Another later and notable epoch of commencement to the 1260 years may have been constituted by it; of which more hereafter.²

3. As to the *subjection of themselves and their kingdoms* in religious matters to the POPE on the part of the *Kings of Western Christendom*, it took place just as might have been inferred from the Apocalyptic description of the Beast, very soon after their first emergence into political life.³ For the Angel after stating, "The ten Horns are ten Kings that receive authority as Kings at one and the same time with the Beast," follows it up thus in the next verse; "These have one mind, and *will* give their power and authority to the Beast." And such was the fact. It seems that at the first emergence of their kingdoms, the Paganism or Arianism of most of the Gothic Princes was a bar to their personal and perfect adhesion to the Roman See: notwithstanding the authority with which that See had been invested by the Roman Imperial Law, and the deep-rooted reverence felt towards it both by the clergy and the people. But first in A.D. 496 the *Frank* king Clovis, on occasion of his victory over the Allemanni, embraced the *Catholic* faith,

¹ The authorities for this are *Paulus Diaconus*; who says of the Emperor *Phocas*; "Hic, rogante Papâ Bonifacio, statuit sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum; quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat:"—and *Anastasius*; who in his *Ecclesiastical History* on the year A.D. 606 observes: "Hic (Bonifacius) obtinuit apud Phocam Principem ut sedes apostolica Beati Petri Apostoli caput esse omnium ecclesiarum; quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat."

² Both Papal and Protestant writers have attached weight to these Decrees of *Justinian* and *Phocas*. In Chap. ix. § 2 of this my 1vth Part I shall speak more fully on this point; and on their constituting epochs of commencement to the 1260 years.

³ The Pope's *actual* authority in the Western Kingdoms must be distinguished from that *legal* authority with which the Imperial Law invested the Popes.

as that of *Rome*; ¹ and so received the title, transmitted downward through nearly 1300 years to the French Kings his successors, of *Eldest son of the Church*: then, in the course of the sixth century, the Kings of *Burgundy*,² *Bavaria*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *England*.³ And then already,—that is by the time of Pope Gregory I. and Phocas,—there appeared on the part of these Western Princes indications of submission and subserviency to the Roman Pontiff, in all that concerned religion and the Church, as of inferiors to a superior,⁴ of children to a father,⁵ of common mortals to one that, like the Great Druid of their ancestral Paganism, was the chief mediator

¹ Gordon dates it 499.

² A.D. 509. Gordon.

³ Britain did not then owe to *Rome* its first conversion and its Church. In A.D. 190 Tertullian (in his Work against the Jews) speaks of "the Parthians and Medea, &c. and divers peoples of Gaul, and those parts of Britain which were inaccessible by the Romans, having been subdued by Christ." In 230 Origen (Hom. 4 on Ezek.) asks, "When did the land of Britain, before the coming of Christ, consent to the religion of one God?" In Diocletian's persecution Britain had its martyrs, St. Alban, &c. In 314 it sent bishops to the Council of Arles. And Jerom in 378, and Chrysostom in 398, speak of the "churches established there," as "adoring one Christ and observing one rule of faith."—This by the way.

⁴ E. g. King Sigismund of *Burgundy*, about the year 520, speaks of *sharp rebukes* received from the Pope, in consequence of the intermission of their national assemblies; ("Quapropter Papa nobis mittit mordacia scripta;")—assemblies in which bishops then attended and exercised influence: and he orders their regular half-yearly meeting in obedience to him. Müller's Hist. (Engl. Transl.) ii. 17, 23.—Again King Recared of *Spain* in the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, at which Arianism was renounced for Roman Catholicism, (see my p. 52 supra,) assisted in passing a Canon of obedience to all the synodic Papal Epistles: viz. Canon I; "Permaneat in suo vigore Conciliorum omnium constituta, simul et synodica sanctorum præsulum Romanorum epistola." Hard. iii. 479.—The devotion of the *English* Princes, immediately after their conversion to the Romish faith, A.D. 604, was illustrated by their collection of the *Peter's penny*.—See too Mosheim, v. 2. 2. 6.

⁵ "Pope," or *Father*, says Gibbon (vii. 37) of A.D. 500, "was now a name appropriated to the Roman Pontiff:" (and so Gregory VII afterwards, Hard. vi. 1304, "Papæ unicum est nomen in mundo:") it having been once the title of all bishops alike (Bingham, ii. 2. 8).—Address by *nations*, it was an *imperial*, and originally a *divine* title. So Ovid to Augustus:

Hoc tu per terras quod in æthere Jupiter alto
Nomen habes; hominum tu pater, ille Deum.

And Horace;

Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps.

See Spanheim de Usu Num. 717.—The title, as given to the Pope, was sometimes in the form *Patri Patrūm*. So in the Letters of the Eastern Prelates, A.D. 536, (Hard. ii. 1218,) Πατρι πατριών. The *royal* sense attached to it appeared (to borrow an illustration of date much later) in the legend of the medal of Pope Julius III; "Dominus Julius Reip. Christianæ Rex ac Pater." Daub. 582.

and administrator of the divine wrath and favor.¹ The principle of the *Unity of the Church*, in the Romish not Scriptural sense, had begun to establish itself in men's minds; ²—I mean in that of the whole professing Church being intended to constitute one body, under one *visible* Head, CHRIST'S VICAR the POPE. And the Western kingdoms had coalesced as one under him: just like the ten-horned Beast from the Sea under its eighth Head, in the Apocalyptic vision.

I must not omit to add that both by the Theodosian and Justinian codes,—now generally received, at least on matters ecclesiastical, in the Barbaric kingdoms,³—*anti-heretical decrees* came to be in force; ⁴ and Bishops, and ultimately the *Pope*, as we shall see more fully in the next Chapter, to be sole judges of heresy. And as very false doctrines (not unsupported, according to the well-known prophecy of the mode of Antichrist's manifestation, by *false miracles*⁵) constituted no small part of the

¹ See Mosh. viii. 2. 2. 6.

² Wadd. 159, dates this after the Gothic irruption. I have noted its commencement as made earlier. See my Vol. i. p. 242, a passage already often previously referred to by me; and also Note ¹ p. 132, *suprà*.

³ Müller (ii. 27) notes prominently the reception and influence of the Theodosian Ecclesiastical Code in *Spain*. Soon the church laws, framed on this basis, "became," he says, "terrible in Spain. Hatred of heretics was impressed on the people, and they delighted in blood." At p. 24 he speaks of its reception in *Gaul* also, by the Franks.

⁴ By a Law of Theodosius I (Gib. v. 15) heretics (*Arians*, as he meant) were made obnoxious to civil penalties. Justinian, A.D. 528, decreed against those who differed from his profession of faith, "Jubemus tales, tanquam confessos hæreticos, competenti animadversione subjugari." And Pope Pelagius, A.D. 555, and Gregory I after him, called in against such the *secular arm*. Hard. iii. 333, 4. Cave Hist. Litt.

As an illustration of the speedy advance to a direct application of persecuting Papal laws against the saints, I may cite the Canon of the Roman Council held by Gregory II, about the year 730, against the Iconoclasts: "Si quis imaginum sacrarum destructor extiterit, extorris sit à corpore D. N. Jesus Christi. vel totius ecclesiæ unitate." Gib. ix. 141.

⁵ "Whose coming is with *signs* and *lying wonders*, &c." 2 Thess. ii. 9. See on this my Note ⁴ p. 81 *suprà*, and also my remarks in the next chapter on the lamb-like Beast doing signs before the first Beast, its principal. Says Mosheim of the opening of the 7th century, "Every objection was silenced by appeal to two things,—the authority of the church and *miracles*." vii. 2. 3. 1.—Let me just make mention, ere passing on, of a curious legend of a miracle wrought by Gregory I, given in Sigebert's Chronicon. "Hic, inter cætera pietatis opera, animam Trajani quondam Imperatoris, quamvis Pagani, à penis inferni liberari miserando et plorando à Deo obtinuit."

orthodoxy now sanctioned at Rome,¹ there resulted a *legal intolerance* of the faith of the saints : which, whether enforced at the time or not, furnished the ready means and occasion for their future persecution and oppression.

And now ere I pass from my *first* Section on the *early* and *partial*, to my *second* on the *full* subsequent development of the power and wickedness of the Papal Antichrist, it seems fitting that I should pause a few moments on what may be called the TRANSITION PERIOD between the two ;—a period of some two centuries from *Justinian* and *Pope Gregory* to *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*. For in it there were completed certain changes in respect of three of the Gothic kingdoms, that were more immediately from their local site in contact with the Roman See ;—changes corresponding, as I conceive, to Daniel's remarkable prediction, of *three* out of the *ten* horns of the Roman Beast *being plucked up and subjected* before the Little Horn.²

The coincidence in purport between this prediction of *Daniel* respecting the *three Horns*, and that of *St. Paul* respecting the *Imperial let or hindrance* in his time existing,³ may probably have already struck the mind of the Reader. For if it needed that the Imperial power ruling at Rome should be removed, in order to the primary actual development of the Antichrist, (agreeably with *St. Paul's* wonderful prophecy,) the same necessity would obviously require the removal, in order to its *fuller* development, of such of the ten horns as might have established themselves in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and be in a condition, with the plenitude

¹ Gregory authorized images, purgatory, pilgrimages, relics, and enforced clerical celibacy, &c. Wadd. 155, &c. Dupin v. 114. But indeed these things had become orthodox much earlier. Gibbon, v. 126, speaks of the worship of saints and relics as in vogue from soon after Constantine's death down to the Reformation. The truth of this I have abundantly shown in my first Volume.

² Dathe's rendering is *propter illud*.

³ See p. 81, &c, *suprà*.

of their royal power, to oppress or overawe it.—Now then, in looking at the list given in my fourth Chapter, we may mark *three* of the ten kings as thus characterized.¹ First the *Vandals*, as rulers, within the Roman Bishop's own diocese, of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*;² secondly the *Ostrogoths*, the successors of Odoacer in the kingdom of *Italy*: and thirdly, the *Lombards*: which last although in the year A.D. 533 referred to far distant in Pannonia, were some 30 or 40 years after destined to conquer Lombardy, and afterwards to extend their conquests to the very neighbourhood of Rome.—The manner in which these several powers overawed the Roman Bishops is matter of history.³ It was such as to make it evident that their removal from before it was essential to the full glory and expansion of the Papal spiritual power. And accordingly their removal constitutes one of the most prominent topics in the next pages of the history of Western Christendom. First, in 533, just after Justinian's decretal Epistle before quoted, the horn of the *Vandals* in Africa, Corsica, and Sardinia, and presently after, that of the *Ostrogoths* in Italy, was rooted up by Justinian's forces under Belisarius. After which, and

¹ I might cite *three* that were eradicated from before the Pope out of the list *first* given; viz. the *Heruli* under Odoacer, the *Vandals*, and the *Ostrogoths*. But it is needless; the *second* list being, as I believe, the true one. Moreover, though the neighbourhood of Odoacer could not but be unpleasant to the Pope, he does not appear to have overawed him, like Theodoric or the Lombards. A Letter from Pope Gelasius, of the date 494, speaks of having successfully resisted Odoacer's wishes on certain ecclesiastical matters: "Odoacro barbaro hæretico, cum aliqua non facienda præciperet, Deo præstante, nulla tenus permisissæ manifestum est." Hard. ii. 914.—Other expositors (as Peyrani, the Vaudois minister, in his Work on the Vaudois, p. 54) have supposed the *Herulian*, *Ostrogothic*, and *Lombard* horns to be the three meant. But they were not cotemporarily existent as horns of the Beast. The Herulian had been destroyed, ere the Lombard had risen within the limits of the Roman Empire. ² See p. 121, Note 7 *suprà*.

³ *Theodoric* made his own approbation essential to the election of the Pope; summoned Councils (as that of *Rome* to examine the charges against Symmachus) by his own authority; and, on one occasion at least, personally oppressed the Pope. See Gibbon vii. 42.—The *Vandal* kings were not only Arians, but persecutors of the Catholics: in *Sardinia* and *Corsica* under the Roman episcopate, we may presume, as well as in Africa. (See the Treatise of *Victor Vitensis* on the subject; which is further illustrated by the exile of the African Bishops, noted by me Vol. ii. p. 213, and in Hard. ii. 1055.) Their coast attacks too on Italy, and taking and sacking of Rome, are events notorious.—Of the *let* and *hindrance* of the *Lombards*, Pope Stephen's Letter to Pepin, referred to Note ², in the next page, sufficiently tells the tale.

the establishment of the Greek Exarchate at Ravenna, (a power that can never properly, I conceive, be reckoned among the ten horns of the prophetic Beast, emerging as the latter are said to have done, one and all, out of the Barbarian invading flood,)¹ the *Lombards* came in ; just as if to neutralize the Greek Emperor's power in that country, and prevent its domineering over the Pope at Rome, so as over the Patriarch at Constantinople:² and for some years so divided the empire of Italy with them, as to allow of Gregory the Great and others acting independently the part of *King*, as well as of *Pope*, at Rome.³ At length in the course of the 8th century, the Lombard power altogether preponderating,⁴ and after the conquest of the Exarchate A.D. 752, acting like its predecessors in Italy to overawe the Roman See, the assistance of the Franks was called in by Popes Stephen II and Adrian I,⁵ from their devoted Gaulic province. And then the *Lombard Horn* was eradicated through the instrumentality of Pepin and Charlemagne, just like those of the *Vandals* and the *Ostrogoths* previously, never again to

¹ The Reader will doubtless be aware that the three horns plucked up, are by Sir I. Newton, Bishop Newton, and many others, interpreted as the *Lombard* power, the *Greek Exarchate*, and the *Dukedom of Rome* under the Exarchate. Indeed Mr. Brooks (p. 431) says ; "The three horns plucked up are *with tolerable unanimity* declared to be *Rome, Lombardy,*" (i. e. districts of) "and *Ravenna* ; which have now formed the Papal territories for more than 1000 years." But besides that the *Exarchate* and the *Dukedom of Rome*, instead of being two of the original ten horns of the Beast that rose out of the Gothic inundation, had their origin from quite a different *source*, and, in respect of *time*, were not even in existence at the rise of the *Beast*,—besides this, the *Dukedom of Rome*, being the dependency of a dependency, could *never*, I conceive, be properly considered a horn.

² That the inclination thus to domineer was not wanting to the Greeks, and would have exerted itself had there been sufficient power to support it, appears from the indignities heaped on the Pope by Belisarius in the year A.D. 537. See Gibbon vii. 238. Similar indignities were offered in 544 and 653 to the Popes *Vigilius* and *Martin* by the Greek Emperors, through their Exarchs. Wadd. 162.

³ Gibbon, viii. 171, speaks of Gregory's *temporal reign* as well described by Sigonius.

⁴ In this the weakness of the Exarchate the Greek Emperors courted, rather than attempted to oppress, the Popes. Thus A.D. 684 they formally abandoned the Imperial privilege of confirming the Papal election, exercised since Theodoric ; (Encycl. Metrop. Hist. C. 53 ;) and 30 years after offered them homage ; as will be seen under the next Section. Mosheim, viii. 2. 2. 2, a little modifies the statement.

⁵ The Pope's Letter of application to Pepin was written *in the name of St. Peter* : saying that Peter and all the martyrs were interested in the deliverance of Rome from the Lombards.

be heard of in Christendom : and the Exarchate of Ravenna,¹ together with other of the Lombard conquests, attached for ever to the Roman See, under the very singular appellation of *the Patrimony of Peter*.²

It was, perhaps, to be inferred from the circumstance of the *ten-horned Beast* constituting the characteristic symbol of the Popedom for the fated 1260 years,³ that (except in what is elsewhere said of the *tenth* of the great city falling⁴) the number of Western kingdoms subject to the Papal Head would, notwithstanding this triple eradication, be yet by additions or changes made up from time to time to its original complement : only so as that none should, like the eradicated three, oppress by immediate neighbourhood and superior force the Papal power.

¹ The Exarchate included the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara. Dependent on it was the Pentapolis ; which extended along the coast from Rimini to Ancona, and into the interior as far as the ridges of the Apennines. Gib. ch. 49.

² The *donation* by Pepin was made A.D. 755 ; its confirmation and enlargement by Charlemagne, A.D. 774. In 816 Louis I confirmed the gift of " the Dukedom of Rome."

On Pepin's and Charlemagne's donations the account in Sir I. Newton, ch. viii, is full and interesting. He notices (p. 91) a piece of mosaic still existing, he says, at Rome, as late as the sixteenth century, which Pope Leo III caused to be made in his palace near the Church of St. John Lateran, in memory of his sending the banner of Rome to Charlemagne : in which mosaic *Peter* appeared with *three keys* in his lap, reaching the pallium to the Pope with his right hand, and with his left the banner of Rome to Charlemagne. And he interprets the *three keys*, as the keys of the three parts of his patrimony ; viz. *Rome with its Duchy, Ravenna with the Exarchate, and the territories taken from the Lombards*. He also adds, " These were the three dominions whose *crowns* are now worn by the Pope."

But there seems to be no certainty in what he says either about the *crowns* or the *keys*. Muratori's account of the mosaic (Annali d'Ital. ad ann. 798) speaks of it as representing St. Peter giving the pallium to a Pope kneeling, viz. Leo ; and a banner to a king kneeling, viz. Charlemagne : but he says not a word of the three keys in Peter's lap ; nor, in the absence of any parallel and corroborating representation, (for where else is Peter seen with *three*, not *two* keys ?) does it seem safe to trust the impression of certain antiquaries as to an obscure, perhaps half-effaced, part of an old mosaic. Such is Muratori's judgment. " Non si può con sicurezza trovare la luce vera in mezzo a siffatte tenebre."—As to the *three crowns* of the Papal tiara, though said by some with Sir I. N. to represent the three States of the Church, yet the circumstance of the first being not assumed on the Episcopal mitre till about 1160 by Alexander III, the second by Boniface VIII as late as the year 1300, (in token, it is said, of *temporal* as well as *spiritual* dominion,) and the third soon after by Benedict XII, as Gibbon represents it,—or, as Ducange (Supplement on *Regnum*) and Ferrario (ii. 428,) by Urban V,—it seems to me very questionable whether this third might not have been added, as other writers have said, in token of the Papal *prophetic* character, as well as that of *Priest and King*.

³ So too in Daniel. ⁴ Apoc. xi. 13. See my Vol. ii. p. 420, &c.

And this was very much the case. For first the *Kingdom of Naples*, which grew up in the middle age under Norman rule, and included both *Southern Italy and Sicily*,¹—the representative in a manner, on that part of their territory, of the earlier Ostrogoths,—was held as a direct fief from the Pope.² Next *Sardinia*, recovered from Saracen rule by the Pisans, fell at length, but also as a Papal Fief, to the devoted Princes of Savoy.³ Again, in *North Italy* Lombardy came under the government of a friendly *Frank or German Emperor*, residing far away beyond the Alps; at least one friendly till the Popes were strong enough to brave his hostility. Meanwhile *Central Italy*, from sea to sea, continued still immediately under Papal rule. Moreover, with regard to the extent of the Papal subject kingdoms, the diminution through Saracen invasion was very much made up by the conquests of Charlemagne, Otho, and other *sons of the Church*, in northern and central Germany.⁴ For all these conquests became spiritually subject to the Roman See.

§ II.—THE BEAST'S PRIDE, SELF-EXALTATION, BLASPHEMIES, AND OPPRESSION OF THE SAINTS, AS FILLED IN THE FULL-GROWN PAPAL ANTICHRIST.

I have in the preceding Section sketched the Popedom in its first anti-christian development and early growth; and both in the various circumstantial attending it, and its pretensions as even thus early put forth, have traced its exact correspondence with the Apocalyptic Beast, and Antichrist of other cognate prophecies:—its *occasion of development* then when the old Imperial Roman Go-

¹ This was after a century or two of disorganization; it which the state of South Italy, divided into baronies, says Müller, resembled that of the Homeric age: adding that the Pope, though too weak himself to unite it, had yet strength enough to prevent its union under another Head.

² A.D. 1053. So Gibbon, x. 270: "A tribute or quit-rent of twelve-pence was stipulated for every plough-land: and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above 700 years a fief of the Holy See."—A white horse was also annually sent to Rome in token of homage.

³ Ranke in his *History of the Popes*, iii. 190, speaks of *Sicily and Sardinia* as still in A.D. 1700 looked on as Papal Fiefs.

⁴ See p. 123 *suprà*.

vernment had been removed out of the way ; its *local seat* the seven hills of Rome ; its *constituency* the ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms of the revived Western Empire ; its *ruling head* an *επισκοπος*, or Bishop, with eyes as the eyes of a man :—which Bishop, like Judas, traitor and apostate, (indeed the *head* as well as *product* of the long previously progressing apostacy,) held out, as the actual basis of his authority, the very profession of being, with unlimited and only self-cognizable authority, *Christ's one appointed Vicar on earth* ; a translation in terms of the prophetic word ANTICHRIST.—Pursuing the subject we shall, I doubt not, find all else that was predicted of the Antichrist, as to both what he was to be, and what to do, after his manifestation, fulfilled in the later Papal history. Nor let me further delay entering on it, except to remind the reader that thus far the characteristic points noted from prophecy have been mostly admitted, indeed insisted on, as applicable to the Popedom by Papal writers themselves. I subjoin an illustration or two below.¹

¹ On its *seven-hilled seat*, or its *constituency* of the *Western Kingdoms*, it is needless to exemplify. I will therefore do so only on the two other points which most may seem to need it ; viz. 1st, the fact of the *removal of the old Roman Government* having facilitated, and indeed been a necessary preliminary to, the establishment of the Popedom : 2nd, the fact of the Roman sacerdotal order and head answering to Daniel's symbol of the horn *with eyes as the eyes of a man*.

1. As to the *removal of the old Roman Government*, I shall cite two Romish writers ; viz. *Damian*, a celebrated Monk of the time of Hildebrand, and the *orator of the tenth Session* of the 5th Lateran Council. The former puts these remarkable words into the mouth of Jesus Christ, as addressing the Pope : “ Ego claves totius universalis ecclesiæ tuis manibus tradidi, et super eam te mihi Vicarium posui : et, si pauca sunt ista, etiam monarchias tradidi. Immo, *sublato rege de medio*, totius Romani imperii *vacantis* tibi jura permisi.” (The passage is quoted by *Hallam*, Mid. A. ii. 275).—The latter (*Harduin* ix. 1789) thus speaks of Constantine's removal of his imperial seat to Byzantium. “ Constantinus à divinâ gratiâ afflatus, *sceptrum imperii orbis et urbis* vero Creatori Deo, et homini in sede suâ Romanâ *Silvestro*, Pontifici Maximo in jure *primævo Christi*, æterni sacerdotis, *plenè cessit* ; *aliâque sedem* concessione Apostolicâ *quæsivit*, et sub obedientiâ sedis Apostolicæ in *Byzantio* erexit.”*—In which statement there is a reference, I presume, to the famous forged Decretals of Constantine.

2. “ *With eyes as the eyes of a man*.”—The symbol is used *generally* of the

* Protestant writers also note this. So e. g. *Dean Waddington*. In his sketch of the *rise of the Papal supremacy* he notices, as one of its three principal instrumental causes, the *removal of the civil Government from Rome to Ravenna* by the Emperor Honorius ; the other two being, 1st, The Pope's dignity as Patriarch of the West ; 2. the Popes grounding their primacy, not on the circumstance of Rome being the Imperial City, but on their being *successors to Peter*, and *with the power of the keys* ; that same that I have at large dwelt upon under the former Section of this Chapter.—Let me add that *Pareus* too notes the effect of

The period involved in the comprehensive glance that we have now to take, in pursuing the history, is a large one: seeing that it ranges over near 1000 years, from Charlemagne to Gregory VII, from Gregory to Boniface VIII, from Boniface to Leo X and the Reformation, and from Leo to the French Revolution. Of the which its four constituent parts,¹ the *first*, (to use the Waldensian simile²) may be regarded as that of the Papal Antichrist's *growth into a perfect man*; the *two next* those of his *continued maturity*; the *fourth* that of his *decline*:—just as the *earlier period*, from Theodoric and Justinian to Charlemagne, was that of his *vigorous childhood or early youth*. But through one and all, from youth to maturity, and maturity to decline, he appears on the page of history ever answering to the Apocalyptic description before us. The evidence abounds in profusion. But it needs not (especially as considering the historic illustrations elsewhere given by me of the same subject,⁴) that I should here offer of it any more than a very slight and brief sketch.

Episcopacy in the reported Decree of Pope Pius I, Hard. i. 96. "Plebs non episcopum accuset: Episcopi à Deo sunt iudicandi, qui eos sibi oculos elegit." Concordant with which is the expression of the Greek Emperor Constantine to the Roman Synod A.D. 679, after the 6th General Council; τους της εκκλησιας οφθαλμοις τους ιερεας φαμεν.—More particularly it is applied to the *Roman See and Pope*. So Anastasius the Librarian to Pope Adrian. After comparing the five Patriarchal Sees to the five senses, he makes the *Roman See* to answer to the *eye-sight*, as having oversight, so as no other, over the whole Church. "Inter quas sedes quia Romana præcellit, non immerito visui comparatur; qui profecto cunctis sensibus præminet, acutior illis existens, et communionem, sicut nullus eorum, cõm omnibus habens." Hard. v. 754.—So again Pope Innocent IV, in his sentence against the Emperor Henry; "Ad apostolicæ dignitatis apicem assumpti, omnium Christianorum merita intimæ considerationis oculo discernere debemus." Hard. vii. 381. Other examples occur ib. 1321, 1338, 1353. And in similar figure St. Bernard (De Consid. ii. 6) says to Pope Eugenius, "Qui speculator super omnia constitueris."—So was the Pope's the *oculus pastoralis* κατ' εφοχην.

¹ The 1st from about A.D. 800 to 1080; the 2nd from 1080 to 1300; the 3rd from 1300 to 1517; the 4th from 1517 to 1793. ² See my Vol. ii. p. 355.

³ Especially in the Chapter iii. Part iii. on Leo X, with regard to the Papal pride and blasphemies; and in those on Apoc. ix. 20, and on the Witnesses, Vol. ii. pp. 20, 28, 375, &c, with regard to the Papal oppression of the saints, and Papal cruelties.

the imperial removal, p. 428; and *Daubus*, p. 578, contrasts the very different case of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs, oppressed by the residence of the Emperor in the same city: on which see my Note ², p. 127. Compare too De Pradt's account of Napoleon's intention of transferring the Pope to Paris; so to have him under his eye, and in subjection. Quat. Concordats, Vol. ii. p. 257.

1. And, first, of the Beast's *pride* and *blasphemies*. "There was given unto him a mouth speaking great things¹ and blasphemies."—The fulfilment of this, in all the plenitude of the symbol, was involved, we may truly say, in the Papal assumed character as *Christ's Vicar*, i. e. as Antichrist.² For assuming, as the Pope falsely did, to be *Christ's Vicar* on earth, let me ask, how could he but utter great things and blasphemies?—For example, could he who represented the Judge of all be amenable to man's judgment? We have already seen the Pope's early and solemn deprecation of the idea:³ and, as time went on, still the same was asserted by his great mouth. He might judge all, but could be judged by none: might make laws, but was above laws.⁴ (Did

¹ Apoc. xiii. 2. describes this as a *lion's* mouth. And it is observable that the very symbol of a *lion's* mouth, *speaking great things*, is ascribed eulogistically by Pope Nicolas I. to Pope Leo the Great, the earliest founder of the Popedom:—"Nisi imitator scilicet illius *Leonis* de quo scriptum est, *Vicit Leo de tribu Juda, divinitus excitatus, os aperiens, totum orbem et ipsos quoque Augustos conculceret, et ad pietatem commoveret, religio Catholica penitus corruisset.*" The extract is given by Daubuz, p. 580.—And so *Hincmar* of the same Leo, Harduin v. 402; "Magnus Leo maximo rugitu de urbe Romæ, orbis scilicet capite, per totum mundum intonat." See too my Vol. ii. p. 57.

I conceive that Daniel's 4th Beast's "mouth *speaking great things*" (Dan. vii. 8) was symbolized in the vision as a *great* mouth, like the *great lion-like* mouth of the Apocalyptic Beast. In similar figure wrote Sophocles, Antig. 127, Ζεὺς γὰρ μεγαλήης γλώσσης κομῶς ὑπερχθαίρει. And Shakespear, King John;

"Here's a *large* mouth indeed,
That spits forth death and mountains, rocks, and seas."

Of course, however, the symbol of the *lion's* mouth, while signifying this, must also be considered to have had reference to the strength of the Papal antitype to tear the saints; just as the *bear's* feet represented his power to oppress them. *Ἄσσοι χάσμι' ὀσσοῶν*, says Anacreon; and Ovid, *Armatis unguibus uras*.

² I beg to refer the reader generally, on the subject of this Section, to Gieseler's Eccles. Hist. Period iii § 61.

³ In the Roman Council of A.D. 503, under Pope Symmachus. See p. 133.

⁴ In the time of Charlemagne, A.D. 799, a Roman Council enacted precisely the same part as that convened by Theodoric. The Pope having been accused, the Council declined to hear his accusers; declaring that he who was judge of all men was above being judged by any other than himself: and on his coming in, and asserting his innocence, he was considered as acquitted. Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, p. 86, notes this from Anastasius.—So again Urban ii; (Hard. vi. ii. 1650:)" *Papæ soli fas est de omni ecclesiâ judicandi: ipse autem nullius subjacet judicio.*"—Afterwards in the *Canon Law* it was said; "*Pontificem constat à Principe Constantino Deum appellatum; nec posse Deum ab hominibus judicari manifestum est:*" an argument urged in nearly these words by Pope Nicolas I. to the Emperor Michael, A.D. 860. Gratian Decret. Dist. 96, apud Daubuz 581.

Daubuz calls the Canon Law and Decretals the Pope's Oracle, p. 587, 595. Nor without reason. See Mosheim xii. 2. 1. 6, and Gieseler ib. § 60, on the fact of their true expression of the Papal mind: especially as illustrating the Pope's fit claim to the appellative *ἄσσοις*, the extract from Turrecremata, ib. 262.

the remembrance never cross his mind, we may think, of the *ανομος* or *lawless one*, of St. Paul's prophecy?—Again, could earthly kings be esteemed equal by him? Was it not Christ's own appointment that he should be head over all, in his place, on earth;² and the power of the keys given him, from which not kings even might plead exemption?³ His exaltation and superiority in this character above all royal Majesty he declared to be that of the sun above the moon;⁴ and that it was fit that all Princes should kiss his feet. Their kingdoms in fact were but held from him.⁵ It was his to make kings and unmake, to assign kingdoms, and take them away.⁶ He

¹ See my p. 86 *suprà*.

² So in the Roman Council held A. D. 877 (Hard. vi. 184); "Papam ipse Christus omnium nostrum, ad vicem suam, voluit esse caput in terris."

³ So Pope Gregory VII. "I cannot find," he said, on excommunicating the Emperor, "that when the Lord confided to Peter the keys of heaven and hell, he made any exception in favour of kings."

⁴ So Innocent III.—It was not fit, he also said, that any man should be invested with authority who did not serve and obey the Holy See; and that he would not endure the least contempt of himself, or of God, whose place he held on earth. Wadd, p. 344.—The imperial title *Augustus* (*αεβασος*) given by the Pope to Charlemagne and his successors, and the nearly equivalent title of *His Majesty*, given to others of the Western Kings, made the fulfilment of St. Paul's prophecy in this Papal super-regal self-exaltation more literally striking. See p. 82 *suprà*.

⁵ Ducange on the word *Imperator*, quotes from Glaber Rodolphus, A. D. 900, the Pope's "optimum decretum" following; "Ne quisquam auctoriter Romani Imperii sceptrum gestare Princeps appetat, seu Imperator dici aut esse valeat, nisi quem *Papa sedis Romanæ* morum probitate aptum elegerit Reipublicæ, eique commiserit insigne Imperiale."

It has been said that Pope Constantine A. D. 708 was the first Pope that claimed the right of confirming temporal princes in their kingdoms. And perhaps correctly.

⁶ Baronius relates (Foulis, Roman Treasons, p. 115,) that on St. Medard's building a church at Soissons, Gregory I, in giving it certain privileges, declared in the Deed that *the King should be degraded or deposed* who violated them; and so furnished an early precedent to succeeding Popes. But the deed is suspected. We have, however, an authentic account of the deposition of the race of Clovis by Pope Zachary in the 8th century: and afterwards came Gregory VII's disposal of the German empire as a fief of St. Peter; deposing Henry, and conferring the crown on Rodolphus. The crown then sent the latter had this verse inscribed on it;

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

He farther declared France tributary to Rome, England a fief of Rome and tributary; as also Spain, Saxony, &c, and Naples, an admitted fief. See Waddington, ch. xvi. p. 283.—The later subjection of King John of England by Innocent III, and, after his deposition, the redonation to him of the kingdom as a Papal fief, moreover, in the case of Philip and Otho, his disposal of the German Empire, (Wadd. 342) are well known.—Daubuz, p. 585, states that Pope Æneas Sylvius proposed even to the *Turkish Sultan* to give him a legal title to the Greek

kicked the imperial crown, on one occasion of the coronation of an emperor, in token of it.¹ On another, "Is not the King of England my bondslave?" was the voice from the great mouth:² and yet again; "He hath set me as prince over all nations, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to build."³—The promises of the latter day made to Christ, he cited as made to *him*; (so changing times and laws, according to the prophecy:⁴) and proclaimed that the glory of the predicted consummation consisted but in this, that all kings throughout the whole world should then at length bow down to *him*, all nations do *him* service.⁵

Then as Christ's appointed representative and impersonator, did not each *ecclesiastical* and *spiritual* prerogative, office, and title of the Lord Christ attach to him?⁶ If Christ *the good shepherd* over his sheep-fold, was not he, the Pope, the same?⁷ If Christ *the door* of the sheep, was not *he* the door?⁸ If Christ *the truth*, was not *he* the depository, source, and oracular expounder of truth; even as one equally *independent, authoritative, and infallible*?⁹ If Christ the *Holy One*, was not he

empire, if he would assist him. Again there were the grants of the Indies to Spain and Portugal, mentioned in my Vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

Even in our own days, and in the time of his deep temporary humiliation under Napoleon, the same authority was asserted. "Qu'ils apprennent," said Pius VII, in his excommunication of Napoleon, June 10, 1809, "qu'ils sont soumis par la loi de Jésus Christ à notre trône, et à notre commandement." Abbé de Pradt, Quatre Concordats.

¹ This was Pope Celestin III. A. D. 1191, on occasion of the coronation of Henry VI. The fact is noted by Baronius ad Ann. 1191: "But our Lord the Pope sate in the pontifical chair, holding the imperial crown between his feet, and the Emperor bending his head received the crown, and the Empress in the same manner, from the feet of our Lord the Pope. But our Lord the Pope instantly struck with his foot the Emperor's crown, and cast it upon the ground; signifying that he had the power of deposing him from the Empire, if he were undeserving of it. The Cardinals however lifted up the crown, and placed it on the Emperor's head."—The proceeding is noticed also by Martene De Rit. ii. 204, Jortin, Ecc. Hist. iii. 245, and Puffendorf apud Clarke on the Dragon, p. 316.

² This was Innocent IV. Le Bas' Wicliff, p. 67.

³ The words of Pope Boniface VIII. against Philip King of France; and of Pius IV. in his solemn excommunication of our Queen Elizabeth.

⁴ Dan. vii. 25. Mede's explanation.

⁵ See Vol. II. pp. 72, 81.

⁶ Cardinal Bellarmine (writing under Papal sanction) expressly affirms that every title which is in Scripture given to Christ, appertains also to the Pope; and, to guard against misapprehension, he gives a copious enumeration of them.

⁷ So in Julius's Bull of Indiction of the 5th Lateran Council; "Ego Pastor bonus."

⁸ Southey, Book of the Church, p. 82.

⁹ *Independent* even of sacred Scripture, and against it. So in the Canon Law;

the same; and did not the title distinctively and alone belong to him of *His Holiness*? If Christ the *husband of the Church*, was not *he* her husband? With the *marriage ring* in the ceremonial of his inauguration he signified it;² with his great voice in the Canon law and the Papal bulls he proclaimed it to the world.³ As

"Papa contra Apostolum dispensat, et contra Canones Apostolorum: item contra Vetus Testamentum." "Papa potest contra Apostolum dispensare." "Dispensat in evangelio interpretando ipsum."—The Holy Scriptures even, it was said, derived their authority from him. "Si Vetus Novumque Testamentum sunt recipienda, non quoddam Codicis Canonum ex toto habeantur annexa, sed quoddam de his recipiendis Sancti Papæ Innocentii prolata videatur esse sententia." The extracts are given by Daubuz, p. 582.—See too my Vol. II. p. 64, on his authorizing and settling the Scripture Canon. I need hardly mention again his retention of the Apocryphal Books in it, agreeably with the original arrangement of Pope Gelasius.—The Papal claims to *infallibility*, begun by Pope Gelasius, says Jortin, are too notorious to need the adduction of evidence. The *ultra-montane* Romanists indeed say that the *infallibility* of the Romish Church resides in the Pope and Council jointly; but the *Cis-Alpine* and *Italian* divines, including of course the Popes themselves, that it resides in the *Pope* personally.

It is observable that *Gregory Nyssen*, on account of Eunomius adulterating Scripture, and perverting it to his purpose, calls him *Antichrist*; thus closing his xith Oration contra Eunomium; 'Ο γὰρ τῶν τῆς Χρῆστὸς λόγων κυριώτερος τὰς ἰδίας φωνὰς ἀποδείξει φιλονεικῶν, τὶ ἀλλο κυριώως, καὶ ἔχει Ἀντιχρῆστὸς λεγόμενος; (Suicer on Antichrist.) *Jerom* added; "Mutabit, et augere tentabit (sc. *Antichristus*,) sacramenta ecclesiæ." And, accordantly therewith, addition to the sacraments was also made, and on the same authority, by the Popes.

¹ In the degeneracy of the Roman empire during the third and fourth centuries the *language* suffered: and, instead of the former simplicity and directness of *personal* address, abstract qualities, suitable as was supposed to the office or station filled by an individual, were addressed,—*Your Majesty, Your Grace, &c.*; a strange custom which has come down to the present times. In the *ecclesiastical* phraseology the same change naturally occurred as in that of the *state*. *Christians* having been called generally by the apostle a *holy people*, and *Christian ministers* and *bishops* being supposed to be such more especially, the titles of *Your Grace, Your Holiness* (Ἡ δόξα σου), and other such appellations were given to the Bishop. (See Eusebius, 406, 452; Hard. i. 759; Augustin, viii. p. 1, &c.) But when the Popes established their power, just as they abstracted from the general body of the bishops and clergy the *power of the keys, &c.*, and concentrated it in themselves, so they appropriated to themselves distinctively the title of *Your Holiness*, as the proper *Papal* title. See Note ⁵, p. 138 *supra*.

² It was an early custom that on the consecration of a Bishop, the Metropolitan, who by right performed the ceremony, should place in the hands of the prelate a *ring*, as well as a *crozier*; the former in symbol of his spiritual connexion with the Church he was to govern, as the latter of his pastoral duties. "*Annulus*," said the 2nd Lateran Council, "in quibus ad ipsos pertinens (Qu. *pertinentis*?) *ecclesiæ desponsatio* exprimitur." Hard. vi. ii. 1215. It was the attempt, in fact, of the *German Emperors* to present these emblems of spiritual authority, that caused the celebrated quarrel between Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry, and the wars of the *investiture*. See Waddington, ch. xvi. p. 279. In the case of the Pope's consecration the *ring* is given in token of his marriage to the *Church Universal*. So *Martene de Rit.* ii. 89; quoted by me Vol. ii. p. 51, Note ².

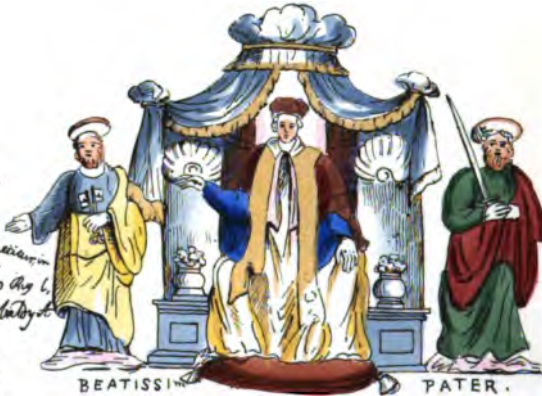
³ The Canon Law frequently calls the Pope the *Husband of the Church*; which, says Daubuz, p. 582, Bellarmine explains by saying *etiam Christo secluso*, "even to the exclusion of Christ."—The appellation is frequent. I may refer to my

PAPAL INDULGENCE OF THE XVIITH CENTURY.

SANCTISSIMO
DNO NRO PAPA
CLEMENTI XII

*Indulgentia
hanc donavit, ut recitari
forma consueta
Pro d. No et R. No Ang. l.
P. A. dea Ravennate*

*Indulgentia
plenaria Pro
vultu d. No Hickman
Anglo*



BEATISSIMO PATER.

*Walter Hickman Anglus Rome praesens humillime supplicat
Sanctitati vestrae ut benigna concedere dignetur Indulgentiam plenariam
in articulo mortis sibi suisq; consanguinis et affinis usq; ad Stadium Roman.
incluere nec non viginti quinque aliorum personarum arbitrio Dionvardis Doms Jo
tunc vere poenitens et confessi ac sacra communione refecti fuerint vel
quatenus id facere neg-riverint Saltem Conmilla Roman. fassu ore, sin ming
Cofde Devote invocaverint quam gratiam Deus d.*

From the original in Trinity College Library Cambridge.

to the power of the keys of Christ's church and kingdom given him, it extended into the invisible world. He opened with them, and who might shut; shut and who might open? With his indulgences, as the Lamb of God, taking away the sins of the world,¹ he assured the faithful of forgiveness and of Heaven;² yea, by their power evoked suffering souls out of purgatory,³ thereby boasting to surpass the Saviour himself in his range of mercy:⁴ with his anathemas, like his prototype Jupiter with his thunderbolts,⁵ doomed rebels to Hell.⁶ The very Spirits of heaven that fell were not subject to him: so that he might bid the Angels to charge themselves with the souls of the Jubilean pilgrims that died in obeying his invitation to Rome.⁷ Nay it was his prerogative to add to the celestial choir. By his canonizing edicts he distinctively elevated whom he pleased of the dead into Saints of angelic rank and privilege; thenceforward to form part of heaven's own hierarchy, and to be made objects to living men of adoration and worship.⁸

sketch of the orations in the fifth Lateran Council, given Vol. II. p. 79, &c. for a specimen: where the Pope, being present, received it *as but his due*.

¹ See the address of the Sicilian ambassadors noted by me p. 157 *infra*: language accepted by the Pope, like all the rest, as but his due.

² See in my Vol. ii. p. 66, the glaring exemplification of this, as given by the Papal agent Tetzal, before the Reformation; and the facsimile of one, here engraved, that was issued after the Reformation.—And compare Tertullian's indignation at the assumption of any such power by the Roman or any other Pontiff; "Audio enim edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex Maximus, quod est Episcopus Episcoporum, edicit, Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentiæ functis dimitto. O edictum! Absit à sponsâ Christi tale præconium!" De Pudicit. c. 1. But this, says Shepherd, may have had reference only to the relaxation of ecclesiastical censures. (Com. Prayer, ii. 485.)

³ See again Vol. ii. p. 67.—Compare the reported act by Gregory I. Note ³, p. 139.

⁴ So it was stated in Theses that were publicly discussed in the time of Tetzal and Leo X.

⁵ At Rome the statue of *Jupiter* was changed into that of *Peter* by the substitution of two keys for the thunderbolt originally in his hand. So Daubuz, p. 569, and Sir W. Cockburn's *St. Bartholomew*, p. 176. See too the assimilation in *Castalio's* verse quoted in my Vol. ii. p. 59.

⁶ "Vinclis anathematis obligatus in gehennâ cum diabolis deputabitur." So Pope Adrian II. *Ducange* on *Excommunicatio*.

⁷ *Giannona's* Naples, B. xxii. ch. 8. I have already alluded to this, Vol. ii. p. 18.

⁸ The first canonization by Popes was that of *Udalric* by Pope John XV. A.D. 993. *Mosh.* ix. 2, 3, 4; x. 2, 3, 4. "Romanus Pontifex," said Pope Alexander VI. A.D. 1494, on his canonization of Archbishop *Anselm*, "viros claros et electos . . . inter sanctos debet collocare, et ut sanctos ab omnibus Christi fidelibus coli, venerari, et adorari mandare." *Hard.* ix. 1552. And by a Decree of Pope Urban VIII. dated March 13, 1625, it was provided that the images of departed saints

in one point of view was he not almost *above* God? As it was his by *canonization* to make every other *σέβασμα*, or object of worship, was it not also his, both personally and by delegation to the priesthood under him, in the act of *transubstantiation* to make God? Yes! even thus high above heaven rose up his pride and blasphemy. Nor did he hesitate to give public sign of it. Behold him on *the high altar* in St. Peter's, *there* sitting to be *adored* on his consecration: ¹ i. e. making *God's* own altar, in God's own temple, to be to him, when receiving the world's adoration, but as a footstool.

Thus did the Pope fulfil,—I might almost say more than fulfil,—what was here said of the *great words* and

Deus est, deberi Papæ; quia honor debetur potestati. Sed una est potestas Christi, secundam quod Deus est, et Papæ." Noted by Vitringa, p. 797, from Heidegg. *Myst. Bab.* And again, Innocent in the *Decretals*, apud Gieseler ubi supra; "*Deus quia Dei Vicarius;*" also the Canon Law's statement, before referred to, that Constantine called the Pope *a God*; with the gloss, *Our Lord God the Pope*. So that the famous Gerson's saying to the same effect, about one particular Pope, might have been aptly generalized: "*Les Bulles de Jean XXIII. commencent par un mensonge; Serviteur des Serviteurs de Dieu. Il devoit plutôt s'instituer Seigneur des Seigneurs. Aussi bien se vante t'il d'avoir autant de puissance que Jesus Christ en possède, comme Dieu et homme.*" Guers. *Hist. de l'Egl.* ii. 38.

The frequency of the application of the title of God to the Pope, and of the Pope's receiving it as but his due, makes it surprising that Mr. Maitland should have written as he has on the subject. Besides the above from *his own Canon Law*, I have given various other examples in my account of Leo's inauguration. See my Vol. ii. pp. 64, 79, &c. Others might be easily multiplied. So the inscription of which Daubuz speaks as on the gate of Tolentino, and of which the Pope could scarce be ignorant.

Paulo iii. Opt. Max. in terris Deo :

So sundry other Poems of Leo the Tenth's time, which must have come under his cognizance, given in the Appendix to Roscoe's *Leo X*, Numbers lxxi, lxxii, &c. Of which take as a specimen the two following verses from the last :

Si servire Deo verè est regnare, Leoni

Dum servis regnas : nam Leo in orbe Deus.

The *Sacrum Cereimoniale*, again, (Daub. 581) has the phrase, "*Sedes Dei, id est Sedes Apostolica.*"—I will only add one more exemplification; and that from a writer in whom, more almost than any other, the Papal mind may be regarded as expressed, I mean *Baronius*. When speaking of John, the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, contesting the title of *Universal Bishop* with the Pope, he likens it to the act of the *apostate Angel* rising against the *Most High God*. Wadd. 154. Is not the conscious receiver of stolen goods a partaker in the crime? Such was Herod's guilt; Acts xii. 25. But it was surely small in comparison with that of the Popes.—Compare on the whole subject *Cranmer's* extracts from the Canon Law given by Burnet.

¹ Even the Romish Priest Eustace, cannot help exclaiming against this. In the Appendix to his *Travels in Italy*, after observing that "the Pope receives the homage of the Cardinals seated on the high altar of St. Peter," he adds; "Why should the altar be made *his footstool*? Why the throne of the victim Lamb converted into the footstool of a mortal?"

*blasphemies against God and his name,*¹ spoken by the great mouth of the symbolic Beast of the Apocalypse.

Ουρανῷ εστηριξε καρῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαινει,

Little did the blind bard of Chios think, that there would ever exist on this world's theatre a succession of living men that would so realize his most daring ideal personification.²—Great was the *mystery of godliness*,—**GOD, THE ETERNAL GOD, AS CHRIST, HUMBLING HIMSELF TO BE MAN.** Great, in measure only second to this, was the *counter-mystery of iniquity*, so as it was seen when unfolded in its perfection, **MAN, MORTAL MAN, EXALTING HIMSELF, IN THE ASSUMED CHARACTER OF CHRIST'S VICAR, TO BE AS GOD.**

2. But could he *succeed* and *gain submission* to these his pretensions? Was it possible that such self-exaltation above man, as well as blasphemy and impiety against God, should be deferred to?—In regard of the *Beast* in the prefiguration, the Angel declared that such *would* be the case, both with kings and people. “These kings have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the Beast:”³ and again: “All the world wondered after the Beast;”⁴ and they worshipped the Beast, saying,

¹ Compare John x. 33; “We stone thee for *blasphemy*: because thou, being a man, makest thyself equal with God;”—indeed this was the charge on which the High Priest condemned Christ: Matt. xxvi. 64, 65. Compare also another kind of blasphemy against God, noted Matt. ix. 3; “He *blasphemeth*: for who can *forgive sins*, but God only?” To either charge of blasphemy the Pope must alike plead, Guilty!

² I cannot but cite in illustration, the following from the “*Speculum Vitæ Humanæ*” of Rodericus Sancius, a Romish Bishop and Referendary of Pope Paul II: (the book was published at Rome, of course by authority, in 1468, and many times afterwards:—“*Obtundit omnem humanum intellectum illius sacratissimi status majestas. Si nihil in hoc sæculo excellentius statu simplicium sacerdotum, quid cogitandum est de summo Pontifice qui vices veri Dei gerit in terris? qui non ad humanum tantum principatum, sed ad divinum, non ad principandum solum mortalibus sed angelis, non ad judicandum vivos sed mortuos, non in terrâ solum sed in cœlo.*” The passage is cited by Gesæler, iii. 263.

³ Apoc. xvii. 13.

⁴ The force of the phrase “*wondered after the Beast*,” a phrase used both in xiii. 3, *θαυμασθη ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῆ σπισω τε θηριῷ*, and in xvii. 8, *θαυμαστοὶ αὖ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βλέποντες τὸ θηριον*, is illustrated by Mr. Daubuz from the following line of Euripides, *Medea*, 1141;

Δεσποῦσα δ' ἦν νυν ἂν σὺ σε θαυμάζομεν

and so shown to imply the deference, awe, and subjection yielded by an inferior to a superior.

Who is like unto the Beast? Who is able to make war with him? And power was given him over all kindreds and nations: and all that dwell on the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the Lamb's book of life."—And, in regard of the *Popes* prefigured, the fact of universal submission to them is almost the most notorious, as well as most wonderful fact, in the history of Western Christendom.

Thus as respects the submission of *kings*. Already in the eighth century this was Gregory the Second's boast to the Greek Emperor; "All the kings of the West reverence the Pope as a *God on earth*."¹ Its truth was manifested when his successor Stephen entered France as a suppliant. For Pepin and his Franks received him, we read, as a *Divinity*.² In similar devotedness Pepin, when aspiring to the French crown, applied to the Pope to authorize his usurpation: and, on his sanction, both the nation and western world implicitly acquiesced in the title.³ Even in *Charlemagne's* case, though he grasped in his hands, on investiture with the imperial title, a paramount sovereignty, yet was it an act of deference as towards a superior, to receive the title and empire as the Pope's donation.⁴ And this was soon the coronation oath,—an oath not enjoined only by Popes, but agreed to by the Western Emperors,—that they would "adhere and *be submissive to the Pope and Roman Church*."⁵—Even the Pope's making and unmaking of kings and emperors was from time to time submitted to by them. The Emperor Otho, like Rodolphus before him, both received the Imperial crown as a Papal grant, on the Pope's de-

¹ Ὅν ἄι πασαι βασιλειαυ της δυναεις ὡς Θεον εγκριουσ εχουσ. Gib. ix. 137. This was A.D. 727.

² Sismondi, Fall of Roman Empire, ii. 60.

³ "Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter," says Gibbon generally, "the nation began to resume the practice of seeking on the banks of the Tiber their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate." ix. 151.

⁴ "We have elected him," wrote the Pope in 875, respecting the coronation of Charles the Bald, Emperor, to a Synod at Pavia, "with consent of our Brethren, the Bishops of the Holy Roman Church."—See further my Notes, p. 148.

⁵ Modern Univ. Hist. xiii. 77. Or something nearly tantamount. So Martene de Rit. ii. 208; "Vis sanctissimo in Christo Patri, Domino Romano Pontifici, et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, subjectionem debitam et fidem reverenter exhibere!" Then the king says, with his two hands on the altar, "Volo," &c.

position of the former Emperor; and, when the Pope reclaimed the grant, resigned it.¹ The same did other princes also. The Spanish king voluntarily resigned his kingdom to the Pope, that he might receive it back as a fief from Christ's Vicar:² and John, king of England, in like manner resigned his crown to the Papal Legate, that he might receive it again as a vassal, feudatory to the Roman See.—Even the kingdoms of the new world they asked of, and received as fiefs from him.³ “Power was given him over all kindreds and nations.”—And mark the other signs of their subjection to him. They hold the stirrup, and lead the palfrey that he rides on.⁴ They prostrate themselves, and kiss the foot he offers.⁵ In the Emperor Henry's notable case of disobedience to the Papal will, the terror of an interdict⁶ drives him in abject humiliation to entreat for pardon: and barefoot, and in sackcloth, he waits three wintry days and nights outside the gates of the city, till the Pope relents and grants it.⁷ Nay! princes quit their kingdoms, and go on dangerous, perhaps wicked, crusades at his call. It was on the belief of his being *Lord of their salvation*; and able to give them forgiveness of sins, and the crown of life.

If such the submission of *kings*, what need be said of

¹ Waddington, p. 283.

² Peter of Arragon.—Ranke (i. p. 30) dwells on these extraordinary marks of Papal authority and greatness: and observes, with reference to them, that at the beginning of the xith century Prior Gherrus' prophecy seemed near fulfilment, that the secular monarchies would be broken into tetrarchies, and the church free under the *Great Crowned Priest*.

³ See my Vol. ii. pp. 71, 73.

⁴ *Louis II* was the first king that held the Pope's bridle; *Nicholas I* (A.D. 860) the first Pope that exacted it. In the year 1155 the haughty Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* submitted to the same. Wadd. 678, 312. Even up to the xvth century the same was done; as Ranke observes i. 37.

⁵ Justinian II, A.D. 708, offered to the Pope the homage of *kissing his feet*, and prostration. Encyclop. Metrop. Ch. 53, Art. History. Pepin did the same to Pope Stephen. Then the custom became common.—On a new Pope's coronation the custom is that clothed in Pontificals, and seated on the high altar at St Peter's (as noted by me just before, p. 153 Note ¹) the Cardinals kiss his hands and feet; others (including *kings*) his feet only.—So the Poet Mantuan:

Ense potens gemino, cujus vestigia adorant
Cæsar, et aurato vestiti murice reges.

What a contrast in the only recorded case of the kissing of *Christ's feet*, viz. by *Mary Magdalene*!

⁶ The same terrors of the *Interdict* were felt and yielded to by *Philip of France* and *John of England*.

⁷ Waddington, p. 282.

the *people*? Not in respect of his power in *secular* things, but things much higher, who knows not of the universal reverence, and faith in his blasphemous pretensions, exhibited through the long middle ages by the multitudes of Christendom? Look at the thronging numbers on pilgrimage to Rome, in assurance of the salvation he promises them!¹ Look at their reception of his dogmas in matters of faith, as very *oracles* from Heaven!² Look at their purchasing of his *indulgences*, with often hard-earned money, in belief of so delivering the captive souls of departed relatives, as well as their own souls, from the pains of purgatory and of hell!³ Look at the Sicilian ambassadors prostrated before him, with the cry, "Lamb of God! that takest away the sins of the world!"⁴ It was the famous Gerson's declaration; "The people think of the Pope as the *one God* that has power over all things in earth and heaven."⁵ And this in a measure even after a Reformation, as well as before it.⁶—Truly it was fulfilled that was written, "All the earth wondered after the Beast:" and again: "All shall worship him but they whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life."⁷—It was the last

¹ See my Vol. II. p. 17.

² I have already observed on the Papal Bulls being called *Oracles*. Let me add, as a specimen of the popular language and estimation of his Bulls, the inscription on a triumphal arch raised on occasion of the entry of Sixtus IV. (Daub. 581.)

Oraclo vocis mundi moderaris habenas;
Et merito in terris crederis esse Deus.

³ See the illustration of this in my Vol. II. p. 67.

⁴ So Southey, Book of the Church, p. 190; also Brightman, p. 436, from Paulus Æmylius, Book vii.

⁵ "Æstimant Papam esse unum Deum, qui habet potestatem omnem in cœlo et in terrâ." Quoted by Daubuz, p. 581.

⁶ E. g. Ravaiillac's language as late as A. D. 1600, that "God was the Pope, and the Pope God," (Foulis, p. 39,) illustrates the Pope's continued worship by devoted numbers.

⁷ On the *all* in these passages, at which some have stumbled, in the application of this Prophecy to the Popedom, it may be well to compare the same expression of universality in such passages as Matt. iii. 5; "All Judea went out to him, and were baptized in Jordan;" Acts ix. 35; "All in Lydda turned to the Lord:" and more especially Dan. iii. 7; "At that time *all* the people, nations, and languages, fell down and worshipped the golden image which King Nebuchadnezzar set up." In verse 2 we find that it was only the Princes and Governors of those nations that were present; and who were regarded as *representatives* of the nations, &c. In precisely the same manner all of Western Christendom worshipped and wondered after the Papal Head, through the Councils that repre-

solemn united act, before the Reformation, of the deputies of Christendom assembled in Council, to subscribe to the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, first issued by Boniface VIII: a Bull which declared, "That as there was but one *body* of the Church and Christendom, so there was but one *Head*, viz. CHRIST'S VICAR; and that it was essential to the *salvation* of every human being to be *subject to the Roman Pontiff*." ¹ Nor did the subsequent Council of Trent ever revoke it.

3. Finally, what of *the little class here excepted*? The Apocalyptic prophecy designates them as *God's tabernacle* and *them that dwell in heaven*: they being even during their earthly sojourning temples of God; ² but in heart and spirit dwelling above, as having there their home and citizenship. ³ Of these it says *first* that "the Beast opened his mouth to *blaspheme*, or *speak evil* of them:" *next*, that "it was given him" (doubtless by the Dragon his evoker) to *make war with the saints*, and to *overcome them*."—And how can there be better described, than by these words, the double injuries inflicted by the Popes on Christ's saints, from age to age? *Heretics*, *accursed*, the *children of the devil*, the *spawn of Hell*,—not a blasphemous epithet was there that the Pope and his agents did not heap upon them. Witness the names of infamy, and the devils painted as his fit associates, on Huss's cap at his martyrdom. ⁴ The holy prophecies of Scripture, for all purposes of truth and edification set

sented them.—Indeed this very Apocalyptic phrase was used, and in the same sense, by the Councils themselves. "*All the earth* anathematizes Nestorius;" was the exclamation of that of Ephesus, on *its* anathematizing him. Wadd, 182.

Of course, as all were not Israel that were of Israel, so all were not Papists that were subject to the Papacy. This we must never forget.—Compare Apoc. xviii. 4, "Come out of her my people:" a call which distinctly implies the fact of some of God's people being in the kingdom of the Beast, as Lot in Sodom.

¹ In the 5th Lateran Council. See my Vol. ii. p. 85.—In similar tone the Preacher of the 9th Session exclaimed, "*Corpus ecclesiæ uni capiti, hoc est tibi, subditum conspicitur;*" and the Emperor too prayed him, as "*God's Vicar*," and consequently Head of Christendom, to see "*ne quid respublica Christiana detrimenti capiat*." Hard. ix. 1763, 1845.—A notable confirmation, let me observe, of the explanation I have given, in respect of its making the *Popes*, not the *Frank* or *German Emperors*, to have answered to the last Head of the Beast.

² Compare 1 Cor. iii. 16, &c.

³ Phil. iii. 20; πολιτευμα εν ουρανῳ.

⁴ Wadd. 595.

PAPAL MEDAL
STRUCK ON THE ST BARTHOLOMEWS MASSACRE, A.D. 1572.



From Sir W Cockburn's Work on the Massacre

J. R. Johnson del.

aside, were for *this* purpose resorted to; and the evil symbols and appellations, therein used to prefigure themselves, applied to Christ's saints.¹—Then were there also the bloody *persecutions* and *crusades* (mark the mockery of that term) raised against them by the Pope:—the promise of forgiveness of sins and salvation being his incentive to the Crusaders;² and their answer too often, “We have spared neither age nor sex; we have smitten every one with the edge of the sword.”³ Besides which they were at all times by the Canon Law deprived of civil privileges; and it was declared that to murder such excommunicated heretics was no homicide.⁴—And so it was that they were at last overcome, as here foretold; and the Beast's pæan of triumph raised over their dead bodies, just before the Reformation. Of this, as I have told it before,⁵ it needs not that I now repeat the story. Let me only add that even afterwards the same spirit of blasphemy and cruelty against them, wherever opportunity offered, still continued. Witness the tone of the subsequent Papal Decrees, and of those too of the Pope's vassal kings, against them. Witness the doings of the Inquisition, the murders of Protestant martyrs in Italy, Belgium, Spain, England, and the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day of the French Hugonots. Of the latter I append the Romish commemorative medal.⁶ And I must observe that its still authorized re-casting at *Rome*,⁷ combined with the solemn annual repetition of the cursing of Protestant heretics,⁸ furnishes evidence both to the eye and to the ear of Protestants there sojourning, that the Papal resemblance to the Apocalyptic Beast remains on this, as on other points, unchanged, unchangeable.

¹ e. g. Babylon, the Beast, the Apocalyptic locusts, the crucifers of Christ, the emanation from the pit of the abyss, wolves in sheep's clothing, abomination in the holy place, &c. &c. The orations in the Councils offer ample exemplification.

² As by Innocent III; Hard. vii. 3, 78. The Popes were wont to send a standard on such occasions to the Crusaders; with a Cross painted on it and the Papal Keys. Ducange on *Vexillum S. Petri*. ³ Ranke i. 32.

⁴ “Homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant.” Gratian, Gibb. ix. 141.

⁵ See Ch. iii. Part iii, on the Papal conquest and slaughter of the Witnesses.

⁶ Given by Sir W. Cockburn, as the Frontispiece to his work on the subject.

⁷ For it is a re-casting *without protest*.

⁸ See my Vol. II. p. 393, Note ²: also my Note ⁴ p. 180 *infra*.

Thus have I shewn from history the application of all that was figured and explained to St. John respecting the Apocalyptic TEN-HORNED BEAST and its LAST RULING HEAD, to the POFEDOM and POPES of Western Europe. And I confidently appeal to the reader whether in regard alike of the *heads* and *horns*, and the characteristics of *superhuman pride*, and *blasphemies*, *supremacy of power unparalleled*, and *oppression of the saints*, (as well as in regard also of St. Paul's, St. John's, and Daniel's other predictions about ANTICHRIST,) there have not been shown a perfect coincidence such as seems to me to be not only convincing,¹ but wonderful.—And then what when we turn to consider *the thing prefigured*? Surely at this we must marvel; even as St. John, when he beheld *the woman*, or *apostate Roman Church*, upheld by the tenhorned monster, marvelled with great astonishment.² To think that the simple *Bishop of Rome* should have ever conceived to found upon his episcopacy

¹ The late learned Bishop Van-Mildert in his speech on the Roman Catholic claims in the House of Lords, thus solemnly express his convictions on the great question considered in this chapter. "I am convinced, and that upon no light or superficial grounds, but after many years of studious consideration and enquiry, that the religion of *Popery* is distinctly and awfully pointed out in Scripture, as the *one great apostacy* from the truth, the declared object of the divine displeasure." See the Memoir prefixed to his Sermons and Charges, p. 103.

I cannot but think that one main cause of the want of general conviction on this most important point, has been the fact of most English modern expositors interpreting the Apocalyptic Beast to mean the *Western secular Empire and Emperors*. Could it be said that the world worshipped the *secular Emperors of the West*, so as the Apocalyptic Beast was to be worshipped? Fact says plainly the contrary. To this I alluded at p. 92, on the opening of the subject; and again at p. 96 showed the inconsistency of such an interpretation with the prophecy of the *local seat* of the Beast being Rome's seven hills. To which let me here add, further, that the line of the Western Emperors is not *continuous* even from Charlemagne. E. g. Gibbon (ix. 190) notes a term of *seventy-four years*, between the abdication of Charles the First and establishment of Otho, as a period of vacancy of the Empire: and he also adds that the Italians (as *Muratori* for example, and so too *Martene de Rit.* ii. 213,) only reckon those to have been Emperors who have been crowned at Rome; i. e. only a few comparatively.

² Apoc. xvii. 3. Of this vision of the *Roman Church*, "*Mother and Mistress of all Churches*," more in a subsequent Part of my Book, which takes directly into consideration that later vision. Let me however just suggest in passing two illustrations of the symbol of the Antichristian monster carrying that apostate Church, which he calls his bride: the *first directly*, from the Pagan fable of Jupiter in the shape of a Bull carrying Europa, and the Hindoo fable of the Elephant-god carrying his wife;—the *other* in the *way of contrast*, from what is said in Scripture of God carrying and supporting the true Church, *his Bride*. Deut. xxxii. 11; Isa. lxii. 9, &c.

the extraordinary character of CHRIST'S VICAR on earth, and under it so to add to his episcopal *mitre* the *regno*, or rather *triregno* crown, of *super-imperial*, might I not say of *divine* majesty,¹—and that when he exhibited himself in this character of ANTI-CHRIST, arrayed in the pontificals of his See, (pontificals just such as are also Apocalyptically prefigured,² of purple and scarlet and precious stones, the common sense as well as moral sense, of Christendom should have so prostrated itself, as for full 1200 years and more, to allow of, yea, and to adore the monster,—the phænomenon must surely seem so wonderful as to be accountable for in no other way, than from the influence of the Dragon, the old Serpent, to blind the minds of men. The great *earthly means* and *help* to his assumption of the claim, and success, form the subject of the two next Chapters. But the real *author* of his success is expressly declared to have been the *Dragon* or *Devil*: who, after long reigning in the Paganism of the old Roman Empire, “gave him his seat, and power, and great authority,”

CHAPTER VI.

THE TWO-HORNED LAMB-LIKE BEAST.

“And I beheld another wild Beast coming up out of the earth:³ and he had two horns like a lamb; and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first wild Beast, before him. And he causeth the earth, and them which dwell therein, to worship the first wild Beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he doeth great signs; and he maketh fire to come down from heaven on the earth, in the sight of men: and

¹ The *triregno*, or *triple crown*, was worn in sign of the highest *super-imperial* power attaching to the See of Rome. See Ducange on *Regnum*: also my Vol. ii. p. 51, Note ⁴, and Note ², p. 143 of this Volume.

² Apoc. xvii. 3. See also Vol. ii. p. 78.

³ Or *land*; *εκ της γης*.

deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in sight of (*ερωσιον*) the Beast."—Apoc. xiii. 11—14.

This *second Wild Beast* seems to have been on a smaller scale than the former; having a covering skin and horns,¹ apparently, like a lamb. It represented some class, power, or body, which was not the *principal* one on the theatre of action, but, in a manner, subordinate to that which the former Beast represented: exercising indeed all the authority of the first Beast, but exercising the same *before him*; that is (and I beg particular attention to the point) as *overseen by*, and *responsible to*, the former:² moreover exercising it to this intent and result, viz. the causing all that were on the earth to *worship the first Beast*.³—As to the *class* or *body* represented by the symbol, our Lord's well-known figurative description of *false teachers*, "Beware of them which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves,"⁴ almost precludes the possibility of error in interpreting it to signify a body of *Anti-christian Clergy*, acting in support of the *Antichrist* just before symbolized and described: (indeed the appellation *False Prophet* is elsewhere expressly given to this second Beast:⁵—in other words as the *PAPAL CLERGY*,

¹ It is hardly needful to remind the reader that the *horns* are usually taken off with the skins of horned animals: so that he who assumed the *covering skin* would appear with the *horns*.

² As this point is one of importance, I shall cite a few examples by way of proof and illustration. In all these the Septuagint and Greek Testament have the word *ερωσιον*, just as here; have reference, as here, to a *superior*; and describe not mere particular acts, but general conduct, as passing before him referred to. Gen. xvii. 1; "Walk *before me*, and be thou perfect:" Prov. v. 21; "The ways of men are *before the eyes of the Lord*, and he pondereth all his goings:" 1 Kings xi. 6; "Solomon did evil *in the sight of the Lord*:" 1 Kings xv. 11; "Asa did what was right *in the eyes of the Lord*:" Luke i. 6; "They were both righteous *before God*:" Luke xv. 18; "I have sinned *before thee*:" Luke xvi. 15; "It is an abomination *in the sight of God*:" 2 Tim. iv. 1; "I charge thee *before God*, who shall judge the quick and dead," &c., &c.

The point of this important expression has been unnoticed by many modern Commentators, though remarked on by Pareus, Mede, and Vitringa. The last observes: "Sensus est, Bestiam hanc prioris Bestiæ esse *administratram*; et in potestate ejus administrandâ eum in modum se gerere, ut se priori Bestiæ, *tantumquam diligentis suæ inspectori*, hoc ipso maxime commendaret." p. 827.

³ So Irenæus calls it the *δρεπασωσιτης* of the first Beast.

⁴ Matt. vii. 15.

⁵ See p. 65 *suprà*.

united under the Pope in his ecclesiastical character of the *Western Patriarch*; and acting so as to support him in his different and far loftier character of CHRIST'S VICAR on earth, or ANTICHRIST.

I. In comparing together the type and antitype, it seems to me that the existence of the CLERGY I speak of as *a distinct class*,—its being an *apostatized Clergy*,—and, (inclusive of some Hierarchy of a two-fold character ruling it,) a class subordinated *as one body*, from soon after the *subsidence of the Gothic flood*, to the PAPAL ANTICHRIST,—I say these seem to me the *three* points in which I ought *first* to show its correspondence with the symbol exhibited to St. John, of the TWO-HORNED LAMB-LIKE BEAST FROM THE EARTH.

And I think it may best prepare us for intelligently considering, under a *second* Head, the *particular acts* ascribed to this lamb-like Beast, to trace these *preliminary* points somewhat fully.

1. As to the *distinction of class* between the *Clergy* and *Laity*, it has existed from the first in the Christian Church. It followed necessarily from the authoritative injunctions of our Lord and of St. Paul, assigning the duty of teaching to the apostles and their successors, and to those whom they taught that of maintaining them :¹ and from its peculiarity and importance has called forth the observation of philosophers and historians.² And who but must have thought at times of the suitability and almost necessity of such an arrangement,

¹ Luke x. 7; "In the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give; for the labourer is worthy of his hire:" a declaration repeated by St. Paul, in reference to the support of Christian Presbyters, 1 Tim. v. 18. So too 1 Cor. ix. 13, "They that minister at the altar are partakers of the altar, &c.:"—On the *early date* of the separation see Waddington, p. 22, with authorities from Bingham.

² So Gibbon ii. 340, &c.; who speaks of it as "the memorable distinction of the *laity* and the *clergy*, unknown to the Greeks and Romans." Again *Ranke*, at the commencement of his masterly History of the Popes, i. 10, thus expresses himself. "In Christianity a peculiar class or profession was set apart for the Christian ministry. Gradually the clergy separated from the laity. In the separation of Church from State consists the greatest, most pervading, and most influential peculiarity of Christian times." So also Hallam, and others.

in a religion which was no mere thing of profession, form, and ceremony,—no mere political engine to control the multitude: ¹ but that to which a reality of object habitually attached as urgent and difficult as glorious; viz. of moulding afresh the corrupt hearts of men in a corrupt world, and bringing every thought into obedience to the captivity of Christ. For what so calculated to promote the object as the influence of a Christian clergy acting in the spirit of their instructions; and both in season and out of season, both by word and example, inculcating the pure heart-renewing truths of the Gospel, and watching and warning the flock against corruption in doctrine or in life? In truth the early history of the Church testifies to the effect.

2. But what if the sacred class should itself become corrupt and apostate? the salt itself lose its savour? Then the same power that was instituted for good, would of course in the same proportion operate to evil.—Now the warning-voice both of Christ and his Apostles gave intimation that such would at no distant period be the case.² And in my former sketches of the history of the Christian Church in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, I traced step by step the increasingly awful fulfilment of their prophecies;³ until then at length, both with *clergy* and *laity*,—the clergy leading, the laity following,—the apostacy was shewn to have advanced to such a height, as almost to invite an ANTICHRIST to crown and head it. Indeed Pope Gregory himself, only a little before the time here prefigured, represented the clergy as *an army prepared for the Antichrist*;⁴

¹ Such as was the Pagan religion of Rome, &c. Gib. i. 46.

² Compare Matt. vii. 15, xxiv. 24, Acts xx. 29, 2 Peter ii. 1, &c.

³ See Vol. i. pp. 238, 306, 380, &c.

⁴ Lib. iv. Ep. 38; "Rex superbiæ propè est; et (quod dici nefas est) sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus." I have before quoted this from Daubuz (Vol. i. p. 378, Note ¹) and mentioned that I read with Daubuz *exercitus*, and not *exitus*. So too Pareus, p. 306; who in proof that *exercitus*, and not *exitus*, is the true reading, cites Gregory's own words following the former clauses; "Because the Clergy war and strive for *mastery and advancement*, who were appointed to go before others in *humility*:"—which, adds Pareus, "cannot be referred to the end of priests, but to their *armies and proud war*."—Gregory's representation was

and the bishops as like *wolves in sheep's clothing*:¹ thus almost applying to them the actual Apocalyptic symbol under consideration. There was only this difference, that whereas he depicted them in the *plural*, as a multitude *uncombined* though corrupt, and as only *prepared for* a yet future Antichrist, our prophecy sums them up in its symbol as *one combined body*, and as *all organized and subordinated under the now at length manifested Antichrist*.—To show how this was effected is our *next* and last point under this Head. And in order to a clearer understanding of it, it needs that we carry back our retrospective view of the ecclesiastical relations of hierarchy and clergy nearly to its source.

3. It is to be understood, then, that until near the close of the second century, the churches of which the Christian community consisted (Churches independent though federatively united) were under the government each one of its proper Bishop;² and that of these Bishops none were possessed of superior rank or authority over the others. About this period, however, Provincial Councils began to be held half-yearly,³ with a view to more united action on questions of doctrine, discipline, and practice;—Councils consisting chiefly of the Bishops of the Province, in the character of representatives of their respective Churches; and, forasmuch as a President was needed for the more orderly conduct of their proceedings, the Bishop of the *Metropolis*, or

in a measure hypothetical; having reference to their allowing arrogance like that of the Bishop of Constantinople in affecting the title of Universal Bishop. But the hypothesis was soon after realized in regard to the Western Clergy; when supporting the similar arrogance of the Western Patriarch.

¹ This was in a letter to the Emperor, quoted by Dean Waddington, p. 155, with reference to the same subject of the assumption of the title of *universal Bishop* by the Patriarch of Constantinople: "Beneath the meanest garment we conceal a haughty heart: under the aspect of *sheep* we nourish the fangs of the *scolf*." On the justice of this, as a general description of the Clergy and Hierarchy of the times, see Mosheim vii. 2. 2. 3.

² The Bishop was then elected by the members of the Church: the people having a voice in the election, as well as the presbyters and deacons. So Bingham iv. 2. 2. 3, 4, &c. Also Waddington, p. 23.

³ So the Apostolic Canon 36. Hard. i. 18. On these Councils, more in the next Chapter.

chief city of the province, was usually elected to the Presidency.¹ So began the distinction of *Metropolitan Bishops*.—The distinction was thus at first one of merely occasional and temporary authority: but it was soon converted by the Metropolitan into one of permanent and general presidency and superintendence over all the Bishops and Churches of the Province.² “Let nothing be done by the Bishops without the cognizance of their *Metropolitan*,”³ was one of the so-called *Apostolic Canons*, which represent to us the government and discipline of the Churches of Eastern Christendom in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁴—Moreover to the Bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, as the Capitals respectively of Italy, Syria, and Egypt,—to the first more especially,—there was accorded, a certain pre-eminence over other Metropolitans, not indeed of *authority*,⁵ but of rank and privilege.

On the establishment of Christianity, and union of Church and State in the Roman Empire, both the authority of the Metropolitans, and the precedence also over all others of the three Prelates or *Patriarchs* above mentioned, was solemnly recognized, confirmed, and indeed enlarged;⁶—besides that, on the erection of Con-

¹ Not these always, says Mosheim ; iii. 2. 2. 1.

² See on this subject Mosheim *ibid.* and Waddington's Church History, pp. 24, 160.

³ Canon 33 or 35, according to the different versions. Hard. i. 18, 36.

⁴ Mosheim i. 2. 2. 19.

⁵ Cyprian of Carthage was at once the strongest asserter of the pre-eminence of the Roman See in rank, and also of the independence of other Sees from its authority. Mosheim, iii. 2. 2. 2.—“Neque enim quisquam nostrum,” he wrote, “Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit ; aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adegit.” See Bishop Kaye's Tertullian, p. 239. In the same spirit was the Canon 39 of a Council of the African Church as late as A. D. 420 : “Ut primæ sedis Episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis Episcopus.” Hard. i. 883.

⁶ The 6th Canon of the *Nicene Council*, under the Emperor Constantine's presidency, ordained as follows. I transcribe it as both the Index of what preceded, and germ in a considerable measure of what followed. Τα αρχαια εθη κρατειτω, τα εν Αιγυπτω και Λιβυαις και Πενταπολει' ωστε τον εν Αλεξανδρεια επισκοπον παντων χειρι την εξουσιαν, επειδη και τω εν Ρωμη επισκοπω τουτο συνηδες εινω' ομοιως δε και κατα την Αντιοχειαν, και εν ταις αλλαις επαρχιαις, τα πρεσβεια σωζεσθαι ταις εκκλησιαις. Καθολου δε προηηλον εκεινο οτι ει τις χωρις γνωμης τω Μητροπολιτω γεροιστο επισκοπος, τον τριστον η Συνοδος η μεγαλη υρισε μη δειν ειναι επισκοπον. Hard. i. 432. In the Council of *Antioch* similarly, held A. D. 341,

stantinople into the Metropolis of the East, similar privileges were accorded to the Constantinopolitan Bishop as a fourth Patriarch; ¹ to whose number, soon after, the Bishop of Jerusalem was added as a fifth.² Of the four Eastern Patriarchs, however, it is not my province to speak at present: nor need I enlarge to show, with regard to them, how both their own number,³ the supremacy of their one common Emperor,⁴ and then in a little while the Saracen invasion, and establishment of a Mahometan Empire over Syria and Egypt, operated as effectual checks (notwithstanding the great privileges adjudged them, and more especially to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch⁵) against their unlimited *ecclesiastical*, as well as *secular*, aggrandizement.—But in regard of the great *Western Patriarch*, while no such obstacles intervened to obstruct his advances to direct and paramount supremacy over the Western Clergy, there were *ecclesiastical laws* passed by the Roman Emperors, both before and during the dissolution of the Empire of the West,⁶ which tended greatly to promote and confirm it:

the 9th and 19th Canons ordained that the Bishops of each province should have such respect to their Metropolitan, as to do nothing, and especially not to consecrate new Bishops, without his cognizance and sanction. *Ib.* 597, 601. And so too in the Council of Laodicea, held A.D. 372, Canon 12. *Hard.* i. 784. To the same effect is Pope Hilary's Decretal to the Bishop of Tarragona, A.D. 461. *Hard.* ii. 789.—See too Mosheim iv. 2. 2. 3.

The word *εξουσία* will be observed in the Nicene Canon: the Council already giving something more than precedence of rank, though undefinedly.

¹ In the 2nd Canon of the Council of Constantinople, held A.D. 381, the second rank, next after the Roman See, was adjudged to that of Constantinople. *Hard.* i. 810.

² *Viz.* by the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451; jurisdiction being adjudged him over Palestine. *Mosh.* v. 2. 2. 2.

³ I mean as interfering with one another; and the stronger encroaching on the weaker. So, for example, when Theophilus of Alexandria in the year 404 presided in a Council against Chrysostom of Constantinople, and deposed him. *Milner*, 294. But it was generally the Patriarch of Constantinople that was the strongest, and the oppressor. Then the weaker appealed often to Rome. *Mosheim*, v. 2. 2. 6.

⁴ See this point illustrated in my preceding Chapter, p. 127, Note ².

⁵ See Mosheim v. 2. 2. 3—5. In the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 431, the 28th Canon directed that the ordination of the *Metropolitans of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia*, should be derived only from the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, as their supreme ecclesiastical Head; that of the *Provincial Bishops* flowing from these Metropolitans. *Hard.* ii. 611.

⁶ I do not allude to the Canon of the Council of Sardica (the modern *Sophia*) as operating to this end;—a Synod held A.D. 347, and which assigned to Bishops, if condemned in a cause, the right of appeal "*sanctissimo fratri et Archiepiscopo*

and this (as it proved) not for the time only, but permanently.

Thus there was first the Law of *Gratian* and *Valentinian* of the year 378, addressed to the Prætorian Prefects of Gaul and Italy, and so including the whole Western Empire:¹ which ordained that, in case of charge against an *ecclesiastic*, his *Metropolitan* was to be the Judge, with *liberty of appeal* however on the part of the accused to *ROME*; if against the *Metropolitan* himself, then the *Roman Bishop* to be judge, in person or by deputy, without appeal.² So began *Papal jurisdiction* over all the Western Clergy. The Bishops having now to write to the Pope for direction in doubtful cases, he answered by *Decretal Epistles*;—Decretals to which afterwards as much authority was attached by Papal Canonists as to the Holy Scriptures:³ and he at the same time appointed from among the Metropolitans of each kingdom some one to represent him, and see to their publication and enforcement. Ere the middle of the 5th century we find this to have been done in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Western Illyricum*;⁴

nostro Romana ecclesiæ:" because, as Mosheim states (iv. 2. 2. 6), 1st, the genuineness of the Canon is very dubious; 2nd, the authority of so obscure a Synod, even if it passed the Canon, very small.—Yet *Ennodius* refers to it.

¹ The Prætorian Prefect of *Italy** had the government not of Italy only, but of Western Illyricum and Africa; the Prefect of *Gaul*, that of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. See Sir I. Newton on Daniel viii; from whom chiefly I here abstract.

² "Si in longinquioribus partibus alicujus ferocitas talis emerit, omnis ejus causæ dictio ad Metropolitanæ in eadem Provinciâ episcopi deducatur examen. Vel si ipse Metropolitanus est, Romam necessariò, vel ad eos quos Romanus episcopus judices dederit, sine delatione contendat." The whole Edict is given by Harduin, i. 842; also by Sir I. Newton, p. 95. (Borthwick's Edit.)—A Synod held that same year at Rome thanked Gratian for the Law; and took occasion thus to state its general effect and purport: "Ut de ecclesiarum sacerdotibus Episcopus Romanus haberet examen, de religione religionis Pontifex cùm consortibus judicaret; nec ulla fieri videretur injuria sacerdotio, si sacerdos nulli usquam profani judicis arbitrio facile subjaceret." Hard. i. 839. The Letter is supposed from its style to have been written by Ambrose.—A century and a half after, viz. A.D. 538, we find the Council of Orleans ordaining, in conformity with this Imperial law, that no priest should be taken by a Laic before the secular court, without the Bishop's permission. Hard. ii. 1428.

³ Daubuz, p. 587.

⁴ In *Spain* Pope Siricius in A.D. 384, appointed the *Bishop of Tarragona* his Vicar. In *Gaul* Innocent I in 404 made the *Bishop of Rouen* the Papal Vicar, and in 417 for *South Eastern Gaul* the *Bishop of Arles*. In his decretal Letter to the former he directs that lesser causes should be referred to Provincial

* See my Note ³, p. 149, Vol. i. on Constantine's change of the Prætorian Prefect's joint military and civil functions into functions wholly civil.

and moreover that the Bishops of *Northern Italy*, if not of the *African Province*, partially recognized his right of superintendance:¹ the which, with the rest of Italy more immediately under him as Metropolitan,² made up nearly the Western Empire.—Further, when about the middle of that century the Bishop of Arles resisted his encroachments, another Imperial Decree was issued,—I refer to the notable one in 445 by the Emperors *Valentinian III and Theodosius II*, observed on already in the preceding Chapter:³—wherein the presumptuousness of resistance to the Holy See was sharply rebuked, the whole body of Bishops bidden to do nothing without his approbation, and the universal Clergy to obey him as their ruler.⁴—On which, in bolder tone, steps were taken towards the more complete subjugation of the Western Clergy to Rome, by the same Pope Leo,⁵ on whose application probably the Imperial Decree was issued:⁶ and in his Decretals the Clergy subjected to the Bishops; the Bishops to the Metropolitans, specially in regard of Episcopal

Councils, the greater as usual to Rome.—In *Western Illyricum* as early as the year 382 Pope Damasus made the Bishop of Thessalonica his Vicar; and he decrees in this Epistle that no Bishops should be ordained in the province without his Vicar's sanction: also that it should lie with him to call provincial Councils. We find the Roman supremacy over *Illyricum* acted on by Pope Boniface, A.D. 531. Hard. ii. 1124.—These *Papal Vicars* were a kind of *Legati à Latere*. See Ducange. Appellants to Rome were to take credentials from them.

¹ See Sir I. Newton, pp. 114, 115, on the ecclesiastical subordination of the Sees of *Milan* and *Ferrara*, whose provinces embraced Northern Italy. In 844, however, Milan revolted for 200 years from Rome.—As regards *Africa*, the application of the Carthaginian Bishop to Pope Damasus, A.D. 375, for an authentic copy of the Apostolic Canons and Decretals, Hard. i. 759, and the later reference to him in the matter of Antony,—an unworthy Bishop ordained under misapprehension, and then deposed by Augustine, A.D. 422,—furnish illustration. So also the appeal to the Roman Bishop of the celebrated Pelagius. Milner, 353, 326. But the *African* province was of all others the most independent of Rome. See Mosh. v. 2. 2. 6, and my Note ⁵, p. 166.

² The Roman See, as observed in my preceding Chapter, p. 141, included in this Diocese the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily.

³ See p. 135 *suprà*.

⁴ "Agnoscat rectorem suum universitas."

⁵ See Pope Leo's Letter to the Bishop of Thessalonica, his Vicar, in Harduin, i. 1767. It deserves perusal, and especially Cap. 6.—As a specimen of the feeling of many of the provincial Bishops towards the Romish Bishop, and preparation of mind for the subjection that was fated for their successors, I cite the following extract from a Letter from three Gallic Bishops to Leo: "Merito illic principatum sedis Apostolicæ constitutum, unde adhuc *Apostolici Spiritus oracula* reserentur." Already the Pope's voice was referred to as the *Bath Kol*. See Vol. ii. p. 106.—D'Achery gives a Letter of Pope Symmachus of the date 501, expressing surprise that the cause between the Bishops of Arles and Vienne had not been brought before him. This shows the custom.

⁶ Daubuz.

ordinations; the Synod of Bishops, in their election of a Metropolitan, to the Papal Vicar; the Vicar of course, as Leo well reminds his Vicar, to the Pope or Peter himself:—a system of ecclesiastical despotism, in short, complete and perfect in conception; but of which, however, the agitation of the Gothic kingdoms, and Arianism of the Gothic kings, separating them from Rome, prevented the full or immediate accomplishment.¹—Once more Justinian's Code (a Code first published in the year 529²) mainly confirmed in regard of *ecclesiastics*, the Decree of Gratian;—made all matters of simony and clerical irregularity or insubordination, as well as of heresy, matters for Episcopal or Papal jurisdiction;—and, even in civil and criminal causes, assigned to the Bishop's court equal jurisdiction with the ordinary tribunal, and required episcopal sanction ere execution of sentence on the condemned.

But even the influence of these laws was not sufficient to overcome existing hindrances, and accomplish Leo's scheme of Papal domination over the Western Clergy. This was reserved to *Pope Gregory the Great* at the close of the 6th century, as the preparer, and a *Monk of the order of Benedict*, above 100 years after, as the completer:—the Benedictine Order, that I speak of, having very soon after its institution in 529, cotermporarily with the first promulgation of Justinian's Code, embraced principles of obedience to the Pope, and, in less than a century after, overspread all the West.³—For the former,

¹ For example, the Council of Orleans in 533 ordained that Metropolitans should be elected, as anciently, by the Bishops of the province; and not, according to Pope Leo's Decretal, by the Papal Vicar. Harduin, ii. 1175.—These Vicars, however, were still appointed by the Popes. So by Pope Hormisdas, about A.D. 515, the Bishop of Seville for Bœtica and Lusitania, and the Bishop of Tarragona for the rest of Spain. Sir I. Newton. Hard. i. 1019, 1023. Compare Mosheim, v. 2. 2. 6.

² The Code, promulgated in 529, was a summary of former laws still continued in force; the *Pandects*, published four years afterwards, of the *principles* of the Roman jurisprudence. The *Novels* were Justinian's additions. (See above pp. 136, 137.) These altogether made up the *Civil Law*.

³ Benedict, himself a Roman, had a true Roman, i. e. Papal feeling. His first monastery was on mount Cassino in Italy. See Mosheim v. 2. 2. 6, 7. Augustine and the forty monks that accompanied him, on the famous mission from Gregory to Britain, which resulted in the conversion of our island to Christianity

Gregory, having drawn in the Barbarian Princes of the West to conformity with the orthodox and Roman faith, succeeded to a considerable extent in enforcing in their several kingdoms the rule that the Metropolitan must receive *Papal sanction*, in order to the exercise of his Metropolitan functions:¹ the reception of a *pallium* from Rome being the token of such sanction and investiture.² And the latter, the celebrated *Wilfrid*,³ or *Boniface*,⁴ (called also the Apostle of Germany,) early in the 8th century induced the Bishops of the German and Frank Clergy to make a *vow*, like his own, of *implicit obedience to the See of Rome*.—The custom of making this vow became soon established among the Western Clergy: and, in case of the Metropolitans, was conjoined with their investiture, and gift of the *pallium*.⁵ It was in the

and to Rome, were all Benedictines.—Let me add, in passing, that these Benedictines were the warmest advocates and propagators of the lucrative doctrine of purgatory. Waddington, 212.

¹ "Nunc permaneat in suo vigore Conciliorum omnium constituta, et synodice Præsum Romanorum epistolæ;" was King Recared's declaration, and that of the Council of Toledo over which he presided, A.D. 589, on adhesion to the Catholic and Roman Creed.

² See Waddington, p. 160. The *pallium* was sent by him to the Bishops of Antioch, Ravenna, Salona, Milan, Messina, Corinth, Autun, Arles, Seville. Dupin, v. 112. He also sent *keys* to many Bishops, in token of the transmission of the power of the keys.

³ It was from *England*, now united to Rome, that the Benedictine *Wilfrid* went forth to Christianize and Romanize Germany. Thus it is not without reason that Ranke, i. 16, dwells on the incalculable influence of the conversion of Britain by the Benedictines, towards the aggrandizement of the Papal See.

⁴ The name given by him in memorial of his *good deeds* by the Pope.—As a specimen of these see Foxe, i. 369 (Ed. 1841): who says that in one of this *Wilfrid's* Epistles it was written, "That even if the Pope were of most filthy living, and so negligent of himself and the whole of Christianity, as to lead innumerable souls with him to hell, yet ought no man to rebuke him: for, saith he, he hath power to judge all men, and ought to be judged by none!"—He was made a Benedictine monk A.D. 715, Archbishop of Mentz,* 747, and was killed 755.

⁵ So Giannone in his Summary of the Papal steps to ecclesiastical domination, abstracted by Waddington, p. 160; "Without the *pallium* the Metropolitans had not their official authority; and the Pope would not grant them it, without the oath of fidelity.

Dr. Keith (Signs of Times, ii. 238) quotes the following from "Rome in sixth century," vol. iii. pp. 204, 205. "There is a peculiar sort of blessing given to two lambs on Jan. 21 at the Church of St. Agnese fuori le mura; from the sainted fleeces of which are manufactured, I believe, by the hands of nuns, two holy

* Monks had long been admitted to all the sacerdotal offices. So the Imperial Precept of A.D. 398, (given by Sir I. N. p. 214;) and again the Decree of Pope Boniface V, A.D. 620: "Constituit ut monachi, in officio sacerdotalis gradûs, potestate utantur ligandi et solvendi."

very form of the oath of allegiance of a vassal to his suzerain.¹ "From that time," says Ranke, (i. 17) "the submissiveness of the Anglo-Saxons to (Roman) ecclesiastical authority (on the part of the Clergy) extended itself over the whole Frankish Empire."

In conclusion I need but make a passing allusion to the *decrees of Charlemagne*, as confirming the Papal supremacy over the ecclesiastics of his Empire;² and to the *war of the Investitures*, three centuries later, between the German Emperors and the Popes, as illustrating the superior stringency in the minds of the Clergy of their vow of fidelity to the Pope, in comparison with that to the secular sovereign, when the two came into conflict.³ It is evident that from *the times of Gregory I and Wilfrid*, above-mentioned, we may consider the Western Clergy to have been united, according to the Apocalyptic emblem, as *one body under one Head the POPE*, i. e. in his character of *Western Patriarch or Universal Bishop*;⁴ and the *Bishops* presiding over the *secular Clergy*, and the *Abbots and Generals of Orders* over the *regular or monastic*,—each alike powerful in Christendom,⁵—to have answered to the Beast's *two horns* in vision.—In

mantles called *palli*; which the Pope presents to the Archbishops as his principal Shepherds." Which two Archbishops is not said. In Vol. ii. p. 19. Note³ I have observed that it is required by the Decretals that every Archbishop should be buried in his pall. Hence the number wanted annually must be very considerable.

¹ So Faber, *Sacred Calendar*, iii. 180; who observes that it is given in full by Whitaker in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, p. 408.

Innocent III, in his address to the assembled Hierarchy in the 2d Lateran Council, thus spoke of it: "Nostis quia Roma caput mundi, et quia à Romani Principis licentiâ ecclesiastici honoris celsitudo, quasi *feodalis juris consuetudine*, suscipitur; et sine ejus permissione legaliter non tenetur." Hard. vi. 1215.

² He ordained that the Episcopal and Papal judicial authority should be supreme, and without appeal, in all cases in which clerks referred to it; and that the clergy should be altogether exempt from secular jurisdiction.

³ In Brydson's *Heraldry*, p. 170, an interested reason is given for this. "The Clerical Princes and Lords, with all the other clergy of Europe, held themselves bound by a more immediate and sacred allegiance to the Head of the Church than to any of their temporal sovereigns; whereby they secured at once *their own independence*, and his universal dominion."

⁴ The reader will be presently called to mark this.

⁵ Mosheim says; "The monks that originally thought of seclusion, not sacerdotal rank, were now so opulent as to be in a condition to claim an eminent place among the pillars and supports of the Christian community."

truth the introduction of celibacy among the *secular* Clergy had transferred *them* into a kind of *monastic order*; detached from other ties, and subject, as Ranke observes, to the Pope, the Universal Bishop, somewhat as the Monks of Clugny to the one Abbot of their Order. Whatever power they possessed in their sacerdotal functions was regarded as *derived from him*; insomuch that, up to the time of the Reformation, the Bishops subscribed themselves at times, *Bishop by the grace* (not of God but) *of the Apostolic See*.¹ And it was all exercised *before*, i. e. *under cognizance of* and *responsibility to him*, in his character of their Head, as the great Western Bishop, or rather Universal Patriarch.—I say as *their* Head. For we must not, through the fixedness of our contemplation of the Pope in his character of CHRIST'S VICAR, and so Head over all the kings and people of Christendom, as symbolized in the *first* Apocalyptic Beast, overlook his *Patriarchal* Headship of the Clerical Body, or *second* Beast also: which twofold character attaching to him,—the *sacerdotal* and the *royal* or rather *super-royal*,—the *ecclesiastical* and the *extra-ecclesiastical*,—was not only asserted by Popes² and Papal Doctors,³ but even signi-

¹ Ranke, i. 37. Compare Mosh. x. 2. 2. 8. Examples may be seen among the Subscriptions to Councils of the xvth century.—And indeed the custom and doctrine were not then abandoned. Bellarmine states it as still in his time the Catholic doctrine. De Pradt on the Concordats, Vol. ii. p. 160 observes that even in Napoleon's time the Pope thought to grant bishopricks as a *grace of the Holy See*; and I have observed in an Edict of the Romish Bishop of Toronto, dated from Canada March 1842, that he styles himself Bishop by the grace of God, and of the *Holy Romish See*.

² So Pope Innocent the Third in a Letter to our King John: "Rex regum et Dominus dominantium Jesus Christus, Sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech, ita regnum et sacerdotium in ecclesiâ stabilivit, ut sacerdotale sit regnum et sacerdotium sit regale: unum præficiens universis quem suum in terris Vicarium ordinavit: ut, sicut ei flectitur omne genu cœlestium, terrestrium, et etiam inferorum, ita illi omnes obediant; ut sit unum ovile et unus pastor." Vitringa, 807.

³ "Allemaniæ, Franciæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hispaniarum, et Hierosolymarum Reges, cum universo Clero et populis, favent et adherent Domino Innocentio, tanquam filii Patri, tanquam Capiti membra." So does St. Bernard distinguish the bodies of both beasts, and represent the Pope as head to both. See too Mosheim xv. 2. 2. 11; speaking of the Roman Pontiff as head of the Church, (qu. the clergy ?) and the bishops, priests, and monks, as its members.

I may illustrate this double headship attaching to the Popes of Rome in the apostate Church, from our Lord Jesus Christ's bearing in his true Church the same double character; as being at once its chief Bishop, and the King of kings.

fied to the world in the Pope's separate use of that which I have already spoken of,¹ the *mitre* and the *triple crown*.²—As to the meaning and application thus given by me of the Apocalyptic phrase "*before him*," the language of Rome itself furnishes its justificatory comment. For whatever was brought under the *cognizance* and *judgment* of the Papal See, (and what was there but must pass under its cognizance, with those every where peering eyes, like the eyes of a man?) was said to be done *coram Petro*, *before Peter*.³ Nor can I pass on without begging the reader to think of the state of the Western Clergy, presignified by this little word, as mediately or immediately referring, in their exercise of the ministry, to Papal judgment and a Papal tribunal: and to consider its contrast to the charge laid on them by St. Paul, to fulfil their ministry as "*before God and JESUS CHRIST*,"⁴ about to judge the quick and dead at his appearing and kingdom."

Thus have I traced in ecclesiastical history the manner in which the whole Hierarchy and Clergy of Western Christendom, both *secular* and *regular*, *parochial* and *monastic*, were formed into a body completely sub-

Let me illustrate it again from our English history. Before the year 1534 Henry the Eighth was only *Head of the State*, and of the *English National Body*. After the memorable Parliamentary Act of that year, abolishing the *Pope's headship of the Church*, he became head of the *English Church*, with its *clergy* and *hierarchy*, also. And in this latter character he certainly ministered to and strengthened his power in the former.—So Gibbon xii. 261 of the Popes. In an age of superstition the union of the *regal* and *sacerdotal* character would mutually fortify each other; and the keys of Paradise be the surest pledge of earthly obedience."

¹ See Vol. ii. p. 51.

² "Romanus Pontifex in signum imperii utitur regno, in signum pontificii utitur mitrâ." So Innocent III, before the *regno* had been changed into the *tri-regno*:—by which latter, says the Ceremoniale Rom. "significatur sacerdotalis et imperialis summa dignitas atque potestas:" adding that the Pope uses it "eundo ad ecclesiam et redeundo, sed nunquam in divinis:" or, as Durandus writes of the regnum, "nunquam intrâ ecclesiam, sed extra." See Ducange and Suppl. on *Regnum*: also my Note ⁴ Vol. ii. p. 51, and Note ³ p. 141, and p. 158 supra.

³ Pope Leo I, in a Decretal Epistle, spoke of matters determined before the Pope in Roman Councils thus; "Cùm coram Apostolo Petro semper in communione tractatum fuerit, ut omnia Canonum Decreta apud omnes Domini sacerdotes inviolata permaneant." Sir I. Newton, p. 117; and so too again p. 87. In these cases the matter was settled before the personal presence, not of *Peter* himself, but, what was considered tantamount, of his representative the Pope. In other provinces it was before the *Pope's representative*, or *Vicar*, that ecclesiastical matters were settled, and the clergy fulfilled their functions.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2; "I charge thee *before God*, &c. Preach the word," &c.

ject to the Pope: ¹ in other words, how the *two-horned lamb-like Beast* or Wolf in sheep's clothing, rose up incorporate, soon after the manifestation of the first Beast, out of the kingdoms of the Western Empire.—And now it will take but little time to show,

Idly, How all the other statements, made in the Apocalyptic passage at the Head of this Chapter respecting the *second lamb-like Beast*, were fulfilled by the *Papal Hierarchy and Clergy*:—viz. his *speaking like a dragon*, though bearing a *lamb's semblance*;—his *exercising all the power of the first Beast, before him*;—his *doing great wonders or miracles before men*, and so deceiving them, more especially as *making fire to descend before men from heaven to earth*;—and, finally, *his causing the earth and its inhabitants to worship the first Beast*.²

To these points I now proceed: only premising that, whereas all that was said of the *first Beast* was said chiefly of its *ruling Head*, agreeably with the Angel's express notification to that effect, here the *whole second Beast* must be supposed to be included in the description, especially the *two horns* eminent upon it.

1. The second Beast, “*having horns like a lamb, spake as a dragon.*” That is, says Hilary of the body symbolized, “*Under the pretence of preaching the Gospel, it shall preach doctrine contrary to Christ;*”³ and, as Ambrose Ansbert adds thereon, with poison like as of a serpent.—On the applicability of all this to the *Papal Clergy*, too much already has been said⁴ to need additional illustration. Let me only take the two prominent characteristics of the Dragon, the Old Serpent, given by our Lord in St. John's Gospel.⁵ As the Old

¹ I may refer to Dean Waddington, pp. 671, 672, for a general view of the subject of this head not dissimilar from my own. How strikingly had Theodoret's predictive anticipation about Antichrist been at the epoch described fulfilled by the Popes: *εν τη εκκλησια αρτασει την προεδρειαν*. See p. 83 Note ¶ *supra*.

² What is further said of the second Beast's proceedings in respect of the *Image* and *Mark of the Beast* will be commented on in Chaps. vii, viii. ³ Daubus.

⁴ See the references in p. 164, Note ², also Part III. Ch. i. *supra*.

⁵ John viii. 44.

Serpent was a *liar*, was not such the general character of the Papal Clergy? For,—as it was not God's word that was taken by them for their sole rule of doctrine, but rather the traditions and commandments of men enjoined by the Romish Church,—so their doctrine was not the pure truth, but leavened with falsehood; not that of the right worship of God, but rather (as in the Dragon's old system of Paganism) of dead men; not the mystery of godliness, but of iniquity; not Christ, but Antichrist. The lamb-like Beast was notably "the False Prophet."¹—Again, the Dragon was a *murderer*. And who knows not how the Papal Clergy preached up crusades against those they called *heretics*, though rather the saints of Christ: how they urged on the crusaders in the work; how, at inquisitions and trials for heresy, they mercilessly pronounced sentence of death; and assisted at the auto-da-fes and scenes of execution, to ensure the fulfilment of the sentence of blood.² Their garb and their profession was indeed that of the *lamb-like Saviour's ministers*. But it was another Spirit that inspired them. "The Beast had horns like a *lamb*; but it spake as a *dragon*."³

¹ Dean Waddington observes from Fleury, p. 209, that it was a rule of discipline not to commit the canons of sacerdotal practice to writing, but to preserve them by a secret tradition among *bishops* and *priests*; chiefly those concerning the administration of the Sacraments. Therefore the bishops confided their ecclesiastical letters to the *clergy* only.

² See Vol. ii. pp. 20, 28, 379, &c, *suprà*.—I speak of the *generality* alone here and elsewhere, and such as acted up to the spirit of their instructions. I am still not forgetful that there were many exceptions; and that all were not of Rome that were in Rome.

³ Dr. Keith (ii. 79) has here added an illustration from the *Papal Flag* (of which he gives a copy) with a *lamb passant* before a cross. He copied it, he says, from D'Anville's Atlas: and I have seen the same also among the flags given in a plate of the Encyclopædia Britannica. But I have been unable to authenticate it in this character. I am assured, on I believe the best authority, that as the *armorial ensigns* of the Popedom are *gules, two keys in saltière argent*, (thus given in Hector Le Breton and other authorities) so this is the device that would be represented on the Pope's *flag*: other bearings, which the Popes appear to have used at different times, having been those appertaining to their respective families.—To the same effect is the account given in Ducange of the *Vexillum S. Petri*.—It is very possible, however, that the Popes may have temporarily made use in this manner of the *lamb passant* at the time of the *Crusades*. For it was then assumed as the arms of the Templars, and stamped on the coinage of St. Louis of France (see Ducange on *Moneta*), as if a bearing at that time in general favor.

Mr. Brooks (p. 375) adds another illustration from the supposed armorial

2. "The second Beast exercised all the power and authority of the first Beast, (only) before him."—The grand characteristic power of the antitype of the first Beast, i. e. of the Papal Antichrist, was the *power of the keys*; a power directly and primarily *spiritual*, though indirectly also *temporal*. The *spiritual*,—in its application to the *obedient* Roman Catholic,—was that of absolution from sin, the communication of grace through the seven sacraments, the continual offering of a propitiatory sacrifice, the deliverance or solacing of departed souls in purgatory, and opening to them of the gates of Paradise. And of *all* this the administration was delegated by the Pope to the Romish Priesthood, and to it alone:—first to the metropolitan and chief abbots, by the gift of the pallium or otherwise; then through them to the inferior hierarchy, secular and monastic; then to the subordinate monks and clergy. So that even the itinerant preaching friar, or common village priest, was by virtue of his ordination empowered to exercise and administer all the same mighty spiritual power, in the sphere of his village flock, or gathered auditory.¹—Thus much of Antichrist's asserted power to *bless*; of that to *curse*, both in regard of *spirituals* and *temporals*, I shall be called to speak presently.

3. "The second Beast had power to *do great miracles, or signs*, (still "before the first Beast,") so as to deceive thereby them that dwell on the earth."—And need I remind the reader, how from the earliest date of the Papacy, miracles so called,² such as these, have been the accompaniment and alleged confirmation of the ministrations of the *Romish Clergy*? Not to repeat what has

bearings of the Popedom. "They have mounted the *dragon* as their *crest*, as they have assumed for the device on their *banner* a *lamb passant*." But here too the statement is, I believe, incorrect. Where the dragon was adopted by a particular Pope, it was only as the crest of his family. So in the example given in De La Motraye's Plate, to which Mr. B. refers.

¹ See the notable illustration in the history of Tetzels, in my Vol. ii. p. 66.

² Of the Fathers, Augustine and Chrysostom supposed that the Antichrist's miracles would be *false* (Daubuz, 586); others expected them to be *true*. See my Note ⁴ p. 81 *suprà*.

been before said with regard to the earlier times of the Apostacy,¹ and before it had yet headed itself in the Papal Antichrist,—the famous Gregory, the most eminent of the two great founders and fathers of the Papacy, is noted for his propensity always to “confirm the truths of religion by the evidence of *ghosts and miracles*.”² And Dean Waddington observes justly, that by thus personally sanctioning religious impostures, he delivered over the Church to spiritual blindness and bondage.³ For the Clergy followed their Head. As Mosheim says, in a passage already quoted by me,⁴ of the *Clergy* of the 7th century; “Every objection was silenced by them with appeal to two things, *the authority of the Church and miracles*.”⁵ “He *deceived* them that dwell on the earth by the miracles which it was given him to do.” Who knows not this that knows any thing of the history of the middle ages? ⁶ And as at the first, so afterwards down to the Reformation; and indeed yet later. In fact *miracles* have been declared by its Doctors to be one of the standing signs of the truth of Roman Catholicism: forgetting that this (as well as its boasted *catholicity of extension, and origin from apostolic times*⁷) was among the express Apocalyptic marks of the kingdom of Antichrist.—It was under the first Beast’s eye and supervision that the second Beast was to exercise this, as well as the rest of the power given him.⁸ Similarly, in direction of the Papal Clergy on the matter of miracles, it was laid down, “*Miracula ne prædicentur Ordinario inconsulto* ;”⁹) this being by way of safe-guard against rashness or self-exposure;) and through the *Ordinary* the reference, in the

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 310, 381.

² Gibbon, viii. 167.

³ p. 157.

⁴ P. 139 Note ⁵ *suprà*.

⁵ vii. 2. 3. 1.

⁶ See Vol. ii. p. 15.

⁷ The four most select marks of the true (or Romish) Church are said to be *unity, holiness, catholicity, apostolicity*. Bellarmine has multiplied the number to *fifteen*, one of these being *miracles*.—Now on the *catholicity* of the Romish Church we may compare what is said in the 4th verse of this xiiith chapter of the *Antichristian Beast*: *εθαυμασθη εν δλη τη γη οπισω τε θηρις*; a phrase in which if for the preposition *εν* we put its equivalent *κατα*, (*καθ’ δλην την γην*;) there will result almost the very word *catholicity* with application to the *Beast’s* dominion.—As to its vaunted *primitive origin* we have only to compare what is said of the *great apostacy* predicted by St. Paul, “The mystery of iniquity doth *already* work.”

⁸ *σημεια & εδοθη αυτη ποιησαι ενωπιον του θηριου.*

⁹ Concil. Noviom. A.D. 1344. Hard. vii. 1674.

more eminent cases of asserted miracles, was ultimately to the POPE: to whom belonged alone the most solemn ratification of their truth, by the canonization of the performer, (generally himself an ecclesiastic) after his death.¹—Thus much of the *extraordinary* miracles asserted to be done by the Papal priesthood; just as by the lamb-like prefigurative Beast. Of the every-day miracle of *transubstantiation*,—a miracle more wonderful were it but true, than all the rest put together,—the name itself suggests the history.

And indeed I suspect that there is a partial allusion to this in what follows in the prefigurative prophecy, of the lamb-like Beast doing great miracles “so as to *make fire descend from heaven upon the earth* before men.” For we are to remember that the figures of the Apocalypse are chiefly *Judaic*; and that under the Jewish, as indeed under the previous Patriarchal dispensation, the descent of *fire from heaven upon earth* was in its application of a *two-fold* character,—a sign of *favor*, it might be, or of *wrath*. When it fell upon the *sacrificial holocaust*, then it signified the acceptance of the sacrifice presented to the Divine justice,² *as a substitute for the offerer*.³ When it fell upon *men*, then it marked their destruction as from God. In either case, if *evoked* by mortal man from heaven, what an evidence of that man’s having power with heaven, and prevailing!—It was just that power, and in either way of application, that the apostate Roman Church claimed to exercise.⁴

She claimed power over the fire in the *first* sense. For behold the propitiatory offering prepared by the priest,

¹ See my Vol. ii. p. 15 Note ², and p. 26 Note ³. Miracles, so called, as wrought by the man alive or dead, was a fact essential to the recognition of his saintship.

² “Our God is a consuming fire.” Deut. iv. 24; Heb. xii. 29.

³ Of this the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham if I mistake not, and certainly that of Aaron at the dedication of the tabernacle, and Manoah’s, David’s, and Solomon’s, are familiar illustrations. Indeed the prophet Elijah made it the distinctive proof of the truth of his mission; “The God that answereth by fire, let him be God.” See Gen. iv. 4, xv. 17, Lev. ix. 24, Judges vi. 21, 1 Chron. xxi. 26, 2 Chron. vii. 1, 1 Kings xviii. 24.

⁴ So Isychius, Bishop of Jerusalem, a friend and cotemporary of Gregory I. Commenting on Levit. x. 1, he says: “Utrumque ignem ecclesia habet: hunc quidem ad illuminationem justorum et oblatorum perfectionem: illum autem ad poenam impiorum, quam his qui blasphemant sacerdotes indicunt.” B. P. M. xii. 89.

according to the office committed to him, of *sacrificing for the living and the dead*.¹ He pronounces the words of consecration over it: and instantly, according to the solemn dogma of his church, his own asseveration, and the belief of the thronging congregation, the sign of its acceptance is given, on behalf of the faithful Romanists, as verily as if the fire from heaven had fallen on and consumed it. It is actually changed through the descending influence of the Divinity, into the *very body and blood of Christ himself*;—God's own chosen and ever most acceptable sacrifice.²

But the more explicit fulfilment of the figure, if we take the Romanists' own language as our guide, must be considered to consist in the asserted power of their Popes and Priesthood, to evoke and hurl the *judicial* fire of heaven, through their *anathemas* and *excommunications*, against enemies. For they designate these themselves as *lightnings* and *thunderbolts*.—Take the case, for example,³ of the solemn excommunication of the Emperor Frederick by Pope Innocent, at the first Council of Lyons: and mark in the account the impression of awe and terror on the bystanders. "These words (of excommunication) uttered in the midst of the Council, struck the hearers with terror, as might the *flashing thunderbolts*. When, with candles lighted and flung down,⁴ the Lord Pope and his assistant prelates flashed

¹ See my Vol. ii. p. 161.—"Tanta in altari certo holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant." So Pope Clement. Hard. viii. 1685.

² See Vol. ii. p. 158, Note ⁴.

³ Similarly Gregory VII spoke of the Emperor Henry IV, when excommunicated, as "*afflatum fulmine*." (Daubuz 587.)—Martene De Ritibus Ecclesie ii. 322, with reference to the year 1031, states, "Non solum in homines, sed in *Dæmonem ipsum*, aliquando vibrata fuisse excommunicationis fulgura." "*Fulminare excommunicationem* vox fori hodierni;" says Ducange.—See also on the *Thunders of the Vatican*, as Apocalyptically alluded to, my Vol. ii. pp. 107—111.

⁴ This was a usual accompaniment of the solemn and great excommunication, pronounced annually at the Feast *Cæna Domini* by the Pope in person, his Cardinals, and his Priesthood, against all *heretics*, from the elevated Vestibule of the Lateran Church at Rome; and directed to be practised by the Romish Prelates elsewhere also on certain solemn occasions. See the Letter of Pope Paul II to the Archbishop of Lyons, A.D. 1469, Hard. ix. 1488: also Mosh. xvi. § 3. 13, Note ⁹, and my Vol. ii. p. 397. The candles were always thrown down from an *elevated spot* by the excommunicators.—In 1770 one of the first acts of the Pope Ganganelli was to prohibit the reading of this Bull *Cæna Domini*. But I believe

their *lightning-fire* terribly against the Emperor Frederick, now no longer to be called Emperor, his procurators and friends burst into a bitter wailing, and struck the thigh or breast. 'On that day,' said one of them, 'that day of wrath, of calamity, and of woe!'"¹—Indeed this lightning-fire from heaven was called down at times by them to scathe a whole kingdom. For as under the old Pagan superstition,² so under the Papal, its faithful imitator, the very *locality*, as well as person, thus struck, was deemed accursed of heaven. Can all history furnish a parallel to the effect of a Papal interdict? Throughout a whole kingdom, it might be, (the entire body of the Clergy, or lamb-personating Beast, assisting to its execution,³) the churches closed, the services stopped, the sacraments unadministered, the dead unburied!⁴ There is, I believe, *no* parallel to it in history.

4. "The second Beast *caused that the inhabitants of the earth should worship the first Beast.*" And does not the Papal Priesthood answer here too to the symbol? Who knows not of the subserviency of the Western Clergy to the Pope, as CHRIST'S VICAR: and the exercise of their influence, all but universally, to uphold him in his place; even like an *army* of Priests prepared, as Gregory

the custom was soon revived, and is still kept up at Rome; ourselves, as English Protestants, being of course solemnly included in the curse.

¹ See the account, Hard. vii. 401. "Dom. Papa in Imperatorem Fredericum, sine aliqua palpatione vel dissimulatione, talem sententiam excommunicationis, non sine omnium audientium et circumstantium stupore et horrore, terribiliter fulguravit."—After the quotation of the sentence, it goes on; "Hæc in pleno Concilio prolata, ad instar coruscantis fulguris, timorem omnibus incusserunt:" &c.—And again: "Dom. Papa igitur, et Prælati adsistentes Concilio, candelis accensis in dictum Imperatorem (qui jamjam Imperator non est nominandus) terribiliter fulgurarunt." Compare the case of Robert King of France in the xth century.

² "Places or persons struck with lightning were considered with pious horror, as singularly devoted to the wrath of heaven; the places were surrounded with a wall; the things (and persons) buried with mysterious ceremony." Gibbon ii. 97.—He elsewhere (v. 292) speaks of the spells of Pagan diviners, supposed to draw down lightning from the clouds, being directed against Alaric and the besiegers; and refers the superstition to the tradition of Numa drawing down Jove's thunders on Mount Aventine.

³ Dean Waddington observes somewhere on this necessity of the body of the Clergy co-operating, in order to the effectiveness of the Interdict.

⁴ See Waddington, p. 343, Note †: also Southey, Book of the Church, p. 117, and Le Bas' Wicliff, 331.

expressed it, for the Antichrist? ¹ At the very beginning of his career, who were the first solemn asserters before their prince and people, of the Pope being God's Vicar? The *Romish Clergy* in Council.² And what was the language of the *Monks*, almost as early, respecting him? "The monks," says Mosheim on the 7th Century, "who from their supposed sanctity had the greatest influence with the multitude, held up the Pope to their veneration *even as a God.*"³ Again, in the middle age, who were the patrons and administrators of the Canon Law, which similarly deified the Pope,⁴ but the Clergy, alike secular and regular? And similarly in the 16th century, and afterwards, the Jesuits?⁵—It is the testimony of almost all the ecclesiastical history of Western Christendom, that the Papal Hierarchy and Clergy did for the most part unite in this predicted object, to make the Roman earth and its inhabitants worship him whom the first Beast or its governing Head symbolized; i. e. the PAPAL ANTICHRIST, ruling over PAPAL CHRISTENDOM.—So in the *general*. A particular and most notable illustration of the same use of their influence is to follow in the next Chapter.

¹ See p. 164, Note ⁴, *suprà*.

² See p. 133 *suprà*.

³ Mosh. vii. 2. 2. 3; "Monachi non secus ac Deum Romanum Pontificem imperitæ multitudini commendabant." As an *early* example, see the famous Wilfrid's language about the Pope, given Note ⁴, p. 171 *suprà*. For a specimen of the *middle age*, hear *St. Bernard*. "Tu princeps episcoporum, tu hæres apostolorum, tu primatu Abel, gubernatu Noe, patriarchatu Abraham, ordine Melchisedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate Moyses, judicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus." De *Consid.* ii. 8.—Or again hear the later orator of the 4th Session of the 5th Lateran Council (one whom I have before cited, Vol. ii. p. 79); "Tu denique alter Deus in terris." Hard. ix. 1651.—Did not the *second Beast* direct the Roman earth to the worship of the *first Beast*?

⁴ See p. 152, Note ⁴ *suprà*.

⁵ See Mosheim xvii. § 2. 1. 1. 34. "The Jesuits," says he, "have turned the Roman Pontiff into a terrestrial Deity, and put him almost on an equal footing with the divine Saviour:"—Adding: "It may be easily proved that the Jesuits did no more in this than to propagate the doctrines as they found them to have been before the Reformation." See for a practical exemplification the case of Tetzels, described Vol. ii. p. 66.

CHAPTER VII.

THE IMAGE OF THE BEAST.

“AND he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by (means of) those miracles which it was given him to do before the Beast :¹—saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an Image to (or for) the Beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live. And it was given him to give breath² unto the Image of the Beast : so that the Image of the Beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the Image of the Beast should be killed.”—Apoc. xiii. 14, 15.

From the difficulties and ill success of commentators in the explanation of the IMAGE OF THE BEAST here spoken of, it has been called by Vitringa (and the statement been repeated by other expositors) the *Cruz Commentatorum*.³ To the solution now to be offered the

¹ σήμεα ἃ ἐδοθη αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἐναντίον τοῦ θηρίου.

² πνεῦμα.

³ Woodhouse notes this from Vitringa. And certainly the unsatisfactoriness of all previous solutions that I have seen of the Beast's Image seems to me very obvious.

With that of *Bosuet*, or other Romanists,* who make the *first* or *ten-horned Beast* to signify the *Pagan* persecuting Roman Empire and Emperors, I have of course little concern; being convinced, (and this, I trust it has been shown, on the clearest evidence,) that that Beast is *Rome Papal*, not *Rome Pagan*. Nor indeed, even were we to waive all such preliminary objection, would they be able to make out, on this their hypothesis, any satisfactory explanation of the symbol before us.†

As to *Protestant* Commentators that concur (though with minor differences) in viewing the first Beast as the *Pupal Antichristian Empire*, some, as *Pareus* and *Fuber*, explain the *Beast's Image* of the *images of saints* set up in Papal churches for worship: it being so called, says Mr. Faber, not as *depicting the Beast*, but as *his property*. But is *such* a representative figuration likely, or

* A few Protestant Commentators, as *Dr. Keith*, take the same view of the first Beast. Dr. K. himself seems to have been partly led to this view by the singular oversight of construing the word *before*, (“exerciseth all the power of the first Beast *before* him,”) of which the Greek is *ἐναντίον*, to signify *before* in respect of *time*.

† E. g. to explain the statement of the *Image of the Beast* being made to *speak*, &c., the Bishop of Meaux makes it signify the *images of the Gods*, not that of the *Pagan Emperors*, who in his view were meant by the Beast.

same objections will, I believe, in no wise apply.—It seems clear to me, as to Vitringa, that as the *two Beasts* are *symbolic*, and not to be *literally* interpreted, there must also attach a *figurative*, not *literal* interpretation to the *Image of the Beast*. And I purpose to explain it, thus figuratively, of the PAPAL GENERAL COUNCILS of Western Europe:¹ not doubting to shew fully and

suitable? Or is the appellation fitting; and that the representative of the pictured Saints and Virgins throughout Christendom should bear the title of the *Beast's Image*? Further, could it be said that the Pope and papal Clergy, which these Expositors in common with myself suppose to have been symbolized by the second Beast, either induced the people to fabricate it, or that they caused any *representative saints' image* to speak to the effect that the rejecters of their worship should be put to death?

On the other hand, *Mede*, *Lowman*, *Bishop Newton*, *Scott*, and others, explain it of the *Pope*, as being made the *idol* of the Romish Church, and an object of worship to Christendom. "Quem creant," they say, borrowing the legend of the famous medal struck by Martin V on his election, "adorant." But how can the *Pope* be the *Image of the first Beast*, when he is explained by them to be (if not the Head of both Beasts) at least the Head of the *second Beast*?

To *Mr. Cuninghame's* solution,—who, with *Dr. Cressener* agreeing, explains it of the *corrupt Roman Church*,—it seems similarly a sufficient objection that it makes the *Image of the Beast* to signify the same thing precisely as the symbolic *Harlot Mother* and *Babylon the Great*, described in the xviii Chapter. Besides how is this an *Image of Papal Christendom*?—To *Vitringa's* solution, who explains it of the *Inquisition*, there is the similar answer,—that the Inquisition could not properly be represented as an *Image of Papal Anti-Christendom*, or of the Papal Antichrist.

Osiander makes it the *Pope's word and doctrine*. "Sicut imago Dei est verbum Dei, ita imago Papatûs est verbum et doctrina Papæ. Sedet enim in templo Dei, ostendens seipsum tanquam Deum. Quare et in hoc Deum imitatur quòd verbum et doctrinam è suo cerebro gignit ad imaginem suam. Cùm igitur doctrina Papatûs, quem ipsi pseudo-doctores docent, duplex sit, scilicet *fidei* et *morum*, necessario compilati sunt duo libri, scil. *Liber Sententiarum* et *Liber Decretalium*, qui sunt *ipsissima imago Papatûs*."—But how were the *people of Christendom* the makers of this image?

"What the image of the Beast is, distinct from the Beast itself, I confess I know not."—So *Doddridge*, quoted by *Mr. Bicheno*, in his *Signs of the Times*, p. 36.

With regard to *Patristic Commentators* I may just mention that both *Augustine* and *Primasius* explain the Beast's Image of the hypocritical semblance of religion in the antichristian body, ("illa impia civitas et populus infidelium,") signified by the ten-horned Beast. "*Imago ejus simulatio eorum qui fidem profitentur, et infideliter vivunt.*"

¹ This solution was first given by me in a Pamphlet on the *Image of the Beast*, printed in 1837; and of which the present Chapter is the substance, though remodelled and somewhat altered in detail.—At the time of giving it to the Printer I was not aware of the solution having occurred before to any other Author; but was surprized to find that he had at the very time, nearly ready for publication, a Treatise on the *Image* by the *Rev. F. Fysh*, grounded on the same general view as my own. I also learned afterwards from *Vitringa*, that the learned *Cocceius* had long before suggested the *ecclesia representativa* as the thing signified. But whether by this he may have meant the Church *represented in Councils*, I know not; not having the opportunity of reference to his works.

It may be right to add that I have made a point of not reading *Mr. Fysh's* Treatise; so that the two testimonies may be considered altogether independent.

satisfactorily respecting them the two points following, points which involve evidently all that is required: viz. 1st, that these Papal Councils *answered completely to the symbol of an IMAGE of the ten-horned Apocalyptic Wild Beast*, that is, of the *Papal Antichristendom and Antichrist*: 2ndly, that the *Papal Hierarchy and Clergy* acted out, in and with regard to *them*, whatsoever the *two-horned lamb-personating Beast (or false Prophet)* is here said to have done in, and with regard to, the *Image of the Beast*.

1st. The PAPAL GENERAL COUNCILS OF WESTERN EUROPE answer to the symbol of an IMAGE OF THE TEN-HORNED BEAST; i. e. of PAPAL ANTI-CHRISTENDOM AND THE PAPAL ANTICHRIST.

This follows immediately, as we shall presently see, from the *representative* nature of these Church Councils.

For, let us consider for a moment their original character and constitution. The account is thus given by Gibbon. "Towards the end of the 2nd century, the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institution of *Provincial Synods*. They may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a *representative Council* from the celebrated examples of their own country,—the Amphictyons, the Achæan league, or the assemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a custom and a law, that the Bishops of the independent churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. These deliberations were assisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and moderated by the presence of a listening multitude. Their Decrees, which were called Canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline."¹—The conjunction of *presbyters* with bishops,² in the Provincial Councils of which Gibbon speaks, rendered them the more fully and fitly a representation of the *clerical* or *sacred* class: and the then popular election of the Bishops,³

¹ Gibb. ii. 324.

² See Bingham, ii. 19. 12.

³ See on this Mosheim, ii. 2. 2. 1, and Waddington, Hist. of Church, p. 23.

—yet more than the attendance of “the listening multitude,”¹—of the *lay members* of the Church also. So that, on the scale of the province or diocese, the Council constituted, as Tertullian long before Gibbon called it, *the very representation of the whole constituent Christian body*; “*ipsa representatio totius nominis Christiani.*”²—After the establishment of Christianity by Constantine there were assembled, on a vastly larger scale, *General Councils*, formed of Bishops, similarly elected,³ from all the provinces of the Empire, still with certain Presbyters conjoined;⁴ and which thus similarly constituted a virtual representation of the Catholic or Universal Christian Church and body,⁵ habitant in the Roman world.—Of these there were held *seven* or *eight* in the *Eastern Empire*, in the course of the 4th and four following centuries, before the final and total separation of the Greek and Latin Churches; all under the sanction and protection of the Greek or Eastern Emperors.⁶ And there were held *twelve* afterwards in *Western Christendom*, in the course of the four centuries intervening from A. D. 1123 to 1545;⁷ all under the sanction and presidency of the

¹ Gibbon refers to the Council of Carthage at which there attended “*maxima pars plebis.*”

² De Jejun. Cap. xiii. Daubuz, 330.

³ It was not till the 5th or 6th century, I believe, that this popular character of the election of bishops was changed. Those of *Ambrose*, *Martin of Tours*, and *Paulinus*, are well known examples of the custom remaining in force in the 4th century. In the 6th, 7th, and 8th, the Kings of the West took the election of Bishops very much into their own hands. See Waddington, pp. 160, 161.

⁴ Bingham, ii. 19. 13.—Dean Waddington says, p. 216, that in the General Councils of the 4th and 5th centuries, bishops alone attended; and no presbyters, except as representatives of absent bishops. But I think this is said somewhat too absolutely. In the subscriptions to the General Councils of Constantinople, of Chalcedon, and the 2nd of Nice, there appear a few presbyters' names without notification of their being deputies of bishops. This is observed by Bingham.—In a General Council the bishops thus sometimes in subscription marked their representative character, *ὡς ἐκ μέρους καὶ τῆς ἐκ' αὐτῶν Συνόδου*. So in the 6th Council. Hard. iii. 1441.

⁵ “The term *catholic* was applied to the Church, as comprising the *whole body of believers* throughout the world, as early as the middle of the 2nd century, and perhaps much earlier.” Burton's Hist. of Church, p. 424. So Mosheim, speaking of the first Council of Nice. The word *church*, let it be observed, was not then restricted to mean the *clergy*, or *church-officers*, only.

⁶ Viz. the Councils of Nice, A. D. 325, Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431, Chalcedon 451, 2nd and 3rd of Constantinople 556 and 681, 2nd of Nice 787, 4th of Constantinople, A. D. 870.

⁷ Viz. the four Lateran General Councils, A. D. 1123, 1139, 1179, 1215 respectively; two of Lyons, A. D. 1245, 1274; that of Vienne 1311, of Pisa 1409,

Popes.—It is with these latter alone that we have to do in the present discussion. As the former proposed to themselves to represent the entire professing Church, or Christian body, so these, as was indeed solemnly asserted in the Councils themselves,¹ to represent the whole Romish Church, or, as it was said, *orthodox Christendom*.—At the same time,—through certain changes in the mode of episcopal election, and other causes to which I shall further advert under my second Head,—they were *virtually* the representation rather of the *Head* of Antichristendom, i. e. of the *Papal Antichrist*, than of its *general constituent body*.

Now the word *representation*, according to its very etymology alike in Latin and in English,—whether as depicting the *external form*, or the *manners*, or (as here) the *mind and will* of the party represented,—and whether as effected by the *painter's colouring*, by *natural similarity of person*, by the *faithful expressive letter*,² or (as here) the *vicarious personation by deputy*,—I say in every case the word *representation* signifies such a likeness as to exhibit the party present, as it were, on the scene.³ And thus in every case,—the *two last* as well

of Constance 1414, of Florence 1438, the 5th Lateran 1512, and that of Trent 1545.

¹ E. g. in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basle* very solemnly. On the former of which Gibbon too makes the remark (ix. 216); "Never was the Republic of Europe represented with more dignity than in the Council of Constance." And the Decrees bore in fact that appellation.—In the Council of Trent (second Session) when it was proposed to call the Council simply *Concilium Generale*, the French prelates urged the addition of the words, "*universam ecclesiam representans*." But, after some debate, the legates induced them to content themselves with the addition of the word *œcumenicum* only: alleging that the appellation *general and œcumenic* implied that it represented the *Universal Church*.

² So Tertullian, Lib. Præscript. c. 32: "Percurre ecclesias, apud quas ipse authenticæ literæ eorum apostolorum citantur; sonantes vocem, et representantes faciem unius cujusque." Also Cyprian, Ep. 6; "Vicarias pro nobis has literas mittimus, representantes vobis per epistolam gaudium nostrum."

³ The following extract from Clement the Fifth's Letter of Convocation to the General Council of Vienne, A. D. 1310, well illustrates the point. "Alii vero remanentes Episcopi, Abbates, Priores, Capitula, et Conventus, per eandem Archiepiscopos et episcopos ad Concilium prædictum accessuros (quibus ad omnia quæ in eodem Concilio statuentur concedant plenariam potestatem, de quâ sufficienter constat per publica documenta) nostro se conspectui representent." Hard. vii. 1326: and so again 1328.—Also the following from the Bull of Indiction of the Tridentine Council (Hard. x. 7): "Sin accedere ipsi (reges) non poterunt, at graves saltem viros legatos cum auctoritate mittant; qui personam Principis sui quique possint in Concilio referre."

as the *first*,—the Apocalyptic word *εικων*, or *image*, might obviously be used with perfect propriety as its equivalent. In fact examples of such its use occur in other than the sacred writings.¹—It is however with the case of *vicarious representation by envoy, or deputy*, that I am alone concerned at present. And the following three examples, of older and of more modern date, alike in the English, Latin, and Greek languages, (the last singularly exact to our point,) will suffice in evidence. 1. With reference to the most eminent exemplification that the world's history has afforded of *national* representation, I mean that of the *British Parliament*, the object of the more popular character given to the House of Commons by the introducers of the Reform Bill, has been thus authoritatively stated by one of the number: "The minister constituted that house, as he contended, *the real and express image and representation* of the country."² 2. A patristic expositor, discoursing of Christian ministers as *envoys deputed from Christ*, calls them *his image*: "For *the envoy*," he says, "exhibits in himself *the image* of Him that sent him."³ 3. In the *ancient ecclesiastical*

¹ The word *image* is thus applied by Cicero, in a case of the *second* kind of representation referred to in the text by me. Describing the slovenly appearance and morose bearing of the Consul Piso, he calls him "*exemplum veteris imperii, imaginem antiquitatis*:" the very representative and image of the unpolished garb and manners of the old Republic. And, carrying on the figure, he afterwards speaks of Piso's laying an interdict on the perfumery shops at Capua, during his duumvirate in that city, as if "*imaginis ornantia causa*;" for the sake of giving it still more of the rude garb of antiquity. (Pro P. Sextio. Ed. Ernesti, Vol. viii. p. 974.)—Again *Ambrose* thus uses the figure in reference to the *third* kind of representation specified, I mean that by *letter*. Ep. 66, Ch. ii.; "Ut verè inter disjunctos corpore *quædam imago* referatur *præsentia*."

² So Sir James Graham in his speech, as reported in the Evening Mail of May 31, 1841, on the Question of Confidence in the Whig Ministry.—To the same effect in his Address to his Constituents at Dorchester, given in the Mail of Jan. 3, 1842, he thus expresses himself: "Lord John Russell appealed to a Constituency, formed within the last eight or nine years, expressly to remove *nominal*, and establish *virtual* representation: so as to give not the *reflected image* of other interests, but the *actual impress* of the public mind."

³ "Sacerdotes *legati* ideo dicuntur, quia illum in se ostendunt cujus legati sunt: sunt etenim ejus *imago*." Quæstio 109 apud Augustin. Op. (Bened. Ed.) Vol. iii. p. 109, Appendix. The author is uncertain.

In the middle age the same figure was applied by the Latins in Western Christendom. The word *imaginarius*, or *one's image-bearer*, was used of a deputy representative. So Ducange on the word *IMAGINARIUS*; "Vicarius, qui vices alterius in rebus gerendis implet, et *imaginem* quodammodo refert;" exemplifying from Petrus de Vineis and others. And on *VICARIUS*; "Vices agentium . . . ut *quædam imago* in illis videatur esse veritatis."

Councils themselves the very term was used to mark the *deputed member of Council's* character and office. He was said *εξεικονίζειν*, to be the *image* of, them that sent him.¹

Hence the obvious fitness of the Apocalyptic symbol *Image of the Beast*, to prefigure the *Papal Councils General*; i. e. supposing the Beast itself to prefigure *Papal Anti-Christendom*; a point, I trust, long since fully proved by me. Nor let me omit to note the singular fact that here, as we have seen so often elsewhere,² the figure made use of may almost be regarded as one *drawn from the life*: for I find that both in Eastern and Western Christendom General Councils were actually represented to the public under the guise of an *εικων*, or *image*, whether painted or in sculpture; and this a *sacred* one, the object of men's reverential gaze and regard.³

¹ After the 6th Council at Constantinople the Emperor Constantine wrote to request Pope Leo to send his *apocrisarius* as his representative to Constantinople; *εν τοις ανακτατοουσιν, ειτε δογματικοις, ειτε κανονικοις, και απλως εκκλησιαστικοις απασι πραγμασι, το της ημετερας αγωνισουσης εξεικονιζειν προσωπον*. This request of the Emperor's is quoted in a report of the proceedings of the Trullan Council, soon after following: and it was argued from it that the Pope could not have had any deputy in the Constantinopolitan Council *εξεικονιζειν αυτον, to be his image*; and consequently that the Canons of that Council lacked the Papal authorization. Harduin iii. 1641, 1648. ² See my Vol. i. pp. 395, 396, &c.

³ The secretary, Agatho, employed in transcribing the Acts of the 6th General Council, complains in a letter of the new Emperor, Philip Bardanes, having destroyed the copies, and also deposed from its pedestal the *εικονα Συνόδου*, or *Image of the Council*, that had by the previous king been erected in some vestibule of the palace, by the church of Santa Sophia, and in its place substituted his own *εικων*.—The statement is repeated by *Anastasius the librarian*, and *Ado in his Chronicon*; with this variation and addition, that the Emperor erased a *picture* of the six great Œcumenic Councils from the wall, and sent to Rome ordering the removal of all such images from the churches; but that the Pope and Roman people, to mark their contempt and rejection of his mandate, had an *image* of the six great Councils erected in St. Peter's.

Both Baronius, ad Ann. 711, and Mosheim viii. 2. 3. 11, give the narrative: and, as it seems to me very illustrative, as well as curious, and has never, I believe, been noticed of late years, I subjoin the three original authorities.*—It surprises me that neither Baronius nor Mosheim refer to the first, which is of all the fullest and most authentic.

* 1. *Agatho*, the librarian of Santa Sophia, and secretary to the 6th Council spoken of, thus writes. (ap. Harduin, iii. 1836.) *Ευθη και παραχρημα βασιλικη εξουσια και αυθεντια χρησαμενος, προ της οικειας εισοδου την μεν απο χρονων ηδη ανατεθεισαν εικονα της αυτης αγιας εκτης Συνόδου, πλησιον και μεταξυ της ταταρτης και εκτης σχολης, εν τοις προαυλιοις του βασιλικου παλατιου, κατενεχθησαι προσεταξε: μη αλλως φησας εν τοις ουκ ουσιν αυτη βασιλειος εισερχοσθαι καταδεχοσθαι, πριν η μη τουτο γερησεται θεσπισας εξουσιαστικως και τουτο, ωστε την προστηγοριαν Σεργιου τε και Ουρηου, και των λοιπων συν αυτοις δυο της*

I now proceed to shew,

2ndly, *That* THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY AND CLERGY OF PAPAL CHRISTENDOM, acted in regard to and in these PAPAL COUNCILS, whatsoever the TWO-HORNED LAMB-PERSONATING APOCALYPTIC BEAST, OR FALSE PROPHET, is said to have done in regard to the IMAGE OF THE BEAST.

There are *three* things stated of the procedure of the Lamb-like Beast in the matter of the image :—1st, that it was he that said to them that dwelt on the earth, that they should make an image to the Beast that had been wounded by the sword, and had revived ; i. e. to the Romish Empire, revived in a new and spiritual form under the Headship of the Pope :—2nd, that he had power to give breath to the image of the Beast, so as to make it speak :—and 3rdly, that he would make it speak, and speak authoritatively,¹ to this effect, that

¹ *ἴνα ποιήσῃ*. The word may be interpreted of *legal enactments*, with penalties to enforce obedience.

αυτης ἁγιας και οἰκουμενικης Συνόδου ἐκβληθεντων και ἀναθεματισθεντων, ἐν τοις ἱεροῖς των ἁγιωτατων ἐκκλησιων βεντυχοῖς ἀνακηρυττεσθαι, και τας αυτων ἀνασηλευσθαι κατα τῶπον εἰκονας.

Then, after mention of Bardanes' death, and Anastasius' succession to the Imperial throne and orthodoxy, and of the letters sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Roman Pope Constantine, with an account of what had occurred, he thus proceeds.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατενεξὶν τῆς ἀνωτερῆς δηλαμμένης συνοδικῆς τελείας εἰκονος, ὃ ταυτην ἀθεσμιως προστάξας κατενεχθῆναι, Βαρδανῆς ὁ αἰτιηριος και παραφορος, ἐν τῇ ἐτῶ λεγομενῇ τῇ Μῆλιε καμάρῃ, [και] τας ἁγιας και οἰκουμενικας πέντε Συνόδους, και μονον ἐκ τῆς εἰκονος ἀνασηλευθῆναι προσεταξεν ἑαυτον, ἐν τῷ μῶσῳ ταυτης ἀμα τῷ Σεργίῳ ἐπὶ λογραφήσας ὀρθοσάδον, ἀναγκαιως πανυ και ἀγαν ἀρμόδιως των αὐτων δυο προσώπων ἐξ ἐκείνης κατενηγεμενων, ἣ τῆς αὐτης ἁγιας και οἰκουμενικης ἑκτης Συνόδου ἀναξωγραφῆτις, συν ταις ἀλλαις πέντε, γεγενῆται κοινῆς ἑορτῆς και ευφροσυνῆς παντι γεγονουίας τῇ τῆς ἁγιας ἐκκλησίας φιλοθεῶν πληρωματι, ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει και εἰρηῇ των ἁγιωτατων ἐκκλησιων.

2. *Anastasius* (apud Baronium). “Ejus (sc. Philippici Imperatoris) professionem fidei Constantinus Pontifex Romanus respuit. Hujus rei causâ, zelo fidei accensus, omnis cœtus Romanæ urbis *imaginem* quam Græci *votivæam* vocant, sex continentem sanctas ac universales Synodos, in Ecclesiâ B. Petri erexere.—Etenim, inter alia nefanda, idem Philippicus Imperator sanctas sex Synodos œcumenicas picturâ effigiatas à pariete abrâdi præcepit: contrâ quod Imperatoris facinus Pontifex nitens, quas ille destruxit ipse eo modo quo erant ante restituit.”

3. *Ado*, Chronicon, ap. B. P. M. xvi. 802. “Philippicus Imperator litteras pravi dogmatis Constantino misit Pontifici: quas ille respuit; et hujus rei causâ fecit picturas in porticu S. Petri, quas Acta sex Synodorum universalium continent. Nam et hujusmodi picturas, cùm haberentur in urbe regiâ, Philippicus jusserat auferri.” He adds, ad ann. 717; “Theodosius Imperator, ut regnum accepit, cùm esset Catholicus, imaginem illam *venerandam* in quâ sanctæ sex Synodi erant depictæ, et a Philippico fuerat dejecta, pristino loco in urbe regiâ erexit.”

whosoever would not worship it should be put to death.—All this seems spoken of as *given* to the lamb-like Beast to be done;¹ and as to be done *before*, i. e. as overseen by, and responsible to, the former Beast, or its ruling Head.²

1. *It was he that said to them that dwelt on the Roman earth that they should make an Image to the Beast;—i. e. constitute a General Council of Anti-Christendom.*

The usual manner of effecting the convention of a General Council in Western Christendom, was as follows. The initiation was with the *Pope* in his character, not of CHRIST'S VICAR, but *chief Patriarch*, or *Head of the Clergy*.³ From him letters of invitation were sent to the Kings of the Western World, stating his intention of holding a Council General, and the time and place of its meeting; and requesting their attendance, in person or by deputy.⁴ Now it was through his *delegates* or *nuncios*,—themselves of the *clerical* order,—that these letters were transmitted: and they, whether of ordinary or extraordinary appointment, were empowered to communicate with the Kings on the subject; and explain to, and urge on them the fulfilment of, the Pope's wishes thereon.⁵

¹ ἡ εἰδότη αὐτῆ ποιεῖσαι εἰκασίον τοῦ θηρίου.

² See my observations on the force of *εἰκασίον*, p. 162 *suprà*.

³ This distinction is important to attend to, with a view to a clear understanding of the prophecy. See above, p. 173.—I have said that it was as *Patriarch*, or *chief Bishop*, that the Popes convoked and presided: because this was simply the extension of the ancient prerogative of the Metropolitan in regard of Provincial Councils.

⁴ The *invitation* of the *Secular Princes*, as well as of *Ecclesiastics*, to attend it was noticed by Innocent IV, at the first Council General of Lyons, as one great mark of the generality of the Council. "Respondit quodd illud erat Concilium Generale, quia tam Principes sæculares quàm Clerici ad illud fuerant invitati." Hard. vii. 380.

⁵ For example we read thus respecting the preparatory steps for convening the first Lateran Council, agreeably with the Pope's Bull of Convocation. "In Conventu Principum apud Triburiam congregato, Legati Sedis Apostolicæ, (Catalanus Episcopus et Cluniacensis Abbas,) ad id à religiosis Episcopis et principibus deputati, ab Imperatore obtinuerunt ut promitteret se ob reconciliationem universalis ecclesiæ venturum, ad indictam Synodum mense Octobri Romæ celebrandam: cujus indictionem in prædicto Conventu Episcopi omnes collaudarunt." William of Malmesbury cited by Harduin VI. ii. 1117.—As another example I may refer to the Pope's Letter to the King of France, on occasion of convoking the 4th Lateran Council: in which Letter the Cardinal Legate through whom it was sent was commended to his favourable regard, as deputed to give

At the same time other Papal letters of convocation were transmitted to all provincial Archbishops and chief Abbots of monasteries: charging them to communicate on the same with their subordinate Bishops and monastic officials, and also with all Deans, Chapters, Presbyters, and Convents; in order that they might be duly represented in the coming Council, and provision made for attention to their several interests,¹ including the *lay* interests involved, as well as *clerical*. Thus it belonged prominently to the *ecclesiastical body*, through its *two horns*, or *episcopal and monastic Heads*, to give effect to the orders of the Pope, their Metropolitan, respecting the convention of the Council; and to make it *to or for him*.²—Finally, at the opening of the Council, in case of there being too small an attendance to make the Council respectable, and enable it to proceed to business,³ besides the repetition of the plans and procedure before mentioned, it was entrusted to one of the Clergy to preach a sermon, forthwith to be published and circulated, inviting the nations to attend to the call, and join the Council.⁴—So that in the whole preparatory process it was assigned to the Papal Clergy, as to the Apocalyptic Second Beast, or False Prophet, to say to them that dwelt on the earth that they should form an Image, or representative Council, to the Papal Anti-Christendom and Antichrist.

2. “It was given him to *give breath to the Image of the Beast*, so as that *the Image of the Beast should speak*.”

It was the peculiarity of these General Councils, as

him all the information that he might wish respecting the Council *vivâ voce*. Hard. vii. 11.

¹ So Innocent III, in preparation for the 4th Lateran: “Injungatis autem vos, fratres Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, ex parte nostrâ, universis ecclesiarum Capitulis, non solum cathedralium sed aliarum etiam, ut Præpositum, vel Decanum, aut alios viros idoneos, ad Concilium pro se mittant.” Hard. vii. 7. See too Note ³, p. 187. And similar directions were sent to *Abbots*.

² Such I conceive to be the force of the *dative* here:—viz. to do what they did agreeably to the will and pleasure of the Beast specified in the dative.

³ As at the first meeting at the Council of Trent.

⁴ So in the Sermon at the opening Session of the Tridentine Council. Dupin.

contrasted with either national Synods, or political Conventions on a larger scale,¹ that on *matters ecclesiastical*,—i. e. on almost all the subjects on which Councils were called to pronounce (for the word was one that was construed to have a large meaning.)—the *Clergy* should *alone* vote, or have a voice. From early times the distinction of the orders of *Laity* and *Clergy* was observed in them. It was marked even in the *sittings* of the Councils. In that of Chalcedon, for example, held in the 5th century, while the *Bishops* sat on either side down the nave of the church of assembly, the *lay members* sate on the cross benches.² In the Western Councils they sometimes stood.³ The number thus attendant was sometimes considerable. In the last Council, that of Trent, though the Bishops present were few, in comparison with former Councils, the number of lay deputies in attendance amounted, I think, to near a thousand. Their office was to suggest and counsel, in support of the several interests that they might have been deputed to maintain.⁴ This they did chiefly, I conceive, in the several preparatory Committees.⁵ But there were some that

¹ We may contrast the practice at the meetings of German Diets, Spanish Cortes, or French or English Parliaments. In all of these, *ecclesiastical* dignitaries have attended as well as *lay*; and all not only alike joined in the discussion, but alike voted.

² "Residentibus magnificentissimis Judicibus, (*Greek ἀρχιερωσ*) et amplissimo Senatu, in medio ante cancellos sanctissimi altaris, et ex levâ parte sedentibus sanctissimis Episcopis et Vicariis Leonis, Antistitis priscæ urbis Romæ, et Archiepiscopo Constantinopolitanæ civitatis, &c,—et dexterâ vero parte similiter consententibus Archiepiscopis Alexandriæ, &c." Hard. ii. 66.—See too the *Ordo de Concilio celebrando* of Isidore Mercator. Hard. i. 7.

³ In the account of the 2nd General Council of Lyons, after a notice of the Prelates and Abbots sitting, we read; "*Stantibus inferius* nunciis solennibus Franciæ, Alemanniæ, Angliæ, et Siciliæ regum, et aliorum multorum Principum, Baronum, Capitulorum, et Ecclesiarum procuratoribus." Hard. vii. 687.

⁴ In the Papal Letters of invitation to the 4th Lateran, addressed to the Latin Kings of Constantinople and Cyprus, they were requested, if unable to attend in person, to send "nuntios speciales, viros idoneos, per quos tuæ nobis aperiis beneplacitum voluntatis." The Archbishops too were to send to the Council of Lyons, "nuntios providos et fideles, qui vice ipsorum utile nobis consilium largiantur." Hard. vii. 9, 377.—In Sir F. Palgrave's second Report of Public Records, there is noticed a Letter of Leo X to Henry VIII, charging him to send him some learned men to attend the then proximate 8th Session of the 5th Lateran Council in 1516, to advise with on the projected Reformation of the Calendar.

⁵ These preparatory Committees were chiefly famous at the Councils of Basle, Constance, and Trent.

were privileged to attend not the preparatory Committees only, and the masses and solemn services that introduced the Sessional, but the deliberations of the Sessional itself. In regard of these, however, when a question was to be decided,—at least an ecclesiastical question, we read that they were *excluded*, as *not having a voice*. Such is expressly declared to have been the received custom in the General Councils of the West:¹ and it was forcibly dwelt on by the famous Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, at the time of the Council of Basle, in order to overcome the then Pope's scruples about sanctioning it.² It was the *Clergy* alone that *had a voice*. What the majority of *their* voices affirmed became a Canon of the Council: and the Council was said to *speak* it.³—So exactly was the prediction fulfilled; “It was given to the lamb-personating Beast, or False Prophet, to *give breath* to the Image of the Beast, so that the Image of the Beast should *speak*.”

And here seems to be the place for shewing that this professedly representative Council of *Papal Anti-Christendom* was in fact the representative of the *Papal Anti-christ*;—this *Image of the Beast*, the image rather of that which, from its complete ruling over the Beast, is put by the Angel for it, viz. of *its eighth Head*. For, during the darkness of the middle ages such was the Papal influence, especially over the hierarchy and clergy, both secular and monastic,—deriving as they did from

¹ So in the account of the 8th Session of the last Lateran Council, Hard. ix. 1719: “*Exclusis, de more, de loco Concilii omnibus non habentibus voces definitivas; remanentibus in suis subselliis Prælati post Cardinales, mitratis, et sacris vestibus indutis.*”—After which withdrawal of the laity attendant, the account proceeds to say that the Schedule of certain proposed Decrees on matters of faith was read and voted on.

² See Waddington, p. 569. He combats the Pope's fear of the temporalities of the Church being interfered with by the Council, from the circumstance of the comparative paucity of laymen that might be expected to attend its *sittings*, and their exclusion from *voting* in questions strictly ecclesiastical.

³ Ferrario observes, ii. 431; “*Erano chiamati Atti i colloqui, le discussioni, le dispute, è tutto che si faceva è diceva. Quando parlava un vescovo, usavan di scrivere, ‘La Santa Sinodo disse.’*” He means, of course, when the Bishop's proposal was affirmed by the majority. So in the Extract from the Roman Council of Symmachus, given in my Note ², p. 133; “*Quo recitato, et ab omnibus consonâ voce conprobato, sancta Synodus dixit, Hæc ab omnibus teneantur.*”

the Roman See their sacerdotal authority, and bound to it from the eighth century by an oath of fealty,¹—that whatever the Pope wished, *that* they voted, and *that* consequently they made *the Image speak*. So, for example, at the most famous General Council of the middle age, the fourth Lateran, at which above 1000 Bishops and Abbots attended, and Ambassadors also from most of the Christian Courts,—thus presenting the *appearance* of a representation of all the ten Western Kingdoms,—the seventy Canons *dictated by the Pope* were at once obsequiously assented to by the assembled Prelates:² and the Council's voice, thus palpably the mere echo of his, was immediately afterwards received and subscribed to by the lay ambassadors. After this as light advanced, and when in consequence partial risings resulted in the spirit not of princes and people only, but even of some of the clergy, not indeed against Papal *heresy*, but against Papal oppression, misrule, and avarice,³—when Councils were thus no longer so manageable as before, and consequently no longer in favour as before with the Roman See,⁴ yet by its strong remaining influence over the great majority of the assembled Prelates,⁵ and its adroit use of its admitted prerogatives,—first of *convening*, with the determination of *time and place*,⁶ then, in person or

¹ See *suprà* p. 171.

² Waddington, p. 347.

³ This important distinction is well noticed in Dean Waddington's account of the Council of Constance, p. 561.

⁴ It was the freedom of the discussions at Constance and Basle that first alarmed the Popes. Their reluctance to hold the Council of Trent is well known.

⁵ See Waddington, pp. 557, 558.

⁶ Originally it was the *Christian Emperor's* admitted prerogative to convene General Councils. Constantine, having divided the administration of the Church into *external* and *internal*, and reserved to himself the *external*, relating to the outward state and discipline of the Church, did in this character call and preside in the first General Council, that of Nice. (Euseb. Vit. Const. c. 44.) The prerogative devolved on, and was exercised by, his successors on the throne of Constantinople.—But in Western Christendom, after its separation from the Eastern Roman Empire, and indeed before that separation was fully effected, it was claimed by and for the *Popes*, as their own. Thus in the Roman Council already alluded to, which was convened by King Theodoric against Symmachus, the assembled deputies “*suggesterunt ipsum qui dicebatur impetitus debuisse synodum convocare.*”—Subsequently Popes Pelagius II, Nicholas I, and in fine Gregory VII, asserted the Papal prerogative of convocation. And notwithstanding that Charlemagne and some of the German Emperors up to Gregory's time contested it with them, it was finally conceded by the Western Princes; and in fact every General Council of the West convened by a *Papal Præceptum*.

through its legates, of *presiding*, (for, in case of the Pope being unrepresented in it, the Image, just like either Beast that constituted it, was considered *headless* and illegitimate,) then of *proposing* the subjects of debate, then of *adjourning*, *suspending*, *removing*,¹ or, if need were, of even *dissolving*² the Council,—I say through the adroit exercise of these various influential Papal prerogatives, from the first Lateran Council in 1123 down to that of Trent, the Western General Councils, while professing to be the representation and image of *Western Christendom*, were to every the most important intent and purpose, (above all on questions of faith and heresy,) the representation and image rather of the *Papal mind*.³ Indeed sometimes the Papal confirmation was formally called for, as at Trent, ere the Council's decrees should be promulgated.—Thus, I repeat, that which was *professedly* the Image of the *whole* Beast, or *body of Western Christendom*, was *virtually* the Image of the *Beast's ruling Head*, the Papal *Antichrist*.⁴ And hence one notable *αγασμα*, or act of jugglery, accomplished by the Pope and Papal Hierarchy that spoke through it: viz. to make the world believe that *its* voice was the voice of their own representatives; and so, *as in a self-assented act*, obligatory on themselves.⁵ Much more

¹ Prerogatives used most adroitly in the councils of Basle and of Trent.

² "Pope Martin continued to press the immediate *dissolution* of the Council. It was in vain objected that matters of great importance remained to be settled. . . . *His Bull (of dissolution)* released the fathers from their unsuccessful labours. . . . The Council of Constance *had ceased to exist*." Wadd. p. 563.

³ With full understanding of all this, the Protestant powers in 1560, when invited to attend the Council of Trent on its third convocation, asserted in the spirit of the 21st English Article, that the Prerogative of convening a General Council attached to the Emperor, not the Pope. And they demanded, in order to its being a *free* Council, 1st. that the *convocation* should not be by the Pope; 2. that the Pope should not *preside*; 3. that the Bishops attending should be *exempted from their oath of allegiance to the Pope*; 4. that the *Holy Scriptures* should be the ground of decision.—But to none of these requisitions would the Romanists consent: and so the Protestants declined attendance.

⁴ Compare the second extract from Sir J. Graham, p. 188, Note ².—When it was proposed to worship *Rome* as a goddess by the provincial cities, *Augustus* allowed it with the proviso that his own worship should be added. Similar was the *Papal* favor to *Councils General*. So Gregory II. confessed. See Gibb. ix. 135.

⁵ On the first Trentine Session the Papal Legates declined discussing the question, whether it should be called a Council *representing the universal Church*; because of the removal that might result of that *happy ambiguity* which, as it was, attached to the term *church*. In order to increase the authority of the

notable than even this was their *σχημαίων*, or *juggling*, in successfully palming upon Christendom, as *the voice of the Divine Spirit*, what was but the voice of a thing of Rome's own inspiration. Indeed a Trentine Bishop has himself so stated the matter : and this in terms so precisely agreeing with the Apocalyptic figure, that one might almost have deemed it a comment thereon.¹

3. And hence the *third* point here noted : " It was given him to give breath to the Image of the Beast ; so that the Image of the Beast should speak, and cause that *whosoever would not worship the Image* should be killed."

Of course it needed not, either in case of an image in its *literal* sense, or of an image in its *figurative* sense, that it should be *set up as an object of worship*. As, however, such was the use of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, and again of the images and pictures of the Roman Pagan Emperors in the early times of Christianity,² so in later ages was it the case, just as here predicted, with the *figurative image*, or *representative Councils* of Western Christendom. For it was not on political matters, for the most part, or mere ecclesiastical questions of discipline, that the Council General was called to pronounce ; but chiefly, and above all, on questions of *religion and faith*. On these it professed itself qualified to pronounce with an authority *inherent, inde-*

Council's Decrees, they wished the word to be understood in its original and larger sense, as comprehending the *laity* as well as *clergy* of Christendom. But then where the *proper representation of the laity* ? This, they knew, might have been urged on them, had the discussion continued, and consequently reclamation been made for the *laity having a voice in the Council*. So they adroitly cushioned the question.

¹ " In summâ in eum statum res est adducta, istorum qui illuc facti institutique venerant improbitate, ut non jam episcoporum sed *larvarum*, non hominum sed *simulacrorum*, que nervis moventur alienis, ut *Dædali statuæ* fuisse perhibentur, Concilium illud videretur. Erant Episcopi illi conductitii plerique ut utres, rusticorum musicum instrumentum, quos *ut vocem mittent, inflare* necesse est. Nil habuit cùm illo Conventu Sanctus Spiritus commercii. Cursitabant Romam nocte dieque veredarii. Illinc responsa, tanquam Delphis aut Dodonâ, expectabantur : illinc nimirum Spiritus ille Sanctus, quem suis Concilii præesse jactant, tabellarii manticis inclusus mittebatur."—This singularly illustrative passage occurs in a sketch of the Council of Trent given A.D. 1567, to the German Emperor by an Hungarian Bishop there present ; and is cited by Mr. Mendham in his Edition of the Acta Concilii Tridentini a Gabriele Paleotto : Pref. p. xxi.

² See Pliny's famous Letter to Trajan, &c.

*pendent of the written Scriptures, and infallible,*¹ even as under the full guidance of *God's Spirit,*² and on these it required obedience. Now with such an assumption,—an assumption essentially impious, as implying that God might contradict Himself, and that the rule which He had pronounced sufficient, and neither to be added to nor diminished from,³ was insufficient,—I say, with such an assumption, and while on questions of religion and faith discarding more or less the written Scripture, and pronouncing by another rule, that of *tradition*, said to be in the priesthood's keeping, it could scarcely be but that its oracles would be those of falsehood rather than truth, and the deference required to them such as to involve a rejection of God's worship and obedience, for a contrary obedience and hostile worship. And this was indeed the case. For what were its dogmas? *Image and saint-worship,*⁴ *transubstantiation and adoration of the Mass,*⁵ *auricular confession*⁶ *and the compulsory celibate of the Clergy,*⁷ *indulgences for remission of sins,*⁸ *the existence of purgatorial fire, and benefit to suffering souls in*

¹ On the question where the *infallibility of the Church* resides, Romanists differ: whether in Popes alone, Councils alone, or Popes in Council. In the latter case all, I believe, agree in viewing the Council as infallible on matters of faith.

² Gibbon, ii. 335, with his usual sneer, and his usual accuracy of statement, thus expresses himself about the early Christian Councils of the third century: "And it was natural to believe that a liberal effusion of the *Holy Spirit* would be poured on the united assembly of the delegates of the Christian people."—In the *Ephesian Council*, held A.D. 468, we find Pope Celestine thus directly asserting the fact of the *Holy Spirit* directing it: "*Spiritus Sancti testatur præsentem congregatio sacerdotum.*" Hard. i. 1467.—Similarly respecting the 1st *Lateran* the language of the reporter is, "*Inter cætera quæ, Spiritu Sancto mediante, statuta sunt,*" &c. Hard. vi. ii. 1215.—The usual style and title of the instruments issued by General Councils, was according to Dumont (*Corps Diplomat.* 179) as follows; "*Sacrosancta Generalis Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, Universalem Ecclesiam representans, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*"—Accordingly in the Council of Trent it was proposed that the Seal of the Council should be a large leaden one, with the *Holy Spirit as a dove* engraven on it, and the name of the Council. Dupin, p. 9.

³ Is there not a special regard to *Rome* in that concluding curse in the *Apocalypse*, ch. xii. 18, 19, on him who shall add to, or take from, the words of that prophecy?

⁴ Adopted by the Romish Church from the 2nd *Nicene Council*.

⁵ *Transubstantiation* was affirmed in the 4th *Lateran*: the worship of the mass (with the *latria*, according to the Council of Trent, § xiii. c. 5, due to God himself) in a Canon of Pope Honorius III immediately after. Foxe, i. 510.

⁷ *Lateran* iv. It was to be once a year at least. ⁶ *Lateran* i; Can. 21.

⁸ 1st *Lateran*, Canon 11; "*Eis qui Hierosolymam proficiuntur, &c, suorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus.*" Hard. VI. ii. 1112.

it from the suffrages of the faithful and private masses,¹ the Pope's universal supremacy, and necessity of submission to him in order to salvation,² the coequal authority with inspired scripture of the Apocrypha and of tradition,³ the appropriation to the Church (or, as was now meant by the term, the ecclesiastical order) of the office of interpreting Scripture,⁴ and consequent denial of the right of private judgment,—these, and other such like, were the unscriptural dogmas promulgated by the Western Councils. They promulgated them, so as I before said, as with the authority of the *Holy Spirit*; and in this character from first to last required implicit and universal submission to them. I say from first to last. For however their members might sometimes differ on other points,⁵ in this they never varied;—viz. in requiring the human mind to bow and fall prostrate before the oracles they pronounced, even as before God's own word.⁶ And whosoever would not so bow down, him they anathema-

¹ Council of Trent, Sess. xxv. Hard. x. 167.

² The 5th Lateran Council solemnly adopted the famous Bull, "*Unam Sanctam*," of Boniface to this effect. See my Vol. ii. p. 85.

³ The importance of this principle was early felt by the Church when apostatizing. We have already seen Pope Leo's recognition of it. To the 5th General Council held at Constantinople (A.D. 680) the then Pope wrote, "*fidei quam percepimus per apostolicam Apostolorum Pontificum traditionem, et sanctorum quinque Generalium Synodorum.*" And in the 7th (or 2nd Nicene) which inculcated *image-worship*; "*His qui spernunt traditiones ecclesiæ, perhibentes quòd nisi de Veteri ac Novo Testamento evidenter fuerimus edocti, non sequimur doctrinas sanctorum patrum, &c, Anathema!*"* (Hard. iv. 42). In the Council of Trent the same point was insisted on as essential. Sess. iv; Hard. x. 22. It is noted by Ranke, i. 303.

⁴ Council of Trent.
⁵ The Council of Constance, for example, as much as the most entirely Papal of Councils. This point is well stated by Dean Waddington, p. 561.

⁶ A requirement still in force. The following is the oath to be taken by all Romish priests on presentation to a benefice. "All things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons of the General Councils, and particularly by the Council of Trent, I unhesitatingly believe and profess." This occurs in the Creed of Pope Pius IV; said by Bishops Doyle and Murray, before the Parliamentary Committees on Ireland, to be one of the most approved summaries of

* In the same Council the following Article of Confession was adopted, well of a piece with the former: "*His qui assumunt eloquia quæ a divinâ Scripturâ adversus idola proferuntur in venerandas imagines, Anathema!*" Hard. ib.

"*Idola seponens*," said Irenæus of Antichrist. How curious the coincidence of fact with this patristic expectation, and the cause and manner of its accomplishment! The saints' "*imagines*" were of the Papal Antichrist's own authorization, (see p. 151, Note ⁸.) and under his own control and management; and Pagan "*idola*" of that of a party opposing.

tized and excommunicated, as a heretic.—But this leads me to the last point mentioned of the Image.

4. “The Image caused that as many as would not worship it should be *put to death*.”—I have observed that whosoever received not nor submitted to the Decrees of the Council, were anathematized by it and excommunicated as heretics. And let it not be forgotten that by the Canon Law, generally received in Christendom, an excommunicated heretic was out of the protection of the law, and as such liable to be put by any one to death.¹ But besides this, the *extirpation of heretics* was a professed object in most of the convocatory Bulls of the Councils General of the West;² and by the Canons or voice of the Councils, their death was decreed and provision made for accomplishing it. Thus in the 3rd Lateran Council there was the decree respecting *Cathari, Publicani*, and other like heretics; pronouncing anathema against them, and forbidding that any should harbor them while alive, or when dead give them Christian burial.³ Again, in the 4th Lateran Council, Canon 3, the secular powers were expressly subordinated to the spiritual, for the purpose of exterminating such heretics; and crusades with the usual promise of remission of sins to the crusader, stirred up against them.⁴ And in subsequent General Councils the same “*debitæ pænæ*”⁵ were adjudged to the disobedient:—not in those only of unquestioned Papal supremacy, as the two of Lyons and the 5th Lateran; but to the full as much (witness the sentences against Huss and Jerome and their Bohe-

Romish faith: the others specified by Bishop Doyle being the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and Catechism of the Council of Trent. So too Dr. Milner.

Contrast Art. XXI of the Church of England: “Things ordained by General Councils as necessary to salvation have no authority, unless they be taken out of Holy Scripture.”

¹ “*Homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant.*” Quoted before, p. 159, Note 4.

² From the 2nd Lateran to that of Trent, excepting only those of *Lyons*.—So much was the extirpation of heretics an object of the Popes convocing Councils, that Bingham, vii. Pref. 26, quotes *Prateolus*, saying, “That in the 9th and 10th centuries there was a perfect interregnum of heretics, because there were no Councils.”—On the 5th Lateran see my Vol. ii. p. 394: also Hard. VI. ii. 1115, vii. 7.

³ See Vol. ii. pp. 377, 378.

⁴ Wadd. 348.

⁵ 5th Lateran. See Vol. ii. p. 398.

mian followers¹⁾ in the Councils of Constance and Basle, and finally that of Trent.²

So that, we see, the same spirit of persecution, even unto blood, against those faithful ones who would worship God only, inspired the antitype of the **IMAGE OF THE BEAST** from first to last. In all its fresh oracular voices, as it was set up afresh from time to time, it showed that on this, as on other points, it preserved its individuality of character unchanged. And as in the visions of Daniel the great *Heathen* Empires were fitly represented under the associated symbols of an Image and Wild Beasts, as being both setters up of themselves to be worshipped, and persecutors of the faithful saints,³—so was the same double character with equal fitness figured to St. John of the **POPEDOM** of later ages. For *its* **IMAGE** too was set up by it to be worshipped: and the two **WILD BEASTS** its constituents were the ready instruments to execute the sentence of the **IMAGE**, that “whosoever would not worship it should be put to death.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BEAST'S MARK, NAME, AND NUMBER.

“And he causes all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark on their right hand or on their forehead: and that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark or the name of the Beast, or the number of his name.—Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of

¹ See Waddington, 593, on the condemnation and murder of Huss and Jerome by the supposed *popular* and *liberal* Council of Constance.—So in the Council of *Basle* too we find that the *Bohemians* met condemnation. And the Pope, although so angry with the Council as both to transfer it, and declare all its other acts *null* and *void* after his Legate's leaving it, yet made on this one point special exception. Wadd. 573. ² Trent Sess. 24, 25.

³ Such I conceive to have been the meaning of the symbols.—As to the *self-worship* set up, Nebuchadnezzar's *Babylonian* Image of gold was but the representative of his own greatness: the *Persian* Darius expressly superseded all other worship by that of himself: and so too the *Macedonian* Alexander, *Syro-Macedonian* Antiochus Epiphanes, and *Pagan Roman* Emperors required for themselves a worship such as was due to God only.

the Beast: for it is the number of a man: and his number is 666."—Apoc. xiii. 16—18.

It is not quite clear whether the second Beast, or the *Image*, be the nominative to the verb "causes," with which the passage before us opens. Nor is it material. For the *Image* is but the mouthpiece of the second Beast; and the second Beast the actor or superintendent, in order to the fulfilment of the enactments of the *Image*. We may perhaps prefer to understand it, in common with most other interpreters, as the *second Beast*. As to the requirement that all should be made to receive on their right hand, or on their forehead, the mark, name, or number of the Beast, it has been so well and fully illustrated by former commentators (*especially in what regards the number*¹) from customs prevalent in the Roman world about the time of St. John, and its application to the Popes and Papal Clergy so clearly shown, that I have little more to do in the present Chapter than to abridge from them.—I shall give the ILLUSTRATION first; the APPLICATION afterwards.

I. It appears then that it was common at the time of St. John, and indeed both long before and long after, for three classes of persons to have certain *σηγματα*, or marks of appropriation, imprinted on them, viz. *slaves*, *soldiers*, and the *devotees* of one and another god;—that the impression was generally on the *forehead* or the *hand*;—and that the mark was sometimes the simple *name* or *characteristic emblem* of the master or the god, sometimes (in the devotee's case) the god's particular hieroglyphic *number*.

Thus,—as examples of the *mark* or *name*,—it was with the Sicilian emblem of *a horse* that the enslaved Athenians were branded on the forehead in Sicily.² It

¹ Particularly by *Daubuz* ad loc. and *Clarke*, in his elaborate work on the Dragon and Beast.—*Mr. Rabbett* has lately published a work on the *Name and Number of the Beast*, which I have not seen. But I presume from the notice of it in *Mr. Brooks'* work on Prophecy, that it does not add materially to the information furnished by the two above-mentioned authors.

² *Και τούτους ὡς οἰκετας ἐκώλων, σιζόντες ἵππου εἰς τὸ μετωπῶν.* Plutarch Vita

was with *the master's name or mark* that Roman slaves were stigmatized on their foreheads;¹ and the *Emperor's name or mark* that Roman soldiers bore imprinted on the hand.² Further, among devotees, those of the god Bacchus are specified as branding themselves at times with the ivy-leaf, sacred to him:³ to which I may add the example of the Hindoos, marked even to the present day on the forehead with the hieroglyphic of the god they are consecrated to.

As to inscription with a particular *number*, as sacred, this was either some *simple* number, consecrated to the devotee's god, according to the Pythagorean and Platonic mysteries of numbers;⁴—or perhaps the *number of the letters in his name*;⁵—or, as it might be, the number made up of the *numeral values of the constituent letters of the name*.—Now it is evident that it is the *last* kind of number which is here intended as “the number of the Beast.” For it is elsewhere called “the number of his name:”⁶ and that this cannot mean the number of letters in his name, may be inferred from the largeness of the enigmatic number: for who can suppose a name containing 666 letters?⁷ It is therefore this last me-

Nicia.—A *horse running loose* is frequent on both Syracusan and Panormitan medals. See Eckhel Doctr. Vet. Num. on Sicilian coins.

¹ So Valerius Maximus speaks of the custom for slaves, “literarum notis inuri;” and Plautus calls the slave “literatus.” Ambrose (De Obit. Valentin. 58) says “Character domini inscribuntur servuli:” and Petronius notes the *forehead* as the place of stigma; “Servitia ecce in frontibus cernitis.”

² Ælian says; *Στιγματα εσι των στρατευομενων εν ταις χειρσιν*. Ætius; “Stigmata vocant quæ in facie, vel in aliâ parte corporis, inscribuntur; qualia sunt militum in manibus.” Vegetius; “Victuris in cute punctis milites scripti jurare solent.” So that it was a kind of tattooing. Ambrose (ibid.); “Nomine imperatoris signantur milites.”—Perhaps, says the Benedictine Editor of Ambrose, St. Paul alludes to this when he says, “I bear in my body the marks, *στυματα*, of the Lord Jesus.”

³ *Χαρασσεσθαι και δια πυρος εις το σωμα παρασημη Διονυσου κισσοφυλλη*. So the Author of the 3rd Book of Maccabees.

⁴ E. g. the number *three* was sacred to Minerva, *four* to Apollo, &c. See Clarke, p. 10.

⁵ The Marcossian heretics regarded 24 as a sacred number; because this was alike the number of letters in two quaternions of their Æons, or demi-gods: the first quaternion being, *Αρητος, Ξειγη, Πατηρ, Αληθεια*; the second, *Λογος, Ζωη, Ανθρωπος, Εκκλησια*.

⁶ Apoc. xv. 2.

⁷ So Mr. Clark. And besides, enigmas, of which the nature is this,—the number being given to find the name,—could only in this kind of numbering be distinct and discoverable: words of the same number of letters being innumerable.

thod of mystic numbering which alone seems here to call for illustration.¹ It was called by the Greeks *ισοψηφια*, or *numeral equality*: the calculations being made for the most part according to the *Greek* value of the constituent letters of the name, though sometimes according to their value in *Hebrew* also. And the usage appears to have obtained very largely among both *Pagan Greeks*, *pseudo-Christian Gnostics*, and even *Christian Fathers*;—not to say also among *Jewish Cabalists*.

Thus, among the *Pagans*, the Egyptian mystics spoke of *Mercury*, or *Thouth*, under the number 1218, because the Greek letters composing the name Thouth, when estimated according to their numerical value, together made up that number.² By others Jupiter was invoked under the mystical number 717; because the letters of *Ἡ ΑΡΧΗ*, the *Beginning*, or *First Origin*, which was a characteristic title of the Supreme Deity worshipped as Jupiter, made up that number:³ and Apollo under the number 608, as being that of *ηυς*, or *δης*, words expressing certain solar attributes.⁴—Again, the pseudo-Christian or semi-Pagan Gnostics, from St. John's time downwards, affixed to their gems and amulets, of which multitudes remain even to the present day,⁵ the mystic word *αβρααξ*, or *αβραξας*; under the idea of some magic virtue attaching to its number 365,⁶ as being that of the days of the an-

¹ The illustrations given by Daubuz and Clarke are borrowed in a considerable measure from Martian Capella, a Roman Poet cotemporary with Julius Cæsar.

² Thus; ($\theta=9+\omega=800+\nu=400+\theta=9$)=1218.

³ ($H=8+\alpha=1+\rho=100+\chi=600+\eta=8$)=717. See Cicero De Divinat. Lib. 1. So too the line of Orpheus on Jove;

Αρχη παντων, παντων τε τελευτη.

⁴ ($H=8+\nu=400+s=200$)=608.—*Hvs* good, *δης* shower-giving.

This example is taken from *Copella* by Daubuz and Clarke: and the enigma is thus expressed in verse;

Octo et tercentis numeris, cui littera trina

Conformat sacrum nomen (mystis) cognomen et omen.

Mystis is the reading of Daubuz, *nomen* of Clarke.

⁵ See Walsh's Book on Early Christian Coins, p. 37. He says; "They are not only found in the East, where travellers procure them without much difficulty; but are continually dug up on the banks of the Rhine and Garonne, and different parts of Spain, Italy, and other western countries."—He adds from Irenæus and Jerom that they were called *amulets*, ("quod malum amolitur,") as being charms to the wearer.

⁶ ($A=1+\beta=2+\rho=100+\alpha=1+\sigma=200+\alpha=1+\xi=60$)=365.—Basilides said

nual solar circle; and equal moreover with that of *Μειθρας*, or Mithras, the Magian name for the *Sun*, whom they identified also with *Christ*.¹—Once more, (passing over the case of the Cabalistic Jews, of whose Gematria or *ισοψηφια*, however, I subjoin an example or two below,²) the Christian Fathers themselves fell into the same fancies, and doctrine of mysteriousness in certain verbal numbers. For example, both Barnabas and Clement of Alexandria speak of the virtue of the number 318 as being that of *IHT*,³ the common abbreviation for Jesus crucified; and partly ascribe to its magical virtue the victory that Abraham gained with his 318 servants over the Canaanitish kings.⁴ Similarly Tertullian refers the victory of Gideon with his 300 men⁵ to the circumstance of that being the precise number of *τ*, the sign of the cross.⁶ In the name *Adam St.* Cyprian discerned a mysterious numeral affinity to certain characteristics in the life and history of the second Adam, Jesus Christ.⁷

that *Abraxas* was the highest God; and that 365 heavens were made in honour of him; this being the number of his name. So Tertullian.

¹ $M=40+e=5+i=10+\theta=9+p=100+a=1+s=200=365$. See Walsh, 39—41.

² I give three examples. The first and third, among others, are extracted by Mr. Clarke, p. 29, from Aben Ezra and Kimchi; the second is given by Dr. M'Caul in his Note on Kimchi ad loc.—In Hebrew, the reader will understand, as in Greek, the letters of the Alphabet, in order, express the units up to 10,—then the tens from 10 to 100,—then the hundreds from 100 to 1000, &c.

1. In Zechariah iii. 8, *the Branch*, *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*, was explained to signify *the Messiah*; because in Lamentations i. 16 the Messiah was called *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*, *the Comforter*; and the number of the former word, ($=90+40+8$) as of the latter, ($=40+50+8+40$) was 138.—2. On the same principle the word *שֶׁרֶפֶן*, *serpent*, is made by the Jews one of the names of Messiah, because its numerical value is equal to that of *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*, *Messiah*. “And perhaps,” says Dr. M'Caul, “Our Lord may have alluded to this, when he said, As Moses lifted up the *serpent*,” &c.—3. In answer to the question, What is the *lily* (*שֶׁשׁוֹנָה*)⁸ in the Book of Esther? the Cabalists replied, *Esther* (*הֶסְטֵר*): because both words contain the same number 661.

³ ($I=10+H=8+T=300$)=318.†

⁴ Gen. xiv. 14.

⁵ Judges vii. 6.

⁶ Carm. adv. Marc. Lib. iii. cap. 4:

Hoc etenim signo prædonum stravit acervos,
Congressos populo Christi, sine milite multo,
Tercenteno equite, numerus Tau, litera Græca,
Armatis facibusque et cornibus ore canentum.

⁷ The number is ($A=1+8=4+a=1+\mu=40$)=46. So says Cyprian, (or a

* Esther i. 2, 5: where our translation is, as of a proper name, *Susann*.

† I am surprised that they did not note the *ισοψηφια* with this sacred abbreviation for *Jesus* of the word *ἥλιος*, *the Sun*: ($\eta=8+\lambda=30+i=10+e=70+s=200$)=318

Irenæus notes the remarkable number 888 of the name *Ἰησους*, Jesus.¹ And in the pseudo-Sybilline verses, written by Christians about the end probably of the second century,³ and consequently not long after Irenæus, we find (besides other exemplifications of this verbal numeration³) enigmas proposed of precisely the same character as that in the text;—the *number* being given, and the *name* required. I subjoin an example or two below.⁴

contemporary writer confounded with him,*) Christ ascended on the 40th day from his resurrection, and died at the 6th hour of the day, in the 6th millenary of the world: (i. e. according to the Septuagint Chronology).

The conceit that these four letters were chosen to form Adam's name, as being the initials of *ανατολη, δυσις, αρκτος, μεσημβρινη*, the four quarters of the world, and indicating that earth was taken from all to form his body, (a conceit found also in the Sybilline Poems,) deserves remark, as an indication of the not infrequent imaginativeness of the early Fathers. Clark 66.

¹ Iren. i. 12. ($I=10+\eta=8+\sigma=200+\theta=70+\nu=400+s=200$)=888. See Clark 23.

It was of course natural that this word should be adopted as a charm by those who looked to charms. The same of the word *Χριστος*. And thus Kircher, in his *Magia Hieroglyphica*, well explains the intent and force of the strange looking legend *ΧΝΟΥΜΙΣΡΙ*, which he found on a Gnostic gem with the figure of a serpent, from its *ισοψηφια* with *Χριστος*; either word making up numerically the same sum of 1480. Thus: ($X=600+\nu=50+\theta=70+\sigma=400+\mu=40+i=10+\sigma=200+i=10$)=1480. Again ($X=600+\rho=100+i=10+\sigma=200+\tau=300+\theta=70+s=200$)=1480.

² On the Sybilline verses see Mosh. ii. 2. 3. 15. There is an interest attaches to them from the circumstance of their having apparently (forged though they were) had some influence in the conversion of Constantine. See his quotations from them in the Letter given by Eusebius.

³ E. g. In Book v. the succession of Roman emperors, from Tiberius to Adrian, is enigmatically noted by mention of the numeral value of the first letter in each of their names in Greek respectively.

⁴ The *first* of my two examples is on the word *Ἰησους* (*Jesus*), taken from the 1st Book of the Sybilline Oracles, near the end.

Ἡξει σαρκοφορος θνητοῖς ὁμοιονμενος ἐν γῆ
 Τεσσαρα φωνηεντα φερεῖ, τα δ'αφωνα δυ' αὐτῷ
 Δισσον ασραγαλων † αριθμονδ' ὄλον εξονομηνω.
 Οκτω γαρ μοναδας, ὄσσας δεκαδας ἐπι τουτοις,
 Ἡδ' ἑκατοταδας οκτω, ἀπιστοκεροις ἀνθρωποῖς
 Ονομα δηλωσει.

i. e. "He will come upon earth, clothed with flesh like mortal men. His name contains four vowels and two consonants; two of the former being sounded together. And I will declare the entire number. For the name will exhibit to incredulous men eight units, eight tens, and eight hundreds." See Note ¹ above.

My *second* example, taken from Book I, verse 146, &c, is on some divine title containing the number 1697, under which God addresses himself to Noah.

Ἐνεα γραμματ' ἐχω' τετρασυλλαβος εἰμι· νοεῖ με'
 Αἱ τεις ἢ πρῶται δυο γραμματ' ἐχουσιν ἕκαστ'

* In the Oxford Edition of Cyprian (1682) the Treatise referred to is placed among the doubtful.

† Prof. M. Stuart gives the various reading,

τα δ' αφωνα ἐν αὐτῷ
 Δισσοντ' ἀγγελλον.

—It will have been observed that when a numeral mark of this kind was worn or used by a man, it was generally under the idea of its constituting a charm and defence from evil.¹

II. I now proceed to shew the APPLICATION of all this to the Popedom: i. e. 1. to the *Popes* ruling therein, as the *first Beast whose name it would be*; ² 2. to the *Papal Clergy and Hierarchy*, as the *second Beast* that would act to impress the name. And,

1st, as to the *Beast's name*, and its *Papal application*. The prophetic statement is thus made in numerical enigma: "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath under-

Ἡ λοιπὴ δε τα λοιπα' καὶ εἰσιν ἀφῶνα τα πεντε.
 Του παντος ὄριθμου ἑκατονταδες εἰσι δις οκτω,
 Καὶ τρεῖς τριδεκαδες, συνγ' ἑπτα γῆνοι δε τις εἰμι,
 Οὐκ ἀμνηστος εσθ θεῆς παρ' ἐμογε σοφίης.

i. e. "I am of nine letters and four syllables. Consider me! the three first syllables have each two letters, the fourth the rest; of which letters five are consonants. Of the number the amount is 16 hundreds, 3 thirties, and seven. And if thou understand who I am, thou shalt not be uninitiated in my divine wisdom."—Mr. Clarke (p. 21) says he is unable to find a wholly correct solution; but that *Θεος σωτηρ* (Saviour God) would answer in every point but the aggregate number: having 9 letters, 4 syllables,—the 3 first of two letters, the 4th of three,—and five consonants. But the whole number is 5 deficient; being 1692, not 1697.—Prof. M. Stuart gives the word *ανεκφωτος* as the solution; of which the number is 1696, or one wanting of the number required.—But this seems to me quite inferior to the other. And indeed I suspect that Mr. Clarke's solution is perfectly correct; the *συν γ' ἑπτα* in the Sybilline verse being a mistake of copyists for *δὲ εἴπτα*, or some such reading, which will make the number 1692.

¹ See Note ⁵ p. 203 *suprà*.

Let me here observe, ere I pass from the subject, that this method of enigmatical numeration prevailed to later times among Christian Ecclesiastical writers, and indeed among Saracens and Turks. For an example of the *former* I may refer to Ambrose Ansbert's comments on Apoc. xxii, B. P. M. xiii. 653; where he notes the *σοφία* of Christ's title of the *α* and *ω* (the numerical value of which two letters is 1+800=801) with *Θεος Ἀβρααμ ἡ αειδιος ἀληθεια*: the value of this last being, 9+5+70+200+1+2+100+1+1+40+8+1+5+10+4+10+70+200+1+30+8+9+5+10+1=801.—As to the *latter*, we find the date of the death of the famous *Khair-Ed-deen Pasha*, or *Barbarossa*, is exprest, says Hadji Khalfa, in the Arabic sentence, *Mat Rais al Bahr*, (The Captain of the sea is dead:) the numeral value of the letters in which=(40+1+400+200+10+60+1+30+2+8+200=) 953. For *Barbarossa* died in the year of the Hejra 953.

² It has been doubted by some writers (see Brooks' Elements, p. 433) to which of the two Beasts the name and number belonged; and, as it seems to me, many words been wasted on the question. Fourteen times and more is the phrase "*The Beast*" used distinctively of the *first Beast* in the xiiith and following Chapters; just as might be expected, considering that the second Beast is subordinate, the *δρασκισινης*, as Irenæus calls it, to the *first* his Principal. Subordinately, indeed, and as in a manner appertaining to the *body* of its Principal, the appellation might be regarded as attaching to the second Beast also:—but only so, and subordinately.

standing count the number of the Beast : for it is the number of a man : and his number is *six hundred three-score and six.*"

There are here two things to be premised. *First*, that the number as given in the text is unquestionably correct, $\chi\xi\varsigma'$, 666. For Irenæus in the most positive manner so states it,¹ as also Hippolytus;² nor of the many solutions suggested by the Fathers is there any one founded on any other number.³—*Secondly*, that there is the highest probability of the language and number of the word being *Greek*, and not *Hebrew* :—because the Apocalypse was intended for the use of Gentiles, to whom Hebrew was scarcely known ;—because the first and last letters of the *Greek* alphabet are expressly selected by Christ in the Apocalypse, and not those of the Hebrew, to express his eternity, "I am α and ω , saith the Lord ;"⁴—because the *numerals* in which the enigma is expressed $\chi\xi\varsigma'$ are *Greek* numerals ;—and because Irenæus directly asserts,⁵ and all the other early Fathers imply, by making their solutions in *Greek*, that that was understood by *them* to be the language intended by the Divine Spirit.⁶ Other languages besides Greek and Hebrew I conceive to be out of the question. More especially in the imperfect numerals of the *Latin* language there is no example, I believe, of calculation on the *ισοψηφια* system so early.⁷

¹ It seems there was a reading in some copies extant at the time of $\chi\iota\varsigma'$, instead of $\chi\xi\varsigma'$, 616 instead of 606 ;—a reading still perpetuated in the Codex Ephrem, and by the Expositor Tichonius. Against it Irenæus thus inveighs : *Ουκ οίδα πως ασφαλησαν τινες, επακολοθησαντες ιδιοτισμω, και τον μωσον ηθετησαν αριθμον τε ονοματος, ν' ψηφισμα υφελοντες, και αρτι των εξ δεκαδων μων δεκαδα βαλομενοι ειναι.* Lib. v. C. 30.

² *Ἡ δε σφραγίς αὐτῆ ἐπὶ τῆ μετώπῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς, ἐστὶ ψηφὸς χξς'.* De Consum. Mundi.

³ It is the reading, moreover, of all the most ancient manuscripts except the Codex Ephrem ; especially of the famous Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum ; a manuscript of the supposed date, says Mr. Tregelles, of the 5th century ;—in which manuscript it is written at full length, *ἑξακοσίοι ἑξήκοντα ἕξ.*

⁴ Apoc. i. 8. And so Tichonius.

⁵ He says ; *Καὶ τὸ λογὸν διδασκατὸς ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῆς ονοματὸς τοῦ θηριῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ψηφὸν δια τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνεται.* Lib. v. c. 30, apud Euseb. H. E. v. 8.

⁶ There is no exception, I believe, whatever among the Fathers of the first six centuries.

⁷ So Clarke, p. 59.—The unfitness of the Latin appears in this, that there is but a very small proportion of its letters numeral, viz. M=1000, D=500, C=100,

These two things premised, we proceed to the solution of the enigma, and inference of the name from the number given.—Nor can I conceive any name more appropriate, and in every point satisfactory, than the famous name *Λατῆινος*, (*the Latin man*), of which the numeral value is exactly 666, given by Irenæus. “It seems to me,” he says, “very probable: for this is a name of the last of Daniel’s four kingdoms; they being *Latins* that now reign.”¹ He mentions besides, it is true, two other names in the way of solution: one, *Ευαρθας*, only in passing; the other *Τεταρ*, under an impression of its being even yet more probably than *Λατῆινος* the word intended, as the name of the last Roman Ruler, in other words *Antichrist*, before the grand catastrophe and consummation. But the reasons he offers seem comparatively insufficient.² And Hippolytus, his disciple and follower not very long after, both in the episcopate and in martyrdom, urges the probability of the same name *Λατῆινος* with much more distinctness and decision of judgment in its favor. And this for the very reason suggested by Irenæus; viz. that it was the name of the holders of the fourth prophetic empire: which empire he knew was to continue, though changed, and under the new heading of *Antichrist*, till Christ’s second coming to take the kingdom

L=50, X=10, V=5, I=1; and that in the combination of V and X with 1, single or repeated, in order to make up the other numbers, there is a difference in the combined value according as the I is on one side or the other of the X or the V,—IV being equal to 4, VI to 6.—In case of an enigma of this kind in Latin, the word ought to be one altogether made up of letters of numeral values: so as in the DIC LVX proposed by Albertus Magnus as answering to the 666 of the Apocalypse, however *otherwise* objectionable and absurd the solution. This principle is recognized in the ancient example on the word DVX, given by Mr. Clarke:

Qui de quingentis de quinque decemque sit unus,
Ille meis precibus dignum poterit dare munus.

For DVX in numeral value is (D=500+V=5+X=), or 515.

¹ “Sed et LATEINOS nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum. Et valde verisimile est; quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant.” Lib. v. cap. 30.

² “Neque enim eorum regum qui secundum nos sunt aliquis vocatus est *Titan*: et divinum putatur apud multos esse hoc nomen, ut etiam sol *Titan* vocetur ab his qui nunc tenent: et ostentationem quandam continet ultionis, et vindictam inferentis, quod ille simulat se male tractatos vindicare. Et alius autem et antiquum, et fide dignum, et regale, magis autem et tyrannicum nomen.” Ib. He also notices the circumstance of the word having 6 letters, and so bearing an analogy to the number 666.

with his saints. "It is manifest to all," he says, when speaking of the new Head accruing to the Roman Beast, after the healing of its deadly wound: "They who now reign are *Latins* (*Λατινοί*): and the name transmuted into that of an individual becomes *Λατεινός*."¹

I shall presently have to show the peculiar appropriateness in this point of view of the name *Λατεινός*; an appropriateness very far greater than Irenæus or Hippolytus imagined. But let me, before doing so, notice two objections that have been urged against it.—*One*, (the least important) is this; that it is a word *indeterminate* in itself, whether to be taken as an *adjective* or *substantive*,² But where the force of such an objection? The *adjective* *Λατεινός* is a local appellative, which might just as fitly be a predicted title of *Antichrist* as *Ναζωραῖος*, *Nazarene*, of *Christ*.³—The *second* and *principal* objection is that the orthography of the Greek word is *Λατινός*, not *Λατεινός*; giving the number 661 not 666: and both Bellarmine, and yet more Bengel and I. E. Clarke after him, have asserted that such is the universal spelling of the word in ancient authors.⁴ That this however is not the case appears even from the quotation just given from Hippolytus, to whom they make no reference: for he writes both *Λατινοί* and *Λατεινός* with an *ει*, like Irenæus; and does not seem, any more than the earlier Father, even to imagine an objection on this score. Now the competency and learning of both these Fathers is undoubted; ⁵ and, as regards Irenæus, his attention appears

¹ After mentioning that various names might be found containing the number 666, he simply notes in passing, the names *Τετρα* and *Ενανθας*; and then thus proceeds to *Λατεινός*: *Επειδη προσεβημεν λεγοντες οτι εθεραπευθη η πληγη του θηριου του πρωτου, και ποιησει λαλειν την εικονα, τουτεςιν ισχυσαι: φανερον δ' εστι πασιν οτι οι κρατουντες ετι νυν εισι Λατινοι: εις ερος ουν ανθρωπου ονομα μεταγομενον γινεται Λατεινός.* De Antichristo, § 50.

² This combines Clarke's second and third objections;—"2. the impossibility of determining whether it be a substantive or an adjective; 3. its *indefinite form*: for supposing it to be a *substantive* we are not informed from it what *Lateinos* is intended: and admitting it to be an *adjective*, we cannot determine with what *substantive* it is to be connected." p. 44.

³ Matt. ii. 23; *Ναζωραῖος κληθησεται*. It was an appellation of Christ that formed part of the superscription at his crucifixion; *Ιησους ο Ναζωραῖος, Jesus the Nazarene*. John xix. 19.

⁴ See Clarke, p. 38, &c.

⁵ It is altogether superfluous to quote testimonies to the learning of one so

to have been directed, and his discrimination exercised, as will presently be seen, on this very point of the use of the diphthong. I may add further that *Andreas*, another learned Greek Father who lived some three centuries later, retained the word *Λατεινος*, as one of the admissible solutions.¹ And, turning from later to more ancient authors, it was so written, as Dr. More observes, by the old Roman Poet Ennius,² a man among the most learned of his age;³ and, as Professor Stuart adds, by the Poet Plautus also.⁴—The truth is, it was one out of two methods of writing the long Greek or Latin *i*, in not uncommon use; in regard of the propriety of which authors differed, and fashions changed: just as among ourselves on the question of spelling *Wicliffe* or *Shakespeare* with an *e* final or without. Of this we have abundant evidence in inscriptions on medals and antiques, still extant, of the age referred to.⁵ More especially

well known and so revered as *Irenæus*. Of *Hippolytus*, who is less generally known, I may observe that *Chrysostom* speaks of him (Orat. 41) as among the luminaries of the Church; that *Jerom* (Ep. 28 ad Lucian.) calls him "*disertissimus*," and the Roman Martyrology (on Aug. 22) "*eruditione clarissimus*."

¹ Quoted in the Notes to the larger Paris Editions of *Irenæus*.—It is observed indeed by Bengel, "In uno *Andræ* codice manuscripto *Λατεινος*, à librario emendante contra *Andræ* institutum, est repositum: in altero ad *Λατεινος* additur *ἡ δὲ διφθόγγου*, aperta licentiæ confessione." (Clarke 39). But he would surely scarce mean to suggest that the correcting copyist was more competent than his author; to whose learning *Bellarmin*, as well as the Jesuit *Pellan*, bears witness. See B. P. M. v. 589.—I must add that in the *Bib. Pat. Mar.* Tom. v. p. 613, the word is wholly omitted from the comment of *Andreas*. He is made to allude indeed to solutions given by *Hippolytus*; and he specifies *λαμπετος*, *βενεδικτος*, *κακος οδηγος*, *αληθης βλαβερος*, *ωαλι βασκευος*, *αγνος αδικος*. But not a mention is made of *Λατεινος*. Is this an example of those erasures, by Papal direction, of which Mr. Dowling speaks in his Note TT on the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, appended to his Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History?

² "Quam primum casci popolei tenuere Lateinei." More's Works, p. 595, quoted by Cuninghame, p. 243.

³ See *Cicero's* and *Quintilian's* testimonies to him.

⁴ "We may refer to the custom of the more ancient Latin, as in *Plautus*, of writing *I* (the long Latin *i*) by *ei*; e. g. "solitei, diveis, captivei, preimus, *Latina*," &c. Comment. on the Apocalypse, ii. 456: a work published subsequently to my first Edition.—Professor Stuart's admission is the more valuable, on account not merely of his well-known learning, but yet more of his advocacy of another solution, one in *Hebrew*, hereafter mentioned by me.

It strikes me too as deserving notice, that in the German this mode of spelling the word has been retained, *Latcin*, *Lateinisch*; especially as the German Empire was so long the *Latin Empire*, in connection with Rome.

⁵ See *Dobson's* Variorum Edition of the *Oratores Attici*, iv. 581, where the commentator on the *Consecratio Sæpti* observes that the use of the diphthong *ei* for the long *i*, was most common among the Romans even in the Augustan age,

appellatives homogeneous with the word in question, such as *Antoninus, Faustinus, &c, &c*, are there found (not “*very rarely*,” as Mr. Clarke would have it,¹ but) *very commonly* thus written, *Αντωνεινος, Φαυσεινος, &c.*² Hence critics and antiquarians of different creeds, and without any bias on prophetic theories, unite in asserting its legitimacy. The Benedictine *Montfaucon*,³ having occasion to speak of *Mithras* on the Gnostic gems as numerically equivalent to 365, states the required orthography to be *Μειθρας*, instead of the usual *Μιθρας*;⁴ and adds that this use of the diphthong was most common. The Protestant *Scaliger* confines the *propriety* of the use of the diphthong to cases (like the one in question) where an *ν* follows it.⁵ And *Irenæus* himself seems to have anticipated him in this discriminating judgment. For in suggesting *Τειταν* he notes the spelling with the *ει*, as if *there* peculiar;⁶ but in regard of *Λατεινος*, with the *ν* following, seems to take for granted the orthography of the spelling.—In truth, on looking at the words given by ancient writers as words of *mystic numerals*, it strikes me that this, the *more antique method* of writing, was

and down to *Trajan's*. “*Obiter moneam nihil apud Romanos in vetustis lapidibus frequentius esse. In inscriptionibus Augusteum ævum subolentibus frequentissimè invenies ει pro longo ι positum. Nec sub Augusto tantùm, sed sub proximè sequentium Imperatorum principatu, hanc diphthongum ει in usu fuisse indicat inscriptio apud Gruter, p. 99. 1;*” &c. The Commentator had previously observed; “*A Doriensibus præcipuè ι in diphthongum ει resolvi docent monumenta Peloponnesia à Paciaudio edita. Ibi Νεικηφορος, Ελληνικη, Τειμαρχος, πολιτης,*” &c. It will be remembered that the Italians were of Doric origin.

¹ P. 44. The *extreme rarity*, as he would have it, of the diphthong *ει* in *analogous words*, is the grand objection he makes to the use of it in *Λατεινος*.

² See in *Mionnet sur les Medailles*; where the words *Βαλβεινος, Μακρεινος, Μαξιμεινος, Αντωνεινος, &c, &c*, occur frequently; the other spelling being also used elsewhere. So i. 500, 501, ii. 78, 198, 248, 236, 345, &c. Also *Spanheim De Usu Num.* 86, 724, &c.—Let me add an example of somewhat different character from the Christian Father *Irenæus*. In his *De Hær.* i. 12, he speaks of the appellation *νιος Χριστος* as one *γραμματων δωδεκα, of twelve letters*. On which *Grabe* observes that the word *Χριστος* furnished *eight* of the number, as being written *Χρειστος* with the *ει*.³ *English Ed.* i. 225.

⁴ So *Strabo*; *Ἠλιον, ὃν δι Περσαι καλοῦσι Μιθραν*. And so also the Christian writer *Justin Martyr*, pp. 296, 304. (*Ed. Colon.*)

⁵ *Animadvers.* on *Euseb. Pamphil.* p. 111. It is admissible, he says, in such words as *Αντωνεινος, Λαβεινος, Λατεινος*, but not in words like *Τειμητης, Νεικη, &c*, though frequent on coins and gems.—So too *Eichorn* and *Rosenmüller*, referred to in *Clarke*, pp. 41, 44.

⁶ “*Sed et Τειταν, primâ syllabâ per duas Græcæ vocales ει et ι scriptâ, omnium nominum quæ apud nos inveniuntur magis fide dignum est.*”

almost *made a point of* in framing the verbal mystery, or enigma.¹ For besides that *Mithras*, as just before observed, was by them written *Μειθρας*, although *Μιθρας* was the usual orthography,—and *Titan* *Τειταν* by Irenæus, as a probable solution of the Apocalyptic enigma,—I find *Σειγη* to have been the manner in which the Gnostics spelt the name of their Æon, when used in numeral enigma, not *Σιγη*,²—and *ἑπτακείσχειλιους* and *Χριστιανους*, the orthography adopted by Jerom, to make out the equinumeralism of these words with each other and with the number 1946.³ These, with *Λατεινος*, are all the examples I have met with of the long *i*, in words handed down from the first four centuries of this class.—So that the objection falls to the ground, if I mistake not, altogether. And the word *Λατεινος*, originally recommended by the high authority of Irenæus, and recommended yet more by its own intrinsic appropriateness,—its number in the usual mystic orthography 666, its name the name of a man, and name too of the then holders of that fourth of the great mundane Empires, out of which Antichrist was to rise,—stand forth for our acceptance disencumbered on this point and free.⁴

¹ Says Prof. Stuart, ubi suprâ; “When Henrich objects that Plutarch and other late Greek writers do not employ *ει*, but only *ι* in such cases, this proves nothing against the method in question: for the less usual method of orthography would naturally be that which best comported with the writer’s design of partial concealment.” ² See Note ⁶, p. 203 suprâ.

³ “. . . Omnes qui censentur vocabulo Christiano, quos Dominus 7000 tempore persecutionis Jezabel, et fugæ Eliæ, relinquisse se dicit. Quodd autem numerum 7000 ad Christianorum nomen diximus pertinere, supputa Græcè *ἑπτακείσχειλιους* et *Χριστιανους*, et eundem numerum summamque reperies, id est 1496.” Comment on Zech. viii. The passage seems to me one well deserving observation. See Clarke 55, and his remarks borrowed from *Scaliger*.—I may add, that in the somewhat similarly enigmatic figure of an *acrostic*, the Sibyls (like Irenæus) used *Χριστος* for *Χρισος*. See B. P. M. ii. 517.

⁴ Let me here add two or three most unsuspecting testimonies of learned men to this point. And 1st, the celebrated and certainly not over-credulous Biblical critic *Michaelis*. In his sketch of an admissible interpretation of the Apocalypse, (ch. xxiii. § 7 of his Introduction to the Study of the New Testament,) he thus speaks on the point now before us. “I think it not improbable that the most ancient explanation of the mystical number 666 is the true one; according to which *Λατεινος* is denoted: the Greek letters in it, taken as numerals, making out precisely the number in question.”—2. *Éwald* divides the probability between *Λατεινος* in the Greek, supposing 666 to be the number, and the Hebrew קיסר רון, *Cæsar Romæ*, supposing the number to be 616.—3. Professor *M. Stuart*, though himself advocating Ferdinand Benary’s solution of קסרן כרן,

And indeed in this last-mentioned point of view, viz. as a popular and local appellative, it had, when applied to the *last* or *antichristian Head and form of the Roman Beast*, an appropriateness unfolded in subsequent history that the Fathers little anticipated:—an appropriateness such that I doubt not, had Irenæus known it, he would have regarded the name as not merely one out of two almost equally probable solutions, but the *one*, the *only one*, and *certain* solution.—It is this. In the time of Irenæus, though the then reigning emperor and nation *might* be called, as he observes, *Latins*, yet the appellative so applied was unusual; the *nation* being *Romans*, the *language* only called *Latin*.¹ But so it was that, a few centuries after, when the Western Empire had broken up into ten barbaric kingdoms, with Rome as their common religious centre and capital,—preparatorily, according to prophecy, to the development of Antichrist,—so it was, I say, that just at that critical conjuncture the Easterns, separating themselves from the nations of the West, instead of the national appellation of *Greeks*, that more properly belonged to them, somewhat strangely appropriated to *themselves* the appellative of *Romans*; ² and affixed to those Western kingdoms, one and all, connected with Rome, (and indeed precisely on account of their connexion with it,³) the very appellative here predicted in enigma of *Latins*. Nor did the latter fail to accept and adopt the title.⁴ So that it became thenceforward the peculiar distinctive title of the Roman Empire in its *last* form,—including both *Body* and *Head*, the two *Beasts* and the *Beast's Image*. It was the Latin world, the Latin kingdoms, the Latin

Neron Caesar, yet admits, as we have seen, Note ⁴, p. 211 *suprà*, that no valid objection is maintainable on the score of orthography against *Aeravos*.

¹ "The Gentile name of *Latinus*, or a *Latin*, was in the victorious days of the Republic and Empire, almost lost in the more favourite Gentile name of *Romanus*, a *Roman*. Preserved, however, it carefully was; insomuch that, although the *people* were styled *Romans*, their *language* was denominated *Latin*."—Faber, ii. 346.

² *Ρωμαιοι*. So in the Byzantine writers *passim*.

³ For their own national languages were not Latin.

⁴ Jerom, as early as the time of the first Gothic invasion, applied the term to his countrymen, the Italian Romans. In his Preface to Isaiah he writes; "Quantæ difficultatis, ut *Latini nostri* mihi ignoscant, si prolixius locutus fuero."

Church, the Latin Patriarch, the Latin Clergy, the Latin Councils.¹—Indeed the Romanists of the West did on their part whatever might yet more add to the appropriateness of the Apocalyptic appellation. To use Dr. More's words, "They Latinize in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls, are conceived in Latin. The Papal Councils speak in Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin. The Scriptures are read in no other language under the Papacy than Latin."² In short, all things are Latin."³

I subjoin in a Note a few other remarkable solutions of the numeral enigma, all bearing on the Papacy:⁴ and

¹ This is the distinctive designation given by *Gibbon* to the Western Papal Kingdoms, after the division of the empire:—by *Gibbon*, almost always alike accurate and *Apocalyptic*, in his historic pictures and even phraseology!

As examples in authentic documents of this appropriation of the title by the Papal kingdoms and Popes, I shall only cite two extracts: one from an edict of the *Council of Basle* (A.D. 1347) which designates itself as "copiosissimam conventionem pro unione *Græcorum cùm Latinis*:" the other from a *Bull of Pope Eugenius IV* of nearly the same date, which speaks of the "sanctissima *Latino-rum et Græcorum unio*." So again the *Latin* kingdom of Jerusalem, &c.

² The Council of Trent, as is well known, declared the Latin Vulgate to be the only authentic version; and their Doctors have preferred it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, though written by the Prophets and Apostles.—See the exemplification of this given by me in Vol. ii. p. 84, Note ¹, from Cardinal Ximenes.

³ This extract is appropriately given by Newton, Faber, Clarke, and others.

⁴ I shall give a few first in *Greek*, then in other languages.

I. Antipapal solutions in *Greek*.

1. Ἡ Λατινὴ βασιλεία: which in numerals = (8+30+1+300+10+50+8+2+1+200+10+30+5+10+1) = 666. This is Mr. Clarke's famous solution, with the more usual spelling of the word *Λατινός*. He illustrates the remarkable nature of the solution by a list of above 400 other kingdoms, similarly, or otherwise legitimately expressed in Greek; but of which *not one* amounts in its number to the precise value of 666.

2. Πάρευσ gives Ἰταλικά ἐκκλησία = (10+300+1+30+10+20+1+5+20+20+30+8+200+10+1) = 666. Here the Doric termination of Ἰταλικά given may perhaps be considered legitimate, the Latins being of Doric origin. I have tried the names of every other national Church instead of Ἰταλικά (*Italian*):—viz. *Greek, Nestorian, Eutychian, Jacobite, Abyssinian, Armenian, English, Lutheran, Swedish*, &c: but none else answers.

3. Παναισικός (with the *diphthong*) given in the *Codex Claromontanus* of *Irenæus* (*Clarke*, p. 48): which in numerals = (80+1+80+5+10+200+20+70+200) = 666.—I give this for its curiosity, not correctness; the proper word for Pope being of course Πάπας. But what the date of this marginal or interpolated reading? Was it before the thirteenth century? And is it the memorial of an unknown Greek Christian, suspecting the true character of the *Popes* as *Antichrist*, even before the *Waldenses*? See Vol. ii. pp. 373—376.

4. Ἀποστάτης, an *apostate*; advocated by *Wrangham* and *Faber*. Of which the number (if the *σ* be taken as the numeral *ς* = 6) stands thus; (1+80+70+6+1+300+8+200) = 666.—The objection is, that the *Greeks* never in their *σοφισμῶν* so counted the *σ* as contracted into the numeral *ς*; this latter having its origin from the digamma, and its form *ς* assumed in after ages. Thus *Irenæus* notices the number of *περιστέρα*, a dove, as 801; which arose from count-

would call attention very specially to Mr. Clarke's of 'Η Λατινή Βασιλεία; which is indeed so remarkable that I cannot but think that the Divine Spirit had it also in view, as an alternative solution involving the word *Latin* in its more usual, though not the mystic, orthography. But the principal, and that which most clearly and simply answers to every requirement of the sacred enigma, I fully believe to be Irenæus' solution ΔΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ. And the total failure of every anti-Protestant solution,¹ and of

ing the σ and τ as 200 and 300.—Mr. Faber ingeniously suggests that the mystery might consist in this very circumstance of the coincidence in form between the two signs being that which was afterwards to arise. But the objection of Origen above-stated, seems altogether fatal. Moreover, if so, how could the Christians of St. John's time be reasonably set on calculating the number?

II. In *Latin* we have, 1. VICARIUS GENERALIS DEI IN TERRIS: which Mr. Faber states to have been the appellation given to the Pope in the Council of Trent; and of which the successive numeral letters are V=5, I=1, C=100, I=1, V=5, L=50, I=1, D=500, I=1, I=1, I=1; altogether 666. 2. That of Irenochoræus, VICARIUS FILII DEI: of which Fleming says, pp. 107, 110, that it was strongly asserted that this was once the inscription on the door of the Vatican. 3. Walter Brute (says Foxe iii. 185) proposed DUX CLERI.

To which I may add, 4. from Bishop Bedell: PAULO V. VICE DEO. I made mention p. 152 *suprà*, of a Jesuit placing the picture of Pope Paul V at the head of a tower of Theses dedicated to him, with the inscription underneath, "*Paulo V. Vice Deo, Christianæ Reip. Monarchæ Invictissimo, et Pontificiæ Omnipotentissæ Conservatori Acerrimo*:" the copies of which Theses were sent as Novels from Rome. "This new title *Vice-Deo*,"* says Bedell's Biographer (p. 68), "and the addition of *Omnipotentissæ*, gave much matter of wonder at Venice. And the next day it was noised about the city that this was the picture of *Antichrist*; for that the inscription PAULO V VICE DEO contained exactly 666, the number of the Beast." It was Bedell himself who made the discovery, and communicated it to Paolo and the seven Divines; by whom it was laid before the Duke and Senate of Venice. Burnet says that it was entertained as if it had come from heaven, and was publicly preached on, as certain evidence that the Pope was Antichrist.

III. In *Hebrew* the most famous is רומיית, *Romith*, as the feminine of רומי, said to mean *Roman*, and supposed to agree with Hebrew words for *Kingdom*, *Beast*, or *Church*. But Mr. Clarke asserts that רומי does not mean *Roman*, but *Rome*.

Similar to which is that which Foxe gives in his *Eicami* in Apoc. רמערנוש.

IV. Let me add a solution given in *Arabic*, in a Letter from Persia, by my late lamented friend Robert Money, Esq. of the Bombay Civil Service. It is the Arabic word *Catoolikee Lateen*, of which the numerals are as follows:

ن	ي	ت	ا	ل	ي	ك	و	ل	ق	ط	}	= 666.
50,	10,	400,	1,	30,	10,	20,	30,	9,	6,	100,		

¹ Such as *Αεθερανα*, absurdly coined for the purpose of expressing the name

* It was, however, by no means new. See what I have quoted from Innocent's Decretals, p. 152, Note ⁵ *suprà*.

every one moreover of which the object has been to turn away the application from the Popedom to some quite different enemy of Christ's cause and Church,¹ has only served to make it the more remarkable and more convincing.²

of *Luther* in Greek; the proper version being *Λυθερος*, or *Λεθερος*;—and in Hebrew לִיְהוָה לְלוּתֵר (*Lulit'er*) with the as absurd insertion of the לְ:—also Σαζορευος, the *Sazon*; Σαζορευκος being the proper adjectival form. See Clarke, pp. 52, 58.—Of Ewald's and Benary's Hebrew solution, I have spoken before. They are both of them suggested with the really absurd object of giving this part of the Apocalypse an historical solution confined to the era of Nero. See my Examination of the German Præterist Apocalyptic Scheme, in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.

¹ Of these by far the most plausible are the two proposed respectively by *Bossuet* in his Apocalyptic Exposition, and *Massuet* in his Notes on *Irenæus*.

1. That by *Bossuet* is the word *Diocles Augustus*, designating the Pagan Imperial persecutor *Diocletian*: and of which the numeral letters amount to the required sum as follows; (D=500+I=1+C=100+L=50+V=5+V=5+V=5)=666.—But in the first place the objection occurs of its being a solution in *Latin*, whereas there is every reason (as before observe by me) to believe that *Greek* was the language intended. Further, if *Diocles* was the original name of *Diocletian*, it was laid aside altogether on his elevation. Never was such a conjunction of titles seen or heard of as that of *Diocles Augustus*. See my Examination of the Romish Præterist Apocalyptic Scheme, in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.

2. The other, proposed by *Massuet*, is *Maoqueris*, or *Moqueris*, to designate *Mahomet*. Bishop Walmsley adopts it; and says that its orthography is established by the use of the word in *Euthymius*, *Cedrenus*, and *Zonaras*. And, with its orthography thus vouched for, so plausible did it appear to a learned writer in the *British Review*, No. 36, p. 424, that he has made it almost the basis of his scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation.—Strange indeed must it seem to a classical reader, even prior to examination, that the Greek Byzantines should have selected for a masculine appellation a termination in *is*, properly feminine; not to say too that they should entirely leave unexpressed the Arabic guttural *h*, beginning the second syllable. And in fact, on examination, the asserted use of the word by *Euthymius*, *Cedrenus*, and *Zonaras*, turns out to be a direct falsehood. Mr. Clarke thus states the real facts of the case in regard of its use by the Byzantine Greeks; and, after personal examination, so far as I have had the opportunity, I can authenticate in good part his statements: "There is nothing more false than this assertion; for of the seven different ways in which Mohammed's name is written in *Euthymius* and the Byzantine historians, not one is the orthography in question. The seven different modes of writing his name are *Μωαμετ*, *Μωαμεδ*, *Μωαμεθ*, *Μουαμεδ*, *Μουαμεθ*, *Μουχομετ*, and *Μαχομετ*." Clarke, pp. 53, 54.*

How could Mr. Burgh permit himself to write, as he has, (pp. 257, 446) that "the number 666 has by some been applied to *Pagan*, and by some to *Papal Rome*;—by the Protestant to the *Pope*, by the Papist to *Luther*, and by others to *Mahomet*; and with just as good warrant in all cases?" Not to speak of the other points fully discussed above, had *Luther* or *Mahomet* that local connexion with the *seven hills* which Mr. B. acknowledges that the *Beast* must have?

² Let me just add, though not seeing reason to suppose any such chronological mystery in the word,† that two curious *chronological* solutions of the word have been suggested; the *one* anti-Papal, the *other* Papal.

The *one* is that of the *Magdeburg Centuriators*; who suggest that it was in

* His authorities are *Euthymius*, *Nicetas*, *Cedrenus*, *Cananus*, *Zonaras*, *Theophanes*, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, and *Cantacuzenus*.

† I have only observed one ancient example of *chronological omen* from the

2. I am to shew the application to the *Papal Clergy* of what is said of the *second Beast's imposing on men the mark, name, and number of the first Beast*, his principal:—the meaning being (if we transfer symbolic into plain language) that the Papal Hierarchy and Clergy, whether by legal enactment or otherwise, would cause the inhabitants of the Roman earth universally to *devote themselves to the Papal Antichrist*: and this both in *profession and action*,¹ even as *soldiers* to their *emperor*, *slaves* to their *master*, *devotees* to their *God*.

Now of all this the fulfilment stands out, and has indeed already been shewn to do so, as palpable matter of fact in the history of Western Christendom. We have seen the enactment by General Council, (the *Image of the Beast*,) under dictation of the congregated Western Hierarchy, of the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam*; which declared it to be essential to every man's salvation that he should be *subject* to the Roman See.² And, accordantly therewith, both the secular Priests and those of the mo-

the year A.D. 666 that the Papal command was issued by Pope Vitalian that public worship should be alone in *Latin*.

The other is the application of the *Beast's number* to the duration of *Mahomedanism* and *Mahommed*, made by Pope Innocent III, in his Convocatory Bull to the 4th Lateran Council. After mentioning the Christians' possession of the Holy Land, &c, till the time of Gregory I. and a little after, he says, "Sed ex tunc quidem perditionis filius *Machomettus* pseudo-propheta surrexit.... Cujus perfidia, etsi usque ad hæc tempora invaluerit, confidimus tamen in Domino quòd finis hujus Bestiæ appropinquat: *cujus numerus*, secundum Apocalypsim Joannis, *intra sexcenta sexaginta sex clauditur*. Ex quibus jam pœne sexcenti sunt anni completi."*—This was in A.D. 1213. Hard. vii. 3.

For Joachim Abbas' curious solution, making the first 6 of the numeral signify the world's six ages, &c,—see my sketch of his Apocalyptic Scheme, in the Appendix to my Vol. iv.

¹ "Accipiunt inscriptionem (notam scilicet criminis) in fronte propter professionem, in manu propter operationem." Augustin De Civ. Dei, xx. 9.

² See generally p. 181 *suprà*.

number of the name; viz. in the case of *Ποσειδων*: of which the number being 948, the Sybilline oracle predicted 948 years to be the duration assigned to Rome. See B. P. M. ii. 516. I have alluded to this in the Note, Vol. i. p. 206.

* I must beg the Reader not to pass from this extract without observing two things: 1st, that Pope Innocent, like one of the authors just before quoted, spelt the word Mahommed *Machomettus*, not *Maometis*: 2nd, that in reference both to St. Paul's prophecy of the *Man of Sin* and the Apocalyptic prophecy of the *Beast*, he (the *Pope*) did not interpret them of an *individual* of brief duration, but of a *power* and *empire*, secular and ecclesiastical, already then of 600 years' continuance.—Take up what ground they may, whereby to escape from the prophecies of Antichrist, the unhappy Romanists are sure to be their own refuters.

nastic orders,—Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, and afterwards Jesuits,¹—having in the first instance taken on themselves the vow of obedience, and received the Romish crossing on their hands,² the public sign thereof, imposed it on all other classes. It was these that administered to kings and emperors the oath of submission, obedience, and fealty to Christ's Vicar the Pope;³ these that marshalled the crusaders as *soldiers* under the Roman banner,⁴ to do the bidding of their Papal Lord; these that inculcated on the people respect and reverence to him as to a *God*.⁵—And of this their devotedness they required a visible sign to be given, as in public profession. The Princes were to receive a ring on the fingers of their right hand from the consecrating priest, in token of it.⁶ The Crusaders against heretics were to wear on their vesture the Papal cross.⁷ On the commonalty, on *all*,—*confirmation* by the Bishop, (if not baptism) was enjoined, and then the receiving from him in holy chrism the *cross* on the *forehead*; this was to be the mark, the *character* imposed: I use here the very Trentine term.⁸ Besides which, attendance on the

¹ See Mosh. xiii. 2. 2. 24.

² So the Pontificale Romanum, p. 49, (Ed. 1627) on the ordination of priests. "Tum Pontifex cum oleo catechumenorum inungit unicuique ambas manus, simul junctas, in formam crucis:" and again; "Prodit manu dextra signum crucis super manus illius quem ordinat." This before giving the candidate the cross and paten.

³ See p. 155.

⁴ The Pope was wont to send the *Banner of St. Peter* to the crusaders, with the *Cross* and *Papal Keys*. See Du Cange on Vexillum S. Petri.

⁵ See p. 182.

⁶ See Martene li. 221—229, where different ceremonials of coronation of Emperors, Kings, and Dukes are given. In most the *ring* was to be put on the finger of the Prince with the words, "Accipe regie dignitatis annulum, et per hunc in te Catholicæ fidei cognosce signaculum."—In another the words are, "Accipe annulum, signaculum fidei sanctæ . . . per quæ sciatis hostes repellere, hereses destruere, et Catholicæ fidei perseverantitati connecti." The King's hands too were anointed after taking the oath of submission to the Pope. Ibid. 208.

⁷ So in 4th Lateran Council, "Crucis assumpto characterē." By the Rule of Innocent IV they were also to carry a cross. Hard. vii. 19, 83.

⁸ The Canon 9, Sess. 7, of the Council of Trent is entitled *De Characterē*; and states the doctrine as follows. "Si qui dixerit in tribus Sacramentis, baptismo scilicet, confirmatione, et ordine, non imprimi *characterem* in animâ, hoc est signum quiddam spirituale et indelebile, unde ea iterari non possunt, anathema sit."

On which Martin Chemnitz, in his *Examen Decretorum*. Concil. Tridenti, observes thus: "Forsan autem tam pertinaciter Deus ipsos sinit dicere, pro tuendâ opinione characteris in confirmatione et ordinibus, ut manifestum sit apud quos sit, et experiatur character ille cujus multa fit mentio."—Further,

Mass, confession to the priest, participation in the sacramental elements transubstantiated at consecration,¹ the solemn oath of allegiance to Rome,² and in the dying hour extreme unction,—these were further signs of profession imperatively inculcated.³ To those who complied there was understood to attach, in the patronage and favor of the Roman Church and Pope, a kind of amulet of salvation. And never surely did Gnostic rest on his mystic name and number with such superstitious faith in its efficacy, as the Papal devotee on these marks (the *crooked* marks⁴) of the Dragon and the Beast.

On the other hand, what to the recusants? The prophecy speaks of a tremendous *penalty*, enjoined by the lamb-like Beast against all that would not assume the badge of devotion to the first Beast before him. "He caused that no man might *buy* or *sell*, save he that had the mark or name of the Beast, or the number of his name." And has not precisely the same been shewn to have been the enactment and practice of the Romish Hierarchy and Clergy against heretics? A canon of the Lateran Council, under Pope Alexander III, commanded that no man should entertain or cherish them in his

Junius thus observes on the above. "Their chrism by which in the Sacrament of Confirmation (as they call it) they make servile unto themselves the persons and doings of men, signing them in their *foreheads* and *hands*; and as for the sign left by Christ, and of the holy sacrament of baptism they make as void. For whom Christ hath joined to himself by *baptism*, this Beast maketh challenge unto them by her greasy chrism, which he doubteth not to prefer before baptism both in authority and efficacy."

¹ Participation in the Sacrament was enjoined once a year by the 4th Lateran Council, three times by the Council of Toulouse, in the 13th century. See my Vol. ii. p. 334.

² The *oath* of allegiance to Rome, "*à singulis Catholicis præstandum*," was enjoined in the 12th Canon of the same Council. Hard. vii. 178.

³ There was to be a repetition of this sign of the cross by the people themselves. So Bellarmine in his *Dottrina Christiana Breve M.* "In che consiste principalmente la Fede di Christo? D. In due misteri principali, che sono rinchiusi nel segno della Santa Croce;" adding: "Il segno della Santa Croce si fa mettendo primo la mano destra al *capo*, dicendo, In nome del Padre; poi sotto al petto, dicendo, E del Figliulo; finalmente alla spada sinistra, ed alla destra, dicendo, E dello Spirito Santo."

⁴ *Heuman*, somewhat imaginatively, contrasts the sign $\chi\rho s$ of *Christ* (as displayed in the *Labarum*, &c.) with that of the enigma so similar, but involving the ξ of the *crooked* serpent,— $\chi\rho s$, 666. And so indeed, *Tichonius* before him. See my Appendix to Vol. iv.

house or land, or *exercise traffic* with them.¹ The Synod of Tours, (just when the Waldenses and Albigenses had begun to excite attention,) under the same Pope Alexander, passed the law that no man should presume to receive or assist the heretics, no not so much as to exercise commerce with them in *selling or buying*.² And so too, as exprest in Pope Martin's Bull, the Constance Council.³ How the mass of the Clergy urged its execution in other days throughout the Popedom is notorious. The history of Romish Ireland has furnished, and still furnishes, (witness the proceedings at Dingle and at Achill,) more recent examples. In fact the law remains unrepealed. This is still among the *debitæ pænæ* due to heretics.—It was just the same fearful penalty of interdict from buying and selling, traffic and intercourse, that had been inculcated long before by the Pagan Dragon's representative, Diocletian, against the early Christians.⁴ So literally, on this point as well as others, was the prophetic statement fulfilled, "Having horns like a lamb, it spake as a dragon."

CHAPTER IX.

THE BEAST'S 1260 YEARS.

§ 1.—THE YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE.

THE Beast's predicted period of 1260 *days* reminds us that the time is now come for considering the propriety

¹ "Ne quis eos in domibus vel in terrâ suâ vel tenere, vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat." Hard. vi. li. 1684.

² "Ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæresis sectatores, ne receptaculum iis quisquam in terrâ suâ præbere præsumat: sed nec in venditione aut emptione aliquâ cum iis omnino commercium habeatur." Ib. p. 1597.

³ Ib. viii. 908.

⁴ So Bede in his Hymn on Justin Martyr, quoted by Mede and Newton:

Non illis emendi quidquam,
Aut vendendi copia:
Nec ipsam haurire aquam,
Dabatur licentia:
Antequam thurificarent
Detestandis idolis.

Daubuz observes, p. 597, that this was one of the penalties of the brand of *στίγμα* among the ancient Greeks.

of that principle on which I have hitherto proceeded, in my explanations of the several numerically expressed chronological periods enunciated in the Apocalyptic prophecy; ¹ viz. of regarding a *day* as meant to signify a *year*. The satisfactoriness of the historical solutions given by me on this principle, (supposing them to have been approved as such by the reader,) will of course have furnished evidence to his mind, of all other the most convincing, of the truth of the principle itself.² At the same time it is clearly desirable, and even requisite on so important a point, to consider the grounds of the interpretation more at large; and to weigh with deliberation and candor the objections which Mr. Maitland and others³ have of late years so elaborately and so influentially advanced against it. I propose therefore in the present Section, first to state the *direct à priori evidence that suggests itself in its favour*, noticing and answering Mr. Maitland's *one single direct à priori objection* against it as I proceed:⁴ next, to state and answer his *indirect arguments against it*; arguments which contain in fact the main strength of his position.—I reserve for my Appendix an examination into those two great systems of Apocalyptic interpretation, viz. 1. the *wholly past*, advocated by Bossuet, Professor Stuart, &c, 2. the *wholly future*, advocated by Mr. Maitland and his school, which are alike based on the principle of the prophetic

¹ Relating to the first or Saracen Woe,—the Second or Turkish Woe,—the Witnesses' Death and Resurrection,—the Woman's travailing in birth, and subsequent destined sojourning in the Wilderness,—and the ten-horned Beast's time of prospering. See Vol. i. pp. 439, 497, Vol. ii. p. 403, and in the present Volume pp. 17, 53, 137.

² See *ibid.* A further coincidence of time between the prophecy and history will appear in my next Part on the Epoch of the French Revolution, and drying of the Turkish woe. ³ Especially Mr. Burgh and Dr. Todd.

⁴ I select *Mr. Maitland*, because, I believe, it is allowed by every competent judge that of all the controversial writers on his side he is the one who has argued with the greatest learning and ability against the year-day system.—His five principal Pamphlets on the subject are entitled, *An Enquiry into the 1260 years, &c*; *A Second Enquiry*; and *Replies to the Morning Watch, Archdeacon Digby, and Mr. Cuninghame*; published respectively in the years 1826, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1834. He has moreover written a subsidiary Pamphlet on *Antichrist*.—I am not aware that either *Mr. Burgh* or *Dr. Todd* have added anything to the strength of the cause. Their arguments are mainly *Mr. Maitland's*. This *Dr. Todd* has fully admitted, and in acknowledgment dedicates his work to him.

day being restricted to its *simple literal signification* of a day, the prophetic *καιρος* to its *literal signification* of a *year*.¹ It might here detain us too long.

I. THE DIRECT À PRIORI EVIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF THE YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE.

And here it is to be premised that the Apocalyptic prophecies to which the controversy relates are confessedly *symbolic* prophecies;—alike that of the scorpion-locusts, the lion-headed horses from the Euphrates, the two sackcloth-robed witnesses, the sun-clothed woman driven into the wilderness, and the ten-horned Beast from the abyss and sea. At least this is confessed on either side, in regard of all but the prophecy of the two Witnesses.² Now in such prophecies it were surely reasonable to expect, even prior to investigation, that a certain propriety and proportion of scale between the symbol and the thing symbolized would be observed in respect of the *time*, as of other circumstantials, noted in the picture. Could it be supposed that sacred Scripture would quite neglect that canon of propriety which natural taste has inculcated on the poet and the painter? I am speaking just now, it will be understood, of the observance of chronological proportion in a *general* way, not of the *particular year-day scale* of proportion. And in proof that this is not unobserved in sacred symbolic

¹ The principle applies of course, not only to the prophetic chronological periods that are expressed in *days*, but to others expressed in *months* and *years*: not only to the 1260 *days*, but to its equivalents, a *time*, *times*, and *half a time*, (i. e. three and a half years) and also *forty-two months*.

Let me take this opportunity of observing in illustration of a *time*, *καιρος*, meaning a *year*, and so the period of a *time times and half a time* being equivalent to three and a half *years*, or 1260 *days*, Mr. Daubuz (p. 544) quotes from *Eustathius Antiochenus* the following; 'Η χειλιων γεννη απαξ του καιρου' once in the *year*.—That the forty-two *months*=1260 *days*, appears from Gen. viii. 3, 4, compared with Gen. vii. 11; which fixes thirty days to the month.

² Mr. Maitland (see his *Second Enquiry*, pp. 16, 17,) would understand nearly the *whole* of this prophecy literally; i. e. as predicated of two individual Prophets, who, after literally performing the signs described, are to be literally killed by some antichristian person or power symbolized by the Beast, and then literally to rise from the dead, &c. So too (nearly) Mr. Burgh.

I must not omit to beg the Reader here to mark, in passing, a specimen of the fitfulness of the application of the literal principle by these interpreters:—the *Beast symbolic*; the *two Witnesses*, though in the same figuration, *literal*!

prophecy, a single example may suffice:—it is one on which no difference of opinion can exist. In the xvth chapter of Ezekiel the *Jewish nation* being symbolized under the figure of a *woman*, the *youthful period* of the nation is represented under the type of that woman's *youthful age*, and time of growth to womanhood: i. e. a period of some 400 years and more, from Isaac's birth to Israel's entering into covenant with God at Sinai, under that of some 15 or 20.¹—Bearing this in mind, when we turn to a prophecy like that of the ten-horned Beast under consideration, and find from the parallel vision in Daniel that it represents the last of the four great empires of the world, each of long duration, in its last, most largely described, and most remarkable form,²—the simple fact of the *miniature proportion of time* attaching to Ezekiel's *symbol*, in the example of miniature symbolization just referred to, might reasonably have induced the suspicion even *à priori*, (I mean previous to the time of the fourth Empire passing into the form to which the chronological period of the 1260 days had reference,) that these 1260 days, a term in its *literal* sense not inappropriate to be predicated of a *symbolic Beast's* time of prospering, was intended probably to figure out some much longer time as that of the *Empire symbolized*.

¹ The same chronological proportion of scale (if I may so say) between the personifying symbol and nation symbolized, is observable in Isa. liv. 4, 6, Jer. ii. 2, xlviii. 11, Ezek. xxiii. 3, Hosea ii. 15, &c.

Even where the personifying symbol is not a *person* or *animal*, it may yet have its own scale of time, appropriate to the mutations figuratively described of it in the picture or poem: and, if so, this is observed and applied. So, for example, in personifications under the figure of a *flower*, or long-lived *tree*, in their state of growth and decline. Indeed even in symbolizations by wholly *inanimate* objects, the same observance of the fit scale of time may be often seen. So in Horace's symbolization of the Roman nation, and its civil wars, under the figure of a storm-tossed ship returning into port,—“O navis referat, &c;” where the *brief* storm represents the *longer* civil commotions.

² Dan. vii. 17, 23; “These great Beasts are four kings which shall arise out of the earth.” “The fourth Beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth.”

We may observe here the interchange of *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Angel's explanation. Both Mr. Maitland (Second Enquiry, p. 11) and Mr. Burgh (Apocalyptic Comm. p. 250) are somewhat indignant at the year-day interpreters expounding the *ten horns* of the Apocalyptic Beast as *ten kingdoms*, whereas the Angel says, “These are *ten kings* that shall arise.” The precedent above given might have satisfied them.—Properly speaking, I conceive, the *ten horns* repre-

Besides which, when considering the question at the present stage of the world's history,—centuries not a few after the breaking up of Daniel's fourth great Empire, the Roman, from its old form, and its re-construction into a new form, answering in all natural and reasonable views of things¹ to the predicted decem-regal form that was to last even till the time of the consummation, how can we possibly calculate the 1260 days, which was to be the measure of this its last form of existence, *literally*; or indeed on any other than an immensely larger scale of meaning?—An historical argument corroborated, strongly corroborated, by the *primâ facie* evidence of the cognate Apocalyptic prophecy! For, according to all natural and reasonable view of the matter,² that prophecy was to sketch the course of future events from *St. John's time* to the consummation. And it is very evident that of this interval, which has already in point of fact exceeded 1700 years, the 1260 days predicated of the Apocalyptic Beast's duration, was to be no inconsiderable constituent portion.

What the precise scale of probable enlargement, is another question. But Scripture precedent is not wanting to direct us here also. For, besides the well-known transition in the divinely-appointed institutions of Israel from a *sabbath of days* to a *sabbath of years*, even as if the lesser were a type of the greater,³—and besides also that notable judgment on Israel in the matter of the spies, whereby the *forty days'* journeying in unbelief of the *representative spies* in Canaan was punished by *forty years* wandering in the wilderness enforced on the *nation represented*,⁴—besides these precedents partially

sent each one a *king of kings*; the *body of the Beast* the *popular constituency*, (some way federatively united under a common head) of their ten kingdoms.

¹ Of course the opponents of the year-day system are obliged to contest this point. With what violence to reason and fact, and what self-inconsistency, will abundantly appear in my examination of the Futurist Scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation, given in the Appendix.

² This too is contested by the Futurists. But how vainly will also appear in the Paper just referred to in my Appendix.

³ Lev. xxv. 3, 4; "Six years shalt thou sow thy field; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land."

⁴ Numb. xiv. 34; "Your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years.

inexact, it is allowed,¹ yet certainly well calculated to suggest in doubtful cases the probable transition from *days* to *years*, (and I might perhaps add another of the same tendency,² while on the other hand I recollect none of a contrary,³) there has further been furnished us a determinate precedent, as parallel as it is striking, in the prophetic history of Ezekiel. I allude of course to those two most remarkable symbolic actions of that prophet, which have been so frequently referred to in the year-

After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, (viz. by their representatives) even forty days, *each day for a year*, shall ye bear your iniquities; even forty years."

¹ Presuming the ten spies to have indulged in unbelief all the *forty days* of their travelling through Canaan, (a supposition very probable,) and the body of the Israelites to have maintained the same murmuring unbelieving spirit during the *forty years* in the wilderness, so as indeed is stated in the passage, "Forty years long was I grieved, &c,"—then the *forty days' sin* of the representatives might perhaps be said to have *figured* the *forty years' sin* of the people represented.—But, according to the account in Scripture, it seems rather a proportion between the time of the *sin* and of the *punishment*. Israel, by assenting to the spies' unbelief, took on itself their *forty days' sin*, and was sentenced in consequence to *forty years' punishment*.

² Heb. vii. 27: "Who needeth not *daily* (*καθ' ἡμέραν*) to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the people's." This phrase, *καθ' ἡμέραν*, *from day to day*, is equivalent, Macknight observes, to the *καθ' ἐνιαυτὸν* of Heb. x. 1. *from year to year*. "For the High Priests offered sacrifice only one day in the year, the tenth of the seventh month."—This passage has not been noticed, I believe, in the year-day controversy. Coupled as the offerings specified are, "first for his own sins, then for the people's," it seems difficult not to suppose that the *great day of atonement* was chiefly in the Apostle's mind. He may very possibly however have included in his thoughts other more frequent sacrifices also made by them. So *Grotius*, &c. Nor is the passage *symbolic*.

³ There is one prophecy which to a reader of our English translation only might seem an exception to the rule of the observance of *chronological proportion* between the symbol and thing symbolized, viz. that in Isa. xx. 2, 3: "The Lord spake to Isaiah, Go loose the sackcloth from thy loins, and put off the shoe from thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. And the Lord said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot *three years*, for a sign on Egypt, so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners." Now it appears that it was in *three years* that the Assyrians were to conquer and enslave Egypt. Therefore it might be thought that the symbolic man Isaiah walked *three years* barefoot, to signify a reduction to similar destitution in the empire symbolized after the same space of time.—If however the reader will consult *Vitringa*, or other learned critics (e. g. those in the *Critici Sacri*) on the passage, he will find that the meaning of verse 3 may be, that Isaiah walked barefoot *for a sign of three years*, or of what was to happen in three years to Egypt. And Vitringa makes the suggestion, (in which Dr. A. Clarke follows him,) that Isaiah may probably have walked *three days* (as on the *year-day* principle) in symbol of the *three years*.

In another prophecy, that might perhaps be cited as against us, viz. Isa. xxiii. 15. "After seventy years Tyre shall sing as an harlot," &c.—there seems too much mixture of the *literal description* of Tyre with the *figurative personification*, to found an argument on it.

day controversy by former commentators.¹ He was on one occasion commanded by God to lie 390 *days* on his left side before the people ; thereby to typify, in the symbolic character of their representative, the 390 *years* of the iniquity and concomitant debasement on the nation of Israel ; on another, to lie 40 *days* on his right side, thereby to typify the 40 last *years* of Judah's iniquity.² And the meaning of these mystical days was declared by God himself. " I have laid upon thee the *years* of their iniquity, according to the number of the *days* 390 days. I have appointed thee each *day* for a *year*."—A precedent more clear and complete than this could scarce be desired ; as a *probable* key and guide to the meaning of the *days* in the symbolic visions that we have under consideration. And I think it deserving of remark that it was acted out publicly, in the midst of the captivity in which *Daniel* was included ; and not very many years before the communication to him of the earlier of his prefigurative visions.³ So that already the key was provided, ere the visions were given, wherewith to unlock *at the fit time* the secrets (if such there were) of all the mystic periods involved afterwards either in those visions or in their Apocalyptic parallels :—of one, I say, and all.⁴

¹ Ezek. iv. 2—6.

² The 390 years is dated from Jeroboam's setting up the calves, B.C. 975, to the final sacking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar's army, about A.D. 586. So Archbishop Newcomb. The 40 years includes, according to the same expositor, 15½ years of Manasseh's reign, 2 of Amon's, 11 of Jehoiakim's, 3 months of Jehoiachin's, and 11 years of Zedekiah's ; in all 40, during which gross idolatry had prevailed.

³ The date of Ezekiel's prefigurative action was B.C. 595. Nebuchadnezzar's dream about the royal tree cut down "till *seven times* had past over him," (the same that was explained by Daniel, Dan. iv. 19,) was seen by the Babylonish King some ten years or more before his death, which took place in 561 B.C.

⁴ If *day* mean *year* in one *miniature symbolic* vision it seems reasonable so to construe it in all.—Accordingly I do not except the "*seven times*" of the vision just referred to in the Note preceding. But in this point of view, the tree itself symbolized Nebuchadnezzar : and, as there was nothing of a *miniature scale* in the symbol, as compared with that it symbolized, the *seven years*, even if predicted of the *tree* in the first instance, which seems doubtful,* might yet, with-

* The Decree, " Let seven times pass over him," (Dan. iv. 16,) might, it seems to me, be applied to the living *person* symbolized (whoever that might be,) as well as to the *tree* symbolizing :—especially as what is said in the immediate context of his "having a portion with the beasts of the field," could scarce be applied to the tree ; whatever portion the *tree* might be said to have had, previous

Mr. Maitland's only *objection* to the argument as above stated,—an objection not a little obscure and enigmatic in the first instance,¹—has proved, on its final and elaborated explanation, to be founded altogether on misapprehension. He says ; “ You take (if I may so speak) the *word* goat to mean the *thing* goat, and the *thing* goat to represent the *thing* king : but you take the *word* day (not to represent the *thing* day, but) at once to represent the *thing* year :—and this is precisely the point which distinguishes the case from that of Ezekiel.” But our reasoning is in fact not different, but precisely the same, in explaining the prophecies under consideration, as in explaining Ezekiel's precedents ;—both the general one first cited by me, and that to which Mr. M. alludes in particular. For just as, on the woman's symbolizing

out any violation of propriety, symbolize an equal period of desolation to the *monarch*. But the question still remains, Did Nebuchadnezzar experience this most extraordinary judgment and recovery simply in his *individual* character, or as a *symbolic man* ; (see my Vol. i. p. 268 :) i. e. as the mystical representative of the Assyrian empire and Babylon, governed by him ? For my own part, considering the extraordinary nature of the judgment,—the fact of its being so fully recorded by Daniel,—the circumstance of Nebuchadnezzar being addressed on occasion of another prophecy as the representative of his nation, (“ Thou art the head of gold, ”)—and that of the symbolic tree, when cut down, being bound with a band of *brass* and *iron*, the metals significant of the *Greek* and *Roman Empires* which for ages held sway over the prostrate region of Babylon,—all these considerations, united with that of the prediction that *Assyria* specifically is to recover in the latter day from its apostacy, (see Isa. xix. 24, 25,) induce me to believe that *Nebuchadnezzar's* insanity and degradation typified that of *his empire* in its apostacy from God, and the *seven times* 360 *days* that past over him in that state, the *seven times* 360, or 2520 *years*, that would have to be completed ere *Assyria's* recovery to a sound mind at the termination of the *times of the Gentiles*.

We must remember it is not unprecedented for an individual person to be made the subject of a prefigurative vision, and yet himself to prefigure in that very action or character something future. So Joseph and his brethren, for example, were symbolized in the dream of the sun, moon, and stars ;—their own history being probably typical of that of Christ and the Jews.

¹ In his Second Enquiry, p. 3, Mr. M. thus expressed himself in speaking of his opponent. “ If by the word *day* he means *day*, as much as by the word *goat* he means *goat*, all further argument on my part would be needless.” On this a Reviewer in the Investigator (Vol. i. p. 429) observed, that while fully admitting what Mr. M. so required, he did not therefore approximate at all nearer to his conclusion ; and at the same time expressed a doubt whether he rightly understood his meaning. In a subsequent Publication, the *Reply to Mr. Cuninghame*, p. 105, Mr. M. noticing the Reviewer's remark, confesses to a consciousness of the difficulty of clearly expressing his argument, and then propounds it in the words given in the text.

to being cut down, being wholly and only with the beasts around it : still less that which is added, “ And let a beast's heart be given him.”

Israel, the *woman's youth*, of short duration, was used to symbolize the *nation's youth*, of long duration,—and as, on Ezekiel's symbolizing Israel, *Ezekiel's 390 days* of recumbency signified *Israel's 390 years* of lying fallen in apostacy,—so, on the hypothesis of the Beast symbolizing Antichrist and Antichristendom, we contend¹ that the 1260 *days* predicated of the *Beast's being in power*, were meant to signify 1260 *years* as the duration of the *supremacy and power of Antichrist*.²

I do not rest in this argument on the parallel of Daniel's celebrated prophecy of the *seventy weeks*; although to an English reader it would appear the case of a prophecy expressed in terms of weeks of seven *days* each, which yet in the fulfilment have proved confessedly to be weeks each of seven *years*:³—and for this reason, because the

¹ I ought perhaps to have used the first person singular, not plural; as other year-day interpreters might possibly prefer to state the case otherwise.

² A distinction has been thought to be intimated by Mr. M. between *numeral visible symbols* and *numeral periods expressed orally*; as if the former might properly, and on this account, be construed *figuratively*,—the latter not so; and a reference made by him to the dreams of Pharaoh and his butler and baker, in proof that chronological number *might* be represented, as well as other circumstances of the picture, to the *eye*. The Reviewer in the Investigator before alluded to, noticing this, (i. 430,) observes justly that a large number, like 1260 or 2300, could not be visibly represented like a small one, such as in each of the dreams referred to; * and suggests how many things are only *spoken of* in Scripture prophecy, which yet are unquestionably figurative. This is so palpably the case that I think Mr. M. could scarcely have meant to express doubt of it.

The Reviewer supposes him also to maintain that, unless *declared and explained*, as in Ezekiel's case, we may not argue from it for a *year-day* interpretation of other periods of days noted in symbolic prophecies: and justly answers; "We are bold to say that he would find no 'express warrant' in sacred Scripture for the explanation of one half the types, symbols, and figures it contains: and (so) no man would be justified in giving any interpretation to them, fulfilled or unfulfilled." *Ib.* p. 432.—Mr. Burgh makes the same objection, p. 443.

³ So at least Mr. Maitland and his friend and coadjutor Dr. M'Caul confess, in common with the mass of Protestant expositors. But Mr. Burgh and Mr. Todd regard even this prophecy of the seventy weeks as still unfulfilled.—It was a subject of difference too among the early Fathers. *Irenæus* and *Hippolytus* interpreted it as to be fulfilled in the time of Antichrist before Christ's *second* coming; *Chrysostom* and *Augustine* as fulfilled on Christ's *first* coming. See especially

* The Reviewer says, respecting those dreams: "Why a certain number of *branches* and *baskets* should mean *days*, while a number of *kine*, (and *ears of corn*) signified *years*, we apprehend no man could determine." I imagine that the wine-cup bearing and the bread-basket bearing were *daily* acts, and that so each basket and each branch to be squeezed into the wine-cup, might fitly signify a *day* to their bearers: again, that each ear of corn being a type of its harvest, and each kine of its generation,—and the harvests being *annual* and the kine calving *annually*,—seven of them might as fitly figure seven *years*.

Hebrew word שבוע (*shabua*) rendered *a week*, has been shewn to be a word etymologically of ambiguous meaning, signifying *any septenary*, and applicable to *seven years* as well as *seven days*.¹—Nor indeed is this a case of *symbolic* prophecy; and consequently on that account too not a parallel one with those we have been discussing. I will only beg the reader to note with reference to it, that the chronological *use* of the word *shabua*,—though from its etymology applicable to *any* seven times repeated period of time, as a seven of *weeks*, a seven of *months*, as well as of *days* and *years*,—I say that its chronological *use* is yet restricted, in point of fact, as it would appear, simply to septenaries of *days* and *years*:—thus strengthening the *à priori* probability that, in case

the Epistles of Augustine and Hesychius, Ep. 198, 199, in the Benedictine Edition of Augustine.

¹ Dr. M'Caul in his learned Pamphlet against the Morning Watch has stated, —1st, that in ninety out of ninety-four cases in which the Old Testament uses the word *shabua*, as we do *a week*, in the sense of *seven days*, there are added the explanatory and additional words "of days;" so that there remain only four examples* in which the word, *used by itself*, has this meaning:—2ndly, that in one of these four,—that which occurs in Gen. xxix. 27, 28, "Fulfill her *week*, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years, and Jacob did so, and fulfilled her *week*,"—the meaning is not undisputed; Josephus and some other ancient interpreters having understood the week (Dr. M'Caul thinks improperly) of the second septenary of *years* of Jacob's service. Further, he observes, that though the *shabua* is not actually used *by itself* in the Old Testament for *weeks of years*, yet the notice of *sabbaths of years* in Levit. xxv. 8. ("Thou shalt number seven *sabbaths of years* unto thee, *seven times seven years*,") implies *weeks or septenaries of years* to have been familiar to the Jews.—Mr. Maitland had previously stated that in the Mishna (which however was not compiled till the 2nd Century of the Christian æra) *shabua* was used by itself for *weeks of years*, as well as of *days*.—So that on the whole the phrase *seventy shabuas* might probably have fallen on Jewish ears, in Daniel's prophecy, with the ambiguity that "*seventy septenaries*," would to ours, rather than with the definite sense of *seventy weeks*.—Its ambiguity is recognized by Chrysostom. In Book V. *adv. Judæos*, he says, Ἐβδομαδες γὰρ ἑptaυθα ἐκ ἡμερῶν φησιν, εἰς μῆνας, ἀλλ' ἐνιαυτῶν.

Perhaps the supposition of its being *septenaries of days* may have animated the Jews on returning, after Cyrus' and Artaxerxes' Decrees, to Jerusalem. It is to their understanding it afterwards as *septenaries of years* that we may very much trace the general expectation of the Messiah's speedy manifestation, prevalent in Judea at the time of Christ's birth.

* Viz. Gen. xxix. 27, 28, given above; Lev. xii. 5, "If she bear a maid-child she shall be unclean *two weeks*;" Numb. xxviii. 26, "After your *weeks* be out," viz. the seven weeks from the Paschal sabbath, whence the Pentecostal Feast was called the *Feast of weeks*.—Dr. M'Caul means of course four *independent* cases: for the phrase *Feast of weeks* occurs several times:—Mr. M. says *eight* times. First Enquiry, p. 8. Thus his ninety cases might be considerably reduced.

of the prophetic periods of *days* being symbolically intended of *larger periods*, the intended scale of enlargement would probably be from *days* (not to *weeks* or *months*, but) to *years*.

It will be observed that I have all along spoken of the *year-day* interpretation, agreeably with Ezekiel's precedent, as only the *à priori probable* solution, and one *at God's fit time to be made known*, of the notable period of the 1260 days and its equivalents. For, as Antichrist's Empire might *possibly* last but so many *days*, it could only be regarded *à priori* as a *probability* (though perhaps a strong one) that the predicted period was meant of *years*: until *in the event* its duration was found to be actually longer than 1260 days. It was very much through this temporary veil of mystery being thrown over the prophetic periods that God's double purpose was to be fulfilled;—viz. that the Church, at first *from not knowing the times and seasons*,¹ either of Christ's second coming itself, or of Antichrist's coming, duration, and destruction, which last was immediately to precede Christ's coming, should be kept from the earliest age in an ever watchful state of expectation for her Lord;—and then that, as the time of the end draws near, *through the solution of this chronological enigma*, as well as from other evidence, the signs of his near advent should be recognized by her, even as that of the summer being nigh from the sign of the budding fig-tree.²—That the first of these results actually followed in other and earlier times, has already *partially* appeared in this Commentary,³ and will be noticed yet again under the second Head of this Section. The other belongs to more modern times.

Thus much on the *à priori* evidence in favour of the *year-day* principle. Of course, as already observed,⁴ the satisfactory solution of all the four or five Apocalyptic periods that we have had hitherto historically to deal with,⁵ on the same principle, must needs (if such be its

Acts i. 7.

³ See Vol. i. pp. 205, 364.

² Matt. xxiv. 32.

⁴ p. 222, *suprà*.

⁵ The 150 *days* of the scorpion-locusts, the *hour day month* and *year* of the

character) furnish an *à posteriori* argument quite conclusive, in proof of this being the intended measurement scale of the 1260 days of the Beast's duration also.

Proceed we, IIndly, to the OBJECTIONS, the INDIRECT but GRAND OBJECTIONS, urged by Mr. Maitland *against the year-day system*. I say his grand objections.—For I feel persuaded that they have had abundantly greater effect than his direct argument just passed under review. These have reference to *the novelty of the system*,—to *the differences and the unsatisfactoriness of Apocalyptic expositions based on it*,—and to *certain insuperable difficulties with regard to historical facts*, which he asserts to be necessarily involved in it.¹

1. *The novelty of the year-day principle of interpretation; as having been unknown in the Christian Church from the days of Daniel to those of Wicliffe.*²—The statement thus broadly made, was a little, though but little, qualified in a later publication of Mr. Maitland; with the which however I was unacquainted, till after I had made my own researches to ascertain the correctness of his assertion. This qualification, and the modified yet still strong assertion of the novelty of the year-day principle in Mr. M.'s latest publication on the subject, shall in due course be noticed. For the present I think

Euphratean horsemen, the 3½ days of the Witnesses lying apparently dead, and the 270 days of the Woman travelling.

¹ Mr. M.'s grounds of objection are thus briefly summed up by himself at the end of his Second Enquiry, p. 136;—"the unprecedented nature of the required interpretation, as having been totally unknown to the Church of God, who were most deeply interested in it, from the days of Daniel to those of Wicliffe;—the total inability of expositors, even when they assume the period, to make any thing of it in which they can agree among themselves;—the actual want of real conviction and faith in *these* fulfilments of prophecy which is found in the Christian Church, and absence of appeal to *them* in controversy with infidels;—and the difficulties which must be got over with respect to historical facts."

² It may be well to give the fuller statement on this point, made p. 77 of his Second Enquiry. "Familiarly as even the most superficial readers have now learned to talk of the 'prophetic style,' of a 'day for a year,' I believe that any such interpretation of the prophetic period of Daniel (or of any other period) was altogether unknown by the Jewish Church before the Christian æra,—by the Apostles of our Lord,—by the primitive Church, by the Fathers: in short, that no man ever thought of interpreting the days mystically; or that any period of 1260 years was marked out, during (to say the very least) the first twelve centuries of Christianity."

it best to lay the facts of the case, as they presented themselves in the course of my enquiry, before the reader.

And, it is, I believe, the fact, that for the *first four centuries*, the days mentioned in Daniel's and the Apocalyptic prophecies respecting Antichrist were interpreted literally as *days*, not as *years*, by the Fathers of the Christian Church. This was, however, as a little while since observed, only according to the Lord's declared intention, that *not knowing the times and the seasons*, the disciples might so, even whilst his advent was far off, watch as in near expectation of it. And thus,—just as *up to the fall of Jerusalem* the early Christians, imagining the Jewish false Christs perhaps to be the fulfilment of the prophecies of Antichrist, anticipated *that catastrophe* as what would immediately precede their Lord's coming,¹—so their successors in the Church looked perpetually for *the breaking up of the Roman Empire into ten kingdoms*, as a sign of its near approach : that division being understood by them to mark the time of *Antichrist's* revelation, and, in accordance with the *literal* interpretation of the prophetic days, as the forerunner, *at only three and a half years interval*, of the coming of the Son of Man.—Such was the expectation of Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome ; in fine, of the Fathers generally until Augustine.

But just when the breaking up of the Roman Empire had begun, *Augustine*,—though not differing from his predecessors in the expectation of a *personal* Antichrist, destined to continue for three and a half literal years,—did yet apply to the ten-horned Apocalyptic antichristian Beast another and secondary meaning, which involved an interpretation of the three and a half years predicated of that Beast's duration, quite different from the literal, and on a scale greatly enlarged. For he expounded it to symbolize the whole body of unbelievers, whether in open profession or in heart, which (under the guidance of many Antichrists, or antichristian teachers,)

¹ See my Historical Introduction, Vol. i. p. 58.

constituted that impious state and kingdom which ever has been, and ever will be, opposed to Christ's people and kingdom in this world; that which in his time had already lasted near 400 years, reckoned from the time of Christ's ministry and death, and would comprehend also, as he expounded, within its period of duration, all that remained of time to the world's end.¹ This his view of the Apocalyptic Beast was perpetuated in after ages; and chiefly by those who followed him as their master. Thus *Tichonius*, or rather his interpolator in the 5th century,² in one passage repeats (unless indeed it was the original of) Augustine's exposition of the Beast;³ in another expounds the 1260 days to signify the whole period from Christ's suffering to the end of the world;⁴ in another, and with regard to the "time times and half a time," suggests that by a time may be understood either a year, or 100 years;⁵ the latter scale of measure-

¹ De Civit. D. xx, 9. 3: "Quæ sit ista Bestia, quamvis sit diligentius inquirendum, non tamen abhorret à fide rectâ ut ipsa impia civitas intelligatur, et populus infidelium contrarius populo fideli et civitati Dei." He then speaks of its comprehending not only open enemies of Christianity, but such as "fidem profitentur sed infideliter vivunt; vocanturque non veraci effigie, sed fallaci imagine, Christiani." And he speaks of them as to continue to the end of the world.—Again, in a valuable Treatise on 1 John ii. 18—27, he dwells on the truth that if we are not members of Christ we are members of Antichrist: the latter including all those who in mouth profess Christ, but in works deny him.

² There is considerable doubt as to the name and age of the author of this Commentary. I must refer the reader to my discussion of the question, in the notice of Tichonius' Apocalyptic Comment given in my Appendix to Vol. iv. The conclusion there come to is, that the main substance of the Comment is by Tichonius, the African Donatist of the latter part of the 4th Century; but with certain alterations introduced, and an abbreviation into an Homiletic form, by some Presbyter of the Latin Catholic Church in the 5th Century, probably an African.

³ "Non abhorret à fide ut Bestia ipsa impia civitas intelligatur, id est congregatio vel conspiratio omnium impiorum, quæ Babylonia dicitur: ipse est populus infidelium, contrarius populo fideli et civitati Dei." So *Tichonius*, Hom. xi. There is added a further quotation from Augustine (i. e. unless Augustine copied from Tichonius) about the *Image of the Beast*; the same that is given in my Note, p. 184 *suprà*.

⁴ On the Witnesses prophesying 1260 days, he says: "Numerum novissimæ persecutionis dixit, et totius temporis à Domini passione."—Again, on the woman's being 1260 days in the wilderness: "Mundum istum non incongruè eremum accipimus, ubi usque in finem Christus ecclesiam gubernat et pascit." Ib. Hom. viii, ix.

⁵ Ib. Hom. x: "Tempus et annus intelligitur et centum anni."—In Vitringa on Apoc. xi. 2, a statement of Scaliger is quoted to the effect that in sacred Scripture a *time* (or a *year*) is put for 100 years. On which (as Mr. Maitland has also observed) Vitringa exclaims, "Quàm hoc doctè et piè cogitatum;"—wishing

ment being so adjusted probably as to bring down the termination to his own days.¹—Again, *Primasius*, an Augustinian of the 6th century,² explains the 42 months, 1260 days, and time times and half a time, as specially designating the time of Antichrist's last persecution, yet as signifying also the whole time of the duration of the Church.³—The same is the mystical as well as literal interpretation given of the 1260 days, or its equivalent periods, by *Andreas*, Bishop of Cæsarea, probably of the middle of the 6th century,⁴ by the venerable *Bede* of the 8th century,⁵ by *Ambrosius Ansbertus*⁶ and *Berengaud*, the

there were evidence of its truth. In Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho we find the same interpretation ascribed to the Jews of his time. But this of Tichonius is the only example of it that I have met with among Christian writers.

¹ If the chief writer of the Tichonian Apocalyptic Comment was of the age that I suppose, i. e. in the last quarter of the 4th Century,—and the thought had crossed his mind of calculating the three and a half times from Titus' introducing the abomination into the holy place of Jerusalem, as Walter Brute did afterwards from Adrian's, (see Note ¹ p. 240 *infra*.) then three and a half times, each valued at 100 years, would close about A.D. 420, or shortly after the time when he wrote.

² *Primasius'* subscription as *Bishop of Utica* is appended to the records of the 5th General Council held at Constantinople, A.D. 556. His Commentary on the Apocalypse was found in the monastery of St. Theodoric at a town called *Sanctum Caput*, not far from *Lyons*. B.P.M. x. 145.—As to his Augustinian principles, they appear strongly in all his writings that I have looked into.

³ Thus on the Woman's 1260 days sojourning in the wilderness *Primasius* says: "Isto dierum numero, qui tres annos et sex menses faciunt, *omnia* Christianitatis tempora significat, ex quo Christi prædicatio cœpit, et usque in finem fructificans crescit." So too on the three and a half times:—and again on the forty-two months of the Gentiles treading the Holy City; "Non novissimam tantum persecutionem significat, sed etiam Christianitatis tempus omne." B.P.M. x. 314, 317.

⁴ See the discussion of *Andreas'* age in my Notice of his Apocalyptic Commentary in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

On Apoc. xi. 2, "They shall tread down the holy city forty-two months," *Andreas* says: "Quadragesima autem duo menses temporis breviter quo Novi Testamenti mysteria à primo Christi adventu usque ad secundum obtinebunt, exprimerent aiant." His own opinion inclined however to construe it of the literal three and a half years of Antichrist's expected reign. B.P.M. v. 608.

⁵ On Apoc. xii. 6, of the Woman's being fed in the wilderness 1200 days, *Bede* says, "Isto dierum numero, qui tres semis annos facit, omnia Christianitatis tempora complectitur; quia Christus, cujus corpus est, tantum in carne temporis prædicaverit." And so again on the three and a half times in verse 14.—He afterwards, in speaking of the Beast's forty-two months of supremacy, thus connects the last three and a half years of his paroxysm of persecution with his former state: "Ante tres semis annos non aperto ore blasphemavit, sed in mysterio facinoris: quod, factâ discessione, et revelato homine peccati, nudabitur. Tunc enim dicet, *Ego sum Christus*; nunc vero, *Ecce hic Christus et ecce illic*."

⁶ On Apoc. xi. 2, respecting the Witnesses prophesying 1260 days in sack-cloth, *Ambrose Ansberti* says; "Sicque (attendamus) mille ducentis sexaginta diebus specialiter tempus Antichristi; ut tamen retroacta tempora, quæ nunc voluntur, illi dies, comprehendant: quatenus initium fidei Christianæ et con-

Benedictine monk, of the 9th century,¹ and by *Bruno Astensis* of the 11th and 12th.² So that in fact we have almost a catena of expositors from the 5th to the 12th century, advocating a mystical meaning (though not *the* one we contend for) as well as a literal meaning, to the Beast's period of the 1260 days.

And moreover, very remarkably, though they did not in regard of *this* particular period suggest the mystical meaning that we argue for, and apply to the 1260 days the *year-day* scale of enlargement, yet *with regard to another smaller Apocalyptic period* (the three and a half days of Apoc. xi. 8) they did nearly all,³ and after them sundry others also, both apply and argue for it. Indeed I might add to the number of those who recognized the year-day principle, though in a different manner, and with a different reference, the much earlier Father *Cyprian*, and his Biographer *Pontius*:⁴ also Tichonius'

summationem, principium persecutionis Christianæ et finem, contineant." So on the 1260 days of the Woman's being in the wilderness, as comprehending both the last paroxysm, and all before; and also on the Beast's forty-two months. B.P.M. xiii. 522, 534, 545.

The work of this learned Benedictine is dedicated to Pope Stephen; that is (as is supposed) Pope Stephen VI; about A.D. 890.

¹ This is the writer whose Apocalyptic Comment is printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine Edition of Ambrose, and whom I have already quoted Vol. I. p. 447, Note 4. He tells us his name veiled under a numeral enigma very similar to that of *the Number of the Beast* in the Chapter preceding. "Quisquis nomen auctoris scire desideras, literas expositionum in capitibus septem Visionum primas attende. Numerus quatuor vocalium quæ desunt, si Græcas posueris, est 81." Now the first letters of these seven Visions, or Parts, are Β Α Ν Ο Υ Δ Σ; and if the Greek vowels ε ε α ο be inserted, whose joint numeral value is 5+5+1+70=81, the given number, we have the name Βερεγγανδου—On Apoc. xii, commenting on the Woman's *Time Times and Half a Time*, of being fed by God in the Wilderness, he says that by it may be meant, "tempus à passione Christi usque ad finem mundi: in quo spatio temporum animæ sanctorum, id est ecclesiæ, dapibus gloriæ celestis patriæ in cœlesti beatitudine pascuntur."

² On Apoc. xii. 6, *Bruno* thus writes; "Per dies 1260 omne tempus à Christi prædicatione usque ad diem ultimum intelligimus." B. P. M. xx. 1697. Bruno was made Bishop of Segni by Gregory VII, A. D. 1079; and died A. D. 1123 under Calixtus II. Ib. 1926.

³ All except *Andreas* and *Bede*.

⁴ The Deacon *Pontius*, in his *Life of Cyprian*, (Oxford Ed. 1682, p. 7) tells of a vision revealed to that eminent Father by night; wherein he seemed to be called before the tribunal of the Proconsul, and a young man there present to signify to him that he was to suffer martyrdom. The narrator proceeds: "Intellexi sententiam passionis futuram. Rogare cœpi ut dilatio mihi vel unius diei prorogaretur, donec res meas legitimâ ordinatione disponerem. Et juvenis, qui jamdudum de passionis indicio prodiderat, concessam dilationem quæ in crastinum petebatur significare properavit." On which *Pontius* thus comments. "Quid hæc revelatio manifestius? Ante illi prædicta sunt omnia quæcumque postmodum subsequenta sunt. Dilationem petit crastini, postulans ut res suas die

near cotemporary *Prosper*. See the quotations, below.¹ And I will only further observe that *Tichonius* advocates this interpretation of the *three and a half days* of the witnesses lying dead meaning *three and a half years*, from considerations of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of that being done within three and a half *literal* days which is said to have been done during the time of these witnesses lying dead,—viz., the inhabitants of the earth in different states sending gifts and congratulations to each other, &c :—that *Primasius* and *Ambrosius Ansbertus* advocate it by reference to the case of the 40 years judgment on Israel in the matter of the spies, “a *day* for a *year*,” as a parallel :—and that

illo quem impetraverat ordinaret. Hic *dies unus* significabat *annum*, quo ille post visionem acturus in seculo fuerat. Nam eo die post exactum annum coronatus est. *Diem autem Domini*, etsi non *annum* in divinis litteris legimus, *promissioni tamen futurorum* debitum *illud* tempus accipimus.”

1. *Prosper*. Dimidium Temporis, Cap. 16: “Tres et dimidius *dies* tribus *annis* et sex mensibus respondent, quibus potestas erit Antichristo; eisque suppletis coram oculis inimicorum Helias et Enoch ascendentes in cœlum ibunt.” B. P. M. viii. 48.—*Prosper* was a Notary of Pope Leo the Great, and afterwards Bishop of Rhegium. He too was an Augustinian; speaks of the cotemporary *Arians* as antichristian, and quotes *Tichonius*. See *ibid.* Prolegom.

2. *Tichonius*. “Vident de populis, &c, corpus eorum per *dies* tres et dimidium; id est *annos tres et menses sex*.” He adds: “Quomodo autem potuerunt habitantes terram de duorum nece gaudere, cum in una civitate morentur, et munera invicem mittere, si *tres dies* sint: qui antequam gaudeant de nece contristabuntur de resurrectione.” Hom. viii. (Given in Augustini Opera Benedict. Ed. Vol. iv. Appendix.)

3. *Primasius*. “Tres *dies* et dimidium possumus intelligere tres *annos* et sex menses; quos in ultimâ hebdomadâ Danielis quoque prophetia prænuntiat affuturos. More Scripturæ loquentis utentes, quod dictum legimus de quadraginta diebus quibus exploratores terram Chanaan circuierunt, *annus* pro die reputabitur; ut hic *versâ* vice *dies* pro anno positus agnoscat.” B. P. M. x. 314.

4. *Ambrosius Ansbertus*. “Hoc in loco per *trium dierum* spatium ac dimidii *triennii* et sex mensium summa describitur: more videlicet Scripturæ loquentis; quæ aliquando, sicut a toto partem, sic plerumque à parte totum ostendit.” He then refers to the judgment on Israel, in connexion with the spies’ report, Numb. xiv; “Annus vobis pro die reputabitur:—et sicut ibi pro diebus anni, ita hic pro *annis* dies ponuntur.” B. P. M. xiii. 525.

5. *Berengaud*. “Possumus per tres *dies* et dimidium tres *annos* et semis intelligere, quibus ii duo prophetæ prædicaturi sunt.”

6. *Bruno Ateusis*. “Videntur per tres *dies* et dimidium; id est toto tempore regni Antichristi. . . . Quod autem *dies* pro *anno* ponatur, audi quid Ezechieli Dominus dicat; et assumes iniquitatem domus Judæ quadraginta diebus,—diem pro anno.” B. P. M. xx. 1695.

To whom led me add the later authority of *Albertus Magnus*, Bishop of Ratisbon in the xiiiith century, who died A. D. 1280. “Et post *dies* tres et dimidium: id est post tres *annos* et dimidium, post mortem Antichristi. Sic sumitur *dies* pro *anno*.” He adds however, as an alternative, and more probable solution, that the resurrection of the Witnesses was to be on the fourth *day* from their death. In Apoc. xi.

Bruno of Asti justifies it by the parallel case of Ezekiel lying on his side 390 days to signify 390 years,—still a *day* for a *year*.—After the last of which writers, the famous *Joachim Abbas*, near the close of the xiith century, in his Apocalyptic Comment applies the principle to another Apocalyptic period, viz. that predicated of the *scorpion-locusts*: explaining their 150 *days* to mean very possibly 150 *years*.¹ Nay the 42 *months* of the Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth, he explains as *so many generations*:² which on the usual scale of 30 years to a generation is 1260 *years*, answering to the symbolic Witnesses' 1260 days: a calculation evidently applied by him also to the 1260 days of the Woman's sojourning in the wilderness, and the Beast's 1260 days' duration.³

Thus, instead of the novelty of the year-day principle, as at first in the strongest terms asserted by Mr. Maitland, or even as afterwards asserted by him, in terms modified, yet still very strong,—I mean subsequently to his controversy with the Morning Watch⁴—we find the

¹ So *Joachim Abbas* in Apoc. ix. 5. "Sed quare *quinque menses*? Fortè quoddam quinquè menses habent dies 150; et solet aliquando *dies* significare *annum*."

² "Quadragesima duo menses, quibus prædicant induti saccis, significant *totidem generationes*."

³ See my sketch of *Joachim's* Apocalyptic Comment in the Appendix to my Vol. iv; also the Tabular Scheme at the close of that Sketch.

⁴ The Morning Watch asserted the antiquity of the application of the year-day principle of exposition, if not to the 1260 days, yet to the three and a half days of the Witnesses lying dead. But it was unfortunate in its three exemplifications: giving for one, as from a work of *Ambrose*, the statement which is really *Berengaud's*, quoted in my note preceding; then an interlinear gloss on *Jerome*, which if genuine, (a point doubtful,) is scarce earlier than the 12th century; finally, the *Comment of De Lyra*, one not written till the 14th century. Mr. Maitland, however, while thus setting aside the examples of the Morning Watch, fell himself on a really early and genuine patristic example of the thing,—that of *Primasius*, which I have given above. This he intimates to be the only one known to him. And, passing it over with a tone of contempt, scarce to have been expected from such a vindicator of the Fathers, (see Second Enquiry pp. 77, 78,) and such as *Primasius* certainly did not deserve,—asserts that the *main* question of the controversy (it being on the 1260 days) is not touched by reference to the three and a half days: and then thus finally re-urges his argument of the *novelty* of the year-day interpretation: "I must repeat over and over again, that the spiritual common sense of the Church of God in every age, from those of Daniel to those of Wicliffe, is set in array against the fundamental point of Mr. Cuninghame's system: for it considered the days as literal days; and knew nothing, and looked for nothing, in the character of Antichrist, but an individual infidel persecutor." Reply to Cuninghame, 57.

It seems to me that the *main* point at issue was the novelty of the *principle*

following to have been the facts of the case :—that from Cyprian's time, near the middle of the 3rd century, even to the times of the Waldenses in the 12th and 13th centuries, there was kept up by a succession of expositors in the Church a recognition of the precise *year-day* principle of interpretation ; and its application both made and reasoned for, to more than one of the chronological periods of days, (though not to that of the 1260 days) involved in the prophecies respecting Antichrist :—further that, together with the expectation of a personal Antichrist, yet future, of 1260 literal days' duration, they also recognized in all that might be unbelieving and evil in the Church through successive ages, an antichristian body answering to the symbolization of the Apocalyptic Beast. And what more proper, then, than to apply the year-day principle to the 1260 days predicted of this Beast's duration,—from and after the time (if any such could be shewn) of its having received some most remarkable organization and headship,—as well as to the three and a half days predicted of a certain brief crisis in its history? If fit in the one case, it was evidently fit in the other. Indeed propriety of interpretation required absolutely that the days predicted should be expounded on the same scale in either case. That it was not done is a fact, as it seems to me, only to be accounted for by the supposition of some providential overruling of men's minds : whereby they were restrained from entertaining the view, so long as it would have necessarily involved a conviction of Christ's advent being an event very distant.¹ So soon as it was possible to entertain it, and yet to have an expectation of the advent being near at hand, so soon the application *was* made of the year-day principle to the 1260 days of Daniel and the Apo-

of interpreting a *prophetic day* as a *year*, not the novelty of one particular *application* of it. If the sense of antiquity was not against, but in favour of it, in the interpretation of *one* prophetic chronological period of days, its authority must be small indeed against the application of the same principle to *another* chronological period, every way of the same character, and in the same prophecy. Perhaps when he sees the other authorities here given, Mr. M. may be inclined to view the matter differently.

¹ Compare Gibbon's remarks, ii. 300.

calypse. At the close of the 12th century *Joachim Abbas*, as we have just seen, made a first and rude attempt at it: and in the 14th, the Wicliffite *Walter Brute* followed.¹ (Nor let me omit to add that the *great Jewish Rabbins of the middle age*, following in the wake of others of the 2nd century,² had made the application yet earlier.³) It prepared men for the application of the prophecy of the Apocalyptic Beast, and its mystic predicted 1260 days of prospering,

¹ See Foxe iii. 146, for a full and very interesting account of Walter Brute: Or the appendix to my Vol. iv. where this account is extracted. Brute asserts Daniel's and the Apocalyptic periods of 1260 and 1290 days to signify so many *years*, after the precedent of Daniel's seventy weeks, signifying weeks of *years* not *days*; makes the 1290 days of the abomination of desolation being in the Holy Place to have had its commencement on Adrian's final destruction of Jerusalem, dated from which the period would end in Walter's own time; and applies it to the preservation of Christianity all that time in England, just as of the Woman in the wilderness.—See some interesting observations on the *Wicliffite and Hussite* understanding of the *days* in Brooks, p. 353.

² Even as early as the 2nd century the year-day principle was applied by Jewish Rabbis, though not *then* to the 1260 days prophetic period. In his Provincial Letters (Vol. i. p. 144,) Mr. Faber observes that soon after the failure of Bar-Chochab's rebellion against the Romans, and his execution in the year A. D. 136, the Rabbins promulgated a Cabala on Micah's famous prophecy of the Messiah, whereby to animate their people with the hope of Messiah's speedy appearing in their favour. The prophecy ran thus: "Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall He come forth that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. Therefore will he give them up *until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth.*" The Cabala laid down that by the travelling woman was meant Judah; by her travelling, Judah's oppression by the Romans, dated from the first Roman invasion of Judæa (which by a chronological error, not uncommon with them, they asserted to have occurred 180 years before the destruction of the temple): also that, as a woman's time of travelling is nine months of *days*, so the nation's time of travelling was to be nine months of *years*, that is 270 years; and that so the termination of the period was to be about A. D. 160; at which time the Messiah was to be expected.*

(I beg the Reader, in passing, to compare with this what has been said of the time of the Christian Church travelling, pp. 17, 18 *suprà*.)

³ The famous Rabbins Saadia Gaon and Solomon Jarchi, of the 12th and 13th centuries, reckoned that the time of the end would be 1335 *years* from after the destruction of the second temple; inferring it from Daniel's prophecy, "Blessed is he that waiteth to the 1335 *days.*"—So too the Rabbins *Hananeel Bechai*, and *Levi Ben Gershon*: all noted in *R. Abarbanel* in his Work on Daniel; who also himself asserts the principle of the *days* being used for *years*.—So again *Kimchi*

* "Legitur in *Massechet Sanhedrin*: Dixit Rab; Non erit filius David, id est Messiah, veniens, donec dominetur vel prævaleat *Regnum nequam* (Glossa R. Salomonis; *id est Romanum*) super Israel *novem mensibus*; sicut dictum est Mich. v. 2; "Propterea dabit eos (Glossa R. Salomonis; *Israël*) usque in tempus in quo *parturiens parturit*. Glossa R. Salomonis; *Et hoc sunt novem menses.*"

It will be observed that by the *regnum nequam, the wicked kingdom*, is meant by the Rabbins *Rome*.

to the PAPAL ANTICHRIST, with light gradually clearer and clearer in the times of and following on the Reformation.¹

2. I turn to Mr. Maitland's *second* class of objections, such as have reference to the *discrepancies and the unsatisfactoriness of Apocalyptic expositions based on the year-day principle of interpretation.*²

In illustration of the greatness of these *discrepancies*, Mr. M. contrasts in particular the very different solutions proposed by some of the more popular expositors of the year-day school both of the *six first Seals* and of the prophecy of the *two witnesses' death and resurrection*; ³ in the which Mr. Burgh follows him, and enlarges further on the discrepance and variety of the lists of *ten Papal kingdoms* alleged by them to answer to the Beast's ten horns.⁴—And undoubtedly on the two former points the differences are great.—But is it clear that the *year-day* principle is the real cause of the difference; or that the

and *Melek* on Amos iv. 4, "Bring your tithes after three *days*:" the allusion, they say, being to Deut. xiv. 28, "Ye shall lay up your tithe at the end of *three years*."

I borrow in this note from M. Cuninghame on the Apocalypse, 4th Edition, pp. 510—514.

¹ The *year-day* principle scarcely broke on *Luther's* mind. He had once a curious notion of a prophetic *time* being equal to *thirty years* of Christ's life; and so the *time, times, and half a time*, or 105 years, measured from the *fall of Constantinople*, ending near his own time. Table Talk, ii. 3.—But we find it hinted at by *Melancthon*. (See my Vol. ii. pp. 138, 139.) And the *Magdeburgh Centuriators* fully advocated the *year-day* principle, and applied it to the Papacy: as also most Protestants afterwards; e. g. *Aretius, Osiander*,⁵ *Fore*, &c.

² At p. 86 of his *Second Inquiry* he quotes the following from a writer in the *Eclectic Review*: "When we reflect on the number and the talents of the men who have attempted to illustrate the vision of St. John, and their great discordance of opinion, it would seem as if there must be something *radically* wrong,—some fatal error at the very foundation of all their systems of explanation, which is one great cause of the mistakes and confusion that appear to pervade them all:" and he proceeds to state his conviction of this fundamental error being the *prejudice of the year-day*.

³ First Inquiry, pp. 48—52.

⁴ Burgh's *Apocalyptic Commentary* (Ed. 4), pp. 436, 441.—Both on the *Seals* and the *ten Horns* he quotes from a work of Mr. Tyso, of which one primary

⁵ On the prophetic clause, "Power was given him to prosper forty-two months," *Osiander* observes that this is equal to the *time, times, and half a time*. Then "*Angelica tempora, angelicos menses intelligere necesse est; 1260 dies angelicos, hoc est totidem annos nostros civiles.*" De Ult. Tempor. Nuremberg 1543. See my Vol. ii. p. 138. This view of the *prophetic days as angelic days*, and angelic days as measured not by the *diurnal* revolution of the earth, but the *annual* revolution of the sun, was common with the Reformers, and deserves observation.

day-day principle of interpretation contains within itself a preservative against such differences, and a guarantee, on main points at least, of uniformity of sentiment? I have just at present before me comments on the Apocalyptic prophecies, complete or partial, of four modern expositors of this school, besides some of the ancient Fathers, who on the day-day principle agree with them;—viz. the Expositions of the whole book by Bossuet,¹ and Burgh, and the detached interpretations scattered here and there over Mr. Maitland's controversial writings, and in the Oxford Tract (No 83) on Antichrist. And even on this very partial and imperfect comparison of their several prophetic views, the following important discrepancies force themselves on my observation:—that whereas Bossuet asserts nearly the *whole* of the Apocalypse to have been long since *fulfilled*,² Messrs. Maitland and Burgh consider it to be still *altogether unfulfilled*:³

object appears to be the exhibition of the discrepancies of former Protestant expositors. On the *Seals* the following brief tabular view that he gives may suffice as a specimen:

	Cuninghame.	Keith.	Frere.	Faber.
First Seal	A. D. 33	A. D. 96	A. D. 312	B. C. 627
Sixth Seal	A. D. 1792	The Judgment.	A. D. 1789	A. D. 313

On the *ten-horns* he states, as the result of Mr. Tyso's examination of twenty-eight authors, that their lists exhibit *sixty-five* different kingdoms.

¹ I reckon Bossuet, as does also Mr. Maitland,* among the day-day expositors: though he does not expound the 1260 days as *exactly* true to the letter,—any more than Messrs. Faber, Frere, or Cuninghame expound the three and a half days of the two Witnesses' death as three and a half years exactly;—but only as an approximation. The persecution of *Valerian*, Bossuet observes, was *very nearly* three and a half years.

² *Bossuet* considers the history of the Church to have been prefigured in the Apocalypse under a threefold division: viz. 1st, its commencement and earlier sufferings, primarily from the *Jews*, out of whom the elect are sealed, Chap. vii. and whose destruction nationally is foreshewn in the first four Trumpets, Chap. viii, then from *Pagan Rome*, as foreshewn in the visions of the two Witnesses, Dragon, and two Beasts,—with the destruction of Pagan Rome, under the title of Babylon, following, Apoc. xi—xviii:—2, its millennium of reign and prosperity, as fulfilled under the Papal supremacy, after the destruction of ancient Rome, Apoc. xx. 1—7:—3, its last persecution under Antichrist, on the loosing of Satan, Apoc. xx. 7: still future. See my notice of Bossuet in the Appendix to Vol. iv.

³ They suppose the whole prophecy to have reference to the last great crisis, introducing and including the *great day of the Lord*.

* "The doctrine (sc. of the *day* meaning only a *day* in the 1260 days prophetic period) has been maintained, so far as I know, by *every writer of his* (Lacunza's) *Church*, except Pastorini, from the time of St. Peter to the present hour." Second Enquiry, p. 65.

—that whereas the early Fathers, and the Oxford Tractarian in accordance with them, interpret the *saints* against whom Antichrist would direct his persecutions (the Antichrist prefigured by Daniel's and the Apocalyptic Beast) to signify the faithful of the *Christian Church*, without any reference to the *Jewish nation*,¹ Messrs. Maitland and Burgh unite in explaining them to mean pre-eminently and primarily the converted *Jews* :²—that whereas it was the Fathers' opinion that the Antichrist was to arise out of the *old Roman Empire* after its *first* great breaking up into ten separate sovereignties,³ such as in fact occurred on the Gothic irruption, Mr. Burgh and the Tractarian (at least the Tractarian of the 4th Sermon⁴) profess to expect his rising out of some *new* decem-regal division of it, overlooking altogether its divided state during the last twelve centuries; and Mr. Maitland his rising not out of the Roman Empire proper at all, but out of one of the four divisions of Alexander's *Greek* kingdom.⁵ It is evident that this last is a discrepancy that involves a *total* difference, as between Messrs. Burgh and Maitland, in the interpretation of the ten horns of the Apocalyptic Beast; which is one of the points on which prominent exhibition has been made of the *partial* differences of year-day expositors. Nor are there wanting other points in which the same *argumen-*

¹ Irenæus, Hippolytus, Victorinus, Cyril, &c. expected that Antichrist would restore the temple at Jerusalem, and have the Jews as *associates* against God's servants. So Irenæus v. 46; "Ad quem (sc. Antichristum) fugit vidua oblita Dei, id est *terrena Jerusalem*, ad ulciscendum de inimico.

² See Burgh's Lecture 13 on the sealing of the 144,000. Maitland (on Antichrist, p. 14) infers the fact from the Angel's saying to Daniel, Dan. x. 14, "I am come to make thee understand what shall befall *thy people* in the latter days." For he takes for granted that the *Infidel King* of the vision following in Dan. xi. is the same as the *Antichrist*, or *Little Horn*, of Dan. vii : a point questionable, though I myself incline to the same view. See my exposition of Dan. xi. in the 4th Volume.

³ Neither Irenæus, Hippolytus, nor any other of the Fathers of the four first centuries that I know of, give any intimation of *two* great disruptions and decem-regal divisions of the Roman Empire. The expectation they had held was of one great approaching disruption of the Empire, and on this of the immediate or at least speedy manifestation of Antichrist. See my Vol. i. pp. 204, 365, with the Notes appended.

⁴ The inconsistencies of the writer of these four Sermons will be alluded to more fully, in my examination of the Futurist Scheme of Apocalyptic exposition in the Appendix to vol. iv.

⁵ On Antichrist, p. 11.

tum ad hominem might be resorted to.¹—But it is needless to enlarge.² What has been said will, I think, suffice to shew, that although the differences may have been great among year-day interpreters, the day-day system has proved, to say the least, a principle of union no whit more successful.

As to the alleged *unsatisfactoriness of former year-day Commentaries*, both on the points alluded to and many others, (a view of them in which I of course mainly agree,) the objection does not affect the present Commentary. It must be judged of on its own merits. I have certainly no fear of Mr. Maitland, or any other opposer of the year-day system, contending that there is the same measure of defectiveness of proof in this as in those that have preceded it. Indeed my hope is, that the evidence of truth in it will appear such as ultimately to convince not others only, but themselves. In a subsequent Chapter³ I shall have to present a general summary of this evidence. For the present let me only observe, in reference to those two self-same particular prophecies on which Mr. Maitland has dwelt, as furnishing the most characteristic specimens of the unsatisfactoriness of year-day expositions, (I mean the *six first Seals* and the *Death and Resurrection of the Witnesses*),⁴ that I am perfectly content they should be made the *primary* tests of my own. I would only desire, *in order to the more tho-*

¹ I will specify in addition but two.—1. Mr. Maitland (Second Inquiry p. 101) observes sarcastically on "the *little world* that has been made on purpose" (as the scene of Antichrist's reign, &c.) viz. "the *Roman-Western-imperial-papal-habitable earth*;" he himself regarding it as the *whole mundane globe*. Mr. Burgh (on the opening of the 7th Seal, p. 197) supposes the *earth* or *land*, spoken of as the scene of the Trumpets and the two Witnesses, to be the yet smaller land of *Judæa*.—2. Mr. Maitland and his learned coadjutor and friend Dr. M'Caul consider the *seventy weeks* prediction of Daniel to have been *fulfilled*, in the sense of its meaning seventy week of *years*, at Christ's first coming and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem: Mr. Burgh and Dr. Todd regard it as a prophecy of weeks of *days*, and as yet *unfulfilled*.

² Since this was printed in my first edition, Mr. Birks has displayed on a more extensive scale, and with convincing power, the contradictions of the *day-day* interpreters.

³ Part vi. chap. i.

⁴ "We point the infidel to the captive Jew and the wandering Arab; but who challenges him with the *slain Witnesses*? We send him to muse on the ruined city of David, and to search for the desolate site of Babylon; but who builds his arguments on the *opened Seals* of the Apocalypse?" First Enquiry, p. 84.

rough completeness of the trial, that a *double* testing process should be applied to my historical expositions of the two prophecies : and that the examiner should not only look to detect flaws, if such there be, in the proposed solutions, but further consider if he could himself devise symbolic pictures that would so exactly figure what I have referred them to. At least let this second process be followed in testing the interpretation of the *six first Seals* ; it being that on which all the rest follows. I have tried it in this way myself : and I feel persuaded that others like me will find, on doing so, that to devise a succession of symbolic representations so brief and simple, yet so complete and correct, alike historically, classically, dramatically, and scripturally, in relation to the great subject which I assert them to have prefigured, is quite beyond their power.

3dly. There are *two historical difficulties* that have been urged with great effect by Mr. Maitland against all explanation of the Apocalyptic Beast as symbolizing the *Popedom* ;—an explanation so essentially connected with the year-day system advocated by Protestants, that it may be deemed part and parcel of it. The *one* has reference to the fact of many, who are yet considered to have been *saints of Christ*, living and dying during the earlier centuries of the Papacy *in ignorance of the Pope's being the predicted Antichrist* ;¹—the *other* to the alleged *necessary participation of all such* (according to the same *year-day* interpretation) *in the tremendous curse and perdition of Babylon itself*.²

But with regard to the *first*,³ I would beg to ask,

¹ See Note ^a *infra*.

² See p. 248 *infra*.

³ " Is it credible that the Church of God had to wander up and down through a period of nearly three centuries, (the 8th, 9th, and 10th,) enquiring when she was delivered into the hand of a cruel and blasphemous tyrant ? . . . The delivering of the saints into the hand of their persecutor was surely a solemn act. And might we not expect that this solemn act of her delivering would be known in her assemblies, registered in her calendar, commemorated in her services, and never lost sight of by her members ? But, instead of this, one generation after another past away, and the secret was not discovered." First Enquiry p. 57.—He specifies these three centuries, because it is allowed that till the xith century the suspicion did not arise.

where is the declaration to be found in Scripture prophecy, that *so soon as Antichrist appeared*, so soon he would be known and recognized by all Christ's saints as the predicted Antichrist? Or where is the statement made of his adopting from the very beginning of the 1260 days (so as Mr. Maitland asserts¹) such a course of violence and persecution of the saints, as must necessarily and at once have forced upon them the recognition of him in his true character? The declaration in the *Apocalypse* is simply that "power was given him to prosper² forty-two months:" that in *Daniel*, "that *the saints would be given into his hand* for the equivalent period of a time, times, and half a time."³ Which last declaration implies indeed his authorized rule and domination over the saints (as well as over others) through all that period, and so the recognition by them of their political or ecclesiastical subjection to him: but it does not imply the exercise of his authority and power all the while against them,⁴ in the way of active persecution and war. On the contrary, from the prophetic account of the two witnesses, it might rather be inferred that, whereas the Gentiles or paganized Christians would tread the Holy City throughout all the 1260 days, and consequently cause the testimony of the witnesses to be rendered by them all that time in sackcloth, yet it would not be till the period had considerably advanced, that the Beast, or Antichrist, would make war on them and their gospel-witnessing, and so force upon their notice this crowning feature of his antichristian character.⁵—

¹ "The prophecy foretels not the *bondage* but the *destruction* of the saints. The tyrant makes no offer of *servitude*; nor could they accept it if he did. They are to obey or die; they resist and are slain." Second Enquiry p. 95. He goes on to make this apply to the whole of the 1260 days of the Beast's reign.

² *ρωσσαι*. See Note ³, p. 93.—Mr. Maitland (Answer to Cuninghame, p. 85) would take the marginal reading to *make war*. But he has no right to insist on a meaning which is dubious, and further to construe the *war* (if that word were supplied after *ρωσσαι*) as all against the *saints*.

³ Dan. vii. 25.

⁴ Compare the force of the same expression in Dan. ii. 38; "Wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he *given into thine hand*, and hath made thee ruler of them all."

⁵ See Vol. ii. pp. 367—375.—Such was precisely *Cyril's* view; Cat. xv. "At first he shall pretend to humaneness of character; then afterwards show himself as God, and persecute the church." See my Vol. i. p. 365.

Just accordant with which is the tenor of that other prediction, that "the Image of the Beast caused that as many as would not worship the Beast's image should be killed." For the Image being of course subsequent in time to the lamb-like Beast that formed it, and the lamb-like Beast's own rising subsequent in time to that of the first Beast,—the dicta and the acts of the Image must a fortiori have been later than the commencement of the 1260 days of that first Beast's reign. In fact, if my interpretation be correct, and the *Papal General Councils* answered to the *Image*, (nor do I fear any one's disproving it,) forasmuch as these were first formed only in the xiith century,¹ they could not have embraced in their persecuting enactments any one of those three centuries (the 8th, 9th, and 10th) to which Mr. M. has most particularly referred, as a period to which the absurdity applied to Christ's saints being persecuted even to death by Antichrist, yet not knowing him.²—The state of the saints during the 1260 years may be well illustrated by comparison with that of Abraham's seed in the 400 predicted years of trial from Isaac to the Exodus: ³ during *all* of which these latter were to be strangers, I might perhaps say subjects, in the land of their pilgrimage; but during *a part* only persecuted and oppressed, so as to have the bondage enter into the soul. Again, as to the temporary ignorance of the *Pope's* real character as *Antichrist*, we may perhaps not inappropriately compare it with the temporary ignorance of Jewish saints before them in regard of the character of *Jesus* as the *Christ*. For we know that for many years after Christ's birth, and for some even after his manifestation by John the Baptist and opening of his ministry, there were sincere Israelites who so far failed to recognize him. In the one

¹ See Chapter vii. *suprà*.

² See the extract Note ³ p. 245, *suprà*.

³ Gen. xv. 13; "And God said to Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, (and they shall serve them, and they shall afflict them,*) four hundred years." (I write the clause in the parenthesis, according to the understanding which I have of the passage in common with Mr.

* Observe here the change of the nominative, and compare it with a similar change in Apoc. xi. 13, noted Vol. ii. p. 426; where may be seen other examples.

case, as in the other, the development of the evidence was to be gradual.¹—Only it must be remembered that this temporary ignorance of the Pope's being the predicted Antichrist, would not involve the reception of his antichristian doctrine, in so far as regarded the *essentials* of the Christian faith. This, we know, could not be with the elect.² And in fact we have seen reason to believe, on good historical evidence, that throughout the earlier, as well as later half, of the 1260 years of Papal domination, there were those who faithfully witnessed for Christ's doctrine, in contradistinction to that of Him whom yet they knew not to be the predicted Antichrist:³ as also others, weaker in discernment, faith, and courage, (for example the Carthusian monk mentioned at my p. 57 note ¹ *suprà*;) who, resembling the 7000 of the Lord's secret ones of old, were know to God, though not to man, as not bowing the knee to Baal.

A *second* historical objection, urged with yet more force by Mr. Maitland against the *year-day anti-Papal* application of the prophecy, is derived from that awful denunciation by the Angel of Apoc. xiv; "If any man worship the Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead or his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever." For he justly supposes that no year-day interpreter will be prepared to contend that among all that were visibly connected with Rome through the 1260 years, there were none of God's saints. And then, after urging the incredibility "that when God had pronounced so heavy a curse on all that

Maitland. Answer to Cuninghame, p. 35.) Mr. Cuninghame with great justice adverts to this parallel. *Strictures on Maitland*, p. 49. Nor does Mr. M.'s parenthetical construction of the clause, given above, destroy the force of the parallel.

¹ It would seem from Daniel's description of Antichrist's *Horn* as at first *little*, but afterwards assuming a great mouth,—so as probably to have then in the symbol overtopped the other ten,—that it must have appeared to the prophet to grow larger and larger, in gradual development.

² "To deceive, if it were possible, the very elect." Matt. xxiv. 24. This, if applicable in the first instance to the false prophets before Jerusalem's destruction, would seem from the various prophecies of Antichrist to be applicable to him and his times also.

³ See my Chapter on the Witnesses.

might worship the Beast, or receive his mark, He should actually have concealed from his Church that most important fact, that the person or power whom they religiously believed to be their spiritual Head, and the very Vicar of Christ upon earth,—whom under this view they received with reverend honour and worship,—and whose mark they took upon them in simple faith that it was the seal of the living God,—that this personage was indeed **THE BEAST**, the great enemy of their God and Saviour,"¹—he states it as a necessary corollary of the *year-day* system, that all in past ages who did thus act, must be supposed (a supposition doubtless incredible) to have received the Beast's mark, and so, according to the prophecy, "to have *past into perdition*."²

I consider this to have been by far the most effective and influential of all Mr. Maitland's arguments. Yet how simple and complete the answer! It needs but to remember that the vision of that third Angel, and his warning voice, has of course its *proper chronological position* in the prophecy, just as all the other prefigurative vision: and that this its position is at the very end of the 1260 years, or after it; for it follows after a declaration of the close impending fall of Babylon³, and only a little before the sign of the coming of the Son of Man to judgment.⁴ Whence the inference that it prefigures a warning voice *even yet future*:—a warning to be given to such of God's saints as may be *then* in Babylon, (and that such there will be, *even then*, appears from the parallel warning-voice of another Apocalyptic Angel crying, "Come out of her my people,"⁵) precisely like what was given to Lot on the night before the destruction of Sodom. And we might just as well argue that the anti-Sodomitic Angel's implied denunciation against all who *afterwards* remained in Sodom, that they would "be consumed in the iniquity of the city," had reference to

¹ Why might not Antichrist's incoming be as an Angel of light? 2 Cor. xi. 14.

² Second Enquiry, pp. 99, 100.

³ Apoc. xiv. 8.

⁴ Apoc. xiv. 14.

⁵ Apoc. xviii. 4. Let me beg the reader's particular attention to this.

residents within it during *the whole previous period* of its flagrant wickedness,—thus involving God's servant Lot himself in the tremendous catastrophe that followed,—as to make the Apocalyptic Angel's curse embrace such as might have been residents in Babylon and non-recusant subjects of the Papal Beast, before ever his warning voice was uttered, and during the whole previous period of the Beast's domination. The very basis of Mr. Maitland's argument is nothing more nor less than an *immense anachronism*.

I have now, as I trust,—either in the observations of the present Section, or in critical notices in other parts of my Work,¹—replied to almost every objection of consequence that has been urged either by Mr. Maitland or others against the *year-day anti-Papal* scheme of Apocalyptic interpretation. And, assuming the *aggressive*, I might further abundantly corroborate the truth of my views on this subject, by showing the essential inconsistency and unsoundness of that counter-view of Apocalyptic interpretation, which would construe the 1260 days, predicated of the Antichrist's prosperity of rule, as simply so many days *literally* taken. But the inquiry would necessarily occupy so much space and time, as to constitute somewhat of an interruption to the onward progress of my course of exposition. And I therefore (as already observed at the commencement of this Section) think it better to reserve it for insertion in the Appendix.²

¹ See my discussion of his argument on the Beast's *seven heads*, p. 100, &c. *suprà*: and of those on the true meaning of *δαμονιον*, the true character of the *Paulikians*, &c, as Witnesses for Christ, and the right view of *Antichrist's religion*, see the Critical Notices in my Appendices to Volumes ii. and iv.

With regard to that which Mr. Burgh has made his *primary* argument against the Protestant view of the *Popes* being St. Paul's *Man of Sin* and *Antichrist*, viz. that the Man of Sin is spoken of as an *individual*, (Second Advent, Lect. 2.)—an argument which has been also often urged by others, especially Romanists,—the reader may remember that it is answered p. 80, Note². Let Romanist objectors look further to the quotation Note², p. 174 *suprà*, in which the individual *Peter* is used to include the whole *line* or *succession* of Popes following him in the See of Rome; also to Pope Innocent's explanation of the Man of Sin as *Mahommedism*, in Note² p. 218.—But indeed it is needless to amplify on a figure of speech so notorious in every language, and in writings alike sacred and profane.

² Viz. in my Examination of the Futurist Apocalyptic Scheme at the end of Vol. iv.

§ 2.—COMMENCING AND TERMINATING EPOCHS OF THE BEAST'S PREDICTED 1260 YEAR-DAYS OF SUPREMACY.

Before the end of the xiiith century we might truly say that each predicted *moral* characteristic of the Apocalyptic antichristian Beast had been fulfilled in the history and acts of the Popes and Popedom: also at the opening of the xvth century, just before the Reformation, the predicted fact of his success against the Witnesses of Christ. And by that time the duration of the Popedom had extended to many centuries; so approximating on this point also to the word of prophecy. Still the years of its duration had not yet amounted to 1260: and the question thus remained, even at the time of the Reformation, and afterwards, how much these 1260 years would extend farther; and what the epoch whence to calculate them; and yet again, at the end of the period, measured from some such notable epoch of commencement, what the probable nature of the events that would then be introduced, constituting the epoch one of a death-blow against the Beast's supremacy.—This, as the Reader will no doubt expect, I shall seek to show, *primarily* at least, in the outbreak and acts of the great *French Revolution*, at the close of the last century. The present, however, is not the precise place for its historical development: the ivth or present Part of my Commentary reaching up to, but not including, the 7th Trumpet-sounding, which I presume, answered chronologically to it. It is therefore only my purpose in the present Section, to make an observation or two with reference to the commencing and terminating epochs of the 1260 year-day period,—in part recapitulatory of what was before stated, in part confirmatory; and with some further explanations also added on the subject. They will serve usefully, I think, to clear the ground before us; and to prepare for the historical proof of fulfilment to be given in Part v, next ensuing.

It may be remembered then that in a preceding Chapter¹ I noted the epoch of the *promulgation of Justinian's Code and Decretal Epistle to the Pope*, as very probably that of the *commencement* (at least *primary commencement*) of the Papal Beast's 1260 predicted years of supremacy. In proof of the appropriateness of the epoch I stated, and illustrated somewhat fully from history, the concurrent facts,—1. of Western Christendom having just then emerged from the Gothic flood in the form of ten kingdoms, like that of the ten-horned Apocalyptic Beast, all in ecclesiastical subordination to the Patriarchate of Rome; ²—2. of the Roman Patriarch having just then had given to him in solemn Council, and unhesitatingly assumed to himself, as but his due, the blasphemous title and character of CHRIST'S VICAR, or ANTICHRIST; ³—3. of the code of Imperial law, on its then solemn revision and publication, both confirming to the fullest extent the Pope's ecclesiastical supremacy, and in no slight measure recognizing and sanctioning his antichristian pretensions and character.⁴—It was further shewn that the Roman Popes,—thus antichristian themselves, and the espousers of doctrines false and superstitious,—having by the same law been confirmed in their judicial supremacy as judges of faith and heresy, there resulted by necessary consequence a legal intolerance (whether as yet enforced or not) of faithful witnessing for Christ; ⁵ so that his *two symbolic witnesses* might be supposed to have thenceforward begun their predicted 1260 *years of prophesying in sackcloth*.—To which I might add that through the then revival, though under Christian name, and in the professing Church, (so as elsewhere described by me,⁶) of the old polytheistic wor-

¹ Chap v.

² pp. 133.

³ See supra pp. 120—124.

⁴ pp. 134—136.

⁵ p. 139. "Heretics were deprived," says Gibbon, "under Justinian's iron yoke, not of the benefits of society, but of the common birthright of men and Christians."

⁶ See Vol. i. pp. 307—312.—Gibbon notes the revival of Paganism as beginning almost immediately after the destruction of professed Paganism by Theodosius. But all the Apocalyptic prophetic periods seem to have reference to the great City in its new state, after emergence from the Gothic flood; according to Apoc. xii. 15—17.

ship and ceremonies, a third symbolic figuration, to which the same period attached, seemed also to have then had fulfilment, viz. of *Gentiles occupying the courts of the Christian temple, and treading the Holy City*:¹ and moreover, in the grievous destitution of the means of grace yet another; I mean that of the *Woman*, the true Church, being in the *wilderness-state*, destitute and desolate.² So that the epoch spoken of might seem applicable to all of the four probably parallel periods of 1260 years, noted in Chapters xi, xii, and xiii of the Apocalyptic prophecy; the *nobilis quaternio vaticiniorum*, as Mede calls them.— I wish now to add that this epoch has not been fixed on, as a fit commencing epoch to the period of *Papal supremacy*, for the first time by modern commentators; or with a view only to the support of ex post facto prophetic theories, that regard the French Revolution as the correspondent terminating epoch.³ It is an epoch noted by Protestant commentators, such as *Brightman*,⁴ *Cressener*, *Mann*,⁵ &c., anterior to the time of the French Revolution. Nay Romanists too have remarked as early on it; for example the Jesuit *Gordon*,⁶ and *Gothofred*, the learned editor of Justinian's *Corpus Juris*. The latter especially, speaking of Justinian's decretal epistle to the Pope, notes it as the first Imperial recognition of the primacy of Rome over Constantinople; i. e. of the *absolute* primacy. "It is hence evident," he says, "that they who suppose *Phocas* to have been the first that gave Imperial recognition to the primacy of the Roman See over that of Constantinople are in error; *Justinian* having acknowledged it before."⁷

¹ Apoc. xi. 2.

² Apoc. xii. 14. See pp. 33—39 and 53, 54, *suprà*.

³ It has become notorious of late years, as a probable terminating epoch to the 1260 years, chiefly through Mr. Cuninghame's advocacy.

⁴ Brightman refers to Justinian's Decree and that of Phocas conjointly, as effecting the healing of the Roman Beast's deadly wound.

⁵ "Imperium Romano-Papale tunc natum videtur quum Papam omnium ecclesiarum caput esse dixit Justinianus, A. D. 533, 534: idque non verbo tantum significavit, sed missis ad eum episcopis quasi legatis." So *Mann*, quoted by Bishop Newton on Apoc. xiii.—Mr. Cuninghame states the view as *Cressener's* also. Examination of Faber, p. 51.

⁶ Ad Ann. 533: "Justinianus ad summum Pontificem legatos mittit, et epistolam de dubiis circa res fidei: in qua egregie Romani Pontificis testatur primatum, et omnium vocat ecclesiarum caput."

⁷ "Hinc collige errare eos qui volunt Imperatorem Phocam primum pro

It may also be remembered that I alluded to *Phocas' Decree*, in recognition and confirmation of the Papal supremacy, as perhaps constituting a *secondary* commencing epoch to the Beast's 1260 predicted years of prospering.¹ Let me now, in reference to this epoch, note a few important events which rendered not the one year only, but the four that may be associated with it, from 604 to 608, (like the four associated with Justinian's Decree from 529 to 533, (not a little remarkable. It was in 604 that the Emperor Phocas first opened his friendly communications with Pope Gregory the First,²—the primary step to the Decree that followed: also in that same year that the crowning of the first Catholic (i. e. Roman Catholic) king of the Lombards took place; which marked the accession of the Lombards, last of the ten kingdoms, like as of all the rest before, to the recognition of the spiritual supremacy of Rome.³ It was in 606 or 607⁴ that Phocas promulgated his Decree above-mentioned, in acknowledgment of the primacy of the See of Rome above that of Constantinople, and so above all others. And, once more, it was in 608 that he further marked his favour to the Pope by giving him the *Pantheon*:—a temple which, originally

Gregorio Magno Pontifice sententiam tulisse contra Joannem Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum; cum ex his verbis constat tempore Justiniani primatum summo Pontifici donatum fuisse." So *Gothofred*.

It is observable that *Paul Warnefrid*, in his History of the Lombards, notes conjointly the promulgation of Justinian's Codex, and Benedict's institution of the Benedictine monastic Order, as remarkable cotemporaneous events: and notes them as also cotemporaneous, or nearly so, with the Lombard settlement in Pannonia, A. D. 526. B. P. M. xiii. 164.—Compare in Mr. Miley's "*Rome Pagan and Papal*," the monk Benedict's mention of Justinian's Law, as just then promulgated, in his supposed address to Belisarius.

It may also perhaps be interesting to remember that A. D. 531,—the middle year between the beginning and the completion of the publication of the *Corpus Juris*,—was *astronomically* memorable by the appearance of Halley's famous Comet, 575 years period.

¹ See p. 137.

² See the quotation from Dr. Burton, Note ⁴, p. 255.

³ It was the king *Adoald*. He had been baptized in the *Catholic* or *Romish* faith a little before, through the persuasive influence of his mother, Queen Theodalind, with the King Agilolf: and in this year, according to Muratori, was solemnly crowned in a meeting of the Great Diet of the Lombard nation.

In the same year, according to Gordon, the ecclesiastical organization of *England* was begun by the appointment of the monk Augustine to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

⁴ *Gordon* and *Baronius* make it A.D. 606; *Muratori* 607.

dedicated to Cybele and all the Pagan gods, was now characteristically dedicated to the *Virgin Mary* (the Cybele of the Papal system¹) and *all the martyrs*; and in the rites of the corrupt *Christian* worship wherein, thereupon and thenceforward celebrated, a notable illustration presented itself of the transfer of the spirit of Paganism into the so-called Christian ritual.²—Alike in this case, as in the former, the epoch was noted as a remarkable one in different ages, as well by Romanists as by Protestants. Two original authorities on the subject, those of Anastasius and Paul the Deacon, I have quoted elsewhere.³ A list of early Protestants referring to it is given below.⁴ Of Romanists let me only observe that the very learned Muratori notes the Decree and epoch, as important and deserving of observation.⁵ And a pillar, not many years since excavated at the base in the Roman Forum, and with an inscription thereby brought to light that connects it with the history just given, still stands their memorial; its appellation being *The Pillar of Phocas*.⁶

¹ Compare the place of Simon Magus' Helena in the first development of the *Gnostic* system. "Helenam suam circumducebat, dicens hanc esse matrem omnium, per quam initio mente concepit Angelos facere et Archangelos."

² A.D. 608 is Muratori's date.—See on the affinity of the two rituals the quotation from Gibbon (just a little while since referred to) Vol. i. p. 307.

³ At p. 137 *suprà*.—Let me add that of *Ado*, in his *Chronicon*; B. P. M. xvi. 800. "Phocas, rogante Papá Bonifacio, statuit sedem Romanam caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia Constantinopolitana Ecclesia primam se omnium scribebat.—Phocas, rogante alio Bonifacio Romano Pontifice, in veteri fano quod Panteon vocabatur, ablati idololatriæ sordibus, ecclesiam beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ et omnium Martyrum dedicare jussit: ut, ubi quondam non Deorum sed Dæmoniorum cultus agebatur, omnium fletet memoria Sanctorum."

⁴ First *Luther* himself, as an important epoch in the history of the establishment of the Papacy. See in my Vol. ii. p. 139 Note. Then *Oriander*, who dated it similarly "à *Focâ* Imperatore, qui Papatum, seu Primatum, publico edicto stabilivit." And so again *Bullinger* and *Chytraus* of Wittenberg; who in their respective Works on the Apocalypse, alike the one and other, speak under the fifth Trumpet of the Papacy as established by Pope Gregory I and the *Decree of Phocas*: and finally *Foxe* the Martyrologist, or certain Expositors quoted by him in his *Eicami* in *Apocalypsim*, on the Vision of the Witnesses. "If," says *Foxe*, "the commencing date on this principle of angelic months and years be dated from Alaric's taking of Rome, the ending date would be A.D. 1672: if from *Phocas' Decree*, its ending would be A.D. 1866."

⁵ "Fu assai breve la vita di questo Papa (Bonifazio III): con tutto cio non fece egli poco per avere ottenuto, secundo chè lasciarono scritto Paulo Diacono ed Anastasio Bibliotecario, che Foca con un suo decreto dichiarasse qualmente la Chiesa Romana è capo di tutte le chiese." *Annali d'Ital.* ad ann. 607.

⁶ The *Pillar of Phocas* spoken of is a Corinthian fluted column of Greek

I have noted this as *perhaps* a *secondary epoch of commencement* to the 1260 years predicted period of Papal domination.—and with the idea of course of a *secondary epoch of termination* corresponding,—induced by two considerations :—*first*, because in other chronological scripture prophecies such double commencements and double terminations are not unknown ; witness especially that of the seventy years' captivity in Babylon : ¹—*secondly*, because both Daniel's prophecy and the Apocalypse seem to hint not obscurely at the destruction of Rome and its power as a thing not instantly completed, but rather a process involving some considerable interval of time, between its incipiency at the sounding of the 7th Trumpet and its completion ; ² and that the length

marble, and standing on a pyramid of eleven steps. In 1813, the Duchess of Devonshire having made an excavation round it, an inscription was discovered on its base, stating that a gilt statue had been placed on the top of it to the Emperor Phocas by the then exarch of Italy, in the year A.D. 608. Dr. Burton, in his book on Rome, gives the inscription at full. The date is thus defined. "Die Prima Mensis August. Indict. Und. ac Pietatis ejus Anno Quinto ;" the 11th of the Indiction, and 5th of the reign of Phocas. Now of that Indiction the first was the year 598 ; the eleventh, the year 608 : and, as Phocas began his reign A.D. 603, its fifth year comes also to A.D. 608. The occasion of the honour is stated to be, "Pro innumerabilibus Pietatis ejus Beneficiis, et pro Quiete procuratâ Italix, ac conservatâ Libertate." Dr. Burton justly refers this to his concessions to the Pope. In 604, he says, just before Gregory's death, "Phocas wrote to him, proposing an orthodox confession of faith, acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See, was very liberal to the Roman churches, and allowed the Pantheon to be converted to Christian purposes : all which must have been extremely gratifying to a Pope in the 7th century." Thus the four years from 604 to 608 are notable in the history of Phocas' aggrandizement of the Papal See ; and from 529 to 604 is seventy-five years, from 533 to 608 also seventy-five years.

¹ In reference to this seventy years it will be observed that Jeremiah's prophecy simply mentioned one period ; "Judah shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years : " (Jer. xxv. 11, 12 ; xxix. 10 :)—yet there was in fact a double commencement to this 70 years' captivity, and a double deliverance corresponding. First Nebuchadnezzar, after besieging and taking Jerusalem, carried away king Jehoiakim and many other captives, (*Daniel* among them,) in the year B.C. 606 : 70 years after which *Cyrus* issued his Decree for the Jews' return. Next in the year 587 or 588, Zedekiah having rebelled, Nebuchadnezzar again attacked, took, and destroyed Jerusalem, and carried away all that remained of any consideration to Babylon : from which date 70 years brings us to the Decree of *Darius the Second*, about B.C. 517, in the time of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

² First, the judgment of the 7th Trumpet, which we have reason to suppose primarily ended the 1260 years of the Beast's prospering, was to be outpoured in seven vials : secondly, it was stated, Apoc. xvii. 16, 17, that the ten horns would give their kingdom to the Beast "till the words of God were fulfilled," (i. e. till the 7th Trumpet's sounding,) and would then hate, tear, and desolate it : for the accomplishment of which tearing, &c, some time would apparently be required ;

of the interval between the end of the 1260 and end of the 1335 years, noted in Daniel xii as *the time of the end*, (an interval probably corresponding with the former, if we may rest at all on what is doubtless an obscure prophecy,¹) is *seventy-five years*:—just the very same as between Justinian's commencing epoch and that of Phocas.

But in this I anticipate. The present Part of my Work reaches to, but does not include, the 7th Trumpet and time of the end. And, ere entering on it, we are called to mark how in the antithetic vision next occurring, there was beautifully figured to St. John both the continued existence, and a certain chief epoch of advance in the history of, *Christ's true Church*, during the reign of the Beast, and in contrast and opposition to it; even up to what might seem a primary epoch of the termination of the Beast's 1260 years of prospering. For the present it may suffice to add, as the conclusion of this Section, that there remains to be shown, in order to complete our historic application of this prophecy of the Apocalyptic Beast to the Popes and Popedom, but one thing more only: viz., the fact of some grand anti-Papal event occurring about A. D. 1790, such as to constitute a *primary epoch of termination* to the Beast's 1260 predicted year-days of prospering; supposing Justinian's Decree, following the Pope's assumption of office as CHRIST'S VICAR, or ANTICHRIST, to constitute their *primary epoch of commencement*. Calculating them from *Phocas'* Decree, the ending epoch is even yet future.

ere its ultimate end by burning in the lake of fire.—So in the Apocalypse. In Daniel vii. 26 the judgment, on sitting, is said "to consume and destroy the Beast's dominion *unto the end*:"—an expression implying time.

¹ Dan. xii. 7.—12. This prophecy will be remarked on more fully hereafter.

CHAPTER X.

THE LAMB'S BEAST-CONTRASTED POLITY OF THE
144,000 ON MOUNT ZION, AND ITS FIRST
OMEN OF TRIUMPH.

“ And I looked, and lo, a Lamb¹ stood on the Mount Zion, and with him 144,000, having his Father's name² written in their foreheads.—And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder : and I heard the voice of harpers³ harping with their harps. And they sung as it were⁴ a new song before the throne, and before the four living creatures, and the elders. And no man could learn that song but the 144,000, which were redeemed from the earth. These are they which were not defiled with women ; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile :⁵ for they are without fault before the throne of God.”—Apoc. xiv. 1—5.

In the preceding vision the Evangelist had had his view directed to the dark dark scene of the reign of the antichristian Beast :—the Beast the Dragon's substitute, and usurper of Christ's offices, titles, supremacy, and kingdom ; with the great Roman city (the throne of the ancient Paganism) for his capital, the apostatized Christian clergy for his priesthood, and all the world wondering after him, worshipping his image, and receiving the impress of his mark and name. But his success, at the

¹ Some manuscripts of authority have the definite article, *the* Lamb.

² Others read, *το ονομα αυτου και το ονομα του πατρος αυτου*.

³ So Mill and the authorized Translation. Griesbach reads ; *Και η φωνη ην ηκουσα ως κιθαρων* “ And the voice which I heard was as of harpers, &c.” And so Tregelles.

⁴ Griesbach rejects the *ως*.

⁵ *δολος*. So Mill and the English authorized translation. Griesbach reads *ψευδους* *lie* ; also in the next clause simply *αμαρτοι εισι*.

highest, could not be so complete as that the gates of hell should prevail. There was all the while in existence, although trampled on and oppressed,¹ another city and another people; the followers of the Lamb, and with the Father's name and mark on their foreheads. Already in the former series of visions,—the *Part within written* of the Apocalyptic scroll, running parallel with that which we have now under consideration, or the *Part without*,²—there had been both intimations given, and visions represented, of this the Lord's people; in the midst of others figurative of the growing apostacy, and the punishments consequent thereon, of the rest of Christendom. More especially on the prefiguration of the very first marked commencement of the Apostacy, they had been depicted to St. John³ as the subjects of divine sovereign grace, electing them from out of the midst of mere professing Christendom, and then illuminating, quickening, and stamping them with the Father's appropriating mark as his own:—the perfectness of their number, however comparatively small, indicated by the declared mystic number 144,000; their preservation, amidst the severest of God's providential judgments on the world they mixed in, ensured by his charge to the tempest-angels concerning them; and other intimations added to the effect that, even though oppressed, and apparently, at one time at least, conquered by their enemies,⁴ they should remain in reality indestructible, and ultimately prove altogether triumphant.⁵—It is these 144,000 that St. John has now again represented before him. In the course of the two previous visions of the Dragon and the Beast, he might naturally have thought of them, when told of the children of the mystic woman driven into the wilderness,

¹ "And they (the Gentiles) shall tread (*καρῆσαι*, *trample*.) the Holy City forty and two months." Apoc. xi. 2.

² See Vol. i. p. 105 and p. 1—4 *supra*.

³ Apoc. vii. See Vol. i. pp. 237, 247—249.

⁴ Apoc. xi. 7, xiii. 7.

⁵ Apoc. xvii. 14; "These" (the ten kings with the Beast) "shall make war with the Lamb. And the Lamb shall overcome them, (because He is King of kings and Lord of lords,) and they that are with Him, the called and chosen and faithful." These last are evidently a nominative in apposition with the Lamb, as the participators in his victory.

and of the witnesses and saints that would be the object of the antichristian Beast's hatred and attack.¹ And now he sees them *visibly* represented before him ; undestroyed as indestructible :—the Mount Zion (a locality of natural features very familiar to his recollection, though here depicted probably as desolate of earthly grandeur, even like a cottage in a wilderness, and a besieged city,²) this Mount Zion the symbol of their polity, and a lamb of Him that was their King, their Saviour, and their guide.³ A blessed vision ; and with not a little in the circumstantials, mentioned as attendant or consequent, to augment its blessedness !

The thus presented contrast of the Lamb, his people, and polity, to the Beast and his people and polity, must appear to all, I think, in itself very fit and beautiful. And as St. John saw the vision as a symbolic man, it may probably, while depicting the true Augustinian view of Christ's real Church held by the faithful from the earliest Papal times, have yet had the peculiar fitness of special reference to that æra when Christ's saints began to see themselves more openly separated from the Romanists than before :—the time, I mean, of the Waldenses, Wicliffites, Hussites, &c.—And it will only appear the more striking to any one conversant with Romish views and Romish language, during the 1260 years of Papal supremacy, from the circumstance of the Pope's usurpation to himself and his adherents of all the characteristics here ascribed to Christ and his saints. For the Pope's city, according to them, was the *Holy City* :⁴ his

¹ Apoc. xii. 17, xiii. 7.

² Isa. i. 8 : "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a wilderness, and as a besieged city." Compare Apoc. xi. 2, on the holy city being trodden during the Beast's 1260 year-days by the heathen of the outer court of the symbolic temple, and Apoc. xii, on the woman, the true church, having the wilderness as her home for the 1260 years. So in Vol. ii. p. 386, &c.—The reader must carefully distinguish between this *earthly* Zion in the figurations, as the symbol of the saints' polity during their earthly state, (just as the pictured *earthly temple* symbolized their worship and church,) and the *heavenly* Jerusalem, where there was *no temple*, the symbol of their completed polity and church, in a better state.

³ If we read *ἀρνίον*, a lamb, although distinguished from, it will yet evidently represent, the Lamb that was on the throne.

⁴ "Holy Rome."—The sermons of Councils and bulls of Popes offer many

supremacy and see its mystical *Mount Zion* :¹ professing Christendom subject to him the *twelve tribes of Israel* :² they that became crusaders at his mandate, against infidels or heretics, the *takers up of the cross to follow Christ* ;³ and the faithful monks and nuns of his jurisdiction, the Apocalyptic 144,000, privileged hereafter to follow the lamb, as the *virgin bride* of Christ.⁴ On the other hand, against the very view of Christ's true Church here implied to have been seen by the symbolic man St. John, as *an election of grace out of a professing world*,⁵ the redeemed by his blood, the living by his life, and first-born and adopted sons of God,—against this the Papal Beast, both by his own mouth and that of his

examples of the Romish Church, or *Civitas*, being represented under the character of the *heavenly Jerusalem*. See some at Vol. ii. p. 80, Notes ¹ and ². So Pagan Rome too was in earlier times called *ουρανουπολις*.—Strange that at this time of day, and in this kingdom, there should be found any to designate *Papal Rome* as the Holy City!

¹ So Leo X. in the 9th Session of the 5th Lateran Council: "Posteaquam ad universalis ecclesie curam et regimen divinâ dispensatione vocati fuimus, ex summo apostolatus apice, *tanquam ex vertice montis Zion*, ea prospicere cepimus, &c." Hard. ix. 1742. So again Hard. vii. 669; &c. "Nos qui *civitatis veri David*, religionis videlicet Christianæ, circa cujus regimen innitimur."—Elsewhere the Pope is made David's representative. So, for instance, Hard. ix. 1684, &c.

² In the 5th Lateran Council, for example, Session 6, and in that of Trent, Session 1, the Bishops were addressed as the rulers of the twelve tribes of Israel;—"Vos Patres qui sedetis super sedes duodecim judicantes:"—"Sedemus tanquam judicantes *duodecim tribus Israel*; quibus comprehenditur universus populus Dei." The latter quotation is from the Papal Legate's opening address at Trent. Hard. ix. 1687, x. 14.—Let this be compared with what I have said Vol. i. p. 237 of the twelve tribes of Israel being Apocalyptically used to designate professing Christendom.

³ So Innocent III. in the 4th Lateran Council, of those that took up the cross against the Saracens. Hard. vii. 1. Nearly similar praises and privileges were elsewhere given to crusaders against *heretics*.

⁴ Martene de Rit. ii. 189, &c.—So in the once celebrated *Golden Legend* (History of All Halloween) on the excellence of Virgins; "They have many privileges. They shall have the crown called *Aureola*. They only shall sing the new song. They shall follow always the Lamb, &c."

Jerom curiously opposes this verse 4 to Vigilantius' statement, that the saints after death slept in Abraham's bosom, or under the altar of God, and so could not be present at their tombs. "Tu Deo leges ponis? Tu apotelis vincula injicias? ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodia, nec sint cum Domino suo; de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocumque vadit? Si Agnus ubique, ergo et hi." (Quoted previously, Vol. i. p. 311, Note ⁶.)

But the yet more ancient Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, A.D. 177, speaking of Vettius Epagathus says that he was a genuine disciple of Christ, "*following the Lamb whithersoever he might go*:" so showing that they construed the vision, like myself, as figurative of true Christians whilst on earth.

⁵ By implied reference to the *sealing vision*.

Image, directed his fierce anathemas. Did it not, by the deadliest of heresies, make life and salvation to originate from, and depend on direct union with *Christ*, not *Christ's Vicar*? So on this point, as well as on others, the followers of P. Valdes, Wicliffe, and Huss, in those early and dark days (just as of Luther and of Calvin afterwards) fell successively under his ban :¹ and not they only, but the *Jansenists* also somewhat later ; men who though *in Rome* (a memorable exemplification of the coexistence of the two characteristics) were yet not *of Rome*.²—But though condemned, anathematized, and heaped with opprobrium before the tribunal of the Beast and his Image, their record was far different on high. For the sake of Him who loved and redeemed them, we here read that they were “without fault *before God*.”³

Thus far there would seem to have been depicted in this vision a more *general* view of Christ's people and polity, in contrast with those of the Beast Antichrist : then presently followed a figuration of some forward step in their history, some remarkable and happy crisis in their fortunes ; as if the commencement of, or first step to, the great promised triumph. For whereas the usual and long continued state of the Holy City during the Beast's reign, according to the prophetic announcement, was that of being all trodden by the Gentiles, of the mystic

¹ Luther at the Diet of Worms said ; “I have not blamed all the Councils, but the *Council of Constance* : because in condemning this statement of Huss, ‘*Ecclesia Christi est universitas prædestinatorum*,’ it condemned the Article of the Creed, ‘I believe in the Holy Church Universal.’”—In the trials of the earlier Wicliffites, (as of Lord Cobham, for example,) this question as to the true definition of the Church was among the most prominent points of difference between the Papists and the Reformers. See Hard. viii. 410, 1200 ; Merle ii. 265.

² The 73rd Proposition of *Jansenius* condemned by Clement XI. A. D. 1713 was as follows. “*Ecclesia est cœtus filiorum Dei, adoptorum in Christo, subsistentium in ejus personâ, redemptorum ejus sanguine, viventium ejus Spiritu.*” The Pope condemned it, and the rest,—which are in fact little but Augustine's own statements, developing the glorious principles of free eternal grace,—as “*falsas, perniciosas, impias, blasphemias, hæreses sapientes, hæreticas, &c.*” Hard. xi. 1637, 1640. See the Note in my Vol. i. p. 290.

Let me be permitted to recommend a perusal of these Propositions, so condemned, to all who would wish to know what Popery really is.

³ ἀμωμοὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Compare my observations ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, at the close of the paragraph, p. 174, *suprà*.

Temple that of being defiled with the presence and gentle psalmodies of those adherents of the Beast,¹ and of Christ's people that of oppression, solitariness, and mourning,—we find them here represented not solitarily, as before, and all without sympathy occupying Mount Zion, the citadel of the mystical Holy City,²—but with harpers (temple-harpers as we shall presently see) harping a new song in symphony with them; and a voice as of many waters and of a great thunder,—that is of people and princes,³—uniting to swell it. There can be no question, I conceive, as to some happy crisis in the earthly fortunes of Christ's saints and people being pre-figured:—some crisis during the Papal Beast's reign, or at least before his destruction. The only point for inquiry is, *What* crisis? Nor does there seem to me to be ground for hesitation in expounding it of the *Reformation*.

For besides the circumstance of that being the earliest, indeed *only* epoch of triumph to the anti-Papal saints, noted before the seventh Trumpet in *the former series* of visions,—I refer to the figurations in Apoc. xi of the

¹ Apoc. xi. 21.

² In the case of *David*, the conquest of the stronghold of the literal Mount Zion from the Jebusites, was a preliminary to his occupation of all Jerusalem. So 1 Chron. xi. 4—8. "And David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David." Presently after which follows; "And David dwelt in the castle; and built the city even from Millo round about: and Joab repaired the rest of the city." So too in the case of the *Maccabean* brothers, who regained the Temple and Mount Zion from the heathen enemy, twenty-three years before they were able to dislodge them from their citadel on Mount Acra. Prideaux ii. 155, 222.

And hence St. John's seeing Christ figured as with his saints standing on Mount Zion, might perhaps at first sight be deemed *in itself* the symbol of some æra of triumph over the enemy, such as at the Reformation.—But it must be observed that Christ is here depicted in the character of the *Lamb*, the suffering Lamb: and simply as *standing* on the Mount; without any such mark of forcible and triumphant descent to seize it, as e. g. in Apoc. x. And by Christ's faithful ones, whose perceptions John represented, it was always felt and understood that Christ was with their little brotherhood, polity, and Zion; even when most oppress by the enemy. Hence I conceive that the primary emblem of the Lamb with his 144,000 on Mount Zion, depicted generally the true Christian polity all through the Beast's reign; at least, as just before stated in my text, from the æra when the marked separateness of the two polities forced itself on the view of those faithful witnesses for Christ, whom St. John at this point of the heavenly drama represented; and then the next emblem of the burst of temple-harpings &c. soon following, the epoch of their triumph at the Reformation.

³ Compare Apoc. xix. 6; "I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and of mighty thunders, saying Alleluia."

⁴ This of itself refutes Daubuz' singular view, referring the vision and song to the Church's triumph under *Constantine*. The Papal Beast had not then risen.

resurrection and ascent of the two witnesses, the cleansing of the temple, the fall of the tenth part of Babylon, and the voice thereupon from heaven giving God glory,¹—I say besides that this circumstance might *à priori* lead us to expect, that in *the present and parallel series* the same notable crisis of triumph would not be past over in silence, it may further be shown that all the most marked characteristics of the vision before us do also agree with it; and so as they do with no other epoch whatever in the history of Christ's true Church, since the establishment of the Papacy.

Thus, first, with regard to the *voice* or *song* which the Evangelist heard, we are told that it was that of "*harpers harping with their harps, and singing a new song before the throne, and before the four living creatures, and before the elders.*" Now, had it been simply said to be sung *before the throne*, the idea would have been admissible of its being the song of the blessed Spirits themselves:—those that within the innermost temple of vision, the Holy of Holies, representing the place of the Divine manifestation, were depicted throughout the Apocalyptic visions as present before Him that sat upon the throne, and from time to time offering Him, with their golden harps and voices, the tribute of adoration and praise. But, as it is, the harpers were evidently separate from that blessed company; and thus mortals, not immortals. And as the scene of the harping, being *before the heavenly company in the Holy of Holies*, must be supposed to have been the mystic *temple-court*, of which I have so often spoken as the perpetual foreground of the Apocalyptic visions, and by consequence the harpers mentioned to have answered to the *Levite temple-harpers* in the Jewish ritual,²—and forasmuch, further, as it was evidently a harping in unusual numbers and of unusual joy, and the occasions of any such unusual

¹ See my Vol. ii. pp. 401—428.

² "And David separated to the service those who should prophecy with harps, psalteries, and cymbals. These were for song in the house of the Lord; with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God." 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 6.

choruses and harpings of the Levites in the ancient ritual were almost uniformly those either of the dedication, purification, or reformation of the temple,—as in the times of Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, Era, Nehemiah, and the Maccabees,¹—therefore we seem bound to interpret the present symbolic harpings of some similar ecclesiastical rejoicing, at some similar purification, reconstruction, or re-dedication of the mystical temple, or Church during the Popedom.² And what and when this,

¹ 1. On the induction of the ark into *Solomon's* temple, and its dedication: (2 Chron. v. 11.) "It came to pass when the priests were come out of the holy place, (for all the priests that were present were sanctified; also the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals, and psalteries, and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets,) it came even to pass, that the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord: and they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals, and praised the Lord; saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever."

2. On *Hezekiah's* cleansing the temple: (2 Chron. xxix. 16, &c.) "And they brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of the Lord, and they sanctified it. . . . Then Hezekiah rose early, and gathered the rulers of the city, and went into the house of the Lord. . . . And they brought a sin-offering. . . . And he set the Levites in the house of the Lord with cymbals, psalteries, and harps. . . . And the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets. . . . And when the burnt-offering began, the song of the Lord began also with the trumpets, and with the instruments ordained by David. And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded."

3. On *Josiah's* purgation of the land, and solemn passover, it is said (2 Chron. xxxv. 15), how "the singers, the sons of Asaph, were in their place, according to the commandment of David, &c;" implying their participation, with voice and instrumental music, in the service.

4. On *Ezra* laying the foundation of the new temple: (Ezra iii. 10.) "And when the builders laid the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they set the priests in their apparel with the trumpets, and the Levites with cymbals, to praise the Lord after the ordinance of David. And they sang together in course, praising and giving thanks to the Lord. And all the people shouted with a great shout when they praised the Lord, because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid."

5. On *Nehemiah* dedicating the walls of the new-built Jerusalem: (Neh. xii. 27.) "And at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem they sought the Levites out of all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication with gladness, both with thanksgivings, and with singing, and with cymbals, and psalteries and harps."—I add this because of the Apocalyptic vision depicting the occupation of Mount Zion, as well as of the temple, by Christ's followers.

6. On *Judas Maccabeus* restoring the altar and worship of the temple: (1 Macc. iv. 54.) "At what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that day was it dedicated with songs and citherns and harps and cymbals. Then all the people fell on their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given the good success. And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days; and offered burnt-offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise."

² The figure of a rebuilding of the temple, to signify the *Romish* reformation of the *Romish* Church, was used in the Council of Trent, Sess. i. Hard. x. 14.

but at the glorious *Reformation*?—The burst of song which sounded forth on the rise of the missionary spirit at the epoch of the seventh Trumpet's sounding, or of the French Revolution,—and which some have supposed the song referred to in this vision,¹—had nothing at all of the same *ecclesiastical* character in it; nothing answering to the extraordinary Levitical harpings in the court of the mystic temple. Moreover it is that which has its own proper place in the Apocalyptic prefigurations somewhat later; both in this chapter, and in the other parallel series of visions.²

Secondly, what is said of the voices that symphonized being as *the voice of many waters* and *of a great thunder*, well agrees with the exposition given; implying, as it did, the uniting of both nations and princes in the song. For such was notoriously the case at the Reformation: as in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch Provinces, Switzerland, and England. Which last especially, the tenth part of the city, reconstructed as an evangelic anti-Papal State, and with its "pure and reformed Church" attaching, became thenceforward as it were, visibly before men, an ally to the Apocalyptically figured citadel of Mount Zion; and chief earthly defence to Christ's truth and saints against the assaults of Rome.

Lastly, what is said of the song sung on the occasion, strongly tends to the same conclusion. For, we must observe, it is spoken of very remarkably as both a *new* song, and one that *none could learn but the 144,000*. Now of the various *new songs* sung by the Church of God in its vicissitudes,³ the principal topic is mostly either that of *deliverance from external enemies and danger*, or that of some fresh *revelation of Himself and his grace*: the *former* appreciable in a measure by all con-

¹ E. g. Mr. Cuninghame.

² Viz. 1. in the vision of the Angel with the everlasting Gospel in Apoc. xiv. 6; 2. in the song of the harpers by "the sea as it were of glass," in Apoc. xv. 2.—See on both in my Part v. Chap. vii. *infra*.

³ New songs are noted Exod. xv. 1, Judges v. 12, Psalm xxxiii. 3, xl. 3, xcvi. 1, cxliv. 9. Isa. xlii. 10; also Rev. v. 9.

cerned in it,¹ the *latter* by those only that they have been taught of God. And what then was the peculiar subject and character of the new song sung at the Reformation? Doubtless the wonderful deliverance vouchsafed them from Papal might and oppression mingled in the saints' song of thanksgiving on the occasion. But as to that which was its most characteristic, as well as most glorious subject, listen to the account given of it by him who was its chief precentor:—"Learn to know CHRIST, Christ crucified, Christ come down from heaven to dwell with sinners! Learn to sing *the new song*, THOU JESUS ART MY RIGHTEOUSNESS; I AM THY SIN: Thou hast taken on thyself what was mine; Thou hast given me what is thine."² It was *this* in fact that was introduced, as their very essence, into the new reformed rituals and services; this (amidst differences on lesser points) into the *Harmony*, as it was called, of the *Reformed Confessions*.³—And never certainly was there a song of which it might more truly be said that not *all*, but comparatively *few* only, could really enter into it; in fact none but the 144,000, the election of grace, illuminated and quickened by Christ's own Spirit. The whole subsequent history of Protestantism is itself but a comment on the fact.

And considering, as I trust I now may, the suggested allusion to the *Reformation* in this vision of the harpers

¹ E. g. Who of the Israelites but could not enter into the new song sung on occasion of the overwhelming of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, or of the victory over Sisera at Kishon?

² Quoted before, Vol. ii. p. 99.

³ "*Harmonia Confessionum*." It was first published in 1581. See the Preface to a valuable translation of the Work by the Rev. P. Hall, lately printed.

Its occasion, it seems, was this. The rulers and pastors at one of the Synods of the Reformed Church in France, and especially at that of Frankfort in 1577, desired *one common confession* to be drawn up; partly in answer to the Papists, who charged them with the variety and multitude of their Confessions, partly because of the Lutherans being about to publish their *Formulary of Concord*. For fear of departing from the standards of faith of those who had sealed them with martyrdom, this plan was abandoned. But the people of Zurich and Geneva suggested that a *Harmony of Confessions* should be drawn up. This was entrusted to Beza, Daneau, and Salnar, and chiefly executed by the latter. The National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France gave their sanction to it in 1583.

Smaller differences caused the enemies of Protestantism to call it *Concordia discors*. So Bossuet in his famous *Variations des Protestans*. But they are after all differences on *minor* points by comparison.

to be a point established, I have only in what remains of the present Chapter, briefly to illustrate the melancholy fact, thus predictively implied in the clause before us, from the actual history of the Reformed Churches.

I pass over Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, because these were countries where Protestantism never established itself, but was crushed and expelled, almost as soon as introduced, by the old Papal weapons of the inquisition, the fire, and the sword.¹ And I only pause on *France*,—where, though introduced under better auspices, it was also crushed and expelled a century later by persecution, religious civil wars, and at length the revocation of the edict of Nantes,—just to observe that this was not until it had there exhibited itself in a character rather chivalrous and military for the most part than religious; ² and even of the martyrs in its cause not a few had shewn but little understanding of that *new song*, that was still the prominent characteristic of their confessions and their liturgies.³—But what of the countries where Protestantism was cradled and established? What of Northern Germany, Denmark, Holland, England, and the reformed Cantons of Switzerland? Alas! in each of them too we shall find illustrations of the truth of the predictive clause before us too unequivocal.

Take the case of *Germany*. We are told that the last days of Luther were saddened by a sense of the inadequate sensibility manifested even then by the mass of Protestants, to the real character and blessedness of the gospel-truths so zealously professed by them, and with

¹ I have alluded to this before, Vol. ii. p. 430.—For a brief historic sketch on this and the other particulars noted by me in what remains of this Chapter, I may refer to *Dr. Barthe's* interesting little Summary of History on Christian Principles, translated by the Rev. R. T. Walker, and published by the Religious Tract Society.

² I need but refer to *Henri Quatre* himself, by way of exemplification. The translator of Barthe observes, p. 358, that both Bengel and Saurin attributed the subsequent sufferings of the Hugonots of France in part to their having taken up the sword, contrary to the spirit of their Lord's injunctions.

³ Of course it is not intended to represent the number of the really faithful and evangelic among the Hugonots as small. Doubtless, though comparatively few, they were yet a goodly number. See Merle D'Aubigne's 3rd Volume on the Reformation.

the presage of worse to come.¹ And though the blessed spirit of the Reformation had by no means then ceased its influence, yet after his death in 1546, in a measure, and still more after Melancthon's in 1563, the presage began to have its fulfilment.² Ere the close of the 16th century the spirit of the German Protestant Church is to be looked back on as that of cold lifeless orthodoxy ; —of orthodoxy skilled in the science, controversies, and polemics of dogmatic theology, but with little of the *practical* in it, little of the holding forth in spirit and in act of the word of life :³ so that the confession was made that the scourge of the *thirty years' war*, from 1618 to 1648, in which Protestantism itself was perilled,⁴ came not prematurely or undeserved. At its close, and when, through the kindness of Him who in judgment remembered mercy, the threatened destruction was averted,⁵ and safety and independence ensured to the Protestants, there was no answering to the benefit received. The previous dead orthodoxy continued.⁶ And when it developed greater energies, they were the energies only of a bolder spirit, bold in the pride of its own intellectual power ; as it was said, " Thy wisdom and knowledge it hath perverted thee : "⁷—a spirit which judged of Scripture by its own weak philosophy, not of its philosophy by Scripture ; and so opened the way towards direct scepticism and apostacy. The name of *Semler* marks the introduction of the principle ; the *Neology* of the latter half of the 18th century was its completion.⁸ Could there be understanding,—the least understanding,—in

¹ Luther's Table Talk, i. 12, ii. 186, &c.

This has been referred to and vaunted by the Romanists ; e. g. in the *Ages of Faith*.

² In this view of the decline of the German Protestant Church I have followed the accounts of Rose (in his *Cambridge Sermons*), Pusey, Barthe, and Mosheim. —Dr. Pusey in the first Part of his *Enquiry* is understood to have given the learned professor Tholuck's views on the subject.

³ So Barthe, pp. 398, 399.

⁴ After the German Emperor's first great success over the Protestants, he issued the *Restitution Edict*, of which I have before spoken, Vol. ii. p. 424.

⁵ Chiefly through the instrumentality of the truly great *Gustavus Adolphus*, who fell at Lutzen in the cause.

⁶ Pusey, ii. 288.

⁷ The apposite text to Mr. Rose's *Sermons*.

⁸ See Mr. Rose's sketch of *Semler*, both in the text and the notes appended.

the minds of these pseudo-Protestants, of that *new song* which had graced the birth-day of Protestantism; the song of redemption and justification by an atoning and mediating Saviour? It was this very doctrine that was the special object of their contempt and hatred.¹ They cast away, as the follies of a barbarous age, those evangelic confessions and liturgies of their forefathers that witnessed to it.² And of the divine Gospel itself they denied the inspiration: adjudging that it was for the greater part intended and fitted only for the Jews and the Judaic age,³ and had but little in it of eternal truth or eternal philosophy.⁴

It has been said by a late lamented theologian, to whose work I have had some reference in the foregoing observations, that the cause of this sad apostacy in the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches, is to be traced to their want of a suitable clear Confession of faith, a Liturgy embodying it, and ecclesiastical government enforcing it.⁵ But surely it was while the Confessions and symbolic Articles of faith (imperfect it might be, yet imbued with the genuine spirit of evangelic religion) were in actual use, and strictly enforced by government authority,⁶ that defection began in the German churches.—And what of *England* moreover, and the *English Church*, to which all these advantages attached? As the eye ranges down two and a half centuries of its history, subsequent to the establishment of the Reformation under Edward

¹ “Semler undertook to defend the errors of Pelagius. In our Lord’s satisfaction he rejected all notions of the justice of God as requiring it: in our reconciliation he maintained that no external work of a Mediator was concerned, but that the whole was a moral operation within the human mind.” Rose 54.

² This was done, Mr. Rose says, about the middle of the xviiith century.

³ On their famous,—or rather infamous,—theory of *accommodation*,—a theory representing that the words of Christ and his apostles were spoken not according to truth, but with *accommodation* (quite irrespective of truth) to the views of their auditors, whether of the Jewish or the Gnostic prejudices, for the time being,—see Rose, p. 47.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 70. *If* there were any *enduring* truths in Christianity (which was allowed by them) they asserted them to have been taught by Christ unconsciously, *Ib.* 71.

⁵ Rose, p. 14,

⁶ Mr. Rose states from Shrokh that the Lutheran Churches were held together by the required subscription till the middle of the 18th century: also that from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century it was enforced, in some of the German Protestant States, even on all officers of State. *Ib.* p. 115.

the sixth and Cranmer, and contemplates first the successful attempts of Laud, with no small part of the clergy assenting, at corrupting that Church and ritual, in which the new song was so sweetly chanted, by admixture and addition of Popish ceremonies and superstitions,—then, after the reaction of fanaticism in the civil wars, the irreligion and avowed free-thinking in vogue among the English *laity* at least of the times of Charles the Second, and the heartlessness of the theology of the English Church in the century that succeeded, its want of spirituality, and even too general hatred of it,¹—the inference seems warranted that no provision, however excellent, of human forms and human helps can give or preserve a taste for evangelic doctrine; more especially for that which contains within it the very essence of evangelism, the doctrine of justification by living practical faith in the Lamb of God. For this the individual teaching of Christ's own Spirit is needed. The natural man understandeth it not. It is spiritually discerned.²—Such is the lesson every where taught in Scripture. Such it is that is taught here: “No man could learn that song but the 144,000 that were redeemed from the earth:” that is, those only whose secret history the Evangelist had seen a little before in vision, as chosen by free grace out of the mass of professing Israel, and illuminated, and quickened, and sealed by the Angel Spirit of the Lord Jesus. And I must beg the reader to mark how this history of Protestantism illustrates it.³ After the conversion of the *Protestant nations* to orthodox Christianity at the Reformation,—just as after the conversion of the *Roman nation* to Christianity under Constantine, and the yet more ancient calling of

¹ It was said by Bishop Horsley, that during the larger half of the xviiith century, “the clergy substituted for the great doctrines of the gospel a system little better than heathen ethics.”

² 1 Cor. ii. 14.

³ So *Barthe*: “Within the first hundred years after the Reformation it was sufficiently evident that the general character of the Protestant Church did not amount to the character of a communion of true believers in Jesus: and that the spirit of it could just as easily remain cold and dead with an evangelic Confession of faith, as with a Popish one.” p. 401.—The view given by *Dr. Pusey* is much the same.

the *nation of Israel* out of Egypt to be his people,—it still proved to be only an election,—an individual election of grace out of the national election,—that had any real appreciation of divine gospel truth.

Some such, however, there were all along, doubtless, amidst the ever-increasing defection of their brethren, in the churches of Protestantism. Illustrious names stand pre-eminent, as of those by whom, among others, the torch of truth was transmitted down, in the ecclesiastical annals of each country of Protestant Christendom :—in *Germany*, for example, of Arndt,¹ and Spener,² and Franke,³ of the Lutheran Church ; not to speak of others in the Moravian community also :⁴ in *England*, within the pale of the established Church, of Hooker and Usher, Hall and Leighton, Beveridge and Hopkins, Walker and Venn ; *without it*, of Baxter and Howe, Watts and Doddridge, Whitfield and Wesley. And it is, I think, deserving of remark, that of these not a few, like the admirable Spener, made the very point prominent in their doctrine which is noted respecting these 144,000 in the Apocalyptic statement ;—viz. that none but the converted and illuminated by the Spirit of God could rightly understand the Gospel, or belong to the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.⁵—Their *character* is here

¹ See the testimonies to this eminently pious man in Barthe, p. 400, and Pusey, Part i. p. 55. His "immortal Work on True Christianity," Dr. Pusey states (p. 54) "was translated into every language of Europe, and valued by pious minds of every succeeding age." It was published in 1605. And after his death, which happened in 1614, just before the thirty years' war, he was through this work almost more influential for good than even in life ; from the circumstance of its forming the mind very principally of his successor *Spener*.

² See for an account of this "admirable man," as Dr. Pusey calls *Spener*, Pusey's *Historic Enquiry*, Part I. p. 67, and Part II. p. 314, Chap. x : also Barthe, p. 401. He flourished after the thirty years' war ; and died early in the xviii century.

³ *Franke* was a disciple in a manner of *Spener*, as *Spener* of *Arndt*. The beautiful History of the Orphan House, raised by him at Halle, has made his name familiar to most readers. See Pusey, p. 87.

⁴ See Professor Sack's testimony to the Moravians, in the letter prefixed to Pusey's *Inquiry*, p. 13.

⁵ "Spener's aim was to obtain a communion of Christians whose consciences should have become awakened to that certain verity, that nothing but heartfelt conversion, and our being born again, can fit us for the kingdom of God ; that no public confession of faith, be it ever so scriptural and orthodox, can suffice for such a purpose." Barthe, 402, 436.—Dr. Pusey states that it was one of the things objected against *Spener* by his enemies, that he taught that Holy Scripture was then only a source of religious knowledge, when understood according to the

briefly sketched for our instruction ; just as *its origin* had been in the previous vision of the sealing. "These are they," it is said, "that were not defiled with women ; for they are virgins." So their inward purity and following after holiness is intimated ; and their membership in that holy Church of the redeemed, which is now affianced, and hereafter to be presented, as a chaste virgin to Christ. "These are they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." So both their *active practical self-denying* character is notified, as those that would copy their Lord's example in works of piety, charity, and benevolence ; and also their following him in his course of suffering and patience : as it was said, "Whosoever will come after me must take up his cross, and follow me ;"¹ and again, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Going without the camp, bearing his reproach." Which latter point may perhaps be prominently meant in the intimation ; the *Lamb* being Christ's title in his *suffering* character.—And certainly all this had its fulfilment in the history of those I speak of. Their practical piety and usefulness in their day and generation stand out conspicuous in the biographical records.² And it appears also too clearly from them that they had to exercise much of the grace of patient endurance and suffering. For the names of not a few were cast out, and titles of opprobrium attached to them, and even civil penalties :³—I

meaning of the Holy Spirit ; and that ministers were mere guides to the real Teacher, the Holy Spirit, and Christ in him. Pusey, p. 83. His *Collegia Pietatis*, for an account of which see Pusey, Part i. p. 75, were very effective in inculcating this important doctrine ; especially after the institution of the College at Halle.

¹ Mark viii. 34.

² The want of *practical* Christianity was the grand defect urged by the *Pietists* (for so the followers of Spener and Franke were called) against the Lutherans of their day ; and its necessity so insisted on that it was actually made a charge against them. It was objected (of course *falsely*) to the Pietists, "that by making *holiness of life* a part of the essence of Christianity, they mingled it up with the covenant of grace, and with the matter of justification." So Dr. Pusey, Part ii. p. 298 ; who does full justice to the sincerity, laboriousness, practical piety, and eminent usefulness of these men : speaking therein not his own judgment only, but that of the most eminent, pious, and respectable of living German theologians.—See too Mosheim xvii. 2. 2. 1. 26 et seq.

³ The edicts against the German Pietists are given by Dr. Pusey, Part i. p. 98, and Part ii. p. 293. They were stigmatized as persons associated with the heresies of Pelagianism, Socinianism, Jesuitism, Arianism, &c. Ibid. p. 99. And besides the

speak, it will be observed, not of the *Papal* Governments and Churches, which of course stigmatized them as heretics ; but of the professedly *Reformed* and *Protestant Communities* to which they belonged.—But, it is here added, their record was on high. “In their mouth was found no guile ; for they are without fault before God.”¹ (Indeed even in this world a tardy justice has been rendered to their worth.²) And again, as to their acceptance and reward ; “These are they which were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits to God and to the Lamb : ”—the first-fruits, I presume, accepted

eivil edicts procured against them, popular violence was excited also. *Ibid.* So also Barthe, p. 400 ; who states that *Arndt* was charged, on account of his writings, with sinning against the Holy Ghost.—With regard to those of corresponding character in England, the history of the *Nonconformists* will suggest exemplifications of an earlier date : and, as a notable example of a later date, I shall only refer to Cowper's description of *Whitfield*, in his Poem on Hope.

Leuconomus (beneath well sounding Greek
I slur a name a poet must not speak)
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting storm of half an age :
The very butt of slander, and the blot
For every dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mentioned him at once dismissed
All mercy from his lips, and sneered, and hissed :
His crimes were such as Sodom never knew ;
And Perjury stood up to swear all true : &c.

¹ Compare the view previously given of their recognition in another world, and after death, as *αγιοι*, in consequence of having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb ; Apoc. vii. 14.

² Having referred to Dr. Pusey for a testimony to the *German* Pietists, let me add Cowper's, following on the extract above given, to one of not dissimilar spirit in *England*.—He considered doubtless that *Whitfield's* ecclesiastical irregularity, in an age and state of the Church very different from the present, was an error only of judgment : and was not withheld by it from doing justice to the noble devotedness of his Christian character.

Now, Truth, perform thine office, waft aside
The curtain drawn by Prejudice and Pride ;
Reveal (the man is dead) to pondering eyes
This more than monster, in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him : the tear
That dropp'd upon his Bible was sincere.
Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life ;
And he that forged, and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
Paul's love of Christ, and steadiness unbribed,
Were copied close in him, and well transcribed.
He followed Paul :—his zeal a kindred flame ;
His apostolic charity the same :—

by, as well as devoted to, Him ;¹ before the great ingathering that was to follow under the Millennial and better dispensation.

As the 18th century advanced, however, into its third quarter, the voice of the 144,000 waxed fainter and feebler, and the tokens of their presence more obscure in all the *continental* Protestant countries and churches. In the German churches, both Lutheran and Reformed, Neology, as before said, began to rule supreme ; and its spirit extended in a measure to the kindred churches of Sweden² and Denmark. In Holland there was a death-like torpor and absence of spirituality and life, alike among the Protestants and the Jansenists. In the Swiss Church direct Socinianism had taken place of the piety and confession of Calvin.—Thus, even though symptoms were not wanting of Popery having become aged, and reft of its old strength and vigour, there accrued no triumph to the Gospel from it. Rather, in case of any new form of attack on gospel-truth,—such as threatened from the

Like him cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,
 Forsaking country, kindred, friends, and ease :
 Like him he labor'd ; and like him, content
 To bear it, suffered shame where'er he went.
 Blush Calumny ! and write upon his tomb,
 If honest Eulogy can spare thee room,
 Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
 Which, aim'd at him, have pierced the offended skies :
 And say, Blot out my sin, confessed, deplored,
 Against thine image, in thy sight, O Lord !

¹ The word is one extending to the *first-born* of cattle and of male children. So Exod. xxii. 29 ; "Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits : the first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen and with thy sheep," &c. In Levit. xxiii. 10, direction is given as to the particular first-fruits of the *wheat-harvest* ; the first sheaf whereof was to be taken to the priest, and waved before the Lord.—The symbol is applied to *Israel* in its early faithfulness by Jeremiah ii. 3 ; "Israel was holiness unto the Lord, and the first-fruits of his increase ;" (also Amos vi. 1. marg.) by St. James, i. 18, to the Christians *generally* ; "Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures : " and by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 5, to the first convert of Achaia *particularly* ;—"who is the first-fruits of Achaia."

The observation that the *first-born* were included among the Jewish *first-fruits*, may perhaps not be unimportant towards the fuller understanding of the Apocalyptic clause referred to.

² See Count Rosenblad's testimony to this, in Owen's History of the Bible Society, ii. 370.

infidelity which was then rapidly unfolding itself in unprecedented boldness and strength, especially in France, —there appeared as little of power to oppose it, and as little of inclination, among those Protestants, as even among the members of the Polity and Church of the Papal Antichrist. In England almost alone the salt seemed not to have lost its savour; and the light, instead of burning more dimly, to burn brighter. Elsewhere the darkness thickened. The visible prospect loured sadly before the eyes of the Christian contemplatist. Could it be that the blessed Reformation itself had ended in failure?

To any such passing doubt or fear in the mind of St. John, if such there were, aroused by that last intimation about the 144,000, at this point in the progress of Apocalyptic drama, the vision next ensuing of an Angel flying through mid-heaven gave sufficient answer: a vision which signified at once the fact of the hour of God's judgment against his enemies in Anti-Christendom having arrived,¹ and that of the triumphant speeding forth, so as never before, of the everlasting Gospel. To the servants of God living at the time prefigured, a similarly sufficient answer was given in the corresponding outburst and events of the great FRENCH REVOLUTION.

¹ Apoc. xiv. 7.

PART V.

THE ERA OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, AS FIGURED UNDER THE SIX FIRST VIALS OF THE SEVENTH TRUMPET.

APOC. XI. 15—19. XV, XVI. 1—12, AND XIV. 6—8.

A. D. 1789—1830.

INTRODUCTION:

ON THE APOCALYPTIC SYNCHRONISMS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEVENTH TRUMPET.

WE have now to revert to the *seventh trumpet's sounding*.—But let me, before entering on the historical fulfilment (so far as it may hitherto have advanced) of that Trumpet, premise a few words in the present introductory Section, on *its Apocalyptic synchronisms, and its form and order of development*. Indeed this is absolutely necessary, in order to our having the pathway clear before us as we proceed.

It will not have been forgotten by the reader that at the commencement of Part IV. I called attention to the indubitable marks in Apoc. xii, and down to Apoc. xiv. 5. of a *retrogression* in the Apocalyptic visions:¹—a retrogression made in order to furnish full and explicit explanation on one most important matter that was only alluded to before; I mean the history and character

¹ See pp. 1—3, *suprà*.

of the *Beast from the abyss*, spoken of in Apoc. xi. 7. as the slayer of Christ's two witnesses. And I suggested its agreement with the form of the seven-sealed scroll, written *without* as well as *within* : seeing that this form is most simply explicable by the supposition of its two sides being inscribed with two chronologically parallel lines of prophecy.—Hitherto this parallelism seems to have been palpable. The circumstance of the remarkable prophetic period of the 1260 days, or years, being declaredly involved in either series, from a date of common commencement, after certain preliminary events noticed alike in both, down to the end, or at least very nearly the end, of the period in either case,—this circumstance, I say, is an indication of chronological parallelism not to be mistaken. For let it be remembered that if in the *first* series, after a figuring of long continued persecutions of the saints¹ under the supremacy of the powers of one political heaven, viz. the Roman Pagan, there is described as following, under quite a new and different political heaven,² the 1260 years of the Witnesses' sackcloth-robbed testimony, synchronically with the Beast-obeying Gentiles of the outer Temple-court treading down the Holy City, and the fated time of God's decisive judgment against these corrupters of the earth,³ and consequently of the primary ending of the 1260 years, is defined not to begin until the seventh Trumpet's sounding,—so in the *second* series, after a figuring of the Pagan Dragon's persecution of the saints, and of the saints at length overcoming and casting him down from his political heaven by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony, there is described as next following the 1260 years of the Woman the faithful Church's exile in the wilderness, and of the triumphant reign of the Dragon's substituted successor, the Beast from the abyss, the new grand enemy to the Woman's witness-bearing children; nor

¹ Viz. in the Vision of the Souls under the altar in the 5th Seal.

² The old political heaven having in the 6th Seal been dissolved and past away.

³ Apoc. xi. 18.

is there any intimation of God's decisive judgment beginning against this enemy,¹ and consequently of any primary ending to the 1260 years, until the Angel's cry in mid-heaven announcing it, that was charged with the preaching of the everlasting Gospel. Hence I say the manifest parallelism of the two series; down to the synchronical epochs of the seventh Trumpet's sounding in the first series, and the gospel-bearing Angel's flight in the second.² Nor I think, if we look with care, shall we fail to see proof of the continued parallelism of the two series, as we trace their respective visions still further onward: alike in those belonging to the Vth Part of our Commentary that we are now about entering on, and in those belonging to its VIth and last Part.

For thus much seems quite clear: viz. 1. that the same series of visions that we have been lately considering, (that on *the Part without* of the scroll,) continues onward in its course uninterruptedly to a symbolization of the closing judgment on apostate Christendom at the end of the xivth Apocalyptic Chapter; and 2ndly, that then the former series, (on *the Part within*,) which was broken off suddenly, as we saw, at the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, is reverted to, and resumed, and continued onward to a precisely parallel symbolization with the former, of the closing judgment against Christendom.—1st. I say, in what remains of Ch. xiv the visions advance step after step continuously towards, and up to, the consummation of God's judgments against apostate Christendom. For what their subjects? First, and next in succession after the intimation already considered of declension in the Protestant Churches, there is the vision of a missionary Angel with the Gospel in hand to preach to all nations,³ "*the hour*," it was said,

¹ Apoc. xiv. 7.

² See the Chart for illustration.

³ I subjoin the passage referred to, that the reader may have it under view in its continuity.

"And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people: saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give

“ of God’s judgment having come ; ”—then that of another Angel with the cry of Babylon’s falling, and of another with the warning voice of an impending judgment of fire on the Beast and his followers ;—then an intimation from heaven of the dead being thenceforth blessed ;—then the sign of the Son of Man in heaven preparing to reap the earth’s harvest :—then, finally, that of the vine of the earth being cast into the great winepress of the wrath of God ; a judgment this last most clearly of *the consummation*.—After which, 2ndly, the subject is suddenly changed, the continuity interrupted. And, instead of the figurations advancing still onward to things subsequent,—as to a description of the Lamb’s marriage, or of the New Jerusalem,—St. John speaks again of *the temple of God appearing opened in heaven*, precisely as he described it to have been at the sounding of the seventh Trumpet,¹ when the former series of visions (i. e. of the *Part within-written*) was so abruptly broken off,

glory to him : for the hour of his judgment is come ; and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.—And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.—And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation ; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb : and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever : and they have no rest day nor night who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.—Here is the patience of the saints : here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.—And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them.—And I looked, and behold a white cloud : and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of Man ; having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle. And another angel came out of the temple, saying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle and reap : for the time is come for thee to reap ; for the harvest of the earth is ripe. And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth ; and the earth was reaped.—And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire ; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth ; for her grapes are fully ripe. And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth ; and gathered the vine of the earth ; and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath of God. And the wine-press was trodden without the city ; and blood came out of the wine-press even unto the horse-bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.”—Apoc. xiv. 6—20.

¹ Apoc. xi. 19.

just as if reverting to, and resuming, that earlier interrupted vision : also of seven vial-bearing Angels coming forth out of the Temple, charged with *the seven last plagues* of God's wrath, which plagues seem evidently to be the development of the before-mentioned 7th Trumpet : —just at the last of which vials we are told of Christ appearing with a vesture dipped in blood, fresh from the *treading of the wine-press* of Divine wrath ;¹ a vision that we can scarce mistake in supposing chronologically coincident with, or quickly consequent upon, that of the *treading of the wine-press* described, as a little while since said, in the *supplementary Series*, or *Part without written*, at the end of Apoc. xiv.²—Which being so, and the striking chronological notice, in Apoc. xiv. 7, of “*the hour of God's judgments having then come,*” seeming similarly, as before observed, to mark the parallelism of the earlier vision of the Angel flying forth with the everlasting Gospel, to which that notice attaches in the same *supplementary series*, with the earlier and primary development of the 7th Trumpet's judgment in the *other*, the fittings of the *loop* and the *tache*, at both the commencement of this closing part in the two series, and at its ending, seem sufficiently obvious.

I said that the *seven Vials* appear evidently to be the development of the *seventh Trumpet*. And I think the Reader will agree with me, that on this point too we can scarce be mistaken. For besides that the analogy of the seventh Seal, developed under the seven Trumpets, would naturally suggest a similar development of the seventh Trumpet under the next succeeding septenary of Vials,—besides this, I say, it is to be remembered, that the revealing Angel in Apoc. x. 7, distinctly spoke of the seventh Trumpet as that in which God's mystery was *to be finished* ; a fact asserted also in the anticipatory songs sung on the Trumpet's sounding. And could the *finishing* Trumpet (of which, be it observed, there appears no other development) fail to include, or run parallel with,

¹ Apoc. xix. 13, 15.

² See the Chart at the beginning of my Commentary.

those Vials in which were the *last* plagues of God's wrath ?

The continued parallelism of the two series of visions thus established, we have next to note their general subject. But let me first take occasion to observe, ere I pass on, that since, out of this remainder of the prophecy, that which was to be explained as fulfilled up to the present time involves in it a period of comparatively brief chronological extension,—I mean brief as compared with the long period of the 1260 years already discussed in Parts II, III, and IV, agreeably with its successive prefigurations under two different points of view in either series,—it will I think conduce to clearness to deviate henceforward from the plan I have hitherto acted on, of expounding each Apocalyptic series in Apocalyptic order ; and, instead thereof, to connect more closely together whatever is prefigured respecting the æra we now have to consider, whether on the one side of the roll or on the other. The series of visions *within-written*, being that in which it is chiefly elucidated, will demand our first and chief attention. This I shall therefore now revert to, quitting for it the *supplementary* series that we had last under consideration ; and in the general descriptions given of the Seventh Trumpet's subject-matter, at its sounding or afterwards, shall seek to shew evidence of its general historic bearing : an inquiry that will fitly occupy my ensuing first and introductory Chapter. I shall then, in succeeding Chapters, trace its fuller development in the six earlier of the Vials, these being all that seem as yet fulfilled : and add, or interweave, as fit occasion may offer, a notice of whatever supplementary predictions may have been given respecting the same period, whether in Apoc. xiv. or elsewhere.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE
SEVENTH TRUMPET, AND OF ITS AGREEMENT
WITH THE EVENTS OF THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION.

PROCEED we now to note from the descriptive accounts given anticipatorily at the seventh Trumpet's sounding, and in other parallel passages, the general character of its events and consequences ; and the primâ facie accordance of most of them with the events that introduced and followed on the *French Revolution* :—an accordance, if I may mistake not, very striking.

I. It must be premised then that the seventh Trumpet's sounding succeeded instantly after the statement, "The second woe is past : behold the third woe cometh quickly." This is a *chronological* indication of the greatest importance ; and will, in the historical application of the prophecy, demand our first attention.—Then, as to the general *character of events* under it, it is sketched anticipatorily as follows. "And the seventh Angel sounded : and there were great voices in heaven, saying, 'The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.' And the four-and-twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God ; saying, 'We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast [and art to come] ;¹ because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned. And the nations were angry ; and thy wrath is come ; and the time of the dead, that they should be judged ; and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great ; and

¹ Alike Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles expunge the *καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* of the received text.

shouldest destroy them which destroy (or corrupt)¹ the earth.' And the temple of God was opened in heaven : and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant.² And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail."³—It is further added by St. John, on occasion of reverting (as just before observed) to the same scene and subject,⁴ that in a vision introductory of the outpouring of the seven vials of the seventh Trumpet, (a vision to be considered fully in a subsequent Chapter, but which it may be well here also anticipatively to glance at,) he heard some that had gotten the victory over the Beast, singing the song ; " Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty ; just and true thy ways, thou King of nations !⁵ who shalt not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name ; for thou only art holy : for all the nations shall come and worship before thee ; for thy judgments are made manifest : "—also that out of the temple, which then appeared opened, seven angels came forth charged with vials, that they were to pour out upon the earth, of the wrath of God : and that " the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power ; and no man was able to enter into the temple till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled."

From which figurations and songs, attendant on the seventh Trumpet's sounding, the following general inferences were to be drawn respecting the æra and events that it presignified.

From *the songs of the heavenly ones*⁶ it was inferable

¹ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθειρόντας τὴν γῆν. I incline to suppose this second meaning of διαφθεῖραι to be intended, in part at least, by the participle, from the circumstance very principally of a similar conjunction of, and antithesis between, the two senses of φθεῖρω in the very parallel passage, 1 Cor. iii. 17, Εἰ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθεῖρει, φθεῖρει τὸν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός: " If any one *defile* the temple of God, him will God *destroy*." See Note ² p. 286 presently following.

² διαθήκη. Ought not this word to have been always translated *covenant*, not *testament*; especially in Heb. ix ?

³ Καὶ σεισμός καὶ χελαζα μεγάλη. Perhaps the adjective may be meant to apply to the σεισμός, as well as the χελαζα ; the difference of genders in the two nouns not necessarily forbidding this. Then it will be, " A great earthquake, and great hail." ⁴ Apoc. xv. 2—4.

⁵ ἔθνων is Griesbach's, Scholz's, and Tregelles' reading.

⁶ As the word *heaven* is used in the Apocalypse, just as in other scriptures,

—1st, that the establishment of Christ's kingdom was near at hand ; according to the Covenant-Angel's declaration under the former trumpet,¹ and as the great and ultimate result of what was to happen under this :—2, that the epoch that was to be included under its sounding would be one in which the nations of apostate Christendom (for the nations, not the Beast, are here specified) would manifest some remarkable development of the passions, and exacerbation, whether against Christ alone and his religion, or against each other also :²—3, that God's primary providential acts, ere the establishment of his kingdom, would be acts of judgment eminently

both of the *political heaven of earthly elevation*, and also of that *higher heaven in which God's presence is manifested*,* it seems doubtful how to take the word here ; and whether to ascribe "the great voices in heaven" to certain of God's people on earth in a state of political exaltation, or to blessed spirits around the throne. On the whole I incline to prefer the latter view ; because it seems scarcely reasonable to suppose that earthly songs of praise, in anticipation of the coming future, should give the initiative to that of the twenty-four elders mentioned as following. On the other hand, supposing them to have been the great voices of the *four living creatures* presenting, the order of song would be only that which is expressly described in Apoc. iv. 9, 10 : "When the living creatures give glory and honour to Him that sitteth on the throne, the twenty-four elders fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and cast their crowns before Him," &c.—As the not very dissimilar and nearly cotemporaneous song of the *harpers by the glassy sea as it were* may be clearly shown (as I conceive) to have been that of *saints on earth*, the question is not one of consequence. We have in any case concerting songs, anticipative of Christ's kingdom coming, sung by saints in earth and saints in heaven.

¹ Apoc. x. 7. "The time shall not yet be ; but in the days of the voice of the seventh Angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath promised to his servants the prophets." See Vol. ii. p. 121.

² "And the nations were angry," or enraged ; *οργισθησαν*. Where the object of anger, referred to in a verb like this, is not specified, we must look to the context to explain it. And thus the Lord's having taken to himself his power, with a view to the establishment of his kingdom, being the thing spoken of next before in the present case, it seems natural to refer to this cause the anger of the nations. With which view of the passage the prophetic description in Psalm ii. 1. well agrees ; "Why do the heathen rage, &c. against the Lord and against his anointed ;" contrasted, as here, with the divine anger, "Kiss the Son lest He be angry," *οργισθη* ; also that in Psalm xcix. 1 ; "The Lord reigneth, be the people never so unquiet." Compare too Exod. xv. 14 ; "The nations heard," (i.e. of Israel's victory over Pharaoh at the Red Sea,) "and were angry (Sept. *οργισθησαν*) : fear took hold of them, &c."—Since however elsewhere the word is used of the *mutual exasperation* of the parties angered, (as in Gen. xiv. 24, "See that ye fall not out, μη οργισθητε,") I have thought it well not wholly to exclude the latter idea. Moreover can there be exasperation against God without exasperation against man also ?—*Vitringa's* explanation is to the former effect : "Quippe ultimis illis temporibus, liberationem ecclesie proximè præcedentibus, extremum ediderant conatum ad regnum Christi, si pote, extirpandum." And so *Daubuz*. Compare Psalm cxii. 10 ; *ἀμαρτωλος οφεται και οργισθησε ται*.

* See Vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

notable against both the apostate nations, the Beast, and perhaps too the Euphratean invaders, (invaders still existing though in decline,¹) as alike the corrupters and desolators of the Roman earth:²—4, that there would be included under the trumpet (i. e. at its consummation) “the time of the dead being judged,” (whatever the meaning of that most remarkable expression,³ and of reward being given to the prophets and saints his servants.—From *the song of the harpers by “the glassy sea as it were mixed with fire;”*⁴ it was to be inferred that there would be on the earth, during the time of these judgments, certain victorious separatists from the Beast⁵ that would recognize God’s hand and justice in them; and mark and hail it as the time for the nations of the world being converted to the knowledge and worship of God.—Then, turning to the *scenic phenomena* concomitant, in the temple and elsewhere,—it was, I think, inferable from the circumstance of *the temple being visibly opened* in heaven, and the *ark of the covenant*

¹ Their continued existence, though their *woe* was ended, appears from the fact of the overflow from the Euphrates that symbolized them not drying up till the sixth Vial.

² It may be inferred, I think, that there is in the expression *διαφθειροστας την γην* 1. a particular reference to the *mystic Babylon, its ruling head, and harlot-Church*, from the circumstance of the word being so applied to Babylon both in Apoc. xix. 2, *ἡτις εφθειρε την γην εν τη πορωει αυτης*, and also in Jer. li. 25; *ἰδὲ εγω προς σε το ορος το διεφθαρμενον, το διαφθειρον πασαν την γην*, &c. For this last prophecy, I conceive, had a reference secondarily to the New Testament Babylon, as well as primarily to the Babylon of the Old Testament. The passage is one which, with its remarkable imagery, will demand our more particular attention in a subsequent chapter. Compare 2 Peter ii. 12, *εν τη φθορα αυτων καταφθαρησονται*, “they shall utterly *perish* in their own *corruption*.”—2. The reference of the word to the *nations* of apostate Christendom, may be inferred from their mention as wroth against Christ and his kingdom in the context:—and 3. its reference to the *Mahomedan Turks*, not merely from the desolating nature of their false religion and conquests, in other and earlier days, but also from the word being specifically applied to them in Daniel’s prophecy: it being said in Daniel viii. 24 of the *Little Horn* that was to grow in the latter day out of one of the four horns of the he-goat, and signified, as I doubt not, the Turkman Moslem power, *και θανατα διαφθειρη*, and again, verse 25, *και πολυ διαφθειρει πολλας*. In Chap. vi. *infra* I hope to justify this explication of Daniel’s prophecy.

It is observable that in Daniel the contrast is marked between the *destructibility*, the *διαφθορα*, of the kingdoms of the world, and the *indestructibility* of Christ’s kingdom; which last ε *διαφθαρησεται εις τες αιωνας*. Dan. ii. 44, vi. 26, vii. 14.

³ This will be considered afterwards, in the viith and last Part of my Commentary.

⁴ Explained in my subsequent Chapter vii.

⁵ *Νικωστας εκ τε θηρις*, an expression of which the meaning to this effect will be also shewn in my Chapter vii. *infra*.

appearing, that there would be at the time indications of the opening of Christ's Church to the world, so as it had never been opened before,¹ (the last previous notice about the mystic temple having been only that of St. John in his symbolic character casting out the *εθνη*, or Paganized Romanists from it,) and of God's manifestly thinking upon his covenant (his covenant of mercy to the world, and triumph to the Redeemer) to fulfil it: ² with one remarkable qualification however, that this consummation would not take effect *until after the seven vials had been poured out*, and the smoke of God's presence been manifest as taking vengeance.³—From the *thunderings*,

¹ Vitringa understands as the signification of this symbol, 1st, that the nature of the true Church would be now manifested to men: 2, that there would be a confluence of the fullness of the Gentiles into it, according to the prophecy of the New Jerusalem, "that its gates should be no more shut by day."—But as it is said, "All nations *shall* come and worship thee," as of a thing *future*, and the statement added, "No man could enter till the plagues of the seven Angels were fulfilled,"—and moreover, in the development of the Trumpet, no vision was exhibited, or intimation given, of any great actual ingathering or confluence of nations to Christ, until after the seventh vial had been poured out on Babylon,—it seems to me safest and most accordant with the prophecy, to explain this figure of the Church opening its gates to the world, during the time of the vials, in the way of *invitation*. Compare Isa. xxvi. 2: "Open the gates that the righteous nation may enter in:" and Psalm cxviii. 19: "Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go into them and praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter."—We may observe in contrast the state of things when Ahaz prohibited God's worship; "Ahaz cut in pieces the vessels of the house of God, and *shut up the doors of the house of the Lord*, and made him altars in every corner of Jerusalem:" a state of things ended by Hezekiah, who "*opened the doors of the Lord's house*;" 2 Chron. xxviii. 24, xxix. 3:—also the figurative and spiritual application of the phrase made by Christ and St. Paul; Matt. xxiii. 14: "Ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men;" Acts xiv. 27: "How he had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles." Compare Zech. vi. 15, "Then they that are afar off shall come, and build in the temple of the Lord," &c.

The ancient Expositor *Tichonius*, I may observe, explains the symbol *somewhat* similarly: "In ecclesiâ incarnationis Christi mysteria patefacta sunt, et intellectum est ecclesiam esse arcam testamenti:" the discoveries of these Gospel mysteries being however supposed by him to be confined to the Church, not opened to the world. Bossuet's view is more nearly my own.

² It is called both "the ark of God's covenant," and "ark of his strength," 2 Chron. vi. 41; as symbolizing not only his presence, but also his covenanted promise to act with might for his faithful servants, against his and their enemies. Thus when the ark of God was taken, Eli felt that Israel's strength was gone. Again it was before the ark that *Dagon* fell; the symbol of all idolatry falling before the Gospel.—There were in it the two tables of the covenant, or ten Commandments; and perhaps the Books of Moses. Compare Exod. xxv. 16, 1 Kings viii. 9, Deut. xxxi. 26, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

³ Compare Numb. xvi. 19, 42, 45: where the cloud of God's presence appeared to cover the tabernacle; when stirring himself up to take vengeance on Korah and Israel, as well as in defence of his servants Moses and Aaron. It is

lightnings, hail, and earthquake attending, it was to be inferred that there would be some remarkable political revolution and commotions, of Northern origin apparently, (so the *hail* might indicate,) at the time of the seventh Trumpet's sounding; just as we inferred the same from similar elemental convulsions attendant on the sounding of the first Trumpet:—a revolution and commotions that would similarly fix the character, and be but the beginning, of other commotions afterwards following under it, and which would more especially mark its consummation.¹—Yet once more, the circumstance of *seven new Angels from the temple* being employed to pour out these vials of judgment on the apostate Roman earth, instead of the *four Angels of the winds* whose instrumentality had been used hitherto under the six former Trumpets, seemed to indicate that the judgments now commencing would originate from no *external agency, or foreign foe*, but from causes and agencies altogether *within the empire*.²

2. Such were the *chief circumstantials and characteristics of the seventh Trumpet's sounding*, noted anticipatorily on the Apocalyptic scene: and now let the Reader, before our entering on particulars, mark well the general agreement therewith (in so far as it has been developed) of the *circumstances and characteristics of the outbreak of the great FRENCH REVOLUTION*.

this passage, I conceive, that is to be referred to, as the chief precedent and parallel to that before us; the immediate object here being evidently that of judgment against the enemies of his Church, and interposition with power in his Church's defence and favor. The manifestation of God's glory on occasion of Solomon's dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 11, seems to me a case less in point; though one not to be overlooked in the comparison.

¹ It may be remembered that the earthquake and lightnings which preceded the first Trumpet's sounding, were explained to betoken the political revolution and wars of the Goths, on the first rising against the Romans after the death of Theodosius: the which constituted both the introduction to, and characteristic of, all the woes that followed from the subsequent Gothic invasions. See Vol. i. pp. 343, 349, 350.

² See my observations on these four Angels of the winds, Vol. i. pp. 299, 300. The point is one hitherto, I believe, quite overlooked by commentators; but one of which the evidence approves itself to my mind; and which, if true is certainly important. I know no passage where the *winds* are used symbolically of destroyers coming on a nation, in which *external enemies, or judgments from without*, are not meant.

First, it agreed in respect to the important indication of *time*. For it happened just a little while only after the manifest passing away of the Turkish woe; according to the predictive declaration, "The second woe hath past; behold, the third woe cometh quickly." In proof of this fact I have already observed on a former occasion that, although the victories of John Sobieski and Prince Eugene over the Turks at the close of the 17th century were a decisive arrest of the Turkish woe,¹ yet it could not then be said to have past away. After the peace of Carlowitz, however, it was evident (I transcribe from a former historic sketch)² that decay had begun irretrievably within it. And the next great war that, after a long peace with Christendom, called it again into the battle-field,—I mean that of 1770 against united Austria and Russia,—a war signalized by victory after victory on the part of the allied forces, and which was ended in the year 1774 by a peace dictated in terms by Prince Romanzoff,—proclaimed to the world in language too clear to be mistaken, that the Turkman power was no longer a woe to Christendom, but Christendom to the Turkmans. The dissolution or conquest of its empire had become thenceforth, it was evident, only a question of time and European policy. "The second woe had passed away."—This, I say, was in 1774. That same year was the date of the American Revolution; as also of the ill-fated Louis the XVth's accession to the French throne: and in 1789, only fifteen years after, the French Revolution broke out.³

Secondly, the French Revolution agreed also in respect of *its own characteristics*, with the prefigurations of the seventh Trumpet.—For it was a *political convulsion and revolution*, so as the symbol of the *earthquake* indicated,⁴ of magnitude such that the Apocalyptic prophecy

¹ Rycout on the Turkish empire says that A.D. 1697 was the epoch viewed by the Turks themselves as that of the fated limit to the extension of their empire.

² See Vol. ii. p. 435.

³ Alison observes, i. 566, that in the year 1790, on a new attack by Austria and Russia, instantaneous destruction seemed to threaten the Turkish Empire; and that it was only averted by the intervention of England, Prussia, and Sweden.

⁴ See p. 287 *suprà*.

would have been altogether inconsistent with itself had it not noticed it:—it was a convulsion of *internal* origin, and not, like the great judgments previously inflicted on Christendom, one that arose out of the irruption of external invading foes, *from the four winds*:—it was one that issued in *wars* long and furious in Western Christendom, agreeably with the prefiguring symbol, “*thunderings and lightnings and great hail*:”¹—wars of *Northern* origin, as France was the most Northerly of the kingdoms of the Beast; and in the which *they that had corrupted the earth*, including both the apostate nations themselves, the Pope with his Church and Clergy, and the Turk too, (once its great corrupter and desolator,)² were signal sufferers:—it was a convulsion in which the exasperated passions of men manifested themselves, with a virulence unprecedented in the world’s history, against both Christ’s religion, God’s judgments, and their fellow-men; according to the statement, “The nations were angry, or exasperated:”—finally, it was one on the occurrence of which, and during its continuance, there were certain, separated from the Popedom and its false doctrines and spirit, (I mean specially in England,) who recognized these judgments as God’s righteous retribution on his saints’ enemies; and who also, deeming them that which would usher in the world’s conversion, sought by missionary exertions to help forward the desired consummation: not without some manifestation of God’s remembering his covenant, and in manner unprecedented hitherto removing barriers, and opening his reformed Church to the heathen world.—All this will appear hereafter more clearly and fully, as we trace out *in detail* the historic development of the great modern æra of the French Revolution.

¹ Ibid.

² See Note ², p. 286 *suprà*.

CHAPTER II.

EPOCH OF THE SEVENTH TRUMPET'S SOUNDING, OR
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

We turn to the *historic fulfilment* of the Trumpet's sounding.—And I think it may be well here to consider how the æra was *introduced* in European history, and with what *anticipations* or *prognostications of the coming future*, as well as how *accomplished*: the interval which elapsed between the passing away of the Turkman woe and the outbreak of the Revolution,—or from about A.D. 1774 to 1789,—having been almost marked out in the Apocalyptic prophecy as an interval for pause and looking forward, by that solemn notification, “The second woe hath past: behold the third woe cometh quickly.”

1. The political state of things, then, in the interval referred to, was such that the generality of observers prophesied peace and safety.—With regard to *external* danger, as from the irruption into European Christendom of new barbaric hordes, like the Goths and Huns, or Saracens and Turks, in ages previous, we have on record Gibbon's considerate judgment,¹ formed just at the time that I speak of, pronouncing its high improbability. The establishment of Russia, he observes, as a powerful civilized empire, comprehending in its rule what was once the wilds of Sarmatia and Scythia, had contracted the reign of independent barbarism to a narrow space. The 2300 walled towns of modern Germany presented obstacles to invasion from those Eastern wilds altogether unknown in earlier ages. The resisting strength of the twelve powerful though unequal kingdoms, now embraced in the European commonwealth,—states exercised in the art of war and the military spirit by the mutual but indecisive contests of rivalry,—was altogether different from that of Roman

¹ Decline and Fall, vi. 349.

provinces, which together with their independence had lost also all military courage and energy. Finally, the superior physical strength and hardihood of barbarians, which had such weight in the wars of the decline of the Roman Empire, could avail but little against the *artillery* of modern Europe.—Such was Gibbon's augury. And he was here, as elsewhere, not inconsistent in his judgment either with fact or prophecy. The *angels of the winds* had fulfilled their commission. Invasions *from without*, the European Commonwealth was to suffer no more.—Nor did the princes and statesmen of Christendom discern *from within* any alarming sign of trouble breaking forth. In the course of the century last elapsed, from the time of the wars of Louis the Fourteenth and William the Third of England, the rancour of religious differences, once the fertile cause of national strife,¹ had all but subsided. Of the two chief political changes that had occurred in the same century,—*viz. first* the accession of *Russia* as a new and powerful member of the European Commonwealth, (through the genius of Peter the Great founding it,² the suicidal attacks of Charles of Sweden strengthening it, and the sagacious policy of its succeeding emperors consolidating and ever impelling it onward with its vast momentum, Westward and Southward,) *secondly*, the aggrandizement of *Prussia* through the victories of the great Frederic,³—I say, of these two great events, neither the one nor the other seemed such as to give cause for solicitude. The increased strength of the chief Protestant State in Germany might rather serve as a balance against the previously superior strength of the Austrian Empire, the head in that part of Roman Catholicism: ⁴—and, as to Russia, though powerful for defence, its poverty, not to speak of its other deficien-

¹ Alison observes that between the *strife of religion* and the *strife of equality*, there was a hundred years repose. History of the French Revolution, i. 519.—So Burke, iv. 14.

² The reign of this Father of the Russian Empire was from A.D. 1685 to 1725.

³ He reigned from 1742 to 1786.

⁴ E. g. Had Protestant Prussia been as strong in the xviiith as in the xviith century, it is not likely that Romish Austria would have dared to issue the Resitution Edict, and to enforce it in the thirty years' war.

cies, forbade the idea of its being strong for aggression, at least for many years to come.—The recent revolt of the *United States of America*, and new democratic principles of thought and action suggested by it, as little caused disquietude.¹ It could scarcely be imagined that these could vegetate on European soil. A recent peace too had composed the differences. “The peace concluded at Versailles in 1783,” says Sir Walter Scott, “was reasonably supposed to augur a long repose to Europe.”²

But there were some that had more ominous presentiments as to the coming future. And we must include in this number persons of two the most opposite classes and characters:—persons consequently, who, though alike expecting convulsions in Christendom, had feelings of course, in regard of what they expected, the most contrary to each other.

The one class referred to was a sect of *infidel philosophers* in France, headed by Voltaire, of whom I shall have to speak more fully afterwards: men who had united themselves in a kind of literary conspiracy against Christianity; and, in the indefatigable pursuit of that object, called in the aid of wit and science, of the licentious and the democratic tendencies of man, of infidel clubs, and cheap infidel publications.³ Of this anti-christian association the great arch-priest Voltaire, writing in 1764, thus expressed his anticipation of convulsions at hand. “Every thing is preparing the way for a great revolution. It will undoubtedly take place, though I shall not be so fortunate as to see it. The French arrive at every thing slowly, but surely. Light has been for some time gradually diffusing itself: and on the first opportunity the nation will break out, and

¹ This revolt broke out, as before said, in 1774.—Alison observes that the European potentates contemplated this revolt and its success without fear, and with complacency, i. 151.

² Compare other statements in Alison to the same effect, Vol. 1, pp. 149, 520: also in Southey's *Colloquies*, quoted by Fysh, p. xiii. Preface.

³ Of the celebrated French *Encyclopædia*, their *larger* work, the first of its seventeen volumes was published in 1751, the last in 1765: the editors being D'Alembert and Diderot.

the uproar will be glorious. Happy those who are young; for they will behold most extraordinary things."¹—Have not the oracles of Satan been known at other times too in the world's history, to prophesy with super-human sagacity and foresight of the coming future?

Again, the *Christian philosopher* also anticipated an outbreak;—only one not of freedom and happiness, but of wrath and judgment. As he contemplated the iniquity and fidelity that abounded in professing Christendom,—of Christendom both Roman Catholic and Protestant,²—they appeared to him to call for vengeance.

He heard the wheels of an avenging God
Groan heavily along the distant road.³

The very elements, agitated as they were, at the epoch of 1783 that we speak of, with unwonted convulsions, seemed to his ear vocal with forewarnings of judgment. I allude to the hurricane-tempest that just then ravaged the West Indies,⁴ the re-opening of the volcanic fires of Vesuvius,⁵ and eruption of that of Shaptaa Jokul in Iceland, (an eruption terrific beyond all former precedent,⁶) and the earthquake which, protracted from 1783 to 1786, for above three long years convulsed and desolated Calabria.⁷ Hark to the musings of the eminently Christian poet of that period, as he considered them.⁸

. The world appears
To toll the death-bell of its own decease:
And by the voice of all its elements
To preach the general doom.—When were the winds
Let slip with such a warrant to destroy?
When did the waves so haughtily overleap
Their ancient barrier, deluging the dry?

¹ In a Letter to M. de Chauvelier, quoted by Fysh, p. 19.

² See on the Protestant declension, pp. 275, 276 *suprà*.

³ Cowper.

⁴ Alluded to by Cowper in the extract appended.

⁵ Sir W. Hamilton speaks of there having been many eruptions (after a comparative quiescence) from 1767 to 1779, in which last year there was a great one. It was preparatory to a much greater one in 1794.—Eustace, who describes the last eruption, states the number of the eruptions of Vesuvius from A.D. 79 to 1794, as thirty-one; at the rate of somewhat less than two in a century.

⁶ Gilbert (*Beauties of Nature*, p. 27) calls it "the most terrific on record."

⁷ A full description has been given of this remarkable earthquake by Sir W. Hamilton. Geologists have considered it coincident in respect of *cause*, as of *time*, with the violent shocks above-noted in Iceland. Simond, *Tour in England*, ii. 8.

⁸ Task, Book ii.

Fires from beneath, and meteors from above,¹
 Portentous, unexampled, unexplained,
 Have kindled beacons in the skies. The old
 And crazy earth has had her shaking fits
 More frequent, and foregone her usual rest :
 And Nature seems with dim and sickly eye²
 To wait the close of all.³

—And surely when after these “frowning signals,” as he regarded them, of God’s displeasure, there occurred another terrific elemental visitation,—when, in the autumn of 1788, a *hail-storm*, with its usual accompaniments of violent thunder and lightning, the most destructive perhaps on historic record, burst upon that country which of all others in Christendom, Rome alone excepted, might seem by its sins loudest to call down vengeance from heaven,—a hail-storm by which, throughout the greater part of France, the autumn, with its golden hopes and aspect, was actually turned into winter,⁴—the

¹ Cowper gives the date, Aug. 18, 1783.

² In allusion, Cowper says, to the remarkable fog which covered both Europe and Asia the whole summer of 1783. Simond says that in Iceland the sun was not seen for three years. Ibid.

³ He was not unaware that other predictions needed to have their fulfilment ere the consummation :—adding to the above ;

But grant her end
 More distant, and that prophecy demands
 A longer respite unaccomplished yet,
 Still, they are frowning signals, and bespeak
 Displeasure in *His* breast who smites the earth,
 Or heals it, makes it languid or rejoice.

⁴ This is noted by Alison i. 172. “Even the elements contributed to swell the public discontent, and seemed to declare war on the falling monarchy. A dreadful *storm of hail* in July 1788 laid waste the provinces, and produced such a diminution in the harvest as threatened all the horrors of famine : while the severity of the succeeding winter exceeded any thing that had been experienced since that which followed the disasters of Louis the XIVth.” M. Thiers too notices it.

But there is a much fuller account in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *French Revolution* ; which it seems to me quite worth the while to transcribe. “We cannot here avoid mentioning a physical event, which assisted not a little in producing many of the convulsions attending the Revolution. On Sunday, July 13, A.D. 1788, 9 A.M. without any eclipse, a dreadful darkness suddenly overspread several parts of France. It was the prelude to such a tempest as is unexampled in the temperate climates of Europe. Wind, rain, hail, and thunder, seemed to contend in impetuosity ; but the *hail* was the great instrument of ruin. Instead of the rich prospects of an early autumn, the face of nature in the space of an hour presented the dreary aspect of universal winter. The soil was converted into a morass ; the standing corn beaten into quagmires ; the vines broken to pieces ; the fruit trees demolished ; and unmelted hail lying in heaps like rocks of solid ice. Even the robust forest-trees were unable to withstand the fury of the tempest. The hail was composed of enormous solid and angular pieces of ice, some weighing from eight to ten ounces. The country

grounds of alarm and foreboding on this score seemed confirmed and multiplied.—And this not only, I think I may say, on account of the addition that it made to the awful convulsions then notable of the elements, but also because there was thereby constituted a somewhat remarkable and ominous resemblance in them to the precise elemental signs noted in the Apocalyptic passage before us, as symbolic of the outbreaking of the judgments of the awful seventh Trumpet;—“There were *lightnings*, and *thunderings*, and an *earthquake*, and *great hail*.”

For I must not omit altogether to remark that, as there was very generally a *local appropriateness* in the Scripture symbols, of which I have spoken elsewhere at large,¹ so there appears to have been a *chronological appropriateness* also, in such of them as were drawn from physical phenomena, quite sufficiently often to evince, that on any such remarkably concurring, they would deserve the attention of the observer. For example, Balaam's ancient prophecy of Christ having been enunciated under the symbol of a *star*, (“There shall come a star out of Jacob,”)² a literal meteor-star appeared to the Magi in the firmament, just when He, whom it figured,

people beaten down in the fields on their way to the church, amidst the concussions of the elements, concluded that the last day was arrived; and scarcely attempting to extricate themselves, lay despairing and half suffocated amidst the water and the mud, expecting the immediate dissolution of all things.—The storm was irregular in its devastations. While several rich districts were laid entirely waste, some intermediate portions of country were comparatively little injured. One of sixty square leagues had not a single ear of corn or fruit of any kind left. Of the sixty-six parishes in the district of Pontoise, forty-three were entirely desolated; and of the remaining twenty-three, some lost two-thirds, and others half their harvest. The Isle of France, being the district in which *Paris* is situated, and the Orleanois, appeared to have suffered chiefly. The damage there, upon a moderate calculation, amounted 80,000,000 of livres, or between three and four millions sterling. Such a calamity must at any period have been severely felt; but occurring on the eve of a great political revolution, and amidst a general scarcity throughout Europe, it was peculiarly unfortunate, and gave more embarrassment to the government than perhaps any other event whatever. Numbers of families found it necessary to contract their mode of living for a time, and to dismiss their servants, who were thus left destitute of bread. Added to the public discontent and political dissensions, it produced such an effect upon the people in general, that the nation seemed to have changed its character: and, instead of that levity by which it had ever been distinguished, a settled gloom now seemed fixed on every countenance.”

¹ Vol. i. p. 394, &c.

² Numb. xxiv. 17.

was born.—The overthrow of Jerusalem and its ruling powers having been predicted by Christ under figurative language borrowed from *earthquakes* and *eclipses*,¹ there occurred literal earthquakes just before the time, and extraordinary phenomena in the literal starry and meteoric heavens.²—In the Apocalypse, the mighty political convulsion of the Roman Empire that resulted from the revolt of the Goths, A.D. 395, on the death of Theodosius, having been predicted in one place under the figure of an *earthquake*, there are recorded to have occurred in it just the year before, and also the year after, repeated and severe literal earthquakes.³ And in another parallel Apocalyptic prophecy, the original passage of those same Goths into the empire having been symbolized as a *flood* poured out of the Dragon's mouth, it is noted in history, that there was at the time of Valens' great earthquake, a little previous, a most remarkable literal inundation also.⁴—Once more, (turning to the prophecies of the Trumpets) as the irruption of Alaric and Rhadagaisus from Northern Germany was foreshown under the figure of a *hail-storm*,⁵ so the fact stands on record of there having occurred at the time of their irruption, not only, as Gibbon describes in his graphic picture,

¹ Matt. xxiv. 29; "The sun shall be darkened, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken."—I do not forget that this prophecy had a reference also (a very principal reference) to the convulsions immediately preceding Christ's second coming. But I conceive, in common with most commentators, that it was *primarily* intended of the destruction of Jerusalem: this being a type of the destruction of apostate Christendom at the time of the end.

² See Bishop Newton's illustrations. I must quote one extract from Josephus' description of the convulsions in Judea; De Bell. Jud. iv. 4, 5. Δια γαρ της νυκτος ἀμυχανος ἐκρηγνυνται χειμων, ανεμοι τε βιαιοι, συν ομβροις λαβροτατοις, και συνεχθεις ασρακαι, βροται δε φρικωδεις, και μνηματα σεισμονης της χης εξαισια. Προβηλον δ'ην επ' ανθρωπων ολεθρου το καταστημα των ολων συγκεχυμενον και οχι μικρα τις αν εκαστοι συντητηματος τα τερατα.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 349.—Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvi. 10, and after him Gibbon, iv. 338—340, describe a much more tremendous earthquake, which happened A.D. 365 soon after the accession of Valens; under whom occurred the Goths' trans-Danubian passage, revolt, and victory, which was the *primary* epoch and cause of the Gothic desolations of the empire. Its great extent throughout nearly the whole extent of the Roman world, showed, it has been observed by Geologists, that the cause was very deep-seated.

⁴ At Alexandria alone 50,000 were lost in it. Gibbon, *ibid.*—So the flood by which the Prince of Scylla was washed away,—“the Prince with half his people,”—was an accompaniment of the great Calabrian earthquake of 1783.

⁵ Apoc. viii. 7.

a winter of unusual severity, by which the largest rivers were frozen,¹ but also, as Philostorgius relates, a tremendous literal hail-storm, of which "the hail was bigger than a man's fist:"² and as the irruption of Attila was depicted under figure of a comet,³ so we are told that there actually appeared a great comet the first year of Attila's ravages.⁴—Of course, phenomena of this kind occur too often to be by themselves, and on their own account, at all rested on by an expounder of prophecy. But the exemplifications just given show that the chronological coincidence, the *picturing from the times*, has not been altogether unattended to by the divine all-prescient Spirit. And while with regard to the generality of men, God's purpose in ordaining remarkable elemental convulsions, such as I have enumerated, at times of severe national judgments impending, may have been simply to awaken a feeling of awe and expectation, (such as, we know, *was* awakened in many, by the physical phenomena that preceded Jerusalem's overthrow,⁵ the earthquake and deluge that preceded the Gothic revolt,⁶ and the convulsions of which Cowper speaks before the French Revolution,⁷) it may have been also his intention that they should serve to the *prophetic student* as a corroborative sign, conjunctively with others less dubious, of the time of the catastrophe or judgment predicted under such particular symbols being near at hand.

2. And so at length the mighty political convulsion of this modern age broke out. It was in the year 1788, just a month after the hail-storm, that the united financial and social derangements of the French nation were considered by both king and minister to render necessary the extraordinary and long-disused measure of the *Con-*

¹ Gibb. v. 177.

² Daubuz, p. 368.

³ Apoc. viii. 10.

⁴ In the *Chronicon of Count Marcellinus* the comet and the Hunnish invader are thus immediately connected together; *Stella quæ crinita dicitur per plurimum tempus ardens apparuit. Bleida et Attila fratres Illyricum Thraciamque depopulati sunt.*" B.P.M. ix. 523. Quoted before, Vol. i. p. 356: where see also p. 354 on the volcano.

⁵ See the last clause of the extract from Josephus given above.

⁶ Gibbon says, in the passage above referred to, that they were regarded as presages of great calamities impending.

⁷ Exemplified in Cowper.

vocation of the States General; ¹ that is of the representatives of the nation in its three estates, the clergy, nobles, and people. The day of their primary meeting at Versailles was May 5, 1789. "This," says Alison, "was the first day of the French Revolution."² For the minister, as one demented, had doubled the number of the Tiers Etat, so as that the representatives of its body should alone outnumber those of the two other orders.³ And thus the DEMOCRATIC ELEMENT, which had been long silently growing up to wealth, intelligence, and political ambition, found, all suddenly and strangely, that power was placed within its grasp; nor did they let it slip. Scarce met, the Tiers Etat insisted on all the three forming together one deliberative body; and, on the clergy and nobles refusing, constituted themselves *The National Assembly*; as authorized *even alone* to legislate and act as the nation's representatives. And then, having soon, through firmness and support of the popular voice, overawed the others into submission and coalescence,⁴ and in the so united Constituent Assembly swamped the aristocracy of Church and State by force of numbers, they proceeded to enact the part of legislators, as with the authority of the state centered in them; and abolished at one fell swoop the whole system of the long-established laws, rights, and customs of the nation, the privileges of the nobility, tithes of the clergy, and monarch's supremacy.⁵ "Absolute monarchy," says

¹ The last previous convocation had been in 1614. Alison i. 168. ² i. 178.

³ Alison i. 270. The numbers were of the *clergy* 293, of the *nobles* 270, (together 563,) of the *Tiers Etat* 565.

⁴ It was May 6, the day after the three Estates assembling, that the Tiers Etat insisted on one assembly. On the refusal of the two other Estates, they opposed till June 19 only *passive resistance*, refusing to proceed to business: but then at length, by a majority of 491 to 90, constituted themselves the *National Assembly*; and, on the Government imprudently shutting the hall against them, met elsewhere, and took an oath never to separate till they had settled the constitution on a solid basis. On the 22nd of June, 148 of the clergy joined them; on the 24th the Duke of Orleans and 46 of the nobles. Then the king yielded; and on June the 27th the whole were formally united in one assembly. Alison, i. 200—221.

⁵ This was August 4. Then all the feudal rights were surrendered by the nobles, and power given of redemption of the tithes: this last act being introductory to the total abolition of tithes. "That night," says Alison, i. 232, "changed the political condition of France."

Burke, "breathed its last without a struggle."¹—The world looked on with awe. Within two short months from their constitution as the National Assembly, they had overthrown everything that might have appeared most stable in Church and State. What might not this new democratic power effect, of change in the other European states? And in what spirit? Of that of the *ancient* democracies, when conflicting and dominant, *Corcyra* suggested fearful recollections.² And, in their attack on the Bastille, the Parisian populace had already exhibited a specimen as ominous of *modern* democratic fury and bloodthirstiness.³ Thus the Apocalyptic figure of *an earthquake* had not only been realized in France, (indeed so realized that historians and statesmen perpetually adopt the metaphor,)⁴ but it was felt that it was that which might extend through Europe.⁵ "Already," it was said by Mr. Burke in the year 1790, "in many parts of Europe there is a hollow murmuring under ground; a confused movement that threatens a *general earthquake* of the political world."⁶ And he foresaw other evils fast-coming also, with or after the earthquake: even, according to another of the anticipative symbols of prophecy, the lightnings and thunderings of war:—and these, wars of atrocity and horrors unparalleled.—It was evident that a drama had opened, in which mightier

¹ Burke, iii. 183.

² See the awful description, with the historian's profound and philosophic remarks appended to it, in Thucydides, iii. 81—84.

³ July 14. 1789.

⁴ Mr. Alison, with reference to the Decrees of the memorable 4th of August, thus writes: "Nothing could be regarded as stable in society after such a shock. The minds of men were shaken as by the yawning of the ground during the fury of an earthquake. All that the age had rested on as most stable, all that the mind had been accustomed to regard as most lasting, disappeared before the first breath of innovation."—Mr. Fysh, in his work on the French Revolution, has also cited this passage. And he adds another from *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1839; "The abuses of the old French Government were such that they could scarcely have been shaken to the ground by anything short of the *tremendous moral and political earthquake* by which that country was visited. A contemporary, Mr. Hey of Leeds, writing in 1795, naturally draws his figure from the earthquakes of the æra itself. "What a world we live in! The nations are agitated like poor Calabria." *Wilberforce's Life*, ii. 80. See the notice of this, p. 294 supra.

"A revolution in France," said Napoleon, "is always, sooner or later, followed by a revolution in Europe." Alison, i. 514.

⁶ Works, Vol. iii. p. 207.

agencies than those of man were operating.¹—Its issues who could foretel ?

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST VIAL .

“ And I saw another sign in heaven, seven angels having the seven last plagues : for in them is filled up the wrath of God.² . . . And behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened : and the seven angels went forth out of the temple, which had the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles. And one of the four living creatures gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power ; and no man was able to enter into the temple till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.”

“ And I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels. Go your ways, and pour out the vials of wrath of God upon the earth.—And the first went ; and poured out his vial on the earth : and there broke out³ a noisome and evil ulcer on the men who had the mark of the beast, and on them who worshipped his image.”—Apoc. xv. 1 ; xvi. 2.

Such was the introduction and commencement of the Apocalyptic scene before St. John, of the *Vial-outpour-*

¹ So Alison i. 7. “ The talent and wickedness displayed were too great to be explained on the usual principles of human nature. It seemed as if some higher powers had been engaged in a strife in which man was the visible instrument ; as if the demons of hell had been let loose to scourge mankind. The fancy of antiquity would have peopled the scene with hostile deities, supporting unseen the contests of armies : the severer genius of Christianity beheld in it the visible interposition of Almighty power to punish the sins of a corrupt world.”

² The intervening verses will be considered in my Chapter viii. infra.

³ *eyevero*. The authorized translation “ *fell on them* ” is objectionable ; as it seems to imply an infliction from *without*, not an eruption *within*.

ings; that development of the contents of the seventh Trumpet, and last of God's judgment on an apostate world. They were spoken of in the heavenly song that hailed the seventh Trumpet's sounding, as judgments "*against those that destroyed or corrupted the earth.*"¹ Nor do I know any so clear classification of the figurations that depicted them, as that which is thereby suggested; the *first* of the Vials appearing to figure the spirit and principle of judgment now first set in action, the *three next* its continued operation against *the apostate nations of Papal Anti-Christendom*; the *fifth*, judgment against *the very throne of the Beast, or Pope*, the head of the antichristian apostacy; the *sixth*, judgment begun, and perhaps completed, against the *Euphratean Turkman*, and the poisonous and false *religion of Mahomet*, associated with and headed by him.—I purpose therefore to make each of these divisions the subject of a separate Chapter: that of the present being the *first Vial*; or spirit and principle of judgment breaking forth against *the apostate nations of Christendom*.

Let me, however, before entering on it, make a few remarks, suggested by the immediate context of the passage connected with the present Chapter, on the Vials generally, and on the four first Vials more in particular.

1. On *the Vials generally* I have to remark as follows:—*first*, (as before observed) that the circumstance of new angelic agencies being now commissioned to be the executioners of judgment, in place of the four angels of the winds, betokened apparently that it would be no more judgments of *foreign* invasion and aggression, but rather judgments of *internal* origin:—*secondly*, that their coming forth from the Temple, habited as priests in pure white linen and with golden girdles, might fitly signify the special interposition of God's providence in the matter; as done by Angels standing before, and commissioned in, his immediate presence:²—*thirdly*, that

¹ See p. 284 *suprà*.

² For among men, priests were considered to be specially employed in God's

the circumstance of one of the Living Creatures, the most eminent of the company of beatified saints in Paradise,¹ giving these Angels the Vials of God's wrath, is most naturally explicable as an indication of its being in part in vindication of the persecuted saints of former generations, that the judgments were now to be poured out on the Roman earth; very much as in the case of God's judgments on Jerusalem, and of those on Egypt, long before;² God's added title, "who liveth for ever and ever," indicating his eternal remembrance of them:—*fourthly*, that in the plagues themselves there is a manifest resemblance to the plagues of ancient Egypt,—its boils, darkness, frogs, and blood-changed rivers; with this implied difference only, that as Papal Christendom was the *figurative Egypt*, so it would be visited apparently by plagues *figuratively* resembling the Egyptian ones.³—As to the symbol of the *Vials*, I need scarcely remind the Reader of the use of a similar symbol in other scriptures, in designation of judgment. So in that notable passage, Psalm lxxv. 8: "In the hand of the Lord is a *cup*, and the wine is red; it is full

service, and admitted the nearest into his presence.—The circumstance of the *priestly girdle* being *golden* is noted in Exod. xxviii. 8. It was there directed to be made "of *gold*, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen."

If may perhaps be well to add that one of the functions of the Levitical priesthood was *judicial* and *damnatory*:—as in the trial of jealousy described Numb. v. 18; where they had, together with the ministration of the bitter water, to pronounce curse upon the guilty; and by their curse, to make the water efficacious for judgment.

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 88—92.—This is the first mention of any of the saintly company in the heavenly presence taking part in the *actings* of the Apocalyptic drama.

² The plagues on *Egypt and Pharaoh* are declared to have been for not letting Israel go.—In regard to *Jerusalem*, Christ thus expressed himself on the cause of the judgments impending over it; "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah," &c. Matt. xxiii. 35.

³ The analogy of interpretation in the case of all the previous Apocalyptic symbols requires this. Moreover in the case of one of the Vial plagues, that of the *frogs*, this must necessarily be the interpretation: inasmuch as they are said to have come out of the mouths of the dragon, beast, and false prophet; and so could not be literally frogs. And in the case of the *waters of the Euphrates dried up* there is the same undoubted figurative application to the Turks.

Says Irenæus, iv. 50; "Si quis diligentius intendat his quæ à Prophete dicuntur de fine, et quæcunque Johannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi, inveniet easdem plagas universaliter accipere gentes quas tunc particulatim accepit Ægyptus."

mixed, and He poureth out of the same : as for the ungodly of the earth they shall wring and drink it out." So again in another equally notable, Jer. xxv. 15 ; " Take the wine-cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee to drink it : and they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them." And, yet once more, in that similar passage Isaiah li. 22 ; " Behold I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of my fury ; thou shalt no more drink it again : but I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee," &c. The vial-symbol might possibly also indicate the continuous outpouring of these judgments : —the first and others continuing after the next had begun.¹

2. As to the *four first vials in particular*, I would wish to premise this remark ;² that the similarity in

¹ The word φιάλη is used in the Septuagint both of the bowls used for the offerings of meal or incense, the which were prepared as part of the vessels of the brazen altar for that purpose, Exod. xxvii. 3, Numb. iv. 14, Nehem. vii. 70 ; and also, as here, of vials for liquids. So in 1 Sam. x. 1 ; " Samuel took a vial of oil, (φιάλην) and poured it on Saul's head, anointing him king.

² I subjoin in parallel columns the descriptions of the four Vials and the four Trumpets, with a view to comparison.

THE FOUR FIRST TRUMPETS.

" The first Angel sounded ; and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood : and they were cast upon the earth ; and the third part of the earth was burnt,* and the third part of the trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.—And the second Angel sounded ; and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea. And the third part of the sea became blood : and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died ; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.—And the third Angel sounded ; and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as a lamp : and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of the † waters. And the name of the

THE FOUR FIRST VIALS.

" And the first Angel went, and poured out his Vial on the earth ; and there arose a noisome and evil ulcer on the men which had the mark of the Beast, and upon them which worshipped his image.—And the second Angel poured out his Vial upon the sea : and it became as the blood of a dead man : and every living soul died in the sea.—And the third Angel poured out his Vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters ; and they became blood. And I heard the Angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast, the Holy One, ‡ because thou hast judged thus : for they have shed the blood of saints and prophets ; and Thou hast given them blood to drink. And I heard [a

* So Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles ; και το τρίτον της γης κατεκαη. The clause is omitted in the received version. † Scholz inserts the article των.

‡ I take Scholz's and Tregelles' reading, Δίκαιος ει δ'ων και δ'ηρ, δ'δστος, θτι ταυτα εκρωας, for the received, δ'ων και δ'ηρ και δ'εσοματος.

these *four Vials* to the *four first Trumpets* has been often noted, and is too striking indeed to escape the eye of a reader of any observation. More particularly the specified *scene* and *subject* of the successive vial-judgments was almost precisely the same in each case as those of the trumpet-judgments corresponding ;—viz. the *earth* (i. e. Roman earth), the *sea*, the *rivers and fountains of waters*, and the *sun*. It is of course required by consistency that the same meaning be here attached to these phrases as before : that is, that the *earth* should be interpreted of the actual continent of Western Roman Christendom, the *sea* as including its maritime colonies or provinces, and the *rivers and fountains* as signifying its Alpine streams, and two great boundary rivers, the Rhine and Danube, with their valleys ;¹ also that the *sun* should be construed of its royal and imperial ruling powers. Such accordingly will be the principle of my interpretations ensuing.—And let me take this opportunity of observing that if the solution of the *four Vials* on which we are now about to enter, as well as of the *four Trumpets* earlier discussed, be shown, as I doubt not it will be, to answer on this same principle of interpretation to historic fact, that circumstance will constitute of itself the most satisfactory additional corroboration of the truth of the principle ; additional, I mean, to the arguments originally used to justify it.²—There is one notable difference only

star is called Wormwood : and the third part of the waters became wormwood : and many of the men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.—And the fourth Angel sounded : and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars ; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.”

voice from] * the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty : true and righteous are thy judgments.—And the fourth Angel poured out his Vial on the sun ; and power was given him to scorch men with fire. And the men were scorched with great heat. And they blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues ; and repented not to give him glory.”

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 329—332.

² The same absurdities will of course, be found to result here from a *figurative* interpretation of the localities specified, as those noticed by me in Vol. i. p. 329, on the Trumpets.

* The reading of Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles, is *Και ηκουσα τα θυσιαστηρια λεγοντας.*

in the local definition of the scene of judgment under the Trumpets from that under the Vials ; viz. that whereas in the former case it was said to be *one-third of the earth, one-third of the sea, and one-third of the rivers and of the sun* that were to be affected,—the reference being to the then Western division of the old Roman Empire,—the earth, sea, rivers, and sun, are here spoken of *integrally* ; though with reference, as I conceive, to the same Western territorial division of Europe, under its more modern Papal regime. But this is easily explicable on the ground that that Eastern division, which anciently (together with the half of the once intermediate or Illyrian third attaching¹) formed part of Roman Christendom, had been by the Turkish conquests long since annihilated in its political character as a Christian state ;² and consequently Papal Europe left as the *whole* of remaining Christendom, on the platform of the old Roman earth.

Thus much premised, I proceed without further delay to that which is the subject of our present Chapter, viz.

THE FIRST VIAL.

“ The first Angel poured out his Vial on the earth : and there arose a *noisome and grievous ulcer* (*ελκος, κακον και πονηρον*) on the men which had the mark of the Beast, and on them that worshipped his image.”

The word *ελκος*, expressive of that in which the emphasis of this plague consisted, is used in Exodus ix. 9, &c, of the *boil* that broke forth upon the Egyptians, on Moses sprinkling the ashes of the furnace :³ with refer-

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

² It is said Apoc. ix. 18, ‘ By these was the third part of men killed ; ’ that is, the third in their *collective and political character* : after which in verse 20 it is added ; ‘ The rest of the men, that were not killed by these plagues, repented not of their idolatries, &c.’ After which, in Apoc. xi. 10, this remnant, forming the Beast’s empire, is spoken of as the inhabitants not of a part of the earth, but integrally of the earth. So too of the same Beast’s empire all through from after its formation : Apoc. xiii. 3, 8, 12, 14 ; also xvii. 8.

³ The furnace spoken of is supposed to have been that of the brick-kilns used in their taskwork by the Israelites. And Matthew Henry thus remarks on it. ‘ Sometimes God shows men their sin in their punishment. They had oppressed Israel in the furnaces : and now the ashes of the furnace are made as much a terror to them, as ever their taskmasters had been to the Israelites.’

ence to which, and to its becoming thenceforth probably a disease indigenous in Egypt, it was afterwards called by Moses "the botch of Egypt."¹ Besides which we find the word also used of the boil of the leprosy;² of that with which Job was so sorely visited;³ of that by which Hezekiah was brought to the gates of the grave;⁴ and, once more, of the boils of Lazarus, as he lay at the rich man's gate full of sores.⁵ From all which examples the painfulness and deadliness of the ulcers spoken of under this word in Scripture, and of the diseases connected with them, is evident.—As to the particular kind of ulcer here intended, considering that the land on which the infliction was to fall was spiritually or figuratively called Egypt, and that a general Egyptian character attaches, as was before observed, to the judgments of the Vials, we may reasonably suppose that which was specially *the botch of Egypt* (the *sore* or *evil botch*, as it is called by precisely the same epithet in the Book of Deuteronomy)⁶ to have been the prototype of the Apocalyptic figure. And this, if I mistake not, is the *plague-boil* or *ulcer*.⁷ For we know by historic evidence that the *plague* was in a manner indigenous in, and characteristic of Egypt;⁸ and moreover that its *plague-boil* or *ulcer* was both very painful, and otherwise well answered to the Egyptian boil described by Moses.⁹ Supposing

¹ Deut. xxviii. 27, 35; "The Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt; . . . a sore botch that cannot be healed."

² Lev. xiii. 18, &c.

³ Job ii. 7. The ulcer is here too described as *πονηρον*, *evil*; *ἔπαισε τον*

λαβ *ελκει* *πονηρον*.

⁴ 2 Kings xx. 7.

⁵ Luke xvi. 21. *Και οι κνες*, it is added, *απελειχον τα ελκη αυτου*.

⁶ Deut. xxviii. 35; *Παταξει σε Κυριος εν ελκει* *πονηρον*. Sept.

⁷ I see that Bossuet also, who interprets the Vials as judgments on *Pagan* Rome, supposes this to be *literally* the *plague-carbuncle* or *boil*, and speaks of other and earlier expositors so explaining it also. "Les interpretes entendent ici *le charbon* et *la tumeur de la peste* : et c'est aussi ce qui arriva du temps de Valerien."

⁸ So both ancient and modern writers. Thucydides speaks of the great Athenian plague (whatever its precise nature) having come from Egypt, ii. 48: *Ἡρξαστο πρῶτον ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπερ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς Αἰγύπτου κατέβη*. In the article on the *Plague* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it is said "to be generally brought into European Turkey from *Egypt*, where it is very frequent; especially at Grand Cairo."

⁹ Compare the *Και σγνερο* *ε λ κ η* *φλυκτιδες αναζισσαι*, said of the Egyptian boil described in Exod. ix. 10, with *Και το μεν εξυθεν απομομφ σωμα υπερυροη*

which to be the sore intended, we must add to its other characteristics of the *noisome*, the *painful*, and the *loathsome*, that also of being in the highest degree *infectious* or *contagious*.¹ At any rate *infectiousness* is the characteristic of so many other of the bad kinds of ulcer,—as of those of putrid fever, typhus, small-pox, or leprosy, (which last,² I might say perhaps, which two last, we may regard as also diseases of *Egypt*,³) that we should quite fall short of the force of the symbol did we not include that idea.—Thus, resolving the metaphor, and turning from the body natural, supposed in the figure, to the body politic, (just as in the similar metaphor of Isaiah,⁴)

πελιττον, φλυκταιναις μικραις και ελκεισι εξηθηκος, of Thucydides ii. 47; or with the modern accounts of the carbuncles or buboes of the plague. Indeed *the plague* is called by some *the disease of buboes*.⁵ (See however for another view Note ³ below.)—The *Plague* was moreover one of the judgments on the apostate Jews, predicted in Deut. xxviii. 21.

¹ The *non-contagion* theory, which some have advocated, has not made much progress I conceive in this country: and certainly not in the plague-countries themselves, i. e. the Levant; if opinions are still what they were in 1819.

Possibly it may have been the contagious character of Job's sore boils that made his friends keep away from him. So Matthew Henry, &c.

² "Egypti peculiare hoc malum," says Pliny of the *elephantiasis*, or *leprosy*. And many expositors make its ulcer to be the *botch of Egypt*. But the ulcers of leprosy are not *generally*, I believe, at the first at least, *painful*. (See however in Dr. Mason Good's Study of Medicine, Art. *Leprosy*, a notice of certain species that are so.) And *pain* seems to be a characteristic alike of the Egyptian botch meant by Moses, and the Apocalyptic ulcer. See verses 10, 11.

³ Dr. Baron, in his valuable Life of Dr. Jenner, i. 163, concludes on the *small pox* having been the disease meant by the *boils and blains*, that broke out on man and beast in one of the Egyptian plagues: and, in support of this view, he refers to Philo, who, in his comment on Exod. ix. 9, so descants on the *ελη φλυκτιδες αναξουσαι* noted of them by Moses, that Dr. Willems has quoted his words as an accurate description of *small pox*. Scheuchzer too, in his *Physica Sacra*, commenting on Philo, says; "Non videntur inflammationes hæ ulcerosæ bubones, vel carbunculi pestilentiales, sed tumores inflammatorii, cum vesicis vel pustulis in cute elevatis," &c. Dr. Baron moreover explains the Athenian plague described by Thucydides, and which was brought from Egypt, as *small pox*: as also the great plague which depopulated the Roman world in the time of Justinian, and of which I have spoken Vol. i. p. 375.—It seems that Hippocrates, Galen, and other Greek writers apply the term *λοιμος* to all pestilential epidemics of whatever kind; and do not confine it to what we commonly call *the plague*.—Eusebius (H. E. ix. 8.) notes a *λοιμος*, attended with eruption, that occurred in the time of the persecutor Maximin, in which case the *ελεος ην φερωνιμος, τα πυρεθια ενεκεν, α ν θ μ α ξ προσαγορευομενον*; i. e. a *carbuncle*. Dr. B. explains this too as the *small pox*; but contrary, as it seems to me, to his own description of "buboes, parotids, and carbuncles, as the characteristics of the *true plague*."

Compare, on this view of *small pox* being the plague symbolized, the historic fact respecting its ravages in the French royal family mentioned p. 324 Note ¹² infra.

⁴ "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the

* "Thou art a plague-sore, or imbossed carbuncle, In my corrupted blood."—*Shakespear*.

we seem bound to interpret the judgment of this Vial as some extraordinary outbreak of moral and social evil, the expression of deep-seated disease within, with raging pain and inflammation as its accompaniment,—diseases of Egyptian origin perhaps, in the Apocalyptic sense of the word Egypt,—loathsome, deadly, self-corroding, contagious,—that would arise somewhere in Papal Europe soon after the cessation of the Turkish woe, on the sounding of what might answer to the seventh Trumpet's voice, and sooner or later infect its countries generally, and their inhabitants.¹

Such being the symbol, I explain it, in common with other interpreters,² to prefigure that tremendous outbreak of social and moral evil, of democratic fury, atheism, and vice, which was speedily seen to characterize the French Revolution:—that of which the ultimate source was in the long and deep-seated corruption and irreligion of the nation; the outward vent, expression, and organ in its Jacobin clubs, and seditious and atheistic publications; the result, the dissolution of all society, all morals, and all religion; with acts of atrocity and horror accompanying, scarce paralleled in the history of man; and suffering and anguish of correspondent intensity

foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and *putrifying sores.*" Isa. i. 6. So too profane authors. For example, Thucydides and Demosthenes in various places speak of the spirit of faction, and other internal corruptions, as a *disease* of the body politic. Thus Demosthenes, *Θετταλοῖς νοσοῦσι καὶ τασιαζοῦσι*: Olynth. ii.: and in one place, *Περὶ Παραρροσβείας*, he cites the old law-giver Solon describing the inward vices of a state,—avarice, injustice, irreligion, &c,—as what would lead to its self-dissolution, and at length break out into an *ελκος*, or open sore:

Ταυτ' ἤδη πάση πόλει ἐρχεται ἑλκος ἀφυκτον.

Tichonius similarly on this Vial says, "*Mortalia peccata ulcera.*"

¹ *Vitringa's* summary on the nature of the ulcer is this. "Malignum ulcus est, quod magnum creat dolorem, difficilium sanatur, per totum corpus serpit, et cutem carnemque atque ossa ipsa quoque exedit, simul corpus turpiter deformat: " very much the same as that which I have given above.

His historical application however of the figuration is evidently unsatisfactory and inadequate. He applies it to the Waldensian recognition of the corruption of the Roman Church, as being such that it was a duty to flee its communion. But it is not the recognition, but the outbreak and corrosion of an ulcer that is figured. Further, how were the men of Papal Christendom sufferers from the Waldensian views?—It will be well for the reader to bear this historical solution of *Vitringa* in mind; in order that, from observance of its inadequacy, he may the better appreciate the striking accordance with the symbol, of the solution here given.

² Galloway, Faber, Cuninghame, &c.

throbbing throughout the social mass, and corroding it :—that which from France as a centre, spreadlike a plague, through its affiliated societies, to the other countries of Papal Christendom ; and was, wheresoever its poison was imbibed, as much the punishment as the symptom of the corruption within.

I spoke of all this as having *speedily* characterized the French Revolution. For I wish it to be distinctly noted, that at first, and up to the memorable 4th of August inclusive, when, as before stated, an end was put to absolute monarchy and feudal oppressions in France, its character was by many altogether mistaken ; indeed by not a few it was hailed as the harbinger of the triumph of liberty, and jubilee of deliverance to the oppressed in European Christendom.¹ Even the fury of the populace, manifested just previously on the taking of the Bastile, did not quench the ardency of their sympathies and hopes : the destruction of the prison-house of a despotic monarchy being regarded as but the symbol of the destruction of despotism and tyranny itself.—But speedily after this the true character of an infidel democratic spirit in power exhibited itself, such as I have described it. First, in the *October of that same year* (1789) came the atrocity of the night-assault by the Parisian mob on the palace at Versailles, the cold-blooded murder of two of the royal body-guards, ferocious attempt at murdering the Queen,² and abduction of the King in bloody triumph to the capital ;³ there to

¹ Alike by statesmen, poets, expounders of prophecy, and ministers of religion. As a specimen of the last, Burke has particularized *Dr. Price*, a dissenting minister, who exclaimed in a sermon, with reference to it, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."—*Mr. Bicheno* was an example of the same mistake in a prophetic investigator ; and *Bishop Watson* in a Prelate of the Church of England.—*Mr. Fox* spoke of it as "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty, which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity, in any time or country : " and similarly, among the French, *Count Mirabeau*. Works, vol. iii. pp. 98, 354, 391, 4to edit. For poets, it may suffice to suggest the eminent names of *Coleridge*, *Southey*, and *Wordsworth*.

² The mob of assassins previously stabbed the bed from which she had escaped. It is in his allusion to this attack on the Queen that Mr. Burke breaks into his celebrated and beautiful apostrophe on the early loveliness of the French Queen, "glittering like the morning star," &c.

³ The heads of the murdered body-guards being carried on pikes before the royal carriage.

be, together with the National Assembly itself, under the surveillance and influence of the sovereign democracy of Paris:—then in *November* following, the confiscation, by act of the *National Assembly*, of all the church estates; and also in 1790, after the departmental parcelling out of France into provincial democracies, subordinate to the central one at Paris,¹ and subjection to them of all power civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical,² its declaration of the *Rights of Man*, that code of anarchy and revolution:³—then, under the *Legislative Assembly*,⁴ the speedy ascendancy to power of the Paris Jacobin Club, and numberless affiliated Jacobin provincial associations;⁵ followed by the attack on the palace,⁶ massacre of the Swiss guard, imprisonment and dethronement of the King, and murders with demoniacal ferocity of the Royalists in the prisons:⁷—then, under the *National Convention*, or *third National Assembly*,⁸ the iniquitous trial, condemnation, and execution of the King, with the Queen's soon following:⁹ then the declaration of war against Kings, and fraternization with

¹ In illustration of the manifestation, even thus early, of the Assembly's thoroughly revolutionary character, see the extract from the speech of Rabaud de St. Etienne, one of its most eminent members, given by Burke iii. 222.

² The clergy, pensioned according to the new regime by the State, were required to take an oath of adhesion and fidelity to the new constitution.—This ecclesiastical part of the subject is entered into more fully in my 14th Chapter.

³ The 1st Article of the New Constitution, framed and promulgated by the National Assembly, was this; "All men are born and remain free, and equal in rights:" the 3rd, "The principle of sovereignty resides essentially in the nation: no body of men, no individual, can exercise an authority that does not emanate from that source." The one proclaimed war against the European orders of nobility, the other against the European sovereignties.

⁴ On Sept 30, 1791, the *National Assembly*, or, as it has been sometimes called, the *Constituent Assembly*, dissolved itself; on the 7th of October following, the *Legislative Assembly* met. Of its constitution and character Mr. Alison says, that it was such that "if a Demon had selected it, he could not have selected one better fitted to consign the nation to perdition." i. 355.

⁵ Burke speaks of them as the 48,000 French democracies. iii. 395.

⁶ August 10, 1792.

⁷ Between 400 and 500 were thus massacred; among them the Princess of Lamballes. See the horrid account in Alison i. 450.—Mirabeau, (or, as some report it, Bertrand de Moleville) after seeing but a part of these horrors, said that Liberty slept only on mattresses of dead carcasses. Page's Secret History, quoted by Galloway, p. 249.

⁸ It met September 20, 1792: the Legislative Assembly having dissolved itself, in consequence of the King's dethronement, just before.

⁹ The King's, Jan. 21, 1793; the Queen's, October 16.

Revolutionists all over the world: ¹ then the reign of terror under Robespierre, ² the revolutionary tribunal, ³ and civil war and massacres of La Vendée and Lyons, —massacres in the mass by shooting, drowning, or roasting alive, ⁴ such as almost to pale the horrors of Corcyra itself in the comparison: ⁵—then finally, with the threat of dethroning the King of Heaven, as well as kings of the earth, (so did the people rage, ⁶ and take counsel against the Lord and against his anointed, ⁷) the public renunciation of Christianity and of God; ⁸ followed by the worship of a prostitute as *Goddess of Reason*, with all the orgies of licentiousness accompanying,

¹ Alison i. 568.—“When others wish our alliance,” said Brissot, “let them conquer their freedom. Till then we shall treat them as pacific savages.” Ib. 584.

² The Girondists were expelled from power by the Jacobins in May 1793; from which time is dated the reign of Robespierre.

³ This had been instituted in March 1793, for trying crimes against the State, before the fall of the Girondists. But it now became more terrible.

⁴ Wearied with the slow operation of the guillotine, the democrat conquerors at Lyons destroyed their prisoners in masses by firing at them with grapeshot.—In La Vendée the *noyades* became celebrated: men and women, in vessels-full or in couples, being there drowned by the victorious democrats; and the *noyades* called *Republican baptism* and *Republican marriage*. Again at Pillau they roasted women and children in a heated oven.—In these atrocities Sir Walter Scott says that one Regiment assumed to itself, and merited, the title of *Infernal*.—Altogether the massacres during the Reign of Terror are reckoned at 1,020,000. Alison, ii. 399.

⁵ Πᾶσα τε ἰδέα κατεστῆ θανάτῳ καὶ, οἷον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιστῷ, γιγνεσθαι, ὅθεν ὁ τι εἰς ξυνεβη, καὶ ἐπὶ περαιτέρῳ. Οὕτως ὡμῆ ἡ γὰρ πρὸς προχάρησε. Thucydides iii. 81, 82.

⁶ See above, p. 285, ὀν ὠργισθησαν.

⁷ Three of the leaders of the municipality, says Alison ii. 88, publicly expressed their determination to dethrone the King of Heaven, as well as the monarchs of the earth. The comedian *Monort* cried in the church of St. Roque, “God, if you exist, avenge your injured name. I bid you defiance. You remain silent. You dare not launch your thunders. Who after this will believe your existence?”—So when Christ hung on the cross we read of both a similar taunt, and similar endurance of the taunt; “If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.”—On the execution of Robespierre, July 25, 1794, a poor man, it is related, approached the lifeless body, and exclaimed, “*Yes, Robespierre! there is a God!*”

⁸ This was on November 7, 1793.—Gobet, Constitutional Bishop of Paris, according to agreement with the National Convention, attended at its bar with some of the clergy of his diocese, and renounced Christianity; saying that no other religion was needed but that of liberty, equality, and morality. Then followed the procession after the *Goddess of Reason* to Notre Dame;—the Convention, the municipal sections of Paris, and constitutional bishops and clergy accompanying, and there placing her on the high altar, and worshipping her.—Notre Dame was after this called the *Temple of Reason*. The proscription of Christianity continued in force for above three years. Burke alludes, iv. 426, to the Directory's forced toleration of its worship in 1796. It was not restored till Buonaparte's first consulship.

(a meet sign that *morality*, as well as *mercy*, had perished with *religion*.) the abolition of the Sabbath and of all religious emblems and worship, the proclamation of death being eternal sleep, and finally the procession at Lyons in mockery of Christianity :—in which procession (I must just sketch the blasphemy) an altar having been raised to an atheist democrat, a crucifix and gospel was burnt upon it, the consecrated bread trampled under feet of the mob, and an ass, which had been led about the city bearing the sacred vessels, compelled to drink, out of the communion-cup, of the sacramental wine.¹—Such was the development of the real character of the Revolution, as the National Convention settled it, and as the Directory two years after received, and handed it down to the first Consul, Napoleon.² And looking at the fever of infuriate passions that it sprang from, the horrid moral corruption that it both exposed and engendered, the heart-corroding sufferings caused by it, and the infectiousness by which it was its own propagator, with every wind and in every country adjacent,—what could more fitly prefigure it than the Apocalyptic symbol of the men of Papal Anti-Christendom, as if plague-struck, breaking out all over with its corrupt, loathsome, contagious, eating ulcers? Truly, “the whole head was sick, the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores.” As for bandage that might have bound up its miseries, or ointment to mollify them, it had in the madness of the paroxysms of the plague rejected and destroyed them all.—Such were the consequences of the nation rejecting God: such the first expression of *his* wrath, in answer to *their* wrath.³ He gave them up to their own repro-

¹ This was in conjunction with the massacres of Lyons, Oct. 10, 1793. The names of Fouchet and Collot d'Herbois are infamous as the leaders in it.

² The National Convention sat from Sept. 21, 1793 to Oct. 26, 1795; then made way for the Directory of Five: which continued the governing Executive, with the two Councils of the 500 and the Ancients, till Buonaparte's appointment as First Consul in 1800.

³ “And the nations were wroth, and thy wrath is come:” τα ἔθνη ὠργισθησαν, και ἡ ὀργη σου ηλθε.

bate minds.¹ He left their passions to unchain themselves against their fellow-men; passions earthly, sensual, devilish.² He said, "Ephraim hath joined himself to idols: let him alone!"³

It has been intimated that as the literal evil ulcer was peculiarly an *Egyptian* plague, so it might seem that the symbolic ulcer of the Apocalypse was one originating somewhere in the *symbolic Egypt*; i. e. in some country of them *that had the mark of the Beast and worshipped his image*:⁴—and, as in a *Roman Catholic* country, so probably out of *Roman Catholic* principles. In precise accordance with this it may be shown that the source and first origin of the French revolutionary sore is traceable to the corruptions of the Papal religion itself, among the people and in the kingdoms,—France especially,—where it was established. And I must beg to pause for a few moments to prove it. For the historic evidence will serve at once to illustrate the imagery of the text; and also to impress upon our minds, how on the scale of nations, as well as of individuals, apostacy from the faith contains within itself, in God's righteous retributive providence, the principle and germ of its own punishment.

1. Thus, first, the *infidelity* and *atheism*, which acted so tremendous a part in the convulsions of the French Revolution, may be considered as both the child and nursling of the Papal system established in France:—its *child*, as having originated in no little measure from the revolting of man's reason at the incredible dogmas

¹ Rom. i. 28.

² James iii. 15.

³ Hosea iv. 17.

⁴ It may have been observed that the *worshipping of the Beast* is not here specified, in addition to the *worshipping of the image*, so as in Apoc. xiv. 9, 11, and xx. 4; but only "the receiving of the Beast's mark." The same is the form of expression also in Apoc. xiii. 15 and xix. 20. It seems to me possible that the two classes of Romanists in the Papal Church may be thus alluded to,—the *Ultra-montane Catholics* and the *Cismontanes*,—the *Italians* and the *French*, &c. For of these classes the former regarded the *Pope* as supreme of himself and by himself, the latter so regarded *General Councils*: though the latter, as well as former, acknowledged the *Pope* as Christ's Vicar, and consequently received the *Beast's* mark.

propounded by it,¹ and of man's natural moral sense at the cruelties and oppression with which it enforced them; ²—its *nursling*, as having been not only tolerated by it, in its earlier speculative and quiescent form, but even adopted by many of the most talented and literary of professing Roman Catholics, both lay and clerical.³ For the Jesuitism in power under Louis XIV, though it had persecuted and banished Protestantism,⁴ and persecuted and almost banished Jansenism,⁵ and the really spiritual, though nominally Catholic religion, as well of Fenelon⁶ as of Pascal, yet cared not to attack, and rather showed indulgence towards, the ingenious infidel speculations and infidel spirit of outward conformists. —But the infidelity thus cherished was not always to be merely speculative. So soon as it might have assured to it complete security from penalty and punishment, so soon its innate hatred to the God of revelation, and to his blessed Gospel, was sure to impel it forward to assume the aggressive. This was quickly seen under the reign of Louis XV next following. Secured from injury by the very circumstance of its long tolerance

¹ The reader may see this illustrated from real life in the Rev. Blanco White's Narrative. The scepticism prevalent among the Roman literati about the time of Leo X furnishes an earlier example. Of this I have before spoken Vol. ii. p. 54.

² "Louis XIV had employed the most arbitrary and cruel means, in order to root out Protestantism, and extirpate every trace of nonconformity within the pale of the Catholic Church. Scarce however had he closed his eyes when the repressed spirit broke out into uncontrollable activity. The very horror of the proceedings of Louis XIV generated opinions at open war, not only with Catholicism, but with all positive religion whatsoever." Ranke's Popes, iii. 202.

³ "Burnet says that when he was in France, in the year 1683, the method which carried over the men of the finest parts to Popery was this,—they brought themselves to doubt of the whole Christian religion. When that was once done, it seemed a mere indifferent thing of what side or form they continued outwardly." Burke's Works, iii. 200.

⁴ By the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, published by Louis XIV in the year 1685. On this, and its consequences to French Protestants, I have observed before.

⁵ See Mosheim Cent. xvii. § ii. 1. 40—47, and Ranke iii. 201.—Of the ruins of the famous Jansenist Convent of Port Royal, destroyed by military force in 1709, at the command of Louis XIV. nothing remains but a few stones. Its beautiful site is at the foot of a rural wooded hill, some four or five leagues from Versailles, with the farm-house that was Pascal's residence crowning its summit. It will be seen by the traveller to the greatest moral advantage after visiting Versailles: the scene of the holy life and patient sufferings of these persecuted saints, in contrast with that of the empty glory and miserable death of the persecuting king!

⁶ See Mosheim, *ibid* 51.

and large diffusion, the infidel philosophy collected its strength and venom ; and, under Voltaire and other leaders, formed and carried on that celebrated and monstrous conspiracy,¹ of which the *object* was the overthrow of all religion,—the *bitterness* expressed in its very motto, “*Crush the wretch,*”² meaning our Lord Jesus,—the *organ*,³ cheap atheistic publications, everywhere diffused,³ (and cheap atheistic schools too,⁴) with all the energy and perseverance of a master-passion,⁵—the most effective *weapon and argument*, the absurdities, hypocrisies, immoralities, cruelties, and wickedness of the Papal Church and religion, as if forsooth a fair representative of Christianity,⁶—and its *success* such that the whole literary, and almost the whole popular mind of France, became in the course of the 18th century fully tainted by it. And then when, at the outbreak of the Revolution,—all royal and legal power that might have controlled it having been overthrown,—it aimed its deadly blow against both the religious establishment in France, and religion itself, there was no popular voice or inclination to uphold the one or the other. And first the Papal priesthood,—the official leaders in the worship of the Beast and his image,—had to experience all the bitterness of privation, contempt, and suffering : and then the nation also, above all, its nobles and gentry,—so long the followers of its priesthood in the Papal worship,—had to feel throughout

¹ Alluded to by Burke, Vol. iii. 127, 153, iv. 477, &c. See too Sir W. Scott in his *Life of Napoleon*, i. 59.

² “*Ecrasez l'infame.*” It is the Abbé Baruel who makes this statement.

³ The publications were for the most part *anonymous* ; the tenets not merely infidel, but often atheistical. With these France was inundated, especially from 1758 to 1770. The plan was to print on ordinary paper a number sufficient to pay the expenses ; then to strike off an immense edition on inferior paper, and send them to booksellers and hawkers free of cost, or nearly so, for circulation amongst the lower orders at the cheapest rate possible. A club was formed for the purpose of disseminating them, of which Voltaire was president, Le Roi secretary, and D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and La Harpe, leading members. Fysh on the Revolution, p. 18.

⁴ Van Mildert apud Alwood on the Apocalypse, p. 716.

⁵ Burke compares the passion with which the philosophers in this conspiracy pursued their object of the extirpation of Christianity, to the fanaticism of Mahomet and the Saracens. iii. 337, iv. 491. And so too Sir W. Scott, *ibid.*

⁶ So Sir Walter Scott, in his *Life of Napoleon*, Vol. i. p. 27.

its whole body politic the throbbing agonies consequent on the dominancy of a ferocious and relentless atheism.¹

2. The *moral licentiousness*, which aggravated so greatly the horrors of the Revolution, is also traceable, and yet more directly, to the Papal Jesuit system received and established by Louis XIV in France. For what were the principles of morality inculcated by them under his reign, in their books on ethics and in the confessional? I cite but two, First, "That the transgressions committed by a person blinded by the seduction of lust, agitated by the impulse of tumultuous passions, and destitute of all sense and impression of religion, however detestable and heinous in themselves, are not imputable to the transgressor before the tribunal of God:" secondly, "That those persons may transgress with safety who have a probable reason for transgressing; that is any plausible argument or authority in favour of the sin they are inclined to commit."² Who can wonder, when such was the morality of their very religion, at the licentiousness of Louis XIV himself, religious bigot though he was, and of his court and nobles? Nor could or did it stop there. As no counteracting influence arose to arrest it, but rather it was fostered

¹ Burke follows his quotation from Burnet, given in p. 315 Note ³ above, with the observation that the scepticism indulged in by the French Romanists at the close of the 17th century, was what they subsequently "had too much reason to repent of. They preferred atheism to a form of religion not agreeable to their ideas. They succeeded in destroying that form; and atheism has succeeded in destroying them."—Even of the philosophers some at length rued the evil they had done. "I know it," said Le Roi, in September 1789, when some one attributed the impending disasters of France to the new philosophy; "and I shall die of grief and remorse." Fysh, *ibid.*

² Mosheim, Cent. xvii. § ii. Part i. 1, 35.—To the same effect Ranke iii. 140: "Sin they define to be a *wilful* departure from the commands of God. And in what consists this wilfulness? Their answer is, In perfect knowledge of the nature of the sin committed, and in the full consent of the will to its commission.—According to their doctrine it was enough not to will the commission of sin, *as such*. The less the sinner thought of God during the commission of his offence, and the more violent the passion which hurried him into its commission, the greater was the hope of pardon. *Habit*, or even *bad example*, which limit the freedom of the will, are sufficient exculpations." These maxims, Ranke states, are taken from their elaborate and authentic rules for the confessional in works of the more moderate of the Jesuits: and he justly remarks "how infinitely the boundaries of transgression were thus narrowed, since no man loves sin *for itself*," and how morality was altogether subverted.—"Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi," was Pascal's sarcastic and indignant characteristic of this their moral code.

by the rising infidelity,¹ the evil only increased in the reigns succeeding. "The conduct of the Regent Duke of Orleans² and his minions," says Sir Walter Scott, "was marked with open infamy, deep enough to have called down in the age of miracles an immediate judgment from heaven : and crimes, which the worst of the Roman Emperors would have at least hidden in the solitary isle of Caprea, were acted as publicly as if men had no eyes, and God had no thunderbolts." He adds ; "From this filthy Cocytus flowed those streams of impurity which disgraced France during the reign of Louis XV, and which continued in that of Louis XVI to affect society, morals, and literature."³—Such was the state of French morals, and so originated, at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution. It is remarkable that the very derangement of the national finances, which was the primary cause that necessitated the convocation of the revolutionary States General, had arisen in no little measure from this cause.⁴ But what I wish chiefly to impress on this head is, that when the Revolution broke out, *the vitiation of the moral sense of the nation, thus accomplished*, prepared them for the flood of the yet fouler impurity which then inundated all society

¹ Van Mildert observes that the corruption of the female sex was one principal object with the philosophers. Alwood 716.

² Regent from the death of Louis XIV in 1715, to the majority of his great grandson Louis XV in 1723.

³ Life of Napoleon, Vol. i. p. 55.

⁴ "During the whole of the reign of Louis XV France was journeying on to a national bankruptcy. This arose partly from the impolitic wars undertaken,* partly from the profligacy of the courts, partly from the expensiveness of the king's mistresses." Fysh p. 17. He adds, in illustration of the last-mentioned source of expense, that Madame Pompadour introduced the practice of drawing bills on the treasury, with the king's signature enclosed, but without any specified service :—a practice continued, and with yet more extravagance, by Madame du Barri. Of these bills, observes Professor Smythe, the more the king signed, the more he had to sign,—one compliance leading to another.—See too the disgusting account given by Lacretelle of the debaucheries of Louis XV, cited by Mr. Fyshe, p. 11.

* The wars of Louis XIV, which were in great measure *anti-Protestant* wars, figure first in the list. Louis XIV left a national debt at his death of above £50,000,000 sterling.—His cruelties against the Protestants in another way affected the finances of his kingdom. For through his forced expulsion of the Hugonots from France, thousands of his most industrious subjects were lost to it ; and trade and manufactures (e. g. the silk manufacture subsequently in Spitalfields) to a vast amount transferred to other countries.

in France ;¹ and thereby (all the sacred and humanizing domestic ties having been thus confounded) for those brutal ferocities which were acted out at the same time, and which were but indeed the natural accompaniments of such brutal licentiousness.

3. The *democratic regicidal principle* itself of the Revolution was precisely that which had been previously advocated and acted on by both Papal Jesuits and other Papists in France, lay and clerical, against the Protestants.—So long as the Kings of Christendom remained faithful to the Papacy, there was of course no need of recurrence on its part to any but the *monarchical* principle. But after the Reformation, when many monarchs had revolted from the Popedom ; when, besides the Protestant German princes, the revolt had affected royalty in England, where Queen Elizabeth had been even declared *Head of the Church*, and in France Henry the Third, the ruling monarch, was apparently a favourer of the Hugonots, and Henry of Navarre, the heir presumptive, a Hugonot himself,—other political principles seemed expedient at Rome, and were accordingly promulgated and acted upon. By the highest ecclesiastical authorities, both there and in France, the doctrine of the *sovereignty of the people*² was asserted. It was laid down that the supreme temporal power was placed by God in *their* hands ; and that they thus retained an indefeasible right to alter the forms of Government, resume the sovereignty, and dethrone, and even execute a king for neglect of his duties.³ So the Romish canonist Bellarmine ; so the whole body of the Jesuits ; so, in solemn, enthusiastic, and twice-repeated declaration, the French doctors of the Sorbonne.⁴ And, then mark the manner

¹ So Burke : " France, when she let loose the reigns of regal authority *doubled* the license of a ferocious dissoluteness of manners ; and has extended *through all ranks of life* all the unhappy corruptions that usually were the disease of wealth and power." Vol. iii. p. 64. The revolutionary law of divorce was framed, he observes elsewhere, for the very purpose of demoralizing the nation. "*Marriage*," said Mille Arnaud, " is the *sacrament of adultery*." Alison.

² Ranke ii. 191—193.

³ I almost copy from Ranke.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 160, 194. In one case nearly forty, in the other seventy members of the Sorbonne were present.—The Pope too was the approver of all. The Jesuit Mathieu was sent to Rome by the Guises, on purpose to enquire the Pope's opi-

in which in that "most Christian" kingdom, the first-born of the Papacy, this doctrine was at once, on the occasion I refer to, carried out into action. (I must give the detail; for it well deserves our attention.) First, the French *citizens* were stirred up by preachers everywhere, to unite in league against the half-heretical king and government,¹—a solemn *oath of devotion to the popular cause*, even unto blood, administered and taken,—and in Paris all the sixteen *sections* of the city organized,² with a view to insurrection, by *secret clubs and committees*: the primary one meeting in a monk's cell in the Sorbonne; and *delegates from the Provincial towns* (as from Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen) being admitted to the union, all similarly sworn to tolerate not a Hugonot in France, and to remove the abuses of the government. So the mine was prepared: and, on the King ordering the Swiss troops to enter Paris, it exploded. The town was barricaded, the Swiss driven back, the Louvre threatened, King Henry III compelled to take flight, and in a little while assassinated by the monk Clement, with the full sanction and approval of the Papists;³—just as Henry IV, a few years after, by another Jesuit fanatic, Ravallac.—Might not one almost fancy that we were reading in all this (a few names and dates only having to be corrected) of the proceedings in Paris on the great modern Revolution? It was in August 1589, that the assassination of Henry III, as an *anti-*

nion; i. e. Pope Gregory XIII. The answer was that he fully sanctioned the insurrection proposed: and, on the Duke of Guise's earlier successes against the Hugonots, the Pope likened him to Judas Maccabeus. Ibid 155—157.

¹ This was in the year 1587. Its chiefs were of the house of Guise.

² It was thence called the *League of the Sixteen*. Ibid. 159, 160.

³ "In the midst of his own army," exclaimed Pope Sixtus, "was he killed by a poor monk with one stroke." He ascribes this to "the immediate hand of God, who thus testified that he would not desert France." Ranke ii. 178.

The Jesuit Mariana, afterwards, in developing his doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and right even to put a king to death, if his life were injurious to religion (i. e. the Papal religion), pronounces an eulogium on Jacques Clement. "Jacobus Clemens," he writes, "cognito à theologis, quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse, cæso rege ingens sibi nomen fecit." Ibid 192.

The cotemporary attempt of the Papacy to stir up the democracy of Ireland against their Protestant Queen, even thus early, is also noted by Ranke, ii. 168. In Jesuit pamphlets of the time, the murder of Holofernes by Judith is dwelt on, he says, and commended.

Papal king, followed on the outbreak of *democratic Jesuit* clubs at Paris, *under Papal sanction and direction*, It was in 1789, just 200 years after, that the democratic outbreak exploded, in association with *Jacobin* clubs in Paris and the provinces, against a *Papal King, Papal Church, and Papacy itself* in France; an outbreak ending in that same King's murder. And, as if to mark the connection and parallelism, in respect of principle and character, of the two transactions, the Jacobin club whence the regicide measure originated, had the pictures of Clement and Ravailiac hung up in the gloomy convent that they assembled in; ¹ as the models avowedly looked to by them, to admire and to imitate.

4. Yet once more, in regard to the *atrocities and cruelties* practised *on principle* against the French Papal priests, and their aristocratic and other adherents at the Revolution, it is to be observed that precedents were but copied therein of similar atrocities practised in earlier days by the Papal clergy, Papal king, and Papal nobles of France, against their innocent Protestant brethren. These precedents were in fact remembered and held out to public notice and execration at the time. It is mentioned by Burke that the ancient chronicles were searched and cited by the revolutionary leaders, in exemplification of the cruelty of Papists in other days against those whom they called heretics: ² and that, more especially, the horrid Hugonot massacre of St. Bartholomew's day ³ was

¹ See the description of it in Alison. It was the gloomy hall of an old Dominican convent at Paris, adorned with anarchical symbols, tricoloured flags, and busts of the leading revolutionists of former times. With regard to the portraits of *Jacques Clement* and *Ravailiac*, it was some time before the death of Louis XVI that they were hung on the walls. They were decorated with garlands; and the date of the murder which each committed was given below, with the words, "*He was fortunate; he killed a king.*"

² Burke's Works, Vol. iii. p. 188.—The precedents to be found in these chronicles were, alas, too many! The massacres of the Albigenses at and near Toulouse in the xiiith century, and of the Albigenses and Waldenses of Dauphiny in the xvth, have been already alluded to. These, with many others on a similar scale, occurred before the Reformation (See my Vol. ii. pp. 19—22, 28, 377). There were others equally atrocious, especially that of St. Bartholomew's day, after.

³ The number of victims on that one day, August 24, 1572, has been variously estimated. Bonanni, who gives the medal, makes it 60,000; Ranke, ii. 69, 50,000. He adds: "The French thus outdid in a day all that the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands; carrying it (the massacre) into execution in

represented in the theatre; the 'Cardinal de Lorraine, in his robes of function,'¹ being depicted as the chief actor and instigator.—Nor was it in vain. At Paris, (witness especially the Septembrist massacres in the prisons,²) at Lyons, in La Vendée, and elsewhere, the examples thus set before them were copied too faithfully :—copied by a populace again “ drunk with fanaticism ; ” only not, as once, that of Popery, but of Atheism,—not as once against Protestant fellow-citizens, but against Papists. The *shootings*, the *drownings*, the *roastings* of the Roman Catholic loyalists, both priests and nobles, (not to speak of other injuries great, yet less atrocious,) had all their prototypes in the barbarities of another age, practised under the direction of the Pope and French Papists, both priests and nobles, against their innocent Hugonot fellow-countrymen.³

the heat of passion, with the absence of all formalities of law, and by the aid of a *populace drunk with fanaticism.*”—The famous Sully describes the difficulty which the Principal of his college had in saving him from the *ferocious priests*, who endeavoured to tear him to pieces; declaring that the orders were to slaughter all Protestants, even *infants at the breast.*—Voltaire in his *Henriade* thus paints the scene :

Ces monstres furieux, de carnage altérés,
Excités par la voix des prêtres sanguinaires,
Invoquaient le Seigneur en egorgeant leurs freres ;
Et, le bras tout souillé du sang des innocens,
Osalent offrir à Dieu cet execrable encens.

See the interesting account in Sir William Cockburn's *History of the Massacre* ; and the medal at my p. 159 *suprà*.

¹ The fact, which seems to me very striking, is thus stated by Burke, in his *Thoughts on the French Revolution*. “ It is but the other day that they (the Parisian revolutionary leaders) caused this massacre (of St. Bartholomew's day) to be acted on the stage, for the diversion of the descendants of those who committed it. In this tragic farce they produced the Cardinal de Lorraine, in his robes of function, ordering general slaughter. Was this spectacle intended to make the Parisians abhor persecution, and loathe the effusion of blood? No! it was to teach them to persecute their own pastors :—to excite them, by raising a disgust and horror of their clergy, to an alacrity in hunting them down to destruction ;—to stimulate their cannibal appetites ;—to quicken them to an alertness in new murders and massacres, if it should suit the purpose of the Guisea of the day.—An assembly, in which sate a multitude of priests and prelates, was obliged to suffer this indignity at its door.” Works, Vol. iii. p. 191.

² A full description of the horrid scene is given by Alison, i. 450, and Fysh, p. 164, &c.—The former, after describing the horrid massacres of the prisoners, begun on *Sunday* Sept. 2, 1792, and continued for three days after, suggests the parallel of the 400 Albigeois burnt at Carcassone.

³ M. Claude, in his *Complaints of Protestants*, quoted by Bicheno (*Signs of the Times*, p. 33) says ; “ They cast some into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with ropes under their arm-pits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce

Thus if the Apocalyptic figure of a *noisome and grievous sore* indicate the outbreak into painful ulceration, of corruptions *previously existing* in the body politic of them that worshipped the Beast's image and bore his mark, the figure was fulfilled in the history of the French Revolution. Whether we consider the horrors and sufferings arising out of the national atheism, licentiousness, revolutionary democratism, or bloodthirstiness of spirit then exhibited, they were but the evolution into violent action of the corrupt principles, religious, moral, social, and political, infused and cherished long before in the nation,—and indeed for the most part as a part of its religious system,—by the Papal Beast that it worshipped.

I have only to make two further observations, in conclusion of this Chapter.

The *first* is, that the Apocalyptic figure, or some others very similar, (figures not unused we saw, and with *similar* application, by ancient writers alike sacred and profane,¹) have been applied not unfrequently by the best modern writers, to characterize the actuating spirit, symptomatic phases, sufferings, and evils of the French Revolution.

their religion," &c. Again at p. 49 Mr. Bicheno adds, with reference to the St. Bartholomew massacre, "that the butchers received orders to slaughter all, even babes at the breast: and that the king himself stood at the windows of his palace, endeavouring to shoot those who fled; and crying to their pursuers, *Kill them! Kill them!*"

Among the lesser points of parallelism between the two series of atrocities may be mentioned the shutting up of Protestant churches, confiscation of their property, forcing them into emigration, (800,000 were then the Protestant emigrés,) and sometimes stopping them on the frontiers, as the unhappy Louis was stopped, and bringing them back again for trial and punishment: also, at their executions, stifling their voice by beat of drum, when addressing the bystanders in assertion of their innocence; just as the voice of the same unhappy monarch was stifled by sound of the drum at his place of execution. *Ibid.*—Let me add, with regard to *Lyons* and its *revolutionary* horrors, that it was the Lyonnese Roman Catholic operatives that drove out all Protestant workmen from Lyons under Louis XIV.

"In our days," says Schlegel, (*Philos. of Hist.* ii. 253.) "the emigration of the French nobility has been the great historical counter-blow to the banishment of the Hugonots."

The circumstance, again, that Voltaire refers to, of the French Romish priests then offering the blood of the innocent Protestants as incense to God, may be compared with that of the atheist democrats of the Revolution, offering the blood of the Romish priests and aristocrats of France as incense to the manes of departed Revolutionists: so as by Fouchet and Collot d'Herbois at Lyons.

¹ See the Note p. 308.

tion. Thus by the most eminent of cotemporary writers, Mr. Burke, the revolutionary spirit is spoken of as "the fever of aggravated Jacobinism,"¹ the "epidemic of atheistical fanaticism,"² "an evil lying deep in the corruptions of human nature,"³ "the malignant French distemper,"⁴ of which the Jacobinical writers were "the disgusting symptoms,"⁵ and "a plague, with its fanatical spirit of proselytism, that needed the strictest quarantine to guard against:"⁶ whereof, though the mischief might be "skinned over" for a time,⁷ yet the result, into whatever country it entered, was "the corruption of all morals,"⁸ "the decomposition of all society:"⁹ from which, in France, where it had outbroken in all its venom, the sufferings were to its victims, even in the remembrance, as "living ulcers;"¹⁰ while the governing Jacobins "fed like vermin on this distemper, and these festering wounds, of the carcass of their country."¹¹—I might add expressions similar from other authors who have written on the same subject.¹² But what has been said may suffice.

My *second* observation is, that though the outbreak

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. iv. p. 115.

² Ibid. iii. 204.

³ Ibid. iv. 460.

⁴ iv. 33.

⁵ Ibid. iii. 506.

⁶ I rather combine in this than quote. At iii. 126, he calls it, "Such a *plague* that the precautions of the most severe quarantine ought to be established against it;" and elsewhere frequently speaks of its fanatical spirit of propagandism.

⁷ Ibid. iv. 402.

⁸ Ibid. iv. 429.

⁹ Burke's Works, Vol. iv. 424, 440.

¹⁰ iii. 104, "The living ulcer of a corroding memory:"—said of the unhappy *royal* sufferer, before the termination of his sufferings in death.

¹¹ iv. 562: "It seems that a hope is entertained that the Directory will have tenderness for the carcass of their country; by whose very distemper, and on whose festering wounds, like vermin, they are fed."—Compare Job's description of his ulcerated frame, "My flesh is clothed with worms." Job vii. 5.

¹² As the financial difficulties of France arose in part, as I have before observed, from the moral corruptions and profligacy of the French Court, I must not omit Sir Walter Scott's comparison of Necker's *Compte Rendu* to "the disclosure of a *wasting sore*, useless and disgusting, unless when shewn to a surgeon, and for the purpose of cure." Mr. Fysh quotes this p. 28: and also, after mentioning the fact that Louis XV died of the *small-pox*, caught from an unfortunate victim of his pleasures, and that his grandson Louis XVI, on ascending the throne, was, together with the rest of the royal family, attacked by that loathsome malady, well observes that "it was an expressive emblem of the grievous and noisome sore about to break out on unhappy France." p. 19.—Compare what I have said of the *ελεος*, p. 308, and of the taking of symbols from living realities, p. 296 *supra*.

Dr. Baron, in his Life of Jenner, notes the remarkable prevalence of *small-pox* in Europe, in the last thirty years of the 18th century. i. 12.

was first and chiefly in France, the *most Christian* of the ten Papal kingdoms, yet the noisome democratic plague-fever spread speedily to other kingdoms also. It has been noted, both by Burke at the time and by historians subsequently, how the distemper spread, by means of its revolutionary newspapers and affiliated Jacobin clubs, into Savoy and Switzerland, Italy and Germany, the countries of the Rhine, Belgium and Spain, and even Holland and England.¹ In England, through God's great mercy, the true and scriptural religion professed and established in its reformed church, was made the means of repelling and (for a time at least) almost expelling the mischief. In the countries of the Popedom however, (that is, in the countries specially marked out as the objects of the first Apocalyptic Vial,) it so rooted itself as to be like a plague afflicting them:—the plague of a seditious spirit in the lower classes against the higher; which prepared every where, as will soon appear, for the Gallic sword to follow it.

And so we are led onward. In the Apocalyptic Vial-outpourings one quickly followed another: and scarce

¹ *Burke*, Vol. iii. p. 205. Again iv. 21: "The seeds of the French spirit of proselytism are sown almost everywhere; chiefly by *newspaper circulations*, infinitely more efficacious and extensive than they ever were:" and 23; "The doctrine of the Rights of Man has made amazing progress in Germany, along the whole course of the Rhine, Meuse, Moselle, in Suabia, Franconia, and especially the ecclesiastical Electorates." He afterwards specifies Switzerland, Savoy, Lombardy, Naples, the Papal States, (where it was more poisonous than the miasma from the Pontine marshes, iv. 535,) and Spain: and he observes, p. 73, that France had fitted out a fleet in the Mediterranean to compel the Italian princes to admit French commerce, and with it, its constant concomitant of *affiliated Jacobin Societies*.—In his Letter on the Regicide Peace, written in 1796, he speaks of the evil as spread in every country of Europe, and among all orders of men who look up to France as a head: its centre being there, its circumference the world of Europe. "Elsewhere," he adds, "the faction is *militant*; in France *triumphant*." iv. 460.

So *Atison states* (pp. 593, 661) how as early as 1792 the imperialists complained that French affiliated societies spread the *fever of democracy* through the whole Maritime Alps, and all the contumacious states.—And *Schlegel*, in his *Philosophy of Hist.* ii. 233, writes: "The infidel party in the last century by no means constituted a distinct and separate sect; but was like a *deadly contagion* of the spirit of the times, infecting all beside and around, above and beneath it; wherever the wind of chance or breath of fanatic zeal might carry it." And again, p. 296: "The French Revolution was a general political malady, a universal epidemic of the age."

had the noisome ulcer of the *first* Vial developed its earliest malignity in France, and begun to taint with its contagion the states conterminous, when other Vials of wrath,—a *second*, *third*, and *fourth*,—involving terrific judgments of *war and bloodshed, by sea and by land*, succeeded.—How could it be otherwise? The malignant spirit of the first Vial had a fury of propagandism in itself, like as if the phrensy of the madman (the *οργη* following the *ελεος*,¹) was on him that had the plague and its lazarsores. As well might the smoke of Mahommedism from the abyss fail of sending forth its locust-like fanatics to propagate it,² as the infidel democratic spirit of the Revolution.³ “The first burst of popular fury,” says Alison, “was followed by an ardent and universal passion for arms.”⁴ The “infernal energies of the destroying principle” were to be manifested:⁵—that principle which, as the same writer elsewhere says, “not oceans of blood have yet washed away; and which was destined to convulse the world.”⁶

¹ Thucydides, in his sketch of the outbreak of the democratic spirit at Corcyra, before referred to, uses the Apocalyptic word *οργη* (*τα εθνη οργισθησαν*) of the infuriate political passions and animosities of the antagonist factions; *Οι μὲν ἐν τοιούταις οργαῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο—ἀπαθενσιν οργῆς ἐκφερομένοι.* iii. 84, 85, &c.

² See Vol. i. p. 416.

³ “Never shall I think any country in Europe secure, whilst there is established in the very centre of it a state which is in reality a college of armed fanatics, for the propagation of the principles of assassination, rebellion, fraud, faction, impiety. . . . What if *Mahomet* had erected his fanatic standard for the destruction of the Christian religion in *luce Asiae*,” &c. Burke, iii. 337. I have already at p. 317 noticed other passages in which Burke makes the same comparison. It is a favourite with him.

Let me, ere I close my references to this great writer, extract one other passage in which he makes the Apocalyptic emblem of an ulcerated decomposing carcase the groundwork of another picture of this fanatic propagandism of the Revolution: “. . . the regicides and robbers, that from the *rotten carcase* of their own murdered country have poured out innumerable swarms of the lowest and the most destructive of the classes of animated nature; which, like columns of locusts, have laid waste the fairest part of the world.” Letter to a Noble Lord, iv. 344.

⁴ i. 58.

⁵ Burke, iv. 582.

⁶ i. 514.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH VIALS.

“ And the second Angel poured out his Vial upon the sea : and it became as the blood of a dead man. And every living soul died in the sea.—And the third Angel poured out his Vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters : and they became blood. And I heard the Angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast, the Holy One, because thou hast judged thus : for they have shed the blood of saints and prophets ; and Thou hast given them blood to drink. And I heard [a voice from] the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty : true and righteous are thy judgments.—And the fourth Angel poured out his Vial on the sun : and power was given him to scorch men with fire. And the men were scorched with great heat. And they blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues ; and repented not to give him glory.”—Apoc. xvi. 3—9.

Here is described the outspreading of the evil, and of the mortality and destruction consequent thereon, to different parts of Anti-Christendom.—And first, under the *second Vial*, to its *sea*.

I. THE SECOND VIAL.

“ And the second Angel poured out his Vial on the sea : and it became as the blood of a dead man : and every living soul died in the sea.”

The very parallel judgment of the second Trumpet on the western division of the old Roman earth was thus described. “ The second Angel sounded ; and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea : and the third part of the sea became blood ; and the third part of the creatures which were in the sea and

had life died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed." And we saw reason to interpret this of the destruction by bloody wars of the *maritime provinces, power, and commerce* of Rome: the agency being that of Genseric and his Vandals; and the most characteristic feature of the vision *the maritime parts*, noted as the local scene and subject of the judgment. In similar manner we seem bound to interpret the judgment of the second Vial, as a judgment (probably not unconnected with that of the first Vial) that would fall on and destroy the *maritime power, commerce, and colonies of the countries of Papal Christendom*: that is, of France, Spain, and Portugal; these being the only Papal kingdoms to which such maritime colonies and power attached. And the fulfilment of the prophecy, so interpreted, stands conspicuous in the history of the wars that arose out of the French Revolution.

A twofold agency was made subservient, under the over-ruling of Divine Providence, to accomplish this:—first, that of the *democratic revolutionary spirit* of the first Vial, propagated, like a pestilence, across the sea into the French and Spanish colonies;¹ secondly, that of *the maritime power of England*, long separated from the Papacy, though once the tenth part of its city, and now the bulwark, not of Protestantism only, but almost of the very profession of Christianity itself.

The *first* agency began to act before the *second*. Its earliest scene of operation was the greatest and most flourishing of the French West Indian colonies, *St. Domingo*. On the news of the meeting and revolutionary proceedings of the National Assembly at Paris, the Frenchmen of that colony in similar revolutionary frenzy planted the tree of Liberty, convoked their National Assembly,² and proclaimed equality and the rights of man: but, on the mulattoes and then the negro slaves (the

¹ "As the volcanic shocks, which forty years before destroyed Lisbon, extended across the ocean as far as Peru, so did the revolutionary spirit pass through the countries of the earth; and at St. Domingo, in the West Indies, there were proceedings as tempestuous as at Paris." Barthe, p. 459.

² This was in April 1790.

vast mass of the population¹) claiming their share in those rights, indignantly rejected the claim; and had influence at home to procure the annulment of the celebrated French decree of May 15, 1791, previously past in their favour, or at least in favour of the *coloured* population.² Then began that dreadful civil and servile war of St. Domingo, which continued above twelve years, from 1792 to 1804:—a war in which 60,000 blacks are said to have been slaughtered;³ but which ended in the utter defeat and expulsion of the French armies,⁴ the extermination of the white colonists,⁵ and establishment of the island in 1804 as the independent Negro Republic of Hayti.

Meanwhile the great *naval war* between France and England was in progress; which from its commencement in February 1793 lasted for above twenty years, with no intermission but that of the short and delusive peace of Amiens: in which war the maritime power of Great Britain was strengthened by the Almighty Providence that protected her to destroy everywhere the

¹ Said to have been sixteen times more numerous than the rest of the population.

² It declared that all the people of colour, *born of free parents*, in the colonies, should enjoy all the privileges of French citizens.—It was on this occasion that Barnave made the memorable exclamation: "Perish the colonies rather than sacrifice our principles!" *

³ Dessalines, in his Proclamation of 1804, "asserted that in the inhuman massacres by the French, more than 60,000 of his brethren had been drowned, suffocated, hanged, and otherwise put to death." Quarterly Review, No. XLII.

Among the murdered may be classed the celebrated *Toussaint l'Ouverture*; one who was, until the Revolution, a negro slave, then the victorious general of his countrymen, and example too, both to them and to the world, how the moral virtues, as well as intellectual talents, might adorn a black as fully as a white man. But in the acme of his glory and usefulness he was at last treacherously kidnapped by General Le Clerc, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, carried off to France, and left to die by a slow death in a wretched and damp French prison.

⁴ An English fleet co-operated with the blacks in the conclusion of the war. To them the French general Rochambeau capitulated with 8000 men, the remnant of the French army.

⁵ General Dessalines' Proclamation (see Note ³ above) led to a general massacre of the whites remaining in the island.

* So M. de Levis. In the Quarterly Review, No XLII, in an article on the *Past and Present Prospects of Hayti*, this exclamation is attributed to *Robespierre*. But, besides the authority of M. de Levis, (*Souvenirs et Portraits*), who reproaches *Barnave* for it as a crime, the character of *Barnave* is one with which the reported saying suits well; with that of *Robespierre*, I should think, not at all.

French ships, commerce, and smaller colonies ; including those of the fast and long-continued allies of the French, *Holland and Spain*. In the year 1793 the greater part of the French fleet at Toulon was destroyed by Lord Hood : ¹ in June 1794 followed Lord Howe's great victory over the French off Ushant : then the taking of Corsica, and nearly all the smaller Spanish and French West Indian Islands : ² then, in 1795, Lord Bridport's naval victory, ³ and the capture of the Cape of Good Hope : ⁴ as also, soon after, of a French and Dutch fleet sent to retake it ; ⁵ then, in 1797, the victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and that of Camperdown over the Dutch : ⁶ then, in succession, Lord Nelson's three mighty victories,—of the Nile in 1798, of Copenhagen in 1801, ⁷ and, in 1805, of Trafalgar.— Altogether in this naval war, from its beginning in 1793 to its end in 1815, it appears from James' Naval History that there were destroyed near 200 ships of the line, between 300 and 400 frigates, and an almost incalculable number of smaller vessels of war and ships of commerce. ⁸ It is most truly stated by Dr. Keith, that the whole history of the world does not present such a period of naval war, destruction, and bloodshed. ⁹ In the figurative language of prophecy, "The sea became as the blood of a dead man."

Finally, after that all the ships of war and maritime

¹ December 1793.

² All but Guadaloupe.

³ Off L'Orient.

⁴ By Admiral Elphinstone, Sept. 16, 1795. At the peace of Amiens it was given up, but taken again by a British fleet and army under Sir Home Popham.

⁵ By Admiral Lucas.

⁶ The one by Sir John Jervis, the other by Admiral Duncan.

⁷ A victory by which,—in conjunction with the sudden death of the Russian Emperor Paul, ⁸ and the succession to his throne of a man of the most opposite spirit, the Emperor Alexander,—the great northern confederacy against England's maritime supremacy was broken up ; and with it the hindrance to her continuing to fulfil her destined work (as I suppose) under this Vial.

⁸ This total destruction of the French marine and commercial power is the more remarkable from the circumstance of Buonaparte's sense of its importance, and craving after "*Ships, colonies, and commerce*." But all-powerful on land, where he had to fulfil prophecy, he was impotent in what prophecy denied him.

⁹ Signs of Times, ii. p. 124. His interpretation of this Vial, so far as it goes, agrees in what I have given. Only he scarcely adverts in it to the loss of the Papal colonies. He dwells all but exclusively on the revolutionary naval war.

* He was strangled in a conspiracy of some of his nobles, after giving evidence of insanity.

commerce and power of the Papal nations on whom the judgments fell, had been swept from the sea by the English victories, and all their smaller colonies also reft from them,—the same revolutionary principle which had long previously introduced civil war and bloodshed into the great French colony of St. Domingo, was now the cause of similar civil wars, bloodshed, and separation from the mother country, of the yet greater Spanish colonies in South America. The colonists there had read the works of the French philosophers and politicians;¹ and during the twelve years, from 1796 to 1808, of Spanish subjection to France,² had become familiar with the French revolutionary doctrines. And thus when, on Napoleon's entrapping the King of Spain, and usurping the throne for his brother Joseph, the Spanish nation had risen, and the Cortes, assembled at Cadiz, had promulgated with their own authorization the doctrine of *the sovereignty of the people*,³—these colonists were the better prepared to claim their full share of the rights of citizens. And when the claim was rejected,—when the Cortes (like the French colonists of St. Domingo) had decreed that *the slightest tinge of African blood* should be a bar to participation in the rights of citizenship,⁴ and England's offer of mediation between Spain and her colonies had been rejected by the former,⁵—then in Mexico, and Venezuela, and Buenos Ayres, and Chili, and Peru, the flames of civil war broke out successively, and spread into an universal conflagration. The atrocities of that war are said by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*⁶ to have been unparalleled in the civil wars of ancient and modern times. Doubtless he must have forgotten *Lyons* and *La Vendée*, in so writing. Bloody, however, and full of horrors it was. Its re-

¹ *Quarterly Review*, No XXXIV. p. 561 : an Article which gives a brief summary of the origin and earlier progress of the South American Revolutions.

² During this time they were virtually separated from Spain ; their commerce, and the intercourse with them, being only carried on by the intervention of neutrals. This too was a helping preparatory cause to the revolution that completed and perpetuated the separation.

³ *Ibid.* 541.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* 551.

⁶ *Ibid.* 554.

sult was the independence of the insurgents, and annihilation of the provinces in the character of European colonies.—And the Brazils having been a little subsequently, under the influence of the same revolutionary principles, though by a comparatively unsanguinary revolution, separated from Portugal,¹ the prediction was fulfilled in a manner the most complete and remarkable, with respect to these greater colonies of Papal Europe, as well as in regard of the lesser before spoken of, “And every living soul died in the sea.”²

So was judgment accomplished on both colonizers, colonists, and natives ;—all participators alike in the great heresy of Antichrist.³ And, as regards the colonizing European countries, may we not in their losses and their sufferings in these civil wars, discern the action of something like retributive justice, for their cruelties both to the native Indians and the imported negroes ? Justice, divine justice, may wait long : but on iniquitous nations, as well as individuals, it seldom fails to strike hard at the last.

II. THE THIRD VIAL.

“And the third Angel poured out his Vial on the rivers and fountains of the waters : and they became blood. And I heard the Angel of the waters say, Thou

¹ After Don Pedro's leaving it for Portugal in 1821.

² On this explanation of the term, as signifying the annihilation of the provinces in their character of European colonies, it may be well for us to remember the parallel language of the sixth Trumpet, “By these were the third of men killed,” said of the political subversion of the Greek third of the old Roman Empire, when conquered by the Turks ; as well as that respecting the African province and Mediterranean islands, when conquered by Genseric, “The creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died,” according to the prophecy of the second Trumpet. Barnave's saying (before quoted), “Perish the colonies rather than sacrifice our principles,” is a familiar example of the same figure.

³ The outburst of *atheism*, at the commencement of the French Revolution, must not be supposed to have withdrawn *France* from the character of “worshipping the Beast's image and bearing its mark,” specified as that of the nations judged under the first Vial. This was but a three years' paroxysm of national wickedness and insanity. In May 1796 permission was given by the Directory to practise again the Christian, and especially the Romish Christian worship : and soon after Buonaparte's attaining to the first consulship, he formed, in 1801, a Concordat with the Pope ; the first article in which runs thus ; “The Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion is the religion of the great majority of Frenchmen.”

art righteous, O Lord, which art, and which wast, the Holy One,¹ because thou hast judged thus : for they have shed the blood of saints and prophets ; and thou hast given them blood to drink ; for they are worthy. And I heard [another Angel from ²] the altar saying, Even so, Lord God Almighty ; true and righteous are thy judgments.”

The parallel judgment of the third Trumpet on the old Western Roman Empire is thus expressed. “And the third Angel sounded: and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp ; and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters : and the name of the star is called Wormwood : and the third part of the waters became wormwood ; and many men died of the waters because they were made bitter.” And we saw reason to interpret the predicted judgment of the Hun Attila, with his desolating power, fixing himself first on the *middle Danube*, one of the two frontier rivers of the Western third of the Roman earth : then afterwards falling on the *Rhine*, and then on the *Alpine streams that feed the Po* ; and, in all the three cases, causing the bitterness of distress, famine, pestilence, and death, to those who drank of the waters ; that is, to the inhabitants of the Roman provinces watered by those streams : ³ the most marked characteristic of this Trumpet being the frontier Rhenane river and valley of the Po, figured as the local scene and subject of the judgment. — In the present instance, since the local scene of judgment is similarly “*the rivers* (not the *one-third*, for reasons already given)⁴ and the *fountains of the waters*,” we seem bound by the law of parallelism to

¹ Both Scholz and Griesbach read δ *σοιος*, for the received $\kappa\alpha\iota$ δ *εσομενος*.

² Scholz and Griesbach omit this : reading, $\text{Ἡεσα τα θυσιαστηριου λεγοντος}$ in place of, $\text{Ἡκουσα αλλου εκ του θυσιαστηριου λεγοντος}$ —Compare the address by the prophet from Judah to *the altar* at Bethel, 1 Kings xiii. 2 : as if itself animate, and sympathizing with those that sacrificed on it.

³ See my Vol. i. p. 358—Sigonius, after saying, “All was flight, depopulation, slaughter, slavery, burning, and despair, from the Alps to the Appenines,” on Attila’s falling on Lombardy, adds ; “Attila was preparing to go to Rome ; but a peace was purchased :” a circumstance that we may note afterwards, as another parallelism to the course of Buonaparte.

⁴ p. 306 *suprà*.

interpret the *former* of the two great frontier rivers of Papal Christendom, the *Rhine* and *Upper Danube*; the *latter* of the *Po* and *its Alpine tributaries*. And, taking into consideration the sequence of this third Vial on that which precedes it, and supposing our historical interpretation of that former Vial correct, the inference follows, that after the commencement of the judgment of blood on the maritime power and maritime colonies of France and other European kingdoms, a judgment of war and bloodshed would begin to be poured out on *the countries watered by the Rhine and the Danube*, and on the sub-Alpine provinces also of *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*. Nor, on consulting the chronicle of the French revolutionary wars, shall we fail of discerning the fulfilment of the prediction: and this as distinctly and remarkably as of the prefiguration of the former Vial.

It was in April 1792 that war was declared by the French National Assembly against the German Emperor; in the September following against the King of Sardinia: and, ere the close of that year, it resulted that both the *Rhine* began to be notable as one fateful scene of the outpouring of this Vial of blood; and that advance was made by the French towards a second scene destined to suffer under it, *the Alpine streams of Piedmont and Lombardy*. We read in the annals of that year of the French and Austrian armies conflicting at Mentz, and Worms, and Spires, all situated on the middle Rhine, the very towns that *Attila* long before desolated; of other armies conflicting in the Austrian Netherlands watered by the Meuse, the last tributary of the lower Rhine;¹ and also of a third French army advancing into Savoy, as far as the foot of the Piedmontese Alpine frontier;—the infection of the Republican democratic spirit having every where,—from Holland in the North to Sardinia and Italy in the South,—prepared for, and facilitated, the progress of French invasion. In 1793

¹ The Waal, which it joins near its mouth at Gorcum, is the larger branch of the river in the Rhenish Delta.

and 1794 the scene of war and bloodshed was still the same. The French army of the *Meuse*, at first unsuccessful, soon recovered its ground ; and, driving the allies out of Flanders, advanced into Holland : uniting it thenceforward with France ; and constituting it, like the latter, as a democracy. In like manner the army of the *middle Rhine*, at first driven back across the river, returned and repulsed the allies beyond it, in battles of tremendous bloodshed. In 1795, again, the carnage was renewed, with various success, on the *middle Rhine* and its tributaries ; from Luxembourg to Mentz and Mannheim : and yet again in 1796.—On quitting its valley, and advancing from Dusseldorf and Treves towards Nuremberg and Ingolstadt on the *Danube*, as a common centre, the armies of Jourdan and Moreau were driven back to the Rhine by the Austrian Archduke Charles : the time having not yet come for the effusion of the Vial on the *Danube*.—But the *Alpine springs of water* were even now to experience its bitterness. The year that we speak of is ever memorable in history, as that of the first Italian campaign of *Buonaparte* against the allied Sardinians and Austrians. Its course is to be traced from Alpine river to river, along the whole of the north of Italy, from Coni on the Stura to Venice. In the progress of the contest, every river was made a position and battle-field :—during the command of the Austrian general *Beaulieu*, the Bormida, the Tanaro, the Adda with its bridge of Lodi, and Mincio flowing through the Lake of Garda to the Mantuan fortress ; then, (the veteran *Wurmser* having superseded *Beaulieu*,) the Adige and the Brenta ; then, on *Alvinzi* assuming the command, the Adige and Mincio again, at Arcola and Rivoli ; then, after the *Archduke Charles* had advanced to the succour of his countrymen, the Tagliamento and Alpine streams of Carinthia.—Who can estimate the carnage ? The Alpine fountains of water were indeed turned into blood.—At length in 1797, after Venice itself, at the mouth of the Brenta, had felt the sprinkling of the Vial, and shuddered under the terrible menace

of the conqueror, "I will prove an *Attila* to Venice,"—after the Archduke had been again routed in the Carinthian Alpine defiles, and in central Germany too the Austrians had been cotermporarily defeated, and driven by Moreau and Hoche from Coblenz and Strasburg on the Rhine to Franckfort,—resistance was suspended, and submission made by Austria. And so the treaty of Campo Formio was concluded; by which the whole *Valley of the Rhine*, the one local scene of this Apocalyptic Vial,—from its source in Switzerland¹ to its mouth in Holland,²—together with the Austrian Netherlands and Palatinate on one side of its central stream, and Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, Westphalia on the other, now united as the *Confederation of the Rhine*, was all ceded or virtually subjected to France; and also Piedmont and Lombardy, the country noted as another local scene of this Vial, being that of the *Alpine fountains of waters*.

But the Vial had not yet exhausted itself. In the year 1799, on war recommencing, the *fountains of waters* became the scene of the celebrated Italian campaign of *Suwarrow*: and they were again, stream after stream, turned into blood; as the French were repulsed along the whole line of their former victorious progress, from Verona and Mantua to the Maritime Alps and Western sources of the Po. And again, in 1800, they were made the scene of Buonaparte's second Italian campaign; a campaign memorable by the passage of the St. Bernard, and decisive and terrible battle of Marengo.—Moreover *the Danube*, the other great frontier river of the old Roman world and Papal Christendom, began now to feel also the outpouring of the Vial. The war was directed by Moreau to Ulm, the first great fortress on the Upper Danube; and thence, still by the line of the Danube, to Ingolstadt:—until at length, in the winter following, the victory of Hohenlinden on the Isen, one of its tributaries, having decided the German campaign, and Moreau advancing down the Danube towards Vi-

¹ Now the *Helvetic Republic* under French protection.

² Now the *Dutch Republic*, also under French protection.

enna, peace was again sued for by Austria, and for three years re-established.—Nor was it broken by the war of the third German coalition in 1805, except to bring down the residue of the Vial of wrath on the same fated river and the countries watered by it. The campaign of Napoleon is traced along the Danube, from Ulm and Ingolstadt down to Vienna, and the old adjacent camp of Attila. And, the German Emperor having been forced to retire northward from his capital, the battle of Austerlitz, a town on the Littawa, one of the tributaries of the same great German river, ended the war, and broke the power of Austria.

So had the Apocalyptic Vial now been felt in the whole range of scene allotted it:—as on the Rhine and Alpine fountains of water, so also on the line of the Danube. Indeed it had so made itself to be felt, as to warrant the bold assertion, that in the whole history of European wars,—from the first rise of the ten Papal kingdoms in the sixth century even to the present time,—there is not recorded any one war in which these three valleys of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Po, had such a Vial of wrath, or anything like it, poured out upon them.

But what the reason for judgments so terrible? Amidst many national sins that doubtless concurred to evoke them, there was one thus declared to St. John in the verses following: “And I heard the Angel of the waters say; Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast, the Holy One, because thou hast judged thus: for they have shed the blood of saints and prophets and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy. And I heard a voice from the altar¹ say; Even so, Lord God Almighty; true and righteous are thy judgments.”—It does not need that we here enter on the question suggested by this mention of “*the Angel of the waters*,” whether there be attached in God’s providential government particular angelic agencies to particular

¹ Literally, “I heard the altar say;” if we adopt Griesbach’s reading. See p. 333, Note ².

countries and localities. Direct Scripture proof seems wanting on the point.¹ And certainly we shall not be warranted in inferring it from the figures of a symbolic vision, like that before us. On the main point, however, set forth in the prophetic intimation, we cannot mistake; viz, on the fact of the judgments of the third Vial being a righteous retribution from God on the countries and nations judged, for murders previously committed by them on his saints and prophets. And the applicability of this ground for judgment to the nations that I have supposed intended in the prophecy,—the Piedmontese and Austrians and French,—is notorious. The cruelties of the *French* against the associated Waldenses and Albigenses before the Reformation, and the Hugonots and Calvinists after it,—of the *Piedmontese* and their ruling *Princes of Savoy* against the Waldenses of Piedmont in every century from the 13th to the 18th, and of the *House of Austria* against both the Waldenses, the Hussites, and afterwards the Lutherans, in Lombardy, Bohemia, Moravia, the Netherlands, and other of its provinces, have been already briefly sketched in this Commentary.² Indeed in the vallies of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Po, there are but few of the localities famed as scenes of carnage and bloodshed in these wars of the Revolution, which may not have other and holier recollections associated with them, in the mind of the Christian traveller, as scenes of the martyrdom or the sufferings of witnesses for the Lord Jesus.³ Which

¹ The passage, "But the Prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me," in Dan. x. 13, has by some been understood of an Angel specially watching the affairs of that nation. But this exposition has been questioned, and is no doubt questionable. Our Lord's statement, "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father." (Matt. xviii. 10,) only intimates the fact of particular angels watching over particular *individuals*, if of the children of God.

² See the references p. 321 Note ².—I have ascribed the martyrdoms of Lutherans in the Netherlands to the House of Austria, because of Charles V having begun them, and Philip his son, who continued them with atrocities greatly increased, having inherited the principality not in quality of *King of Spain*, but as the scion of the *Austrian* family.

³ Besides the local association, on almost a national scale, of the Netherlands with the martyrdoms of Lutheran confessors, of Bohemia with those of the Hussites, and Piedmont of the earlier Waldenses, we should remember that in the thirty years' war, consequent on the German Emperor's Restitution Edict,

being the case, and the apparently retributive character of these German wars of the Revolution, such that the secular historian cannot refrain from remarking it,¹ we can surely scarce err in regarding these cruelties to Christ's saints in centuries preceding, as (in part at least) the cause of the retribution, agreeably with God's frequent method of deferring judgment for sin to a later generation ;² and consequently the coincidence between the prophecy and the history, in this respect, as well as others, complete.

Let me just remark, ere concluding my exposition of this Vial, on the appropriateness of those appellatives of God used by the Angel of the waters, "*Thou that art and wast, the Holy one.*" As *the eternal One*, God could not forget, though He might seem to have forgotten, the cries from the scenes of martyrdom that rose up before Him.³ As the *Holy One*, his judgment against the impenitent perpetrators of the murders of his saints could not but issue.—Also, with regard to *the answering voice from the altar*, let me suggest two not unimportant points indicated by it: *first*, that in the Apocalyptic imagery the great sacrificial altar remained still, as at the beginning, on the scene before St. John :⁴ *secondly*, that the prophets and saints referred to by the

Moravia, Austria, Carinthia, and Hungary, were scenes of atrocious persecution against the faithful Protestants. So Mosheim observes: "For ten years, (from 1655,) both Lutherans and Calvinists were involved in an uninterrupted series of the most cruel calamities and vexations. The injuries and insults they suffered are not to be told." See also Ranke, Book VII. ii. iii, and Bicheno on the Destiny of the German Empire; who elsewhere (Signs of Times, 42, 46) not without reason, calls it "the bloody House of Austria." It will be interesting also to recollect the memorable murders of Huss and Jerome on the Upper Rhine by the *Lake of Constance*, occupied in 1799 by Massena,—the imperial sentence of death passed against Luther in the Diet of *Worms* on the Middle Rhine,—and the persecuting part acted against the Lutherans by the Archbishops of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, under sanction of the Empire.

¹ Alison, after describing the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, observes; "The impartial justice of Providence apparently made that terrific period the means of punishing the national sins of both the contending parties."

² Matt. xxiii. 35; "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth; from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zecharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily all these things shall come upon this generation."

³ So at p. 302 previous.

⁴ See Vol. i. pp. 98, 183.

voice, as murdered by the people and princes of *Rome Papal* judged under this Vial, were thereby recognized as fellow-martyrs, associated in spirit as in place, with *the souls previously gathered under the same altar* from the persecutions of *Rome Pagan*, and depicted in the fifth Seal; indeed as the very brethren there and then prophesied of, as confessors afterwards to come, that were to fill up the number of martyrs before the time of final vengeance.¹—Besides which, it furnishes a connecting link between that early notice of Christ's martyred confessors in their intermediate state of hopeful waiting after death, and the concluding notice in Apocalypse xx. 4² of their millennial enthronization with Christ and reward. And perhaps too it might indicate, conjunctively with other tokens, that the time of that desired consummation was not so very far off. For, judging from the analogy of the voice in the fifth Seal, this second voice from the altar might be conjectured not to issue till the second series of martyrs was completed, or near completion: after which, the reward could not long tarry.

III. THE FOURTH VIAL.

“And the fourth Angel poured out his Vial upon the sun. And power was given unto him to scorch men with fire. And the men were scorched with great heat.—And they blasphemed the name of God which hath power over these plagues. And they repented not to give Him glory.”

I again resort to the parallel judgment of the *fourth*

¹ I subjoin the passage, with a view to its comparison with the one now under consideration. “And when he had opened the fifth Seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, and said; How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth. And it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little season; until *their fellow-servants* also and *brethren, that should be killed as they were*, should be fulfilled.” Apoc. vi. 9—11.

² “I saw thrones; and they sate on them: and judgment was given to them:—and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God; and them which had not worshipped the Beast, neither his image:—and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.”

Trumpet, as a guide to the significancy of this of the *fourth Vial*. The which earlier prophecy was as follows. "And the fourth Angel sounded : and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars ; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise." And I showed its fulfilment in the circumstance of Augustulus, the Emperor of the Western third of the old Roman Empire, and thus the third of the sun in its symbolic firmament, being forced by Odoacer the Herulian to abdicate his sovereignty ;—an abdication followed by the extinction of the subordinate Roman authorities. It results, as an inference, that there was predicted in the Vial before us the darkening, partially or entirely,¹ either of that power among the ten Papal kingdoms that might be considered as most properly the sun in the symbolic firmament of Papal Christendom, that is, of the *German Emperor* ; or perhaps of the sovereigns of these Papal kingdoms, more in the general : and this as a sequel chronologically to the judgments foreshown under the former Vial.

And to see its accomplishment in the wars of the French Revolution, (not to speak of the earlier and more partial sprinkling of the Vial, when the lights of the Dutch Stadtholder and King of Sardinia were in 1794 and 1796 extinguished, just after the earliest sprinkling of the *third Vial* on the *rivers* of Papal Christendom,—I say to see its *full* accomplishment,) we have only to proceed in due course with the history. In 1806, the year after the battle of Austerlitz, we read of the renunciation by the German Emperor, on Napoleon's requirement, (just as by Augustulus on Odoacer's order,) of his title of *Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire* and of *Germany*. So the Holy Roman Empire, as it was called, having lasted 1000 years from the time of Charlemagne, was declared to be no more, and the *imperial sun* of Papal

¹ There is no such absolute specification of the *day not shining*, as in the 4th Trumpet-vision ; and thus the supposition of a *partial* obscuration is here admissible.

Christendom darkened : the Emperor Francis retaining the title of Emperor simply as sovereign of his hereditary Austrian dominions. For it is to be understood that this was not a mere dropping of an empty name of supreme Majesty. By the stipulations of the treaty of Presburg, and formation of the *Confederation of the Rhine*,—a Confederation chiefly constituted of the Dukes of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, under the Protectorate of France,—the old Germanic imperial constitution was revolutionized, and these princes made altogether independent of the Germanic emperor. In effect they were at the same time made *kings, vassal kings of France*, not of Germany.—And so began the king-making by Napoleon, whereby, within two short years after, most of the other once independent sovereignties of Western Europe were revolutionized, and their *light eclipsed* in the political heaven. First, the power of *Prussia* (of Prussia nominally Protestant, but long since imbued with French infidelity and German neology¹) was utterly overthrown in the fatal battles of Auerstadt and Jena,² and its king shorn of half his dominions ;—then the *Saxon Elector*, aggrandized with Prussian territory, made *King of Saxony* by Napoleon ;—then his own brother Jerome, similarly aggrandized, constituted *King of Westphalia*, another brother (Louis) *King of Holland*, another (Joseph) *King of Spain and Portugal*, and his general Murat, *King of Naples*. Never before had there been such a subversion of old dynasties, and change to new ones, in the history of modern Europe : never,—to use the symbolic phraseology of Scripture prophecy,—such a *darkening of the sun*, and shaking of the powers of heaven, in the political firmament,³—All this was in the years 1806, 1807, 1808. And when in 1809 the Austrian Emperor made

¹ See p. 269 *suprà*.

² Oct. 14, 1806.

³ Matt. xxiv. 29 ; “After the tribulation of those days the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the powers of the heaven shall be shaken.”—In Owen's History of the Bible Society, i. 371, on the year 1808-1809, the above passage is thus referred to. “This year presented at its opening a gloomy aspect. The distress and perplexity of the European nations were extreme. The powers of heaven appeared literally to be shaken ; and the hearts of men were every where failing for fear.”

another desperate effort to emancipate both himself and the other European sovereignties, and effect for them emergence from eclipse into their former independence and power, the battles of Eckmuhl and of Wagram¹ turned his hopes into despair : and (somewhat as in the case of the betrothment to the Goth Astulphus of the Roman Princess Placidia) he only purchased peace by giving his own daughter, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, in marriage to the oppressor ; and with her an implied acquiescence in, and sanction to, his usurpations and tyranny.

It is added, "And power was given him to scorch men with fire ; and the men were scorched with great heat." It is evidently to *the Angel* that poured out the Vial that this power belonged.² But, just as in the case of the Angel Abaddon that conducted the locust-plague of the fifth Trumpet,³ so here too we may suppose a visible and earthly agency operating, under the invisible angelic agency, to execute the judgment of the Vial. And certainly such an agent was *Napoleon*.—"It was given him to *scorch the men with fire*." It is suggested by Dr. Keith that there may be an allusion in this expression to the artillery used by the French Emperor, to an extent beyond all former example in military annals, as the great arm of his victories. Nor is he unwarranted in this supposition by the analogy of prophecy. If the fire noted under the sixth Trumpet, as that by which the Greek Empire was to fall, was literally the

¹ The war was declared by Austria, April 6, 1809 ; the battle of Eckmuhl was fought April 22, of Wagram July 5. Between them occurred the battles of Aspern and Essling, which were favourable to the Austrians, on May 21, 22.

² The *sun* is surely the recipient and sufferer, under the Vial poured out upon it, precisely as the *earth, sea, and rivers*, under the Vials poured on them :—just too as the *sun* was described as the object of judgment in the fourth Trumpet. It seems to me quite extraordinary that commentators should so generally have been drawn aside, from what both the figure itself of receiving a vial of wrath poured on it, and the analogy of every parallel without exception, show to be the true meaning : and that, simply in consequence of *scorching heat*, an effect of the *literal sun*, being the result of the Vial, they should have supposed the *symbolic sun* of this vision, and not the outpouring angel, to be the agent that caused it.

³ See Vol. i. pp. 427, 429.

fire of artillery,¹ why not the same here? But the fulfilment of the expression, taken in its common figurative sense of fiery affliction and suffering, is equally clear in the history of the wars and conquests of Napoleon. Even in regard of the French themselves, all victorious as their armies generally were, the amount of suffering that they had to undergo from the combined rigours of taxation and the conscription,² and the reckless mode too of his making war,—without magazines, often without hospitals, to live by plunder, and be murdered in detail as plunderers,—has probably been seldom paralleled.³ But what of the countries conquered by them; both during the progress of war, and under the oppres-

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 483.—Dr. Keith has made the remark that Napoleon began life as an *artillery officer*; and came first into notice and power by his effective use of artillery against the insurgent populace of Paris, and in defence of the Convention, July 1797.

² So Sir Walter Scott on the Conscription: "He drained the very life-blood of the people intrusted to his charge, not for the defence of their own country, but to extend the ravages of war to distant and unoffending regions. No distinction was made between the married man and single member of a numerous lineage. The son of the widow, the child of the decrepid and helpless, had no right to claim exemption. Three sons might be carried off in three successive years from the same desolated parents. Many young men well educated, and of respectable families, were torn from all their more propitious prospects, to bear the life and die the death of common soldiers. The brand, the pillory, or the galleys, awaited the magistrate himself, if he were found to favour any individual on whom the law of Conscription had claims. Refractory conscripts were treated like convicts of the most infamous description. Clothed in a dress of infamy, loaded with chains, and dragging weights attached to them, they were condemned like galley-slaves to work on the public fortifications. But the most horrible part of the fate of the conscript was, that it was determined for life." *Life of Napoleon*, Vol. vi. p. 107: quoted by Keith, ii. 199.

Alison in his xth Volume states that the conscriptions in France, from 1793 to 1813, amounted to 4,103,000 men.

³ "The French army was poured into some foreign country by forced marches, without any previous arrangement of stores or magazines for their maintenance; and with the purpose of maintaining them solely at the expense of the inhabitants. This species of war was carried on at the least possible expense to his treasury; but at the greatest possible expenditure of human life, and the incalculable increase of human misery." "The officers gave the soldiers authority to receive supplies by *la maraude*, plunder.—In marching through a thinly-peopled country the soldiers became irritated at the danger they incurred in collecting provisions. Relentless and reckless, besides indulging in every species of violence, they increased their own distresses by destroying what they could not use. Famine and sickness were not long in visiting an army which traversed by forced marches a country exhausted of provisions. As the French columns straggled on, without hospitals and without magazines, every straggler who could not regain his ranks fell a victim to the vengeance of an incensed peasantry. In this manner the French army suffered woes, which till these tremendous wars had never been the lot of troops in hostilities between civilized nations." *Ibid.* 113; quoted by Keith, 202.

sions that followed it? I subjoin, as specimens, a few extracts from testimonies fresh written from the scenes of suffering.¹ And certainly, after reading them, we shall be the better able to appreciate the point and truth of the observation made by Napoleon's own secretary Bourrienne, in regard of these transactions: "When, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see but the melancholy results which have been produced, the *genius of conquest* can only be regarded as the *genius of destruction*."—"It was given him to scorch men with fire. And they were scorched with great heat."

It is added of the men thus scorched with great heat, that "they *blasphemed* the name of God, who had power over these plagues, and *repented not to give Him glory*."

¹ As a specimen of the sufferings of men on the actual scene of war, the following extracts may suffice. They are borrowed by Mr. Cuninghame (p. 281) from official Reports, published by a committee in London, descriptive of the calamities consequent on a later campaign (that of Leipsic) in 1813.

"We have before our eyes (i. e. in Leipsic) many thousands of the adjacent villages and hamlets,—landed proprietors, farmers, ecclesiastics, schoolmasters, and artisans of every description,—who were some weeks since in circumstances more or less easy,—but now without a home, stripped of their all, and with their families perishing of hunger. All around is one wide waste. The numerous villages and hamlets are almost all entirely or partially reduced to ashes." "The destruction and distress which marked the countries through which the French army fled from the bloody fields of Leipsic were altogether indescribable. Dead bodies covered the roads. Half-consumed French soldiers were found in the villages destroyed by the flames. Whole districts were depopulated by disease. For a month after the retreat no human being, no domestic animal, no poultry, nay, not even a sparrow was to be met with: only ravens in abundance feeding on corpses."

"On the borders of Silesia seventy villages have been almost entirely destroyed.—In Upper Lusatia the whole tract between Bautzen and Galitz, which has been repeatedly traversed by the marches and countermarches of the armies, is reduced to a desert.

"At Hamburg 50,000 inhabitants, or perhaps 70,000, have left, and in part been driven from, their homes; destitute of all means, and starving for want of the common necessaries of life.—From the hospitals and infirmaries old and weak persons were driven in herds. Some, exposed half naked to a cold of 19°, turned mad."

I conceive that this is but a fair specimen of the miseries experienced in every *country* of Papal Europe, as it became in turns the scene of warfare.—Similar descriptions appear in the extracts given by the London Committee for the relief of the distressed Germans in 1806. See *Christian Observer*, vol. v. pp. 67, 381. Add, as a specimen of the miseries of *cities besieged*, the case of *Genoa*, so eloquently touched on by Dr. Arnold in his *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 218.

Both Mr. Cuninghame and Dr. Keith also note, in illustration of the great heat with which the men were scorched under the vial, the exorbitant requisitions imposed on every city and town, upon the French occupying it.

As a later notice to much the same effect,—which, though primarily referring to Rome, involves in its inculpatory statement the Papal European kingdoms also,—will call for illustration under the next Vial, the present may be passed over more cursorily. Suffice it therefore to say that during the fearful period already past in review, from 1789 to 1809,—i. e. from the first outbreak of the revolutionary venom in France to the final prostration of the German Empire in opposing it, no evidence appeared of these judgments having been effective for their intended purpose, no case of the suffering nations renouncing the Papal apostacy for a purer faith, and turning, like some at the Reformation,¹ to the God that smote them. France, wearied with the absurdity and impolicy of its national *atheism*, had indeed abandoned *it*; for the profession however, not of a true scriptural faith, but again of Popery:—and this chiefly as a principle of tranquillization and control to weaker minds,—the women, the children, and the superstitious; while all the energy of the nation, especially at home in the capital, and among the soldiery abroad, continued leavened with the old infidelity. There had been no repenting in France to give God glory. The same was substantially the case in Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal;—the Romish superstition being professed nationally, the French infidelity cherished in the heart: and together with it, instead of humiliation under God's judgments, a bitter blaspheming rebelliousness of spirit against Him who sent them.²—But on this subject I shall not now enlarge; as the notice is renewed, and will better come before us for consideration under the next Vial.

¹ "And they gave glory to the God of heaven." Apoc. xi. 13. See Vol. ii. p. 425.

² Dr. Keith has cited the blaspheming death of one of the most eminent of the French generals, Marshal Lasnes, Duke of Montebello, as characteristic of the conflicting armies and of the times. When mortally wounded at the battle of Aspern, "he blasphemed heaven and earth," it is recorded, "that he should be denied to see the end of the campaign."—*Signs of the Times*, ii. 226.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIFTH VIAL; OR JUDGMENT BEGUN AND PROGRESSING ON THE POPEDOM.

“ And the fifth Angel poured out his Vial upon the throne of the Beast: and his kingdom was darkened. And they gnawed their tongues from the pain.”¹—Apoc. xvi. 10.

We have here predicted *the outpouring of a Vial of judgment on the Beast's throne and kingdom*, consecutive on that of the former Vial; after which a notice follows of *its ineffectiveness to produce repentance*. It is the first of these statements only that I purpose now considering. The second, as just before observed, I reserve for the next Chapter.

Now as to the *locality* on which this Vial was to be poured out, there cannot, I conceive, be a doubt. The *throne*, or *seat* of the Beast, was the same as that of the seven-headed Dragon, representing the Roman Pagan power before him: for it is said, “ The Dragon gave him (the Beast) *his throne* and power,” &c.² It was the *throne of the seven hills*, the *See of ROME*.³—And precisely in accordance with the prediction of the text, thus interpreted, we find that immediately after the battle of Wagram in 1809, and re-subjection of Austria,—the closing historic fact noted in my exposition of the *fourth Vial*,—there were issued by Napoleon the two celebrated Decrees of Schoenbrunn and Vienna, (Decrees to which I shall again advert ere concluding this Chapter,) whereby *the Pope's temporal authority over the Roman State was*

¹ *σχευετο εκκοτωμενη.*

² Apoc. xiii. 2.

³ Already in the end of the 4th Century, the *episcopal see*, or *seat*, was denominated a *throne*. So Sozomen, 49. ‘Ο εν Αντιοχει θρονος της εκκλησιας εσχλησε’ The patriarchal see, or throne, of Antioch was vacant.

abolished, and ROME itself incorporated with France, as the second city of its empire.

But this in truth was only the consummation of insults and injuries, heaped by the French on the Papal power from almost the very commencement of their Revolution. I have had occasion to glance at this fact, and cursorily to illustrate it, more than once in the general historical sketches given in my Chapter iii. preceding. But it becomes a necessary part of my duty to set it forth more distinctly and fully in the present Chapter. For the solution of the great question of *the termination of the 1260 years of prophecy* is involved in it. If, as I have supposed in common with many other interpreters, the 1260 predicted year-days of Papal supremacy *began primarily* with the quaternion of years, from 529 to 533, that witnessed the promulgation of the Popedom-favoring Justinian Code,¹ then ought the quaternion of years 1260 years after,—that is, from 1789 to 1793, the opening epoch of the Revolution,²—to be marked, as the *primary end* of the 1260 years, by some deadly blow at the Papal supremacy;—then Daniel's prophecy (of the “taking away of dominion from it, to consume and to destroy it unto the end,”³ to have had coincidently a commencement of accomplishment;—and the Papal kingdoms, that answered to the ten horns of the Beast, to have also then begun, agreeably with another well-accordant but more specific Apocalyptic prediction,⁴ to tear the great harlot-church, and de-

¹ See *suprà*, pp. 136, 248.

² So Alison in his Preface. He notes four epochs in European history as connected with the French Revolution: 1st, from the meeting of the States General in 1789 to the establishment of a Republic, and murder of the king, in 1793:—2nd, from 1793 to 1795; including the strife of the Girondists and Jacobins, and the Reign of Terror, until the suppression of the revolt of the National Guards, and triumph of the Convention, in October 1795:—3rd, from 1795 to 1802; a period including the rise of Bonaparte, his Italian and Egyptian campaigns, his elevation to the first Consulship, (the democratic passion having now exhausted itself) and the Peace of Amiens:—4th, Bonaparte's zenith of power, and oppression of the continental powers, from 1802 to 1815; including his fall, and the battle of Waterloo.

³ Dan. vii. 26.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 12—17. “The ten horns are ten kings which receive power at one and the same time with the Beast. These have one mind, and shall give

solate its power and its wealth, with which they before committed fornication.—Let us note then what history reports on this point; and mark the earlier spoiling of the Pope's *Church*, ere we revert to the subsequent subversion of his *throne*.

Now significant symptoms had not been wanting for full half a century before the French Revolution, which showed the attachment of the kings to have more than grown cold towards the Pope, and a preparation of mind to have risen up within them for the overthrow of his domination, and spoliation of the Church his associate.¹ But as yet there was no *mortal blow* struck against Papal supremacy; no notable commencement of any such hating, tearing, and consuming, as by fire, of the Romish Church, with the bitterness and animosity intimated in prophecy, by the then rulers and people of the kingdoms of Western Christendom. This was reserved to the epoch of the Revolution; and to that country which

their power and strength to the Beast. . . . And the ten horns shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. For God hath put it in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the Beast; *until the words of God shall be fulfilled.*" —That is, as I suppose, that until the time of the seventh Trumpet's sounding, when (as it is stated in Apoc. x. 7 and xi. 18) God's promises were to have a fulfilment, the ten kingdoms would adhere to the Beast, and to the harlot-church associated with him;—*then* (at the epoch of its *sounding*) revolt from him and her, and begin to tear and desolate the whore.

¹ "There is something unnatural," said the Venetian Envoy in 1737, "in the sight of all the Catholic governments united in a body, in violent hostility to the Roman Court. Whether it proceeds from the spread of more enlightened ideas, as many people maintain, or from a tyrannical disposition to crush the weaker party, thus much is certain,—that the kings of Europe are making rapid progress in stripping the Roman See of all its temporal rites and privileges." Ranke, Vol. iii. p. 192.—After this, Benedict XIV, Pope from 1740 to 1758,—by making concessions with much political sagacity, where absolutely requisite, both to Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, &c. delayed the crisis. "But," adds Ranke, "the contest between the State and the Church, which seems to originate in an internal necessity of Catholicism, could not be terminated by these slight compromises. The agitated deep soon began to heave with indications of other and far more tremendous storms." *Ib.* p. 196. Then, after a Section on the suppression of the Jesuits by Pope Ganganelli A.D. 1773, and another on the ecclesiastical reformations of Joseph II. of Austria, (who in these ecclesiastical reformations, A.D. 1787,—including the suppression of 1300 out of 2000 religious houses, abolition of Papal supremacy in Austria, and establishment of the toleration of Protestants,—may be considered the precursor of the anti-papalism of the French) he proceeds to describe the mightier changes of the French Revolution.

under Clovis, 1300 years before, had first of the Western Kingdoms attached itself to Rome, and of which the king thenceforward in consequence had borne the title of Eldest Son of the Church.¹

The blow was there and then instantaneous. Scarce was the National Assembly constituted in the summer of 1789, when it entered on its course of spoliation. The clergy, who formed one of the Estates, had so little anticipated this, that, on the conflict between the Nobles and the Tiers Etat, they in large numbers joined the latter; and thus materially helped to turn the scale, and precipitate the Revolution. But, regardless of the help so given it, one of the first measures of the Assembly was to abolish tithes, establishing an insufficient rent-charge on the State in lieu of them; a second at one fell swoop to sever from the Church, and appropriate as national property, all ecclesiastical lands throughout the kingdom:—lands, let it be observed, which had been regarded ever before as not French property only, but that of the Romish Church; and as needing therefore the Pope's sanction to its alienation.² Then followed the suppression of all monastic houses in the kingdom, to the number of 4000: and, in regard of the clergy, already made pensioners of the State, the substitution of popular election for institution after the Papal Concordat; and the requirement from each of them, on pain of forfeiture of the pension, of a solemn abjuration of all allegiance to the Pope. And then in 1793, (*the last year of the four,*) the Decree issued for the abolition of the Christian (or rather Romish) religion in France: whereupon the Churches were many of them razed to the ground; others left in partial ruin; and of the rest, shut against priests and worshippers, (the memorial re-

¹ See p. 138 *suprà*.

² So Ranke, iii. 221. Elsewhere, p. 227, he speaks of the value of the lands thus alienated as 400 millions of francs.—Alison thus reports the general valuation of ecclesiastical property in France, given in to the National Assembly at the commencement of the Revolution as follows:

Tithes = 130 millions of francs, of which 40 belonged to the Parochial Clergy.
Ecclesiastical Lands = $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole land in France.

mained long after,) ¹ the most sacred places defiled, the treasures rifled, and the bells broken, and cast into cannon. ²—So was the whole French ecclesiastical establishment then destroyed. As to the French clergy themselves, 24,000 were massacred, ³ so as I have before stated, with every the most horrid atrocity. ⁴ The rest, for the most part utterly beggared, found refuge from the popular fury only by flight into other and chiefly Protestant lands; bearing about with them every where visible evidence that the predicted hating, and tearing, and making bare of the great whore of Babylon, had indeed begun.

Begun in France, the spoliation of the harlot-Church, and of its Papal patron and head, spread quickly into the other countries of Christendom. A propagandist spirit, in respect of this as in respect of its other principles, was one of the essential characteristics of the Revolu-

¹ In Carr's "*Stranger in France*," published in the year 1802, and which was a narrative of a tour in France made during the peace of Amiens, lively notices occur, such as follows. "On turning the corner of a street, as we entered Rouen, I suddenly found coach, horses, and all, in the aisle of an ancient Catholic church. From the busy buzzing of the streets, we were translated into the silence of shattered tombs and the gloom of cloisters. . . . The church having devolved to the nation as its property, by force of a revolutionary decree, was sold for stables to one of the owners of the Rouen diligences. An old unsaleable cabriolet occupied the place of the altar; and the horses were eating their oats in the sacristy."—He adds, that the Cathedral of Rouen was converted during the Revolution into a sulphur and gunpowder manufactory; and the costly railing of brass gilt, which half-surrounded the altar, torn up and melted into cannon, pp. 38, 46.

In Dr. Waugh's Memoranda, who visited Paris about the same time, similar notices are found. "*Dieppe*. Sept. 29, 1802: Visited one of the churches:—found two men winnowing wheat before the floor of the pulpit, which was still remaining: but in place of the Holy Virgin at its back, as formerly, the ruffians of reformation have erected a female figure of the republic with a spear in hand, surmounted with a cap of liberty.—*Rouen*: One splendid church was full of wheat. M. Dupont told me, however, he expected the nuisance would be removed on the Archbishop's arrival.—*St. Denis*: Saw the Cathedral. The slates were torn off the roof; the jackdaws flying through and through; and the cemeteries of the kings of France violated: the lead coffins having been converted into musket bullets, the bones hurled into a common hole dug in the vicinity; the beard of Henri IV torn from his face, and worn as moustaches by a rude soldier. Not a wreck was left behind in the vaults: the place converted into a store-house for flour, of which it is now almost full." *Memoirs*, pp. 227, &c.

² Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, ii. 306.—In a Report given to the Directory in 1794, it was stated that out of the church bells there might be cast 15,000 pieces of cannon. In the *Tresor de Numismatique* by M. Achille Collas, Plates xxxii, xxxvi, and xxxviii, there are copies of medals struck at Lyons and elsewhere, representing the ruined church and bell.

³ Cobbin gives this number in his *Historical View of the Reformed Church in France*.

⁴ See pp. 312, 322, *suprà*.

tion ; and the tempests of war gave it wings. Its first translation was into *Belgium* and the *Rhenish provinces of Germany* ; the latter the chief seat, as Ranke observes,¹ of the ecclesiastical form of government. Thither it brought with it ecclesiastical changes analogous to those in France.—In the years 1796, 1797, French dominion being established by Bonaparte's victories in *Northern Italy*, it bore with it thither the similar accompaniment, as of French democratism and infidelity, so too of French *anti-papalism*.—And then, *Rome* itself being laid open to Bonaparte, and the French armies urging their march onward to the Papal Capital,² the Pope only saved himself and it by the formal cession in the Treaty of Tolentino of the Legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, (*Peter's Patrimony*,) together with the city of Ancona ; the payment of above £ 1,500,000 sterling,—a sum multiplied three-fold by exactions and oppression,³—and the surrender of military stores, and of a hundred of the finest paintings and statues in the Vatican. The French ambassador wrote from Rome to Bonaparte ; “The payment stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino has totally exhausted this old carcass : we are making it *consume by a slow fire*.”⁴ It was the very language of an Apocalyptic metaphor.⁵—The aged Pope himself, now left mere nominal master of some few remaining shreds

¹ Ranke iii. p. 224 :—as by the Prince-Bishops of Mayence, Cologne, &c.

² On their march towards Rome the French entered *Loretto*, rifled its celebrated Chapel (the original dwelling-house, according to the Romish Calendar, of the Virgin Mary, miraculously transported through the air from Nazareth to Loretto) of the treasures that had not been previously packed up and removed to Rome.

³ Pope Pius VII. in his Brief addressed to Napoleon of the 27th March 1808, speaks of 5,000,000 of Roman crowns as the charge incurred by the Holy See for the support of the French troops from 1807 to the date of the Brief ; that is for not much more than one year. See the Brief in De Pradt's *Quatre Concordats*, Tom. ii. p. 328. This, which is official, may serve as an index of the exactions of other years.—Ranke, iii. 224, says that the losses of the Roman State were estimated altogether at 220 millions of livres.—See too the Postscript to *Eustace's Travels* ; who states, as the result of French occupation and oppression, the reduction of the population of Rome from 180,000 to 90,000, and conversion of many villages into deserts.

⁴ Alison's *French Revolution*, Vol. iii. p. 548.

⁵ “The ten horns shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall burn her with fire.” Apoc. xvii. 16.—Compare Lev. xxi. 9, Ezek. xxiii. 25, 26.

of the Patrimony of Peter, experienced *in person* soon after the bitterness of the prevailing anti-papal spirit. In the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, the ante-hall to which¹ is covered with frescoes representing the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, (was the scene ordered as a memento of God's retributive justice?) while seated on his throne,² and receiving the congratulations of his cardinals on the anniversary of his election to the Popedom, he was arrested by the French military, the ring of his marriage with the Church Catholic torn from his finger,³ his palace rifled, and himself carried prisoner into France, only to die there in exile shortly after.⁴—The Vial had thus touched the *throne of the Beast*; just in Apocalyptic order, after the first and earlier sprinkling of each of the four preceding Vials. And though the temporary success of the allies under Suwarow made feasible the election of another Pope, and temporarily repaired the ruin of the Papal throne, yet it was but an intermission from worse to come.

For the hopes of an end to these persecutions of Rome and its harlot-Church excited by Bonaparte's restoration of the Romish religion in France, on his assumption of the first Consulship, (a mere political step, as I have already stated,)⁵ quickly proved delusive. The Romish religion was recognized by him only in common, and on an equal footing, with other forms of Christianity.⁶ In

¹ That is, in the *Sala Borgia*, which is the ante-hall to the Sistine and Pauline Chapels.—The Jesuit Bonanni thus refers to the Pope's ordering the painting, in his *Numismata Pontificum*: "Colinii et sociorum cædem in Vaticanâ Aulâ describi coloribus jussit à Georgio Vasaro; religionis vindicatæ monumentum, et de profligatâ hæresi trophæum." ² Feb. 15, 1798.

³ Ranke, iii. 225.—See what has been said of the *ring* at p. 150 *suprà*.

⁴ He died Aug. 1799.

⁵ p. 346.

⁶ Of the bitterness of this to Rome and its Prelates no one that knows any thing of Romish pretensions and laws, needs information. It is strongly expressed in a circular of the Cardinal Pacca to the Bishops of the Papal States, dated May 29, 1808, and given by De Pradt, Tom. ii. p. 400. "Un gouvernement," it says, "envahisseur de la puissance spirituelle dans tous les lieux où il s'étend, et protecteur de toutes les sectes et de tous les cultes. La formule de ses sermons, ses constitutions, son code, ses lois, ses actes, respirent en tout au moins l'indifferentisme pour toutes les religions. Et est ce qu'il y a de plus injurieux et de plus opposé à la religion catholique, apostolique, et Romaine?—parcequ'elle est divine, et ne peut faire d'alliance avec aucune autre. . . . En montrant du respect pour toutes les sectes, avec toutes leurs opinions coutumes et superstitions, le gouvernement Français ne respect en effet aucun droit, aucune

Rhenish Germany, now a part of the mighty French Empire, Protestants equally with Catholics were appointed to the old Romish bishoprics and ecclesiastical principalities ; in utter contempt of the ancient canon law, by which heresy involved the actual forfeiture of all power, title, and property :¹ and in the very provisions of the French Concordat, made this year with the Pope, there was a total abnegation of all Papal supremacy, and even Papal influence, in the ecclesiastical state of *France*.²—In 1803 the Concordat made by Bonaparte with the Pope for the kingdom of *Italy* exhibited no other provisions than those for France.³—In 1804 the Pope, summoned to Paris as a vassal to crown Napoleon Emperor, or rather to give consecration to his crowning,⁴ obeyed, in the rekindled hope of the restoration of the Papal patrimony : but in vain. Nor was the Emperor's coronation next year at Milan, as King of Italy, more fruitful to the Romish harlot-Church. "The designs of Napoleon," says Ranke,⁵ "were now revealed. The Constituent (or National) Assembly had endeavoured to emancipate itself entirely from the Pope. The Directory wished to annihilate his authority. Buonaparte's notion was to retain him, but in a state of absolute subjection ; to make him a tool of his own boundless ambition."—And then, on his resistance to the oppressor's views, within four short years after, i.e. in 1809, there fol-

institution, aucune loi, de la religion catholique. Sous une telle protection pour tous les cultes (protection jurée et si vantée du souverain des Français) se déguise la persécution la plus dangereuse contre l'église de Jesus Christ."

¹ Ranke, iii. 229.

² See the Concordat in De Pradt, ii. p. 102, with Napoleon's *Articles Organiques* subjoined, p. 106.

³ "The Pope was forced in this to sanction the sale of ecclesiastical property, and to abandon the nomination to all offices to the temporal power. Indeed so many limitations were appended to this Concordat, that Pius VII felt himself compelled to refuse to publish it." Ranke iii. 229.—It would seem, however, from De Pradt, that the ecclesiastical *lands* were not alienated, at least to any very great extent, from the Italian Church. For he says that Napoleon made a merit of having spared its *biens* to it. Only they were for Napoleon's own creatures, not those of the Papal appointment. The Pope and mother Church of Rome were almost as much robbed of them for the time, as if they had been altogether alienated and appropriated by the secular power.

⁴ The Emperor, as every one knows, put the crown on his head himself.

⁵ p. 231.

lowed the full outpouring of the Vial on his *throne* or *see*, in those anti-papal Decrees of Napoleon from Schoenbrunn and Vienna to which I made allusion at the beginning of this Chapter : Decrees to which,—as both *Naples* had now been formed into a dependant kingdom under Murat,¹ and *Spain* into another dependant kingdom under Joseph Buonaparte, and *Austria*, after the victory of Wagram, forced into a political and matrimonial alliance with the French Emperor,—all the ten kingdoms of Western Christendom (England alone excepted, the tenth of the city, already long since broken off from the Poppedom²) appeared before the world assenting and consenting parties. I say with all these as consenting, if not co-operating parties,—viz. Louis King of Holland, Jerome of Westphalia, the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, (including Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the Swiss Cantons) the Austrian Emperor, the King of Italy, (a kingdom comprehending Savoy, Lombardy, and Tuscany) the King of Naples too, and King of Spain and Portugal, altogether the representatives of nine out of the ten horns of the symbolic Beast of the Apocalypse,³—Napoleon issued from Schoenbrunn and Vienna his Decrees for the final humbling and spoliation of the Romish Church and Pope :⁴ Decrees of which the purport was the revocation of Charlemagne's donations to the Holy See, the annexation of the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macrata, and Camarino for ever to the kingdom of Italy, the total and final abolition of the Pope's temporal authority, and incorporation of Rome as its second city with the French Empire :⁵—a committee of administration having been appointed for the Roman civil government, and a salary

¹ *Joseph Buonaparte* was first made king of Naples, in 1805 ; but *Murat* substituted, on the translation of the former, in 1808, to the throne of Spain.

² See my Vol. ii. p. 416.

³ Compare the list and the territories of the ten original Romano-Gothic kingdoms drawn out at pp. 120—122 *supra*.

⁴ See Sir W. Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, Vol. vi. p. 366. He claimed the right to revoke Charlemagne's donation, as himself the successor and representative of Charlemagne.

⁵ On the birth of his son, Napoleon had him proclaimed *King of Rome*.

settled on the Pope, as a mere pensionary of the State, in his spiritual character. The Pope vented the bitterness of his soul in the fulmination of an excommunication of the French Emperor and his adherents, expressed after the old model, and with the old haughty Papal pretensions.¹ But it was only to serve as a memorial, by its *detail of wrongs*,² of the fulfilment of the prophecy respecting the Kings of Western Christendom at last hating, and spoiling, and persecuting the Romish Church and Pontiff,—him that had been, for full twelve long centuries before, the object of their profoundest veneration and worship; and, by its *perfect impotency of effect*, and the *ridicule* it met with,³ of the days of Papal supremacy being ended. And a little after, as if sensible of the hopelessness of the Papal fall, and in forced resignation to his fate, being carried off prisoner by the French, first to Savona,⁴ then to Fontainebleau, he signed a new Concordat, of which the very preliminary condition was *his separation for ever from Rome*.⁵ So did he set his own seal to the fact of the outpouring of this Vial on the *Papal throne* having been consummated.—It was Napoleon's policy and intention to fix him and the Papal See in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Paris; ⁶—the spiritual head of the Catholic Church,

¹ It is given in full by De Pradt, Vol. ii. p. 330. Its date was Rome, June 10, 1809.—He uses in it the old and characteristic word of *fulmination*. "Il ons encouru l'excommunication majeure, et les autres peines et censures ecclésiastiques *fulminées* par les canons sacrés, &c." I cite from De Pradt's French translation, p. 345.—As a specimen of the old Papal haughtiness, the following may serve. "Qu'ils apprennent," he says, "qu'ils sont soumis par la loi de Jesus Christ à notre *trône* et à notre commandement: car nous exerçons aussi une souveraineté," &c. Ib. 343. In which observe the Pope's use of the Apocalyptic word *throne*.

² Besides the confiscations, exactions, &c, inflicted on the Holy See, he notices also "les injures, sarcasmes, et calomnies contre la puissance et la dignité pontificale," in the public journals of the day. This was one of the modes of expressing the popular hatred to the Romish Harlot Church. He says elsewhere; "Nous eumes la douleur de voir les malheurs et les desastres de l'église du Jesus Christ s'accroître et s'étendre chaque jour." Ib. 333, 339.

³ De Pradt, ii. p. 386.

⁴ He was detained at *Savona* near two years; then, on the approach of an English fleet, removed in January 1812 to Fontainebleau. While at Savona he conceded the main point required by Napoleon; as stated in a Brief of the date of Aug. 5, 1811, given by De Pradt, Vol. ii. p. 507.

⁵ Ranke iii. 235.

⁶ De Pradt notes this several times, as ii. 257, &c. The Archiepiscopal Palace

under his own eye and restraint,¹ in the new capital of Catholicism. And indeed all tended to that result : which however could not be, because inspired prophecy connected the Popedom and Rome locally together, until Rome's final and terrible destruction, not by man but God.² Accordingly the sudden and wonderful overthrow of Napoleon's power occurred to prevent it ; an overthrow more sudden than even its rise. But even then, and when so strangely, as De Pradt says, " Catholicity having deserted him, four heretical kings bore the Pope back to Rome,"³ still he sat not on his throne as once before. His power was crippled ; his seat unstable ; the riches of his Church rifled ; and a mighty precedent and principle of action established against him :—a precedent and principle which could scarce fail of bearing similarly bitter fruit afterwards ; and so of prolonging, or renewing, the *consuming judgment on the Beast* predicted in Daniel, and the *desolation of his Harlot-Church by the ten Horns*, predicted in the Apocalypse.

And so it happened. For as to the subsequent attempted re-establishment of Papal superstition and Papal supremacy by the Bourbons, Ferdinand, Miguel, and the Pope, in France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, I must remind the reader that the revolutions which occurred in the three former countries quickly swept away the ill-cemented re-constructions :—the result, up to the end of 1842, being that in *France* the Romish Church still remained

of Paris had been repaired for his reception. " C'est ainsi," says De Pradt, on the Pope's final removal to Fontainebleau, " qu'il l'acheminoit successivement vers le siege de Paris."

¹ " Il avait devant ses yeux l'exemple de Constantin, et le souvenir des malheurs qu'avait entraîné le trop grand éloignement de ces deux pouvoirs. Il lui paraissait convenable que le chef du culte catholique residât auprès du souverain de la plus grande partie de la catholicité." *Ib.* p. 257.—This judgment of Napoleon on the effect of the separation of the chief temporal and chief spiritual power, may be regarded as his unintended comment on the prophecy of the necessity of the removal of the Roman Imperial *let* to the development of the Papal Antichrist. See p. 145, with its Note 1 and * *suprà*.

² See Gregory the First's just inference from Scripture to this effect, Vol. 1, p. 376, Note ².

³ A.D. 1814. De Pradt, p. 313.—I suppose that besides the Princes of Russia, Prussia, and England, De Pradt means, as the fourth, the King of Sweden. But, if so, I do not understand why he omits *Austria*, the fourth of the four great allied Powers.

spoiled, impoverished, and legally only on a footing of equality with other religions, just as under Napoleon :¹ that in *Portugal* it remained spoiled of its ecclesiastical domains, by the decrees of the secular power in 1835 :² and that in *Spain* it suffered a similar confiscation of the immense church-property of that "most catholic" of countries ; a confiscation completed under the rule of Queen Christina and the Regent Espartero. Which last-mentioned act of spoliation is the subject of a Papal Apostolic Letter not very long since published, "ordaining public prayers on account of the unhappy state of religion in Spain, together with a *plenary indulgence* in the form of a *jubilee* :"³—a memorial in these its expressions alike of the continued harlotry of the Romish Church, and of the continued hatred, spoliation, and consuming of it, so as with fire, (to borrow again the Apocalyptic figure,⁴) by kingdoms once the most devoted

¹ On the expulsion of the Bourbons, and election of the duke of Orleans to be king of the French in August 1830, the Committee of the Chambers recommended the suppression of the 6th Article of the Charter (i. e. of Louis XVIII.), which declared "The Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion to be the religion of the State ; as being that which had been most abused." Cited by Cuninghame, p. 197.—He adds an extract from a letter from Paris of that same date ; "The fall of Charles X. has dragged with it the fall of Popery."

² "The bill for the sale of church property in Portugal has passed into a law. The amount of the national and church property together, which is thus to be disposed of, is calculated at considerably more than twelve millions sterling. Such a dilapidation of the funds of the Romish Church has had already, it is said, a sensible effect on the revenues of the Romish See." Record of June 1, 1835 ; quoted by Mr. Bickersteth on the Prophecies, p. 176.

³ It states among the grievances of the Church,—that the ecclesiastical property in Spain has been put up to sale, and the proceeds put into the public treasury ; that all communication with the See of Rome is prohibited under severe penalties ;—that no Nuncio from Rome is ever to be admitted into the kingdom to grant favours and dispensations ;—that the ancient Papal prerogative of confirming or rejecting bishops elected in Spain is altogether abolished ;—and that priests who seek confirmation, and metropolitans who solicit the *pallium* from Rome, incur the penalty of exile.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 16, referred to p. 348, Note 4 *suprà*

I have already cited Berthier's illustration from *Rome* of one of the figures in this prophetic verse ; I mean specially about the kings *burning the whore with fire*. See p. 352 *suprà*. Let me here add another, with reference to the *Spanish* branch of the Church of Rome, from one of the able editorial articles of the Times and Evening Mail. In the No. for April 16, 1844, his subject being Queen Christina's repentance of her anti-Romish proceedings in former years, and measures taken conjointly with Narvaez for the partial re-endorment of the Church, the writer speaks of "the signalization of her former government, by the confiscation of Church property, burning of monasteries, desecration of churches, and massacre of monks, when the infidel party in her name tore up the old ecclesiastical machinery of Spain, and shot down its adherents : " and then thus pro-

to it. And though in *Italy* it has hitherto kept the domains re-assigned to it at the Peace, yet significant symptoms have not been wanting to shew that there too the infidel democratic anti-Papal spirit, infused under the French domination, is not extinct ;¹ and that it only awaits its opportunity to take part in the renewal of the attack on Rome.—At the same time it must ever be remembered, in looking both to present and to future, that the prophecy intimates some return of kindly feeling towards Rome to have taken place on the part of the ten kings, ere the epoch of its great and final destruction :² and in what I have just stated respecting some of the Kings of Roman Christendom, we seem to have indications already visible of at least a preparation for it.

Thus have I shewn the fulfilment both of the more particular Apocalyptic prophecy of *the outpouring of a vial of wrath on the throne of the Papal Beast*, as the *fifth act* in the judgments of the seventh Trumpet, and ceeds. “The corruptions of the church have been beyond denial or apology. Friend and foe alike confessed and proclaimed them. A *fiery ordeal* was necessary for it; and a *fiery ordeal* it has had. It has *emerged from the flames* shorn of much of its paraphernalia. We may hope that it has been purified, as well as punished.”

The Pope, in his Allocution of March 2, 1841, on the same subject, given in full by Mr. Rule, pp. 313—322, well illustrates another of the figures in that same Apocalyptic verse. “As for the authors of these acts, who glory in being called children of the Catholic Church, we supplicate them to open their eyes on the wounds they had inflicted on *their Mother* and Benefactress.”—“If” observes Mr. Rule, p. 301, “the spirit which led to the spoliation of the Spanish Church was infidel, it was only a development and application of the infidelity which is indigenous to Popery in every age and country. And, standing aloof from the fray, we may admire the retributive providence of God; which in Spain (and not Spain only) has allowed to the natural offspring of the Babylonish Harlot the work of her gradual destruction.

¹ E. g. in the outbreak of the Carbonari, only put down by the Austrian soldiery.—An Encyclic Letter of Pope Gregory XVI, bearing date August 16, 1832, of which Mr. Bickersteth has given an abstract, p. 418, bears testimony to this; as well as to dangers from a different quarter, and of a more Scriptural origin. It mourns over a tempest of evils and disasters: says, “This our Roman Chair of the blessed Peter, in which Christ has placed the main strength of the Church, is most furiously assailed; and a horrible and nefarious warfare openly and avowedly waged against the Catholic faith:” and closes with a prayer to the *Virgin Mary*, “who alone has destroyed all heresies, and is our greatest confidence, the whole foundation of our hope.”

² It is said in Apoc. xviii. 9, that on occasion of the ultimate and total destruction of the mystic Babylonish harlot by fire from heaven, “The kings of the earth, who committed fornication with her, shall lament over her, when they see the smoke of her burning.”

also of the more general prophecy of *a tearing and desolating of the Papal Church by its ten horns*, as enacted from the very first sounding of that Trumpet, and commencement of the French Revolution. And hence the fitness of the outbreaking of that Revolution to constitute a primary terminating epoch to the 1260 predicted year-days of Papal supremacy.¹ Nor need I do more, in concluding the present Chapter, than to add two further brief remarks in illustration of its fitness. The *first* is, that the then establishment by the revolutionary, and afterwards the Napoleonic and other Codes, of equal toleration to Protestants as to Roman Catholics, (the former a proscribed class up to that epoch in the European kingdoms,²) seems to point it out as the time when

¹ So Daubuz, writing long before the French Revolution, observes that the hating, and spoiling, and consuming of the whore by the ten kings would probably determine the 1260 years. And Niebuhr, writing after it, in his *Roman History*, Vol. i. p. 222, after observing that Rome soon after Totila's desolation of it "had become the capital of a *spiritual empire*;" adds, "which, *after the lapse of 12 centuries*, we have seen interrupted in our days."

² Including France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Savoy, Austria (till 1783), and the Netherlands;—all in short except some of the Swiss Cantons and the Dutch United Provinces.

In illustration of the state of Protestants in France, from after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV until the French Revolution, I may cite the following from an interesting abstract of facts given in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 70, on the authority of De Rulhiere and others. "At the close of the American war the fact was confessed by Government, that a million of Calvinists were concealed in France without civil privileges or acknowledged existence: without means of establishing by legal evidence their births, marriages, or deaths:—husbands without lawful wives, parents without legitimate children; unable to quit their country, or remain in it without professing its religion and violating its laws;—compelled at the hour of death either to violate their conscience, or to leave their property liable to confiscation, and their bodies to insult."

"The last public execution of Protestants, for no other crime than professing the Reformed religion, took place at Toulouse in 1762. The affecting case of John Calas (one of the four persons who suffered on that occasion) aroused the sympathies of the French people, who now began to look with disgust on those frequent immolations of innocent victims: and a few words from the pen of Voltaire turned the current of public opinion against the satellites of the Holy Inquisition. Persecutions thenceforth became less frequent. The king's troops were ordered to desist from the pursuit of the defenceless Hugonots, and a respite was given to the reformed *Church of the desert*.* Louis XVI, prompted by his counsellors Lafayette and Malesherbes, caused an inquiry to be made into the social condition of his Protestant subjects: and, on the report of De Rulhiere, an edict was issued in 1787, by favour of which, persons professing the Reformed

* Compare the Apocalyptic figure, Apoc. xii. Also what I have observed on it, pp. 53—55 *suprà*, and on the witnesses still retaining their sackcloth, Vol. ii. p. 430.

the two symbolic witnesses may be considered also to have begun *partially* to put off their sackcloth. The *second* is, that the continuance in force even until then, in the several countries of Papal Christendom, of the old Popedom-favoring *Code of Justinian*, a Code first promulgated, as we have seen, in the years 529—533, and its then sudden and rapid supercession by new anti-Papal Codes that originated from, and expressed the spirit of, the French Revolution of 1789—1793,¹ are facts that furnish a very notable mark of contrast between the characters, juridically and constitutionally considered, of the epoch of *primary commencement* and epoch of *primary ending*, (according to our view of the matter,) of the 1260 years.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE VIALS TO PRODUCE REPENTANCE.

“ And they blasphemed the God of heaven from their pains and sores.—And they repented not of their deeds.”
—Apoc. xvi. 11.

religion were admitted to the rights of citizenship.” So Presbyter Anglicanus, in the Record. And see too Mr. Wilks’ Book on the Persecutions of French Protestants.

It was in Austria just before the French Revolution that the first Edict of Toleration was past; viz. by the Emperor Joseph II, in his Ordinance of Religious Reform which I have before referred to, of the year 1783. In 1788 Louis the XVth in France issued an Edict, giving to French Protestants a *legal existence*: but it was not till the year following, and commencement of the Revolution, that they were permitted the public exercise of their religion.

In Spain, Portugal, and the greater part of Italy, the Inquisition had been too rigorous and searching to leave at this epoch any Protestants.

¹ The following is cited very appositely by Dr. Keith, in his *Signs of the Times*, Vol. ii. p. 93, from Lavalette’s Memoirs. “The events that preceded the grand drama of 1789, took me by surprize in the midst of my books and my love of study. I was then reading *L’Esprit des Loix*; a work that charmed me by its gravity, depth, and sublimity. I wished also to become acquainted with the Code of our own laws. But Dommanget, to whom I mentioned my desire, laughed, and pointed to the *Justinian Code*, the common law Code of the kingdom. . . . I thought I should do well to unite with the meditations of my closet, the observation of those scenes of disorder which were the harbingers of the *Revolution*.”

So had one Vial after another been prefigured as poured out on them that had the mark of the Beast, and that worshipped his image. And now the reporting voice was heard to tell what the moral impression and effect. Alas ! just as when after the 6th Trumpet's tremendous scourge from the Euphrates, by which " the third of men," or other division of Roman Christendom, had been nationally destroyed, the report given in respecting " the rest of the men," so far undestroyed, was, that " they repented not of the works of their hands, so as not to worship dæmons, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood ; nor repented of their murders, or sorceries, or fornications, or thefts,"¹—so now again, after five out of the seventh Trumpet's Vials of judgment had been poured out, alike on other parts of Anti-Christendom, and on the throne of the Beast itself, still the report of the recording angel was to the effect that the inhabitants of the Apocalyptic world repented not of their deeds, and did but blaspheme God from, and after,² their pains and sores. Surely the judgment had been most significant of God's controversy with the Beast, and them that had worshipped him. But whatever else the result, true repentance towards God was no part of it. The rod was not heard, nor He who had appointed it.

It is said, " They *blasphemed* the God of heaven : " and it may be well, before looking to the historical fulfilment, to note the various though cognate senses of this phrase in Scripture, in order to our better understanding of its comprehensiveness of intent here. It appears then that, besides its original and simple sense of *speaking injuriously against*,³ (even, it might be, to *cursing*,⁴) the word, when *God* is the party spoken of as

¹ Apoc. ix. 10.

² εκ των πονηρῶν αὐτῶν.

³ So Luke xxii. 65 ; " And many other things *blasphemously* spake they against him : " Acts xiii. 45 ; " The Jews were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and *blaspheming* ; " Jude 8 ; " These despise dominion, and speak evil of (lit. *blaspheme*) dignities."

⁴ Levit. xxiv. 11, 15 ; " And the Israelitish woman's son *blasphemed* the name of the Lord, and *cursed*. And the Lord said, Whosoever *curseth* his God shall

blasphemed, is used of those who *virtually*, though *indirectly*, speak against and deny Him, either by *usurping to themselves*, or by *ascribing to other gods and idols*, his prerogatives and honours. So, on the one hand, the Jews' application of the term to Christ, when (falsely as they would have it) he made himself the Son of God ;¹ and again, its application to the Beast Antichrist, as blaspheming God's name, in the Apocalypse :² so, on the other, Ezekiel's and Isaiah's charges against Israel as blasphemers, in respect to their *idolatry* and worship of other gods. " Yet in this your fathers have *blasphemed* me :—when I had brought them into the land of which I lifted up mine hand to give it them, then they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees, and *there they offered their sacrifices*, and there they presented the provocation of their offering."³

This premised, proceed we to compare history with the prophecy. It will be observed as to the *time* comprehended in the criminatory charge, that it seems to extend from the epoch of the Vial being first poured forth on the Beast's throne, throughout its progress and the sufferings consequent, up to that of the effusion of the next or 6th Vial on the Euphrates ; i.e. from A.D. 1796 to A.D. 1820 : indeed yet further, apparently.⁴ And as to the *subjects* or *objects* of its crimination, that it was the constituency of " the Beast's kingdom," the same that was darkened under it : i.e. the constituency of Anti-Christendom generally, if we explain the phrase of the Pope's *spiritual* kingdom ; that of Rome and the Italian Papal States specially, if we explain it of his *temporal* kingdom.

bear his sin : even he that *blasphemeth* the name of the Lord shall be put to death."

¹ Mark ii. 7 ; " Why doth this man speak *blasphemies* ? Who can *forgive sins* but God only ? " John x. 33 ; " For a good work we stone thee not ; but because thou, being a man, *makest thyself God*." Matt. xxvi. 64, 65 ; " Tell us if thou be the *Christ, the Son of God* ? Jesus said unto him, *Thou hast said*. . . . Then the High Priest said, He hath spoken *blasphemy*."

² Apoc. xiii. 4, 13. See pp. 147, 154 Note ¹ *suprà*.

³ Ezek. xx. 27, 28. So too Isa. lxxv. 7 ; " Your fathers have burned incense on the mountains, and *blasphemed* me on the hills."

⁴ No change is noticed as occurring afterwards.

1. Now of the fulfilment of the prophetic clause during much of the *earlier half of the period* in question, while the Vial was outpouring and the wars raging, I have already spoken briefly and partially in a former Chapter ; so briefly however, and partially, that it seems proper, now that the charge is repeated a second time, to revert to it again, and a little further amplify on and illustrate it.

I then observed with reference to *France*, the chief and mightiest of the nations of Anti-Christdom, that if under Buonaparte's consulship in 1800 she abandoned her national profession of *atheism*, it was for the profession, not of a pure scriptural faith, but of *Popery* : and this on grounds of political expediency alone, with a view to the tranquillization and control of weaker minds by its superstitions and ceremonial ; while all the energy of the nation, whether in the capital at home or soldiery abroad, was tainted, we might say saturated, with the old infidelity.¹ I now subjoin, in illustration, Buonaparte's official announcement to the Legislative Body of his re-establishment in France of the Romish religion,²—the sketch by one of his ministers of the Pope's

¹ P. 346 *suprà*.

² This official account of the presentation to the French Legislative Body of Buonaparte's *Concordat* with the Pope, re-establishing the Romish religion, is very characteristic. M. Portalis, Counsellor of State, on presenting it, made among others the following observations.—“A primary question presented itself. Is religion in general necessary to bodies of people ? Is it necessary to men ? Whatever may be the degree of perfection at which we are arrived, the multitude is more struck by what is imposed upon it by order, than what is proved to it to be right. The idea of an universal legislator is as necessary to the intelligent, as to the physical world.—Law without morality cannot subsist.—Some persons would have wished for a religion more conformable to our manners. If the strength of *law* consist in its being feared, the strength of *religion* consists in its being believed ; and belief is greater in proportion as the origin of the dogma is more remote. Christianity has the sanction of time. It has civilized Europe. It connects itself with the progress of the arts and sciences.—It has been said that the Catholic religion has too many rites and ceremonies. These are the sanction and preservation of its doctrine.—The Catholic religion is reproached with cursing all those that are without its bosom, and of being intolerant. Montesquieu saw in this principle only a motive for being attached to the religion which teaches it : ‘For,’ says he, ‘when a religion gives us the idea of a choice made by the Divinity, *that* must attach us very strongly to the religion so chosen.’ ”

It is a curious fact that while expressing these feelings about religion generally, and the Romish religion in particular, Buonaparte in 1804 ordered a Romish Missionary establishment to be founded in France, to consist of 500 members ; 50 for the East Indies, 100 for China, 100 for Africa and America, 50 for the islands in the Pacific.—See the quotation from the *Journal de Paris* in the *Christian*

reception in the course of 1804, soon after, in Paris,¹—and that by the Bishop of Amiens in the same year, depicting the general infidel spirit of the nation.² And, after perusing these, let the reader further consider the testimony of Christian travellers in France, during the brief delusive peace or armistice of 1802, reporting of sabbaths unsabbatized,³ the Bible unknown and unprocurable,⁴ the utter demoralization of manners, and infidelity of the current literature and conversation,—and thereupon let him judge whether, notwithstanding the mock-show of revival of the old superstition, as if religion, there rose not up still from France throughout this period the voice, not of repentance, but of blasphemy against the God of heaven?—And as in France, so very much in other countries of Anti-Christendom. From

Observer for 1804, Vol. iii. p. 442.—So, to the Protestant missions now begun in England, there were already projected by him antagonistic Popish missions.

¹ “Beni soit le Ciel,” said Pope Pius VII to Fouché, on his arrival for the coronation of Napoleon, in 1804, at Fontainebleau; “j’ai traversé la France au milieu d’un peuple à genoux.” So the Abbé de Pradt (*Quatre Concordats* ii. 211); who observes that it was perfectly true that the Pope had been met with those marks of veneration, in his progress through the provinces. But he adds that the danger was in *Paris*; lest *there* the ridiculousness of a Pope’s presence should excite the mockery of the populace. But “Fouché avoit pourvu à tout. Cet homme là ne dormait pas toujours: et Paris garda son sérieux.”

² On occasion of opening a subscription in his diocese, for the education of Romish priests. “Already since our advancement to the episcopacy 60 priests have died, and who are to fill their places? The times may soon come when the night of ignorance, superstition, profanation, and all the vices their attendants, will cover the Church of France. Her churches will stand, but no priest be found to officiate at their altars. Fathers and mothers, if you tremble to think of that fatal hour, when religion descends into the tomb with the last of its ministers, refuse not a small donation to our pressing solicitations.”—Again: “Such is the indifference to religion caused by the persecution of our revolutionary philosophers, and our philosophical barbarians, that of 5000 curacies vacant in the French Republic, not 50 proper subjects are found to fill them up. The faithful are forced to travel 40, 50, 60 miles, to find a church where a priest officiates. What a blessing were our chief magistrates to change some of our military schools into religious seminaries! . . . All sort of glory is reserved to him. His reign will by the faithful of all ages be called *the reign of the second resurrection of Christ.*”—Christian Observer, *Ibid.* p. 315.

³ “In Paris the sabbath can only be considered as a day of dissipation, and a day of unusual profit to the man of trade.” Carr’s *Stranger in France*, published in 1802, p. 119. So too Dr. Waugh, *Memoirs*, p. 231.

⁴ A deputation from the London Missionary Society, (*Dr. Waugh* one) which had formed the idea of printing and circulating an Edition of the French Bible in France, and went to Paris with that object, thus report. “In Paris it required a search among the booksellers of four days to find a single Bible: and this is also supposed to be the situation of the greater part of France; and of other countries also, formerly connected with the See of Rome.” Report of 1802.

Germany the accounts received during the war's continuance, told of irreligion and infidelity as fearfully and almost universally prevalent, amidst the grievous sufferings from God's chastisements : while the Romish religion continued as before the religion of southern Germany, and scarce a sign appeared of any national repenting of their deeds.¹—In *Spain*, when the Cortes had met in 1810, on Buonaparte's invasion of the country, the religious as well as political state of the country came necessarily under their consideration. But, while abolishing the Inquisition under the influence of the new philosophy, and despoiling the church of much of its riches, so as to help strikingly to the fulfilment of that other prophecy, already spoken of and illustrated in my preceding Chapter, yet was it laid down by them at the same time, as a fundamental law of the state ; “ The religion of the Spanish nation *is*, and *shall be perpetually*, the *catholic apostolic Roman*, only true : the nation protects it by law, and *prohibits the exercise of any other* ”² Was there in Spain the spirit of repenting of their deeds ? Surely here, as elsewhere, the voice of infidelity among the higher, and of the Papal superstition among the lower, however discordant and at war between themselves, commingled together in blasphemy before the God of heaven.—Then finally in *Italy* and in *Rome*,—i. e. in that which was specially the *kingdom* and the *throne* of the *Beast*, in Apocalyptic language,—was there a sign of amendment and repenting ? Alas ! take but up any Volume of Travels to that country by a traveller of intelligence during the period referred to (for ex-

¹ I may refer to the Letters received during this period from various German correspondents of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Professor Timæus' report in 1806 from Lüneburg, after depicting the physical misery consequent on the French wars, adds : “ More dreadful than all is the moral corruption and diseases that have been brought into our country by the war. Infidelity, illicit intercourse of the sexes with all its dreadful consequences, contempt of the most sacred obligations, are the melancholy bequests left to us. They are spread, and have taken deep root among both higher and lower classes : and they show even now symptoms, which must blight for many generations the noblest hopes of humanity.”—Christian Observer, v. 383.

² See Rule's Mission to Spain, p. 44 : to which I may refer for interesting details.—See too Blanco White's awful report of the then state of the Spanish clergy.

ample that of Mr. Forsyth in 1802,) and in the report of the then Romish and Italian morals and religion read the answer! In regard of *morals* mark the universal and even legalized supercession of the marriage vow of fidelity,¹ the extent of licentiousness such as to have extinguished multitudes of noble families,² (a consequence very principally of the habits and influence of the celibate clergy and the confessional,³) and the extension of swearing as a habit even to the female sex in the higher orders,⁴ as also of false swearing for hire among the lower:⁵—in regard of *religion* mark the continuance of the old system of saint-worship, images, relics, false miracles, the pagan-like mockery of Christ's true religion by the Papal ceremonial, (not omitting the dramatic burlesque of Christ's humiliation and passion in the Easter week, by him who blasphemously called himself Christ's Vicar and representative,) and then let the Reader judge, whether in Rome or Italy there appeared a sign thus far of *repenting* of their deeds, and not rather of continued blasphemy!—On two points touching the religion of Rome and Italy let me add yet one word more, ere passing from this earlier period of the vial-outpouring to a later: I mean on the *Mariolatry* with which (like Israel) they blasphemed God in the streets and on the hills; and their *intolerance* of the purer, truer, worship of Protestantism. 1. In evidence of the manner in which the Virgin Mary and her images were by the Papal priesthood set before the people, and by the people resorted to and worshipped, as their grand com-

¹ Take the following awful passage (though Mr. F. does not give it as such) from his sketch of the manners of Florence. "Cecisbeism, though perhaps as general, is not so formally *legalized* here as at Naples, where the right of keeping a gallant is often secured by the marriage contract: yet here no lady can appear in fashionable company, or *before God*, without such an attendant."

² So in his sketch of Sienna. "The general incontinency of the present day is thinning the first ranks of society. Within the last 20 years twenty noble families are extinct. Others hang but by a slender thread, and that a rotten one."

³ In the same sketch of Sienna he notes the *confessor priest* as one of the usual partners of the sin; and in his sketch of Roman morals notes the *celibacy of the priesthood* as its grand source and authorization.

⁴ *Ibid.*
⁵ "An assassin might be hired (at Genoa) for 50 livres; and if taken might be defended by hackney swearers at 12 livres each." This class, I believe, was not confined to Genoa.

fort and hope under the judgments of the Vial, let me make reference to a famous image of the Virgin,¹ (a specimen of many similar,²) still seen at Rome : annexed to which an inscription tells how this holy image winked its eyes, and propitiously smiled on the people, as they offered their supplications before it in 1796, the year of the first French invasion of Italy : and also too how the Pope, a few months after, authoritatively confirmed the story, and urged the faithful to continue their supplications, by that which was yet more an aggravation of the blasphemy,—the promise of 200 days of indulgence,³ applicable to the souls in purgatory. 2. In proof of their *not repenting* of their *intolerance* of a purer Chris-

¹ Sir W. Cockburn, p. 206, states it to be at the corner of the *Via Paganica* in Rome ; that it has the title *Mater Providentiæ* ; and that the following is the inscription under it. "Quam venerabilis imago, cum sept. Id. Jul. 1796, vario oculorum motu, propitio aspectu, supplicem populum reficeret, omnia corda sibi demeruit, et ex corde laudes."—An Italian inscription further sets forth : "Col recitare le litanie si acquistano cc. giorni d'indulgenza, concessa per indulto pontificio, emanato sotto il di 29 Marzo 1797, d'applicarsi ancora per le anime del purgatorio."

² Bombelli in his *History of the Madonna* (4 vols. 12mo, printed with approbation of the authorities at Rome) gives the history and pictures of 104 Roman images of the Virgin, on which the Chapter of St. Peter has bestowed their yearly golden crowns, on account of their miraculous achievements or antiquity. It seems that *Mary of Guadalupe*, the Patron saint of Mexico, and who was in 1746 chosen Chief Mistress of New Spain, (her temple being made a Collegiate Church, and 400,000 dollars devoted to her clergy,) had a part in these miracles. For in 1754 a copy of this image was sent the Pope, by him given to the nuns of St. Francis de Sales, and placed by them in the Church of the Visitation : and, in common with others, asserted to have opened and shut her eyes on occasion of the French invasion in 1796.

It was upon every high hill that the blasphemies of *Judah* were committed ; but certainly not on so many as the similar blasphemies of the *Italian Papists*.

On entering Loretto, in their march towards Rome in 1797, the French soldiers amused themselves in observing the *machinery* by which these tricks of Romish superstition had been carried on. "The priests had an image of the Virgin Mary, which they exhibited to the people in the act of shedding tears, the more to stimulate them against the impious republicans. The Madonna's tears were a string of glass-beads flowing by clockwork, (like the or-molu fountains of the chimney-piece,) within a shrine which the worshippers were too respectful to approach very nearly." Sir W. Scott's *Napoleon*.—A writer in the *Christian Examiner* of Jan. 1843, says that a painter at Florence stated to a friend of his, how on one occasion he assisted the opening of the Image's eyes by the application of his pencil.—It was the same of old. Bishop Burnet, I think, notices the discovery of machinery for the same purpose at the suppression of the monasteries in England. And Luther in his *Table Talk*, Ch. xxiii, tells of one he had seen prepared with screws, to make the image turn to or from the worshipper, according as he was liberal or not to the monastery.—It was just the same with the old *Pagan* Images. See Professor M. Stuart on *Apoc. xiii*.

³ Was not the saying in this case really applicable, "This man speaketh blasphemy : who can forgive sins but God only ?"

tianity, I must note the Papal instructions of 1803 to the Nuncio at Vienna, on occasion of the proposed assignment of certain German churches and chapters to Protestants. In these Pope Pius VII re-asserted the most intolerant of the old Papal dogmas against Protestant heretics; declaring them still liable, even as of old, to confiscation of property, and (if sovereigns) to deprivation of their sovereignties, as the fit penalty of the crime of heresy: "although," as he added mournfully, "in these calamitous times it is impossible to execute, and inexpedient to recal, the holy maxims."¹

2. But at length these calamitous times passed away. After twenty-five years of convulsion and distress, the rod of the oppressor was in 1815 broken, *peace re-established*, and both Pope and Princes restored to their several kingdoms in the European world. And was repentance then at last exhibited by them; and that turning to God, which *judgment* had not effected, effected now by the gracious suspension of judgment, and intervention of *mercy*?

As regards the *Pope* it was an ominous prognostic that in his proclamation from Cezena, May 5, 1814, just a little before re-entering Rome, he applied to himself the ancient Papal title, "*God's Vicar on earth*."² For in that one word was wrapped up a re-assertion of all his old impieties and blasphemies.—The acts that followed accorded well with this beginning. A few days after the proclamation he solemnly crowned at Ancona a miraculous *image of the Virgin*, the counterpart of that at

¹ Given by O'Donnoghue in his History of the Church and Court of Rome, Vol. ii. p. 447. from the Essai Historique sur la Puissance Temporelle des Papes, ii. 320. "This penalty, so far as concerns the *property of private individuals*, is decreed, says the Pope, by a Bull of Innocent III, *Cap. Vergentes X de Hæreticis*: and, as concerns *sovereignties and fiefs*, it is a rule of the Canon Law, *Cap. Absolutus XVI*, that the subjects of a Prince manifestly heretical are released from all obligations to him, and dispensed from all allegiance and homage." "To be sure," he adds, "we are fallen into such calamitous times that it is not possible for the Spouse of Christ to practice, or even expedient for her to recal, her holy maxims of just vigor against the enemies of our faith."—Ranke alludes to the same, Vol. iii. p. 229. He speaks of the Instructions to the Nuncio at Venice as without a date, but probably of the year 1803. ² O'Donnoghue ii. 449.

Rome, as if the guardian and saviour of Ancona; and fixed its festival, and attached a plenary indulgence to its worship.¹—Arrived at Rome the old system of the religious doctrine and ceremonial was left unchanged; and in his most solemn yearly act of benediction he referred salvation to the merits of the saints and the Virgin.² Quickly after this followed his *re-establishment of the Jesuits*, as “the most experienced rowers to whom the bark of St. Peter might be most wisely committed:” though Clement the XIVth’s Bull, dissolving them, had declared that Jesuitism was a public nuisance; and that he who endeavoured to let it loose on society would be chargeable with high treason against the common interests and happiness of his species.³—A little after he solemnly refused *tolerance*, when applied to for it, to *Protestant worship* in France;⁴ and renewed the solemn *anathematization of Protestants* on the Maundy Thursday.—And then he issued Brief after Brief *against Bible Societies*: declaring them to be tares in the midst of wheat, wolves in guise of lambs: and the Scriptures themselves that they circulated, unaccompanied by Romish explanations, poisonous pastures, and the Gospel rather of the Devil than of God.⁵—Further, in 1825

¹ This was May 13. He entered Rome May 18. The Abbé Albertini refers to this image of miraculous pretensions at *Ancona*, in his work entitled “An Historical and Moral Picture of the Invasion of Italy in 1796, and of the Miraculous winking at the same epoch of the eyes of the Holy Image of the most Holy Virgin Mary, worshipped in the Cathedral Church of Ancona:”—a work published in 1820, and extracted from, in a letter to Charles Butler, Esq., by the present Bishop of Exeter. I cite a part of the extract. “The author tells us that in the day after the first miracle, when a solemn procession was made in its honour, the Virgin Mary did nothing but open, and close, and turn her eyes on all sides, to the indescribable delight of the people, who absolutely wept for joy. On the 20th of June 1800, and on the 15th of August 1807, similar processions took place. And on the 13th of May 1814, Pius VII in person crowned the miraculous image; an event commemorated by an inscription.”

² Dr. Burton in his work on Rome, p. 124, gives the formula: “*Precibus et meritis Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, Beati Michaelis Archangeli, Beati Johannis Baptistæ, et St. apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et omnium sanctorum, misereatur vestri Omnipotens Deus, et dimissis omnibus peccatis vestris, perducatur vos Jesus Christus ad vitam beatam.*”

³ Sir W. Cockburn, p. 290.

⁴ A.D. 1818. O’Donnoghue, p. 454.

⁵ Given by O’Donnoghue, p. 455, Sir W. Cockburn, p. 266, &c.—I give one extract. “It endeavours to translate, or rather to corrupt, the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongues of all nations; which gives just reason to fear that we may there find a bad interpretation, and, instead of the Gospel of Christ, the

he published a *Bull of Jubilee*; promising to exhibit Christ's cradle, as an attraction to the pilgrims: and with authoritative instructions to the pilgrims, afterwards added, to call on the *Virgin Mary*, as the great advocate for sinners, on that day of grace and mercy.²—In fine he repeated that crowning act of Papal blasphemy, the *canonization of saints*.³—Hence it was plain, with regard to the *Pope and his kingdom*, (even though we adduce not other abundant concurring evidence,) that “they repented not of their deeds.”

And what then of the *Princes of the nine kingdoms*, spiritually subordinated under the old regime to Rome? At first, in the glorious moment of the great victory of Leipsic, when the *Austrian Emperor* united with the Emperor of Russia and Prussian King, in publicly offering thanks to the God of heaven for the victory, it

Gospel of men, or (what is worse) the Gospel of the Devil.”—What a contrast to the *divine* prefiguration (if I mistake not) of the same subject. “I saw an Angel having the everlasting Gospel to preach to all nations.”

¹ Sir W. Cockburn, p. 178. “They pretend to show the identical cradle in which our Saviour was rocked, and also, I am assured, the very straw on which he lay in the manger. That this is done by the highest possible authority, is proved by the Pope's Bull of the last Jubilee, which I saw his Holiness proclaim; an authorized copy of which thus refers to that cradle, and to other relics to be adored: “Quis demum à lachrymis temperet, quando vel Christi incunabula cernens, vagientem de præsepi recogitet infantem Jesum, vel sanctissima Dominicæ passionis instrumenta adorans, pendentem in ligno meditetur Redemptorem Mundi.”

Dr. Burton mentions that in this Jubilee the number of pilgrims was but in all 476! How had the mighty fallen. Compare the accounts in Vol. ii. p. 18, of the numbers at the middle age Jubilees.

² In a Book of instructions to the Pilgrims visiting Rome, published “con licenza de' superiori,” the following prayer is directed to be offered up,

All' altare della Madonna :

“Dove ha da ricorrere un peccatore dolente, se non al seno vostro? O avvocata de' peccatori, in questo tempo di remissione, questo giorno d'indulgenza, non distenderete il manto del vostro patrocinio sopra di me, per ricoprire con esso le mie brutture; accio in tal modo posso sottrarmi dall'ira del vostro divino figliuolo!” Ibid. 205.

³ The Roman Catholic Vicar-General Dr. Milner, in his *End of Religious Controversy*, writes: “You ask me, Do you then pretend that your church possesses the miraculous powers at the present day? I answer that the Catholic Church being always the beloved Spouse of Christ, and continuing at all times to bring forth children of heroic sanctity, God fails not in this, any more than in ages past, to illustrate her and them by unquestionable miracles. Accordingly in the processes which are constantly going on at the Apostolic See for the canonization of new saints, fresh miracles of a recent date continue to be proved on the highest degree of evidence.” (Ed. 1824.) After which, in exemplification, he refers to the notable case of the *Sœur Nativité*, on which see the Quarterly Review for 1826 and 1827.

seemed as if he at least,—the most eminent of Roman Catholic monarchs,—was turning to the God who had smitten him. But the illusion past away. Both himself in Austria, and the Bourbons in France, and Ferdinand in Spain, and, a little later, Miguel in Portugal, and the Kings too of Bavaria, Sardinia, Naples, did repent indeed. But of what, and how? M. Ranke answers the question. “The restored governments of Southern Europe repented of their former insubordination to Rome. They thought they had thus unchained the tempest by which themselves had been overthrown; and beheld in the *Pope* their natural ally.”¹ In *France* (until exiled again from it by a second revolution) the Bourbons dedicated their kingdom most especially to the Virgin Mary as its patroness: introduced the Jesuits, and (so far as circumstances permitted) oppressed the French Protestants; enough to show that the will to persecute, as once before, was not wanting. In *Spain* similarly Ferdinand re-established both the Jesuits and the Inquisition; and the blood of heretics flowed at the stake afresh.² In *Sardinia* the king, to whom the Waldenses had been made over by the treaty of Vienna, for no reason but that they were Protestants, revoked their privileges, and multiplied vexations and oppressions on them.³ In *Austria* the Jesuits were as active as ever in propagating Popery, with all its falsehoods.⁴ Again in *Naples*, *Tuscany*, everywhere throughout Roman Catholic Christendom, the miracles,—the lying mira-

¹ Ranke iii. 239.

² See Rule's Mission, p. 90, and Llorente's Inquisition, last chapter.

³ See Dr. Gilly's well known work on the subject of the Waldenses.

⁴ A regular form of recantation for converts from Protestantism, drawn up under 20 heads by the Jesuit missionaries in *Hungary*, made them say that the Pope cannot err; that he has full power to forgive or retain sins, and to cast men into hell; that all that he has established, whether out of the Bible or not, is true; that he ought to be honoured with similar reverence to that paid to Christ himself; that those who oppose his authority ought to be burned at the stake, and to perish body and soul in hell; that the reading of the Sacred Scriptures is the origin of all factions and blasphemy; that each priest is greater than the Virgin Mary, because she was the parent of Christ but once, but the priest creates him anew again; * &c. Christian Observer for 1828, p. 467.

* Compare my observations on this point, p. 153 supra.

cles,—which had ceased during French ascendancy,¹ began again. And then what of the Sabbath? What of Bible devotion? What of morality?—Not a sign appeared of conversion of heart. “They repented not of their deeds.”

And what then remained?—What but that the sentence, the awful sentence, should go forth against them: “Because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more?” In effect the prophecy that we have under consideration intimated as much to St. John. Yet a little further respite it foreshowed would be granted to them, while the next Vial was discharged on another and different corrupter and desolator of the Roman earth,—*the Moslem Turk from the Euphrates*. Then would the time arrive for the outpouring on the apostate princes and countries of Papal Rome,—the mystic *Babylon* and *Sodom*, as well as *Egypt*, of the Apocalypse,—of the last and the most terrible of all God’s Vials of wrath.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SIXTH VIAL; OR, JUDGMENT BEGUN ON THE MAHOMEDAN TURK.

“And the sixth Angel poured out his Vial on the great river Euphrates. And the water thereof was dried up; that the way of the kings from the East² might be prepared.”—Apoc. xvi. 12.

It is manifest that the same Turkish power is here intended that was described under the sixth Trumpet as

¹ “I understand that not one miracle happened during the whole reign of the French. It was not until the streets were purified with lustrations of holy water on the return of the Pontiff, that they began to operate again. But with the Pontiff darkness returned; and the age of Popish miracles revived.” “Rome in the sixth century,” quoted by Keith ii. 235.

² Ἄρ' ἀνατολῆς.

loosed from the Euphrates.¹ Like the Assyrian power of old, when Providentially employed to desolate Judah, it had overflowed from its Euphratean river banks² over Grecian Christendom. And now the Apocalyptic vision represented that its symbolic river flood was to be dried up:—dried up, as the next great event after the outpouring of the fifth Vial on the seat of the Beast, that is, on Rome.

The precise *time* at which this its drying up was to commence had been, as I believe, marked out long before by the memorable prophetic vision of the *Ram and Goat*, in the viiith Chapter of Daniel. And having already in an earlier part of my Work explained other prophecies of Daniel which have reference to the *Popedom*,—one great common subject of that prophet and of St. John,³—I must beg to detain the reader while explaining and connecting with the Apocalyptic prediction before us, in an introductory Section, this his striking prophecy concerning another great common subject, viz. *Mahomedism and the Turks*.

§ I.—DANIEL'S PROPHECY OF THE LITTLE HORN OF THE HE-GOAT.

The vision, as Daniel has recorded it, is subjoined below.⁴—The historical fulfilment of the *first* part of it is

¹ See Part ii. Chap. vi, in my Vol. i. 469.

² "Behold the Lord bringeth up upon thee the waters of the river, strong and many, even the King of Assyria: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks; and he shall pass through Judah: he shall overflow, and go over." Isa. viii. 7.

³ See p. 73 *suprà*.

⁴ 1. "In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared to me at the first.—2. And I saw in a vision; and it came to pass, when I saw, that I was in Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai.—3. Then I lifted up mine eyes and saw: and behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other: and the higher came up last.—4. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.—5. And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and

clear; the Angel's own explanation being given to point out the powers and the places intended; and history,

touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.—6. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.—7. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.—8. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great: * and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven.—9. And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land.†—10. And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down (some) of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.—11. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host: ‡ and by him the daily (sacrifice) was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary§ was cast down.—12. And an host was (literally shall be) given (it) || against the daily (sacrifice) by reason of transgression: and it cast down (the) truth to the ground; and it practised and prospered.

13. Then I heard one saint speaking: and another saint said unto that certain saint that spake; How long¶ shall be the vision (concerning) the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, (i. e. the desolating transgression),** to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?—14. And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days: then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.††

15. And it came to pass when I, even I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the meaning, then, behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man.—16. And I heard a man's voice between (the banks of) Ulai, which called and said, Gabriel, make this man to understand the vision.—17. So he came near where I stood; and when he came, I was afraid, and fell on my face: but he said

* Or, *was very great.*

† Literally *towards the glory.* The same word occurs Dan. xi. 16, 41; but there in the genitive, after the word *land* expressed. The apparently parallel phrase Psalm cvi. 24, in our English translation, "*that pleasant land,*" is different in the Hebrew, being literally *the land of desire*; and the same again in Zech. vii. 14. Compare Isa. xi. 11, "His resting-place shall be glorious;" and Bishop Horsley's observations on it.

‡ שַׂר־צְבָאוֹת, *captain of the host*: the same phrase that is applied to the *divine* Captain of Israel in Jos. v. 15; and which is also used of *men*, as *Abner, Joab, &c.*

§ מְכוּן מְקוֹדֵשׁוֹ, "the *dwelling-place* of his sanctuary:" מְכוּן being specially used of the dwelling-place of Jehovah, says Gesenius. So Exod. xv. 17, &c.

|| Or, "An host (or army) shall be placed against, or set over." The word נָתַן is rendered *place* in Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11, "place the abomination;" and in Gen. xli. 41, &c., to *set over*, as a ruler; "I have set thee over the land of Egypt."

¶ Till when? *was war*; Sept.

** *Concerning* being a word interpolated, the passage may be thus rendered; "Till when shall be the vision? (till when) the daily sacrifice (taken away?) (till when) the desolating transgression?—Prof. Lee on Eusebius's Theophania, Pref. p. cxiv. says: "From its form, the Hebrew word שׁוֹמֵם should have an active signification, in the sense of the transgression giving or supplying a desolator."

†† Lit. *justified*; שִׁדְדָה לְיָהוָה

with its record of facts, answering thereto conspicuously. On the banks of the *Ulai*, the river that flowed by what was soon afterwards the Persian capital, *Susa*,¹ a ram appeared to the Prophet pushing westward, northward, and southward, so as that no beast might stand before it. By the *ram* was meetly figured the *Persian power*:²

unto me, Understand, O son of man; for at (or *to*) the time of the end shall be the vision.—18. Now as he was speaking to me, I was in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground: but he touched me and set me upright.—19. And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end* of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end shall be.—20. The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia.—21. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king.—22. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up, out of the nation, but not in his power.—23.—And in the latter time † of their kingdom, ‡ when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding § dark sentences, shall stand up.—24. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty || and the holy people. ¶—25. And through his policy also he shall cause craft ** to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace * † shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand.—26. And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for (or *to*) many days."

¹ The vision was seen by Daniel in the third year of the Babylonian king Belshazzar; and therefore when *Shushan*, or *Susa*, was only a provincial capital.

² See the appended engravings of the Persian emblem of a *ram*, from a Persian coin; together with the observations in Vol. i. p. 400, Note ¹.

* אַחֲרֵי־כֵן: rather, *the latter end*. It is used for example in Gen. xlix. 1, "I may tell you what shall befall you in *the latter days*;" where Jacob's prophecy had reference to the lot of each of the tribes on Israel's entrance into Canaan: and again in Job xlii. 12, "The Lord blessed *the latter end* of Job more than his beginning:" where "the latter end" comprehends all the time after his affliction, even (verse 16) 140 years. † אַחֲרֵי־כֵן as verse 19.

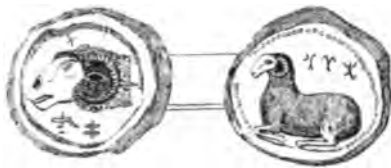
‡ מַלְכוּתָם, *their kingdom*, in the singular.

§ Or *causing to understand, teaching*; the word מְבִיֵן being in the Hiphil form, and rendered *cause to understand* verse 16 *supra*. So again in Nehemiah viii. 9, it is translated "*taught the people*." || עֲצוּמִים, *strong ones*.

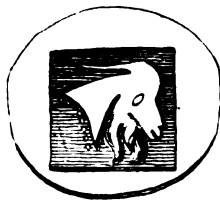
¶ עַם הַקְּדוֹשִׁים, *people of the holy ones*. So the margin more literally renders it. And Mr. J. E. Clarke (*Dragon and Beast*, p. 368) observes on this expression as discriminative. Those, he says, against whom the horn succeeds, having filled up the measure of their iniquities, could not be called *עַם הַקְּדוֹשִׁים, the holy people*, (so as it is in Isa. lxii. 12, "They shall call them *the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord*," but only *the people of* (qu. as *containing*?) *the holy ones*.—I conceive however that this is a critical refinement which the analogy of Scripture will not bear out. For in Dan. vii. 27 this phrase is used in as strict a sense as that in Isaiah; "The greatness of the kingdom shall be given to the *people of the holy ones of the Most High*."—Compare 1 Kings x. 15, אֲנָשֵׁי הַתַּנְרִיִּים, *the men of the merchants, for the merchantmen*: &c. ** מְרָמָה

* † Or in *peace*.

THE PERSIAN RAM.



THE MACEDONIAN GOAT.



From Calmet

by its *two horns*, the Median and Persian kingdoms united in it: ¹ by its pushing so as no beast might stand before it, its conquests and supremacy over other powers; (a characteristic of the Persians for some fifty or sixty years, from the time of Cyrus's accession to that of the Greek expedition of Xerxes :) and, once more, by the directions of its butting, specified at the opening of the vision, "*westward, and northward, and southward,*" either the general directions of Persian aggrandizement during these fifty years, towards Lydia, and Thrace, and Egypt, and India,² or the particular directions of the very remarkable, and up to a certain point triumphant, expedition of Xerxes,³ at their close.—Again, by the *goat* was figured as meetly the *Macedonian power*: ⁴ by *the great horn* between its eyes, the sovereignty of *Alexander the Great*; under whom the symbolic goat rushed with irresistible swiftness and fury on the Persian ram; and, having destroyed its kingdom,⁵ waxed very great by adding this latter kingdom in all its amplitude to his own, and uniting the two as one mighty empire. By *the great horn's breaking* when it was strong was figured Alexander's death in the plenitude of his power,⁶ and consequent breaking-up of his kingdom; by the *four notable horns* that stood up in its place, and out of the nation,⁷ towards the four winds of heaven, the *four Macedonian kingdoms* apportioned by treaty after the death of Alexander's brother and son, and the great battle of Ipsus, to four of his chief generals, on the

¹ On the *later rise* of the *higher* or *Persian* horn, Mr. Cuninghame remarks, p. 231, that in Dan. v. 31 and vi. 1, it is said that Darius *the Mede* took the kingdom; but that afterwards *Persia* is introduced as the first and chief name of the united kingdom; as in Esther i. 3, 14, 18, 19, "*Persia and Media,*" &c.

² *Lydia* conquered by Cyrus, *Egypt* by Cambyses, *India* in one direction, and *Thrace* in another, by Darius Hystaspes. "*Ahasuerus,*" it is said in Esther i. 1, "who reigned from India even to Ethiopia over 127 provinces."

³ Through *Asia Minor* westward, *Thrace* and *Macedonia* northward, *Thessaly* southward.—Theodoret, on Dan. viii., takes Xerxes' expedition as the epoch of the highest Persian greatness.

⁴ See the emblem of a *goat* on the appended Macedonian coin; and also what is said on it in the same Note ¹, p. 400 of my first Volume, just before referred to.

⁵ By the victories of the *Granicus*, *Issus*, and *Arbela*, in the years 334, 333, 331 B.C. respectively.

⁶ B.C. 323.

⁷ So verse 22.

same great platform of the joint territory of the goat and ram :—viz. that of *Greece* to Cassander, of *Thrace* with *Bithynia* and the adjacent *Euxine* provinces to Lysimachus, of *Egypt and Palestine* to Ptolemy, and the *rest of Asia* to Seleucus.¹—Thus much, I say, is plain.

The explanation of the latter part of the vision, and of the *little horn* to which it relates, is more difficult : the interpreting Angel not having described with absolute distinctness either the *place where*, or the *time when*, of the rise of this Little Horn ; nor, again, the particular *power and people that it was to desolate*. The following indications, however, are given respecting it ; which, *when considered with the additional light of subsequent history reflected on the subject*, will, if I mistake not, direct us with sufficient clearness to the power intended.

1st. It was to *originate* out of one of the four above-mentioned Macedonian Empires :—whether out of the Greek dynasty ruling, or out of the territorial domain, and perhaps with the same capital city, comprised in it ; for the latter as well as former relation to the originating horn will satisfy the prefigurative emblem. (See the proof below.²)—2. As to *time*, it was to rise “ at the latter time of their kingdom,” i. e. of the kingdom

¹ On Alexander's death, *Philip Aridæus*, his half-brother, was proclaimed King at a meeting of the chief generals ; and, in conjunction with him, so soon as born, a son of Alexander of whom Roxana was then pregnant, called *Alexander Ægus*. And during their life the generals forbore from assuming the royal title ; professing themselves simply *governors* under Alexander's son and brother. But in 316 Philip Aridæus was murdered ; and in 309 Alexander Ægus, then fourteen years old, and his mother Roxana. Whereupon followed what is said in 1 Macc. i. 7 ; “ Alexander died ; and his servants bare rule every one in his place ; and they all put crowns on themselves.” The ambition of *Antigonus*, governor in the first instance of Phrygia, and his attempt at subjugating the other princes, having caused a general war between them, and Antigonus fallen in the decisive battle of *Ipsus*, a Phrygian town, in the year 301,—the celebrated quadri-partition of the provinces was made between Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, which I have noticed in the Text. See Rollin ad Ann. 301, or the Universal History, Vol. ix. p. 50, &c.

² In case of a family or people being perpetuated before the world, unmixed in the main from generation to generation, then in the largest and most sudden chronological transitions of prophecy, a princely scion even at a very distant age rising from it, might evidently be prefigured as a *later horn springing out of an earlier horn*, typical of the nation or family ; and this in the strictest construction of the figure. Hence the peculiar propriety of Ezekiel's language, with reference to Israel's restoration at the latter day, “ I will cause the *horn of Israel*

of these Greek dynasties: in which phrase the use of the singular noun *kingdom*, not *kingdoms*, is to be remarked, as deserving notice.¹—3. The *character* of the Little Horn is described as that of “a king of fierce countenance, understanding (or causing to understand)² dark sentences;” whether enigmas generally, or specially dark religious oracular sayings as from heaven.³—4. His *success* was to be such that he would wax (or *be*) exceeding great; in directions “toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the glory:”—in regard of which

to bud” (Ezek. xxix. 21); though by a cotemporary prophet it had been said, “He hath cut off all the horn of Israel.” (Lam. ii. 3.)

But what when the successive fortunes of a country or of its ruling dynasty are glanced at in prophecy, with the same rapid transition from an earlier to a later age, in cases where invasions and revolutions, many and great perhaps, intervening, have more than once revolutionized the country; and so intermixed other races as to constitute the inhabitants in respect of blood, and perhaps language too, and religion, very much a different population? In strict *genealogical* truth unity could not be then represented as existing between the earlier inhabitants or dynasty and the later; nor the figure of a later horn springing out of one earlier correctly used to designate them. Yet in fact, even in these cases, the community of local site, and of a certain measure of the same stock in the population, is sometimes so regarded as an identification in prophecy, that a *continuity of political existence* is ascribed to the earlier and later people, or dynasty,—the common designation given them of one and the same impersonating appellation,—and, in symbolic predictions, the symbol of a *horn out of the old head* applied. For example, in Balaam’s prophecy, Numb. xxiv. 22, 24, we read, “The Kenite shall be wasted until *Ashur* carry thee away captive; and ships shall come from Chittim, and shall afflict *Ashur*:”—where the continuity of the impersonation is kept up, though it was *Assyria under a pure Assyrian* and then *Babylonian dynasty*, that carried away the Kenite; and *Assyria half Macedonized*, and under the Macedonian dynasty of the *Seleucidæ*, against whom came the conquering ships from Chittim, that is Rome and Italy.—Again in Dan. xi. we have the sketch in continuity of the history of the *King of the North* and *King of the South*; the impersonation being kept up in either case throughout, as of a connected dynasty; though at the beginning of the Chapter the Ptolemies of Egypt and Seleucidæ of Syria be manifestly meant, who succeeded on Alexander the Great’s demise to empire; and at the end of the Chapter, dynasties of the latter day (perhaps those of the Saracens and the Turks) holding rule in the same countries.—Once more in the prophetic vision of the four wild beasts in Daniel vii, the Goths and Vandals having invaded and revolutionized France, Spain, and other countries, but connected themselves afterwards, in respect of religion, with Rome,—i. e. Christian or Papal Rome,—they are symbolized in the vision as *horns* growing out of the head of the Beast that signified in the first instance the old Roman Pagan Empire.

¹ See Note † p. 376 above. Mr. Clarke has remarked on this in his Treatise on the Dragon and Beast, p. 355.

² See Note § p. 376 supra on the Hebrew word.

³ The Hebrew word פִּתְּוִי is the same that is used Numb. xii. 8; “With him will I speak mouth to mouth, and not in *dark speeches*:” also Psalm xlix. 4; “I will open my *dark saying* upon the harp;” repeated Psalm lxxviii. 2. It is also used Judg. xiv. 12, of an *enigma*, and Prov. i. 6, of a *proverb*; “the words of the wise, and their *dark sayings*.”

specified points of the compass, it becomes a question whether the *South* and *East* are to be estimated from Susa, where the prophet saw the vision, or from the place where the Little Horn might first rise and fix itself: also, as to *the glory*, whether it might indicate the locality of Jerusalem, where Jehovah's glory rested of old literally and visibly; ¹ or that country which, at the time of the Little Horn's rising, (if after Jerusalem's destruction,) might have, in place of God's ancient city, the light of his revelation committed to it, and be then professedly and outwardly the country of God's covenanted people.²—5. The *result* of this its success is prophesied of as two-fold, and in either case as that of destruction: first against *religion*, as it was "to cast the truth to the ground, and cause *craft* to prosper in its stead, taking away the daily sacrifice, and casting down the place of Jehovah's sanctuary:" secondly, against the *secular religious powers*, or rulers at the time of God's professed people; for the host and stars of the symbolic heaven, which the Little Horn was seen to cast to the ground, and stamp on, are explained by the Angel as at once *the mighty ones and people of the holy ones*; and the Prince of the *host* called also the Prince of the *sanctuary*.³—In regard of which *people of the holy ones* it is observable, 6thly, that as the reason of their being thus abandoned to destruction, their religious state at the time of the Little Horn's rising is described as one of *matured transgression and apostacy*; ⁴ and the judgment wrought by it

¹ So St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans ix. 4; "Israelites to whom pertaineth the adoption and *the glory*, &c."

² If by the specified *sanctuary* there be meant figuratively the *Christian Church*, then it seems to me that *the glory* must in consistency be explained figuratively of a *Christian country*, and the *people of the holy ones* of a *professed Christian people*, not Jewish:—the latter just as in Dan. vii. 21, 25; where the Papal power is typified as a Little Horn out of the Roman Beast, making war on *the saints*; i. e. on the *really holy Christians* in professedly holy Christendom.—Whether the *Jewish* or the *Christian* solution should be adopted, is a question for after consideration.

³ "It (the Little Horn) magnified itself even to the Prince of the host; and by it the place of his sanctuary (i. e. of the Prince of the host) was cast down." Verse 11.

⁴ "An host was given it against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression." Verse 12. "When the transgressors are come to the full." Verse 23.

upon them as a judgment inflicted not until "*the latter end of the indignation.*"¹—7. As a further characteristic of the Little Horn, in its course of destruction of these mighty and holy ones, it is added that it would *magnify itself even to the Prince of the host*; or, as the Angel expresses it, stand up against the Prince of princes, the Lord Jehovah: and also that it would *in peace* destroy many.—8. The *term* to its profanation of the sanctuary, and oppression of the people of the holy ones, is thus chronologically announced: "It shall be unto 2300 days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed;" or (as the Hebrew is) justified, and treated as clean:²—in regard of which announcement the question remains, whether the commencement of this long period (for the *days* must of course, as usual in symbolic prophecy, be understood as *years*³) is to be reckoned from the commencing act of the vision, or from the rise and profanation of the Little Horn:—the declaration being made in answer to a double question involving both these points.⁴ Then at length his end would be brought about; and without any adequate earthly agency. "He shall be broken without hand."⁵

And now then we set out on our historic inquiry, to seek some destroying desolator of God's professed people, answering to these several notable characteristics of the Little Horn of the vision. And as the people of the Covenant thus desolated may be either (*so far as we have yet seen*) the *Jews* with their literal sanctuary and sacrifice, or *Christendom* with its later figurative sanctuary and church-worship, the *chronological* range of our inquiry becomes (in the first instance) a very large one; extending from Daniel's time nearly even to the present: and the *geographical* range also a very large one; since it embraces the territory of both goat and ram, as comprehended in Alexander's empire and the four kingdoms of his successors, from the Greek Morea

¹ Verse 19.² See Note †† p. 375 *suprà*.³ See the discussion of the *year-day* question in my Part iv. Chap. ix. § 1. *suprà*.⁴ Verse 13. See Note ** p. 375.⁵ Verse 25.

in the west to the Indus, and from the Oxus to the Nile. Within these limits of time and place we are to look for a power rising up, and rapidly increasing, from comparatively small dimensions to a greatness of dominion comparable even with that of Alexander himself: ¹ using it pre-eminently against the cotemporarily professing but apostatized people of God; to the destruction of the people themselves politically, and the oppression of their religion, called "the truth," or true religion, though corrupted: and using it also to the inculcation and propagation of some counter-religious scheme of craft and falsehood: and this as well in *peace* as in *war*.

Now on the hypothesis of the *ancient Jews* being the transgressing people of the Covenant intended, I will be bold to say that no admissible solution of the Little Horn has been, or can be offered. From the time of Daniel, to the final overthrow and dispersion of the Jewish people, there were but two powers that desolated their sanctuary, and caused the daily sacrifice to cease:—the one, the Syro-Macedonian king, *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the other, the *Romans*. And accordingly they who suppose the ancient Jews intended, have sought to explain the Little Horn of the He-goat, some of the *one* of these two, and some of the *other*. But with regard to *Antiochus*,—while it consists with the prophetic description that he was a Prince of the Syro-Macedonian line, and that he desolated the sanctuary, the following insurmountable objections occur:—1. that he was but an *individual king* of the dynasty, and therefore not a *horn*, in the sense in which the word horn is used both in this and other prophecies of Daniel: ²—2. that his kingdom,

¹ The scale is thus given, in verse 8: "Therefore the he-goat waxed *very great*;" said of Alexander's empire: "And for it stood up four *notable horns*:" said of Alexander's four successors; who, as the Angel adds afterwards, were "to stand up out of the nation, but *not in his power*." After this it is said in verse 9, "The little horn waxed *exceeding great*;" רַחֵם לְהַגְדִּיל; which expression appears to imply comparison with, and superiority to, the power or powers mentioned before.—The word רַחֵם is used adjectively, Gen. xlix. 3, in the sense of *first*; "the first in dignity, the first in strength."

² "Now that being broken (the goat's first horn), whereas four (*horns*) stood

instead of being exceeding great on the scale of Alexander's given in the prophecy, was at the greatest scarce a third of that of the first Syro-Macedonian king, Seleucus; the Romans having previously reduced it within Mount Taurus westward,¹ the Parthians within the limits of Media and Persia proper eastward;² and it being in fact little better than a Roman dependency:³—3. that the *Jewish transgressors* could not be said to have then *come to the full*: there being many at that time zealous for the law, some of whom constituted, soon after, the noble army of the Maccabees;⁴ and Christ himself having fixed the epoch much later:⁵—4. that whereas the fall of the Little Horn, the terminating act of the vision, was (on the *year-day* system) to be 2300 *years* distant from that which marked its commencement, viz. the successful pushing of the Persian ram,—Antiochus' death happened only between 300 and 400 *years* after it; and that, even on the *day-day* system, no satisfactory explanation is to be offered, in reference to his profanation of the temple and its cleansing, of the period of the 2300 *days*.⁶—Next, as to *the Roman power*,—though it answered to

up for it, *four kingdoms shall stand up.*" Thus the Angel expressly makes the *four horns* to be *four kingdoms*. Similarly the *first horn* was Alexander's *kingdom*, or *dynasty*; the *two horns of the ram*, the Median and Persian *principalities*; and the *ten horns* of Daniel's fourth wild Beast, the ten Romano-Gothic *kingdoms* of Western Christendom:—the *beast's body* being in each case associated with the ruling *horn*, and included.

¹ This was the first Article in his father Antiochus the Great's Treaty with the Romans, after the great battle of Magnesia. B.C. 190.

² The Parthians had effected their independence of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom B.C. 232: and from that date began the famous dynasty of the *Arsacids*; which before the times of Pompey and Crassus had absorbed the whole Eastern territory of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, and extended over all Persia to the Euphrates.

³ Witness the celebrated act of the Roman ambassador Popilius, in drawing a circle round Antiochus Epiphanes, when inclined to push his conquests in Egypt; and requiring him, ere he stepped out of it, to obey the Republic, and quit the Egyptian territory.—He was indeed at this time an actual *tributary* to the Romans.

⁴ It is said of these times, as Bishop Newton observes, in 2 Macc. iii. 1; "The Holy City was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well; because of the godliness of Onias, the High Priest, and his hatred of wickedness."

⁵ Matt. xxiii. 32.

⁶ The profanation of the altar under Antiochus lasted but three years complete, according to 1 Macc. i. 59 compared with iv. 52; not 2300 days, or 6½ years: and the desolation of the temple, and taking away of the daily sacrifice by Apollonius, continued but 3½ years, according to Josephus.—See Bishop Newton.

the Little Horn of our prophecy both in becoming exceeding great, and in most remarkably desolating the Jewish sanctuary, and destroying the Jewish people, after that the transgressors therein had come to the full,—and though moreover, *if the continuity of its empire be considered to extend to Rome Papal*, its commencement of falling may very possibly be made to coincide with the expiration of 2300 years from some possible commencing date of the vision,¹—yet (not to speak of other lesser objections)² there meet us on the very face of the question two objections most palpable, and which no ingenuity can ever overcome. The 1st is, that the old Roman power can never be considered as a little horn of the Greek he-goat. For the local origin of its horn was from *Latium in Italy*, not any spot in Greece or Persia: and before ever it moved eastward, to intermeddle with the territories of the Greek he-goat, it was (on the scale in Daniel's vision) a *great horn*, not a *little one*,—Sicily and Spain and Carthaginian North Africa, besides all Italy, being comprehended in its dominions. Moreover it never

¹ E. g. Mr. Cuninghame (p. 232) makes B.C. 508 the *commencing* date of the 2300 days, as being the epoch of Darius Hystaspes' conquests in *Thrace*, according to the chronologer *Dufresnoy*,—in *India*, according to *Rollin*. And thus 1792 becomes the *terminating* epoch of the period; that is the epoch (as he fixes it) of the French Revolution. But, with regard to the chronology of these conquests of Darius Hystaspes in *Thrace* and *India*, events little celebrated in history,—the following tabular view of dates from such chronologers as I have had opportunity to consult, will sufficiently prove its uncertainty.

	Raleigh.	Universal History.	Rollin.	Larcher.	Hales.	Clinton; Fasti Hellenici. Appendix. Kings of Persia.
Scythian Expedition and subjection of Thrace.	B. C. 501	B. C. 514	B. C. 514	B. C. 508	B. C. 512	B. C. 508 to 506.
Indian Conquests.	No mention.	509	508	No date.	No date.	No mention.

² E. g. If the Little Horn were the Roman power, how could its increase of greatness *westward*, where Spain and Gaul became permanently and peculiarly Roman provinces, be omitted in the notice of its waxing great? "The little horn waxed great," it is only said, "toward the east, and toward the south, and toward the glory:" (or Holy Land:) which is in fact *east* again.—Again, how did the Roman power in its progress cause *craft to prosper*? Pagan idolatry was just as prevalent before its conquests, in the counties conquered, as after them.—On one *chronological* difficulty the Note preceding speaks. A much greater one is noticed in the Text.

rooted itself in the Grecian soil, under a separate and independent though associated government, until the division of the empire by Diocletian: i. e. above two centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, by its armies under Vespasian. 2. Even if the symbol of the Macedonian He-Goat's little Horn might by any possibility be allowed to represent the *old Roman Pagan power*, the idea of its representing also, while all unmodified and the same, the extremely different power of *Rome Papal*, (a supposition, as we have seen, rendered necessary by the Little Horn's assigned duration to the end of 2300 years,) is one utterly contrary both to the reason of the thing, and to the analogy of the three other admitted and notable prefigurations of Rome Pagan and Papal in Daniel and the Apocalypse.¹

In short, high as is the authority of both Sir I. Newton and Bishop Newton as interpreters of prophecy, it seems impossible not to see the futility of their attempts at applying the prophecy to the Romans: and certainly later expositors, as Mr. Cuninghame,² with all their zeal

¹ 1. In the *Image of Nebuchadnezzar* (Dan. ii.) *Rome Pagan* is represented by the *iron legs* of the Image, *Rome Papal* by the *feet divided into ten toes*, part of iron and part of clay. 2. In the vision of the *four Beasts*, (Dan. vii.) it is the *ten-horned state* of the fourth Beast, with its *Little Horn that had eyes* rising among them, in the latter time of the Beast's existence, which represented *Rome Papal*; its state previous to the ten horns rising, *Rome Pagan*. 3. In the Apocalypse it is the *seven-headed Dragon* that represents *Rome Imperial and Pagan*; the *seven-headed ten-horned Beast* (to which the Dragon reigns the kingdom) *Rome Papal*.

² See his *Treatise on the Apocalypse*, p. 236, &c. and *Letter in the Investigator*, Vol. iii. p. 277.

In the *latter*, which exhibits his fullest defence of the interpretation, I will notice two points in addition to what has been said already. 1. In order to justify the supposed symbolization of the Roman power as a Little Horn of the Macedonian He-Goat, he endeavours to fix the reader's eye on "*the Roman power in the East*," as if a distinct power or horn; justly observing, that, "from the time when Constantinople became the seat of empire, that power became essentially Greek." But most unfortunately, on considering the two grand actions of this Romano-Greek Little Horn, which he dwells on as prefigured in the present prophecy, it appears that the first, viz. the desolation of the *literal* sanctuary of Jerusalem, was (as already hinted) effected by the Roman power above two centuries before this its inrooting in the Greek soil: and the *second*,—viz. the desolation of the *spiritual* or *Christian* sanctuary by Rome Papal,—effected not by the *Greek* branch, but the *Latian* stock; and this after the notable separation of the latter from its short-lived eastern or Greek connection.—2. He observes that, "in order to a power becoming the *horn of a beast* previously existing, it needs that there should be either an *identity of origin*, (as in the four kingdoms that sprang up out of the empire of Alexander,) or

to uphold the interpretation, have altogether failed of their object. The attempted defence has only exposed in clearer light what Mr. J. E. Clarke, in somewhat uncourteous though not untrue phrase, calls the high absurdity of the solution.¹

Thus then, as no other power but these two desolated the *Jewish* Sanctuary, or oppressed *its* people, from Daniel's time of seeing the vision to the final Jewish dispersion, we are forced on giving the prophetic phrases a mystic meaning, and interpreting the holy but transgressing people to be desolated, of *professing Christendom*. And indeed, on a careful scrutiny of the language used of them, I seem to myself to see one characteristic which of itself excludes the Jews, and can only apply to some *great Christian power*;—I mean the Angel's designation of the host cast down by the Little Horn as not the *holy ones* only, but the *mighty ones*.² For from the time of the Babylonish captivity to the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans, the *Jews* were never a *mighty people*; being a mere dependency on the Persians, the Macedonians, the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and the Romans, in succession: and consequently thenceforward never really *mighty ones*, or so represented in Scripture, but the contrary.³—Yet again, there is a phrase which, as Mr. Clark has already observed,⁴ looks very much like a

a *unity of adoption*: in which last way the *ten Gothic kingdoms* became horns of the fourth Beast; viz. by receiving its religion, its laws, the spiritual supremacy of Rome, and the Latin tongue." Now he allows that it was not by *identity of origin* that the Roman power became a horn of the Greek He-Goat. Had it then the *unity of adoption*? Did the Italian Romans before Christ adopt the Greek religion, laws, and language; or after Christ acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Constantinople?

¹ On the Dragon and Beast, p. 354.

² עֲצוּמִים.

³ It was said to Abraham, "I will make of thee a mighty people," with reference to Israel in its national populousness and prosperity; a prophecy partially fulfilled under Joshua, and David, and Solomon, and to be fulfilled abundantly more fully at the time of Israel's restoration. But after returning from the Babylonish captivity, their day was but "the day of small things" (Zech. iv. 10), as the prophets of that time express it; and in Christ's time their cry, "We have no king but Cæsar," was a public confession that they were no more the *mighty ones*, but a *subject* people.—So Prof. Lee, in his Preface to Eusebius's Theophania. "The Jews could not be called after the Christian æra the mighty or the holy people. Their power was gone: and God's people were now called by a new name; as in Isa. lxii. 2."

⁴ p. 355.

marking out of some *Greek kingdom* of the latter day as the one intended. For it says, "In the *latter time of THEIR kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full:*" as if the transgressors intended would be members of the kingdom mentioned in the clause immediately preceding;¹ and this kingdom the representative in a manner (though under one head²) in the latter day, of the several earlier post-Alexandrine Macedonian dynasties.

Which premised, is it possible, but that, in our inquiry after a power answering to the Little Horn of the He-goat, the thought of the *Saracens* and of the *Turks* should flash upon the mind?—each a power of sudden rise into mighty empire, each a tremendous desolator of Greek Christendom, each the propagator of the false religion of Mahomet?—There is however this *primâ facie* objection against the *former*, that though rising on the very border of *Ptolemy's Egypto-Macedonian kingdom*,³ and soon settled within the *Syrian* border, yet being distinctly *Arabian* in its first origin, and springing from *Mecca and Medina*, it could scarcely be called a *little horn out of one of the four post-Alexandrine horns*. Nor again, in the *full* sense of the word could it be said to have *destroyed the mighty and holy Greek people*; as it merely destroyed their armies, and did but mutilate and abridge their empire. In fact the Apocalyptic prophecy of the *Saracens*, as we have seen earlier, distinctly marks this limit to their desolating commission.⁴

And thus we turn to the **TURKISH POWER**; and in it,

¹ The Septuagint translation expressly identifies the *transgressors* and the members of some latter-day Greek kingdom: *Ἐν' ἐσχάτων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, πληρουμένων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν*. In the Hebrew, as in the English, the identity is implied. ² *Τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν* not *τῶν βασιλείων*. Sept. as Hebr.

³ In the quadripartite division of Alexander's empire Ptolemy is recorded to have had Egypt, Libya, *Arabia*, &c. (Arrian apud Photium): that is, probably, those districts of the Arab territory that border on *Egypt*. And of Ptolemy Euergetes, who died B.C. 217, we read that he made himself master of all the coasts of the Red Sea, both on the *Arabian* and *Æthiopic* sides, down to the Straits of Babelmandel; and consequently of the districts adjacent to, though not including, *Mecca and Medina*. (Univ. Hist. ix. 394).—Justinian too, it may be added, in the sixth century had a custom-house on the coast near *Medina*.

⁴ Apoc. ix. 5; "To them it was given that they *should not kill them*," &c. See Vol. i. pp. 429, 480.

if I mistake not, and its Seljukian and Othmanic ruling dynasties, we shall find all we want. 1st. It originated in Chorassan, (the ancient Parthia,) south of the Oxus ; and thus out of the territory of the *Seleucian* or *Syro-Macedonian* horn.¹ There a Turkman shepherd-tribe in 1038 raised the standard of revolt (I have already elsewhere sketched the history) against Massoud, son of Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghizni ; defeated him, became independent, elected Togrul Beg their chieftain, and appeared as a *horn* (as yet a *little horn*²) before the Asiatic world. His first conquests were over *Eastern Persia*.³ Thereby the horn became more notable. The report reached the Caliph at Bagdad : and oppressed at the time by the factions of the Bowides, lords of Western Persia, he called Thogrul to his aid. The Turkman descended *southward* at the call. They fell before him ; and so central Persia was added to his dominions.—And then came a crisis in his history which opened the way to far higher greatness. He was appointed by the Caliph *Emir al Omra*, or Chief General of Islam ;⁴ an office of which Eastern writers delight to describe the ceremonial.⁵ And bound up both by this office, and by his alliance with the Caliph's daughter, (who had however at first disdained to mingle his blood with that of " a Turkman shepherd,")⁶—I say identified in this manner with the religion of Mahomet, and inoculated, alike himself and the military population subject to his rule, with all the early Saracen fanaticism, he became thenceforward its armed apostle and propagator, specially against Greek Christendom ; and from *Bagdad*, as his new religious capital, (a locality of which more presently,) set forth on a long uninterrupted career of success and conquest. Both *Judæa*, the ancient glorious and holy land, and *Asiatic*

¹ For the history, see Gibbon x. 342, &c. or Chap. vi. Part ii, *suprà*.

² Just before the battle, Massoud had been warned about them by one of his Omrahs : " They were in their origin a swarm of ants ; they are now *little snakes* ; and, unless instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." Gibbon x. 343.

³ *Ibid.* 346.

⁴ It had been substituted for that of *Vizier* by a preceding Caliph. Gib. x. 84.

⁵ See my Vol. i. p. 496.

⁶ Gibbon x. 350.

Christendom, holy and glorious as the land of God's then professing people, were quickly embraced in the conquests. Under *Malek Shah*, "Commander of the Faithful,"¹ the third of the three first Sultans of the Turks, the extent of the Turkish dominion is thus described by the historian; "From the Chinese frontier he stretched his jurisdiction, West and South, as far as the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, the *Holy City of Jerusalem*, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix: an extent of dominion which surpassed the Asiatic reign of Cyrus and the Caliphs."² "It grew *exceeding great* toward the *East*, and toward the *South*, and toward the *glory*," or holy and christian Land.—His "fierceness of countenance," as he conquered, has past into a proverb.³ In proof how, "having waxed great, even to the host of heaven, it cast of the host and of the stars to the ground," and stamped on them,"—how, "by it the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the Lord's sanctuary cast down," how "it magnified itself against the Prince of the host,"⁴ "cast down the truth to the ground, as it practised and prospered, and "caused craft to prosper in its hand,"—I say, in proof of the exact applicability of all this to the Turkman Sultans, it needs but that we read the account given by Gibbon⁵ (for it was an exact specimen of all the rest) of Soliman's conquests (one of Malek Shah's generals) in

¹ A sacred title, says Gibbon, given to Malek Shah, first of barbarians.

² Gibbon x. 365.

³ "Fierce as a Turk."—Gibbon applies the epithet more than once; e. g. "The body of the Turkish nation still breathed the fierceness of the desert." x. 384.—Also p. 352, &c.

⁴ Compare on this expression what is said of Sennacherib, Isa. xxxvii. 23: "Against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel."

"The Koran and its interpreters taught that the Sultan was the descendant of the prophet, and the *Vicerent of Heaven*." So Gibbon i. 130. The Sultans answered thus to the term *arridees*, as did the Popes to that of *arrixaros*.

⁵ Ibid. x. 373.—With facts like those before him, what can Mr. Cuninghame mean by saying, p. 237; "Neither the Saracens nor the Turks have interfered with the worship of the Greek Church. It is impossible therefore to show that they have in any sense whatever taken away the daily sacrifice of the Church." Has he forgotten, besides the frequent conduct of the Turks in supplanting the cross by the crescent in lesser instances, their converting Justinian's far-famed metropolitan Church of Greek Christendom into the mosque of Santa Sophia?

Asia Minor. "By the choice of the Sultan, Nice was preferred for his palace and fortress; and the divinity of Christ denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first General Synod of the Catholics. The unity of God and the mission of Mahomet were preached in the mosques; and the Cadhis judged according to the laws of the Koran. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion: but their most holy churches were profaned, and the priests and bishops insulted: they were compelled to suffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apostacy of their brethren: many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision, and many thousand captives devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters."—As to the manner in which, after a temporary disruption of the Turkish power, and then its revival under a new dynasty, the *Othmanic*, it not only conquered other of the Greek provinces, but at length destroyed the Greek empire itself,—“the mighty ones and the holy people,”—the history has been given already.¹ Suffice it therefore to add, that the *Apocalyptic* pre-intimation of the *cause of the Euphratean horsemen* being thus let loose on Greek Christendom to destroy it, viz. that of its sanctuary being polluted with transgressions, and pertinaciously unpurified and unatoned for,² agrees precisely with *Daniel's* intimation of the *cause of the He-goat's little horn* being commissioned, and receiving power against the then mighty and holy people;—viz. the fact of their transgressors having come to the full. Therefore it was that the Turk became great, like Sennacherib,³ and “not by his own power:”—therefore

¹ Viz. in my Vol. i. p. 471, &c.

² See my Vol. i. pp. 455—460. I the rather beg the reader's reference to the above, because it was written without any thought of Daniel's prophecy.

³ Isa. xxxvii. 24; “Thou hast said, By the multitude of my chariots am I come up to the heights of the mountains, &c.—Hast thou not heard long ago how I have done it? Now have I brought it to pass that thou shouldest be to lay waste defenced cities into ruinous heaps. Therefore their inhabitants were of small power: they were dismayed and confounded:” &c.

that he became, according to his own self-assumed appellation, *Hunkiar, the Destroyer*.¹

Yet once more, and most particularly, let me direct attention to the Turkman's early political connexion with BAGDAD, as a fact equally illustrative of Daniel's and the Apocalyptic prediction. For that famous capital of Mahommedism, whence the Seljukian Turk first issued on his mission against Christendom, and which in their very titles has been ever since remembered by the Turkish Sultans,² was not only notable for its *Euphratean site*, agreeably with the *Apocalyptic* prophecy, but also for certain remarkable *local associations with earlier history*, agreeably with *Daniel's*. When the Caliph Almansor, little thinking what he did, chose it for his new capital,³ it bore the humble name of *Bagh-Dad, or Dad's Garden*; a name derived from a hermit so called, its then only inhabitant. But ruined heaps betokened that it had once been populous. And as the monk turned from those ruins to contemplate the buildings of the new-rising city, like one standing in the void between two distant ages, he might have told the Caliph that his chosen site was that of the capital of a once mighty kingdom of earlier conquerors of Asia;—that there, 1200 years before, SELEUCIA had been founded, and there for 500 years flourished with all the pomp and pride of its half million and more of inhabitants,—the *Eastern capital* of the greatest of Alexander's four successors, *Seleucus Nicator*.⁴—Thus with regard not merely

¹ See Vol. i. p. 477.

² Ibid.

³ See Vol. i. p. 437.

⁴ "Seleucus now undertook the building of a new city, which he called from his own name *Seleucia*, and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates. It was placed on the western side of the Tigris, about forty miles from Babylon, over against the place where at present the city of Bagdad stands. . . . Seleucia became so populous that in Pliny's time it had 600,000 inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the East." Universal History, ix. 181. Again: "As Babylon was drained of its inhabitants by Seleucia, so was Seleucia in process of time by Ctesiphon and Almadayin, and these two again by Bagdad. This last city was first built in the same place where Seleucia stood.—In the year B. C. 754 Seleucia was reduced to such a state of desolation as to leave nothing on the spot where it stood but the cell of a monk call *Dad*, and a garden adjoining to it; whence it was called *Bagh-Dad*, that is the *Garden of Dad*. In this place Almansur, Caliph of the Saracens, built a new city, called ever since from the place *Bagdad*." Ibid. p. 184.

to the more distant Parthian province of Seleucus' ancient kingdom, where the Seljuks first formed into a *little* power, but also to the Seleucian capital (thenceforward the Seljuks' religious metropolis) where they received, and whence they issued on, their predicted commission against Christendom, it was *out of the chief of the four horns* into which the first great Horn of the Macedonian He-Goat broke, that ("in the latter time of the Greek empire") the *Little Horn of the Turk* might be said to have sprung."¹

It now remains, in conclusion, that I show the bearing of the celebrated *chronological statement* in this prophecy on the time of the sixth Apocalyptic Vial,—or time for the drying up, which the Vial prefigures, of the Turkman power. "Then I heard one saint speaking : and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake ; Till when,² shall be the vision concerning the

On the foundation and greatness of *Seleucia*, and its effect in draining Babylon of its population, Strabo thus writes. *Και κατηράσαν την πολειν τα μεν δι Περσας, τα δ' ο χρονος, και η των Μακεδονων ολγωρια περι τα τοιαυτα και μαλιστα εσειδη την Σελευκειαν επι τη Τιγγητι πλησιον της Βαβυλωνος, εν τριακοσιοις πω εαβιοις, εσειχισε Σελευκος ο Νικατωρ. Και γαρ εκεινος, και οι μετ' αυτον απαρτες, περι ταυτην εσπαδασαν την πολιν, και το βασιλειον ενταυθα μετηνεγκαν. Και δε και νυν η μεν γεγονε Βαβυλωνος μειζων.* Lib. xvi.

I observe that the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, on the word *Seleucia*, notes its situation as at the *confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris*, as well as its identity with the site of the modern Bagdad. It was however only by a *canal*, except at *lood-time*, that the *Euphrates* washed the walls of the city ; the proper confluence of the two rivers being somewhat lower. See Vol. i. p. 467. Note ²

¹ Mr. J. E. Clarke explains the *Goat's little horn* of the *Ottoman Turks* distinctively, as having risen up in Bithynia, a part of the territory of *Lysimachus*.—an explanation not inadmissible, had we none better to rest in. But the superior fitness of that which I have given must, I think, be evident ; as it traces the *primary* origin of the Turkish nation out of both the territory and the capital of one of the Greek He-Goat's four horns ; and this by reference to the precise local origin assigned to the Turkman desolator by the Apocalypse.—Moreover : supposing the *King of the North* at the *beginning* of Dan. xi. to be the *Syro-Macedonian* or *Seleucian* dynasty, and the *King of the North* at the end to be the *Turk*, which is not improbably the case, this will of course greatly tend to confirm the view taken of the *Turkman* as a Little Horn out of the particular *Seleucian* or *Syro-Macedonian* horn of the Goat.

Considering the obscurity that rests on the origin of the name and ancestry of *Seljuk*, (See Gibb. x. 345, Note 17) might not the possibility of a *Seleucian* origin be suggested ; seeing that Macedonian cities and colonies were founded under Alexander and Seleucus in Chorasán, and beyond it, and that there is so much of resemblance between the appellatives *Seleuk* and *Seljuk* ?

² I prefer this "*Till when*" to the "*How long*" of the authorized translation, as a more exact rendering of the Hebrew, and with the not unimportant differ-

daily sacrifice, and the desolating transgression, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, *Unto 2300 days : then shall the sanctuary be cleansed :*" or rather perhaps *justified*; i.e. treated as just by the judgment previously specified being removed. Now it is to be understood that the received reading 2300 is, as various commentators have observed, of authority not to be doubted :¹ and the *days*, or *evening-mornings*,² which it is the numeral prefixed to, are of course, if the *year-day* theory have been proved correct, to be interpreted as *years*. Thus, in order to the application of the prophetic period, so enunciated, to history, and calculation when the cleansing of Greek Christendom from the Turk and his religion of deceit was to take place, we

ence of marking the *terminating epoch*, not the *duration*. So the Septuagint, "Εως ωρε η̄ ορασις σπυραα; and so too the Vulgate, "Usquequo visio ?" &c.

¹ Mr. Clarke thus writes, p. 390, with reference to the two various readings of 2400 and 2200 in some copies of the Septuagint. "Several copies of the Septuagint read 2400 days (ἡμεραῑ δῑσχυλιᾱι καῑ τετρακκοσιᾱι) : but this reading is evidently spurious, as several of the best and oldest manuscripts of the Septuagint have τερακκοσιᾱι, instead of τετρακκοσιᾱι. One of the manuscripts alluded to is the Codex Alexandrinus, supposed to have been written as early as the 4th or 5th century. In the Complutensian Polyglott, printed at Alcalá in 1517, and the Antwerp Polyglott printed in 1750, it is τερακκοσιᾱι. Theodoret, who flourished in the 4th century, reads so in his copy of the Septuagint.—The various reading of 2200 days, which Jerome says existed in some manuscripts in his time, merits no attention; as only two of these manuscripts have come down to us.—There is no various reading of this passage in the *Hebrew* text; which appears to me decisive in favour of the common reading."

The Investigator too, Vol. i. p. 441, says that not a single *manuscript*, Hebrew or Greek, known to be extant sanctions the reading of 2400 days; and that it rests entirely on a manifest *typographical error* of the Vatican edition, taken (generally) from the Vatican *manuscript* : which error the Chisian edition of Daniel notices, and says that the Vatican *manuscript* reads 2300.

The reading 2400 was however found by Dr. Wolff in *one* Hebrew manuscript at Ispahan, and *one* at Bokhara; the one, he says, *esteemed* to be of the 5th century, the other of the 3rd. See his letter in the Investigator, Vol. iv. p. 305.

The *estimation* and *belief* however of these Jews, as to the antiquity of the manuscripts, is to be received with caution : it being the estimation of unlearned persons; and the point not as yet critically examined by competent judges. Moreover, as Dr. Wolff adds, the greater number of the manuscripts that he found in the East, like *all* those in Europe, had the number 2300. So that, I conceive, little doubt can be felt on the subject.

² The word is in the singular in Hebrew, "2300 evening-morning;" עֶרְבַּ עֶרְבַּ בֵּקֶר אֶלְפִים וְשָׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת : Hebrew numerals of plurality being sometimes joined with nouns in the singular number : a conjunction not unknown in vulgar English.—I conceive, with Mr. Maitland, that the phrase *evening-morning* is used, instead of *day*, because of the *sanctuary* being the subject, and its services *double*, in the evening and the morning.

have only one further preliminary to settle, viz. from what commencing epoch to date the 2300 years. As the Angel's statement is made in answer to an apparently double question, "Till when the vision? Till when the daily sacrifice (taken away,) and both the sanctuary and the host trodden under foot?" it might *à priori* be referred to either; and designate either the length of what the whole vision prefigured, or the length of the Little Horn's desolations. I interpret it of the former, as alone consistent with other chronological prophecies.¹ Thus the date of the commencing act seen in the vision,—that is of the Persian two-horned ram pushing in its power westward and northward and southward,—must be regarded as the commencing date of the 2300 years. And within the narrow limits of some fifty or sixty years, earlier or later, it seems hardly possibly to mistake in the placing of this epoch in history. It cannot be placed *before* Cyrus' establishment of the supremacy of the united Persian and Median kingdom, B. C. 538 or 536. It cannot be placed *after* Xerxes' defeats by the Greeks, at Artemisium, Salamis, and Platæa, in 480 and 479; after which time the supremacy departed from Persia. It was in the interval that the ram fulfilled its career of conquest.—Now both as regards the *commencement* and the *termination* of this, just as of other prophetic periods, we may infer from abundant scripture analogy (not to say from common sense also) that each one ought to be a *marked and well-determined epoch* in history.² And what then the most marked epochs of Persian greatness, such as might be reasonably supposed commencing epochs to the prophecy, within the interval of that sixty

¹ It seems clear that the *cleansing of the sanctuary* at the end of the 2300 years must coincide in time with, or precede, the blessings predicted at the end of the 1335 days. Now, were we to date the 2300 years from the time of the Turks first desolating Christendom, its end would not fall out till about A.D. 3350; and consequently not till long after that which we have seen reason to regard as the terminating epoch of that former period.

² It is so in the case of both the commencement and end of the 1260 years period of Antichrist's reign,—of "the hour, day, month, and year" of the Turks' progress towards the destruction of the Greek empire,—of the 150 years of the intensity of the Saracen woe,—and of the 3½ years of the two witnesses lying dead.

years? I think the two most marked must be considered to be that of Cyrus' accession and conquest of Babylon, B. C. 536, and that of Xerxes' splendid progress against Greece in 481, 480, just before his great catastrophe. I prefer the latter;—first, because it is an epoch of the exhibition of Persian greatness distinctively set forth in another of Daniel's prophecies;¹ secondly, because whereas there is *no terminating* epoch of historic note to suit the commencing epoch of *Cyrus'* conquest of Babylon,² there is, as we shall presently see, *a very marked terminating epoch* to suit the commencing epoch of *Xerxes'* triumphant progress into Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.—The circumstance of the final catastrophe of his armament and expedition is no more an objection to our selecting it as a most notable epoch of Persian greatness and supremacy, than the final catastrophe of Napoleon's Russian expedition in the snows of Moscovy, to our selecting the year of the assemblage of that mighty anti-Russian armament, and homage done to him by the princes of Christendom at Dresden, when he passed onwards to conduct it, as the most notable epoch of Napoleon's greatness.³—That it is not a mere selection made *ex post facto* simply to answer that which later history has suggested to my mind as the terminating

¹ Dan. xi. 2: "And now I will show thee the truth. Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia: and the *fourth* shall be *far richer* than they all: and *by his strength, through his riches*, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." Theodoret notes the epoch. See my p. 377 Note ³, *supra*.

Herodotus (vii. 1) uses the word *εσθερο* of the *stir* in Asia on this occasion. And Bishop Thirlwall in his History of Greece, taking up the word, writes; "For three years all Asia was kept in a constant stir," with reference to the three last years of Darius; and, with reference to the four first of Xerxes following, "For four years more Asia was still kept in restless turmoil:" so illustrating unconsciously, in both the one clause and the other, Daniel's prophecy.—On the extraordinary exhibition of Persian greatness and riches in the expedition Herodotus' account must be consulted. In the Council held on his accession, Herodotus mentions (vii. 8) that Xerxes avowed it as his object in the Greek expedition, to march through Europe, and reduce the whole earth under his empire. "The Deity," he added, "impels me to it."

² Counting from 538-6 B.C. the 2300 years would expire in 1762-4 A.D.; a period marked by no event of importance, as regards either the breaking up of the Turkman power, or the cleansing of Greek Christendom from Mahomedism.

³ "Earthly state has never reached a prouder pinnacle, than when Napoleon in June 1812 gathered his army at Dresden,—that mighty host unequalled in all time,—and there received the homage of subject-kings." Arnold, Lect. on Mod. Hist. p. 177.

epoch of the 2300 years, will appear from this,—that Mr. Bicheno, writing in 1797, selected the same commencing epoch to the prophecy; and prognosticated accordingly that we might expect to see the cleansing of the sanctuary begun in the year 1819.¹ In this he calculated from Xerxes' starting from *Susa*, B. C. 481.² But it is evidently as fit to calculate from his starting from *Sardis*, and passage through Thrace and Macedonia, in the year following. In which case not 1819, but 1820, would be the terminating year of the 2300 years.—Thus then in one of these two years we might have inferred that the judicial infliction on the sanctuary and host of Greek Christendom would be withdrawn, and the breaking up begin very notably of the Turkman Moslem power: in other words, and to use another metaphor, that then *the drying up of its flood from the Euphrates* would have a commencement:—that same event that is the subject of the 6th Vial.

§ 2.—COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE DRYING UP OF THE TURKISH FLOOD FROM THE EUPHRATES.

So the year 1820 drew on, which seemed marked out in Daniel's ancient prophecy, as the destined epoch for the breaking up of the Turkman power, and drying up of its flood from the Euphrates.³—During the progress

¹ Signs of the Times, Third Part, p. 268. A Note on p. 252 mentions 1797 as the date of first publication. His view of the prophecy generally is that of Bishop Newton.

² The date is determined to 481 by a famous eclipse of the sun. See Dr. Hale's Chronology, Vol. iv. p. 140, 3rd Edition.

³ Compare on the figure Ezek. xxx. 12, "And I will make the rivers dry," said of the conquest of Egypt: also Isa. xlv. 27, "That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry thy rivers:"—the figure being taken from the overflowing Nile in the one case, the overflowing Euphrates in the other.

Tillinghast, a commentator who wrote 200 years ago, thus expounded the symbol in this Vial of the *Turks*. "By the river Euphrates we are to understand the Ottoman or Turkish empire. It is called *the great river* because of the multitude of people and nations therein. The people of all others accounted the greatest are the *Turks*; who therefore, and no other, are here to be understood; especially as the Euphrates in Apoc. ix, under the 6th Trumpet, by general consent of expositors has reference to the Turkish power."

of the revolutionary wars in Europe, which we have been lately reviewing, though not without an early sprinkling of the Vial, it had yet remained comparatively uninjured. For the French expedition of 1798, which conquered Egypt,¹ was soon expelled by the English under Abercrombie ;² and the political state of the Turkish empire became as before. And in 1802 a Christian commentator, musing on this prophecy, expressed his marvel as to the means by which the Vial was to take effect, and an empire, still so populous and mighty, to be wasted and dried up.³—So things continued in the main till the very beginning of 1820. “That year the Ottoman empire,” says the Annual Register for 1820, “found itself freed at once from foreign war and domestic rebellion.”⁴ But before the year ended how was the scene changed ; and what causes introduced of exhaustion and distress that have since then never ceased to operate !—I proceed to sketch them in brief ; abstracting almost entirely from Dr. Keith.

The first cause that so operated was *internal revolt and insurrection*. In the summer of 1820 Ali Pasha of Yanina asserted his independence : and by his revolt precipitated the *Greek insurrection*, which had been for some time silently preparing. In October the Greek islanders called in their merchant ships. In November the Suliot Greeks returned to their country from the Ionian islands, and joined the revolt, in alliance with Ali their former oppressor. In February 1821 Chourshid Pasha, of Tripolizza, having marched from thence against Yanina, leaving the Morea almost destitute of Turkish soldiers, the Moreote Greeks broke out into in-

¹ The dates were as follows. Jan. 1800 the expedition sailed : in July it took Alexandria : July 22 followed the battle of the Pyramids and capture of Cairo.

² A.D. 1801.

³ “By what means the Turkish empire shall be reduced to this helpless state (an empire formerly distinguished for its enthusiastic loyalty, ferocity, and valour, and which is even at this day as populous as any other upon the earth, the Chinese excepted), is not intimated in this verse, and will perhaps remain concealed till the events themselves shall remove the veil. However this is certain, that a very extraordinary disaffection in the people to the government must take place to fulfil the prophecy.” (i.e. of the 6th Vial.) Galloway on the Revelation, p. 258.

⁴ Keith, ii. 258.

surrection. This was early in April. The insurrection quickly extended to the Ægean isles, and districts of Northern Greece, Epirus, and Thessaly; while at the same time the standard of revolt was raised also in the trans-Danubian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. —Does the reader think me too particular in the dates? I have given them that he may more minutely compare what then occurred on this Greek rising against the *Turkman* domination, with what occurred just 2300 years before on the Greek rising against the *Persian*.¹ There is a striking parallel between the two; which to myself at least appears quite to deserve observation.

The progress and successful issue of the Greek insurrection is well known. An irruption of the Prince Royal of Persia into the Asiatic provinces of Turkey² in 1821 and 1822 favoured it. Moldavia and Wallachia were indeed reduced. But in the Morea the Greeks held the country, the Turks being shut up in the fortresses: and a Turkman army of 30,000, that entered to re-conquer it, having been destroyed in 1823 in detail,

1 B. C. 480.	A. D. 1820.
<p><i>Summer</i>.—Persians march against Greece to Thermopylæ. <i>Sept.</i> or <i>Oct.</i>—Battle of Salamis.</p>	<p>Ali Pasha revolts against the Sultan, and invites the Greeks to join him. <i>Summer</i>.—Turkish troops advance against him by Thermopylæ. <i>Sept.</i>—Siege of Yanina. <i>Oct.</i>—Greek islanders call in their ships. <i>Nov.</i>—Suliot Greeks raise the standard of insurrection.</p>
B. C. 479.	A. D. 1821.
<p><i>Spring</i>.—Revolt in Thrace against the Persians. <i>Sept.</i> or <i>Oct.</i>—Battle of Platæa, and deliverance of Greece.</p>	<p><i>April</i>.—General revolt of the Greeks in the Morea, Wallachia, and Moldavia. <i>Oct.</i> 5.—Capture of Tripolizza, and liberation of the Peloponnesus.</p>

² It was at the close of the summer of 1821 that the Prince Royal first advanced into Turkey, by way of Van on the Euphrates, as far as Bayazid; and the next summer again, nearly as far as Erzeroum, having defeated an opposing army of 50,000 Turks. In either case his further progress was stopped by the *cholera* breaking out fearfully in his army.

the freedom of the peninsula was nearly completed by the insurgents. By sea the islander Greeks emulated their ancestors of Salamis and Mycale; and, attended with almost uniform success, encountered and vanquished the superior Turkish and Egyptian fleets, especially in the battles of September 1824.¹—Meanwhile the sympathies of Western Christendom were awakened in behalf of their brother Christians struggling for independence; above all other the dreadful massacres made by the Turkish admiral in the conquest of Scio.² And just when at length the tide of success had been turned by the Egyptian armament of Ibrahim Pasha against them,³ and the Morea was again all but subjected by him, the united fleets of England, France, and Russia, (in contravention of all their usual principles of policy) interposed in their favour; attacked and destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleets in the battle of Navarino, Sept. 1827; and so both saved Greece, and, by destroying the Turkish fleet, prepared the way for other disasters quickly to follow on that devoted empire.

For,—not to dwell on the awful scene of the massacre of the Janizaries at Constantinople, whereby, in the vain hope of reforming and so resuscitating the Turkish military power, the Sultan swept away 30,000 of those troops whose ancestors had been to the Porte its chief arm of victory,⁴—I say, not to dwell on this, the scourge of the most disastrous *foreign war* was added *by its own infatuation* to all its other woes. “*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*” The Sultan appealed to the

¹ “In the engagements of the 16th, 18th, 26th, and 30th September the Turks are said to have lost twelve frigates, twenty brigs, and more than eighty transports.”—Annual Register for 1825.

² In 1822.

³ Ibrahim first landed in Greece, on the Sultan's requisition, in 1825.

⁴ July 16, 1826.—The Janizaries had revolted on the Sultan's attempting to force on them the Nizam Djedid, or new system of military discipline: on which they were surrounded in the square of the Etmeidan, massacred by discharges of grape-shot; and, on their retiring to their barracks, the barracks set on fire, and cannonading continued against them through the whole night following, until there remained no more victims or fuel for the one and the other. “The morning,” says Mr. Walsh, “presented a frightful scene of burning ruins slaked in blood;—a huge mass of mangled flesh and smoking ashes.” Walsh's Narrative quoted by Keith, ii. 265.

fanaticism of the Moslem population against Russia : and Russia, insulted, declared war.¹ From the Caucasian frontier of the Russian dominion in the *East*, Prince Paskewitch pressed on his victorious career to Erzeroum. In the *North* Count Diebitch, after a primary less successful campaign, in his second took the entrenched camp of Schumla on the Danube ; crossed the Balkan ; entered Adrianople ; and, in spite of the unfurling of the Prophet's banner against him, threatened the immediate investment of the Turkish capital. It was in many a mouth, (though incorrectly perhaps, as an application of the prophecy,²) " And tidings out of the North and out of the East shall trouble him." The ambassadors however interposed, and peace was made.—But it was a peace by the articles of which the drying up of the Euphratean Turkman flood greatly progressed. Freedom was secured by it from the Turkish yoke to the Christian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, under Russian protectorate ; the liberty of *Servia* also assured, and not a Turk suffered to cross the Danube. This was in October 1829.—Moreover, that same year a French army of 40,000, having landed on the African coast, and defeated an equal force of Turks and Arabs, took Algiers, converted the Turkish province into a colony of France, and so in that distant quarter also dried up another of the sources of the Turkish power.³

And then followed the *rebellion of the great Egyptian Pasha*, Mehemet Ali. The French invasion of Egypt first prepared him for it ; as having taught him the superiority of European discipline, and led him to the formation of a regular army. Again, his co-operation in the re-subjugation of Greece, to which the Sultan had commissioned him, helped forward the issue. For, though unsuccessful in its primary object, through the intervention of the great Christian powers, the war

¹ April 1828.

² Dan. xi. 44.—I shall in the next Part of my Work, " On things future," not omit to refer to, and give my exposition of, this prophecy.

³ Keith, ii. 266—270.

served both to exercise and discipline his army, and also to show its superiority to the less regular troops of the Sultan. Thus, very soon after the Russian war had ended, the Pasha asserted his independence; attacked and conquered Syria; and defeated the Sultan's armies sent against him in three great battles, of Hems, of Nezib, and of Iconium.¹—The interference of the ambassadors of Christendom was again successful in warding off the danger, and preventing the victorious army from marching on Constantinople:—in which case resistance seemed hopeless, and the Turkish empire in all probability must have fallen. And at length, as we have lately seen, England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria,—weary of the state of suspense and peril to the European balance of power, arising from the war between the Sultan and his revolted vassal,—interposed with their own armaments in the Sultan's favour; drove the Egyptians out of Syria, took Acre, and forced back the Pasha within his proper Pashalic.²—Yet Egypt, though now again nominally dependent on the Turkish Sultan, remains conscious as before of the strength of independence, and yields but a nominal allegiance. The Euphratean flood, which three centuries ago overflowed Egypt,³ has there too been drying up.

Once more, there were manifested from time to time very strikingly, during this period, the *depopulating judgments of God himself*. Depopulation had indeed been long silently going on in the empire, from the Turkish anti-social habits of vice and polygamy, and their political oppression and misrule. But I speak now of other and additional causes; of *earthquake, famine, and pestilence*.—In 1822 happened the great Syrian *earthquake*, in which the walls of Aleppo the Syrian capital were thrown down, and 14,000 buried in the ruins: and at

¹ The dates thus. A.D. 1832, June 7, war declared by Sultan Mahmoud against Mehemet Ali: June 25, defeat of Turks in the battle of Hazib, or Hems, near Aleppo; 1833, January, defeat of Turks at Iconium.

² In the autumn of 1840.

³ Dan. xi. 40, 42: "He shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over;—and the land of Egypt shall not escape."

Antioch, and other towns and villages in the province, the sufferings and loss of life were in proportion.¹—About the same time the *cholera* broke out at Bussora, and carried off some 16,000 persons,—near a fourth of its population : then, ascending the Tigris to Bagdad, swept away, it is said, one-third of *its* inhabitants : and then advanced into Asia Minor and Egypt, with a similarly fearful mortality everywhere attending it.²—The *plague* at the same time was taking its usual part in the wasting of the Turkish population ; and, besides it, other extraordinary and mysterious epidemics. From the cities of Mecca and Bagdad, more especially, the cry was heard of desolation. In the Bombay Gazette of August 1831, the report is given that *Mecca and Medina* had been completely depopulated by a dreadful disease, of which the nature was unknown ; that it broke out in the May preceding, when the Mussulman pilgrims were collected at Mecca ; that 50,000 had been carried off by it, and among them the Governor of the Holy City.³—Yet more, from *Bagdad*, the city of Seleucus and of the Caliphs,—there were the Turk received his commission, and whence he issued, on his course of destruction against apostatized Christendom,—the missionaries Groves, Parnell and Kitto, then resident in it on their self-denying mission of love, wrote this sad and affecting story. “The commission of the destroying angel has been awfully severe. Fifty thousand have perished by the *plague*. To the horrors of disease has been added the desolation of a *flood*. Part of the inhabitants attempted to escape into the country : but they were arrested by a sudden inundation of the Tigris, by which numbers perished ; and the rest were driven back into the city. The plague had scarce ceased, and the waters subsided, when troops arrived in the name of the Sultan to depose the Pasha ; and *fierce and bloody contests* succeeded. Surely every principle of desolation is operating :—*plagues, earthquakes, and civil wars*. The Pasha’s palace is left open, without a soul to take care of any thing : his stud

¹ Keith, 261.² *Ibid.* 273.³ *Ibid.* 275.

of beautiful Arab horses are running about the streets. Enquire what you will, the answer is, The city is desolate."¹—With regard even to *Constantinople*, the glorious capital of the Ottoman Empire, the Chaplain of the British Embassy, resident there during the period referred to, from 1821 to 1831, thus writes. "Within the last twenty years Constantinople has lost more than half its population. Two conflagrations happened while I was in Constantinople, and destroyed 15,000 houses. The Russian and Greek wars were a constant drain on the Janizaries of the capital. The silent operation of the plague is continually active, though not always alarming. It will be no exaggeration to say, that within the period mentioned, from 300,000 to 400,000 have been prematurely swept away in this one city in Europe, by causes which were not operating in any other,—*conflagration, pestilence, and civil commotions.*"²

On the whole, it must strike even the most careless observer, that from the epoch of the year 1820 the exhaustion of the Turkish power, and drying up of the flood with which for 300 years and more it had inundated half Christendom, has been going on with a rapidity beyond what any sober mind could à priori have anticipated:—Moldavia, Wallachia, Greece, Algiers, all having now emerged from it as Christian principalities or provinces, and the Christian (professedly Christian) population in them become again dominant.—Nor has the drying up yet ceased. East and West, North and South, rebellions of pashas and insurrections of people are rife; and every where the process of internal decay and depopulation goes on. The Persian and Kurd from the East, and the Russian from the North, look on, and mark the process. It is evident that nothing supports what remains of the once mighty power of Turkey, but the policy of the Princes of Christendom.³—Its end seems so near that more than one prophetic expositor⁴

¹ Keith, 274.

² Ibid. 272.

³ Mahomedan power has also been manifestly drying up in other countries, as in Persia, Bokhara, and Afghanistan.

⁴ E. g. Mr. Habershon, in his last Publication on the Apocalypse.

has speculated on the calculation and dating of “*the hour, month, day and year*” of Apocalyptic prophecy, from the taking of Constantinople, as if intended to mark the appointed time for the Turks *retaining* their capital and their empire: and, agreeably with this calculation, have fixed on 1844 as the year of their fall.—I feel well convinced that the interpretation of the period given in an earlier part of this work¹ is correct. Yet it is not impossible but that the period may have been worded in mystic phraseology, so as it is, in order to allow of a double interpretation; ² and that it may express as well the time *during* which, as the time *within* which, the Turk was to hold the empire and city of Constantine. If so, taking the year in the chronological formula to mean 365 years, as before,³ the fated epoch of the fall of the Turkish Empire, and total drying up of its flood from off the territory of Greek Christendom, will be not indeed 1844, but 1849:—a date 396 years from the Turks taking Constantinople, as the latter event was 396 years from the Turks first issuing forth against Christendom from Bagdad.—This however is but conjecture. Whether true or not will soon be seen.⁴

But who the **KINGS FROM THE EAST**, whose way is to be prepared by this drying up of the symbolic overflow of the Euphrates? And what the nature and the object of their movement on the way thus prepared for them?

¹ See Vol. i. pp. 488—499.

² ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ἑραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἑνιαυτὸν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The *killing*, being a momentary act, cannot *properly* have subjoined to it a period of duration, expressive of the time *during* which the killing is to have effect. But exceptions occur, and in sentences somewhat though not exactly parallel with the present, to what I conceive the rule: e. g. in Luke xiii. 16; ἢν ἐδήσεν ὁ Σατάνης ἰδοὺ δεκά καὶ ὀκτὼ ἐτηῖ Satan hath bound, or *kept bound*, these eighteen years;—and again, Apoc. xx. 2; Καὶ ἐδήσεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἐτηῖ He bound him for (i. e. to *continue bound for*) one thousand years. The *eis* however is not in these passages.

³ See Vol. i. 493.
⁴ Since this was written, time itself (the year 1844 having ended without the fall of the Turkish empire) has shown the fallacy of Mr. Habershon's calculation. My own modified and conjectural suggestion as to the year 1849, still remains to be tested. [2nd Ed.]

—This is a question which, as having reference to events as yet unfulfilled and future, might seem rather to belong to the vith and last Part of my Work, than to that which we are now unfolding. Connected however as it is, and in but one brief clause, with the prediction of the sixth Vial, it may perhaps be as well not to pass it by: especially considering that it will not long detain us.

The reader is doubtless familiar with the predictive clause as one most generally explained of the *restoration of the Jews to their own land*, following on the decay and fall of the Turkish empire: ¹ an explanation to which the recent political changes, and present troubled aspect of things, in Syria and Palestine, must be allowed to have lent not only a new interest, but a greater probability. Yet I must confess that, though à priori inclined to the same view of the prophecy, and still almost wishing it to be the true one, I cannot on investigation find clear scripture warrant to support it. For, first, the Jews are no where represented by inspired prophecy to be so concentrated in eastern countries at the close of their dispersion, as to be a people gathered therefore emphatically from the *East*. Each point of the compass is depicted as alike at that time a locality of Jewish movement and emigration. “I will bring thy seed from the *East*, and gather thee from the *West*: I will say to the *North*, Give up, and to the *South*, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.” ² So Isaiah and other prophets describe it: ³ and the actual existing state of things agrees alone with this view of the case:—I refer to the predicted and wonderful fact of the universal dispersion of the Jews, still continuing, as before, in every quarter and country

¹ This explanation was, I believe, first broached by *Mede* and *Brightman*. *Bishop Newton* gives it as an alternative: “Whether by the Kings of the East be meant the *Jews* in particular, or any Eastern potentates in general.” *Mr. Cunningham*, the representative of one class of modern interpreters, inclines to the same explanation; *Mr. Burgh*, the representative of another, fully embraces it.

² Isa. xliii. 5, 6.

³ E. g. Psalm cvii. 3: “And gathered them out of the lands, from the East and from the West, and from the North, and from the South:” Isaiah xlix. 12; “Behold these shall come from far, and lo, these from the North and West, and

of the globe.—Again the Jews, at the time of their restoration, and on their way to, and first re-establishment in their own land, are not spoken of in prophecy as *kings*. Rather the contrary, “Go,” says the voice in Isaiah, “ye swift messengers to a *nation scattered and peeled, a nation meted out and trodden down:*”¹ and Zephaniah, “I will leave in the midst of thee an *afflicted and poor people*; and they shall trust in the name of the Lord.”² Nor does the circumstance of their *subsequent* superiority and religious eminence, under the millennial dispensation, (if such they are to enjoy,—a question for subsequent discussion,) seem to justify their being called kings, on this presumed mention of them, before even the restoration has begun. It is their Gentile gatherers and nursing-fathers distinctively that have the appellation of kings given them in prophecy, up to the time of the completion of the restoration of the Jewish people.³

Of other explanations of the clause, ancient and modern, there does not seem to me to be any one so probable *primâ facie* as to call for particular inquiry and discussion.⁴ I shall therefore at once proceed to state

these from the land of Sinim :” Zech. viii. 7 ; “Behold I will save my people from the East country, and from the West country ; and I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem :” &c. &c.

¹ Isa. xviii. 2. The prophecy is obscure ; but it is, I believe, usually explained as I have done. See especially Bishop Horsley’s full and learned Dissertation on it.

² Zeph. iii. 12.

³ “Thus saith the Lord ; I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried on their shoulders : and *kings* shall be thy nursing-fathers, and *their queens* thy nursing-mothers.” Isa. xlix. 22, 23.

⁴ Of the ancient fathers *Primasius* takes the clause as if written in the singular, *King from the East*, and explains it of Christ : “Ut præpararetur via venienti Regi ab oriente sole : id est Christo, (de quo legimus, “Ecce vir ; oriens nomen ejus,” *) venturo ad judicandum.” B.P.M. x. 324. *Andreas* interprets it of Kings coming from the East to take part, as actors and sufferers, in the slaughters of the great day of slaughter :—perhaps, he says, Gog and Magog from Scythia ; perhaps Antichrist out of Dan’s tribe from Eastern Persia. B. P. M. v. 618. And so too *Aretas*. Once more, *Ambrose Ansbert*, understanding the *Euphrates* mystically, as the river of the antichristian Babylon, † explains its *drying up* of

* Zech. iii. 8, Sept. “Behold the man *the Branch*,” is in the Septuagint, *ὁ δαλον μὲ ἀνατολῆν*.

† Mr. Jukes has published a Pamphlet in advocacy of the same solution, just as I am revising this passage for my 2nd Edition. But most strangely he takes no notice of the usual explanation of the *Euphratean Horsemen* of the 6th Trumpet as meant of the *Turks* ; which is the very foundation for the *Turkish* applica-

what I conceive may be inferred from the context to be its simple meaning. We have already seen that the *opening of the temple-gate*,¹ on the Apocalyptic scene, was one of the notable concomitants of the sounding of the seventh Trumpet; and explained it of the opening of the Church, (the *Reformed Church*, it is to be observed,²) and discovery to the world of the holy mysteries, and divine tutelary presence, which its *ark* symbolized. Further we read, in a passage which will form the chief subject of our following Chapter, of a song of certain of God's faithful servants, chronologically coincident with the outpouring of the Vials, one clause of which thus anticipates the coming future: "For all nations shall come and worship Thee; for thy judgments

the diminution of that Babylon's power; and the *Kings of the East of Christian preachers*, commissioned from Christ the Sun of Righteousness, for whom an opening is thus made; and who are called *kings*, from their zeal in ruling both themselves and the Church. B. P. M. xiii. 580.—Of the moderns, *Vitringa* (some-what like Ansbertus), preferring to understand the Euphrates *mystically*, applies it to *France*, as the greatest kingdom of the New Testament Babylon, or *Pope-dom*; by whose drying up a way, he thinks, would be made for the advance of kings illuminated by the light of the Gospel.—*Daubuz* makes them the *Turks*: who, having got dominion within the precincts of the corrupted Church, and pulled down the Greek monarchy, have so been enabled "to torment the worshippers of the Beast."—And just of late one work has been published which explains them of the *East India Company*, as the greatest present Potentate in the East; and another of *Nestorian Christians* in Kurdistan, the descendants, Dr. Asahel Grant thinks, of the ten tribes.

¹ Ἦρασμα ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς μαρτυρίας. The word *naos*, or *temple*, is sometimes used more largely of the *whole* temple, including the altar-court; as xi. 1, 2, "Measure the temple and the altar, and them that worship in it, but the court that is without the temple, (i. e. the Gentile court) cast out:"—sometimes more strictly of the Holy Place, or Holy of Holies. It is I conceive in the *larger* sense that the word is here used; and so the opening of the temple intended to designate the opening of its doors in the wall of the altar-court; according to the well-known Jewish custom.—See the illustrative quotations from Scripture, Note ¹, p. 287; and add to those quoted on the *literal* opening of the Jewish temple-doors, 1 Sam. iii. 15, "Samuel lay till morning, and opened the doors of the house of the Lord." Which door, I conceive, was the *door of the court*; as Samuel was a Levite only, and might not enter the Holy Place. It is elsewhere called frequently the *door of the tabernacle* of the congregation; as Lev. viii. 33, &c. Exod. xxvii. 16.—"The hanging for the door of the tent," (Exod. xxvi. 36,) which separated between the court and the Holy Place, was distinct.

² The temple (*naos*) was spoken of previously (xi. 2.) as solemnly reformed: and its Paganized outer court, being then cast out by St. John under Divine direction, seems thenceforth no more to have been recognized in the Apocalyptic visions as a part of the *naos*.

tion of the *Euphratean Flood* in this 6th Vial. He seems too to have forgotten that Papal Rome is not only the mystic *Babylon*, but the mystic *Sodom* and *Egypt* also: in which last view it is chiefly regarded during the five first *Vial-plagues*; these being like the plagues of Egypt.

have been made manifest." With these their anticipations as to the conversion of the heathen world to Christianity, and the confluence of its princes and people to worship in the Christian temple, all prophecy agrees. "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts: yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him."¹ Who does not recal a hundred predictions of similar import?—Now it is almost needless to say that *Mahommedism*, reigning and supreme, has been the most formidable obstruction to the Christianization of the *Eastern world*: that is, in the symbolic phraseology of the Apocalypse, to its entering within the opened gates of the Temple, and worshipping:—or, again, that the *Turkish power* has been the greatest bulwark to the Mahomedan religion. By its law it was death to a Mussulman to apostatize from his faith, and become Christian; and examples not a few, even in recent times, have occurred to illustrate it.² What then so signal a removal of obstructions to the conversion of the East as the drying up of the flood of the Turkman host? ³ What so notable a preparation of the way for princes and peoples from the East to come and worship? ⁴

¹ Psalm lxxii. 10, 11.

² A case was brought under the author's own observation, while in Greece before the Greek Revolution, of a Mussulman (once a Christian) on conviction of the truth of Christianity, preparing to make the public confession of his faith, and to suffer martyrdom. A little after, as a friend and fellow-traveller was passing by the great square of Smyrna, the head of one who had made the confession, and could not be induced by the Cadhi to retract it, was rolled, all bleeding from the block of execution, before the feet of his horse.—Doubtless many of the readers of this Work will remember the similar case of the Arabian *Abdallah*, so touchingly and beautifully related in Dr. Buchanan's "Star in the East:" when, as *Sabat*, his former friend but betrayer, described it, "All Bokhara seemed to say, What new thing is this?"

³ The Sultan's repeal, March 1844, in favour of *Christian apostates*, of the law referred to, the result of conscious weakness before the Christian powers, has furnished a striking illustration of my remarks, since my first Edition.

⁴ Since the above was sketched out I have seen a very similar explanation both of the *opening of the symbolic temple* in the Apocalyptic scene, and of the *preparing of the way of the kings from the East*, in *Zegerus*, apud Critic. Sacr. Vol. ix. On the first he writes; "Per hoc significatur quòd verum et spirituale templum Dei, apertis mysteriis, toto mundo cœperit reserari et ostendi; ut Dominus à cunctis possit gentibus adorari." On the second; "Significatur apertam esse viam omnibus liberè currendi ad Christum." The *occasion*, however, supposed by Zeger to be represented, is that of the opening of the Gospel to Gentiles, as well as Jews, in the apostolic times.

Such seems a sufficient explanation of the clause. Whether the *Jew* may not have part, and (if so) what and when, in the movement, will be a question for subsequent discussion.¹ There are other prophecies that strongly point to such an issue. And if the phrase, “*kings from the East,*” be meant in the simply figurative sense of *light-bearing*, (as possibly it may,²) then the present prophecy may apply to them also.—But, in that case, can other light-bearing kings (noted Apoc. xx. 4) be past over ?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OPENING TO VIEW OF THE REFORMED CHURCH, AND MISSIONARY ACTS AND ANTICIPATIONS OF THE FAITHFUL IN IT, DURING THE VIALS' OUTPOURING.

“ And there were great voices in heaven ” (on the seventh Angel's sounding) “ saying, The sovereignty³ of the world hath become our Lord's and his Christ's, and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the temple of God was opened in heaven; and there was seen the ark of his covenant in the temple.” Apoc. xi. 15, 19.—“ And I saw another Angel flying in mid-heaven; having the everlasting gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth,⁴ and unto every nation and kindred and tongue and people: saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to Him; for the hour of his judgment⁵ is come: and worship Him that made heaven and earth, and sea and the fountains of waters.” Apoc. xiv. 6, 7.—“ And I saw another sign in heaven great and marvellous; seven

¹ In my viith Part.

² So Apoc. vii. 2; where however, being said of an Angel rising from the eastern sky, the phrase might more naturally be so taken. So that the objection (on which see also *Horsley* on Isa. xi. 11, and *Jerome* quoted by him) can scarcely be considered obviated: while that from the appellative *kings* remains, as before.

³ Ἡ βασιλεια. So Griesbach and Tregelles.

⁴ This is alike the meaning of the τὰς κατοικίας in the received text, and τὰς καθημενὰς, as read by Griesbach and Tregelles.

angels having the last plagues ; for in them is filled up the wrath of God. And I saw as it were a glassy sea,¹ mixed with fire ; and those that were victors over the Beast,² and his image, and the number of his name, standing on (or *by*)³ the glassy sea, having harps of God. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb : saying, Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord God Almighty : true and just are thy ways, thou King of the nations :⁴ who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name ? For thou only art holy : for all the nations shall come, and shall worship before thee : for thy judgments⁵ have been made manifest.—And after these things I beheld, and the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened. And the seven angels went forth that had the seven plagues. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of the Lord.” Apoc. xv. 1—6.

§ 1.—THE TRIPLE PREFIGURATIONS RESPECTING
CHRIST'S TRUE CHURCH DURING THE VIALS.

Such are the three passages which prefigured the continuance, state, and actings of Christ's true Church and servants during the period of the seventh Trumpet : for it was not possible, with God's own assured safeguard round them, that these should fail or be destroyed during its judgments, any more than during the Beast's 1260 years before it. Their mutual chronological parallelism, as all alike connected with the seventh Trumpet, has been already briefly shown in my Introductory Remarks prefixed to this vth Part : and the general intent of the words and symbols in the *two former* of them seems (as also before briefly noted) sufficiently clear. It is only the *third* that need cause us any considerable doubt or difficulty.

¹ ὡς θαλασσαν δαλινην' not δαλα, of glass.

² τας νικωντας εκ τῆ θηρις' a phrase observed on afterwards.

³ ἐπι την θαλασσαν' observed on afterwards.

⁴ ἁθρων. So the MSS of highest authority, not ἄγιων.

⁵ τα δικαιωματα σε, not αἱ κρισεις.

Let us then glance briefly at the two first; then pause in more lengthened consideration on the third and last.

I. In the one then *first* cited we read that, on the seventh Trumpet's sounding, voices loud and joyful were heard by St John in heaven, (the firmamental political heaven apparently,) ¹ anticipating the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth, as even then near its accomplishment: also that thereupon the very significant figuration was enacted before him of the temple (the same out of which St. John himself, in his representative character, had a little before ejected the outer-court worshippers as heathens) opening wide its entrance-gates; just as if in invitation of, and preparation for, the entrance of worshippers: the ark of the covenant within becoming at the same time an object generally recognizable from without ² on the Apocalyptic scene. A symbol this which (as before said) ³ seems only explicable of the fact of the Reformed Protestant Church opening wide its gates, so as never before, in invitation to the multitudes without its pale; and with signs concomitant very striking and manifest of God's truth and presence resting within it, at once its characteristic and its defence.⁴

II, Then, turning to the *second* passage in Apoc. xiv. 6, 7, its figuration did but extend and illustrate that contained in the first. It occurred, as we have seen, in the *supplementary* series, *without written*; but the statement made in it, of "the hour of God's judgment having come," identified its chronology with that of the seventh Trumpet's sounding: ⁵—a chronology affixed to it more-

¹ See p. 284, Note ⁴, *suprà*.

² St. John himself seems always to have been in sight of the ark.

³ See Note ¹, p. 287, and also p. 407, *suprà*.

⁴ See Notes ², ³, p. 287. I have observed in the Note ² referred to, that the manifestation of God's glory covering the tabernacle was in defence of his servants Moses and Aaron, as well as in judgment against their enemies—Compare Isa. iv. 5: "The Lord will create on every dwelling-place of Mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for upon all the glory shall be a defence." ⁵ See p. 278.

over by its very position in the prophecy; placed as it was between, on the one hand, the notice of the insulation in spirit of the Lamb's true Church of the 144,000, even after the loud symphony of princes and people with it in the new song of the Reformation,¹ and on the other, the vision of the second flying Angel, announcing the immediately impending fall of the Apocalyptic Babylon.² And what its figuration? It was that of an Angel flying through mid-heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach both to them that dwelt on the Apocalyptic earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people; a symbolic vision of which the intent seems abundantly too plain to be mistaken. It symbolized surely some remarkable æra of evangelic missions and gospel-preaching. Not one, observe, of missions and preaching of merely *so called* Christian doctrine, but of the *real gospel*:—the *absence of the Article* in the original before the word *εὐαγγέλιον* indicating perhaps that it was an actual *Book of the gospel*,³ or *New Testament*, that the Angel bore in hand to preach; and the epithet *everlasting*, its having been preserved by Providence through all the darkness, irreligion, and hostility of past ages. Not one, observe again, of gospel-preaching confined, so as was the commission before given to St. John, when figuring the leaders of the Reformation in his symbolic character, "Thou must prophecy before *many* kings and nations;"⁴ but one *universal*, to "*every* nation and kindred and tongue and people under heaven:" the Angel's *flying* on the commission, indicating further probably its rapid accomplishment. As to the tenor of the visionary Angel's address, it signified a mixture in the prefigured preaching of solemn warning and appeal, with the persuasions and invitations of the gospel; as in reference not only to the fact of God's judgments being on the earth,

¹ Apoc. xiv. 3. See my Chapter x, Part iv, *suprà*

² Apoc. xiv. 8.

³ Bishop Middleton *ad loc.* remarks that our translators, in saying "*the everlasting Gospel*," have said more than the original; which is simply *εχοντα εὐαγγέλιον αἰωνιον*. Compare the inarthrous use of *βιβλιον*, when signifying a volume, Luke iv. 17; *ερεδοθη αυτη βιβλιον Ησαια τε προφητα*: also 2 Kings xxii. 8; *βιβλιον τε νομα ευρον εν οικη Κυριου*. And so too *βιβλιαριδιον*, Apoc. x. 2.

⁴ Apoc. x. 11. See my Vol. ii. p. 171.

but to that also of the time of heathen ignorance that God winked at having passed away, and of his now at length entering into controversy with the nations.¹—So was the whole vision one in strictest harmony with, and most illustrative of, the emblematic vision of the opened temple previously exhibited; for it was a voice telling that God's gospel-church was open to them, and urging all to enter.

III. There remains to be considered the *third* figuration in the extracts at the head of the present Chapter:—a figuration with which the Apocalyptic series *within written*, on resuming its interrupted symbolization of the seventh Trumpet's development and the temple's opening in heaven, recommences. And here I must at once confess, that while enough seems clear to show the harmony with the two other figurations of the view that it presents of the feelings and actings of God's faithful ones, (antithetically to the Beast's adherents,) during the progress of the outpouring of the seventh Trumpet's seven vials,—yet in one of the details, and this too one among the most prominent, there appears to me so much of ambiguity that I feel constrained to offer a double solution. The analysis of a vision that involves such difficulties must be made of course with double care,² and will necessarily detain us some little time.

“And I saw another sign in heaven, seven angels having the seven last plagues. And I saw as it were a glassy sea mingled with fire, and those that were victors over the Beast and over his image standing on (or *by*)

¹ So Acts xvii. 30; “The times of that ignorance God winked at: but now God commandeth every man everywhere to repent; for He hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness:” said on the first preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

² The rather because many commentators, as it seems to me, have very much frittered away its prophetic meaning and value. I allude both to those interpreters who have explained the harpers of the vision as the *separate spirits of the faithful in Paradise*, and those who have explained them of the *saints translated at Christ's coming*;—which saints indeed, mixing instantly after translation with the *risen saints*, (1 Thess. iv. 16, 17: 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52,) could scarcely be represented alone, and as a distinct body. Interpreted in either of these ways the vision has no force as a prefiguration and living portraiture of the true Church of God, at the particular time referred to, on the scene of Christendom.

the glassy sea,¹ having harps of God. And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb: saying, Great and marvellous are thy works," &c.—In this the particulars to be considered are *the harpers themselves*,—the *glassy sea* (or that which appeared like one) *mixed with fire*,—and *the song sung by them on (or by) it*, viz. "*the song of Moses, and the song of the Lamb.*"

1. With regard then to *the harpers*, two things are to be observed in the descriptive sketch given.—The *first* is that they are spoken of, *not* in the *past* participle, *τοῖς νεικηκότας* *those that had conquered* the Beast, so as our authorized translation has rendered it; but in the *present* participle, *τοῖς νικῶντας*, as if *those that were conquering*, or *the then conquerors*: in other words faithful and successful opponents of the Beast, *alive at the time* on the earthly scene of action; and not (as some expositors have explained it²) the *departed spirits* in Paradise of such as had been *previously* faithful in conflict with the Beast, through their several by-gone generations. For though the phrase *ὁ νικῶν*, or *οἱ νικῶντες*, in the present participle, is used of victors in the *abstract*, in *general statements* made respecting them,³—including those of *past* time, as well as *present* and *future*,—and sometimes of *antecedent* victors distinctively and alone, while the victory is yet recent, and the victors looked on or spoken

¹ *θαλασσαν ὀψιννῆν*. The authorized rendering "*a sea of glass*," with the substantive, might mislead, as if meant of *artificial glass*. So Matthew Henry, on Exod. xv. calls it "*a sea of glasses*:" and Mede too, on Apoc. iv. 6, strangely refers to what is said Exod. xxxviii. 8 of the *laver* being made "*of the women's looking-glasses*," as explanatory of the Apocalyptic *sea of glass*: though notoriously, these mirrors were of *brass*, not *ἄλας*, or *glass*; and so the *laver* a *brazen laver*.

² E. g. Daubuz, Cuninghame, &c.
³ As by our Lord in speaking of the rewards laid up for saints that continued faithful unto death; *Τῶ νικῶντι ἴδωσα αὐτὸ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς* Apoc. ii. 7: and again Apoc. xxi. 7, *Ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει πάντα* where indeed the word, being used of a victory partially begun in life, and to be perfected in death, has very much of a *future* signification.—In the same *general* way the phrase is used by Pindar, Olymp. i. 158, &c.

*Ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίωτον.
Ἐχει μάλιστασσαν εὐδαν.*

And Euripides Alcestis 1048,

Τὰ κῆφα τοῖς νικῶσι &c.

of as on the scene of their success,¹—yet I conceive that to use it distinctively, in retrospective view, of multitudinous victors of past days, who have in different and far distant ages fought and conquered, and this when seen on ground altogether removed from the scene of conflict, would be strange and most unusual.²—My inference is confirmed by other considerations. For the innermost temple of God's manifested presence seems (at least till the scenic change on the figuring of the millennium³) to have been the only locality wherewith the paradisiacal blessedness of departed saints was associated on the Apocalyptic scene: ⁴ a locality with which, as will presently appear, the glassy sea of the harper certainly comported not. And, besides this, it is contrary to Apocalyptic usage, in its *prophetic* visions, to speak of God's servants as victorious over an earthly enemy, except where victorious over him on the earthly scene, and before the world's eyes: ⁵—a case the direct reverse to that of the *earlier* of Christ's saints and witnesses in *their day and generation*. For of them it is expressly stated, *not* that they then conquered the Beast, *but* that the Beast conquered them: ⁶ and their *ultimate* predicted victory over the Beast upon this earthly scene, by the

¹ Somewhat as when the reporter in Euripides' *Electra* says, verse 762,
Νικωντ' Ορεσην πασιν αγγελω φιλας.

Though here we have not the article prefix, but a noun.

² Compare Apoc. xii. 11, Αυτοι επικησαν αυτον δια τον λογον της μαρτυριας αυτων, said *retrospectively* of the victory of faithful saints departed, in the *aurist*; and Apoc. iii. 21, Ως κηγω επικησα, said by Christ *retrospectively* of his victory in the earthly scene of conflict, also in the *aurist*.—In passages like 1 John v. 5, Τις εστιν ο νικων τον κοσμον; "Who is he that *overcometh* the world?" said in the *present* tense of *living* Christians, and their actual though as yet imperfect victory, a *continuous* and *progressive* course of victory is indicated; very much as in the text.

³ Apoc. xx. 4; "And I saw *thrones*, and they (the martyred saints, &c.) sat on them; and judgment was given to them." &c. Before this time *the throne* in the inner temple of the Apocalyptic scene had been the alone local source of rule and judgment. In the New Jerusalem there appeared *no temple* at all.

⁴ So in the palm-bearing vision, where the saved ones appeared to mingle with the Angels and twenty-four symbolic Presbyters before the throne. Apoc. vii. 9—15.

So in the song of Apoc. xii. 11, &c, "They *conquered* him by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony;" said of the Christian martyrs killed under Rome Pagan, not till after Christianity had established its supremacy in place of Paganism, through their instrumentality (it was supposed) in the Roman empire. See pp. 22—25 *suprà*.

⁶ Apoc. xiii. 7, xi. 7.

Beast's kingdom giving place to their Lord's kingdom, is declared in the very song of the harpers to be an event, at the time symbolized in the vision, yet future.¹

The *other* point to be observed in the description of the harpers, is the use of the preposition *εκ*, after the word *νικητας* spoken of them, and with the genitive following it; *τη νικητας εκ τω θηρι, και εκ της εικονος αυτο.* This is a phraseological form which Heinrich calls a *constructio pragnans*; and it implies not only *conquest over*, but *separation from*, the party conquered.²

So that on the whole it must have appeared, as I conceive, to St. John, that the party figured by the *harpers* were the living representatives, for the time being, of the protesters against the Beast, previously depicted as victoriously exalted to political elevation, in the face and to the terror of the Beast and his adherents: perhaps too in association with the tenth part of the city declared coincidentally to have fallen; that is, in its character of a constituent of the Beast's great city Babylon.³ For these were the only ones to whom victory over the Beast had been hitherto ascribed in the prophecy: and moreover it was the faithful ones of the body of these self-same politically ascended witnesses that seemed elsewhere described, in contradistinction to the Beast's followers, as both *followers of the Lamb*, and with *harps* of sacred song in use among them; songs which, however others might fail of it, they at least sang, it was intimated, not with the voice only, but the understanding also.³—Thus explained, the reader will not omit to remark the exact contrast in the Apocalyptic designation between the

¹ "For all nations *shall come* and worship before thee."—It is in Apoc. xix. 19, 20, some time after the outpouring of the last Vial, that the victory of the Lamb and his saints over the Beast is represented as taking place.

² I quote from Mr. Bloomfield's Note, in his Edition of the Greek Testament, upon the passage. "Heinrich has shown that by *νικητας εκ τω θηρι* is meant not *victorious over the Beast*, but *victorious after having escaped the power of the Beast*, by a *constructio pragnans* thus to be resolved; *νικητας* (for *νενικηκotas*); *τω θηρι, και σθεντας εξ αυτο.*"—Of course I do not agree with Mr. Bloomfield's explanation of the word *νικητας*, as a word tantamount to *νενικηκotas*: nor indeed does he offer any reasons to justify it.

Compare the expression *ε μετανοησαν εκ των εργα των χειρων αυτων*, Apoc. ix. 20 and xvi. 11, where there is the same idea of separation implied.

³ Apoc. xi. 11—13.

⁴ Apoc. xiv. 1—5.

parties subjected to the infliction of the Vial-plagues, and these, the exempted or saved one :—the one, living men that had the mark of the Beast, and worshipped his image, *τὸς ἐχόντας τὸ χαραγμὰ τοῦ θηρίου, καὶ τὸς τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ προσκυνῶντας*, in the *present participle*;¹ the other, living men that were victorious separatists from the Beast and his image, *τὸς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ*, in the *present participle* also.

2. In regard to what appeared “as it were a *glassy sea mingled with fire*,” *on (or by) which* these victorious separatists from the Beast appeared standing,—one thing seems almost clear, *if the present text be admitted* :—*viz.* that it was *not* the *glassy sea-like expanse before the throne*, described on the first opening of the Apocalyptic scene before St. John.² For, had this been the case, (not to insist on the specified difference of that being spoken of as *like crystal*, this *mingled with fire*, a difference that might indeed, we shall presently see, be accounted for from the context,) the *definite article* ought surely, on the present re-mention of the former, to have been prefixed to the word. For if the reader look to the cases where any one particular, originally specified as an object seen by St. John in the temple fore-ground of vision, is re-mentioned,—whether the *throne* itself, the *four living creatures* its supporters, the *twenty-four elders* attendant, or the *golden*, or the *brazen altar*,—he will find in every instance, without exception, that the *definite article* is thenceforward prefixed.³—Indeed the fact

¹ Apoc. xvi. 2.

² Καὶ ἐνωπιὸν τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὕαλινη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. Apoc. iv. 6. See on this Vol. i. p. 84.

³ The first mention of *θρόνος* occurs iv. 2, *Θρόνος ἐκεῖτο ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ* without the article; after which it occurs above twenty times, and uniformly with the article.—The first mention of the four *ζῶα* occurs iv. 6, without the article; *Καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου τεσσαρὰ ζῶα*: after which the expression occurs thirteen times, always with the article.*—The first mention of the twenty-four *πρεσβυτέρους* occurs iv. 4, without the article; *εἰκοσὶ τεσσαρὰς πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους*: † after

* In the second mention of *ζῶα*, which occurs in verse 8 of the same chapter, some copies read *ζῶα* without the article. But Scholz and Tregelles insert it: and I conceive there can be no question of this being the true reading.

† Our authorized version reads this passage *τοὺς εἰκοσὶ τεσσαρὰς πρεσβυτέρους*,

is, that even on the *first* mention of the more common and notorious *appurtenances of the old temple* in the Apocalyptic temple-scene, the article is prefixed, according to another well-known rule of grammar,¹ in consequence of the notoriety of the thing to a Jewish observer : e. g. in the case of the *brazen altar, golden altar, and outer or Gentile court.*² And hence a further inference, with regard to this *glassy sea mixed with fire*, about which we are now enquiring, (notwithstanding the contrary views of various modern expositors,³) that the *laver, or sea, of the old Jewish temple* (which indeed was *brazen not glassy,*) could not be *here* intended.⁴ This *glassy sea*, I say, would seem to have been something quite different, supposing we adhere to our present text. And, as the old Jewish Temple had no other well-known appurtenance, to which we might with the slightest plausibility refer it,⁵ it must be considered as some-

which the expression occurs eleven times, and always with the article.—On the altar of the Apocalyptic temple see the Note next but one following.

¹ See respecting these points Middleton on the Greek Article.

² The first mention of the *brazen altar* occurs in Apoc. vi. 9; "I saw souls *ἵποκατω του θυσιαστηριου,*" with the article prefixed: just as in Matt. v. 23 also, and in other Books of the New Testament.—The first mention of the *golden altar* occurs Apoc. viii. 3, *ἐπι το θυσιαστηριον το χρυσειον το εσθιον του θραου,* with the article.—And so, on the first and only mention of the *outer court* of the temple in Apoc. xi. 2, *την αυλην την εξωθεν του ναου εκβαλε εξω.*

³ E. g. *Mede, Cuninghame, Burgh, &c.*

Perhaps, of the *ancients, Victorinus and Primasius* so understood it. For the former, in explanation of the *sea* in Apoc. iv, writes; "Ante solium *mare vitreum donum baptismi;*" and on that in Apoc. xv, "Super mare vitreum; id est super *baptismum vivum,*" &c. And *Primasius*, on Apoc. xv; "Aquam baptismi, igne Spiritus consecratam, vel martyrio rubricatam." B. P. M. iii. 416, x. 522. They do not, however, actually refer to the brazen sea of Solomon.

⁴ The same argument applies to the *glassy sea as it were like crystal* before the throne, spoken of in Apoc. iv, and corroborates my reasoning there given. See my Vol. i. p. 84, Note 7, ad fin.—On the *first* mention of Solomon's making the *brazen sea* for his temple, (1 Kings vii. 23,) it is spoken of with the article prefix, either as being the representative of the old brazen laver of the tabernacle, or because of its notoriety as an appendage of the temple: *Και εποίησε την θαλασσαν χυτην.* Sept.

⁵ *Vitringa* indeed, though too well aware of the force of the omission of the article prefix to identify the *glassy sea* here mentioned with that described in Apoc. iv. as before the throne,—the which latter he had explained, in common with myself, of the firmamental cærulean expanse forming the basement of the divine throne,—yet interprets the one we are now considering as a *pavimentum similar* to the former, ("pavimentum pellucidum igneo transcussuum colore,") and with

with the article prefix, on this their *first* mention. But alike *Griesbach, Scholz, and Tregelles* reject the article.

thing that appeared to St. John altogether detached from, and unassociated with, the temple-scene in the foreground of vision.

And, if so, why not literally *some sea* depicted in vision :—some narrow sea, *markedly* like the *Red Sea*, that seemed to separate those harpers of the mystic Israel from the land of the mystic Egypt,¹ (the fated scene of the vial-plagues,²) just as the actual Red Sea separated between the literal Israel and literal Egypt, at the time when the Israelitish harpers sang the song of Moses ; and thus irresistibly recalling the scene, and suggesting the parallel, to the eye and mind of St. John ? For the 144,000, constituting the mystical true Israel, were not confined to any one locality in the visions of the Apocalyptic drama ; having been already seen at one time scattered over the Roman world, at another gathered together in what appeared as the Mount Zion.³ And, as to the figured *sea* by which they were now seen standing with their harps of God, what is said of its appearing in the vision “as it were *mingled with fire*,” constituted a resemblance in it to the Red Sea in a point certainly very characteristic.

Indeed it seems to me a thing really observable, (though hitherto unobserved,) that *this very appearance*, or something very similar, was both at the time of St. John, and for centuries before and after, spoken of popularly (so geographers and historians report to us) as a probable reason⁴ why the memorable ocean-gulf crossed by ancient

the added suggestion of its having been the *beautiful pavement*, with mystical significancy attached to it, of the *Apocalyptic temple-court*. But in this supposition he seems to me to borrow too much from imagination : not pretending to any historical authority, declarative of the existence of any such Jewish temple-pavement, in support of it.

¹ Apoc. xi. 8 ; “Which,” (i. e. the great City or State of the Beast,) “is spiritually called Sodom and *Egypt*.”

² The resemblance of many of the vial-plagues to the plagues on ancient Egypt has been before noticed by me ; following in this remark many previous expositors.

³ Apoc. vii. 4, xiv. 1. See my Vol. i. pp. 237, 238, and also p. 259 &c. of this Volume.

⁴ The other and juster reason, as I believe, (rightly explained) was that it derived its appellation from some king *Erythrus* (*red man*) whose territory lay along its shore : this *Erythrus* being *Edom*, a Hebrew word also signifying *red*. See a Treatise of *Fuller* on the *Red Sea*, in the *Critici Sacri*, Vol. ix. p. 1059,

Israel had that remarkable distinctive appellation attached to it alike by Greeks and Romans, of *the Red Sea*.¹ "It is asserted by some," says Agatharcides, (a writer of the age of the Ptolemies,²) "that the mountains west of the Arabian Gulf, as the fierce and fiery ray of the sun strikes on them, exhibit the appearance of *glowing coal red with fire*; and that the splendor, reflected on the sea, *dyes its water with a colour similar*."³ That an appearance of this nature might be produced by the fierce solar rays, striking or reflected on water, is illustrated by a well-known incident in the history of Jehoshaphat.⁴ And whatever the cause, the fact of an extraordinary glow and phosphorescence in the Red Sea waters, is one that has been a matter of modern as well

Appendix : from whom I chiefly borrow in the extracts following. Mr. Forster, in his Historical Geography of Arabia, gives this same explanation.

¹ I subjoin some extracts to this effect from three Greek and Roman geographers nearly of the time of St. John; viz. *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Pliny*.

1. *Strabo*.—*Ερυθραν φαρ λεγειν τινας την θαλασσαν απο της χροιαις της εμφανισης κατ' ανακλασιν, ειτε τε ηλιος κατα κορυφην οντος, ειτε απο των ορων ερυθραινομενων εκ της αποκαυσεως αμφοτερος γαρ εικαζειν*. Geogr. B. xvi.

On which passage I observe that Mr. Falconer, the Editor of the Oxford Edition of Strabo, observes thus accordantly: "Oceanum autem inter Sinum Arabicum et Persicum hoc nomine insigniverunt, ut videtur, fluctibus rubro coloris tinctis."

2. *Pomponius Mela*.—"Rubrum mare Græci, sive quia ejus coloris est, sive quia ibi Erythras regnavit, *ερυθραν θαλασσαν* appellant." De Situ Orbis, iii. 7.

3. *Pliny*.—"Aut a rege Frythra; aut (ut alii) solis repercussum talem reddi colorem existimantes; alii ab arenâ terrâque; alii à tali aquæ ipsius naturâ.

² He flourished under Ptolemy Philopator, about two centuries before the Christian æra, and wrote on the *Red Sea*. Fragments of his works have been preserved by Photius.

³ "Nonnullos narrare montes quidem ad occasum Sinûs Arabici, feriente eos acri igneque solis radio, carbonis candentis (h. e. igne rubentis) imaginem exhibere: arenæ vero cumulos subrubentes per litora, ortum versûs, ad multa stadia passim exstare. Igitur relucentem atque emicantem ex utrisque splendorem (*αυγη*) cùm in fretum incidit, simili continentis colore mare inficere videri. Alios autem perhibere solem ibi non, quemadmodum apud nos, claris et fulgentibus radiis maris aquas impetere, sed sanguinis speciem habentibus; quibus efficitur ut ipsum quoque mare sanguinei propemodum coloris similitudinem referat."

I quote the above from Fuller; who adds another extract from a Greek writer named Uranius, much to the same effect.

Let me add,—in proof that the old impression continued throughout *the middle ages*, as to the deep red colour of the waters of the Red Sea,—an extract from Honorius Augustodunensis, a writer of the 12th century, B. P. M. xx. 972, "Mare Rubrum de Oceano exit; sed roseum colorem de terrâ trahit: quæ tota sanguineo colore rubet, ac vicina littora inficit."

⁴ 2 Kings iii. 22; "And they (the Moabites) rose up early in the morning: and the sun shone upon the water: and the Moabites saw the water on the other side as red as blood."

as ancient observations.¹—But, to enter fully (as I conceive the matter) into the parallel, we must image to ourselves not so much the reported *usual* appearance of the Red Sea, but its undoubted appearance to Israel on the early dawn, after that night much to be remembered, when, emerged in safety from its waters, they looked back from the shore upon them, and prepared their harps to sing the song of Moses. Then the pillar of fire, which had through the live-long night separated between them and their enemies,² and shot forth its lightnings to trouble the host of the Egyptians,³ must be conceived to have risen upward, in movement towards its usual place before the camp of the host.⁴ And, as it slowly rose, what must have been the fixed and fiery glow, mingled ever and anon with the last lightning-flashings of divine wrath against Egypt, reflected on the *mirror-like sea* before the eyes of Israel:—that *still* and *glassy*⁵ sea, we may suppose it, as the East wind *from off shore*, which had been God's instrument for the separation of the waters,⁶ hushed; or ere, if other wind

¹ In a Note of the Editor of the Pictorial Bible on Exod. xiii. 18, I find it stated from Burkhardt that *red* coral abounds in the Gulf of Akaba, at the head of the Red Sea, *as *white* coral elsewhere: (from which coral, by the bye, Bishop Horsley, after Bruce, supposes the sea to have derived its Hebrew name of אִי־סוּם, the *weedy*, or rather *coral sea*): and the writer adds; "The far more than ordinary phosphorescence of its waters has been mentioned with peculiar admiration."—Both in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf the sails of the ships are, I have heard, at a distance of many miles from the shore, often covered with a yellowish red sand from the coast.

² Exod. xiv. 20, 24, "The cloud, placed in the rear, in the night presented a *line of fire* to the pursuers, which they durst not attempt to penetrate." Horsley, Bibl. Crit. on Ex. xiv. 20.

³ Psalm xviii. 14, 15; "He shot out lightnings, and discomfited them. Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord."

⁴ Exod. xiv. 19.

⁵ It is almost needless to remind the reader of the natural and frequent application of this epithet to the sea, alike in different languages: e.g. Hor. Carm. iv. 2, *vitreo daturus*

Nomina *ponto*.

⁶ Exod. xiv. 21. "And the Lord caused the sea to go back by a *strong east wind* all that night, and made the sea dry land."

* A fact noticed by Mr. G. Stephens also in his Incidents of Travel, ii. 17. "I was soon busily engaged (near Akaba) in packing up shells and coral. The coral lay scattered about in lavish profusion. Some of it was exceedingly beautiful. It was not the branch or rock coral; but a light porous substance resembling very much the honeycomb."

had risen,¹ the surge of the returning waters, that covered the host of Egypt, disturbed the still expanse beside them :—an illustration of the tranquillity of God's people, vouchsafed sometimes in this world, and ultimately assured to them in the world to come ; in contrast with the storm, destruction, and fiery indignation,² which God makes use of, with which to trouble and at length overwhelm his adversaries.³

Such is the best explanation, as it seems me, that we can give of "*the glassy sea mixed with fire*,"⁴ sup-

¹ It does not appear from the *historical report* that any fresh wind blew. For it says simply, "And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea ; and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared." Exod. xiv. 27. But the words in the *song* (Exod. xv. 10). "Thou didst blow with thy wind ; the sea covered them," seemed to imply as much.—As the *East wind* however blew "*all night*," a contrary wind could only just have begun when "the morning appeared," and Israel stood safe on the shore. ² Psalm xi. 6, Heb. x. 27.

³ May not the legend of this extraordinary red appearance of its waters have concurred with other more abiding phenomena, in perpetuating its name *Red Sea* ; somewhat as in the case of the name of the *Dead Sea* ?

⁴ I must not pass over altogether in silence another and very different meaning of the descriptive words "as it were a glassy sea mixed with fire ;" a meaning they might perhaps well bear, did they stand by themselves, or the context otherwise suit :—I mean that of the *molten lava flood from a volcano*. For geologists, in their narratives of observation on volcanic mountains and eruptions, use language very similar. So Sir W. Hamilton, in his description of *Vesuvius*, speaks of "the red-hot transparent liquid lava, and its splendid brightness." So Lord Byron, describing *Hawaii*, notes "how the molten lava came boiling up, and flowed down the sides of the cone in two beautiful streams, glittering with indescribable brilliancy ; at the same time that a lake of fire opened in a distant part which had all the agitation of an ocean, &c.:" and another describes, how "a vitreous stratum of ancient lava looked as if it had been suddenly petrified into glassy stone, the which might have been once a fiery sea of burning rocks, &c."* In Scripture too, as Horne observes, the figure is not unknown or unused.†—And the application of the figure of *lava* to the *overflow of French revolutionary fury* in desolating continental Europe, would be most fit. When it was said by some one, "I see a chasm in the place of France," it was I think Burke's answer, "It is the chasm of a volcano : " and Alison, i. 48, adopting the metaphor, says, that "it is beneath *this fiery torrent* that the world is now passing : " or, as the *Evening Mail* of March 24, 1845, speaking of M. Thiers' Book, has it, "The same *fiery elements* are tossing still beneath us." So too the *Quarterly Review*, No. 134. p. 398, speaks of it as the "*out-pouring of her burning lava*." But, to answer the Apocalyptic figuration's epithet *glassy*, does not lava in its cooled and vitrified state seem rather required, unless indeed the "mingled with fire" be thought sufficient to imply a state of fiery liquefac-

* See *Wonders of the World*, p. 10 : also Ferber the mineralogist's description of the lava-glasses of *Vesuvius*.

† Horne's *Introd.* Vol. iii. p. 69, &c.—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* B. xxxvi. 26, relates how the formation of artificial *glass* was discovered from the accidental *fiery fusion* of some nitre and sand, near Ptolemais, on the ancient confines of *Asher* and *Zabulon*. This was supposed by the Rabbins to be one of the "treasures hid in the sand," meant by Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 19, in the promise to *Zabulon*.

posing the absence of the article correct ; and the only one altogether consistent with the figuring, in the context of the pictured vision, of harpers standing by its shore, singing the song of Moses. And let me just add, that, supposing the Roman world to have appeared in miniature and living landscape before the Evangelist, (a point established to my own conviction,¹) then its *proper locality* must have attached to the sea-scene spoken of, (just as to the sea, land, and boundary rivers noted elsewhere,²) in the Apocalyptic landscape. And supposing further that the locality where the rainbow-vested Angel³ planted his right foot, when descending on his light-bearing mission to the Roman world, was marked as a sea-girt island in its north-west quarter,⁴ and perhaps too that the tenth of the city, which fell soon after, coincidentally with the witnesses' ascent, was some way associated in vision with the same insular locality,⁵—so as that Christ's servants should have appeared thenceforward specially attached thereto,—then the probability would be that the ocean-strait, which separated this island-tenth from what still remained of the mystical Egypt, or continental Anti-Christendom, was the sea which appeared to St. John in vision ; in aspect, and hue, and visible associations of destroying judgment and preserving mercy, so similar to the Red Sea of old.

But while I present this as the best solution I can think of that seems to satisfy alike the requirements of the present text, of grammatical rule, and of the notice of harpers singing the song of Moses, associated with the scene in action, yet I feel bound on fuller and renewed consideration to express my doubt whether, after all, the article may not have dropped out in the early copies,⁶ or some grammatical irregularity have been admitted, so as

tion ? Nor again would this so well suit the context of harpers *singing the song of Moses by the seaside*, in the foreground of the picture.

[The Author of the Literary History of the New Testament has, I see, at his p. 578 embraced this my alternative explanation of the figure. 2nd Edition.]

¹ See Vol. i. p. 99.

² See Vol. i. p. 329, &c.

³ Apoc. x. 1.

⁴ See Vol. ii. p. 102.

⁵ Ibid 427.

⁶ Among the various readings in the New Testament MSS. we find sometimes those that arise from the omission or insertion of the Article. So p. 417, Note *

that though inarthrous, the clause may yet be construed as if the article were present. The reason of my doubt is first and chiefly this, because, construing it as I have done above, the scene becomes one *detached* and *insulated* in a manner quite unusual in the Apocalyptic drama; ¹ secondly, because the phrase “having harps of God,” is one most naturally explicable of *temple-harpers*.² And, if this be allowed, then the *glassy sea* will be the same here as before; the new statement of its admixture with fire being accounted for by what is said of the smoke of the glory of God filling the temple during the vial outpouring: the fiery corruscations issuing from that glory being reflected on the glassy sea associated; and the place of the harpers on the margin both of the temple, and of the glassy sea touching it.—On this ambiguity the Reader must judge for himself.³

3. We have to consider *the song* (or *songs*) *sung by the harpers*, as they stood *on*, or rather *by*,⁴ “the glassy sea as it were mingled with fire:” viz. the *song of Moses* the servant of God, and the *song of the Lamb*. A passage the sense of which must be partly influenced by the solution of the *glassy sea*.

As to the *first*, if we take the former meaning of the *glassy sea*, whereas there are but two songs that bear the title of *songs of Moses* in Scripture, (the one recorded in Exod. xv,⁵ the other in Deut. xxxi,⁶) it will be the

¹ See Vol. i. 96—99.

² So as in the harpings of Apoc. xiv. 2. See p. 264, *suprà*.

³ [This last paragraph, and the opinion expressed in it, was not in my first Edition. It was not till revising my work for the second Edition that I observed how the descriptive statement “mixed with fire” might be accounted for in reference to the *original glassy sea of the inner temple*. Comp. Ezek. ix. 3; x. 1—4.]

⁴ So Apoc. iii. 20; *ἰδε ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν* “at, or by, the door:” v. 1; *ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν* “by the right hand:” viii. 3; *ἐσθθὴ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον* “at, or beside, the altar:” Numb. xxi. 4; *Ἀπαρτὸς ὁδὸν ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν ἑρυθρὰν* “by way of (or along) the Red Sea:” &c.

⁵ “Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the Lord,” &c. Exod. xv. 1. The concluding verse of the preceding Chapter designates Moses by the same title of *servant of the Lord* as here; “The people believed the Lord, and his servant Moses.”

⁶ Deut. xxxi. 30; “And Moses spake in the ears of all Israel the words of this song; Give ear, O heavens,” &c:—the subject of the song being God’s gracious choice of Israel to be his peculiar people, and a prophecy of Israel’s subsequent departure from him, and the plagues that they would so bring on themselves.

first alone that will accord with the associated *scene* and living *persons* in the text :—the *scene* that of the *Red Sea* ; the *persons* harpers, with harps devoted to God's praise,¹ standing on its shore : besides that the brief sketch that is given of the *subject-matter* of the song agrees completely, as we shall presently see, with this prototype, not with the other.—With regard to “*the song of the Lamb*,” the conjunction *καί* which connects it with the clause preceding, may be simply *exegetic*, in the sense of *even* :² so implying that the victors seen by St. John in emblematic vision, were members of the *spiritual* Israel, that had the *Lamb* for their leader, and sang the *gospel-songs* of his dispensation ; just as the *literal* Israel were under *Moses*' guidance, and sang the songs of *his* dispensation :—an evangelic application of the song almost presignified to the Jews, as it was sung each sabbath evening in their temple service, on the lamb's sacrifice.³ Or, *possibly*, the *καί* may be used in its common additive sense ; and signify that besides the song of *Moses*, sung by Israel after Pharaoh's overthrow in the Red Sea, these harpers sang also the song *of*, or *associated with*, the sacrifice of the *paschal lamb*. For a particular song was customary at the Passover ; viz. Psalm cxiv, and the three Psalms following, beginning “*When Israel came out of Egypt*,” &c. And it is sup-

¹ Daubuz uses the expression “*having harps of God*,” as an expression indicative of the heavenly or paradisiacal state of them that sang it. But the phrase is a well-known Hebraism, in signification either of the *excellence* of a thing, (as Psalm lxxx. 10, *cedars of God*, צִדְדִּים יְהוָה, Psalm lxxviii. 16, *mountains of God*, &c.) or of the thing *being devoted to God's service*, as in 1 Chron. xvi. 42, and 2 Chron. vii. 6, “*musical instruments of God*.”

It seems to me probable that a *special* and *real* devotion may be *here* intended by the phrase : as if in contrast with the harps of the vast multitude of mere formal harpers alluded to in Apoc. xiv. 2 ; representing (as has been shown) the earthly-minded multitudes of professing Protestantism. See p. 263—266 *suprà*.

² So Vitringa.—Schleusner gives, in illustration of this *exegetic* or *explanatory* meaning of *καί*, among others the examples following : Matt. xiii. 41, *Συλλεξω εκ της βασιλειας παντα τα σκανδαλα, και τους ποιουντας την ανομιαν* John x. 33 ; *Αλλα περι βλασφημιας, και οτι συ ανθρωπος ων ποιεις σεαυτον Θεον*.—In the Apocalypse we have, xiii. 12, *Ποιει την γην, και τους κατοικουντας εν αυτη* and xii. 12. *Ουρανοι, και οι σκηνηντες εν αυτοις*.

³ Bingham's *Antiquities*, xiii. 5, 4, from Lightfoot. He says that *Moses*' song, given us in Deut. xxxii was sung by the Levites in the sabbath *morning* service, and that of Exod. xv in the *evening* sabbath service.

posed that our Lord himself sang it with his disciples, just before leaving the table of the last passover for Gethsemane.¹—Practically there is no great difference of signification, whichever way we take the clause. For in either case the song has reference to Israel's deliverance as God's own chosen people, from the plagues of Egypt and power of Pharaoh.—It is to be observed that as in the original song of Exod. xv, so in the Apocalyptic song given in brief by St. John, a *reverential fear of God's majesty*, and *admiration of his excellency*, as revealed to them, as well as *gratitude for his goodness*, characterized the spirit of the harpers. And thus, for the *subject-matter* of their songs, they celebrate *first* his almighty power and acts, specially, it would seem, as illustrated in the overthrow of their enemies; *next*, his faithfulness and truth, specially as manifested in the ways of the Divine Providence towards them his redeemed ones, by the *King of nations*; *thirdly*, his inimitable holiness, in contrast with all other representations of God; even as the only Holy One. And then, finally,—judging their own wonderful preservation, and that of the revelation committed to them, just as in Israel's case, to be no isolated or inconsequent event,—they anticipate from it, and some cotemporary manifestation of God's righteousness and gospel-scheme of salvation,²—not, as the Israelitish harpers by the Red Sea, the assured establishment of his reign in Canaan only, but over the whole

¹ Ibid.

² Τα γὰρ δικαιώματα σου ἐφανερώθησαν. The word δικαιώματα is either used in the *forensic* sense of *justification*, as Rom. v. 16, 18, and probably Apoc. xix. 8; or, yet more frequently, of God's *ordinances* and *statutes*: not of his *judicial inflictions*. So Luke i. 6, Πορευόμενοι ἐν ταπεινῶν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι τοῦ Κυρίου Rom. ii. 26, Ἐὰν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τα δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσῃ Heb. ix. 1, Ἐίχε μὲν οὖν ἡ πρώτη σκηνὴ δικαιώματα λατρείας &c. In the *Septuagint* innumerable examples of the same kind occur; for which see Trommius. Neither in the New Testament, nor in the *Septuagint*, is there *one single example*, I believe, in which δικαιώματα is used (so as κρίσις Apoc. x. 19,) in the sense of *judicial inflictions and punishments*. See Schleusner in Voc.—Vitringa, p. 920, had recourse to the *Hebrew*, and not very successfully, to justify his here so explaining the *Greek Word*. On the words occurring Apoc. xix. 8, he gives it my explanation. See his p. 1098.

In the text I have given in paraphrase what I conceive to be the *evangelic*, and so the *Apocalyptic* sense of the word. Compare the observations at Vol. ii. p. 95.

world : yea, that "all nations shall come (come *speedily*, it is implied) and worship before Him."¹

Thus on the whole, as before intimated, this vision seems to have foreshown to St. John, that during the five first vials to be poured out on the mystic Egypt, or Papal Christendom, the faithful ones of Christ's true Protestant Church all safely preserved before the world, would join in songs of holy and glowing anticipations as to Christ's coming reign, such as never before :—a view well accordant with that of the other two parallel figurations of the same period considered before.

§ 2.—THE HISTORICAL FULFILMENT.

It remains to trace the FULFILMENT OF THE THREE VISIONS in the history of Christ's true Church and servants during the time of the judgments of the French Revolution.

It was *England*, we saw,—*insular England*, to which living Protestantism, and the 144,000 that alone understood its *new song*, seemed almost confined just before the time of that tremendous political outbreak.² And we also saw how lamentably, even there too, (as the result of a long century of declension,³) religion had fallen ;

¹ The reader will find it worth his while to compare parallel parts of Moses' song in Exodus with those in this brief Apocalyptic abstract : e. g. verses 2, 6, "The Lord is my strength and song : thy right hand is become glorious in power :"—verse 11, "Who is like thee among the gods, glorious in holiness, reverend in praises, doing wonders ?"—verses 13 and 17, 18 ; "Thou hast guided (or, *shalt guide*) them (the people which thou hast redeemed) unto thy holy habitation. . . . Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance ; in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever."

Also Exod. ix. 16, referred to Rom. ix. 17 ; "For this purpose have I raised thee (Pharaoh) up, that I might show my power in thee, and that *my name might be declared through all the earth.*"

² See p. 271 *supra*, and the chapter which it concludes.

³ In 1713 Bishop Burnet, in his Pastoral Charge stated "that most of those who came to be ordained were ignorant to a degree not to be apprehended by those who were not obliged to know it." In 1728 Bishop Gibson, in his Pastoral Letters, complained "that profaneness and impiety were grown bold and open." And Archbishop Secker's Charges, from 1738 to 1766, present a similarly melancholy picture of the spiritual condition of the kingdom during the whole of

though not indeed without some recent signs of improvement. What a *religious revival* then was needed in the nation, in order, (according to God's usual rule of judicial dispensation) to its escaping from the judgments directed against apostate Christendom ! What a new *missionary spirit*, in connection with such religious revival, and leavening in some measure of the popular mind with it, and perhaps too of the government ; in order to the accomplishment of missionary work on the scale figured or implied alike in the figuration of the opening of the Apocalyptic temple-gate, the vision of the Angel with the everlasting Gospel, and song of the harpers by the glassy sea ! What a concurrence, moreover, of other favouring circumstances ;—as of the supply of fit instrumentalities, moral and intellectual, the accomplishment of religious combination, and nationally not the mere political safety of England, but its colonial and maritime supremacy and aggrandizement !

It was all needed, and we know was all supplied. The revival of religion in England at the time of the French revolution,—its preservation and successful progress in maritime and colonial power, amidst dangers unprecedently great, which threatened its very existence,—and coincidentally, its outburst of missionary feeling, missionary action, and missionary anticipations and song,—are now among the best known, as well as most memorable historic facts, of the era spoken of. It was when the continental nations were agitated with the re-

that period. To which add Bishop Horsley's declaration (already given before p. 271, Note ¹) to the effect that during the larger half of the eighteenth century the preaching of the great majority of the *clergy* of the English Church had been "little better than a system of *heathen ethics*."

Bishops Porteus and Barrington, in Charges delivered during the first ten years of the French Revolutionary war, speak in similarly sad terms of the then *general* decay of religion in England. So Bishop Wilson has remarked, in his Preface to Wilberforce's *View*, p. xxxviii. And Mr. Wilberforce himself often mournfully laments over it; declaring it at one time (A.D. 1792) to be "practical atheism." *Life*, i. 107.—In fact, like Cowper, Mr. Wilberforce had prognosticated coming evil on England, in consequence of its prevalent ungodliness, before the French Revolutionary outbreak. Writing in 1785 he says: "I fancy I see storms arising, which will by and by overspread and blacken the whole face of heaven. It is not the confusion of parties, and their quarrelling in the House of Commons, which makes me despair of the Republic; but the universal corruption and profligacy of the times." *Ibid.* i. 84.

volutionary earthquake and storm, (to borrow again the Apocalyptic figurative phraseology,¹) agitated, as a living observer expressed it, "like poor Calabria,"²—when the infection of French democratic and infidel principles, having spread plague-like across the channel, threatened the outbreak (had not the virus met its counteracting antidote) of *ulcers noisome and sore* in the English body politic, just as in the French,³—when both the *sea*, with its European Papal colonies, and the *rivers* and kingdoms of the European continent were dyed with blood, its most ancient *thrones* subverted, and chiefest *lights* in its political heavens eclipsed or darkened,⁴—when the apparently irresistible power of France under Napoleon, having been the scourge and plague of the mystical Egypt,⁵ i.e. Papal Christendom, seemed ready to concentrate its efforts in all the bitterness of enmity against that chief nation, that, like Israel at Pihahiroth, had escaped out of it,⁶—it was during this awful period of the outpouring of God's vials of judgment, and when so imminent was the danger to England, that the cry of one of the most eminent prelates of the day, "Nothing but the interposition of heaven can save us,"⁷ was but the echo of the thoughts of them who

¹ Apoc. xi. 19.

² "What a world we live in! The nations are agitated like poor Calabria. When they will rest in quietness, He only knows, who knows all things." So *Mr. Hey* of Leeds; writing to *Mr. Wilberforce* about (as I infer) the year 1792. *Life of Wilberforce*, ii. 80.

³ It well deserves the notice of a prophetic student, how naturally and frequently this Apocalyptic symbol of the first Vial was applied by writers of the day, to any such outbreak in a political or social body of democratic infidel principles, as that in revolutionary France. So *Mr. Wilberforce*, speaking, though at a later era (A. D. 1812), of a temporary and limited outbreak of the kind among the operatives of the manufacturing body in Yorkshire, thus writes. "The state of the lower orders in the manufacturing districts is such as I can illustrate only by the figure of the *confluent small-pox* on a human body. It is breaking out all over." *Life*, iv. 36.—The Biographers again, in reference to the year 1792, observes: "At this time revolutionary France established affiliated societies in foreign nations, and threatened our own population with the infection of her *leprous touch*." *Ibid.* i. 342. And *Col. Creyke* (*Wilb. Correspondence*, ii. 63), and *Bishop Wilson* (*Preface to Wilberforce's View*, p. xxxii) liken the same to a *plague*. Compare my observations pp. 308, 309, 323, *supra*.

⁴ Apoc. xvi. 3, 4, 8, 10.

⁵ See my Note ³, p. 386. Vol. ii.

⁶ Luther in his *Table Talk*, ch. iv, spoke very naturally of the reforming leaders, as having through God's assistance brought the Protestants out of the bondage of the Roman Antichrist, even as Moses led Israel out of Egypt.

⁷ *Bishop Porteus*, writing A. D. 1793. *Life of H. More*, ii. 366. So again in 1795. *Ibid.* 456, &c.

knew the most,¹—and Pitt himself at one time confessed the commonwealth to be in extremity,² and at length died of a broken heart, in disappointment and almost despair for his country,³—it was even then that this religious revival, this wonderful outburst of missionary spirit and action, broke forth in our favoured land :—our land insulated by nature, and in its ecclesiastical constitution long before triumphantly separated, from the name, dominion, and connexion of the Beast and his Image ; i. e. the Popedom and its apostate Councils.⁴

There was one individual who was ordained by God above all others, in his distinguishing mercy to England to be the instrument of this religious revival in it, and so both its preserver (for is not righteousness the preservative of a nation ?) and its preparer also for the fulfilment of its high missionary destinies. It is interesting to contemplate the manner in which God fits his instruments for the work appointed them. We have marked this in the cases of AUGUSTINE and LUTHER.⁵ We may be permitted to mark it in the case of him we are now alluding to,—the late WILLIAM WILBERFORCE : for he too, though less exclusively indeed, was in a *religious* point of view, the *man of the age*.⁶—But how so ? His quick and varied powers of wit, memory, and in-

¹ So Wilberforce (Correspondence i. 273), writing in 1803 at the time of the threatened invasion : " Busy preparations, but too tardy, I fear, for the reception of our inveterate enemy. All who know any thing of the matter are alarmed, I find, in proportion to their knowledge."—A curious and interesting letter from Lord Stanhope, given in the same Volume, p. 107, and bearing date Dec. 1794, expresses alarm at the exceeding increase of the danger ; from the possibility (of which even at that early time he was fully persuaded) of the French making and using *steam-boats* for an invading force.

² This was at the time of the mutiny at the Nore. Mr. Wilberforce writes May 17, 1797, " Pitt and the others now convinced that things *in extremis*." Life, ii. 220.

³ " Poor Pitt, I almost believe, died of a broken heart. The love of his country burnt in him with as ardent a flame as ever warmed the human bosom ; and the accounts from the armies (after the battle of Austerlitz) struck a death's blow within." Life, iii. 251.—I quote continually from these memorials of the day, to bring the fearfulness of the epoch of the French Revolutionary wars, now almost forgotten, more vividly before the reader.

⁴ *ΤΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΤΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΘΗΡΙΟΥ, &c.*

⁵ See the Second Section of my Chapter on the Sealing, and Part iii. ch. 4. § 1.

⁶ So Lord Erskine ; " Wilberforce urged on the lingering progress of the human mind : " and his Biographers ; " Wilberforce was the centre of a great moral system, and gave an impulse to the age." Life v. 154, 232.

tellest, his native eloquence,¹ conversational charms, affectionate heart, and winning manners², as well as his parliamentary station, reputation as a patriot, and friendship with England's honoured Prime Minister of the day, though concurring to mark him out as one fitted to exercise more than common influence, at that fearful crisis of the Revolution, which broke out soon after his entrance into public life, were *by themselves alone* vain to the end I speak of. How inadequate all this, had he not experienced real *conversion of heart*, such as to lead him to consecrate the whole to God :—that conversion of heart and inward regeneration,³(the realization of the change symbolized and conditionally promised him, on entrance into the outwardly regenerate and spiritually privileged state of baptism,) to which he was himself wont to refer most solemnly ever after, as that which had been the turning-point of his life ;⁴ and whereby he

¹ Pitt said repeatedly, "Of all the men I ever knew, Wilberforce has the greatest natural eloquence." Life v. 241.

² "Mr. W.," was Mde. de Stael's declaration to Sir James Mackintosh, "is the best converser I have met with in this country. I have always heard he was the most religious ; I now find he is the wittiest man in England." Life, iv. 167. —At p. 158, her testimony is quoted from her work on the French Revolution, to his being "L'homme le plus aimé de toute l'Angleterre."

³ I here use the word *regeneration*, or being *born again*, in the sense in which St. Peter and St. John use the figure. "Being *born again* not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, *by the word of God*, which liveth and abideth for ever. —1 Peter i. 24. "Whatsoever is *born of God* overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even *our faith*." 1 John v. 4.

⁴ The account of this memorable change is given at pp. 76, 82, 87, 380 of the first volume of his life. The reading of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion* seems to have been the first means of its commencement ; the examination of the New Testament, with the light of God's Spirit opening its meaning to him, to have completed it. This was in his 26th year. His subsequent reference to it in his Diary and Letters is frequent.—In a most interesting letter to Dr. Frewen, written in later life (Dec. 1822), he speaks of it, in the language used of the returning prodigal, as the time when he "*came to himself*;" noting the years 1785, 6, as those in which it was effected. Ibid. v. 147. In vol. iv. p. 310, writing to one of his sons, he expresses his anxiety, above all things to see in him "marks of that great change : " and to a young friend recommended in 1823 Doddridge and Witherspoon on Regeneration ; in order to impressing him with "a deeper sense of the greatness of the change to be effected, and as a work to be wrought on the human heart by the power of God, and Him alone." Corresp. ii. 475. At the same time he was careful to avoid a controverted term, of double and therefore dubious meaning. In a Preface to Witherspoon's *Treatise on Regeneration*, he purposely abstained, we are told, from using the term *regeneration*, or expressing an opinion on the correctness of its application. It is not the *name*, but the *thing* that is important.—I need scarcely add that he was persuaded that it *might* begin, as well as that it *might not*, with baptism and in childhood.

was *notably* marked out, agreeably with the Apocalyptic figuration, (it is therefore that I call attention to it,) as one of its mystical 144,000, the illumined, quickened, and sealed by the Spirit, the followers of the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and harpers with harps of God's own attuning to chant his praise :¹—those whom alike prophecy and history prove that He has ever chosen, as his chief instruments for the revival of religion among men.

So prepared, on considering the high gospel-standard of Christian life and practice, and surveying on the one hand the prevailing ungodliness, immorality, and latitudinarian and infidel philosophy, especially among the higher ranks, of his professedly Christian countrymen, and on the other his own position and capabilities for improving them,—he recognized his vocation of God : “ God has set before me, as my object, *the reformation of my country's manners.*”²—Most justly do his biographers add, “ Having accepted the commission, he devoted all his powers to its fulfilment.” Who so fully, so habitually, in private life and public, the very exemplification of his own favourite motto,³ in opposition to the false philosophy and irreligion of the age ; (and, humanly speaking, less than this could not have been effectual to the purpose :)

How charming is divine philosophy !
Not harsh and rugged, as dull fools suppose ;
But musical as is Apollo's lute.

Of his winning example and unceasing labours in the cause of truth, benevolence, and evangelic Christianity, his often uplifted voice in the senate, and more enduring word of exhortation and instruction recorded in his published *Work on Christianity*,⁴—all accompanied

¹ Compare Apoc. vii. 3, 4, xiv. 4, 5 ; and my comments on the two passages in the Chapter on the Sealing, Vol. i. pp. 247—253, and at pp. 259, 274, *suprà*.
² *Life*, i. 130.

³ Prefixed on the title-page to his *Practical View*, from Milton's *Comus*.

⁴ *Practical View of Christianity*; first published in the year 1797.—See the *Life*, ii. 199, &c. The effect of this work is largely and strikingly described in Bishop Wilson's Preface, p. vii. &c.

and followed, as it was, by intercessory prayers for his country,—prayer as full of humiliation, and as devout, continuous, and earnest (we may almost say) even as those of Daniel,¹—who can over-estimate the influence? The faithful ones of Christ, especially in the Church of England, a little body scattered here and there at the time, for the most part little known, and in general society misunderstood and despised, (can we now err in mentioning a Newton, Scott, Milner, Cecil, Robinson, Simeon, among them, though indeed the æra is almost too recent to allow of particularization,) I say these members of Christ's mystical body of the 144,000, "the called and chosen and faithful," who were all in their several spheres of duty busily taking part in the promotion of the same blessed work, hailed with delight the interposition and gift from God.² Gradually, yet not slowly nor feebly for a world so dull to receive divine impressions, the leaven worked in the middle and the higher classes; as it had done before among the lower, in a measure, under various influences.³ The power and blessing of God's almighty Spirit was manifest in it. Religion revived in England. The number of its adherents, and its means too and resources, were multiplied. Higher views opened before them of Christian usefulness. A desire and spirit was shed forth, and made effectual, for religious union and co-operation.

¹ Of these intercessions for his country his Diary furnishes various most touching examples. See, for example, in the Life, Vol. ii. 56, iii. 122, &c.—The reference to *Daniel*, in the way of comparison, is taken from the *Pursuits of Literature*; published in the same year as his work on Christianity. "I will own that from a scrutiny into the public and private character of Mr. Wilberforce, I am inclined to think that his enemies would be forced into an acknowledgment, that (as it is recorded in the words of a prophet) they can find no occasion against this man, except they find it against him concerning the law of his God." Bishop Wilson's Preface, p. xxxv.

² See, for example, the beautiful Letters of John Newton, given in the Life and Correspondence; e. g. on the publication of the Practical View.—In the Life of the Rev. P. Roe of Kilkenny lately published, p. 52, we see exemplified its influence on the Revival in the Anglo-Irish Church.

³ Mr. Wilberforce's biographers ascribe this to Wealey. "Against this universal apathy *John Wesley* had recently arisen with a giant's strength. His mission was chiefly to the poor."—Life, i. 130. They might surely have associated with him, not only some others out of the pale of the Established Church, but many within it also, as God's joint instruments for effecting the work.

Associations Christian and philanthropic arose :¹ and at length too MISSIONARY SOCIETIES,—the *Baptist*, the *London*, the *Wesleyan*, the *Church Missionary* ;²—one after another, in quick succession, like the Swiss Alpine peaks at day-dawn, catching and reflecting on a benighted world the rays of heavenly light : while at the same time other older associations—the *Moravian*, that pattern (though with smallest resources) of a missionary body,³ and the *Christian Knowledge* and *Gospel Propagation*, ill supported too, and which had very much lost their first zeal and love, though still illustrious at home by having kept alive the missionary cause through the 18th century,⁴ and in India by the labours, under their auspices, of the apostolic Swartz,⁵—while these, I say,

¹ The earliest was that instituted in 1787, through Mr. Wilberforce's instrumentality, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops at its head, for enforcing the *King's Proclamation against Vice and Immorality*. "This was the first example of those various associations which soon succeeded to the apathy of former years."—Life, i. 138. Then followed the *Abolition Committee* and *African Association*.

² The *Baptist Society* A. D. 1792, the *London* 1795, the *Wesleyan* a little later, the *Church Missionary Society* 1800. With regard to the formation of the last mentioned, proceedings had begun as early as 1797. See Wilberforce's Life, ii. 251.—On the general subject of missions I may refer to Huie's *History of Christian Missions* ; an interesting Volume lately published.

³ Founded by Count Zinzendorf in 1727 ; the whole Moravian body being, much like the early Christian body, altogether of a missionary character. See Crantz's interesting History of the missions, or Huie's brief Chapter on the subject. The first mission to the West Indies was in 1731, to Greenland 1733.

⁴ The formation of these Societies in William and Anne's time was noted Vol. ii. 428, as an omen of England's future missionary eminence. In 1742, on employing Fabricius in the Madras Mission, it was found that the means of the Christian Knowledge Society were scarcely adequate to support it ; but the directors declared that "they trusted that the same good Providence of God, which had hitherto blessed them in their undertakings to spread the pure Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ in all parts of the world, would raise up benefactors to contribute what might be wanted towards it."—Huie, 89. At the time of the revolutionary war, however, as it is said by Wilberforce's biographers, "The zealous spirit which had begun to spread during the reign of Anne, had been benumbed by the evil influence of latitudinarianism." (Such as Hoadley's).—Life i. 129. The declared inability of the same Society, from its limited funds, to supply the Bibles wanted and asked for in the Welch Principality in 1803, was the originating occasion, as is well known, of the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Let me not omit to observe, that *Bishop Berkeley*, before the middle of the eighteenth century, having made a noble effort at establishing a Missionary College and Mission at Bermuda, for the West Indies and North America, was obliged to abandon it from want of adequate support.

⁵ He was the pupil of *Franke* at Halle University, in 1742 ; where he imbibed the principles of his instructor ; and was thus their propagator in another age and hemisphere.—By means of the missionaries that they have supplied to us,

revived or brightened the holy flame :—and last, but perhaps greatest of all, the *British and Foreign Bible Society* arose :¹—a Society by which (conjunctively with the Mission Societies) the word of life has in every quarter of the world been diffused and preached in the several native languages ;² and the vision of the Apocalyptic Angel seen by St. John flying through mid-heaven, with an everlasting Gospel to preach to every nation, tribe, kindred, and tongue, *just in its exact order of time* literally fulfilled.—It is not for an *Apocalyptic Expositor* of the English Church, persuaded that the prophetic vision was thus fulfilled, to withhold his admiration from the work because Protestant *Dissenters* had a part in it ;³ or from that of some of the other English Missionary Societies, because constituted of such very principally as their members.⁴ On the great field of conflict between Christ and Satan, such as the Apocalypse contemplates, ecclesiastical distinctions, far from

Protestant Germany and Protestant Switzerland have taken their part in the missionary work with Protestant England.

¹ Let me quote on this point Mr. W.'s Biographers : themselves not surely over-favourable judges. "It was at this time, amidst the din of warlike preparation, that the foundation-stone was laid of an Institution which was to leaven all nations with the principles of peace. This is not the place to scrutinize its constitution. The good that it has effected has been great, beyond the utmost expectation of its founders ; both in the circulation of the Word of God, and in awaking the zeal of a careless generation. The evil has been incidental in its character, and confined perhaps almost entirely to the public meetings." Life, iii. 91.—Of course, besides this suggested incidental evil, its translations were imperfect. This has been made by some a matter of charge against it ; and sometimes with as much bitterness as unreasonableness. The same might have been made even to our admirable English translation, in a measure, and to the Septuagint used by the apostles : in both of which, the existence of mistakes is notorious.

² In the Report for 1845, I find the total issues of copies of the Scriptures by the Society, up to that year, stated to have been seventeen millions : the number of languages in which the Scriptures have been circulated by it, 138.

³ Mr. Owen, in his History of the Bible Society, has noted the prominence of members of the Church of England at its formation, And I believe by far the larger number of its home members, especially of its most influential, at least until of late, have been members also of the Established Church.—Mr. Wilberforce's Biographers observe with truth, that at this time the dissenting body had not manifested that hostility to the English Church, which since, alas, has been such a stumbling-block to the Church-members of the Society. As a specimen of their then catholic and friendly spirit, see Mr. Hinton's declaration made in 1813, at Oxford. Owen ii. 507.

⁴ In the *London Missionary Society*, and some others, many Church members for years united. Indeed it was founded very much through their agency : and Bishop Porteus gave them in 1798 "his good wishes and prayers." Difficulties have occurred subsequently in the way of their co-operation.

unimportant in themselves, appear *comparatively* indifferent. And surely we must suppose the judgment of heaven to have favourably rested on their work ; whether we consider the spirit animating, or the results effected by, not a few of their missionaries and missions ! How did the House of Commons itself bow before the greatness and true evangelical spirit of one of these missionary Dissenters, when Wilberforce described his noble disinterestedness, after rising by force of uncommon literary acquirements and moral worth, to a highly lucrative post in the Fort William College, under Lord Wellesley !¹ And, as to *effects produced*, he certainly is not to be envied whose heart does not glow on looking at what they have done, towards the great work of Christianizing the heathen, at Serampore, in China, at the Cape, or in the islands of the South Sea.

It was coincidentally, or nearly coincidentally, with the first rise of these missions, that the missionary battle was fought by Mr. W. in the House of Commons ; and a *legislatorial sanction* obtained for the work of evangelization in India, and so opening the Christian temple-doors to the Eastern world, imperfect at first, afterwards more complete : for never, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of enemies, did its parliamentary champion ungird himself till its complete accomplishment.²—And,

¹ Devoting his whole salary (between £1000 and £1500 a year) to the mission at Serampore. Life, Vol. iv. p. 123.—“Well,” say Mr. Wilberforce’s biographers, “had the noble conduct of the band at Serampore deserved his vindication. ‘I do not know,’ Mr. W. often said, ‘a finer instance of the moral sublime, than that a poor cobbler, working in his stall, should conceive the idea of converting the Hindoos to Christianity: yet such was Dr. Carey. Why, Milton’s planning his Paradise Lost in his old age and blindness, was nothing to it!’” Ibid.

² In 1793, on the renewal of the East India Company’s charter, certain Resolutions were agreed to in committee by the House of Commons, on Mr. Wilberforce’s motion, and entered on its journals ; which pledged the House in general terms to “the peculiar and bounden duty of promoting, by all just and prudent means, the religious improvement” of the native Indians. Which assertion of the duty of attempting to evangelize the East, though barren for twenty years, still remained on the journals of the House, and was made the vantage-ground from which to carry *practical resolutions* through the House, twenty years after. Ibid. ii. 24, 28, iv. 124—126.—Accounts of the controversy in 1812 and 1813 may be found in the Christian Observer, Owen’s History of the Bible Society, and Wilberforce’s Life. It is stated that many Christian people, in their deep anxiety on the subject, passed the night of the debate in prayer. Mr. W. writes, “I place the cause even before the abolition :—*that*, I mean, of laying a ground for the communication to our Indian fellow-subjects of Christian light.” Ib. iv. 126.

meanwhile the ever-advancing maritime and colonial ascendancy of Great Britain, whereby every sea and clime was opened to its ships, and in the East the consolidation moreover of its East Indian Empire under Lord Wellesley's administration, (an empire founded just before by Clive and Hastings, almost as by miracle,) prepared widest fields for the missionary enterprize of British Christians : while the unprecedented increase of British commercial wealth, as well as progress of science,¹ concurred to facilitate its execution.—Never, altogether, had there been such a work of Christian *evangelic* missions since the Apostolic æra. The famous *Romish* missions of the 16th and 17th centuries, in the eastern and western hemispheres, notwithstanding all their exemplifications of devotedness and self-denial, had been scarcely better than the propagation of Popery, not the Gospel,—the advocacy of Trent doctrines, not the Bible's,—of Antichrist, not Christ.² And as to the earlier English missionary associations for the propagation of Christian Knowledge and of the Gospel, though still operating in India at the epoch of the French Revolution, their feeble-

¹ E. g. In the discovery of *stereotype* printing, &c.

² "It is recorded," says Huie, p. 17, of *Xavier*, that when at Lisbon, prior to sailing on his missionary enterprise, "having obtained a *part of the New Testament*, he resolved to take it with him, imagining that it might *possibly* be of use:" also that what he translated for the use of his converts on the Comorin coast, was the words to be used on making the sign of the cross, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Angel, the *Confiteor*, the *Salve Regina*, and the whole of the *Catechism*" (i. e. of Trent); "a strange mixture of truth and error:"—also that, after a petition to the Lord Jesus Christ, he added at each clause of the Creed, "Holy Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from thy beloved Son to believe this Article."—Eloquent panegyrics have been past by Protestants on Xavier: and, viewed as a *man*, for intrepidity, self-denial, perseverance, and greatness of design, he may well deserve them. But, viewed as a *Christian Missionary*, how can we but consider what he taught,—Antichristian superstition, or Christian truth?—To those who think well to waive such considerations, let me beg permission to suggest *Simeon Stylites* as the next subject of panegyric. *Passive* virtues are not inferior to *active*. His self-denial, devotion, and perseverance were equal even to Xavier's. And with his figure, his pillar, and his desert, the *picturesque* need not be wanting.

Of the manner in which other of the Romish missionaries, alike in South India, North India, Japan, China, and South America, propagated superstition as Christianity, and even adopted direct heathen idolatrous customs into their own ritual, the story is too well known. The Abbé Dubois, himself a Romish missionary, has proclaimed this to the world. See his work on Indian Missions, or Huie, chaps. i. ii. iii; also Gutzlaff's Catalogue of the works translated by the Jesuits, for support of the Chinese Romish missions. Nowhere do we find them translating and circulating the "*everlasting Gospel*."

ness and limited fields of operation have been already noted. But now, in every quarter of the world,¹—in the East Indies and the West Indies, in South Africa and West Africa, (Africa enfranchised with temporal freedom as preparatory to the liberty of the Gospel,²) in New South Wales and New Zealand, in the South Sea Islands and Madagascar, in Tartary and Persia, in Burmah and incidentally in China, in the polar regions too of Greenland and North America,—every where the gospel was preached, the Scriptures circulated, evangelic schools instituted, Christian churches opened to the heathen, and Christian life (can we forget *David Brown, Martyn, Heber, Corrie, Judson*, and other noble names not a few?) offered in sacrifice. The Almighty Spirit that prompted the missions, excited among the heathen the desire for them.

“ From Greenland’s icy mountains,
From India’s coral strand,
Where Afric’s sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand,”

from these, from every country, where a mission was attempted, the cry was heard, “Come and help us.”—The Jews, God’s ancient people, were not forgotten;³ nor the benighted professing churches of Greek or Roman Christendom.⁴ And after a while, the secular and ecclesiastical heads of our English Church deemed the time to have come for extending it, with all its regular ecclesiastical organization, under sanction of the State, and not without *missionary* views in the matter, to India, Australia, and other of the colonies:—the preliminary (if I may a little anticipate) to its yet larger and more recent extension to many other spheres of

¹ I here include the *American*, and other *foreign Protestant* missions.

² “I am occupied, I trust, in preparing an entrance into Africa for the Gospel of Christ.”—Wilb. Life, iv. 182, 206. So of the *Anti-slavery* scheme, v. 168.

³ The Jews’ Society was founded in 1809. *Franko* had founded a somewhat similar Institution in 1728 at Halle. But Israel’s time was not yet come.

⁴ In the vision of the gospel-bearing angel, his declared office was to bear the gospel to them that dwell on the *Apocalyptic* (or Roman) earth, as well as to every nation and tongue under heaven. Compare with this the fact of the early communication opened by the British and Foreign Bible Society with Germany and the other parts of the Continent, even during the war, and formation there of local Bible Societies. The coincidence seems to me remarkable.

previous Anglican missionary labour : beginning at JERUSALEM.

Now from early times in the terrific wars of the Revolution, the faithful ones of Christ's true Church in England, though not without fearful awe at the divine judgments poured out, yet cherished hopes of the preservation of their country, as that which, with all its sins, had still the "*ark*" of Christ's true evangelical Church within it.¹ And as sign after sign appeared of the revival of religion,² and especially as the Bible and Missionary Societies progressed in the fulfilment of their high commission,³ whereby that ark-bearing temple, with the Gospel its sacred deposit, was more and more "*opened*" to the world, they still with stronger hope rested on the thought of the Sovereign Almighty One being for and among them. So during the progress of the earlier vial-plagues on the mystic Egypt : so when afterwards, with all his tremendous power, and threats of invasion and destruction, Napoleon Buonaparte, like another Pharaoh, menaced them.⁴ And when still, in spite of all his efforts, they

¹ I refer to the Apocalyptic figures (Apoc. xi. 19, xv. 5.) of the mystic *temple* appearing *opened*, and its *ark* appearing.—In a letter from a German Clergyman, to I think the Bible Society, in the year 1805, or 1806, he speaks of God preserving England, God's *ark* being with it. (I have mislaid the reference.) Again : "I am jealous," wrote the venerable John Newton to Mrs. H. More in 1797, on occasion of a Fast Day for the country, "for the Lord of hosts and his *ark* among us."—Life of H. More, iii. 10.

² E. g. Mr. Wilberforce in 1803 : "Torpor, as if judicial, infatuates the councils of the nation. Yet the greatly increased proportion of truly religious young men that are coming forward are, I think, a token for good ; and sign that though we may be scourged, we shall not be finally abandoned to the fury of our enemies." Life, i. 274 : again, in 1809, *Ibid.* iii. 420, &c.

³ Life, iii. 302 : "God will bless this country," said Mr. W. after the abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 : and again, iv. 125, &c.

⁴ Let me quote, in illustration of the subject, from a letter of John Newton to H. More, written in the year 1801, and given in her Memoirs, iii. 153. "The new year is likely to prove very eventful. The eye of sense starts at the prospect. But faith sees a hand guiding in the darkest cloud, and reports that the Lord reigneth, be the people never so unquiet. He is carrying on his designs in a way worthy of Himself, and with special regard to his Church. To manifest his glory in the salvation of all who believe in the Son of his love, and that his character, in the combination of infinite wisdom, power, holiness, justice, sovereignty, mercy, grace, and truth, might be fully exhibited to the universe, was, I believe, the great purpose for which the earth was formed.—What the Lord said to *Pharaoh*, will apply to all like-minded ; (alluding to *Bonaparte* then threatening England :) 'For this very purpose have I raised thee up, that I might

stood secure, and at length from their peaceful shore, and across their island channel, like Israel looking back over the *glassy* Red Sea near them to where it appeared *mingled with fire*, on the day of their salvation,—when thus, I say, they saw the enemy that would have ruined them, overwhelmed and destroyed, and, coincidentally with this event, beheld the still-continued progress of the manifestation of God's gospel-truth committed to them,—when by foreign emperors and princes, on their visit soon afterwards to this island, (as on Jethro's to the Israelites,¹ after the deliverance of the Red Sea,) there was homage done to the holy cause itself, and to the individuals most prominent in promoting it, chiefly for its sake,²—how did they join, as with “harps of God,” in notes of adoration and praise: how recognize God's faithfulness and truth, and greatness and holiness, so different from all the gods of Popery or heathenism: how, with glowing heart and tongue, (and who can forget him to whom we have just been alluding, that has heard him touch the sweet harp of prophecy on the topic?³) anticipate the time as not very far off, when the promises of the latter day should be accomplished, the everlasting

show forth my power in thee, and that my name might be made known in all the earth.’ Pharaoh's oppression of Israel prepared the way for their deliverance. He permits his people to be brought low, that his interposition in their behalf may be the more signal and more glorious.”

¹ Exod. xviii. 1—11.

² See the account of Deputations to the Emperor Alexander in Owen's B. S. History, and some of the Missionary Reports. Also Wilberforce's Life, iv. pp. 190, 198.

³ “Sweet is the harp of prophecy,” &c.: the commencement of a passage in Cowper, that was among Mr. Wilberforce's most cherished and favourite passages.—“There is in such a scene,” said he in 1819, after a missionary meeting, “a moral sublimity which, if duly estimated, would be worthy of the tongues of angels. Indeed I doubt not they do participate.” Life, v. 17. On occasion of the opening prospect in 1817 of Christianizing St. Domingo, he writes; “I glow to witness before I die, in this and so many other instances, the streaks of religious and moral light illuminating the horizon; and, though now but the dawning of the day, cheering us with the hope of their meridian glories.” iv. 355.—So too in Lord Glenelg's eloquent speech at the Bible Society Anniversary, 1814. “It seems to announce the near approach of the period, when instead of welcoming the inhabitants of a few countries only, we may hail the union of the nations of every quarter of the globe; when even from distant realms the delegates of a thousand sister Societies may hasten to pay homage to the Parent Society, and announce the progressive triumphs of the holy cause.” Owen, ii. 578.

Gospel fulfil its commission, and all nations come and worship before God and the Lamb ! ¹

Fly abroad, thou mighty gospel,
 Win and conquer ; never cease !
 All the promises do travail
 With a glorious day of grace.
 Blessed Jubilee !
 See its morning breaks apace.

But was the Dragon to be ejected from his empire over the heathen world, or the Beast from the throne of Anti-christendom, without a fresh putting forth of Satanic subtlety and power to uphold them ? Again, was the gospel's triumph to be achieved, and the morning of the world's jubilee to be brought in, by the mere agency of mission Societies ; or without Christ's own more direct intervention, and judgments of his wrath attendant, burning like fire ? To these questions we shall in the *prophetic*, and indeed partially in the *historic* sequel, soon see the answer.

¹ " And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb : saying, Great and marvellous are thy acts, Lord God Almighty ! Just and true are thy ways, O King of saints ! Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name ; for thou only art holy. For all nations shall come and worship before thee ; for thy righteousness hath been made manifest."

APPENDIX TO VOL. III.

ON THE EPOCH OF THE FIRST ASSUMPTION OF THE DIADEM BY THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

(See pp. 14 and 106.)

IN my two former Editions the medal of Maximian was given as that of a *diademed* Emperor. Such seemed clearly, both to myself and to a few friends to whom I shewed it, the character of the *band round the Imperial head* in the cast of the medal sent me from Paris; in which cast, however, that band may have been considerably rubbed and worn. We could not discern any trace of the leaves of the laurel crown.¹ In this point of view the medal, which was otherwise not a little interesting, became doubly so: because of its furnishing to the eye an illustration, not merely of Diocletian's and his colleague's rage against Christianity, but also of their assumption of the diadem as early as the outbreak of their persecution of the Christian body. Up to the eve of the publication of my 2nd Edition, I had not been aware that the correctness of Gibbon's statement, as respects Diocletian's own assumption of the diadem, under his new tetrarchical constitution of the Roman Empire, had been a point disputed. Mr. Lewis however, to whose kindness I have been indebted for other valuable hints on medallic questions, brought it at that time before me; and suggested a doubt at the same time of the authenticity of my Maximian medal. In consequence I wrote to Paris to get the original medal examined: and the result of its inspection by two gentlemen, who were so good as to examine it

¹ I still have the cast.

for me very carefully, has been substantially a confirmation of Mr. Lewis' suspicion. The medal is indeed an authentic one; but they assure me they can distinctly trace upon it the marks of the leaves of the *laurel* crown.

Under these circumstances, and as the evidence of my Maximian medal is thus set aside, it becomes necessary that I should acquaint my readers with the nature of the controversy on the point spoken of, and the existing state of the evidence concerning it, both literary and medallic.

It is to be understood then that under the Constantinian dynasty, from Constantine himself downwards through the fourth century, it is admitted on all hands that the *diadem* was, as Gibbon states, the distinctive, properly speaking,¹ of the *Augusti* or supreme Emperors; while the *laurel* was the more proper badge of the *Cæsars*: this latter being theirs indeed not exclusively, but in common with the *Augusti*.² The case of Julian is one excellently illustrative of the then general custom. He was in 355 made *Cæsar* by his first cousin Constantius, the then reigning Emperor, (son to the great Constantine,) *χωρίς τῆ διαδηματος*, as Chrysostom expresses it,³ i. e. without the *diadem* distinctive; in which station he continued for five years. Accordingly the medals struck by him during this period, both bear the inscription *Cæsar*, and are all *laurelled*: with the exception only of one struck at the precise conclusion of the period, conjoining the *Cæsar* and the *diadem*; ⁴ which however confirms the rule, rather than violates it. For it seems that at the end of the five years, he was tumultuously voted into the dignity of *Augustus*, by the acclamations of the soldiery; and struck the medal, apparently, while waiting the confirmation of their vote by Constantius.⁵ On which occasion of his election the soldiers, having

¹ I say, *properly speaking*; because there are one or two exceptional cases under the Constantinian dynasty, which will be noted by me afterwards. See Note ³ p. 449 *infra*.

² The medals of the *Augusti*, through the greater part of the fourth century, from Constantine inclusive downwards, appear perpetually *laurelled* on medals, as well as *diademed*.

³ Orat. 64 in S. Babyl.

⁴ On the face there is inscribed, D. N. JULIANUS NOB. CÆS. round Julian's head *diademed*; on the reverse, VOT. V. MULT. This shows that the coins were struck at the end of his *Cæsarean* quinquennium. See Spanheim, Tom. ii. p. 385.

⁵ Zonaras reports, says Valesius ad Amm. Marcel. xx. 8, and Julian himself states

sought in vain for a diadem, as the badge of that highest imperial office, (so Ammianus Marcellinus tells the story,)¹ and when he had declined assuming his wife's head-band for a substitute, as being an ornament womanly and ill-omened, a military officer's honorary collar of merit, studded with gold-set stones, was taken and placed on his head; that he might thus wear the semblance at least of that emblem of the Augustan dignity.² Soon afterwards he assumed a proper diadem, ambitiously set with pearls and brilliants.³ And, says Philostorgius,⁴ as he had been previously five years *εν σχηματι Καισαρος*, in the inferior Cæsarean office and habit, he lived two years and a half afterwards *εν διαδηματι*: i. e. in the state of imperial supremacy symbolized by the diadem.

All this, as I said, is admitted. But the questions remain;—Had this distinction of symbols been introduced by Diocletian, on his original institution of the new form of government, under Augusti and Cæsars? Had the diadem been at all assumed by that time as a Roman imperial badge? Or, if first subsequently adopted by Constantine, then at what time of his reign? Before his first public act of profession of Christianity, or after it? before or after that conflict with Maximin, immediately following after Constantine's profession of Christianity, which I have supposed to be the event symbolized by the figuration of the woman and diademed Dragon in Apoc. xii? On these points different opinions have been held: and, with a view to a satisfactory judgment on them, it may be well to consider the evidence with reference separately to the times before Diocletian, those under Diocletian, and those immediately after him at the commencement of the reign of Constantine.

the same in his Ep. ad Athen. that he wrote Constantius the report of this his elevation in the name of *Cæsar*, not *Augustus*, with a view to conciliate him. Further Zosimus says that Julian declared to Constantius that he was ready, on his requiring it, *την τε Καισαρος εχειν αξιαν, αποθειν το διαδημα*. So Spanheim. ¹ xx. 4.

² "Uti coronatus speciem saltem obscuram superioris prætenderet potestatis." Amm. Marc. ib. It was the torques or collar of a *draconarius*, a *dragon standard-bearer* that was taken. Zonaras gives a precisely similar report: describing the collar at the same time more fully thus; *ενει χρυσιον τις των ταξιαρχων εφορει σπρωτων λιθας εχοντα χρυσοδετες*.

³ So Ammianus xxi. 1; "Quinquennalis Augustus jam edidit: et ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto; cum inter exordia principatus assumpti vili coronâ circumdatus erat."

⁴ Hist. Eccles. vii. 15.

1. As to the *first* *vera* enquired into, (passing over the case of Heliogabalus, whose wearing of a diadem is mentioned by Herodian as not his imperial, but his previous pontifical badge, viz. as Priest to the Sun,)¹ *Aurelian* (A. D. 270—275) is the earliest Roman Emperor, whose assumption of it is directly asserted in history. Says the younger Victor of him; "He first among the Romans wreathed his head with a *diadem*, and used precious stones, and a gold-embroidered robe :"² and so too Jornandes, with a slight addition of detail; "He first adorned his robes and shoes with precious stones, and his head with a *diadem*."³ An illustrative medal is given by Tristanus, exhibiting Aurelian diademed on its face, and on the reverse Vaballathus, an oriental Prince allied with, or who had submitted to him;⁴ but whether unquestionably authentic, or not, I have not the means of ascertaining. There is also a diademed medal of him, says Rasche,⁵ (whether this same or another,) among the "Numi Ducis Arshotani." At any rate there exist many well-known medals of his, inscribed "Deo et Domino nostro Aureliano :"⁶ the memorials of his assumption to himself of the lordly and divine titles of oriental despotism; and consequently, pro tanto, giving support to the historic assertion of his having assumed the diadem and the dress characteristic of oriental Princes.

2. Turning to *Diocletian*, who succeeded to the Empire A.D. 285, only ten years after Aurelian, and who, with a view to the carrying out of his new constitution for the Roman Empire, took the first step at once in 286, by the appointment of Maximian as joint-

¹ Herodian (B. v.) calls it *στέφανον λίθων πολυτελων χρουι διαδησμενον*; and again, *εις ειδος τιαρης στεφανη χρουω και λιθοις ποικιλην τιμοις*. It was not however properly a diadem; says Cuper on Lactant. M. P. xix. Patinus, p. 323, gives a medal representing this emperor sacrificing, with the inscription, *ΣΑΥΕΑΝ. ΠΡΩ. ΣΟΛΙΣ. ΕΛΑΘΑΒ.*

² "Iste primus (sc. Aurelianus) apud Romanos diadema capiti inerat, gemmisque et auratâ omni veste, quod adhuc fere incognitum Romanis moribus videbatur, usus est." Epitome.

³ "Is primus gemmas vestibus calceamentisque inseruit, diademataque in capite."

⁴ See Spanheim's notice of this medal, ubi supra; and Cuper's on Lactantius M. P. xix. p. 461. He refers to Tristanus iii. 211, for the medal. I speak doubtfully of it, because Patinus, p. 430, gives a similar medal, but with the Aurelian's head laurelled.

⁵ On the word *Diadema*.

⁶ See Eckhel viii. 365.

Augustus with himself, and in 292 completed it by that of Constantius and Galerius as the two Cæsars,—I do not find any *direct* historical statement as to his making the diadem the badge of the Augusti, the laurel of the Cæsars; or any indeed as to his having himself worn the diadem. But by both Eutropius and Jerome the fact is asserted of his having, as an imperial insigne, adorned his robes and shoes with gems, (the diadem's proper accompaniment,) just like Aurelian: ¹ and so too says the Author of the *Συναγωγή Ἱστοριῶν* edited by Scaliger; assigning the date of his first so doing to the year 292, after Galerius' return from his victory over Narses, laden with precious gems as a part of the Persian spoils.² In some of his extant medals, too, gems alternate with the laurel on his crown: ³ though on other and most of his medals the laurel appears simply and alone. Moreover it is clear from the nearly cotemporary Treatise ascribed to Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, as well as from other good evidence, that as the *laurel* had not been yet set aside, so the *purple* was also retained; indeed that this latter was in public a chief ensign of both the Augustan and the Cæsarean imperial dignity.⁴—So much as to Diocletian. With regard to his

¹ "Diocletianus imperio Romano primus regie consuetudinis formam, magis quàm Romanæ libertatis, inexit; adorarique se jussit, cùm ante eum cuncti salutarentur; ornamentaque gemmarum vestibus calceamentisque addidit. Nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpureâ tantùm erat; reliqua communia." So Eutropius ix. 26: and similarly Jerome in Chron. "Primus Diocletianus adorari se ut Deum, et gemmas vestibus calceamentisque inseri jussit; cùm ante eum omnes Imperatores more judicum salutarentur, et chlamydem purpuream à privato habitu plus haberent." Victor too notices his introduction of the ceremony of *adoration*.—Lactantius, M. P. xviii, represents Diocletian to have objected to Maxentius (Maximin's son) that he was too proud to *adore* his father.

² So Cuper on Lactant. M. P. ix. "Anctor Συναγωγῆς Ἱστοριῶν à Scaligero editus p. 395 narrat eum (Galerium) reversum fuisse βασιλεῖα περιλαβόμενα ἔχοντα λίθων τιμῶν καὶ μαργαριτῶν: Diocletianumque tunc primùm veste et calceis λίθων τιμῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ κεκοσμημένοις usum esse; et eundem jussisse ut, aperto salutandi veteri more, adoraretur." He adds; "Sed Eusebius initium hujus moris refert ad ann. 295; victum vero Narsetem ad ann. 303."

³ "Cum coronâ ex lauro et gemmis, in auro, apud Bandari." So Eckhel viii. 5. I may observe that in medals of some of the Emperors following, as of Constantine for example, (see Patinus 471,) the jewels which alternate with the laurel are so abundant, that it seems almost doubtful whether the imperial head-band might not be called a diadem, as well as a laurel crown.

⁴ Lactantius M. P. ch. xix, speaks of Diocletian giving his own robe of purple to Maximin, on making him Cæsar: this showing, as the commentators observe, that the purple was the ensign of both the Augustan and the Cæsarean dignity. So

co-Augustus *Maximian*, there occurs in the Panegyric pronounced before him by the orator Mamertinus at Treves, in the year 289, the following allusive notice of his imperial insignia and pomp : " Your triumphal *trabæ*, and consular *fascæ*, and curule chairs, and splendid retinue of attendants, and *that brilliant circle of light which surrounds your divine head*, are but the fair and most august ornaments of your merit." ¹ A really remarkable sentence to our point : and in which *the brilliant circle of light* (which cannot of course be meant of the lack-lustre laurel crown) may most fitly and naturally be explained of the diadem and its brilliants ; so as it is in fact explained by the learned Valesius. ² It is however a passage not quite decisive : as the language may also possibly be understood of the *golden radiated crown*, worn not infrequently by the Emperors at that time, so as Arndtzenius explains it ; ³ though not I think of the *nimbus*, so as Eckhel suggests, somewhat inconsistently with himself. ⁴ I say *possibly* understood of the radiated crown ; not *probably*. For the word "*augustissima*," *most august*, makes it almost necessary that one at least of the insignia mentioned should be properly *Augustan*. ⁵ This the *circlet of light* alone can be : and so only if explained of the *diadem* ; for the radiated crown was common to the Cæsars.—Yet once more, passing to *Constantius* and *Galerius*, (the two Cæsars till Diocletian's and Maximian's abdication in 304, then the two Augusti,) we find res-

too ch. xxv. And in the cotemporary Panegyrics other examples occur ; e. g. in that of Eumenius to Constantine, ch. viii. In ch. xxv. of the M. P. Constantine is said to have sent his *laureata imago* to Galerius, to apprise him of his elevation to the imperial dignity, (that of *Cæsar*, as it appears,) on his father's death.—Constantine seems to have united the *purple* with the *diadem*. For his wearing of the diadem was, we are told, customary with him : and in his Panegyric Eusebius speaks of his other dress thus ; τῆ τῆς ἀμπεχοῦνης εἰσαίρετῆ περιβλήματι διαφανῶν, καὶ τῆς προπέσας αὐτῆ ἀθρογίδα βασιλικῆν μοῦος ἐπαξίως ἐμπεριειλημμένος.

¹ " *Trabæ vestræ triumphales, et fascæ consulares, et sellæ curules, et hæc obsequiorum stipatio et fulgor, et illa lux divinum verticem claro orbe complectens, vestrorum sunt ornamenta meritum pulcherrima et augustissima.*" ch. 3.

² Valesius thus explains it, in commenting on Ammianus Marcellinus' notice (xxi. 1) of Julian's diadem, "*lapidum fulgore distincto.*" ³ Ad loc.

⁴ In Vol. viii. p. 503 he says ; " *Forte et nimbus est illud capitis ornamentum quod inter alia, tanquam Augustis proprium, sic describit Mamertinus ; ' Illa lux, &c.'* At p. 504 he speaks of the "*nimbus purus*," (the same, I suppose, that he meant at p. 503,) as first appearing on a gold coin of Constantine.

⁵ The reader will observe Eckhel's "*tanquam Augustis proprium*;" showing that he understands the *augustissima* as I do.

pecting the former the following very important statement made by Eusebius :—" Having been distinguished at the first by *the diadem* of the imperial *Cæsars*, and in that had his merit tested, he was afterwards adorned with the honor of the highest in rule among the Romans : " i. e. of the *Augusti*.¹ A statement, says Spanheim, distinctly ascribing the diadem to Constantius, even when Cæsar :² and which implies a higher distinctive head-ornament to the Augusti ; such as a diadem of superior value and lustre.³ Nay, even supposing that Eusebius used the word diadem in this passage largely and inaccurately, and meant by it the *σφαρος*, or *laurel crown* of the Cæsarean dignity, still there is implied that the Augusti had some distinctive head-ornament : and that this could not be the *radiated crown* is evident from what Eckhel tells us, that for some time previous the radiated crown had been lower in dignity than the laurel.⁴—As to *Galerius* there exists among the still extant medals of that Emperor one *diademed*, according to Tristanus. But, as it refers to quite the later part of his reign, after the accession of Constantine to the Empire, it may be better to note it under my third and next head.

3. I now then pass on to *Constantine*. And here it becomes necessary to mark the dates of the chief epochs of his earlier years in the imperial office. In 306 then, on his father Constantius' death, he became *Cæsar* ; (Galerius, who soon after associated Severus with himself, being the then only surviving Augustus ;) and in 307, on appointment by Maximian who had resumed the purple, *Augustus*. In 310 he put to death Maximian plotting against him : in 312 marched against Maxentius, son to Maximian, who had established himself as

¹ After the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, says he, in his V. C. i. 18, *μαρος λοκρον Κωνσταντιος πρwtos Αυγυστος και Σεβαστος ανηγορευετο το μιν καταρχας τη των αυτοκρατορων Καισαρων διαδηματι λαμκρνωμενος, και τετων απεληφως τα πρwtα μετα δε των εν τειτοις δοκιμην, τη των ανωτατων παρα Ρωμαιοις εκοσμητο τιμη.*

² "Constantio certè, parenti Imperatoris Constantini, adhuc Cæsari *diadema* illi fastigio peculiare tribuit omnino Eusebius." Spanheim, ubi supra.

³ It is in this way Spanheim explains two later medals of Constantine's two sons Crispus and Constantine ; in which they appear wearing the diadem, though still Cæsars, as appears by the inscriptions. These are almost the only exceptions under the Constantinian dynasty to the usual rule of the diadem being confined to the Augusti.

⁴ "Coronam radiatam faisse serius laureâ viliozem, (i. e. later than the times of Domitian,) argumentum certum est numus argenteus qui exhibet capita Balbini et Pupieni Augg. et Gordiani Cæsaris, laureatis illis, hoc radiato." viii. 362.

Augustus at Rome; and, after one or two previous battles in the north of Italy, defeated and killed him in the battle of the Milvian Bridge. This was on the 27th of October, as the date is clearly defined in his *M. P.* ch. 44, by Lactantius; Constantine having just previously, either while on march with his army, according to Eusebius, or, as Lactantius relates it, the day before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, seen the famous vision of the Cross, and assumed it as his ensign.¹ In the March 313 A. D. following, after two months spent at Rome, he issued, conjointly with Licinius, the famous Edict of Milan in favor of Christianity; after which Maximin, having declared war against Constantine and Licinius, was in the course of the same year defeated and died.—Such are the dates that concern us. And from them I infer that the summer or autumn of 312² must be regarded as the probable date of Constantine's first act of profession of christianity. At the times of his elevation as Cæsar and as Augustus, Eusebius, it has been remarked, nowhere intimates his having been a Christian: nor in the two Panegyrics address to him in 309 and 310 is he address otherwise by the orators than as one

¹ Eusebius is a little indistinct and indefinite in his narrative of the vision, (*V. C. i.* 26—38,) in regard of time and place. He seems at first to represent it as occurring immediately before the expedition against Maxentius, some little time after the news of the death of Galerius, which happened in May A. D. 311. On the other hand in ch. 28 he speaks of the vision as accorded to Constantine when on the march somewhere with his whole army: *Το ερασιωτικον των σελλομενων ποιο πορειαν συνειρετο.* And what and whither this expedition, with his whole army following, but against Maxentius? Further, after describing the *labarum* as made by him in consequence of the vision, ch. 31, he begins ch. 32 with *ΑΛΛΑ ταυτα μικρον ὄρερον.* On the other hand Lactantius is express in fixing it to the day before the final battle with Maxentius Oct. 27, 312; and both Balusius *ad loc.* and other Annotators that I have read on Lactantius and Eusebius, regard this statement as decisive. It seems to me that the two accounts may be best reconciled by supposing Constantine to have set out on the expedition, which was in the summer of 312, after having a little previously had his mind anxious and thoughtful on the subject; and that Constantine may have told Eusebius that it was in answer to prayer, while on the march, and before one of the battles against Maxentius, that the vision was given. So the report handed down as that of Artemius the soldier-martyr: “*Contra Maxentium bellum difficillimum ineunti signum crucis apparuit in celo: nos enim qui bello interfuimus signum vidimus, totusque conspexit exercitus.*” (I take this from the *Vita Constantini* by De La Beune, prefixed to the Panegyric on Maximian and Constantine, (Ed. Arndtsenii Utrecht 1720) Vol. i. p. 300. Balusius too cites it, in his Note on the *M. P.* *ad loc.*) And so too the more trustworthy testimony of the Orator Nasarius, in his Panegyric, (ch. 14) pronounced before Constantine in the year 321.

² I follow Gibbon in this chronology of the march of the campaign.

still professedly of the old religion.—The importance of this fact to our present question arises hence. Besides other undoubted *diademed* medals of Constantine, the dates of which are not fixed by any thing on the medals themselves, and of which some, as Eckhel states it, may very possibly have been of as early a date as A. D. 308,¹ there is one fixed to the year 312 by its note of his being then in his *second consulship*.² Moreover in the exergue there are the letters P L N ; signifying that it was coined at *Lyons*,³ not at *Rome* : and coined consequently, we may probably infer, under directions given before his march ; that is, before his conversion to Christianity. So that in fine the *diadem*, in so far as Constantine was concerned, may be considered as a Roman imperial badge already worn by him, *while still professedly of the old Pagan religion*.—I have to add further, with reference to this commencement of the Constantinian sera, that Tristanus describes a medal of *Galerius*, of date somewhere between 307 and 311, in which that Emperor and Licinius appear both of them diademed,⁴ also that in the Plates of Patinus, p.

¹ I refer to Eckhel's list of the *Numi Vagi* of Constantine, given by him Vol. viii. p. 78 et seq. the dates of which numi he includes between A. D. 308 and A. D. 337. The heads on these coins he describes (p. 79) as very generally laurelled, *frequently diademed*, and sometimes helmeted or with a radiated crown ; besides one only with a nimbus. "Horum aliquos verisimile est jam anno P. X. 308 signatos fuisse." He adds one or two indices of later date ; for example that of having *Cosa*. in the exergue, the abbreviation for Constantinople, the date of the building of which was A. D. 330. But he intimates no opinion whatsoever against the *diademed* medals of these *numi vagi*, being referable very possibly just as much as the others undiademed to the *earlier* years of Constantine's Augustan imperial rule, from A. D. 308 to 312 ; as well as to the later years of his reign afterwards.

² It is thus described by Eckhel p. 74.

{ CONSTANTIVS P. F. AVG. Caput diadematum cum margarita. }

{ P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P. Figura duplici cornu-copie insidens, d. scipionem ; in areâ astrum ; in imo P. L. N.

³ So Rasche to the letters P. L. signifying Percussum Lugduni, the N. the particular officina of the Mint.

⁴ It is thus described by Tristanus, Commentaires p. 428.

"Les deux effigies de *Galerius Maximianus*, appelé *Jovius* depuis qu'il fut Auguste, et de *Licinius* fait Cæsar par luy, tous deux couronnés de *diademes* : dont *Licinius* paroist couvert du manteau, ou chappe consulaire, appelée *palmata*. Entre eux deux il y a une *Victoire*, qui leur met à chacun une couronne sur la teste : laquelle est montée sur un globe, que Galere Maximien tient dans sa main ; laquelle *Licinius* soutient de la sienne, comme luy aidant à porter le fardeau de l'empire."

Instead of "*Licinius* fait Cæsar." Tristan should have said, "*fait Auguste* : " for Eckhel has shown, (viii. 62, 63,) on both historic and medallie evidence, that *Licinius* was made Augustus at once, without the preliminary step of appointment

454, there is given a *diademed* medal of the Emperor *Alexander*; who, having been appointed Pro-Prætor in Africa by Galerius' Augustan colleague Severus, assumed the purple soon after Severus' overthrow by Maxentius A.D. 307, but was in 311 defeated and killed.¹ The same medal is given also, I see, by Mediobarbus. Now though the latter be an author not fully to be trusted, there has never, I believe, been any impeachment of the character of Patin's: himself a learned and very experienced medallist; and who, at the close of his Preface, after inveighing against Goltzius' inaccuracies and frauds, the originals of many of whose engraved medals, he says, "no one ever has seen, or ever will see," assures us that, to guard against all mistakes, he had admitted no single medal into his Plates but those of which *he had seen the originals with his own eyes.*²

On the whole the fair and reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the evidence before us seems to me to be as follows:—that under the Diocletian dynasty, while the purple and the laurel still continued as before the more usual badge of empire, alike for the Augusti and the Cæsars, yet that the Augusti, over and above those older ensigns, continued the use at court of the silken gemmed or gold-embroidered robe, together with its natural and usual accompaniment the diadem,³ that had been introduced by their almost

to the Cæsarship. Thus the *diadems* are on two *Augusti*. As Licinius was made Augustus by Galerius on Severus' death A. D. 307, and Galerius himself died A. D. 311, the date is approximately fixed as between 307 and 311; and most probably 307, with reference to Licinius' appointment to the Augustan dignity.

¹ The inscription on the face is IMP. ALEXANDER P.F. AVG. On the reverse; INVICTA ROMA FELIX KARTHAGO.

² "Eo consilio ex nummorum typis nullos admisi, nisi quorum ipse prototypos oculis usurpasset."

I have further had sent me from the British Museum a drawing of a medal of Licinius with the head diademed, of a somewhat later date than A.D. 312, as his son appears also on it; with the inscriptions and types following.

On the face, D.D. JOVL. LICINI. INVICT. AVG. ET CÆS. Busts of Licinius and his son holding up a Victory together.

On the reverse, JOVL. T. VICT. CONSER. DD. NN. AVG. ET CÆS. Below M. K. F. A man standing, with spear in left hand, and the right empty and open, is crowned by Victory standing.

Medals very similar in most respects, but different in others, are described by Eckhel viii. 65. The name of the Cæsar Licinius in the inscription limits the date of the medal to somewhere between 317 and 323. Both the date and the *Jovis* in the inscription mark Licinius as a Pagan.

³ So Synæius conjoins them, as if introduced at the same time, in his Oratien

immediate predecessor Aurelian : and that thus with Constantine its use was no innovation, but adopted from his father Constantius ; and only made by him, from the commencement of his Augustan supremacy, more habitual. This view seems to me to suit all the well-attested historic facts of the case, that we have seen drawn out so fully in evidence ; nor am I aware that there is any counter historic testimony of value, that is inconsistent with it. Taking Eckhel's counter-authorities, as the ablest of the advocates for a Constantinian commencing date, what the *younger Victor* says is, not that Constantine first introduced it, but " that he adorned his royal robe with gems, and his head with a *perpetual* diadem : " ¹ what *Julian* satirizes is Constantine's luxurious robes and woman-like adornment of the face ; ² still without a word of his having *first* introduced the diadem : nor again is there a word at all more to that effect in the quotation given from *Synesius*.³ The only authority that supports Eckhel's view is the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, saying, " He first wore the diadem adorned with pearls : " ⁴ a Chronicle this however of the 8th Century, and of the value of which Eckhel himself thus speaks, with reference to quite another point, a few pages after : " One's faith is not to be extorted on so weighty a matter by a Chronicle filled with so many trifles and sillinesses." ⁵ Is it likely, I must beg to ask, if the diadem had been an introduction of Constantine's, that Eusebius (not to name other contemporaries also)

Περὶ βασιλείας, as extracted from Potavius' Latin translation by Eckhel, viii. 80. " Quoniam tempore Romanas res melius sese habuisse putas ? Num ex quo purpurati et inaurati estis, lapillosque ex montibus et barbaro mari quæsitos alios redimitis alios subligatis, alios cingitis, alios appenditis, alios insidetis ? "

¹ " Habitum regium gemmis, et caput exornans perpetuo diademate." It is this Victor who expressly assigns the *first* use of the diadem to Aurelian. See Note ² p. 446 *suprà*.

² Ἐλάμω (sc. ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος) πρὸς τὴν Τρυφῆν. Ἡ δὲ ὄψαλα βασιῶν μαλακῶς, καὶ περιβαλλῶν τοῖς πηχέσι, περὶ τοῖς τε ἀντὶ τοῖς ἀσκησῶσα, so led him forward to the Goddess *Ἀσωπεία*. *Cæs.* sub fin.

³ Previous to the passage cited in Note ² p. 452, Synesius had thrown the blame on earlier Princes (that is earlier than Arcadius,) who had first introduced the dress and habits of luxury : " Nec enim istud tuâ culpâ commissum ; sed eorum qui primi morbi illius auctores extiterunt ; postemque eam, summo in pretio habitam, temporum successioni tradiderunt."

⁴ " Constantinus primus tulit diadema ornatum margaritis."

⁵ " Chronicon tot nugis manisque refertum." p. 86.

should have never made allusion to the remarkable fact?—There remains therefore on Eckhel's side only the evidence of medals; which, however, with reference to Emperors reigning before Constantine's overthrow of Maxentius, is on my side of the question, as we have now seen, not altogether wanting. And considering that even under the Constantinian dynasty, after the diadem had been fully established as the chief Augustan ensign, yet still the ancient laurel was stamped most frequently, as if by a kind of prescriptive right, on the imperial coins, it seems to me that we could hardly argue from the diadem's almost entire absence on the coins of the Diocletian dynasty to its equally general disuse by those Emperors themselves;¹ even were historic testimony wanting, which we have seen it is not, to contradict such a view.—As to the diadem's use as a Roman imperial ensign a little before the final struggle with Maximin the evidence is clear: and this not by Constantine alone; but, as it appears, I think, from a review and comparison of the whole existing and historic medallic evidence, by other cotemporary Roman Emperors also.² Under which circumstances it might surely most fitly be introduced into the figuration of the Pagan Dragon, when not yet dispossessed altogether of the empire of the City of the seven hills; as being now at length the mark of highest Roman imperial dignity, and already beginning to supersede the older laurel badge. Especially as it appears to me nearly incredible that while a *Western* Emperor used the diadem ensign, Maximin, the *Eastern* Emperor,

¹ Nothing can better illustrate the reasonableness of what I here state, than Eckhel's own observation on the total absence of the letters D. N. (signifying *Dominus Noster*) from the coins struck by Diocletian while actually Emperor; although, according to the undoubted testimony of historians, he required and received that appellation during his Emperorship. For the letters, it seems, only appear on the coins struck by order of the immediately succeeding Emperors, *after Diocletian's abdication*. "Eti, ut supra ex Victore docuimus, (in Caesarib.) appellari se *Dominum* ac *Deum* voluit, tamen titulus *Domini Nostri*, quamdiu imperium tenuit, ejus monetam non invasit; sed insertus primam est à successoribus Augustis, in eos numos quos reverentis causâ senioribus Augustis cudi fecere." Eckhel, Vol. viii. p. 14. The title *Dominus* and the *diadem* head-band were so associated in Roman views, that the same reasons which prevented Diocletian from impressing the former on his coins, would prevent him almost equally from impressing the latter. Under the Constantinian dynasty both alike appear.

² Rome being still theoretically the capital of the whole Empire, it is to be remembered, according to Diocletian's constitution: of its *Eastern* part, under one of the Emperors; as well as of its *Western*, under another.

and most natural follower consequently, in respect of their dress and habits, of his predecessors Aurelian, Diocletian, and, I may add, Galerius,—that *he* should have been the one least oriental, and sole adherent to the older and less ambitious ornament of the laurel.

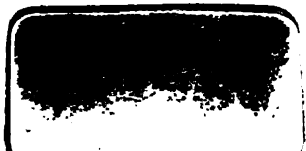
THE END OF VOL. III.



*Leonard Seeley,
Thames Ditton, Surrey.*

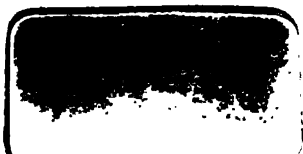
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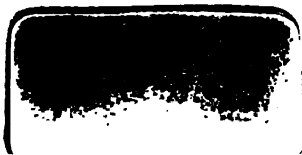
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